

The  
**St. Petersburg  
Diaries**

(1843–1848)

of Anna McNeill Whistler

Evelyn Jasiulko Harden

# THE ST. PETERSBURG DIARIES (1843– 1848) OF ANNA MCNEILL WHISTLER

BY EVELYN JASIULKO HARDEN

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To the Memory of

Mary Krukowski Jasiulko (1906–1966)  
and  
Peter Paul Jasiulko (1898–1986),  
my parents;

Claire Marcia Jasiulko (1930–2008),  
my sister;

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and

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Council, Education Services (UK); College of Physicians of Philadelphia; Columbia University, Low Memorial Library, University Archives and Columbiana Library (New York); Concord Free Public Library (MA); Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford, CT); Connecticut State Library, History and Genealogy Unit (Hartford, CT); Connecticut Valley Historical Museum (Springfield, MA); Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum Archives (New York); Cornell University, Carl A. Kroch Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections (Ithaca, NY); Cornwall County Council (UK); Cotuit Federated Church (MA); Cotuit Historical Society (MA); County Library Headquarters (Preston, UK); Department of Archives (Nassau, Bahamas); Department of Cultural Resources (Raleigh, NC); Department of Libraries & Theatres, Central Library, St. Peter's Square (Manchester, UK); Der Innenminster des Landes Schleswig-Holstein (Kiel, Germany); Derby City Council Museum and Art Gallery (UK); Derby City Council, Nottingham Road Cemetery; Derbyshire County Library (UK); Detroit Public Library, Burton Historical Collection (MI); Diocese of Huron Archives (London, ON); Diocese of Huron Synod Office; Diocese of Manchester (UK); Diocese of Maryland; Diocese of Springfield (MA); Diocese of Springfield Catholic Cemeteries (MA); District Central Library, Blackpool (UK); District of Columbia, Public Library; Dr. Williams's Library (London, UK); Durham County Council (UK); Edinburgh Central Library (Scotland); Edinburgh University Library, Department of Manuscripts; English Heritage (Victoria University at University of Toronto); Enoch Pratt Free Library (Baltimore, MD); Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts (Boston); Episcopal Diocese of New Jersey (Trenton); Essex County Council Archives (Chelmsford, UK); Essex Institute (Salem, MA); Essex Record Office (UK); Falkirk District Council, Falkirk Museums (Scotland); Family History Section of The Yorkshire Archaeological Society (UK); Fife Regional Council Corporate Services Department (Kirkcaldy Registration District) (Scotland); Filson Club Historical Society (Louisville, KY); Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA); Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, DC); Frick Art Reference Library (New York); Gallery Mayo (Richmond, VA); Garton & Co., Print Dealers & Publishers (Wiltshire, UK); Genealogical Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Salt Lake City,



UT); Genealogical Society of Rockland County (NY); Genealogical Society of Utah (Salt Lake City); General Register Office for England and Wales (GRO); General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church (New York); Geneva Historical Society (NY); Georgetown Regional Branch of District of Columbia Public Library; Georgetown University, Laninger Library (Washington, DC); Georgia Historical Society (Savannah); Germanic Genealogy Society (Saint Paul, MN); Glasgow City Council; Glasgow City Council, Library Department; Glasgow University Archives; Glasgow University Library, Special Collections; Gloucester Library (MA); Gosudarstvennaia Tret'iakovskaia Galereia Rukopisnyi otdel [State Tret'iakov Gallery Manuscript Division] (St. Petersburg); Gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazh Rukopisnyi otdel [State Hermitage Museum Manuscript Division] (St. Petersburg); Gosudarstvennyi Russkii Muzei Rukopisnyi otdel [State Russian Museum Manuscript Division] (St. Petersburg); Greater London Record Office (UK); Green Mount Cemetery (MD); Green-Wood Cemetery (Brooklyn, NY); Hackney Archives Department (London, UK); Harris Museum and Art Gallery (Preston, UK); Harvard Business School, Baker Library, Historical Collections Department (Cambridge, MA); Harvard Law School; Harvard University Alumni Archives; Harvard University Archives; Harvard University, Houghton Library Theatre Collection; Harvard University, Lamont Library; Harvard University, Schlesinger Library of the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies; Harvard University, Widener Library; Haverford College, The Quaker Collection (Haverford, PA); Helsinki University Library; High Museum of Art (Atlanta, GA); Hillwood Museum and Garden (Washington, DC); Historic New Orleans Collection (LA); Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia); Historical Society of Rockland County (NY); Historical Society of Washington, DC; Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Warren Hunting Smith Library (Geneva, NY); Holyoke Public Library (MA); Hull City Council (UK); Hull Trinity House, Yorkshire (UK); Humberside City Council Leisure Services (Hull, UK); Humberside Libraries; Iberia Parish Libraries (LA); Incorporated Synod of The Diocese of Ontario of the Anglican Church of Canada (Kingston, ON); Institut russkoi literatury, Pushkinskii dom [Institute of Russian Literature, Pushkin House] (St. Petersburg); Institution of Civil

Engineers (London, UK); Institution of Civil Engineers Library; Inverclyde Council (Scotland); Isle of Wight County Council (UK); Jacksonville Historical Society (FL); Jenner Museum & Conference Center (Berkeley, Gloucestershire, UK); John Dixon Library, The Lawrenceville School (NJ); John Jay College of Criminal Justice (New York); Jonathan Clark Ltd. Fine Art (London, UK); Kendal Library (Cumbria, UK); Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington, DC); Kent County Council, Arts & Libraries (UK); Kentucky Genealogical Society (Frankfort, KY); Kilkenny Archaeological Society (Ireland); Kilkenny County Library; København's Bymuseum (Denmark); Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen (Belgium); Lambeth Palace Library (London, UK); Lancashire County Council (UK); Lancashire County Council Library; Lancashire County Council Library, Poulton Historical Society; Lancaster District Central Library (UK); Latvijas Nacionālā Bibliotēka [National Library of Latvia] (Riga, Latvia); Lawrenceville School Archives (NJ); Lebanon County Historical Society (PA); Lebanon Historical Society, Inc. (CT); Lebanon Town Clerk (CT); Leeds Central Library Local History Division (UK); Leeds County Council; Leeds District Archives; Leeds University Library, Leeds Russian Archive, Brotherton Library; Leningradskii institut inzhenerov zheleznodorozhnogo transporta [Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers] Archives and Library (St. Petersburg); Lennoxlove House (Haddington, Scotland); Library of Congress, Copyright Division (Washington, DC); Library of Congress, European Division; Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division; Library of Congress, Local History and Genealogy Room; Library of Congress, Manuscript Division; Library of Congress, Music Division; Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division; Library of Congress, Rare Book Room; Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia; Library of the General Theological Seminary of The Episcopal Church (New York); Library of the National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (Washington, DC); Lincolnshire County Council Archives (UK); Linlithgow Library (Scotland); Liverpool Record Office (UK); Livrustkammaren (Stockholm); Local History Centre of Libraries Division of Lewisham Leisure (London, UK); London Borough of

Greenwich (UK); London Metropolitan Archives (UK); Longridge Historical Society (UK); Lowell City Library (MA); Lowell Corporation for the Humanities, Inc. (Chelmsford, MA); Lowell Historical Society (MA); Lowell National Historical Park (MA); Lutheran All Faiths Cemetery (New York); M.H. de Young Memorial Museum (San Francisco, CA); Mackinac State Historic Parks (Mackinaw City, MI); Maine State Archives (Augusta, ME); Manchester Central Library (UK); Manchester City Council, City Art Galleries (UK); Marischal Museum, Aberdeen (Scotland); Martin Luther King Memorial Library (Washington, DC); Maryland Historical Society (Baltimore); Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point (Boston); Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston); Memorial University (St. John's, NF); Memorial University, Centre for Newfoundland Studies; Metropolitan Borough of Wirral, Department of Leisure Services and Tourism (Liverpool, UK); Metropolitan Museum of Art Library and Archives (New York); Metropolitan Wigan Department of Leisure (Manchester, UK); Middleton Place (Charleston, SC); Middletown Historical Society (CT); Milwaukee Public Library (WI); Ministério de Justiça Arquivo Nacional (Rio de Janeiro); Minnesota Museum of Art (Saint Paul); Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis); Montgomery County Historical Society, Inc. (Rockville, MD); Mount Hope Cemetery (Rochester, NY); Musée d'Orsay (Paris); Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (Rotterdam); Museum of Childhood (Anglesey, Wales); Museum of Fine Arts (Boston); Museum of the City of New York Archives; Musica Russica (Madison, CT); National Archives (UK); Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, UK); National Archives (US) (Washington, DC); National Archives at College Park (MD); National Archives of Canada (Ottawa); National Archives of Canada, Historical Resources; National Archives of Canada, Public Programs; National Archives of Denmark (Copenhagen); National Archives of Scotland (Edinburgh); National Archives of Scotland, Historical Search Section; National Archives of Scotland, Scottish Record Office; National Archives of Sweden (Stockholm); National Archives of the United Kingdom (Kew, Richmond, London, UK); National Archives of the United States of America (Washington, DC); National Gallery of Art (Washington, DC); National Gallery of Ireland (Dublin); National

Gallery of Scotland (Edinburgh); National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh); National Library of Scotland, Department of Special Collections; National Library of Wales (Aberystwyth); National Maritime Museum (Greenwich, UK); National Museum of American History (Washington, DC); National Museum of Science & Industry, Science Museum Library (Washington, DC); National Museums Scotland; National Portrait Gallery (Washington, DC); National Register of Archives (Scotland); Naval Historical Center (Washington, DC); New Brunswick Museum (Saint John); New England Historical Genealogical Society (Boston); New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord, NH); New Hanover County Public Library (NC); New Haven Colony Historical Society (CT); New Haven Free Public Library (CT); New Jersey Historical Society (Newark, NJ); New Jersey State Archives (Trenton, NJ); New London County Historical Society (CT); New Orleans Public Library, Louisiana Division; New York City Municipal Archives; New York Genealogical and Biographical Society; New York Public Library; New York Public Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division; New York Public Library, Slavonic Division; New York State Bar Association; New York State Historical Association; New York Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, Haviland Records Room; New-York Historical Society; New-York Historical Society Library, Special Collections; Newberry Library (Chicago); Newfoundland Historical Society (St. John's, NF); Newport Historical Society (RI); Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hanover, Germany); Norfolk County Council Library & Information Service (UK); Norfolk Record Office (UK); North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources (Raleigh); North Carolina State Archives; North Yorkshire County Library (UK); North Yorkshire County Library, Division Headquarters; Nova Scotia Department of Education (Halifax); Nyack Library (NY); Office of the City Clerk (Lowell, MA); Office of Communications of Trinity Church in the City of New York; Office of Population Census & Surveys (London, UK); Office of Recorder of Deeds, City of St. Louis; Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Office of the Town Clerk (Lebanon, CT); Oldham Metropolitan Borough (Manchester, UK); Ontario Genealogical Society (Toronto); Oregon Historical Society (Portland, OR); Oslo Kommune (Norway); Osteuropa

Institut München / Historische Abteilung (Munich, Germany); Pasold Research Fund, London School of Economics (UK); Passaic County Historical Society (Paterson, NJ); Peabody Essex Museum (Salem, MA); Peel Estates, Ltd.; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (Philadelphia); Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center; Philadelphia Center for Early American History; Philadelphia City Archives; Philips International B.V. (Eindhoven, Netherlands); Pollard Memorial Library (Lowell, MA); Portland Art Museum (OR); Poulton-le-Fylde Historical Society (UK); Presbyterian Church (USA) Office of History (Philadelphia, PA); Presbyterian Church (USA) Office of the General Assembly; Preston Cemetery (UK); Preston Historical Society (UK); Princeton University Library Archives (Princeton, NJ); Princeton University, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library; Principal Registry of the Family Division, Record Keeper's Department, Probate Sub-Registry York (UK); Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (Fredericton); Provincial Archives of Newfoundland & Labrador (St. John's); Public Archives of Nova Scotia (Halifax); Public Record Office (Chancery Lane, London and Kew, Richmond, London, UK); Putnam Museum, Quad Cities (Davenport, IA); Regional State Archives of Oslo; Ribchester Museum of Roman Antiquities (UK); Ribchester Museum Trust; Rigsarkivet (Copenhagen); Rijksarchief voor de centrale regeringsarchieven vanaf 1795 (Den Haag, Netherlands); Robert-Schumann-Haus (Zwickau, Germany); Roman Catholic Diocese of Hartford (CT); Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka [Russian National Library] (St. Petersburg); Rossiiskaia natsional'naia biblioteka Otdel rukopisei [Russian National Library Manuscript Division] (St. Petersburg); Rothschild Archive (London, UK); Royal Archives, Windsor Castle (UK); Royal Collection, St. James Palace (London, UK); Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, Print Room (UK); Royal College of Surgeons of England (London, UK); Royal Geographical Society (London, UK); Russian American Cultural Center at Russia Wharf, Inc. (Boston); Rutgers University, Archibald S. Alexander Library, Special Collections and University Archives (New Brunswick, NJ); Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (Germany); Saint Thomas Church Fifth Avenue (New York); Salem Public Library (MA); Salford Local History Library (UK); Saltash Local History Society (Cornwall, UK); San Diego

Museum of Art (CA); Scarborough Library, Yorkshire County Council (UK); Scarsdale Public Library (NY); School of Oriental and African Studies (London, UK); Schuyler County Historical Society (Montour Falls, NY); Scott County Iowa Genealogical Society (Davenport, IO); Scottish National Portrait Gallery (Edinburgh); Seattle Pacific University; Senat der Freien und Hansestadt (Hamburg); Simon Fraser University, Office of the Dean of Arts (Burnaby, BC); Simon Fraser University, W.A.C. Bennett Library Special Collections; Simon Fraser University, W.A.C. Bennett Library, Interlibrary Loans Department; Society of Genealogists (London, UK); Society of Merchant Venturers (Bristol, UK); Sotheby's, Dept of Printed Books & Manuscripts (New York); South Carolina Department of Archives and History (Charleston, SC); South Carolina Historical Society (Charleston, SC); Springfield Cemetery (MA); Springfield City Library (MA); St. Augustine Historical Society (FL); St. James Cemetery and Crematorium (Toronto); St. Johnsbury Athenaeum (VT); St. Louis Genealogical Society; St. Louis Historical Society; St. Louis Public Library; St. Paul's Episcopal Church (Brunswick, ME); St. Peter's Church (Albany, NY); Staatsbibliothek Zu Berlin; State Historical Society of Iowa; State Historical Society of Iowa, Library; State Historical Society of Iowa, Special Collections; State Historical Society of Wisconsin; State Library of Connecticut (Hartford); State Library of Florida, Florida Collection; State Library of North Carolina; State of New Jersey, Department of Education State Library; Staten Island Historical Society (NY); Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences; Statens Arkiver (Copenhagen); Stockholms Stadsarkiv; Stonington Historical Society Library (CT); Strokestown Park Famine Museum (County Roscommon, Ireland); Surname Hodgson Association and Resources Enterprise (Toronto); Tate Gallery (London, UK); The Commonwealth of Massachusetts Archives (Boston); The Huntington Library (San Marino, CA); The Library, Friends House (London, UK); The Maas Gallery Ltd. (London, UK); The Royal Society (London, UK); Thorvaldsen Museum (Copenhagen); Thorvaldsen Museum Library and Archives; Toledo-Lucas County Public Library (OH); Toronto Reference Library; Town of Oyster Bay (NY); Town of Pomfret (CT); Town of Windham (CT); Trinity Church (New York); Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv

literaturny i iskusstva [Central State Archive of Literature and Art (Moscow); Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Sanktpeterburga [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg]; Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv SSSR [Central State Historical Archive of the USSR] (now Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archives]) (St. Petersburg); Tulane University, Louisiana Collection (New Orleans, LA); U. Grant Miller Library of Washington and Jefferson College (Washington, PA); Union Theological Seminary (New York); United Church of Canada Archives (Toronto); United States Military Academy (West Point, NY); United States Military Academy Library; United States Military Academy Library, Special Collections; University College London, College Art Collections; University College of Wales (Aberystwyth, Wales); University of Aberdeen Library; University of Birmingham Library; University of British Columbia, Walter C. Koerner Library (Vancouver, BC); University of Buffalo; University of Durham; University of Edinburgh; University of Glasgow, Centre for Whistler Studies; University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery; University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library; University of Iowa Library, Special Collections (Iowa City); University of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Library, Special Collections (Lawrence); University of Manchester (UK); University of Michigan, Engineering Libraries (Ann Arbor); University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Wilson Library; University of Nottingham Library, Special Collections (UK); University of Pennsylvania Archives (Philadelphia); University of South Carolina, The South Caroliniana Library (Columbia); US Army Military History Institute (Carlisle, PA); US Naval Academy (Annapolis, MD); Vancouver School of Theology Archives (BC); Victoria and Albert Museum Library (London, UK); Victoria and Albert Museum, Textiles and Dress; Virginia Historical Society (Richmond); Vor Frue Kirke (Copenhagen); Wadsworth Athenaeum (Hartford, CT); Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, MD); Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine (London, UK); Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine (London, UK); West Lothian Council Education & Cultural Services (Scotland); West Sussex Record Office (UK); West Yorkshire Archives Service (UK); Westerly Public Library (RI); Westfield Athenaeum (MA);

Westminster Abbey Muniment Room and Library (London, UK); Westport Public Library (CT); Whistler House Museum of Art (Lowell, MA); Whistler House Museum of Art Archives; Wigan Metropolitan Borough Council (Manchester, UK); Winterthur Museum (DE); Wisconsin Historical Society (Madison); Woodland Cemetery (Coopersburg, PA); Woodmere Art Museum (Philadelphia, PA); Yale Center for British Art (New Haven, CT); Yale University Alumni Archives; Yale University Archives; Yale University Library; Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library; York House (London, UK); York Library (Toronto, ON); York Minster Archives (UK); Yorkshire County Council (UK); Zephaniah Kingsley Plantation (Jacksonville, FL). I apologize if there is any institution whose name has been omitted.

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My debt to my family is also great: to my late gallant husband, Edgar, who, during the eighteen-years he survived prostate and bone cancer,



translated materials from German, did research and helped prepare the bibliography; to my son, Edgar, who did research and encouraged me, especially as I approached the home stretch; to my daughter-in-law, Ghislaine Wood, long in the Research Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, who understood the magnitude of the effort and did research; and to my granddaughter, Mirabelle, just because.

Not least, I wish to express my undying gratitude to my editor, Karyn Huenemann (Vancouver, BC) for her willingness to undertake this enormous and complicated project and to give it orderliness and shape, all with humor, patience, and an appreciated low-decibel level of discussion, much of our mutual effort accomplished over the telephone and by courier during the COVID-19 crisis. Brava!

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#### NOTE

1. LIIZhT is the acronym for the Leningradskii institut inzhenerov zheleznodorozhnogo transporta in St. Petersburg. In 1993, it became a university: Peterburgskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet Putei Soobshcheniia Imperatora Aleksandra I [Emperor Alexander I St. Petersburg State Transport University]. I have chosen to continue using LIIZhT as an identifier.

## MAPS

The first map shows St. Petersburg in 1844. Following that are three maps showing the house numbers and owners' names in the environs of the English Embankment and Galernaia Street, exactly as provided in Nistrem's *Adres-Kalendar' Sanktpeterburgskikh zhitelei*.<sup>1</sup>

The English Embankment was located on the left bank of the Neva River, between Isaac Bridge and Galley Wharf. Behind the English Embankment and parallel to it was Galernaia Street, on a corner of which stood the Bobrinskii mansion. The Whistler family lived in this mansion from late September 1843 until May 1844. On the English Embankment opposite the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts stood Ritter's house. The Whistlers lived in an apartment in this house from September 1844 until May 1849.

The surnames of house owners as supplied by Nistrem appear in the genitive case, because in Russian house + of + surname is understood. I have put these surnames into the Russian nominative case in English transliterations. If the same surname appears for the house on both the English Embankment and Galernia Street, it means that the property occupies the entire lot. If a different surname appears for the house on the English Embankment and Galernia Street, it means that each property occupies a portion of the lot. In some instances – for example, Borg and Borkh – I do not know whether these are two different surnames or a misspelling; in Russian the “kh” is a single letter of the alphabet (“x”) but does not resemble “g” (“r”) in its shape. In instances where the house owner has a foreign surname ending in a consonant – for example, Ritter – only the masculine surname is declined in Russian; the female version of the same surname is not declined. Thus, “Rittera” on the Russian language map indicates that the owner is a man, while “Ritter” indicates that the owner is a woman. This distinction is unwieldy to represent on an English language map, and is unnecessary for my purposes, and so is omitted. I am chiefly interested in the Bobrinskii and Ritter houses. As well, the house numbers provided by

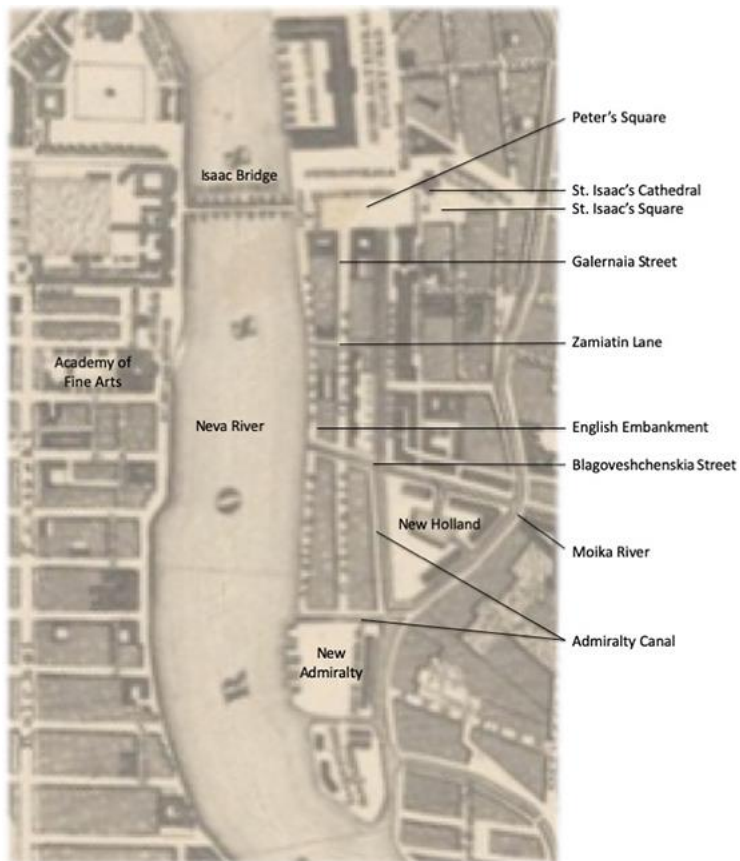
Nistrem do not always correspond to the addresses for individuals given in other sources, such as mandatory departure announcements published in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* (*St. Petersburg News*) so that travelers' debtors would be apprized. See "St. Petersburg and the Journey There" for more details about the Whistlers' and their neighbors' residences.

## ST. PETERSBURG, 1844<sup>2</sup>

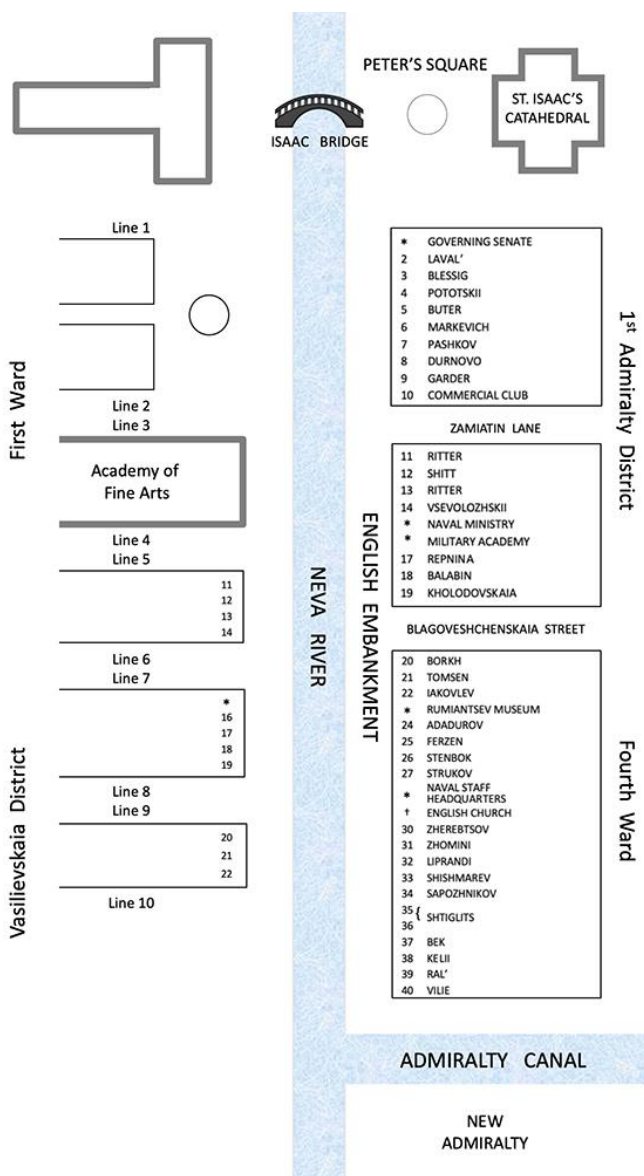


## THE ENGLISH EMBANKMENT AND SURROUNDS, ST. PETERSBURG, 1844<sup>3</sup>

This map situates the following street and house maps within the larger context of the area around Galernaia Street and the English Embankment. The area shown here is marked by a black rectangle on the preceding 1844 map of St. Petersburg.

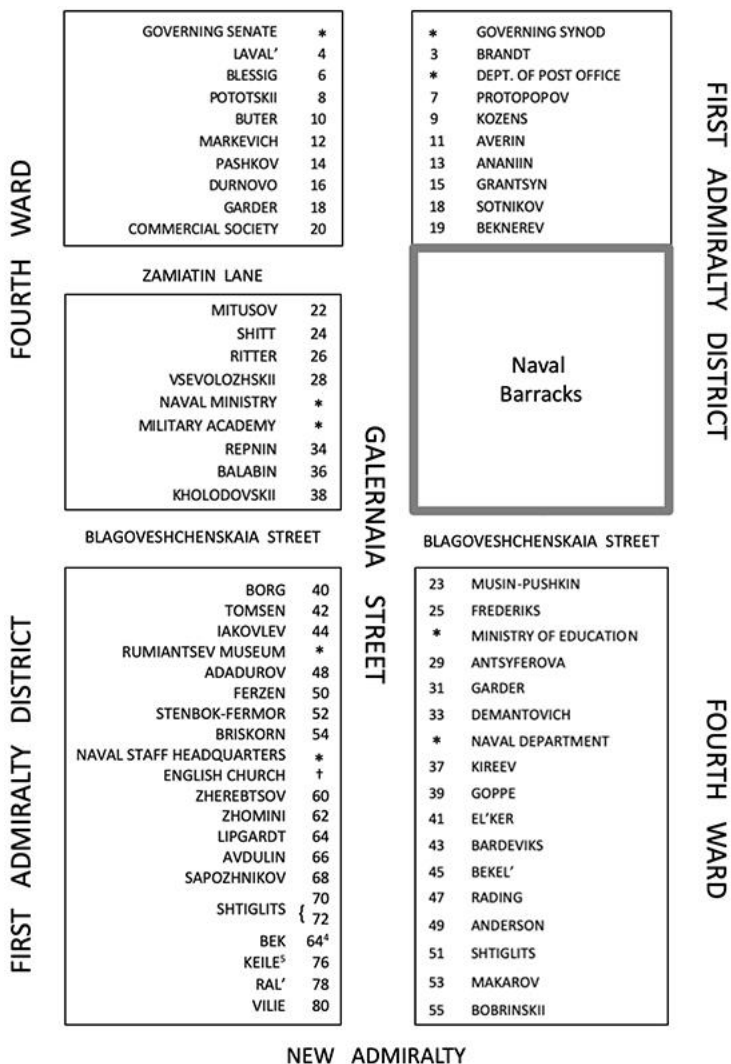


# THE ENGLISH EMBANKMENT



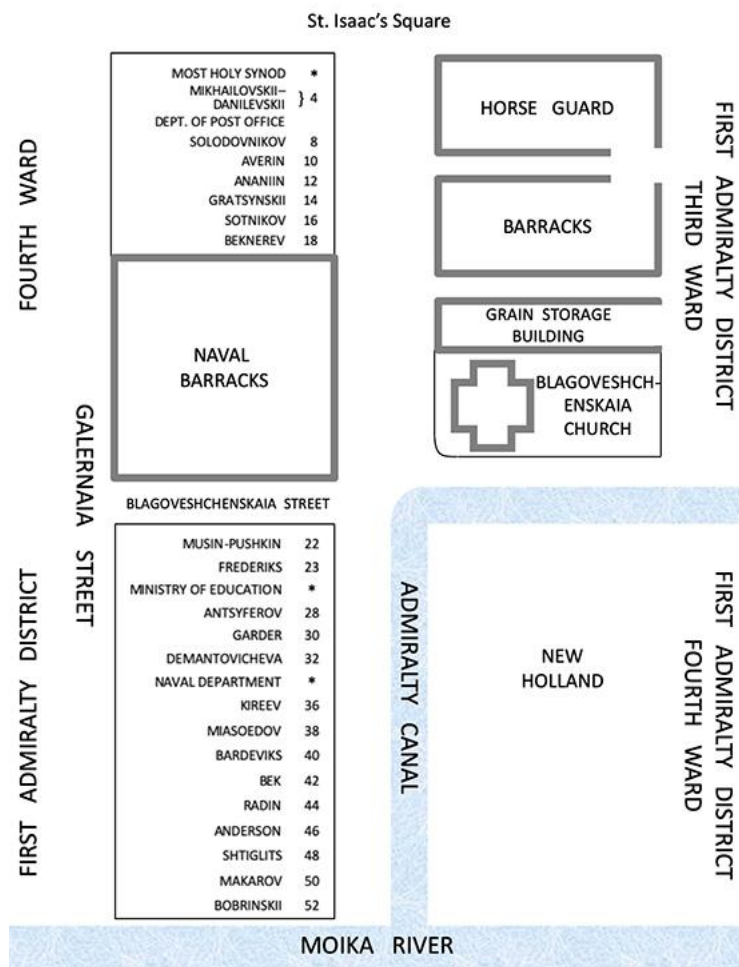
## GALERNAIA STREET

FROM PETER'S SQUARE, WHICH IS BY THE BUILDING OF THE GOVERNING SENATE, TO THE NEW ADMIRALTY



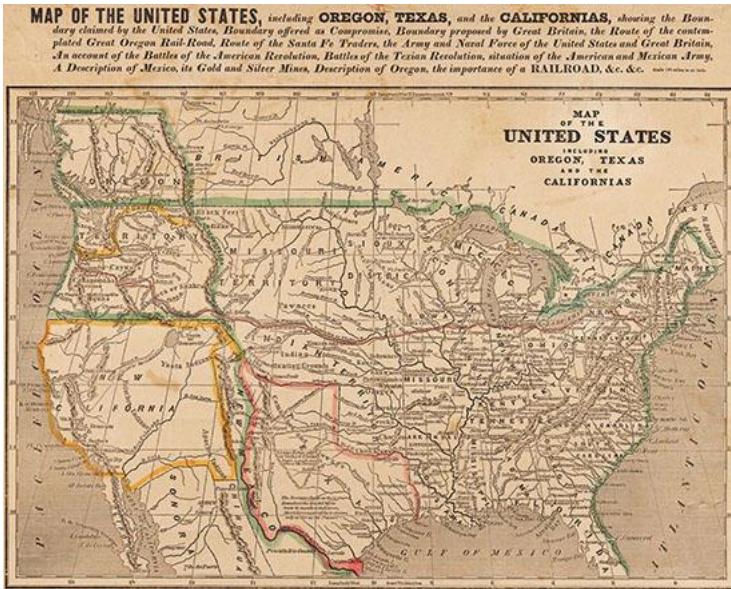
# ADMIRALTY CANAL

FROM THE BUILDING OF THE MOST HOLY SYNOD TO THE MOIKA RIVER



## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1846

A map of the United States as it appeared in 1846<sup>6</sup> is included here, because the controversy between the United States and British governments over the Oregon Territory and the war between the United States and Mexico arising from the desire of the former to annex Texas were important political issues in 1846–1848. Anna Whistler personally did not wish to have to choose between allegiance to the United States or to England, because she loved both countries. In the case of Mexico, she was distressed that both her husband's brother and nephew would be called up for active duty. See the entries in Part II of the Diaries for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April [1845] and accompanying Note 69, Friday evening [January] 9<sup>th</sup> [1846] and accompanying Note 263, July 7<sup>th</sup> [1846] and accompanying Note 410, and [Saturday] November 14<sup>th</sup> [1846] and accompanying Notes 565 and 567.





## NOTES

1. Nistrem, K., comp., *Adres-Kalendar' Sanktpeterburgskikh zhitelei* [*Address Directory of St. Petersburg Residents*], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: V tipografii III Otd. Sobstv. E.I. V. Kantseliarii, 1844).
2. Plan von St. Petersburg (Sanktpeterburga), 1844 [map]. This image is in the public domain. Original held in Special Collections – Historic Maps Collection, Princeton University Library (HMC01.588).
3. Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Ukazatel' goroda Sanktpeterburga* [*Index of the City of St. Petersburg*], pp. 3, 4, 39, 40, 41. For a helpful description of the English Embankment, see Anthony Cross, “The English Embankment,” in *St. Petersburg, 1703–1825*, edited by A.G. Cross (Basingstoke, UK and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003): pp. 50–70.
4. In this map, the house number for Bek should read 74, not 64.
5. Kelii and Keile are the same family name (Cayley in English). Nistrem’s two spellings represent the same family, occupying the entire lot.
6. Haven, John. *Map of the United States, including Oregon, Texas and the Californias, showing the Boundary claimed by the United States, Boundary offered as Compromise, Boundary Proposed by Great Britain*. New York: Haven and Emerson, 1846. PJ Mode Collection of Persuasive Cartography, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY, accessed 30 May 2021, <https://digital.library.cornell.edu/catalog/ss:19343429>

## PREFACE

The St. Petersburg diaries of Anna McNeill Whistler, which she kept from 1843 to 1848, while her husband, Major George Washington Whistler, was supervising the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, are held in Special Collections in the New York Public Library. They have been consulted, cited, and analyzed by many scholars, but anyone who undertakes to deal with that period in the Whistlers’ lives has to know Russian and be able to work with Russian archival materials. Richard M. Haywood, who both knew Russian and was a railway enthusiast, was able to do that, and therefore left us archival-based biographical information about some of Major Whistler’s Russian colleagues in his book *Russia Enters the Railway Age, 1842–1855* about the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. However, the authors of biographies of Anna McNeill Whistler and James McNeill Whistler – such as Elizabeth and Joseph Pennell, Kate McDiarmid, Elizabeth Mumford, Georgia Toutziari, and Daniel Sutherland – have not known Russian, and therefore could not go beyond pointing out and analyzing the valuable revelation in the diaries of Anna Whistler’s religious and pious character and her relationship with and own analysis of the other members of her family, of the St. Petersburg foreign and Russian community, and of persons met en route both to and from St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup>

My decision to undertake editing and annotation of the diaries was based on the fact that I am fluent in Russian and have extensive experience in Russian archives and, like others such as Sutherland, while not an art historian, was drawn to my project partly by an interest in James McNeill Whistler: in my case to him as an artist of the ephemeral. I had in mind to produce an annotated edition that would enable scholars to deal with the Russian period in the Whistlers’ lives at a more profound level. I had hoped to do this by identifying as many as possible of the people and events that Anna Whistler mentions and by addressing James Whistler’s childhood in St. Petersburg, which he called “his cradle” as an

artist, and about which almost nothing had been written or was erroneous. I have succeeded in researching both those projects. For example, I was able to consult young James Whistler's record at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and discovered that the information supplied to the Pennells when they were writing Whistler's biography was incorrect. I was able to consult the service records of Russians and foreigners in Russian service, whom Anna Whistler mentions and to put together biographies for them. I have also ascertained the identities of almost everyone in the diaries and, having worked directly or indirectly with documents in Russian, Polish, English, German, Latin, French, Italian, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch, have created an Appendix of forty-seven biographies of individuals and family groups, about most of whom little has hitherto been known.

In order to be faithful in detail to the 1840s, I first consulted Russian printed materials of that period by researchers such as Bur'ianov, Grech, Pushkarev, and Tsylov, then moved on to the works of later eminent Russian cultural historians such as Kurbatov, Stolpianskii, and Lukomskii, and up into the twenty-first century with its explosion of detailed cultural historical materials – some of them annotated reprints – about St. Petersburg.

The same is true of images of St. Petersburg. I have sought to reproduce only illustrations produced in the 1840s. For example, at that time, policemen on duty in sentry boxes on the street ceased carrying a halberd; therefore, if only an image from the 1830s showing them holding a halberd was known to me, I explain that this detail would have been anachronistic in the 1840s.

Through the generosity of descendants of people in the diaries, I am able to present portraits of many of them, thus enriching the pictorial panorama of locations and events to close to 500 images.

Some endnotes are short essays in themselves. They, along with the introductory chapters and the biographies in Appendix E, constitute an attempt at an encyclopedia of the Whistlers' lives in the 1840s. I preferred to supply readers with the information through quotations, rather than send them only to the sources and thus thin out their experience.

This annotated edition of the diaries, as well as being of interest to scholars and to descendants, will also appeal to art historians dealing with James McNeill Whistler or with Russian or foreign artists, such as Briullov or Dessain; to both specialists and lay readers of Russian history, of Black history, of women's history, of historical travel journals, and of personal and eye-witness accounts; and to railway enthusiasts. Much of the archival material I am presenting has not been published before.<sup>2</sup>

This edition has been a labor of love, protracted by complexities of family and professional life and the “no stone unturned” bent of both myself and my chief researcher, Michael J. Welch.

\* \* \*

While Anna Whistler, James, Willie, and Debo were visiting in Preston, Lancashire, in August of 1843, Eliza (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, Anna Whistler's half-sister, proposed that she keep a diary during the family's St. Petersburg stay. She gave Anna Whistler a diary that she had herself intentionally kept of a brief trip to Edinburgh in June of 1843, meaning it to be a model for Anna Whistler.<sup>3</sup> Exactly two months from the day of their arrival in St. Petersburg, Anna Whistler began to keep a diary. It is the journal of a very religious and pious Victorian woman, born in North Carolina, who spent her childhood after the age of ten and young womanhood in Brooklyn and New York, and her married life before going to Russia in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. In it, she erratically recorded for some five years events of her family's life in Russia.

The entries are dated according to the Gregorian calendar (New Style, or NS), used in the West, but occasionally she also refers to the date according to the Julian calendar (Old Style, or OS), used in Russia, which lagged behind the Gregorian calendar by twelve days in the nineteenth century and eleven in the eighteenth century. It makes sense to supply both dates in describing the Whistlers' Christmases, New Years, and Easters in Russia, because they celebrated each twice. Certain important events in the life of the Imperial family and in Russian history (such as the date of death of Alexander I and accession of Nicholas I to the throne), or Russian holidays (such as the first of May), receive similar treatment.

Part I of the diaries is dated 28 November 1843 to 27 September 1844 (Anna Whistler's birthday). It actually covers the period from 16 August 1843 to 27 September 1844, and records their voyage from Boston to St. Petersburg, with a stopover in England to see relatives and friends, travel by coach through Germany to Hamburg, the sea journey from Travemünde to Russia, and their life in St. Petersburg and on the Peterhof Road, with day trips to Tsarskoe Selo, Pavlovsk, and Peterhof. It was brought to a close on 27 September 1844, so that John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg, who was departing Russia permanently, might send it home in his luggage. Part II is dated March 1845 Ash Wednesday – Old Style –, which means Ash Wednesday, 28 February / 12 March 1845 and runs to September 1848.<sup>4</sup> It illuminates their life in St. Petersburg from 28 February / 12 March 1845 to 11 August–September 1848, with day trips to Tsarskoe Selo and Peterhof, and two extended visits to England: from June to mid-October of 1847 and from June to September of 1848. Also recorded here are travel through Germany in 1847, a stop in Copenhagen on the trip to England in June of 1848, and another stop in Copenhagen on the journey back to St. Petersburg in September of 1848.

There are two major gaps in Part II: from 28 September 1844 to 12 March 1845, and from sometime after 1 January 1848, until 25 April 1848. The second gap is to some extent illuminated retroactively by the entry of 25 April 1848. The gap between 28 September 1844 and 2 March 1845 is not illuminated retroactively. This is particularly disappointing for those interested in Whistler the artist, because it is precisely in this five-and-a-half-month period that James began to take formal drawing lessons from Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskiĭ, a student at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. There are, as well, periods where Anna Whistler wrote daily entries and times when she wrote only one entry per month.

In addition to the gaps, the dating of individual entries contains numerous errors. While usually knowing what day it was, Anna Whistler sometimes did not know what date it was, but there were moments when she recorded the wrong day. Most of her errors can be corrected by using a perpetual calendar and the memoirs of others, but, for example, a week in February of 1844 and some of the dating of their visit to the Isle of

Wight in the summer of 1848 cannot be untangled. In addition, while she did not write in her diary on Sundays, she sometimes wrote an entry dated Sunday on a Monday and then another entry dated the same Monday for Monday itself. Other times she wrote a single entry on a Monday, giving a record of Sunday's churchgoing and other activities before passing on to Monday's events. Occasionally an entry date covered months of events.

Anna Whistler was often laconic, but the letters and journals of two American diplomats who served in St. Petersburg and established close ties with the Whistlers supply much additional information. The long, loquacious, and calculatedly detailed letters of John Stevenson Maxwell, intended for sale later to *Harper's* but diverted instead into his book *The Czar, His Court and People* (1848), expand her diaries the most. While embellishing chiefly on the period from 24 November 1842 to 27 September 1844, they supply details of the Whistlers' life even after Maxwell's departure from Russia, through his responses to Major Whistler's letters to him, as some of the latter are not extant. Also helpful are the journals kept from 17 May 1847 through 1 July 1848 by Colin McCrae Ingersoll, who was secretary ad interim of the American Legation at St. Petersburg, while his father, Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll, served as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

In addition, the extensive extant correspondence of the Whistlers in the 1840s, found in three major collections – the Whistler Collection at Glasgow University Library, the Swift Papers at the New York Public Library, and the Pennell–Whistler Papers at the Library of Congress – sheds light on their Russian sojourn. The extensive extant correspondence from Russia of two of the three contractors making the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway – Joseph Harrison Jr. and Andrew McCalla Eastwick – is also very helpful. Harrison corresponded mainly with his family in Philadelphia, with his wife's family in Philadelphia after she and their children joined him in Russia, and with Anna Whistler after her husband's death. Eastwick corresponded with his family, friends, and relatives in the United States, England, and Germany.

Of some help also is the journal of a trip to St. Petersburg via New Orleans and Cuba kept by Henry K. Fettyplace of Salem, Massachusetts,

who was a schoolmate of George Henry Prince, a family member of the St. Petersburg firm of William Ropes and Company. Fettyplace spent the month of July 1848 in St. Petersburg and devoted some sixty pages of his 142-page journal to his stay there. The journal documents moments in Major Whistler's lonely life, without his wife and sons, who were in England. Also limited, but nevertheless helpful, is the correspondence of members of the Ropes family in St. Petersburg in the 1830s and 1840s to their family members in Massachusetts.

Anna Whistler readily put down her pen at the sound of her "gude mon's" footsteps. Perhaps his return home is the answer to the unexplained events that caused her occasionally to stop writing in mid-sentence. Her description in May 1847 of St. Nicholas Day and of the opening of the only portion of the railway that Whistler was to see completed and in operation breaks off suddenly and is followed by an entry recorded in England. Much more disconcerting is the similarly interrupted concluding sentence of Part II, when we are left bogged down in retrospective trivial details of the summer of 1848 in England. A disrupted sentence about the smallest church in England brings the diaries to a close, as the family's life in St. Petersburg moves unrecorded toward Major Whistler's imminent attack of cholera and his death from heart failure. We should be grateful, however, that the diaries were preserved at all. When Anna Whistler wished to send them to her friend, James Gamble, to read in 1858, her search turned them up finally in the lumber room of her house.<sup>5</sup> Luckily, they later escaped the fate of piles of family correspondence, which her step-niece, Emma Palmer, on instructions from Anna Whistler, burned at the latter's death.<sup>6</sup>

\* \* \*

While Anna Whistler's diaries are, as is usual, a record of her life and resemble the predominant tone of Eliza Winstanley's diary, they depart from that model by showing the depth of the religious beliefs that guided her life. One of her overriding preoccupations was death and our preparedness for that "last great change." Had the diaries been continued until Anna Whistler's departure from Russia in May 1849, we would see more clearly that the Russian sojourn opens and closes with a death. The family's arrival in St. Petersburg is preceded by the death on route of the

child, Charles Donald, while their departure from St. Petersburg is the result of Major Whistler's death. In between, several deaths that occurred during their stay are contemplated, like cameo memorials, at greater length than any other kind of event in the diaries. Many pages are devoted to the process of Miss Hirst's dying of cancer and her fortitude supported by religion. Old Mrs. Leon's death is the occasion for a lengthy narration of her interesting biography, showing the fortunes of a nineteenth-century woman alone in the world and poor, one of their own whom her British compatriots did not abandon. The young woman, Emily Hall's, precipitous death while on a visit from England to the Ropeses is the impetus for a contemplation of preparedness in the young for death and a glimpse into the upbringing of the Ropes children in a pious Victorian family. The last seven months of the life of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, youngest daughter of Nicholas I, run like a red thread through the entries of 1844: her marriage, immediate pregnancy, the diagnosis of terminal galloping consumption (which is only alluded to through details supplied by Anna Whistler),<sup>7</sup> her husband's licentious behavior, a prematurely born son, and the death of mother and child on the day of its birth. And, finally, the death of thirteen-month-old John Bouttatz Whistler, the St. Petersburg baby, the third of Anna Whistler's five biological sons to die within a four-year period, evokes pages of grief from a mother for her own child, while awakening memories of the other two, all only "lent" her by God. The generally held consoling thought of death as the protector from sin, especially in the young, appears throughout the diaries.

There are also many briefer references to death: the deaths of friends at home (Charlotte Canda; Fanny Peabody; Lucy Nichols; Major Whistler's brother James; the infant son of Major Whistler's niece, Eliza [Hamilton] van Vechten; the young Babcock daughter; and the young Ripley daughters); the deaths of members of the congregation of the English Church (old Mr. Thomas Drury, admirals Hall and Greig of the Russian Navy, and the Hodgson baby); the deaths of members of the Russian aristocracy (Countess Sofia Vladimirovna Stroganov, whose grandson, the young Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov, had been traveling with the Whistler family on the boat from Cronstadt to St. Petersburg in 1843; and Prince Illarion Vasilievich Vasil'chikov, uncle



of the young Count's fiancée); and deaths in the Imperial family (Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna, niece of Nicholas I).

The impetus for such concentrated attention on death stems less from a reaction to the appalling mortality rate of the times than from Anna Whistler's concern over whether the souls of those who had died were pure enough to appear before her vengeful God, who would mete out immediate justice. It was her adamant belief that everyone appears before God immediately after death for a reckoning, based on how they have lived, with no second chance. This philosophy requires that we constantly try to be and to do good, and explains her lack of sympathy with the idea of Purgatory in Russian Orthodoxy, a period of forty days during which the soul of the deceased wanders and undergoes a review of its life before a decision as to its fate is made by God.<sup>8</sup>

The other important aspect of her religious beliefs, which is referred to frequently in the diaries, is "the re-union of glorified spirits," "the last great change" that occurs at death, making the newly dead recognizable to and able to recognize those who have gone before and resulting in the unspeakable joy of being together forever.

\* \* \*

The diaries touch on an extensive range of topics from life in the 1840s: the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway; railroads in England; Anna Whistler's family in America and England; her American friends in Russia and at home; her British friends in Russia, England, and America; members of the Imperial family; serfs; servants; the Irish and Scottish famines; political events in Russia, America, England, the Sandwich Islands, and Europe; the Temperance movement; clerics she met and/or heard preach; military conscription in Russia; the Chartist movement, the Cotton Lords, and worker unrest in Preston; travel by coach, train, and boat; the weather; flowers and plants; fashion; cuisine and drink; outdoor and indoor games; educational equipment; sports; books she read alone or with family members; works James and Willie read or memorized and recited; diseases and medical treatment; foreign doctors; English governesses; foreign tutors; private schools; Bible Society work; James's art lessons at home and at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts; temporary art exhibits and the permanent collection at the

Imperial Academy of Fine Arts; comments on interiors in the Imperial summer residences; a fête given by an enlightened agrarian aristocrat for his peasants. The notes, introductory chapters, and biographies in Appendix E provide extensive detail about these topics, supplying an illuminating panorama of the period.

Political events also find their reflection in the diaries, but her reaction was more to the personal and homely than the political. In America, the War with Mexico alarmed her because her husband's brother and nephew, both in the United States Army, were called up for active duty. The controversy over the Oregon Territory made her anxious because she loved both America and England deeply and did not wish to have her allegiances challenged by the possibility of having to make a choice between them. Events in Russia she understood less well but reacted to similarly. She alluded to the war in the Caucasus in terms of the burdensome length of the conscription period on the common soldier. She seemed unaware of why Nicholas I traveled to England in the summer of 1844, but responded to the fact that as a father he returned immediately when summoned because of the terminal illness of his youngest daughter. The revolutions of 1848 she responded to by copying out from the newspaper the French version of the emperor's speech to his people, the only version she could understand, and mentioning that he and the empress appeared frequently in public with many changes of costume, and presenting her servant, Matvei's, reaction to the emperor's speech. Queen Pomare's appeal to Queen Victoria elicited from her and the other ladies taking tea at the Whistler home the simple hope that she "might not be deserted in her need by Queen Victoria."<sup>9</sup>

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Because Anna Whistler found little time to keep her diaries, the entries were often written hastily and not re-read or corrected. They thus appear for our perusal with nouns or verbs inadvertently omitted; with consistently idiosyncratic spelling, such as "the" for "they"; and the persistent spelling "Britian" for "Britain." There are unintended humorous slips: for example, the frequently appearing given name of her half-sister, Eliza Winstanley; her niece by marriage, Eliza van Vechten;

and her brother William's daughter, Eliza McNeill, is substituted for that of "Elijah" the prophet in what is intended to be a serious passage. As her pen raced, she left blanks for things she could not recall but never went back to fill in: for an Old Style date, for a reference to a chapter or verse in the Bible, for the surname of Clara Schumann and the given name of Sir Robert Ker Porter. She mangled a good number of Russian words, but had learned many of the distorted forms from her new English and American friends, whose long residence in Russia had not corrected their malapropisms and mispronunciations: for example, "Alargna" or "Alargon" for "Elagin" Island. Indeed, some of this usage may have been based on someone's charming infelicitous mispronunciation that became an "in-joke." Four years after her arrival, another newcomer, Colin McCrae Ingersoll, in turn put some of the same standard garbled Russian into his journal.

Like her husband, Anna Whistler was not able to learn a foreign language well. Beyond the mispronounced words that were standard in her English-speaking circle, like most diarists she attempted to spell the pronunciation of Russian words based on what she heard. She did not hear the rolled "r" at the end of some Russian words: "samovar" she rendered as "sumavaa." She put an "r" into words that did not have one: the name of the Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, for example, was sometimes rendered as "Olgar." She used an English word that sounded like a specific Russian word, and added an English plural: a fur-lined kaftan-like garment called a "shuba" was rendered as the English word "shoe" plus "be" (pronounced "buh") and for the plural the English "s" was added, thus producing "bes" (pronounced "buzz"). For the most part she used the nominative case of this inflected language instead of the correct oblique case: instead of saying to their coach driver "na dachoo" ("to the dacha") (pronounced "nuhdah'choo"), she said "na Dacha" (nominative case) (pronounced "nuhdah'chuh").

On the assumption that most readers of Anna Whistler's diaries do not know Russian, but do know English, every effort has been made to be reader-friendly in the handling of Russian words and sources. Russian words in the text of the diaries are transliterated, translated, and their pronunciation presented in a way that is, hopefully, comprehensible to the reader. This is done through the use of English words or sounds that

approximate the Russian sounds and with indication of which syllable is stressed by placing an accent mark after it. For example, the word for “oarsman” is transliterated as “pirossvoshchii” and the pronunciation given as “peerossvaw’shchee.” The “h” supplied in some syllables is not pronounced; it is intended to show the length of the preceding vowel. For example, in the word for “samovar,” transliterated as “samovar” and pronounced “suhmahvar’,” the “h” in “suh” and “mah” indicates that the “u” is pronounced “uh” and the “a” is pronounced “ah,” as in English.

In the case of printed sources, in the Notes the transliteration is given, followed by the English translation; in the Bibliography, only original languages – in transliteration if necessary – are used. Archival sources are omitted from the Bibliography, but appear in the List of Abbreviations.

The idiosyncrasies of the text of the diaries (omission of words; personal spellings; unfinished, faulty, and incomprehensible sentences; omission of letters in words caused by hasty writing) have been retained throughout, to preserve the flavor of the diarist’s style; errors in others’ letters and diaries mentioned in the Notes, however, have been noted using [*sic*]. Words omitted by Anna Whistler will be supplied in the Notes, as will corrections of ludicrous errors, such as using the verb “charged” instead of the noun “charge” when speaking in grief of her then-youngest deceased son. Editorial conjectures arising from Anna Whistler’s tiny and cramped writing (see Image 6) and mispronunciations in foreign languages will also be corrected in the Notes.

The choice of which biographies appear in Appendix E is based on several factors: the importance in the diaries; the person’s interesting life; or whether earlier scholarship has illuminated them correctly, let alone at all. For example, of the two unrelated Prince families, to whom Anna Whistler refers frequently, only the Prince family that intermarried with the Ropes family will be discussed in detail (Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E), because George Henry Prince, who appears throughout the diaries, has been dealt with only sketchily in previous scholarship, as has his brother Benjamin Prince.

Notes identifying a specific person presented a challenge. If a name appears six times in a single diary entry, it seemed excessive to identify it

six times. Instead, I chose to identify a specific person as fully as necessary the first time their name appears, but in subsequent notes to group together the names of all in the entry who have previously appeared and present their various identifications within that note. Thus, Mr. William Hooper Ropes is identified with his dates and his employment is explained the first time he appears. In subsequent notes, it is explained that “Mr. R.,” “Mr. Ropes,” “William Ropes,” and “my neighbor’s husband” are the same person, and usually his relationship to other family members of his appearing in those notes is pointed out. Beyond that, the reader can consult the extended biographies in Appendix E. Immediate family members in St. Petersburg – i.e., Major George Washington Whistler, Deborah Whistler, James Whistler, Willie Whistler, and Mary Brennan, their servant – are not identified after their first appearance unless information given in an entry requires further clarification of that person’s identity.

In the introductory chapters and in Appendix E, the use of five asterisks indicates a change in topic (or family) within a biography. The use of three asterisks indicates a change of examples (or members of a family) in a topic within a biography.

All responses to this edition, addressed to me in care of the publisher, will be gratefully received and answered. Hopefully, some responses, in addition to supplying constructive criticism and corrections, will offer the announcement of further primary sources.

## NOTES

1. Valuable as these biographies are, even though the biographers could have researched non-Russian persons appearing in the diaries in Western archives, they did not do so. While the chapters on Russia in the recent Sutherland and Toutziari biography *Whistler's Mother: Portrait of an Extraordinary Life* (2018) make for lively reading, some details from the diaries are incorrectly interpreted. To give an example, Colonel Charles Stewart Todd did indeed acquire a piano for Debo to play, but it was for her use when the Whistlers visited his own quarters on his birthday (22<sup>nd</sup> of this month, in the entry for January 1844, Anna Whistler's Petersburg Diaries, James McNeill Whistler Papers, MssCol 3311, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library (hereafter NYPL: AWP), Part I).
2. By this statement I mean that, although archival holdings such as the Swift Papers in the New York Public Library and the Pennell–Whistler Papers in the Library of Congress have been cited by many scholars, we have each based our citations on those materials relevant to what we were emphasizing. For example, because there has not been a full biography of George William Whistler, that part of the Swift Papers that reveals the details of his life in the 1840s has been ignored by other scholars; however, it has been crucial for me.
3. The manuscript of Eliza Winstanley's diary accompanies the manuscript of Anna Whistler's St. Petersburg diaries in the New York Public Library Special Collections. It is reproduced with notes in Appendix D of this edition.
4. Dates will be written with the OS date preceding the NS date, separated by a slash: e.g., 28 February / 12 March.
5. Anna Whistler to James Gamble, 1205 Arch St [Philadelphia], Nov. 11th [1858], Whistler Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library Manuscript Department (hereafter GUL: Whistler Collection), W495; Anna Whistler to James Gamble, 1205 Arch St [Philadelphia], Friday morning Dec 5<sup>th</sup> [1858], W497; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble and Jane Gamble, 1205 Arch St [Philadelphia], Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> Dec. 1858, W499.

The two halves of the diaries were sent separately to James Gamble. The first part was sent along with the 1843 diary of Eliza Winstanley. Anna Whistler hoped it would not arrive too late for James Gamble to read Eliza Winstanley's diary "with real Scotch

- expression” to a Mrs. Ann (Young) Maxwell, who had personally known Eliza Winstanley in Berwick, Scotland, when the latter was “a wee bit girlie” (W497). The second half of the diaries was found after Anna Whistler “went up for one more look in my lumber room to find the half written and never corrected part” (W499).
6. Emma W. Palmer to Mrs. Pennell, Stonington, Sept. 25th [1906], Pennell–Whistler Collection, 1597–1937, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (hereafter LC: P-W), box 296.
  7. While Anna Whistler did not record that the pregnant Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna had tuberculosis, she referred to her being on the verge of death and spoke of how no means used to cure her was successful, including the cow shed treatment, which was used for patients with tuberculosis (entry for Sat [July] 13<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I).
  8. For a description of Russian Orthodox Purgatory, see [Lady Edith Vane-Tempest-Stewart] Marchioness of Londonderry and H.M. Hyde, eds., *The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot 1803–1808* (London: Macmillan, 1934), pp. 372–373.
  9. Entry for Thursday [August] 29<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

## ST. PETERSBURG AND THE JOURNEY THERE

Invited to Russia by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) in 1842 as consulting engineer to supervise the construction of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, Major George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) proceeded to St. Petersburg in the summer of that year without his family: his wife, Anna (McNeill) Whistler (see Images 1–5); their four young sons, James Abbott, William McNeill, Kirk Boott, and Charles Donald (for James and Willie, see Images 24–30); and the two adult children from his first marriage, George William (see Images 12–13) and Deborah Delano (see Images 17–19, 21). Diminished in number by the death of Kirk Boott, who had died of scarlet fever in July 1842, while his father was on route to Russia,<sup>1</sup> the remaining members of the family (except for George) moved in October from Springfield, Massachusetts, their home since 1838, to Stonington, Connecticut.<sup>2</sup> George, who had been working in the machine shop of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals in Lowell, Massachusetts,<sup>3</sup> where his father had at one time been superintendent, continued on there. In Stonington, the Whistler family lived with Anna Whistler’s younger sister, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer; her husband, Dr. George E. Palmer (see Image 36), a physician and native of Stonington; their infant daughter, Julia McNeill; and two children from Dr. Palmer’s first marriage, Emma and Amos. In less than two months after his arrival in St. Petersburg, Major Whistler decided that he would “not stay another winter without his family.”<sup>4</sup> On 16 August 1843, with George to act as their protector as far as England, and their servant, Mary Brennan, to take care of Charles Donald, they were on their way to join him. Except for the excitement of running down a barque just outside Halifax, Nova Scotia, and rescuing all its hands, their journey across the Atlantic, or “the brook,”<sup>5</sup> from Boston to Liverpool on the *Acadia* (see Image 77) was uneventful.



Anna McNeill had spent the period from autumn of 1829 to April of 1831<sup>6</sup> in Preston, Lancashire, for her health's sake, meeting for the first time her father's daughters from his first marriage, her half-sisters, Alicia McNeill (see Image 39) and Eliza (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40), and the latter's husband, John, a solicitor.<sup>7</sup> Some seven months after her return home, in November 1831, she and Lt. George Washington Whistler were married, and now she was returning to present their children, whom no one there had met, except for Alicia McNeill, who had traveled to the United States for the birth of both James and Willie. During her stay fourteen years before, Anna "Mac" had been introduced to many Winstanley friends and relatives in Preston, surrounding Lancashire towns, and London, whose acquaintance she now renewed: the Chapmans, Picards, Simpson sisters, Smiths of Chaddock Hall, Ormerods, Haslewoods, and Stevensons. She revisited as well Eliza Sandland of Liverpool, whom she had known in her childhood in Brooklyn until Eliza was widowed in 1820 and returned to England with her two children.

On 20 September, after "three or four weeks"<sup>8</sup> with the Winstanleys and "four or five days in London,"<sup>9</sup> the Whistlers set out for their final destination. It turned out there was no direct steamer from London to St. Petersburg, so George remained with them. They sailed instead for Hamburg on the *John Bull* (which they affectionately called the "Bullie") and from Hamburg (see Images 81–82) went by coach via Lübeck to Travemünde (see Image 83). At Travemünde, they parted with George and boarded the Russian steamship *Alexandra* for the trip across the Baltic Sea to Cronstadt (see Image 84), potentially more dangerous at this time of year than at any other, because of storms.

On this leg of the journey, personal tragedy struck them: Charles Donald, who had just turned two, died in convulsions after a brief illness. Although the law forbade bringing a corpse into St. Petersburg, Anna Whistler was able to persuade the captain to keep the body on board and at Cronstadt, on the island of Kotlin, to deliver it to the English Church there for safekeeping until a ship could take it back to the United States (see Image 85).<sup>10</sup> On 28 September, as was customary because the large Baltic steamers are "of too heavy a draught to pass over the bar at the

entrance of the Neva,<sup>11</sup> all passengers were transferred to a smaller steamer for the trip of some twenty miles to St. Petersburg.

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The most affecting first impression of the city is made on the visitor only from the expanse of the Neva. Soon after leaving Cronstadt, they saw on the right the gilded onion domes of the church at the Great Palace at Peterhof (see Image 400) and in the distance a panorama of spires and cupolas seeming to rise from the water: the immense gilded dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral (see Images 119–120) and the gilded tapered spire of the Admiralty (see Image 118); nearing the city, domes of gold, of silver, of azure, with gold or silver stars; the pastel façades of mansions and palaces; the massive granite embankments; finally, the English Embankment (see Images 101–104), where they disembarked; across the way the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (see Images 154–155), where James would one day take drawing lessons; and, further downstream, the gilded spire of the Peter and Paul Fortress church (see Image 130). Here, the Whistler party was met by John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary to the American Legation, who took care of seeing their belongings through customs, and Major Whistler, who took them to the mansion they would occupy for some eight months. They had arrived at the First Admiralty District, the most sumptuous and elegant of the thirteen districts of St. Petersburg,<sup>12</sup> and the one in which they would live throughout their stay. Here was the pale yellow building of the Admiralty, from which the district took its name, bordered on three sides by linden trees and on its fourth by the Neva. Opposite Admiralty Boulevard lay Admiralty Square, flanked on one side by Palace Square (see Image 132), onto which the lime green and white Winter Palace (see Image 116) and golden yellow Main Staff Headquarters faced, and, on the other side, by the square generally called Isaac Square for the first St. Isaac's Church built there,<sup>13</sup> but also known as Peter's Square for its equestrian statue of Peter the Great (see Image 100), or Senate Square for the Senate building facing onto it (see Image 99). The English Embankment, which received this name because so many of the English inhabitants of St. Petersburg lived on it, began at Isaac Square at the curving golden-yellow building of the Senate. Along the embankment,

other buildings of note were the Laval mansion, with its echoes of literary salons and of Pushkin and its ties to the Decembrist rebellion; the Naval Ministry; the Military Academy, where officers were trained for service in the General Staff Headquarters;<sup>14</sup> the Rumiantsev Museum, the interiors and collections of which were in a parlous physical state and which almost no one visited;<sup>15</sup> the house of Liprandi, where for a time Kirton's English bookstore was housed, conveniently for the Whistlers; the house of Strukov, headquarters of the British Embassy; the white building of the English Church (see Images 110–111), where the Whistlers became communicants; and the house of Baron Stieglitz, the banker, who in 1841 arranged the state loan to build the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.<sup>16</sup> The last house on the embankment, at the New Admiralty Canal, belonged to Sir James Wylie (see Image 298), who had been court physician to Alexander I (see Image 418), and was now chief medical inspector of the Army.

The buildings on the embankment consisted of contiguous façades; they had no spaces between them and no entrance gates. One drove in from the parallel street behind, called Galernaia (Galley) Street, where most of the houses had courtyards with stables, barns, and other service buildings.<sup>17</sup> It was called Galernaia because of the Galernaia wharf on the nearby Moika River, so named in 1721, after the Admiralty had shifted over to the intensive building of galleys there.<sup>18</sup> Many of the English and most of the small colony of Americans lived on these two streets, where they rented apartments in mansions belonging to both Russians and foreigners. The Whistlers rented an entire mansion on the other (south) side of Galernaia Street. For a year, until they actually moved to the English Embankment, its English Church was for them its most important building.<sup>19</sup> Set up in a house bought from Count B.P. Sheremetiev in 1753 and converted, in 1815 changes were made to it according to plans by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817) (see Image 110). On the Galernaia Street side, the ensemble of structures on the plot was enclosed by a stone fence with gates decorated with Ionic columns. The double-lighted church was located on the second floor and occupied almost the entire length of the building along the embankment. It was rectangular in shape, facing onto the Neva and onto the courtyard. Its only decoration, the altarpiece, was a copy of Rubens's *Deposition from the*

*Cross* (1617–1618) (see Image 112). On the first floor were the apartments of the pastor, Rev. Edward Law (see Image 253), and his family, as well as of the clerk and sexton.<sup>20</sup> From the embankment, the building looked three stories high. Its façade was decorated with six columns that united the second-and-third-story windows and had on its pediment three statues, representing *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*. At the center of the building, on pedestals near the entrance, were sculptures of two lions, personifying strength and might.<sup>21</sup>

The English Embankment and Galernaia Street were connected by a short street called Zamiatin Lane. On one of the corners of Zamiatin Lane, at the English Embankment, stood the building belonging to the Merchant, or Commercial Society,<sup>22</sup> where, in addition to attending dances, charity bazaars, and concerts, one could order takeout dinners, as Maxwell did. Zamiatin Lane was one block long, prevented by the naval barracks on the south side of Galernaia Street from continuing on. Also along the south side of Galernaia Street were the buildings of the Post Office Administration, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of the Navy, interspersed with private mansions. One end of Galernaia Street emerged onto Isaac Square through the arch connecting the buildings of the Senate and the Synod, the civil and religious governing bodies of the Empire. Beyond the arch, you could see Falconet's (1716–1791) bronze equestrian statue of Peter the Great in toga and wreath, his horse rearing, its back hooves trampling a writhing snake (see Image 100). The other end of Galernaia Street was closed off by the New Admiralty Canal, which joined the Moika River with the Neva. Here, across the street from the back of Dr. Wylie's house, on the corner plot, stood the mansion (see Images 88–94) of Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii (see Image 86), grandson of Catherine the Great and Prince Grigorii Grigorievich Orlov (see Images 414, 443). Bobrinskii was Major Whistler's colleague on the Railway Commission and his landlord.

Entrance into the main courtyard of Bobrinskii's house from Galernaia Street was through monumental gates with marble busts mounted on pylons (see Image 88). The courtyard was flanked on three sides by the front of the house and two stone service wings a single story high. Here, in the winter of 1843–1844, James and Willie had a skating pond and an ice hill for sledding, both carefully attended to and

smoothed each day by the outdoor–indoor man (see Image 362)<sup>23</sup> until the final thaw. The house had a small garden attached to it on the Moika River side of the property (see Images 92–93). A stone wall, also decorated with marble busts, separated the garden from the embankments and extended to the entrance gates. At the corner of the wall, where the New Admiralty Canal and the Moika met, was a small two-storied garden pavilion (see Image 90).<sup>24</sup> On the street at that corner, as on many St. Petersburg streets, stood a sentry box, either gray or black-and-white-striped, wooden or stone, square or round, with a policeman on duty at the door, dressed in a clumsy, pathetic-looking uniform of coarse gray cloth (see Image 353).<sup>25</sup>

Major Whistler had had an apartment on the ground floor of the mansion since his arrival, at which time the premises housed the American Legation. When Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, the American envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary (see Image 278), decided to move to the Imperial town of Tsarskoe Selo in 1843, Major Whistler rented the entire mansion for his family and invited Maxwell to be their tenant in that same apartment. They all lived here until May 1844, when the Whistlers gave up the house and took a dacha on the Peterhof Road for the summer.

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Much of the area of the First Admiralty District was filled with the sound and grit of construction throughout their stay. At the Winter Palace, the New Hermitage (see Image 113), which was to be a museum where the public could view the Imperial collections, was being built. Begun in 1840, it was not completed until 1852. In Isaac Square, St. Isaac's Cathedral, begun in 1818 and taking forty years to build, was a work still in progress (see Image 119), and until the 1850s, the square here was cluttered with worksheds and barracks and a fence around the construction area.<sup>26</sup> The outside was completed. Invited artists, such as Karl Briullov (see Image 173) and other Academy professors, were now engaged in painting the interior frescos (see Images 121–124). James's future drawing teacher, Aleksandr Koritskii (see Image 167–168), worked in the cathedral as Briullov's assistant (1843–1847). Opposite the back of St. Isaac's Cathedral, far over on the other side of the large

expanse of the square, the Maria Palace (see Image 136) was being built (1839–1844) for Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, Nicholas I's eldest daughter, and her husband, Duke Maximilian Leuchtenberg (see Images 430, 431). On each side of the square in 1844–1845, buildings were going up to house the Ministry of State Properties.<sup>27</sup> Quarenghi's indoor riding range for the Horse Guards (see Image 137), the main façade of which faced St. Isaac's Cathedral, was going to be replaced with a new one, but was finally not torn down. Its sculptures of the naked Castor and Pollux, deemed by the Synod too indecent to stand opposite the cathedral, were taken off their pedestals and moved elsewhere.<sup>28</sup>

Towards the other end of the English Embankment, near where the Whistlers lived as of September 1844, without Maxwell, work on Annunciation Bridge (see Images 140–142), the first permanent bridge across the Grand Neva (begun on 1/13 January 1843), continued throughout their stay. The driving of piles went on all winter day and night except for Sunday, until the spring of 1846.<sup>29</sup> One end of the span lay between the Fifth and Sixth Lines,<sup>30</sup> very near the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. In 1847–1848, a cupola was being erected over the Academy's Church of St. Catherine.<sup>31</sup> Because of the bridge, what was to become Annunciation Square was being created on their side of the Neva.<sup>32</sup> This involved destroying a network of canals. In 1842, the Kriukov and Admiralty canals were channeled into the Neva through pipes, and the area covered over with earth. This work was finished in 1844, and in 1845–1846 Horse Guard Boulevard was built over Admiralty Canal.<sup>33</sup> In 1844–1849, the Horse Guards Regimental Church of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Mother of God (see Image 131) was going up on the spot where grain had previously been stored;<sup>34</sup> it was consecrated just before Major Whistler died.<sup>35</sup> In 1847, quarters for the officers of the Horse Guard Regiment were built here between the newly made Annunciation Street and Horse Guard Lane.<sup>36</sup>

With no permanent bridge, one crossed the Grand Neva over the Isaac Bridge (see Image 99), a retractable pontoon structure made of planks placed over a string of large flat-bottomed boats (*plashkouty*) somewhat like barges, joined to one another with ropes, and anchored.<sup>37</sup> Located at Isaac Square, it connected the center of the mainland with Vasilievskii Island,<sup>38</sup> the biggest island in the Neva delta (also called in

the diaries “the Island,” “Vassili Ostrow,” and “V.O.”). When the Neva froze and navigation closed, one could walk across the ice to the other side or go by horse-drawn sledge (see Image 353). Roads were demarcated on the ice “between artificial rows of trees” so carriages crossing in the dark could avoid impediments.<sup>39</sup>

Fettered or free, the river was honored with ceremonies. On the Feast of the Epiphany (6/18 January), the Blessing of the Waters took place on the frozen river. “A large hole was cut in the ice opposite the Palace ... and ... a little temple covered with purple and gold,” called “a Jordan,” was erected over it. The clergy, emperor, and members of the Imperial family would walk to this temple along “a scarlet carpet ... spread from the portals of the Palace.” The clergy carried a huge silver cross, which was immersed after a mass had been celebrated. At that moment, the fortress guns were fired, and the huge crowds bared their heads as one man. “The Metropolitan enters the temple, and having blessed the water, takes a bucketful from the stream,” and sprinkles the emperor, who “then embraces and is kissed by the Metropolitan.” The Metropolitan sprinkles the Imperial family and then the nearby crowd with the holy water, and “the procession ... returns to the Palace.”<sup>40</sup> When the thaw began, access to Vasilevskii Island was again by means of the Isaac Bridge, but there were dangers. It had to be swung to one side against the bank, often with minimum warning, when the ice on Lake Ladoga broke up and passed down the Neva on its way to the sea. If the ice freed itself suddenly, it might carry off the bridge, at times with people still on it. As soon as the river was freed of ice, the ceremony marking the opening of navigation took place (see Image 349). This involved drinking the potable Neva water,<sup>41</sup> but those unused to drinking it could suffer intestinal problems, as James and Willie did. The first boat to cross the Neva, a state barge, carried the governor of the Fortress to the Winter Palace with a goblet of Neva water for the emperor. After drinking some, the emperor had the emptied goblet returned to the governor filled to the brim with gold pieces.<sup>42</sup> The barge was then rowed down the Neva “to show that the navigation was safe.”<sup>43</sup> The ceremony over, traffic on the river commenced: pretty barges, gondolas with their gay awnings, beautiful yachts, sometimes a man-of-war, the Cronstadt steamers. In the heat of summer, the water shone

“like a sheet of glass.”<sup>44</sup> Mostly at the beginning of spring and before the end of autumn, fog covered the city and hung over the river.<sup>45</sup>

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St. Petersburg weather was capricious and the inconstancy of the climate as the factor determining the characterless nature of its populace was almost proverbial. The sudden changes in atmospheric temperature were so varied and rapid that it was impossible to guarantee in the morning what the weather would be like at noon.<sup>46</sup>

Spring was hardly noticeable. Warm days in April were a rarity. More often, the thermometer in the first half of May, especially in the morning, registered below zero degrees Celsius, while the second half of May could be called summer because then the temperature rose from fifteen to twenty-two degrees Celsius. The earlier or later breaking up of the Neva ice powerfully affected the outcome of spring. If the ice broke up at the end of March, then in mid-April the ice coming down from Lake Ladoga heralded the end of winter, but if the Neva opened up at the end of April and the ice from Lake Ladoga appeared in May, the cold of winter continued. In such years, the frost was followed immediately by summer’s heat. In a day or two, buds would appear on the trees and, in a few days, everything was in full bloom.<sup>47</sup>

Perhaps a third of summer weather was warm and clear; most days were rainy and overcast. The start of summer, like that of spring, was unpredictable; sometimes it occurred in mid-May, sometimes in early June. Sometimes the intense heat was extreme; then suddenly the temperature would drop by ten degrees Celsius or more.

The nights were frequently marked by crimson summer lightning in the western sky. Best of all were the bright and quiet white nights (see Image 117), when sunset had not yet faded completely, while from the other edge of the horizon a weak, faint light would begin to break.<sup>48</sup>

Autumn was characterized by fog, rain, wind, and fine snow; short days when the sun rarely showed itself; long nights; gloom and moisture everywhere, plunging people into sadness and extreme laziness. Sometimes, but rarely, there were days resembling those of summer.<sup>49</sup>

When winter set in, the air became finer and thinner, and people began to feel more cheerful and energetic. This, however, did not last



very long, as fog and thaws betrayed the clear weather, of which there were only ninety-nine days per year, and the bitterness of the frosts lessened and it seemed as though autumn were returning.<sup>50</sup>

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There were many new and exciting things to get used to in St. Petersburg: for example, the lantern, flag, and cannon signals. Every day, a cannon shot from the fortress announced the noon hour. The red globe hung out on the fire tower on Bol'shaia Morskaiia Street every evening was a signal for the lamplighters' brigade quartered there to set out on its rounds.<sup>51</sup>

Floods were an ever-present threat, built as the city was at the mouth of a swift, wide river, which was at times kept by opposing winds from flowing into the sea (see Image 107). The usual level of water was considered to be seven-and-a-half feet from the bottom of the river. The usual flooding time was autumn, but occasionally – though rarely – it occurred in spring and summer. Scarcely a year or two passed without a flood, but not all of St. Petersburg suffered from it equally. The flood signals were very elaborate and difficult to remember by heart, becoming more and more complex and frenzied as the water rose. If the Neva rose three feet above normal, a signal of three cannon shots was given in Galernaia harbor, and red flags were hoisted on the spire of the main Admiralty building. If the water rose more than four feet, then, in addition to the red flags, four white ones were hung on shafts in the daytime and four red lanterns at night. When a height of five feet was reached, cannon fire was heard from the Admiralty every half hour, increasing at over six feet to every quarter hour. At seven feet beyond normal, two shots were fired every quarter hour and this same signal was repeated from the fortress.<sup>52</sup> In this respect, the Whistlers' stay was uneventful, although Anna Whistler recorded that water ran through Galernaia Street one day in October 1843,<sup>53</sup> and that they had an unsettling evening in April 1844, until a servant went outside and brought back the reassuring explanation given by the sentry on duty.

There was the “strange, wild appearance”<sup>54</sup> of “the queer looking carriages”<sup>55</sup> called *droshki* (see Image 352), and of their drivers. The *droshki* was “a small four-wheel carriage, holding two persons, sitting

together behind the driver, or sometimes back to back, with the forewheels about twelve inches high.”<sup>56</sup> It was “a cross between a child’s go cart, and a fire engine, minus the engine, with wheels hardly bigger than that of a wheelbarrow.”<sup>57</sup> The coachman’s dress was distinctive: “his long blue cloth kaftan, reaching to his feet, a red ... sash around his waist, ... a very low, bell crowned, hat upon his head”<sup>58</sup> and “a tin plate between his shoulders with an identifying number on it.”<sup>59</sup> The droshki was “drawn by one horse, sometimes by two, in which case the second ... gallops with his head brought down quite low, while the guide horse carries his head high, and never quits a fast trot.”<sup>60</sup> When Major Whistler drove their carriage to work, the rest of the family hired a droshki. Although it could hold no more than two people, a small boy could squeeze in, too, if he stood. The fast pace of the horses meant that sometimes passengers were pitched out. In winter, they generally landed softly in the snow. Otherwise, it could be serious, and droshki coachmen usually tried to flee after a mishap, because speeding was against the law and an accident meant confiscation of carriage and horses.

Coming home in the evening, one would see “in front of nearly every house, the porter, wrapped in his sheep skin, sleeping on a board, laid upon the pavement ... his sleeping place even in winter.”<sup>61</sup> The porter would “[run] out to open the gate, with only his shirt on, and with bare feet – he did not mind the snow and cold, apparently, more than a dog would have done.”<sup>62</sup>

Then there were the illuminations, celebrating Imperial marriages, births, and the return of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna after a long, expensive absence in Palermo for her health (see Image 98), that Major Whistler said took money from the coffers for the building of the railroad and delayed his own return home. A full illumination was a dazzling and expensive spectacle: before the entire length of the façade of almost every house, especially on the Nevskii Prospekt and streets adjacent to it, sparkled thousands of fires in the shape of arches, pyramids, palms, and giant stars containing the initials of the Imperial personage being feted.<sup>63</sup> Major Whistler “was obliged to illuminate before his door on a house 100 feet front.”<sup>64</sup> On some occasions, however, there was only a partial illumination, consisting of saucers with

a little lighted oil in them placed on the pavement in front of the houses,<sup>65</sup> and not worth stepping out to see.

There were the ubiquitous pigeons, “flying in all directions, and frequently alighting in the most crowded parts of the city” and viewed by the populace “with the sacred feeling that they are emblems of the Holy Ghost.”<sup>66</sup> Untouchable, they would have multiplied without restraint if not for the “foreigners and others less scrupulous, who ... convey them quietly from their roosting quarters to form an important part in culinary operations.”<sup>67</sup> James, in particular, was struck by the fact that Russians would not kill pigeons.

“Saints pictures [were] all over the city, and at all times ‘the faithful’ [were] bowing and crossing before them.”<sup>68</sup> The cult of Mary and of the saints had no place in Anna Whistler’s beliefs, and these “shocking pictures” elicited caustic remarks from her (for icons of Russian holy days, see Images 375–382).

You might see the emperor moving about the city incognito, but “no one is expected to notice [him], unless he first gives the salute.”<sup>69</sup> Sometimes distraught petitioners violated the tabu and poured their misery out to him, resulting in a turn in their fortune.<sup>70</sup>

Like most foreign visitors, the Whistlers found in the daytime the “noise and bustle of European capitals ... wanting here – and this, although carriages, & droschis, are flying in all directions on the wooden pavements, and pedestrians are numerous.”<sup>71</sup> They were struck by the silence and solemnity of the crowds in public spaces. Though the populace was “merry by rule and line, ... it [was] prescribed to them by the police, in what way they are to rejoice.”<sup>72</sup> There were, of course, the cries of the street hawkers and the silence of the night broken by “the occasional long wild yell of sentry upon the street”;<sup>73</sup> a drunk singing, unheeded by a sleeping watchman; or a call from a landing for a boat and its answering approach;<sup>74</sup> but no “[w]histling, shouting [or] hallooing [was] permitted,” except for the huzzas of the soldiers at the sight of the emperor.<sup>75</sup> One of the Americans asked whether this was “only the calmness of despotism?”<sup>76</sup> No wonder James and Willie made a spectacle of themselves in their noisy “ebullition of joy”<sup>77</sup> during Carnival, oblivious to the “‘gendarmes’ stationed at every hundred yards.”<sup>78</sup>

Reviews took place frequently in at least a dozen military squares. The most inspiring was the annual four-hour Imperial inspection of the Guard Corps in May in the capacious Field of Mars before they left their winter barracks for summer camp in the environs of the city.<sup>79</sup> “The polished steel and brass of helmets and breast plates glistened in the sun, the plumes, and embroidered coats of every man seemed newly taken from the band box, the horses pranced, the music played, the Circassians the Tartars, the Cossacks, and the Polish lancers, performed well their parts, and altogether it was an imposing and beautiful array,”<sup>80</sup> with “each regiment distinguished by the color of its superb horses.”<sup>81</sup> James and Willie watched the review in 1844 as Maxwell’s guests, pushing forward with excitement to the front of the crowd and refusing to let their servant, Alexander, take them home “until the very end.”<sup>82</sup> To Maxwell’s replacement, Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280), who grasped as well the mechanicalness of many aspects of Nicholas’s Russia, the soldiers “moved like a machine – so perfect was their step, and the incline of their muskets.”<sup>83</sup>

Of great delight to them were the white nights. Anna Whistler and Debo experienced the white nights in their walks on the embankment and from within the house, amazed at the late hour at which they brought their reading or their sewing to a close without use of candles. More amazing still must it have been, especially to James, to witness that the “soft glassy stream reflects from its surface the buildings ... situated on its banks, but the masses themselves form no shadow,” through “an absence of darkness, rather than the presence of light.”<sup>84</sup>

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This then was the city and the district where they would live for some five years and eight months with their joys and sorrows and without financial cares for the last time in their lives, except for Debo, who would marry well.

## NOTES

1. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, July 10, 1842, Joseph G. Swift Correspondence, 1809–1862, MssCol. 2935, NYPL (hereafter NYPL: Swift Papers). The child had died that morning.  
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 (Mrs. Nevill Jackson, *Ancestors in Silhouette, Cut by Auguste Edouart* [London: John Lane, 1931], p. 225).
2. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, October 4. 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers. They were to move to Stonington on the 6th or 7th.
3. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, May. 13. 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
4. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 15/27, 1842, John Stevenson Maxwell Papers, New-York Historical Society (N-YHS) Library (hereafter N-YHS: Maxwell Papers), no. 2.
5. All quotations for which no source is acknowledged are taken from the diaries themselves.
6. Martha McNeill to Julius, Baltimore, 28 January 1831; Martha McNeill to Julius, Baltimore, 25 April 1831, NYPL: Swift Papers.
7. Anna McNeill to Catherine Jane McNeill, Liverpool, Nov. 22, 1829, in Kate R. McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother: Her Life, Letters and Journal* (North Wilkesboro, NC: s.n., 1936), pp. 16–19; a letter to Mrs. William C. Thompson, daughter of Kate McDiarmid, went unanswered. Also Anna McNeill to Margaret Hill, Manchester, Jan. 14, 1830, LC: P-W, box 34.
8. Deborah Whistler to Gen. Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, October 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
9. Deborah Whistler to Gen. Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 6 October 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers. Anna Whistler was issued in London on 16 September 1843, a passport (no. 688) for herself, Deborah Delano Whistler, James Abbott, William McNeill, and an infant, Charles Donald. It was listed that she had arrived from Boston, that Gerard Ralston had vouched for her, and that they were traveling to Petersburg via Hamburg (M1371: Registers and Indexes for Passport Applications 1810–1906, roll 2: 11 May 1843 – 30 September 1846 [hereafter, NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2], U.S. National Archives, Washington, DC [NAUS]).

Gerard Ralston, who had vouched for them, was London agent to the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, who were building the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works.

10. Major Whistler intended to apply to the Russian authorities for permission to bring the body to St. Petersburg, but then changed his mind and had it sent to America for burial in Stonington (Deborah Whistler to Gen. Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 6 October 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22).
11. Edward P. Thompson, *Life in Russia; or, The Discipline of Despotism* (London: Smith, Elder, 1848), p. 11.
12. The numbering of houses, introduced in St. Petersburg in 1780, was not by streets but within police districts, into which the city was divided (E.I. Krasnova, *Istochniki dlia izucheniia domovladieniia Sankt-Peterburga* [*Sources for the Study of Home Ownership in St. Petersburg*] [s.l.: s.n., p. 212]). In the first third of the nineteenth century, houses were still numbered in this way (Krasnova, p. 214). In 1834, for the first time, the numbering of houses was introduced and the right side of the street, going in the direction of the increasingly higher numbers, received even numbers (Krasnova, p. 215). Houses continued, however, to be called by the surnames of their owners (Krasnova, p. 214). See also S.V. Sementsov, “Administrativno-territorial’noe delenie Sankt-Peterburga v XVIII – nachale XIX v.” [“The Administrative-Territorial Division of St. Petersburg in the 18th and the Beginning of the 19th Century”], *Peterburgskie chteniia* [*Petersburg Readings*] 96 (1996): pp. 228–231; and “Maps.”
13. The Church of St. Isaac had been built in 1717 on the spot where the Senate now stands (Ivan Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg* [*St. Petersburg in the Time of Nicholas I*] [St. Petersburg: Liga Plus, 2000], pp. 74, 136). This title is a somewhat-condensed, corrected edition of Ivan Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga i uездnykh gorodov S.-Peterburgskoi gubernii* [*A Description of Saint-Petersburg and the Principal Cities of St.-Petersburg Province*], which consists of three volumes in four parts, published 1839–1842 (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 2). Parts 1 and 2 (with separate pagination) are in volume 1 (1839), part 3 is in volume 2 (1841), and part 4 is in volume 3 (1842).

14. T.A. Solovieva, *Angliiskaia naberezhnaia* [*The English Embankment*] (St. Petersburg: Belvedere, 2004), pp. 149–150.
15. P.I. Kann, *Ploschcad' truda* [*Labor Square*] (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1981), pp. 35–37.
16. Solovieva, *Angliiskaia naberezhnaia*, p. 266.
17. The street will be called Galernaia (pronounced “Gahler’nuhyuh”) throughout this edition, as everyone in the diaries referred to it by its Russian name, including Anna Whistler, who spelled it as she correctly heard it: Galernia. N.R. Levina and Iu. I. Kirpideli, *Po ètim ulitsam, po ètim beregam ... Peterburgskie progulki* [*Along These Streets and Along These Banks ... Petersburg Walks*] (St. Petersburg: Papyrus, 1997), pp. 138–142.
18. M.S. Shtiglits, *Promyshlennaia arkhitektura Peterburga* [*The Industrial Architecture of Petersburg*] (St. Petersburg: Neva, 1995), p. 14. See also John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 24 / Feb. 5, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 6; and Kann, *Ploschcad' truda*, p. 12.
19. There is no single source that fully describes the appearance of the English Church in the 1840s. Information appears in the travel volumes of Elizabeth Rigby, in a handbook published by John Murray, in articles written by Anthony Cross, and in Tat'iana Solovieva's *Angliiskaia naberezhnaia*. After 1816, the English Church stood unchanged in its appearance until 1876. See Notes 20 and 21 below.

Granville describes it as “a very handsome and substantial edifice, situated about the centre of the English Quay, where it presents a noble front to the river, being decorated by a colonnade placed on a massive and well-distributed basement story ... The entrance, properly speaking, is from a street at the back of the Quay, through a handsome gateway. The interior is neat and simple ... well warmed and comfortably fitted up.” It had a Royal or Ambassador’s pew “on the right of the altar, and opposite to the pulpit ... surmounted by the Royal Arms of England.” “The female part of the congregation, as in the Lutheran churches, sat apart from the rest, and occupied the left side of the church.” The altarpiece was described as “a Deposition from the Cross [*De Kruisafneming*], a very credible painting, on the sides of which are two handsome Corinthian pillars of marble.” The church had no gallery and, while being capacious, could accommodate only a small portion of the approximately 2500 English inhabitants of St. Petersburg. The

chaplain's residence, located "on the basement story," was described as "handsome" (A.B. Granville, *St. Petersburg: A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; Through Flanders, the Rbenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany, and France*, 2 vols. [London: Henry Colburn, 1828], vol. 2, pp. 202, 203). This is how the church would have looked when the Whistlers were among its communicants.

20. [Elizabeth Rigby], *Letters from the Shores of the Baltic*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1842), vol. 1, p. 73. The first edition was published under the title *A Residence on the Shores of the Baltic: Described in a Series of Letters*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1841); both editions were published anonymously. See also the entry for Monday 5<sup>th</sup> of May [1845], NYPL: AWPB, Part II; *Handbook for Northern Europe, including Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1849), (hereafter, *Murray's Handbook for Northern Europe*), vol. 2, *Finland and Russia*, pp. 480–481; and A.G. Cross, "Chaplains to the British Factory in St. Petersburg, 1723–1813," *European Studies Review* 2, no. 2 (1972): pp. 140–141. For a portrait of Elizabeth Rigby, see Image 190.
21. Solovieva, *Angliiskaia naberezhnaia*, p. 88; A.G. Cross, "By the Neva, By the Aire," *University of Leeds Review*, 25 (1982): p. 7.
22. The Merchant (or Commercial) Club, which was located in its own building, was founded in 1784 "for the purpose of giving the local exchange merchants the possibility of gathering to consult on business matters and to pass the time in pleasant conversation or in permitted games" (A.M. Konechnyi, comp., *Progulki po Nevskomu prospektu v pervoi polovine XIX veka* [*Walks along the Nevskii Prospekt in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*] [St. Petersburg: Hyperion, 2002], vol. 4 of *Forgotten Petersburg*, p. 274n15).
23. The outdoor–indoor man took care of the yard. He was responsible for the care of the section of the street in front of the house, too, but often, as was the case in the Whistler household, also did indoor work.
24. *Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* [*Architectural Monuments of Leningrad*] (Leningrad: Stroizdat, Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1975), p. 284; Levina and Kirpideli, *Po ètim ulitsam*, pp. 138–142.
25. Each police sentry box had two sentries, who worked in shifts over a 24-hour period. They were required to know all the houses and other buildings in their jurisdiction and also the owners. Their duties included keeping the peace, taking people to hospitals, and



picking up drunks from the street. At night, they had to confront passersby; take note of suspicious characters; and protect people from fires, thieves, and other kinds of attacks. They were required to give aid to anyone requesting it, even if this meant going outside their own jurisdiction. The sentries often had only the sentry box as a roof over their head. Sometimes they lived in it with their entire family. These police sentry boxes were very comfortable and spacious as opposed to those for military sentries. Some had stoves and a place for the off-duty sentry to lie down. It was strange to see them with the accouterments of everyday living, including a line with drying laundry. Often the premises included a small vegetable garden (I.S. Chistova et al., *Byt Pushkinskogo Peterburga Opyt ènsiklopedicheskogo slovaria* [*The Everyday Life of Pushkin's Petersburg: An Attempt at an Encyclopedia*] [St. Petersburg: Ivan Limbakh, 2003], pp. 88–89). In the 1840s, the sentries no longer carried a halberd (V.R. Zotov, “Peterburg v sorokovykh godakh” [“Petersburg in the 1840s”], *Istoricheskiĭ vestnik* [*Historical Harbinger*] 39 [February 1890]: p. 327).

26. L.I. Broitman and E.I. Krasnova, *Peterburg ves' na ladoni Bol'shaia Morskaia* [*All of Petersburg Laid Out on the Palm of Your Hand: Grand Navy Street*] (St. Petersburg: Papyrus, 1996), p. 147.
27. Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaia*, pp. 143, 146. The Ministry of State Properties was created in 1838.
28. Kann, *Ploschad' truda*, p. 28.
29. Richard Mowbray Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age, 1842–1855*, East European Monographs No. 493 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) pp. 363–364.
30. Lines were parallel streets originally intended as canals but then allowed to silt up.
31. V.V. Antonov and A.V. Kobak, *Sviatymi Sankt-Peterburga* [*Holy Places of St. Petersburg*], vol. 2 of *Istoriko-tserkovnaia ènsiklopediia* [*Church History Encyclopedia*], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Chernyshev, 1996), p. 115.
32. Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaia*, p. 206.
33. Kann, *Ploschad' truda*, pp. 43–45.
34. V. Mukhin, *Tserkovnaia kul'tura Sankt-Peterburga* [*The Church Culture of St. Petersburg*] (St. Petersburg: Ivan Fedorov, 1994), pp. 189–190; Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaia*, p. 206. The architect was K.A. Ton (1794–1881).

35. G. Tabolina and M. Èdomskii, *Konnogvardeiskii manezh* [*The Horse Guards Indoor Riding Range*] (St. Petersburg: Almaz, 1997), p. 127; Kann, *Ploschbad' truda*, p. 46.
36. Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaia*, p. 206.
37. The Isaac Bridge was put in place in 1727 (Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 282n26; Kann, *Ploschbad' truda*, p. 39; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 79–80).
38. The name of the island is said to have been taken from the given name of the artillery officer, Vasili Korchmin, who was quartered here with his company. Peter the Great would always send orders to Korchmin signed “To Vasili on the island” (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 25). There are, however, many stories about how the island got its name (Julie A. Buckler, *Mapping St. Petersburg: Imperial Text and Cityshape* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, p. 139, and p. 292n81).
39. [Sir George William Lefevre], *The Life of A Traveling Physician, From His First Introduction into Practice Including Twenty Years' Wandering through the Greater Part of Europe*. 3 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843), vol. 2, pp. 238–239.
40. This and previous quotations in this paragraph are from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 24 / Feb. 5, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 6.
41. Despite the abundance of water, only the Neva and the Fontanka at its mouth had suitable drinking water. The water in the canals was harmful to one's health. Water taken from deep places in the Neva's bed was pure, clear, and free of any odor or taste. Water from near the shores was somewhat cloudy but light and soft. Those unaccustomed to drinking it sometimes suffered an upset of the digestive system. A company was raising capital to equip all floors of government and private homes on the left side of the Neva with Neva water (Ivan Pushkarev, *Putevoditel' po Sanktpeterburgu i okrestnostiam ego* [*Guide to St. Petersburg and Its Environs*] [St. Petersburg: Departament vneshnei torgovli, 1843], pp. 24, 29, 30.
42. Edward Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, trans. Frederick Hardman, 2 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1852), vol. 2, p. 115.
43. Georgiana, Baroness Bloomfield, *Reminiscences of Court and Diplomatic Life*, 4th ed., 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1883), vol. 1, p. 190.

44. Entry for June 14 [1847], Colin Ingersoll Journal, Ralph McAllister Ingersoll Fonds, Howard Gottlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University, box 7 (hereafter, BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal), pt. 1, fol. 48. Colin Ingersoll kept a journal in three parts (3 lined notebooks) while in Russia. For reasons unknown, he gave the year 1848 in his first entry in Part 1 instead of 1847. I have rectified this error by placing the correct year in brackets each time I cite an entry.
45. Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 38.
46. Pushkarev, p. 35.
47. Pushkarev, pp. 35–36.
48. Pushkarev, p. 36.
49. Pushkarev, pp. 36–37.
50. Pushkarev, pp., 37–38.
51. Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaiia*, pp. 67, 202; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 302n110.
52. Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, pp. 30–34; Aleksei Grech, comp., *Ves' Peterburg v karmane: Spravochnaia kniga dlia stolichnykh zhitelei i prieszhikh, s planami Sanktpeterburga i chetyrekh teatrov* [*All of Petersburg in Your Pocket: A Handbook for Inhabitants of and Visitors to the Capital, with plans of St. Petersburg and Four Theaters*], 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg: N. Grech, 1851) (hereafter, Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851), pp. 376–378.
53. See also John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23.
54. Entry for Thursday, May 20th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 6.
55. Entry for Thursday, May 20th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 5.
56. Robert Heywood, *A Journey into Russia in 1858* (Manchester, [UK]: Sherratt and Hughes, 1918), p. 6.
57. Entry for Thursday, May 20th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 5.
58. See also Heywood, *Journey into Russia*, p. 6.
59. Entry for Thursday, May 20th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 5.

60. Entry for Thursday, May 20th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 5–6.
61. Entry for July 28th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 85.
62. Entry for October 6th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 41.
63. From *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* [*St. Petersburg News*] 129, Tuesday, June 11 [June 23 NS], 1846, p. 571; reprinted from *Russkii Invalid* [the *Russian Invalid* newspaper].
64. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 7, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 31.
65. Mary T. Ropes to Mrs. Hardy Ropes, St. Petersburg, October 18/30, 1832, Ropes Family Papers, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School, Harvard University (hereafter HUBL: Ropes Papers).
66. Heywood, *Journey into Russia*, pp. 7, 32.
67. Heywood, p. 7. See also J.G. Kohl, *Russia, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkoff, Riga, Odessa, The German Provinces on the Baltic, The Steppes, The Crimea, and The Interior of the Empire* (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1970), p. 36, first published in 1844 by Chapman and Hall (London).
68. Entry for June 7 [1847], fol. 43, BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1.
69. Entry for June 7 [1847], fol. 43.
70. Entry for June 19 [1847], fols. 57–58, BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1.
71. Entry for May 10/22 [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 9–10.
72. Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 2, p. 259.
73. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23.
74. Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 2, p. 260; vol. 3, p. 23.
75. Lefevre, vol. 2, pp. 259–260.
76. Entry for May 10/22 [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 10.
77. Entry for March 29<sup>th</sup> friday evening, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
78. Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 2, p. 263.

79. G. Vilinbakhov, V.M. Faibisovich, and S. Letin, *Khrabrye dela vashi nikogda ne zabudet potomstvo* [*Posterity Will Never Forget Your Brave Deeds*] (St. Petersburg: Slavia, 2000), pp. 22–23. Exhibition catalogue from the Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh [State Hermitage Museum; or simply Hermitage].
80. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36.
81. Entry for June 3 [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 29.
82. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36.
83. Entry for June 3 [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 21, 27, 93. See also pt. 1, fols. 23–31 for extensive comments on the 1847 review.
84. Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 3, p. 23.

## THEIR HOME LIFE AND SOCIAL LIFE

While their grief over Charlie's death, the effects of climate and of illness, and Anna Whistler's disinclination to venture out into what she called "the gay quarter of this showy city,"<sup>1</sup> kept them mostly at home in the final months of 1843, the family began very soon after their arrival to attend Sunday morning service at the English Church (see Images 110–111), where they remained communicants during their entire stay. The rare occasions on which Anna Whistler missed a Sunday service were her near collapse at the approaching first anniversary of Charlie's death and her ministrations to the dying Miss Hirst. Every morning, James and Willie would pass through their mother's dressing room and head for the parlor, where they studied assigned scripture lessons until it was time for prayers, which took place at eight o'clock. After the blessing, they would recite a verse from the Psalms and their mother would give the response. When Anna Whistler rose from her knees, she would embrace Debo; only then did they have breakfast. Every night, she spent an hour with the boys at their bedside reading sacred biography or scripture or religious travels to them and commenting on it. On Saturday nights, James and Willie had a bath. On Sundays, the family went to the service at the English Church in the morning and sometimes to the afternoon service as well. Otherwise, Anna Whistler went to the non-conformist British and American Congregational Church (see Image 125) in the afternoon.<sup>2</sup> Later in their stay, they sometimes traveled to a third service in the schoolroom at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225), where the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway were being manufactured, and the Harrisons, the Eastwicks, and Thomas Winans lived. On Sunday evening, one of them read a sermon – often by Henry Blunt – to the others. In the afternoons of other days, Debo and Anna Whistler read aloud to each other works like Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* (1843).

Anna Whistler made an effort to be cheerful for her husband's sake. That autumn, they accepted Colonel Todd's invitation for the grownups alone to visit the Winter Palace (see Images 114–117). They began to return the calls of those who had left their cards, and their social life became very full. They made good friends of the Ropeses and their cousin, George Henry Prince; the Maingays (see Images 258–264); the Gellibrands (see Images 265–266); and the Woods (see Images 271–272); and readily expanded their social engagements to these homes, to which generally the piety of the wives drew Anna Whistler. Eventually they became friends with the Mirrieleeses (see Images 268–269), who were close to the Ropeses and Gellibrands and, like them, dissenters. There was much social interchange with the Harrisons and the Eastwicks (see Images 226–227, 233–238), once the wives and children arrived. The sympathizing young widowed Mrs. Nicol Baird, old widowed Mrs. Charles Baird (for Charles Baird, see Image 274), and Miss Krehmer, who had witnessed Charlie's death on the boat to Cronstadt, were great favorites. The very sociable Laws (see Image 253) accepted Whistler invitations, and so the invitations by their "merry pastor"<sup>3</sup> to dances held in his home every other week were in turn accepted, though reluctantly, by Anna Whistler, who did not approve of dancing. The Francis Bairds (see Image 275) seemed at first not to fare too well in their relationship with the Whistlers. Anna Whistler did not enjoy the Bairds' wedding anniversary dinner. She did not like Mrs. Baird's parents nor approve of the fact that Mrs. Baird and her family pretended to Mrs. Baird's mother that the latter was not seriously ill. Eventually, she softened towards them. The Cazalets seemed not to fare at all well in their relationship with the Whistlers. They met at one of the Laws' parties, but Anna Whistler declined Mrs. Cazalet's invitation to a further meeting. Still, given the gaps in the diaries, some sketchy relationships may have been fuller than it seems. Major Whistler's position could and may have won him social invitations from his Russian colleagues, but only a semi-official outing with them is recorded in the diaries. He became friendly with the English sea captain John Kruger, but in general he very reluctantly allowed himself to be separated from his family. The diaries chiefly record visits from his Russian colleagues to the Whistler home: Colonel Pavel Mel'nikov (see Image 247), who was overseeing the

building of the northern half of the railroad; Mel'nikov's brother Aleksandr, who held a court position, and his wife; the railroad contractor Major Trouvellier, and his wife; and Major Ivan Bouttatz, who had come to the United States to accompany Whistler to Russia, and for whom – with great affection – they named their last child. Captain Kruger also came by often. John Stevenson Maxwell, who became a dear friend to the entire family, was a frequent guest upstairs. Living with the Whistlers saved his life when he contracted typhoid fever. There were also many transient guests: the Bodiscos (see Images 283–285) and de Stoeckl (see Images 286) of the Russian diplomatic corps on home leave from Washington; Sylvanus Thayer (see Image 318), superintendent of West Point when Major Whistler was a cadet, traveling now for his health with Charles Parker (see Image 319), a young medical student; William Robertson, a recent West Point graduate; the Scottish painter Sir William Allan (see Image 320), whose comments on James's artistic talent changed James's life in St. Petersburg; Dr. Edward Maynard, the dentist and firearms inventor (see Image 329); the Bliss family, their Springfield friends, who visited them briefly while on the Grand Tour; and Rev. Robert Baird, along with reverends Brinsmade and Rankin, all Americans, who dined with them and preached in St. Petersburg before going off to the Evangelical Alliance Conference in London in 1846 and who were accompanied by a young lawyer named Beach. Eventually, Anna Whistler ventured out to shop in the elegant stores on the Nevskii Prospekt and adjacent streets, especially Bol'shaia Morskaia (see Image 109). Mr. Ropes and Mrs. Maingay (see Image 259), fluent in Russian, helped her make her purchases until her own children learned enough Russian to act as interpreters.

The Whistlers always preferred domestic life to what Anna Whistler called “dissipation,” and in their domestic life an unceremonious sociability appealed most to them, as it was “the truest hospitality and involves less anxiety.”<sup>4</sup> “Dissipation” was her term for what she considered to be the empty social whirl that failed as well to honor the Sabbath. They entertained from Monday through Friday, but she was adamant that on Saturday afternoon all toys and amusements be put aside,<sup>5</sup> in order “to make the last day of the week a day of preparation for the first.” This was the prelude to the Sabbath, on which no guests



were received by them nor invitations accepted, for, “as you spend Sunday so will your work in all the week days prosper or not.” In time, even the worldly and the less pious accepted her requirement. Few exceptions were made: going to select a dacha one Sunday – the only day Mr. Ropes was free to join them and interpret – and on that same Sunday a drawing lesson from Mons. Vaney for James, to break the latter’s monotonous seclusion during an attack of rheumatic fever.

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The Bobrinskii house (see Images 88–94), despite its flaw – to Western taste – that like all Russian houses it had too many rooms for show and receiving guests,<sup>6</sup> was very comfortable. They had a carriage and a sledge. They had an icehouse. They had their own cow. Major Whistler kept canaries, most of which died, and presented his wife with pots of white roses and tuberose, all expensive acquisitions from the celebrated *English Magazine* (see Image 108).<sup>7</sup> Their life was made easier by the luxury of a staff of seven or eight servants, with that greatest of assets: an English-speaking cook. Whistler felt that servants “had claims next to children upon the heads of families for forbearance, kindness and watchful care, exercising control to keep them in the safe path of integrity, & encouraging them to do well, by evincing an interest in their conduct and concerns.”<sup>8</sup> The Whistlers treated their servants “kindly and with confidence”<sup>9</sup> and with a humaneness they would not have encountered in most Russian households.<sup>10</sup> In instituting her Sabbath rules, Anna Whistler took the servants into consideration as well: they needed their rest, too, after six days’ labor. They paid their servants “better than they could expect,”<sup>11</sup> and gave them wonderful gifts at Christmas. Realizing that Alexander, the footman, had spent far too much for an Easter egg he presented to the family, Anna Whistler saw to it that he was reimbursed for his generous extravagance. They trusted their servants and were “unaccustomed to lock up from [them],”<sup>12</sup> although Whistler, who was careless about safeguarding his money, had already had a substantial amount stolen from his desk just before his family’s arrival.<sup>13</sup> When the Whistlers returned from Debo’s wedding in the autumn of 1847, they were laden with gifts for the servants. Anna Whistler found them “so respectful and willing.”

Their outdoor–indoor man (see Image 362), called Feodore (as well as Fritz and Frederic in the diaries), a poor serf with a wife and child to support in the country, seemed unable to do his work properly or to keep himself clean. Still, when he cried at the news that he was being discharged, Major Whistler was so moved that he paid off the already-hired replacement and gave Feodore another chance. This kindhearted gesture proved to be a mistake, because after Christmas 1843, Feodore – along with the German footman, Maurice – was accused of stealing the Major’s flute and Anna Whistler’s writing desk. Under advisement, both were let go. Alexander, the previous footman, who had been dismissed for refusing out of pride to go behind the carriage, was reinstated and learned his lesson. Some of the other servants did not have such shortsightedness. When the Whistlers returned from Debo’s wedding, they found that the cook and laundress, who had been let go for the summer, had not sought another post but were waiting to return to their employ. The post of coachman seems to have had several occupants, for reasons unexplained. Even the last one loved his drink, and Anna Whistler recorded some lapses and remembered him with a Bible when she departed Russia. The sickly servant Parasha, who went away with her husband expecting to die, became instead a widow. When she reappeared in the servants’ quarters and recounted to Anna Whistler her plight and her plans to enter a monastery, Anna Whistler wept with her and no doubt helped her in some way. Many of the servants remained with the Whistlers until Major Whistler’s death, and, before Anna Whistler left for America, she tried to find new positions for whomever she could.

The Whistlers’ kindness and charity extended also to a beggar woman with a little boy, Andrea, whom Whistler had befriended before his family arrived, most likely because of the child’s resemblance to his own recently deceased Kirk Boott. Anna Whistler continued to help them, admiring the independent child but appalled at the cringing mother, who kissed her feet. She allowed the child to come into their home but not the mother, giving him a coin for her when he left. She indulged Andrea by seating him on the steps and paying an itinerant organ grinder to entertain him. Giving a coin gratis to Andrea’s mother, however, eventually proved too much for her Yankee work ethic, and

she set her to scrubbing to earn the money. Anna Whistler's assessment of the lower classes as lazy, filthy, ignorant, dishonest, and erroneous in their religious beliefs, who "seem to reflect no more than the dumb beast [*sic*] which perish," never wavered, but her feelings echoed those of many foreigners encountering Russia.<sup>14</sup> The entrepreneurs at Alexandrofsky were among the few who praised them, saying "the Russians were the best workers they had ever employed, there is no end to their patience, and they are very quick at imitation, and never think they know more than their employers."<sup>15</sup>

The alcoholic Swedish draftsman, Hedenschoug, who performed his work in Whistler's chancery in their home, received equally generous treatment. They were unaware he lied about his day of birth and bestowed gifts upon him on the day he had appropriated for himself. He married while in their employ and pretended he needed money to bury one of his children, though the child was not dead. Even when their silver began to disappear, they did not set about getting rid of him, for "father would not accuse him or any man without proof."<sup>16</sup> He cast suspicion on himself by ceasing to appear for work and had to be replaced.

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James and Willie were tutored at home, except for the autumn of 1846, when they were boarders at Monsieur Jean Jourdan's school (see Image 27). They got sick so easily at Jourdan's, from which Anna Whistler felt a wholesome moral life with the other boys was missing, as well, that she persuaded Whistler not to send them back after Christmas. A series of tutors and a mademoiselle passed through their lives, about most of whom even less is known than about the servants. Like the servants, they were the recipients of kind treatment and gifts. James and Willie could soon chatter quite readily in Russian, which they simply picked up, although the few Russian books in the family's extant library suggest some formal study of the language. When James was left in England in the autumn of 1848, Willie attended Baxter's Commercial School until he left St. Petersburg. There, he formally studied Russian because it was necessary for instruction in the sciences at Baxter's. James and Willie studied French and, like Debo, German. Their father now set

them English pieces to recite lest they should forget their native language. To the same end, they each read to their mother almost daily. Starting in late 1844, James took private drawing lessons on Saturdays. In addition, starting in 1845, during the week, he erratically attended a drawing course at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (see Images 154–157), across the river from their apartment on the English Embankment. They put on evening shows for family and guests, where they exhibited a newly acquired educational toy or gave a recitation, sometimes in French. Debo helped tutor the boys. Persuaded not to participate in the frivolity of Carnival, they were given instead the opportunity to ride sleds pulled by reindeer brought into town by Lapplanders (see Image 347) or to attend the puppet theater.

The pedagogical principles of the long-deceased English cleric, Rev. Legh Richmond (see Image 189), whom Anna Whistler so respected, seemed in part to guide her in the children's home education. This is perhaps why they were given a magic lantern and a kaleidoscope, like Richmond's children, and assigned Richmond's verses on the solar system to commit to memory: the infusion of "piety ... into every enjoyment or pleasure"<sup>17</sup> as much as possible. They came to know Richmond's famous *Annals of the Poor* and were attracted because of them to cottager Jane's grave during their summer idyll on the Isle of Wight in 1848 (see Image 492). Anna Whistler was selective about which of Richmond's principles she accepted. In some instances, they may simply have come to the same ideas independently. Like him, she disapproved of dancing and of theater with live actors (puppets were acceptable) or too many pleasures in one day. Like him, she objected to "a taste for public exhibition of any kind"<sup>18</sup> and "accomplishments acquired only to gratify pride and vanity."<sup>19</sup> Like him, she was adamant about family privacy on Saturday and Sunday, but in their family they were not otherwise so strict as in Richmond's family. Richmond went so far that he would not allow his children to be with other families, not even with relatives, lest they be subject to influences other than those of their parents. While, as in Richmond's family, the Whistler family members each wrote the birthday celebrant a letter and gave gifts, Anna Whistler gave her children a party. She also permitted them to attend other children's parties, except for those given by Mrs. Baird. She "always

refused Mrs. F. Baird's children's parties ... because they were after the model of her" grown-up parties.<sup>20</sup> She felt, however, that James and Willie's education was quite haphazard.

General Konstantin Chevkin of the Railway Commission (see Image 245), to whose son Monsieur Lamartine had been tutor before coming to work for the Whistlers, urged Major Whistler in 1847 to leave both James and Willie to be educated in England after Debo's wedding. Major Whistler thought "they should profit of my stay in [Russia] to learn the languages." Chevkin countered his opinion by asking, "is it worth the sacrifice of the more solid and proper education that England will afford and which our very atmosphere seems to reject?" While Whistler felt there was some truth in Chevkin's statement that "the young men who have many languages here know nothing else, and these languages serve only to make them conceited and useless – they think because they know something that others do not that they are superior in everything," he nevertheless brought his sons back to Russia and further home education. James was left in England only in 1848, when the state of his health made it imperative, but his parents clung to Willie and brought him back to Russia, placing him once again in a private school.<sup>21</sup>

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The house resounded with music every day. Major Whistler played the flute, and Debo was accomplished on the harp and piano. Debo often accompanied her father at their musical evenings, but she was the star. In the morning, she practiced. Ellen Ropes, organist at the British and American Congregational Church, whose husband's family owned the only American mercantile establishment in St. Petersburg, began to come by early in the Whistlers' stay on Galernaia Street to play duets with Debo. Other female acquaintances did the same. The first recorded mention of Debo's lifelong friend-to-be, Emma Maingay (see Image 263), is a musical encounter. The Whistlers' musical evenings drew many guests, including Russian colleagues, who had their own tradition of music in the home.<sup>22</sup> Colonel Mel'nikov brought his brother, who, totally enchanted, proposed bringing his wife another time. Major Trouvellier's wife, also a talented pianist, participated in performances. Mr. Curtis, an English contractor, would travel any distance to hear

Debo play. Outside their home, Colonel Todd (see Image 278) provided a piano when she came to his birthday party. She was frequently the accompanist at the dances held by the Laws. One day James would paint *At the Piano* (1858–1859), portraying her playing (see Image 18), and many other works of his would bear titles combining colors and the names of musical forms. Debo also sang, but almost exclusively within the family circle, and charmed both Maxwell and Emma Maingay's brother, William Bonamy (see Image 260), with a repertoire in several languages. Almost all the music was secular, which saddened Anna Whistler, but, while wishing for religious music to be performed and unable to play any instrument herself, she preferred this kind of evening to any other. Debo also gave piano lessons to James and Willie, and Anna Whistler hoped that if they attained any proficiency they might "contribute to the praise of God in public worship."

The family participated as well in some of the rich musical life of St. Petersburg. Concerts were given most of the year, except summer. They were often charity events, some drawing more than two thousand people. But the main concert season took place within five weeks of Lent, from the second week up to Passion Week (see Images 378–379), while the theaters were closed, and sometimes several concerts would be given in one day. The Italian Opera performed in the fall and winter, and 1843 through 1845 were its legendary seasons.<sup>23</sup> When the season ended, the singers stayed on for the Lenten events. There were also university concerts in the form of musical mornings.<sup>24</sup> The St. Petersburg Philharmonic gave two or three concerts a year.<sup>25</sup> Harp concerts were probably not given while the Whistlers were in St. Petersburg; harp performance had descended from the concert stage to the amusement park and tavern restaurant, alienating the upper classes.<sup>26</sup> Concerts were not performed in Orthodox churches, but rehearsals of the Court Choir took place on Fridays and were open to the public.<sup>27</sup> The choir of the German Singakademie also had rehearsals one could attend every week.<sup>28</sup> The Liedertafel gave public concerts in the Lutheran Church of St. Peter (see Image 129).<sup>29</sup> Organ concerts were also held there.<sup>30</sup> Of the great composers who came to St. Petersburg while the Whistlers were there, Robert Schumann visited with his wife on her concert tour in 1844 (see Images 199–200), and Berlioz performed in March and April

of 1847.<sup>31</sup> Liszt played in 1842 and 1843, but while Major Whistler was in Russia without his family he lived a solitary and lonely life and, when they arrived in the fall of 1843, their grief and poor health isolated them as well.

The enjoyment of this wealth of music was at times endangered by the religious caveats of Anna Whistler and her preference for sacred music and for a life withdrawn from the world, as well as governed by considerations of Debo's health. Anna Whistler was moved most by the unnerving singing of the choristers at the rehearsals of the Court Choir. It carried her off to the realms of the dead, where she hoped one day to dwell with the little sons she had lost. At Easter 1844, she went with Mr. Ropes "to hear the mass so beautifully sung" in the Catholic Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria (see Image 127). Living on the Peterhof Road she appreciated the "chaunting" of the monks during the service at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery (see Image 397). Only in her own church did she not like the singing, which was performed by a choir of German boys. She attended no public musical events, except for one Imperial charity evening, where the Italian Opera greats Viardot-Garcia, Tamburini, and Rubini sang without impressing her (see Images 196–198).

The fact that Debo wished to attend secular public musical events even in Lent was a bone of contention between them, but Debo, the professional musician, would not budge and went to hear Clara Schumann twice. She attended *The Barber of Seville* by the Italian Opera troupe at the end of its first glorious season – with Anna Whistler's reluctant approval – and Anna Whistler's letters show that she went on to attend other Lenten performances over the years. She went to rehearsals of the Singakademie, because she was a member of the chorus. They sang only sacred music, and Anna Whistler – and sometimes Major Whistler – went too. Debo's study of German drew her to some of the other German performance venues. She probably went to the organ concerts at the Lutheran Church of St. Peter, and therefore was interested in hearing a new organ tested one evening. She seemed to react less emotionally than Anna Whistler to the singing of the Court Choir, exchanging impressions with Emma Maingay, while Anna Whistler wept.

Beyond the concert halls and churches, there was music everywhere: the workers singing their melancholy songs while they built the new bridge; the peasants singing on the Peterhof Road, whose songs Emma Maingay told Debo contained low words; Sir William Allan's niece singing Scottish and Spanish songs, whom Debo went to hear at a private home; the powerful singing voice of Mrs. Ropes penetrating the walls of their adjoining apartments; the vocal and instrumental performances of hostesses and their families at the dachas they visited; the organ grinders in the courtyards; the street musicians; the bands and orchestras at Ekateringof, the Summer Garden, the Pavlovsk Vauxhall (pleasure garden), and the islands of the Neva (see Images 406, 149, 384, 105).

Apart from music, other aspects of Russian cultural life in St. Petersburg were essentially non-existent for them. They began to attend exhibits at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts only when James became a student in the drawing courses. The literary scene is not mentioned. They seem not to have known that the great fabulist, Ivan Krylov (see Image 186), whom General Destrem (see Image 246), Major Whistler's colleague, had translated into French, died in November 1844. *Poor People*, the first novel of the young, still-unknown Dostoevskii (see Image 187), a literary event in 1846, passed unremarked. If Anna Whistler knew that the governess, Miss McLean's, employer, Mrs. Olenina (see Image 306), was the daughter of the recently deceased president of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (see Image 307), we are not made aware of it. Lack of knowledge of Belinskii's death in June 1848 (see Image 188) might be excused because Anna Whistler and the boys were on their way to England. Even William Ropes's brother, Joseph Samuel, who had received a Russian education, graduating from the Third Gymnasium and St. Petersburg University, was deeply interested only in translating and distributing tracts in Russia until he left permanently in 1847.

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Now, besides celebrating George Washington's birthday, the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, and their own birthdays, they had two Christmases and two New Years, the second ones coming twelve days after the Western ones, and two Easters, if this movable feastday did not



coincide with their own. They were not allowed two birthdays, but much was made of the one they had, especially James's tenth. Besides the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany followed by the celebration marking the opening of navigation (see Image 349), other Russian celebrations were the Carnival festivities preceding Lent and renewed just before Easter; the first of May promenade at Ekateringof;<sup>32</sup> and Whitsunday (usually Whitmonday) with its matchmaking that some foreigners likened to Valentine's Day.<sup>33</sup> There were also the official holidays that freed James and Willie from their lessons: the day of Alexander I's death and Nicholas I's succession to the throne; the birthdays or namedays of Imperial family members; numerous church holidays, with their folk counterparts; and feast days (see Images 375–382 for icons of some Russian holy days). Easter was the greatest holiday for the Russian Orthodox Church and for Anna Whistler, for whom Christ was the center of her life. Many pages of her diaries are devoted year after year to both the religious and the secular aspects of the Easter season.

Their friends fluent in Russian, members of the American Legation, and Major Whistler's colleagues kept them informed of important internal events, such as Russian court life and the cholera. The special Imperial occasions during their stay in Russia were the marriages in 1844 of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434–435, 444–446) and of her first cousin, Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna (see Image 441–442), when Debo was a spectator at the dinner and ball held for the latter and Maxwell regaled the Whistlers with stories of the functions he attended as a diplomat until he fell seriously ill; the tragic decline of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna from tuberculosis and her death after childbirth that same year (see Images 447–460); the death of Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna the following year also in childbirth; the marriage in 1846 of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Images 420, 432–433), when the Whistlers attended the public festivities at Peterhof, with Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280) filling them in on the private marriage ceremony; the betrothal and marriage of Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (see Images 436–438) in 1847; and the births and christenings of numerous Imperial grandchildren.

Anna Whistler was made aware of all the phases of the pregnant Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna's fading life and her death.

Friends reported and Anna Whistler witnessed personally that the revolutions of 1848 in Europe resulted in greater public appearances by the emperor and empress with many changes of costume in the course of the same day. The French edition of the official Russian newspaper contained public statements that she could understand and even copied into her diaries. Her Philadelphia friend Henriette Halbach, who in 1848 may have been living permanently in Germany, commented on the revolutions of 1848 in a letter cited in the diaries. With the appearance of the cholera, friends informed them that the populace was stirred – as in 1830–1831 – to seek its scapegoats in Russia’s old political enemy, the Poles, who were accused of poisoning the food, and in foreign doctors, some of whom were being killed.

They were aware of major political events in America chiefly through family correspondence. American newspapers were expensive to receive; moreover, they arrived “mutilated with ink, and pumice stone, where the Gov<sup>t</sup> Censors had erased objectionable matter.”<sup>34</sup> Sometimes Major Whistler went to read them uncensored at the American Legation in Tsarskoe Selo. The main topics of interest for the little American colony were the Mexican War and the possibility of hostilities over the Oregon Territory (see “Maps”). The Mexican War had an extremely personal aspect. It meant that Major Whistler’s eldest brother, William, and William’s son Joseph (see Images 34–35), both in the army, had been called up for active duty. Captain William G. Williams, a West Point acquaintance, was killed. The possibility of hostilities over the Oregon Territory was personal as well: Anna Whistler did not wish to see America and England at war, because she loved both countries and had close relatives and good friends in England as well as English-born friends in America.

They learned also of the many accidents in which steamers both international and local – still the major mode of domestic travel in those early days of the railroad – burned or exploded or were shipwrecked or were delivered when death seemed inevitable. Anna Whistler had experienced such a loss personally: years before, a sister had died by drowning, along with her husband and two children, when they could not get out of their cabin before their capsizing steamer flooded.<sup>35</sup>

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Geographically, the family's life was quite circumscribed. When Major Whistler was not in St. Petersburg, he was traveling between St. Petersburg and Moscow with his superior, Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243), to inspect the progress of the work on the route of the forthcoming railway. Anna Whistler and the children spent their Russian sojourn entirely in St. Petersburg and its environs, with the sole exception that in June of 1848, Willie accompanied his father on an inspection trip.<sup>36</sup>

Major and Anna Whistler did not see eye-to-eye about the Bobrinskii house. He wanted to keep renting it "because of the respectability of its situation and character," but she thought "it too large and expensive,"<sup>37</sup> as he refused to have any tenant but Maxwell in the rooms the latter was presently occupying. Maxwell, however, expected to be leaving Russia. In early 1844, they began to consider taking a dacha,<sup>38</sup> as their family physician, Dr. James Rogers of the British Legation, had told them "it [was] necessary for the health of the boys to be in [the] country during the 4 months of Summer."<sup>39</sup> Possibilities were the nearby Peterhof Road, which ran along the shore of the Gulf of Finland, where some of their friends and acquaintances owned or rented dachas, or a bathing place on the Baltic Sea. The Major did "not like the miserable country and country houses in the vicinity,"<sup>40</sup> but it was impossible for him to leave his work and accompany his family to the Baltic seacoast, so the Peterhof Road was chosen. Anna Whistler prevailed, and they gave up the Bobrinskii house permanently on 13 May 1844. They moved their household goods in carts to "a delightful country house looking just [then] like the banks of the Potomac,"<sup>41</sup> belonging to Thomas Drury, Senior, a bleach manufacturer. It was located "about 3½ miles from the city barrier,"<sup>42</sup> a short distance Whistler could easily travel every day. Here they passed May to September 1844. They frequently visited the hospitable Gellibrand dacha, where the Ropes family spent their summers, with Mr. Ropes, like most exchange merchants of the First Guild, remaining in town all week and coming out on Saturday. Mrs. Gellibrand (see Image 267) was deeply devoted to distributing religious tracts to the Russian troops who

traveled the Peterhof Road back and forth between St. Petersburg and Peterhof. She found willing helpers in James, Willie, and Anna Whistler, who were advised to pitch the tracts from a distance lest the recipients, in their eagerness, knock them down. Mr. Drury had several houses on his estate, and they came to know the occupants of his other dachas: Mrs. Norman in one and Mr. Drury's son, William, with his wife and ten children in another. Anna Whistler held Sunday School at the Whistler dacha, where James and Willie were joined by the Norman, Drury, and Handyside children. The family branched out and accepted invitations to the Baird and Anderson dachas, where Anna Whistler particularly enjoyed the music. They went on excursions to the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225), where the Harrison (see Images 226–227) and Eastwick (see Images 233–238) families lived in a house on one side of the Works (see Images 239–240) and, in a house on the other side of the Works, Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229) had bachelor quarters until his marriage in the summer of 1847. The Harrison quarters “had a home look,” with their rocking chairs and their “portraits of Washington and Franklin on the walls.”<sup>43</sup> There, they attended Sunday services held for the mechanics in the schoolroom by Rev. Thomas Ellerby (see Image 256) of the British and American Congregational Church of St. Petersburg and were taken to the works to see locomotives, passenger cars, and wheels being made. James and Willie rode the Eastwick boys' ponies. They traveled back into St. Petersburg for Sunday morning services at the English Church (see Images 110–111) and for an excursion in Ekateringof Park with its old wooden palace, serpentine walkways, and amusements (see Images 405–406). They went up river to the factory run by General Alexander Wilson, where linens and playing cards were made (see Images 241–242). They long anticipated and perhaps finally took an excursion to Lake Ladoga (see Image 404). The adults went to the famed Trinity-Sergius Monastery on the Peterhof Road (see Image 397) to hear a service, but especially for the singing. The Gellibrands took them (without James and Major Whistler, who were at Aleksandrofsky) to the neighboring estate of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (see Image 302) to witness the annual fête he gave for his peasants. James celebrated his tenth birthday, thrilling his mother with a poem avowing his love for her, albeit

borrowed from Thomas Moore. Aunt Alicia (see Image 39) came that summer for a visit and stayed for over a year that culminated in the birth of John Bouttatz Whistler.

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Living on the Peterhof Road, they made day trips to the Imperial summer-residence towns of Tsarskoe Selo and Peterhof (see Images 383–394, 400–403). “The country beyond the city, and in the direction of Moscow, is flat and unattractive”<sup>44</sup> and occupied by factories, while on the road to Peterhof, with its very attractive dachas, Imperial residences, and the monastery (see Image 397), one encountered overpowering clouds of dust in the summer heat, unless it rained, and then the dust turned to thick mud.<sup>45</sup> Mosquitoes were also plentiful. Living in the country, they experienced the curious phenomenon of a watchman on each estate beating during the night with a pair of sticks on a board nailed to two posts in order to warn thieves away and indicate to his master that he was carrying out his job.<sup>46</sup>

They had already visited Tsarskoe Selo, where Colonel Todd lived, in early May of 1844, when they were still tenants in Bobrinskii’s house, invited by Maxwell, who sought to repay them for saving his life. They traveled then for the first time on the first and only railway line existing in Russia, which ran from St. Petersburg to Tsarskoe Selo and then three kilometers further to Pavlovsk (see Image 383), and found it primitive by American standards. The perfect neatness of quiet inland Tsarskoe Selo, uniform in its layout, with macadamized roads and carefully kept gardens, where trees were washed and paths looked like parquet floors, enchanted Anna Whistler. She did not see it, with Colin Ingersoll’s eyes, as “built with the same regularity and uniformity – in a straight line – like a body of Russian soldiers drawn up for Review.”<sup>47</sup> They visited only the Great Tsarskoe Selo Palace (also called simply the Catharine Palace; see Image 385), able to do so because the heir apparent was not in residence. She recorded the opulence of Catherine the Great’s apartments and skeptically regarded the arrangement of Alexander I’s study as an attempt to create the illusion that it looked just as it had in his lifetime. James said he would have liked to know more about the paintings in the espaliered main gallery. On that trip, they had also visited Pavlovsk,

going by carriage from Colonel Todd's house. They visited only the pleasure garden pavilion – the terminus for the train (see Image 384) – on the private property of the emperor's brother, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich. In the pavilion, one could take refreshment, dine, and dance. A military band and an orchestra played alternately. It would not have appealed much to Anna Whistler, and there seems to be no record that they went there again.

From their dacha, they traveled by carriage to Tsarskoe Selo again in August of 1844 with Aunt Alicia. Anna Whistler described in the diaries in some detail the collections of the Armory, the grounds of the Alexander Palace, where Nicholas I resided, and the Chinese bridge with its lifelike figures in the Alexander Park (see Images 388–394).

That same August, they visited Peterhof (see Images 400–403), where Nicholas I resided in the Cottage and the heir apparent in the Great Peterhof Palace, which precluded visiting either residence. Peterhof, in contrast to Tsarskoe Selo, resounded with the rumble of jetting and cascading water, creating a light spray of shimmering moisture, forming a transparent vault over the spacious central basin, transforming broad steps into crystal staircases with glasslike cloches, turning quivering droplets into diamond dust, and producing rainbows.<sup>48</sup> Anna Whistler recorded their impressions of the central fountains in front of the Great Peterhof Palace in the Upper Garden, the bath house, and Peter the Great's favorite palace, Monplezir, in the Lower Garden. James was most taken by the Samson fountain and the athletes and serpents shooting streams of water. He was moved to laughter in the Peterhof Hermitage (Little Monplezir) by paintings of birds produced by Peter the Great's own hand, but Anna Whistler felt they should be “most highly prized” for that very reason.<sup>49</sup>

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In September of 1844, they moved into a spacious ten-room apartment with a balcony on the third floor of a house on the English Embankment belonging to a merchant named Ritter. They had a view from their living room of the Neva in all its seasonal transformations and of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts opposite (see Images 154–155). As the landing for the Cronstadt steamer was located near them,

from their balcony they could observe the animated arrival and departure of its passengers.<sup>50</sup> At the start of spring, for a brief while, the crowds shifted from the muddy sidewalks of the Nevskii Prospekt to the wide, clean, and dry granite pavement of the English Embankment (see Images 101–104).<sup>51</sup> Here they promenaded from two to four in the afternoon until Bright Week, the week after Easter, when they abandoned the English Embankment for the Summer Garden (see Image 149).<sup>52</sup> During the three months of summer, from six o'clock every evening until late into the night, elegantly dressed musicians gave "Petersburg serenades" on horn and wind instruments from boats floating past the English Embankment.<sup>53</sup>

They lived here for four years and eight months. The Ropeses moved from the Galernaia and became their neighbors across the landing. In the summer of 1845, they remained in St. Petersburg, where John Bouttatz Whistler, the last child, was born. After his birth, Debo left St. Petersburg to spend a year with the Winstanleys in Preston, Lancashire. In 1846, Major Whistler prevailed: they did not take a dacha again. That summer, they frequently traveled from St. Petersburg to visit friends who continued to summer on the Peterhof Road. In July, afraid of a possible mishap on the water, they hired a coach to take them and the Crufts – visiting Americans consigned to their care – all the way to Peterhof to join in the public festivities celebrating the marriage of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna and His Highness Prince Karl of Württemberg (see Images 420, 432–433). The crowd was limited to the grounds of the Upper and Lower Gardens, and it was the illuminations and the milling mass of people that Anna Whistler concentrated on recording. In August, they visited Tsarskoe Selo again. It had been approximately two years since the death of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, and Anna Whistler devoted herself to viewing the oratory created in her memory in the room where she had died in the Alexander Palace, as well as other monuments to her within the Alexander Park (see Images 450–457). In October of 1846, the Whistlers suffered their own loss: John Bouttatz died. His body was sent to Stonington to be buried with his brothers.

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James's attack of rheumatic fever in 1847 made Dr. Rogers advise them to shift the summer location for Anna Whistler and the boys to England. Although such separations were commonplace for the foreign community of St. Petersburg, this was the beginning of the family's breakup. In the summer of 1847, they lived with the Winstanleys and enjoyed the rural beauty of England. On this visit to Preston, they were introduced to at least one of the Cotton Lords of the town, Charles Swainson, at whose home in Walton-le-Dale, Cooper Hill (see Image 464), James celebrated his thirteenth birthday. Anna Whistler became aware of the unrest among the unemployed mill workers or at least recorded it for the first time. Debo, who had traveled separately through Europe to England with the Blisses, announced, on joining her family, that a young English doctor named Francis Seymour Haden (see Image 20) wished to marry her and with no delay. Deeply unhappy over the impending marriage, Whistler took his second leave from Russia to be present at their wedding in October, which was marred by his depression. He and Anna Whistler and the boys returned to St. Petersburg in late October.

In June of 1848, James had another severe attack of rheumatic fever, and the cholera began to rage with full force. Europe was rife with revolutions. Dr. Rogers, who was himself leaving Russia temporarily because of the epidemic and possibly because of the scapegoat killing of doctors, advised everyone he could to leave. Anna Whistler took the boys to England again. They lived with the Hadens, who were expecting their first child in December. She managed finally to visit her old friend of eighteen years before, Georgina Shaw (see Image 486), who ran a school for girls in Clapham. In July, they traveled to the Isle of Wight for a holiday of several weeks. They lodged in the village of Shanklin, where they made the acquaintance of a family named Phillips and encountered other escapees from the cholera in St. Petersburg, some of them Russian. Mrs. Morgan read from her husband's frank letters about the devastation being wreaked by the cholera epidemic, while Major Whistler's reports were calculated not to distress his family. They made daily excursions, often in the company of the Phillipses, to popular sights: within Shanklin and to its chine, Bonchurch, Ventnor, Culver Cliffs, Appuldurcombe, Blackgang Chine, St. Lawrence, and Rev. Legh



Richmond's Brading (see Images 489–496). James drew to his heart's content. Debo and the Winstanleys visited them. They saw members of the well-known naval family of Napier and had a conversation with an intriguing "Lady D." James's health remained frail: he was not permitted to bathe in the sea and had to ride a donkey when they traveled any distance. At the end of the summer, Anna Whistler made the decision to leave him in England. She decided to leave Mary Brennan, too, to be of assistance to the pregnant Debo. She and Willie returned to St. Petersburg to find Whistler changed for the worse by the illness he had suffered over the summer. In November, he contracted cholera. Anna Whistler nursed him back to health, but his heart began to fail and, in April of 1849, he died. The Russian sojourn was over.<sup>54</sup>

## NOTES

1. All quotations for which no source is acknowledged are taken from the diaries themselves.
2. 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 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 (S. Shul'ts, *Khramy Sankt-Peterburga Istoriiia i sovremennost'* [*Churches of St. Petersburg: Their History Past and Present*], ed. M.V. Shkarovskii [St. Petersburg: Glagol, 1994], p. 261).

A valuable source about the Chapel 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.

3. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29.
4. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30 / Oct. 12, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W364.
5. William Whistler described the Saturday afternoons of his childhood to his second wife, Helen (Ionides) Whistler (Elizabeth R. Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Whistler Journal* [Philadelphia: J. Lippincott, 1921], p. 254; Joseph Pennell and Elizabeth R. Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols. [London: Heinemann, 1908], vol. 1, p. 9).
6. V. Ia. Kurbatov, *Peterhof* [*Peterhof*] (Leningrad: Izdanie Leningradskogo Gubernskogo Soveta Professional'nykh Soiuzov, 1925), p. 30; Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 45.
7. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 3 October 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W363. The English Magazine was a department store.
8. An essay on the life of George Washington Whistler, written by Anna Whistler in May 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
9. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, entry dated Jan. 4, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27.
10. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 84; Bloomfield, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, pp. 148–149.
11. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, entry dated Jan. 4, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27.
12. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, entry dated Jan. 4.
13. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843, entry dated Sept. 10, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21.
14. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fols. 10, 23. Her friend Miss Hirst said she would “give all but her own soul to be able to talk Russ sufficiently well to teach the poor & ignorant the gospel plan of Salvation” (Tuesday, 25 June 1844, in the entry for Monday 17<sup>th</sup> June, NYPL: AWP, Part I). Mr. Gellibrand, the brother-in-law of Mr. Ropes, said “I have lived among these people 20 years & am more & more convinced of the errors of the Greek church, but without the bible how soon we should also lose our

light!” (entry for Sat [July] 6<sup>th</sup>, NYPL: AWP, Part I). For filth and bugs, see Bloomfield, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p. 159.

15. H.K. Fettyplace, Entry for tuesday [July 25], 1848, *Journal of a Voyage from Mobile to Havana (via New Orleans) Hence to St. Petersburg and from Hense [sic] to Boston on Board the Ship “Peterhof” Captain L. Endicott, A. 1848*, Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) Library, Salem, MA (hereafter PEM: Fettyplace Journal). I wish to express my deep gratitude to Margaret Coleman, director of the Russian American Cultural Center at Russia Wharf (now closed) in Boston, who, together with Meghan Driscoll, then working at the Cultural Center, transcribed the portions of Henry King Fettyplace’s journal relevant for my work. I wish also to thank Irene Axelrod, archivist of the PEM Library, for her participation in the transcription process.

Henry King Fettyplace was born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, probably in 1819, given that this is the birth year of his classmate, George Henry Prince. His brother, Thomas J. Fettyplace, was appointed consul for Mobile by the Republic of Texas on 22 December 1843. On 25 June 1844, Henry K. Fettyplace wrote to the secretary of state asking to be appointed vice-consul in Mobile, a position Thomas J. Fettyplace had requested to be permitted to establish “for a few days” (Alma Howell Brown, “The Consular Service of the Republic of Texas,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33, no. 3 [1930]: pp. 223, 224). Henry K Fettyplace died in 1862 and was buried in Marblehead, Massachusetts.

16. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 4 Dec. 1848 & 5<sup>th</sup>, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370.
17. *Domestic Portraiture; or, The Successful Application of Religious Principle in the Education of a Family, exemplified in the Memoirs of three of the deceased children of the Rev. Legh Richmond*. With a few introductory remarks on Christian education, by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts. (New York: Robert Carter, 1834), p. 30.
18. *Domestic Portraiture*, p. 45.
19. *Domestic Portraiture*, p. 27.
20. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Feb. 19 [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383.
21. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from Major George W. Whistler to Anna Whistler, Moscow July 16<sup>th</sup> 1847. Friday—, GUL: Whistler Collection, W655.

22. For a brilliant exposition of music in the Russian home and concert hall, see Richard Stites, *Serfdom, Society, and the Arts in Imperial Russia: The Pleasure and the Power* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 53–126.
23. Julie A. Buckler, *The Literary Lorgnette Attending Opera in Imperial Russia* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 14. “The St. Petersburg directorate made a brief, Italian opera troupe in the late 1820s, but the venture was unprofitable” (Buckler, p. 37). “The ‘Golden Age’ of Italian opera in Russia began with the tenor Giovanni Rubini’s visit in 1843. After an initial season performing with local Russian singers, Rubini concluded an agreement with the Imperial Theater directorate, enabling him to form his own troupe in Italy and return to St. Petersburg for full opera seasons. The troupe initially featured the famous trio of Rubini, baritone Antonio Tamburini, and mezzo-soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia ... Tsar Nicholas I proved himself willing to provide abundant financial support for Rubini’s Italian opera project” (Buckler, p. 38).
24. I.F. Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn’ Peterburga Muzyka v obshchestvennom i domashnem bytu 1801–1859 gody. Materialy dlia èntsiklopedii “Muzykal’nyi Peterburg”* [*The Concert Life of Petersburg Music in Social and Domestic Life 1801–1859. Materials for an encyclopedia “Musical Petersburg”*] (St. Petersburg: [Petrovskii fond], 2000), pp. 90–91.
25. Petrovskaia, p. 91.
26. The harp was taught in the Smol’nyi and the Catherine female institutes and could be heard at the public examinations there. After the expansion of harp performance to lower-class venues, instruction on the harp at the Smol’nyi Institute ceased and was not resumed until 1891 (Petrovskaia, pp. 14–15).
27. Petrovskaia, p. 46.
28. Petrovskaia, p. 38.
29. Petrovskaia, p. 48.
30. Petrovskaia, p. 69.
31. Petrovskaia, pp. 104, 120, 142–143, 179; Taisija A. Shcherbakova, *Mikhail i Matvei Viel’gorskii: ispolniteli, prosvetiteli, metsenaty* [*Mikhail and Matvei Viel’gorskii: Performers, Enlighteners, and Patrons*] (Moscow: Muzyka, 1990), p. 44.

32. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg. May 2/14 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 12.
33. Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 3, pp. 8–123; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35.
34. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 51.
35. See the biography of the Easterbrook family, part of the biographies of the Whistler, Swift, Kingsley, McNeill, Cammann, Rodewald, Flagg, Boardman, Gibbs, Chew, Palmer, Easterbrook, Lorillard, Dunscombe, Vallance, Bohlen, Halbach, and Fairfax families in Appendix E (hereafter, Whistler . . . Fairfax).
36. Entry for Monday [May] 22<sup>nd</sup> [1848], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; A.I. Shtukenberg, *Memuary Antona Shtukenberga* [*Memoirs of Anton Shtukenberg*], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1836–61), Rukopisnyi otdel (RO) [Manuscript Division], Leningradskii institut inzhenerov zheleznodorozhnogo transporta (LIIZhT) [Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers], St. Petersburg (hereafter, Shtukenberg, *Memuary*), vol. 2, fol. 516.
37. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 32. Both quotations are from this letter.
38. For an English-language work on the dacha see Steven Lovell, *Summerfolk: A History of the Dacha, 1710–2000* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
39. George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 4th, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
40. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 32.
41. George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 4, 1844, entry dated May 18, NYPL: Swift Papers; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29.
42. George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 4, 1844, entry dated May 18, NYPL: Swift Papers.
43. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 51.
44. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 1.
45. See similar comments by Al'bin Konechnyi, quoting V.R. Zotov on life in Petersburg in the 1840s (Al'bin Konechnyi,

- “Peterburgskie dachi” [“Petersburg dachas”], *Antropologicheskii forum* [*Anthropology Forum*] 3 [2005]: p. 449).
46. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36.
  47. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 4.
  48. I am no longer able to locate the original source for this description of water at Peterhof.
  49. Anna Whistler does not mention that she saw these paintings in the Hermitage (Little Monplezir) at Peterhof, but Henry K. Fettyplace (entry for Sunday 30<sup>th</sup> July 1848) has identified their location in this building.
  50. Beginning in 1837, when a new fairway was dug in the mouth of the Neva for more convenient communication between St. Petersburg and Cronstadt, regular passenger travel between St. Petersburg and Europe, Scandinavia, and England started. The landing and the ticket office were located on the English Embankment (Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 284n1).
  51. Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 227.
  52. Solovieva, *Angliiskaia naberezhnaia*, p. 16.
  53. Solovieva, p. 15; P.E. Bukharkin, ed., *Deviatnadsatyi vek* [*The Nineteenth Century*], vol. 2 of *Tri veka Sankt-Peterburga Ėntsiklopediia* [*Three Centuries of St. Petersburg: An Encyclopedia*], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Filologicheskii fakul'tet Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2006), bk. 5, pp. 199–202.
  54. Anna Whistler visited Russia again, alone, sometime in July – August of 1860. Writing to James on 19 August 1861, she reminded him: “Tis a year today, dear Jamie, since you and Seymour [Haden] welcomed me back to the Sloane st home from Russia –” (Anna Whistler to dear Jamie Stonington Conn Monday, Aug 19<sup>th</sup> [18]61, GUL: Whistler Collection, W511). She referred to this trip again in 1876, in a letter to one of the daughters of Andrew McCalla and Lydia (James) Eastwick. In it, she makes clear that she visited Peterhof, in the environs of St. Petersburg, in 1860. She visited then with the family of George Henry and Marion (Hall) Prince: “Marion the youngest sister of the three whom I knew as interesting children in 1860 when I visited Peterhoff –” (Anna Whistler to Mary Emma Harmar Eastwick, Hastings, 19 July, with additions on 26 and 28 July, LC: P-W, box 34). “Marion the youngest sister” refers to Sarah Marion Prince, a daughter of George and Marion (Hall) Prince.

## THE WHISTLERS AS THEY WERE IN THE 1840S

### GEORGE WASHINGTON WHISTLER

Why George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) was called “Major” is an item of curiosity that has not been resolved. He graduated from West Point with the rank of second lieutenant in July 1819. He was promoted to first lieutenant in August 1829, “but resigned his commission on December 31, 1833, in order to become a full-time civil engineer. Nevertheless, by May, 1836, he was called Captain Whistler, and by the time that he began to work for the Western Railroad of Massachusetts ... in 1837, he was known as Major Whistler, by which rank he was called, both in America and Russia, until his death in April, 1849.”<sup>1</sup> He may have been a member of a state militia,<sup>2</sup> but to date this has not been corroborated.

\* \* \*

Whistler’s first marriage (23 January 1821) was an elopement with Mary Roberdeau Swift (see Image 10) against her parents’ wishes.<sup>3</sup> Three children – George William (see Images 12–13), Joseph Swift, and Deborah Delano (see Images 17–19, 21) – were born to them within a period of four years (1822–1825). Whistler’s peripatetic life as an army engineer entailed at times extensive absences from home. Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler died in 1827. His wife’s death resulted in the necessity of relinquishing their children to the care of her family and rarely seeing them,<sup>4</sup> until his second marriage enabled him to retrieve them. Viewed retrospectively from twelve years (1843) into his marriage to Anna McNeill (see Images 1–5) and the ensuing years in Russia until his death, this earlier life seems to reflect an absence of religious conviction or commitment to formal religion fostered by his wandering life and his anguish and bitterness over the loss of his first wife and separation from his children. Anna Whistler set about working to shape



his religious life and views, and partly succeeded. He went to church on Sunday. He enjoyed the sermons read aloud at home on a Sunday night, participating as a reader himself sometimes. He joined in the family's daily attendance at church during the week before Easter. In time, he began to carry his Bible with him on inspection trips with Count Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243).<sup>5</sup> He was "wont to kneel side by side [with his wife] in [their] chamber" and pray silently.<sup>6</sup> He celebrated the Sabbath by withdrawing from the outside world to please her. On his deathbed, he assured her that he believed in Christ, but she seems never to have been able to persuade him to partake of communion and thus enter into the formal mysteries of her religion. Nor was he willing to simply entrust his cares entirely to God, as, for example, when his son George had to take a year's cruise for his health. Only on his deathbed, barely able to speak, did he accept his wife's words that he could leave them all to God. The eulogies Anna Whistler wrote after his death of his religious beliefs and of the almost providential purpose in his going to Russia have, therefore, to be considered in the light of her own deeply religious persuasion and her grief-stricken need to embellish all aspects of his life.

There are two interesting descriptions of Whistler's physical appearance in midlife. The first is the more sensual:

A man of medium height, erect and military in bearing, Major Whistler was always a prominent figure on the street. With dark rich complexion and black hair that hung in coarse curls, he might easily be taken for a foreigner. He had a rare face. The nose was strong and prominent yet delicately molded, and the lips of a refined mouth were mobile and expressive.<sup>7</sup>

The best description of Whistler's physical appearance and spiritual bearing in the 1840s, though, is the succinct and vivid statement made by his Russian colleague, Anton Shtukenberg (see Image 250), first cousin of James's drawing teacher, Aleksandr Koritskii (see Images 167–170):

During the first years Whistler was very hale, with wonderful thick black hair and a slightly bronzed face with an aquiline nose; and in general he had a noble-looking

native profile which reminded you of an Indian and made you recognize in him, when you got to know him, a true free gentleman.<sup>8</sup>

In temperament, he was a perceivably honorable, generous, modest, gentle, compassionate, stubborn, anxious, and emotional man, who cried easily and suffered from homesickness whenever parted from his family. Separated by great distance from his young children, he sought out other children wherever he was for the reason that they physically resembled his own. He often rode all night at the end of an inspection trip to reduce his time away from home. He reluctantly accepted an invitation from Russian colleagues for even a day's absence from his family, although he occasionally allowed himself to spend a "bachelor" evening with his English sea-captain friend, John Kruger. He was a "humane person who did not forget man or beast."<sup>9</sup> In his modesty, he was "inclined in a place of worship to 'take the lower room.'"<sup>10</sup> He was embarrassed by "public displays of feeling."<sup>11</sup> He was anxious "lest deviating from Mr. Laws practice should bring remarks upon him,"<sup>12</sup> when his wife broke with custom and asked Rev. Williams to close the evening at their home by conducting their family devotions.

He held decided views on the influence of women upon society and "on the claims of children":

[His] views ... of the sacred responsibility of women, were such as would if adopted extend happiness throughout all classes of society, he was solemnly impressed by the dignity of the calling of *the mother of a family* & seriously considered the influence of women of all ages upon the society in which they moved. how often he lamented that frivolity in manner, indelicacy or extravagance in dress should impair it, he would conclude his very forcible remarks upon this important subject, by saying he knew he could not make converts – for *fashion* was his opponent.

As a result of these views, he left domestic decisions to be made by his wife, though he murmured with pained feelings when she decided that Debo should marry Francis Seymour Haden (see Image 20) immediately and that James (see Images 24–29) should be left in England

for his health. His ineffectual plea both times was that they should first come back to St. Petersburg just for the winter.

Of the claims of children he was very scrupulous, to practice any injustice upon a helpless little one or take advantage of confiding & unsuspecting youth he considered an outrage to laws human and divine. he always was scrupulous against deceiving children, watchful against injudicious indulgence, yet none shrink from harshness more, he was grieved but never angry when his children were in fault.<sup>13</sup>

He did not chide Debo when staying out late at a party affected her health adversely and exhausted him as well. His daughter's insufficient concern for him on her wedding day, although she would now be permanently separated from him, drew comment in Anna Whistler's diary, but she recorded no murmuring from Major Whistler, only his misery. But he was a stubborn man. Debo's marriage "outside the United States"<sup>14</sup> – and something he disliked in his brief encounter with Haden – prevented him from writing to her until he was dying. This behavior, though admittedly hurtful to his daughter, came not from a hardened heart, according to Anna Whistler, but from an awareness of how offensive it might be to Debo that he would never allow himself to speak of Haden in any letter he might write. His correspondence with General Joseph G. Swift (see Image 11) reveals how he struggled, encouraged, and empathized with his sometimes flighty and difficult son, George, thousands of miles away. The news of the terrible death of young Charlotte Canda, Debo's schoolmate, made him weep, perhaps because he, too, had only one daughter. After hearing the choristers of the Imperial Choir and viewing their comfortable quarters, he "allowed his imagination to embitter his pleasure in listening to them by the idea of how they must be dulled & *punished*"<sup>15</sup> under the Russian educational system. He became a mentor to young men. The diaries record that the troubles of an unnamed young man agitated him greatly. Anna Whistler's correspondence refers to young men at Alexandrofsky who had turned to him for guidance and about whom he concerned himself even on his deathbed.<sup>16</sup>

Whistler felt from the start of his work with due anxiety the weight of the responsibility placed on him:

[T]his establishment [the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works] has always been a source of great anxiety to me ... for in all matters relating to it they have left me to do as I thought best – never investigating the merits of the Engines or Cars – leaving all to me – ... in the beginning the responsibility I felt here was very heavy – for where so much was doing – if it was not right – the wrong would be irreparable.<sup>17</sup>

His conscientiousness about his work is evident in the four requests he made to Count Kleinmikhel' for leave to go abroad (in 1843, 1846, 1847, and 1849) during his stay of six years and eight months in Russia. Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) approved them all. The first leave, to meet his family in Hamburg, Whistler did not in the end have to take; thus he remained in Russia from August 1842 until October 1846 without a break. His final request was for permission to depart “for a milder climate on the sea coast” for the restoration of his health and to “return with the first opening of navigation,”<sup>18</sup> but he died in the meantime.

\* \* \*

His American colleagues in Russia loved and revered him. Maxwell considered him his “bosem [*sic*] friend, [his] counsellor”:<sup>19</sup>

He is all that my imagination had ever dreamed of in the beau ideal of a soldier ... he has seen much of life on the good side and the bad, without being spoiled by either and retains a heart as fresh and as generous as those I loved so much in my school day friends.<sup>20</sup>

How am I indebted to him for hour after hour of pleasure and content in this dreary land! How inestimable are the riches of this man's heart. how few will I ever meet to be compared to him in character and virtue ... I know his talent. I have had an opportunity known to few to learn his perfect honour where an extraordinary attempt was made upon it.

I have seen him empty his pocket and shed his tears over  
a poor child in the street.<sup>21</sup>

He must be happy too at home for I have seen the tears  
jump from his eyes when speaking of his lady.<sup>22</sup>

Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) was deeply attached to him, and at his death acknowledged to Joseph Harrison Sr. several times that he had lost his best friend. When the widowed Anna Whistler was preparing to return to America, he undertook “all the expenses and toil of boxing those articles of furniture valuable from fond associations of home here.”<sup>23</sup> His tie to Whistler prompted, after the latter’s death, an extremely generous offer of thousands of dollars to help young George Whistler establish himself. Later, the Harrison home in America was always open to Anna Whistler, who paid extensive visits to the family in the lean years before she left America permanently.

Andrew Eastwick (see Image 233) also felt that by the death of Major Whistler he had lost “a friend whom I loved with brotherly affection. He was a good man, always anxious to promote the happiness of his fellow man. For such a man who cannot weep? ... The death of my dear friend ... was unexpected and cast sad and gloomy feelings upon me, from which I feel it most difficult to arouse myself.”<sup>24</sup> The Eastwicks later in the United States demonstrated much kindness to Anna Whistler, from storing her furniture to lending money to her brother, Charles.<sup>25</sup>

Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280), too, was drawn to Whistler from his first meeting with him in St. Petersburg, where he found it “a treat to see and talk with a real live Yankee ... intelligent and delightful in conversation.”<sup>26</sup> He frequented their home with the same ease and enthusiasm as had Maxwell before him, “daily at our fireside, at our table unceremoniously welcomed.”<sup>27</sup>

Whistler’s Russian colleagues and the emperor also appreciated him. Both Pavel Petrovich Mel’nikov (see Image 247) and Osip Ivanovich Kraft (see Image 248), the engineers sent to America by the Russian government to find a suitable consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, proposed Whistler because of his “strict rules of honesty and wonderful qualities of character, in particular [his] American calmness and easygoing disposition.”<sup>28</sup>

Aleksandr Andreevich Bodisco, the Russian Ambassador in Washington (see Image 283), appraised the Russian government's "excellent acquisition" thus: "Major Whistler unites a great ability and twenty years' experience with a great desire to do good [work] and to justify the confidence with which we wish to honor him."<sup>29</sup>

Nicholas I, "the soul of frankness" himself, liked the Americans building the railroad and the rolling stock for *their* frankness.<sup>30</sup> Having granted Whistler's request for permission to send for American mechanics in 1843, he spoke to Ambassador Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll in 1847 – several months after awarding the Order of St. Anne (2nd class) to Whistler (see Image 252) and diamond rings to Harrison, Winans, and Eastwick – "of ... Major Whistler, in the highest terms and of the great service which the Empire had derived from his talents and skill,"<sup>31</sup> and said that the success of both Whistler and Harrison "was beyond his expectations, and that words failed him to express his confidence in Whistler, and the gentlemen whom he induced to come to Russia, and undertake the contract."<sup>32</sup>

In America, Whistler's name became "identified with the American interests in Russia. If people [began] to talk of Russia, it [was] only a sort of prelude to a conversation about Major Whistler."<sup>33</sup>

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Whistler, the namesake of the first president of the United States<sup>34</sup> and a graduate of West Point, was a staunch American. Attempts had been made by Count Bodisco and by Baron Brünnow, the Russian ambassador in London, to persuade him to actually enter the Russian service, but his own disinclination and Major Bouttatz's advice against it kept him from doing so. He never regretted his decision to remain "Mr. Whistler" and to stay out of that "most servile of all services," in which "I have seen generals treated with much more indignity – than any gentleman could stand in our country – and worse than I have ever seen a private treated with in our service" and for which there was no redress, only a continuing "endeavor to please, at all hazard." He was astonished by the corruption he saw in the government, having been "unwilling to believe all that was told [him]" and felt that "not even His Majesty could with impunity interfere with [the system]."<sup>35</sup> He was free of those

“snobbish instincts” that inclined some Americans “to a disparagement of our country, and its democratic institutions.”<sup>36</sup> To the Russian system of patronage, in which “persons have very little by right” and in which “fear keeps every body within his orbit lest he should be crushed – as he most certainly would be,” he contrasted that of his own country: “none but Americans can understand the blessings of security by law – and the justice of public opinion.” He defended America against its critics: “I know it is common all over Europe – and even at home, to accuse our public opinion of tyranny – it may be sometimes but where there is no public opinion – there can be nothing but tyranny in its worst shape”;<sup>37</sup> “ours is the only country worth living in. I wish with all my heart all our people could visit Europe, they would return satisfied and be thankful for the blessings they enjoy.”<sup>38</sup>

With the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions, “orders [were] given to our countrymen” at Alexandrofsky “to complete at once 250 baggage wagons for the Army”; but at “a large dinner party at the [American] Legation” on 11 March 1848, “Major Whistler, good Republican that he is, [was] enthusiastic over the French news, and [thought] the Republic there [was] going to last.”<sup>39</sup> A few days later, he “called [at the Legation] in great spirits over the success of the French Republicans.”<sup>40</sup>

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Appropriations for the building of the railroad were not straightforward, nor could they be questioned. It was expected that the railroad would be completed in 1847, but year after year saw a postponement. In January 1847, Whistler was puzzled as to why “when the money for this work was a spe[cial] loan – by the govt ... we are cut short 33 pr cent of our funds – we ask for 15,000,000 silver rubs – and they give us only 10,000,000 ... the work for want of the 5,000,000 will be extended another year for its completion.”<sup>41</sup> He had already blamed delays to a great extent on the Imperial family’s extravagant living.<sup>42</sup> Now he heard “that some of this next year’s appropriation has been employed in the last year’s travels of the Imperial family.”<sup>43</sup> His comment was: “So they do things here – no troublesome members of Congress to call for informat[ion].”<sup>44</sup> In early 1849, he placed the time of the railroad’s completion in 1850, citing War Department expenditures as the cause:

What a pity that we should be curtailed in the means of finishing just now – 'tis true the expenditures of the Govt War Dept. may be very great – but what signifies 8 or 10 millions of dollars to a Govt to complete a work upon which they have expended forty millions – 'tis strange how things are managed and kept from appearing in their proper light here – for I know full well 'tis only because of this management that the money is not forthcoming.<sup>45</sup>

He felt that no inducements could make him stay in Russia after the railroad was built, as he “would not upon any consideration bring up [his] family in this country.”<sup>46</sup> “[H]is native land, he cherished ... as a religious sentiment which he desired his children to retain wherever they might be.”<sup>47</sup> He had great misgivings about his long absence from America and “long[ed] to take [his] boys home that they may feel themselves always Americans.”<sup>48</sup> In fact, he was already considering sending his family to England in 1847, where they would spend a year waiting to return home with him at the anticipated completion of the railroad in 1848.<sup>49</sup> He also considered sending them all back to America,<sup>50</sup> for “every day convinces me that ours is the only country in which to live a rational and happy life – and my children should receive this impression there.”<sup>51</sup>

Although he wanted his sons (see Images 24–30) to be educated in America, he was aware of the importance of an exposure to Europe for them. His own exposure to a foreign country other than England made him understand the necessity of knowing foreign languages. Sending for his family, he urged them to concentrate on learning French in the months before setting out, or they would “not be able to understand anybody.”<sup>52</sup> In all his years in Russia, he never learned Russian and spoke such labored French that he was assigned an interpreter. When he decided to send the boys to Monsieur Jourdan’s school, his prime reason was that they should learn modern languages. He later wanted them to learn the classical languages as well, in anticipation of their possibly attending Harvard or Yale.<sup>53</sup>

He believed that it was better for them to attend a school than to be tutored at home. He knew it was right for James, but was anxious over the irregularity of his education caused by ill health. When he had



to decide about Willie's studies in late 1848, he ultimately chose Baxter's Commercial School over tutors at home, a decision made in part to strengthen Willie's character.

Maxwell assured him that he "could have no conception of the vast advantages" James and Willie were enjoying. He felt that the family's "residence in Europe on their account should reconcile [Whistler] perfectly to a few more years of absence" from America, and that he would "never regret the course" he had chosen.<sup>54</sup>

Despite Whistler's strongly held views about returning home, in 1849, for the first time, he spoke, and with poignance, of his desire to remain in Russia until the completion of the railroad. Only if actually physically present for the ceremony of its opening did he seem to feel he would get his share of the credit:

I have had a great desire to finish this road – to be here until it was finished – indeed I should feel as if I had not accomplished the object for which I came if I left before I ran over the line – and I am sure I shall not get my just share of the credit if I do not see this ceremony – you see I do not hesitate to claim that the work will be creditable.<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps because he had come to know the system, he feared that his role would be played down if he were absent, but an undoubtedly more powerful reason was that he was now in a very weakened physical state and surmised that he would not live to see the railroad's completion. The opening of the railroad to the general public took place on 1 November (OS) 1851.

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Whistler worked a six-day week. He spent his time at the Railway Commission office or out at Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225). Almost every evening, he conferred in his chancery at home with Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229), who came then on shop business because he could leave Alexandrofsky only after the work day was over. Occasionally, Whistler remained at home to write a technical document or a report for Count Kleinmikhel'. The two quite regularly went on at least a fortnight's inspection trip of the line. Sometimes Whistler could be absent from home for a month. At

first, they went during the working season of April to October; as the construction progressed, they went even in winter. Whistler's work in building railroads in the United States had accustomed him to spending long days on horseback in all kinds of weather. In Russia, he would come home from these trips "rather browner than when he left" his family, reporting that he had "been *sailing* thro bogs knee deep" – luckily in his waterproof boots. On one trip, he had been "on horse back seventeen hours at a sitting," so that "his joints [were] unhinged."<sup>56</sup> On another, "he had [spent] only one night in bed, [and] ... had one day walked 7 versts and rode 47 over such bogs!"<sup>57</sup> On occasion, he "suffered from the cold in traveling" and even in July had to put on a fur-lined pelisse (*shuba*) (see Image 13).<sup>58</sup>

In his early years in Russia, he was very hale. These years were not free of illness, but his constitution was not visibly undermined. Like many foreigners, not long after arriving in St. Petersburg he became sick from drinking the Neva water,<sup>59</sup> but the diaries contain many instances of severe colds that he succumbed to with increasing frequency. From the time his family arrived, he would ride all night from an inspection trip to get home sooner. In winter, he sometimes suffered for days afterwards from a cough and pain in the chest. A few days after an inspection trip in March of 1846, he had an alarming attack with excruciating pain that the best efforts of the family physician could not alleviate for many days.<sup>60</sup> In March of 1847, he left home one morning, did not eat all day, returned at one in the morning, and caught cold. In April 1847, he was a victim – with James, Willie, and their laundress – of the influenza raging in St. Petersburg, but returned to his duties as soon as he seemed well. Still, in his letters to General Joseph G. Swift, he indicated that he was in good health, and as late as January 1847, that the climate agreed with him.<sup>61</sup>

The decisive blow to Whistler's health occurred in July of 1848, when "his family [had] all gone to England and left him alone in the house," and he felt for the first time "the difference between *leaving* home and *being* left at home, it is so dreadful lonesome ... the house appears as large again as usual, and the servants farther off than ever."<sup>62</sup> Their friends tried to assuage his loneliness. In this particularly virulent period of the cholera epidemic, he had an "attack of illness" while at the

Gellibrands' dacha, that "seriously impaired [his] general health."<sup>63</sup> He became very susceptible to colds, "and his stomach [was] so irritated that not a week ... passed without his being confined several days to [his bed]."<sup>64</sup> It is not clear whether he had contracted cholera. When Anna Whistler and Willie returned to St. Petersburg in late September, they "found him sadly changed by his late severe attack." She was "sad to think how very ill he must have been," and reported to James that "he still needs much care and good nursing."<sup>65</sup>

Ever conscientious, Whistler returned to work as soon as he could and in October went on an inspection trip to Moscow.<sup>66</sup> He was "suddenly attacked by cholera" in November and was only able to leave his bed "to sit up" in early December.<sup>67</sup> He could dress himself and go out for prescribed short drives.<sup>68</sup> The cholera had left his constitution shattered, and it was an "extraordinarily severe winter."<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless, each time he seemed to recover, he returned to work immediately. Before Christmas, he attended a Railway Commission meeting<sup>70</sup> and traveled to Alexandrofsky with Count Kleinmikhel'.<sup>71</sup> In January and February of 1849, he continued to work but was still on an invalid's diet.<sup>72</sup> He did "not ever feel just well – I can eat but little that does not agree with me – my feet and legs swell." Nevertheless, he intended to go to Moscow "the next week if it be milder," thinking that "perhaps the journey will be of service to my health and strength"; but if his health did not improve soon, he would not stay in Russia but would "try a trip to Germany."<sup>73</sup> In March, his condition worsened and he was suffering pain similar to that of James's rheumatic fever attacks.<sup>74</sup> Anna Whistler called his illness "the most distressing I ever attended": "congestion about the heart ... great difficulty at times in breathing, but the rheumatism in the legs has lessened that ... his arms have lain like pillows by his side & his legs as powerless, & swelled, until today he can lift them a little ... he has been only shifted from one side of bed to the other in a sheet."<sup>75</sup> He aged greatly in these few months.<sup>76</sup> A petition, expedited by Count Kleinmikhel', for permission to leave the country, was approved by Nicholas I. They hoped to take the first steamer, but navigation was not expected to open until May.<sup>77</sup>

Some of Whistler's Russian colleagues visited him. Among them was Count Kleinmikhel'. There is a story with possibly apocryphal details

about his visit: “When Whistler’s wife saw this figure wearing his stars and with a cock’s tail feathers on his hat, she absolutely did not want to let him in, thinking that he would frighten her husband. The Count, therefore, almost burst into the sick man’s bedroom.”<sup>78</sup> Anna Whistler’s account, however, stresses his kindness and concern: “[Whistler] bids me ... tell you how kind his chief has been in obtaining promptly the Emperors permission to his traveling for health. Count Kleinmikhel’ came himself to see Whistler – before he was so very ill as to be denied seeing any but the doct and myself – he sent his own physician to enquire in person – and couriers daily since, until he left [for] M[oscow] where the Court are to spend the Carnival.”<sup>79</sup>

Not long before Whistler’s death, the reclusive Kraft, in charge of the Southern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, also paid him a visit, “and the dying man said: ‘Yes, indeed, my breathing is at high pressure, and very soon I’ll be setting out on the express train for eternity!’”<sup>80</sup>

Through verbal instructions to his wife, Whistler, who had not made a will in Russia,<sup>81</sup> bequeathed to Pavel Mel’nikov his portrait (possibly the one executed for his birthday in 1848, whereabouts unknown), and the Bible (whereabouts unknown) that he read every day, containing many notes in his own hand.<sup>82</sup>

He died on 26 March / 7 April 1849. Anna Whistler and Joseph Harrison Jr. were present, along with Dr. Rogers, who, “the evening before ... had said there was no danger”:<sup>83</sup>

Our good Doct. was greatly shocked at the rapid sinking – in a few minutes Mr. Harrison communicated to me there was no hope of recovery – I then asked the Doct. to tell your father so – oh it is very painful he replied! but remember Doct. where he is going! When Doct. R. asked him, “have you any wordly affairs to settle my dear Sir?” not any was the calm reply. It seems he had told Harrison before I returned, “I feel as if I was going on a long journey!” And tho he was so serene his convictions may have been strong that his present existence must soon be swallowed up in an endless one.

I said to my dearest as I knelt alone in his chamber of death, “Whistler you can leave us to God! He will take care of us!” “Oh yes, yes, he answered fervently – And dearest your hopes are as mine centered in Christ!” “Oh yes I hope in Him.” Then I added. “you have nothing to say to me my own Whistler for we have but one heart & one mind” – he pressed my hand between his, tho’ chilled by death still warmly! “But our absent children dear Whistler!” “Oh Annie let the Doct. give me something to help me speak! but the cordial failed to revive nature, he threw his arms around me & said “I cannot speak, but love them, bless them.”<sup>84</sup>

He died “without a struggle” at half past four in the morning.<sup>85</sup> It seemed to Anna Whistler that a “bright look irradiated [his] countenance in death.”<sup>86</sup> A death mask (whereabouts unknown) was commissioned by Joseph Harrison Jr.<sup>87</sup>

Willie, who “had been spending a day with Henry” Harrison at Alexandrofsky, “arrived in the morning” to receive the “sad sad news” of his father’s death.<sup>88</sup> He seems to have been inconsolable and to have suffered physical collapse for a time.<sup>89</sup> He did not write to James until four weeks had passed, but even then did not communicate his feelings, preferring to wait until they were together in England, when “talking will be so much more comforting.”<sup>90</sup>

The funeral service, performed by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (see Image 253), was held on Tuesday, 29 March / 10 April 1849, at two o’clock in the English Church (see Image 9).<sup>91</sup> Whistler’s body was then placed in the vault of the church until arrangements could be made for it to be sent to America for interment.<sup>92</sup> There seems to be no document identifying the makeup of the congregation at the service.

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It is unlikely that no Russians attended the funeral service, but the record of condolences and assessments of Whistler’s character by Russians, although heartfelt, is chiefly official and diplomatic. It reflects both the high esteem in which he was held and an awareness of the difficulty of replacing him.<sup>93</sup>

K.I. Fischer, director of the Department of Railways, verbally presented to Anna Whistler the condolences of both Kleinmikhel' and the emperor: "I told Mrs. Whistler, in your name, of your heartfelt sorrow at the death of her husband, whom you esteemed equally for his mind and his heart; [and] that the Emperor, too, had expressed his extreme regret over the loss of a person so useful and in every respect worthy."<sup>94</sup>

Kleinmikhel' further said in a letter to Bodisco that he had been ordered by the emperor to contact Bodisco "to find in America a man capable of replacing M. Whistler," whom he described thus: "Death has deprived us of this worthy employee, who, through his profound and solid knowledge, the scope of his practical experience in his field, the great probity of his character, and the zealotry of his labors, had acquired among us a well-deserved general esteem."<sup>95</sup> The emperor also showed his sensitivity by suggesting they wait a while before putting in a replacement. Bodisco responded: "In appreciating with equal good will and justice the great ability and the high probity of Major Whistler, you yourself, Count, have gauged how difficult it will be to replace him adequately."<sup>96</sup>

Anna Whistler wrote James that "the Emperor sent a Courier" in early May "to express his high appreciation of our loss and his own loss in the death of your father & to offer to aid me in any way. This mark of respect is gratifying – The Count too has expressed his sympathy in the same way – But rich and poor, all ranks respected & loved Major Whistler."<sup>97</sup>

Fischer was sent by Kleinmikhel' to tell Anna Whistler that if "she needed anything or had any wishes he would deem it a particular pleasure to intercede in her behalf . . . Despite all her stoicism she could not hide her emotion and tears."<sup>98</sup> She asked for help in leaving the country and in removing her possessions without any difficulties. As she already had a certificate from the Department of Railways identifying her as Major Whistler's widow, Fischer foresaw no obstacle to her leaving, but pointed out in his report that a special order would be necessary to prevent customs from going through her belongings.<sup>99</sup> The note Kleinmikhel' wrote on Fischer's report shows that the emperor ordered the minister of Finances to let her possessions go through customs

without inspection.<sup>100</sup> She was also paid her husband's salary up to the day of his death.<sup>101</sup>

From Anton Shtukenberg there is a personal statement. He wrote in his memoirs that Whistler was one of a small group that had exercised a good influence over him: "One could turn to him for advice as one would to a comprehensive technical book; his answer was always positive, clear and reliable, not like some, who tell you: 'Why, you can do it this way or that way; do that there, and this here, but, how to do it best, well, figure that out for yourself' ... His responses about my work helped me a lot and made my reputation."<sup>102</sup>

In early May, letters arrived from James for Willie and from Debo for Anna Whistler. As the letters are not extant, we know only that they "relieved [her] almost bursting heart by weeping over your sorrow, & your affection,"<sup>103</sup> and that James's letter was "touching and manly."<sup>104</sup>

Willie wrote James about some of the visitors who had come to express their condolences or who had sent notes. Monsieur Lamartine, their former tutor, "came to see [them]... he was very much afflicted and quite bowed down with sorrow, he felt he had lost his best friend, poor man he looked very ill."<sup>105</sup> Anna Whistler "received such a kind note from Mr. Biber," another former tutor, in which "he spoke of the great affliction of his brother at the loss of his first patron."<sup>106</sup> Koritskii came, too, and said he was going to write a letter to James for Anna Whistler and Willie to take to England, because his hopes of traveling with Briullov and seeing James were not to be realized.<sup>107</sup>

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Anna Whistler apparently gave up their apartment at the end of April, because she and Willie spent the first week of May in the home of the Mirrielees family (see Images 268–269), then moved to the Harrisons' home at Alexandrofsky (see Images 239–240) on 7 May.<sup>108</sup> Some of their household goods were left behind to be sold. They were to depart Russia on 12 May on the *Vladimir*, but their departure was delayed until the 19th because navigation remained closed.<sup>109</sup> She had been sure she would not cast "one lingering look" back at Russia in the days when she anticipated returning to "an enticing future" in America with her husband, but departing as a widow rendered "sacred ... [her]

associations” with Russia and “the dear circle” there.<sup>110</sup> The day they left would have been Whistler’s forty-ninth birthday.

Whistler’s body came home to America on the *Medora*, one of the ships belonging to William Ropes and Company. The ship arrived in Boston on 14 August, and his body was placed “in the vault of R. Lee until the completion of the tomb at S[tonington].”<sup>111</sup> The funeral service in Stonington was held in the Calvary Episcopal Church in late August–September 1849.<sup>112</sup> Whistler was then buried in the family plot in Evergreen Cemetery with his four young sons: Joseph Swift, Kirk Boott, Charles Donald, and John Bouttatz.

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Whistler’s biography in the diaries fades with the departure of Anna Whistler, James, and Willie for England in June of 1848. Mention of him appears twice that summer through some of his letters from cholera-stricken St. Petersburg. Listening to Mary Ann (Parland) Morgan, who had also fled Russia, read aloud her husband’s letters about the desolation being visited upon St. Petersburg and the countryside by the cholera, Anna Whistler reveals that, true to character, “my dear husband never clouds his reports of his own health & of the preservation of that of our faithful domestics with these fearful details.”<sup>113</sup> When she next refers to him, he has announced his own illness and the kindness of their friends in caring for him.<sup>114</sup>

The diaries present a wife’s deeply loving portrait of the qualities of character of her husband, their family and social life, and glimpses into his work in Russia; but because they conclude in September of 1848, they supply no information about his possibly second and more serious bout of cholera, his increasing heart failure, and his family-shattering death.

This essay on Whistler’s life in St. Petersburg has, therefore, had to rely extensively on the letters of John Stevenson Maxwell at the New-York Historical Society; the letters of Whistler and William Henry Swift to General Joseph G. Swift at the New York Public Library; the Whistler Collection at Glasgow University Library; the Pennell–Whistler Collection at the Library of Congress; correspondence of members of extended family in the United States Military Academy Library archives



at West Point; Letterbook No. 1 of Joseph Harrison Jr. at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; diplomatic correspondence in the U.S. National Archives in Washington, DC; and documents in the Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (Russian State Historical Archives) and the archives of the Leningradskii institut inzhenerov zheleznodorozhnogo transporta (Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers), both in St. Petersburg.

## NOTES

1. Richard M. Haywood to Robert J. Ramsbottom, West Lafayette, Indiana, September 1, 1984. This letter was graciously given to me by Piroška Molnar Haywood. Mr. Ramsbottom was then president of the Stonington Historical Society (SHS). Their librarian, E.L. Smith, was not able to “find the ‘missing link’ between Lieutenant and Major” (E.L. Smith to Richard M. Haywood, Stonington, 30 November 1984). The enigma has resulted in Whistler’s sometimes being referred to as lieutenant by various biographers until his death: for example, Gardner Teall, “Whistler’s Father,” *New England Magazine* (October 1903); and Ronald Anderson and Anne Koval, *James McNeill Whistler: Beyond the Myth* (London: J. Murray, 1994).
2. Haywood also checked the Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island militia records without success. See Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 53n84.
3. Wm. H. Swift to General Joseph G. Swift, Philadelphia, 25 February 1821, NYPL: Swift Papers.
4. George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, New York, Feb. 20, [18]28, NYPL: Swift Papers; George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, Louisville, Kentucky, May 21st, 1828; George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, Baltimore, from Georgetown, September 24, 1829; George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, Baltimore, Feb. 8, 1831. Also Anna Whistler to Margaret G. Hill, Manchester January 14th, 1830, LC: P-W, box 34.
5. Entry for [Saturday] November 14<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
6. Entry for [Saturday] November 14<sup>th</sup> [1846].
7. Quoted in McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 115. Her failure to cite sources is a shortcoming of her book.
8. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 3, fol. 514.
9. Entry for Saturday morning Feb 6<sup>th</sup> 1847, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
10. Entry for April 10<sup>th</sup> 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
11. Within the entry for Preston. September. Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
12. Entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

13. This and the previous two quotations are from an essay on the life of George Washington Whistler, written by Anna Whistler in May 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
14. James B. Francis to his wife, Sarah, London, May 9<sup>th</sup> 1849, Laver Papers, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library Manuscript Department (hereafter GUL: Laver Papers).
15. Entry for 12 March 1844, in the entry for Feb 26<sup>th</sup> [1844] and accompanying Note 267, NYPL: AWP, Part I.
16. “Do you remember his care for Williams? perhaps if you would represent it to him, he might desire to live to reward it ... I forget even the name of the other who had turned to Whistler in distress, & who therefore was mentioned by him as one you might try again,” Anna Whistler to [Joseph and Sarah Harrison], Fleetwood. Monday. July 15<sup>th</sup>. 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
17. George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, December 19 [NS], 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
18. Rossiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (RGIA) [Russian State Historical Archives], St. Petersburg: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 11. Ob otpuske Vistlera za granitsu i o ego smerti [File concerning permission for Whistler to go abroad on leave and his death], Kleinmikhel’ to Whistler, 16 March (OS) 1849. Both quotations in this sentence are from this document. The RGIA archive was previously called Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv SSSR [Central State Historical Archive of the USSR] (TsGIA SSSR).
19. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23.
20. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 2/14 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 12.
21. This and the previous quotation are from a letter from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23.
22. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 2/14 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 12.
23. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10<sup>th</sup> 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
24. Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky April 2/14<sup>th</sup> 1849 Saturday, *Eastwick Letters*. The Eastwick family correspondence (hereafter, *Eastwick Letters*), some 116 letters, is

in the possession of Estelle and David Knapp of New Albany, Ohio. Estelle Knapp is the descendant of Andrew McCalla Eastwick. David Knapp, a mechanical engineer, has transcribed the Eastwick correspondence. His annotated edition, produced in conjunction with Igor Kuvaldin of St. Petersburg, will appear in 2022 or 2023 (David Knapp and Igor Kuvaldin, *Eastwick Letters: An Unabridged Account of the Andrew McCalla Eastwick Family in St. Petersburg, Russia, 1844–1850* [forthcoming]).

David Knapp has also written a book about the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, entitled *Rails to Russia*, based on the Eastwick correspondence. The unpublished manuscript has been deposited in the Copyright Division of the Library of Congress. He is in the process of producing a CD of it that will be available to scholars. He has given a portion of another version of *Rails to Russia* to the Museum of the History of the OAO “Proletariat” Factory in St. Petersburg [Музеи истории ОАО “Пролетарский завод”], formerly the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works.

25. See the biography of the Eastwick family in Appendix E (hereafter, Eastwick).
26. Entry for May 21st [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 6–7.
27. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. St. Petersburg. Monday evening Dec 13th [OS] English Christmas day [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375.
28. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 12, d. 4. P.P. Mel’nikov, *Svedeniia o russkikh zheleznykh dorogakh* [Information about Russian Railways], sect. 1, bk. 1 (hereafter, Mel’nikov, *Svedeniia*), fol. 197v.
29. RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, kn. 3, d. 3347. O posylke v Ameriku Maiora Buttatsa dlia vyzova v Rossiiu Maiora Uistlera [File on sending Major Buttats to America to invite Major Whistler to Russia]. Copie d’une dépêche adressée à S.E. Mr le Vice Chancelier par Mr de Bodisco en date de Washington le 1/13 mai 1842 [Copy of a dispatch addressed to His Excellency the Vice-Chancellor by Mr. de Bodisco dated Washington 1/13 May 1842].
30. Entry for June 15th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 50.
31. Ralph I. Ingersoll to James Buchanan, No. 1. Legation of the United States, St. Petersburg, 3 June 1847. Despatches Sent/Cambrelling/Ingersoll/1840–1848, Records of Diplomatic

- Posts: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 1807–1955, Records of Foreign Service Posts 84.2, vol. 3, fol. 7, NAUS.
32. Entry for June 16th [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 52; entry for February 18th [1848], pt. 3, fol. 25.
  33. John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York. Monday–December 13. 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
  34. On 22 February 1848, he held a celebration of George Washington’s birthday at his home (entry for February 22nd [1848], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 27).
  35. This and all preceding quotations in this paragraph are from George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 26 April (OS) 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
  36. Entry for March 17th [1848], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 47.
  37. This and all quotations in the previous sentence are from George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 26 April (OS) 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
  38. George Washington Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 4, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
  39. Entry for March 11<sup>th</sup> [1848], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 41; A.M. Eastwick to Charles James, Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, March 1st/13th 1848 Monday, *Eastwick Letters*.
  40. Entry for March 17th [1848], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 47.
  41. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Jan. 18, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
  42. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Dec. 19, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers. The Imperial family’s extravagance was evident in a report in the *New York Herald*: “The Empress of Russia, who is proceeding to Sicily for the winter, in the hope of regaining her health, will take up her residence in the beautiful environs of Palermo, and a small squadron of Russian steam vessels will be at her disposal, to enable her to take whatever trips she may choose on the Mediterranean” (*New York Herald*, Wednesday, October 15, 1845).
  43. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Jan. 18, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.

44. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Jan. 18, 1847.
45. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, January 31 / February 12, 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers.
46. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
47. An essay on the life of George Washington Whistler, written by Anna Whistler in May 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
48. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1848, NYPL: Swift Papers.
49. George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1846; April 8/20, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
50. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. In my room. St. Petersburg. tuesday evening Sept. 26<sup>th</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W361.
51. George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 8/20, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
52. George W. Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Feb<sup>y</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1843, GUL: Whistler Collection, W653.
53. "They take every day ... in the evening lessons in Latin" (Joseph H. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, St. Petersburg, February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1848 Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*).
54. Both quotations in this paragraph are from John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, Paris. September 13<sup>th</sup>? 15<sup>th</sup>? 1845, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
55. George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, January 31 / February 12, 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers. In the Soviet period, his role was indeed played down.
56. All quotations in this and the previous sentence are from the entry for Wed [July] 10<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
57. Entry for Thursday [August] 29<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I. A verst = 0.663 miles, 1.067 kilometers.
58. Entry for Wed [July] 10<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
59. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, November 1/12 [*sic*], 1842, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 4.
60. Entry for [Wednesday] April 15<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.

61. George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, December 19, 1845; January 18, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers,
62. Entry for Sunday [July 16, 1848], PEM: Fettyplace Journal.
63. George W. Whistler and Anna Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 5 December 1848, NYPL: Swift Papers.
64. George W. Whistler and Anna Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 5 December 1848, NYPL: Swift Papers. There are many holes in the letter. I have supplied the words [his bed] because they are logical and are confirmed by Fettyplace's journal. On July 21st, Fettyplace went to see Major Whistler "and found he had been sick in bed for three or four days" (entry for July 21st, 1848, PEM: Fettyplace Journal).
65. Quotations in this and the previous sentence are taken from Anna Whistler to James Whistler. In my room. St. Petersburg. Tuesday evening Sept. 26th 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W361.
66. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. Thursday. Sept. 30th Oct. 12th 1848. St. Petersburg, GUL: Whistler Collection, W364; Anna Whistler to James Whistler. Friday evening Oct. 20th 1848, W365.
67. George W. Whistler and Anna Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Dec. 5th, 1848, NYPL: Swift Papers. See also Anna Whistler to James Whistler. St. Petersburg. Tuesday Nov. 21st 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W368; Anna Whistler to James Whistler. St. Petersburg. Nov 27th 1848 4 oclock Monday afternoon, W369.
68. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. St. Petersburg. Monday Evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370; Anna Whistler to James Whistler. St. Petersburg. Monday evening Dec. 13th [OS] English Christmas Day [1848], W375.
69. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Friday. March 9th 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W384.
70. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. St. Petersburg. Monday evening Dec. 13th [OS] English Christmas day [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375; Anna Whistler to James Whistler. [ St. Petersburg]. Dec. 25 [1848] and Tuesday 26th [1848], W376.
71. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. [ St. Petersburg] Monday evening 8th of Jan 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W377.
72. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Feb 19th. Monday eve, GUL: Whistler Collection, W383.

73. All quotations in this and the previous sentence are from George W. Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, January 31 / February 12, 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers.
74. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Friday, March 16th [18]49, GUL: Whistler Collection, W385.
75. Anna Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Monday 21 March / 2 April [1849], NYPL: Swift Papers.
76. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Friday, March 16th. [18]49, GUL: Whistler Collection, W385; Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening, Preston, July 7th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
77. Anna Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Monday 21 March / 2 April [1849], NYPL: Swift Papers.
78. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 516.
79. Anna Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, Monday 21 March / 2 April [1849], NYPL: Swift Papers.
80. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 516.
81. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers.
82. Mel'nikov, *Svedeniia*, fol. 198v.
83. RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 11. Ob otpuske Vistlera za granitsu i o ego smerti [File concerning permission for Whistler to go abroad on leave and his death], Fisher to Kleinmikhel', 27 March (OS) 1849. Fisher informed Kleinmikhel' that "from what he could understand from Harrison's words the cause of death was water in the chest cavity, but that the doctor treating him probably did not altogether realize the nature of the illness, for the evening before he had said there was no danger but when he came [to see Whistler] during the night he announced that the patient would not live till morning." A post mortem showed that "the principal and primary cause of . . . death was ossification, and consequent contraction of the orifices of the heart . . . [and] dropsy" (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Captain William H. Swift from Alexandroffsky, March 28 / April 9 1849, Joseph Harrison, Jr., Letterbooks (No. 1: 1844–1850), Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), Philadelphia (hereafter HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1).



84. 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.
85. This information is contained in an extract "from a letter dated St. Petersburg, April 7, 1849," written from an unidentified person to an unidentified addressee ("Death of Major Whistler," *New York Herald*, May 8, 1849). Announcements of his death were also carried by the *New-York Tribune*, May 8, 1849; the *New York Evening Post*, May 8, 1849; the *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, May 7, 1849, and in newspapers all over America: e.g., *The Daily National Whig* (Washington, DC), May 9, 1849; *Indiana State Sentinel* (Indianapolis, IN), June 28, 1849; *Hillsdale Whig Standard* (Hillsdale, MI), May 15, 1849; *The North-Carolinian* (Fayetteville, NC), May 19, 1849; *Hartford Weekly Times* (Hartford, CT), May 12, 1849; *Wilmington Journal* (Wilmington, NC), May 18, 1849; and *The Cecil Whig* (Elkton, MD), May 12, 1849.
86. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
87. Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening. Preston. July 7th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
88. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978.
89. Betsy Sandland and Eliza Sandland to Anna Whistler, Liverpool, April 27th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34; Letters Relating to Whistler, Extracted from a letter written by Anna Whistler to unknown, Alexandroffsky, May 14th 1849, LC: P-W, box 296.
90. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978.
91. The undertaker listed on the funeral invitation sent to Colin Ingersoll (see Image 9), "Masters," is identified in *BRBC STP 1845* as Thomas Masters, verger, with a family consisting of two males and one female, resident in the British Chapel; under "remarks" is noted "wife born Masters" (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 38).
92. PREC STP, no. 5936, p. 384 (Major Whistler's death announcement). The Registers of the British Factory Chapel, St. Petersburg, which contain data about the births, christenings, marriages, and deaths of communicants and non-communicants of the English Church in St. Petersburg, have been invaluable in identifying persons Anna Whistler knew. These records are

- available at both the Guildhall Library in London and the RGIA in St. Petersburg (RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, ed. khr. 1 Register British Factory Chapel St. Petersburg [1763–1812]; Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 2 [1812–1830]; Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 3 [1831 – Jan. through 1846 – Dec.]; Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 4 [1847–1867]). The registers in the RGIA are the originals, while those at Guildhall Library are copies; I have consulted both. Citations to the Guildhall Library copies have been abbreviated as PREC STP (for “Parish Registers of the English Church, St. Petersburg”).
93. His successor was Major Thompson S. Brown (1807–1855). Brown’s criticism of some of Major Whistler’s decisions irritated and angered the Russians. Shtukenberg, in his memoirs, dismissed him as “resembling an orangutan, but pockmarked and grey haired” (Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 516). Baron Anton Ivanovich Del’vig (see Image 251), in his memoirs covering half a century, described Whistler as “a remarkable man” and his replacement as “of hardly any use” (S. Ia. Shtraukh, ed., *Polveka russkoi zhizni Vospominania A.I. Del’viga 1820–1870* [*Half a Century of Russian Life: The Memoirs of A.I. Del’vig 1820–1870*], 2 vols. [Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia, 1930], vol. 2, p. 325).
  94. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 18, d. 2, 1849. Vsepoddanneishie doklady Mart-Mai: O propuske za granitsu bez osmotra veshchei vdovy inzh-a Uistlera [Most Devoted Reports March-May: File concerning permission for the belongings of the widow of the engineer Whistler to be cleared for sending abroad without customs inspection], Fisher to Kleinmikhel’, 25 April (OS) 1849, fol. 216r.
  95. RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 4198. O priglasenii v Rossiuu ... Brauna [File concerning an invitation to Brown to come to Russia], Kleinmikhel’ to Bodisco, 17 April (OS) 1849.
  96. RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 4198. Bodisco to Kleinmikhel’, Washington 30 May / 11 June 1849.
  97. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
  98. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 18, d. 2, 1849, fol. 216r (see Note 94 above for document title).
  99. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 18, d. 2, 1849, fols. 216v–217r (see Note 94 above for document title).
  100. RGIA: Fond 446, op. 18, d. 2, 1849, fol. 216 (see Note 94 above for document title).

101. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
102. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fols. 514–515.
103. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849, Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
104. Letters Relating to Whistler Extracted from a letter from Anna Whistler to unknown, Alexandroffsky, May 14th 1849, LC: P-W, box 296.
105. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978.
106. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978. It is possible that Mr. Biber is Karl Friedrich Eugen Biber (Monbeliard 17/29 August 1823 – St. Petersburg 27 January / 8 February 1876), who graduated from the University of Besançon on 2/14 August 1841. After 1841, he was a teacher and a private tutor in Courland and St. Petersburg and then worked in Mr. Hirst's private school. From 1857 to 1876, he was a senior teacher of French in St. Peter's School (St. Petrischule), the oldest school in St. Petersburg (Julius Iversen, *Das Lehrpersonal der St. Petri-Schule von Ihrem ersten Beginn bis zur Gegenwart (1710–1887) mit Biographischen Notizen* [*The Teaching Staff of St. Peter's School from its Beginning to the Present (1710–1887) with Biographical Notes*], vol. 2 [St. Petersburg: Golicke, 1887], p. 41). He married, on 22 June / 4 July 1858, Elizabeth Mary Hirst (PREC STP for 1858, no. 6955, p. 576).
107. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978.
108. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388.
109. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10th 1849. Thursday.
110. Anna Whistler to Mrs. Harrison, 62 Sloane St., June 20th [1849], LC: P-W.
111. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Philadelphia, August 21, 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers. Anna Whistler identified Lee as William Raymond Lee (Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., Fleetwood, Monday, July 15, 1849, LC: P-W).

112. The SHS has no information about when the funeral was held or who attended, as the local newspaper did not begin publication until 1851 (Anne Tate, Stonington, CT, to E. Harden, 1 June 2007). Consultation of the *Evening Post* and *New-York Herald*, which are indexed, disclosed no notice of his burial (Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 9 July 2007, N-YHS).
113. Undated entry [end of July] within the entry for Saturday July 22<sup>nd</sup> [1848], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
114. Entry for Tuesday [August] 9<sup>th</sup> (actually 8 August 1848), NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.

## ANNA MATILDA (MCNEILL) WHISTLER

*“Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed”*<sup>1</sup>

When Lieutenant George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) and Mary Roberdeau Swift (see Image 10) eloped in January 1821, Anna Matilda McNeill (see Images 1–5) was sixteen years old. In December 1827, the first Mrs. Whistler died. Although Whistler’s attentions seemed to have turned to Anna “Mac” (see Images 1–5), from November 1828 to May 1829 he was in England, sent there by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad to study railways. Some six months later, she herself went for her health’s sake to England, where she spent the period from autumn of 1829 to April of 1831 in Preston, Lancashire. Here, she visited for the first time the daughters of her deceased father, Dr. Daniel McNeill (d. 1828; see Image 23),<sup>2</sup> from his first marriage – her half-sisters, Alicia McNeill and Eliza (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Images 39–40) – and lived with Eliza and her husband, John, a solicitor. She had taken with her gifts from George Washington Whistler, tokens reflecting his interest in her.<sup>3</sup> An “understanding” may have been reached before she sailed, for she felt free to ask in her correspondence, with familiarity, humor, and calculation, to be remembered to him.<sup>4</sup> In November 1831, at the age of twenty-seven, almost four years after Mary (Swift) Whistler’s death, Anna “Mac” became the second Mrs. Whistler.<sup>5</sup>

Whistler’s choice elicited approval from his brother-in-law, Joseph G. Swift (see Image 11), of “a judicious and otherwise good marriage that is to be.”<sup>6</sup> Anna had “a very quiet and ... assured bearing,”<sup>7</sup> “a repose of manner which so charmed people that they termed it a ‘sweet peacefulness,’”<sup>8</sup> and “all those qualities which must render her matrimonial career blest and tranquil.”<sup>9</sup>

In appearance, she was described as “fair, dainty and refined,” with “very beautiful hands, ‘always most carefully kept’ ... and pretty feet, ‘with high shapely arches.’”<sup>10</sup> The left-profile, waist-length portrait of her by Thomas Wright (see Image 208) executed in Russia in 1845, when she was thirty-nine or forty years old, makes tangible her physical appearance (see Image 1).<sup>11</sup> It shows that she was slender and had dark hair, worn in an attractive chignon with a free tendril hanging loose in front of small

ears; dark eyes (of indistinguishable color) and eyebrows; a long, straight nose; small chin; erect posture; and small breasts. Her expression is one of pleasant composure, confirming the earlier assessments of quiet self-assurance.

In temperament, in addition to her quiet self-assurance, she was religious, pious, cheerful, modest, compassionate, reclusive, stubborn, restive, and had an explosive temper and a sharp tongue. She loved music and art but had no talent for either. Her *forté* was words, both spoken and written. She had rare charm as a conversationalist and wrote well. Her descriptions of nature, in particular, to many of her correspondents, were especially attractive. Thus she wrote to James in the winter of 1848: “You know how I delight in the glories of the firmament! The rainbow hues of the clouds thro which the bright sun was glowing, burnishing the windows of the Winter Palace upon which it reflected and every gilded dome and spire sparkling under its influence.”<sup>12</sup> And to Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) she described the first iceberg she had ever seen: “On Sunday when I was on deck an Iceberg was another object of interest to me, as I never before saw one ... it looked like a large snowy tent, but thro the glass, with the sun shining bright upon it, rainbow colors were added to its magnificence.”<sup>13</sup>

Her formal religious affiliation was Episcopalian, which she was introduced to by her mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22). Her religious beliefs have been described as “set in the 19th-century mold of evangelical Protestantism” that “permeated the South, characterizing sects such as Presbyterians and Low Church Episcopalians.”<sup>14</sup> When living in Brooklyn, she was most likely the “Miss McNeill” recorded in 1821 as a communicant at St. Ann’s Church, along with her parents, Martha and Dr. Daniel McNeill.<sup>15</sup> In St. Petersburg, she attended the English Church (see Image 110–111) on Sunday mornings and sometimes the afternoon services there as well. Otherwise, on Sunday afternoons she attended the service at the British and American Congregational Church (see Image 125), where her friends the Ropeses and Gellibrands (see Images 265–266), were communicants. Later, when their minister, Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256), established a Sunday evening service for the mechanics at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 239–240), she

would sometimes attend that as well. Their home on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844 was so close to town that it did not keep them from attending the Sunday morning service at the English Church; however, instead of going into town on both Sunday mornings and afternoons, she set up at their dacha in the afternoons a Sunday school, so dear to her heart and at that time impossible to establish at the English Church. It was for James and Willie (see Images 24–30) and any children whose families would permit them to attend, such as the Handyside girls, the Drury boys, and the little Normans. On one occasion, they held a combined Episcopalian and Congregational service.

Like many a second spouse, on entering the marriage Anna Whistler immediately gained step-children: George William (nine years old), Joseph Swift (seven years old), and Deborah Delano (six years old). In 1834, James Abbott was born; in 1836, William McNeill; in 1838, Kirk Boott. An extant letter from 1838 concentrates on children – their accidents and illnesses, their temperaments and toys – and reveals the sensible, humorous, and seemingly unflappable homemaker and mother, who was then seven months pregnant with her fourth child.<sup>16</sup>

The family lived quite retired from the world,<sup>17</sup> the preference of Major Whistler after four years of separation from his children, but Anna Whistler's choice as well. George William (see Images 12–13) eventually went to work in Lowell in the machine shop of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals; Joseph Swift was sent to a private school; Debo (see Images 17–19, 21), the only daughter, was almost a recluse at home, to be protected from the world by her anxious, loving father.

Anna Whistler set out to create a pious Christian household. The “law of [Major Whistler was] that mother's wishes should be [the children's] rule of daily action.”<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, from the start she presented her religion and wishes so negatively that she turned her family away from it. Kate (Prince) Livermore, while calling her “one of the ‘Saints upon earth’,” acknowledged that “the religion which was so much to her she failed to make sweet and lovely to her sons; too puritanical . . . and the Sunday to be kept most strictly.”<sup>19</sup>

It is no surprise, therefore, that outstanding among James's, Willie's and their first cousins' traumatic childhood memories were the Saturday preparations for the Sabbath, when they had to put their toys away until

Monday.<sup>20</sup> Anna Whistler went “through the boys pockets ... taking all balls, toys, knives out of them ... all books, even the Rollo<sup>21</sup> series, were hidden away, and [the children’s] most exciting reading was *Pilgrims Progress*,<sup>22</sup> and Mrs. Sherwood’s *Tales*.”<sup>23</sup> She “always wore black satin slippers in the house ... and as this gave her a noiseless approach ... [y]oung culprits were sometimes taken unawares and forthwith marched off to learn the Collect for the day. And if toys were left carelessly about, Mrs. Whistler quietly impounded them, requiring a fine from the owner for the mission box before restoring them.”<sup>24</sup>

“[M]other’s wishes” had also been accepted by Major Whistler, as he bowed to his wife’s efforts to create a Christian home. He met her more than halfway, stopping, however, at acceptance of the mysteries of her religious faith,<sup>25</sup> but he believed her to be “a pure Christian” and hoped he might “profit by her example, she has taught us to say in all sincerity – Gods will be done.”<sup>26</sup> She, in turn, deferred to him as head of the family, requesting his permission before engaging in certain actions, such as bringing the frail James to Russia or sitting for the night by the bedside of a sick friend in Russia.

Sometimes, however, they did not see eye-to-eye, and both extant letters and the diaries reflect their disagreements. On the rare occasion when the moment had to be seized or forfeited, such as when she acted impulsively and unilaterally to request Rev. George Williams to read evening prayers in their St. Petersburg living room as he was on the verge of taking his leave, she encountered her husband’s disapproval. She listened to his concerns about possible resulting censure by their fellow communicants in the English Church, discussed her action with the approving Rev. Williams, and vowed in her diaries that she would act unilaterally again if an occasion warranted it.

But her diaries and letters also reflect her total devotion to and deep love for her husband. During her first long separation from him – in which she, not he, left St. Petersburg, traveling to England in the summer of 1847 to spend several months there for the sake of James’s health – her letters to him en route contain passages that must be viewed as love letters. Speaking of the problems arising from James’s present character, so much resembling in its faults her own, she writes about reproaching herself for having rudely rejected a certain birthday gift from



her husband. Although he has forgiven her for it, she continues to feel remorse, but acknowledges, “I bless God every day of my life for giving me such a husband, and though I often appear restive, yet believe me your advice and example are not lost upon your fond wife.”<sup>27</sup>

Urging James to practice “self-denial and obedience” and reminding him of an instance in Russia when his father’s gentle voice attempted to reconcile him to these guiding principles, she lovingly exhorts her late husband: “oh my own loved one! may we all hear thy tones of gentle admonition yet sounding upon our hearts, to induce us to live in constant preparation to meet thee in the paradise of God!”<sup>28</sup> And the biographical essay she wrote about him shortly after his death is a paean to her love for him.<sup>29</sup>

\* \* \*

The positive opinions held of Anna Whistler in her circle in the United States were upheld by persons she encountered in Russia. John Stevenson Maxwell, who lived in the Bobrinskii mansion first with Major Whistler and then with the Whistler family, had the opportunity to observe Anna Whistler closely on a daily basis for about a year, making him a reliable commentator on her consistent traits of character. Observing her submission to the will of God in the affliction she was suffering from Charles Donald Whistler’s death en route to St. Petersburg in 1843, he immediately admired and esteemed her “fervent and unaffected piety.”<sup>30</sup> And, on hearing by letter in 1846 of the death of John Bouttatz Whistler, he wrote to Major Whistler of the solace Anna Whistler’s “Christian fortitude and resignation” must have brought him as well.<sup>31</sup> He assessed her “good temper and spirits” as her “usual” behavior,<sup>32</sup> an effort she acknowledged in the diaries she could make for others no matter how depressed she might herself be feeling. After she had nursed Maxwell back to health from his near-fatal attack of typhus fever in early 1844, he praised her as

one of the sweetest women I ever saw, so amicable, so benevolent, so truly pious, and who amidst all her calamities is so resigned to the will of God and his strenght [sic] finding not only consolation not only for her own afflictions, but for the afflictions of others around her,

such religion as she possesses is indeed a treasure in this world, and gives an angelic character and influence alone derived from Heaven. She has told me often of her dear little one's [*siz*] who now rest with God and in her chaste sorrow – the very tear drop seemed to bright with the perfect hope of rejoining them again forever. I thought of Patience on a monument, smiling at grief.<sup>33</sup>

Indicating in his letters to his family that the reclusive Mrs. Whistler did not “go into society,” he described the positive experience of being in her presence in her own home: “within the bounds of the little circle she culls around her, her cheerfulness, goodness, and amiable qualities, make her every day still more the favorite. In truth I never knew ... a lady so generally beloved by those with whom she was surrounded, than is this one, and every body likes to go to her house and enjoy her society.”<sup>34</sup> If Maxwell saw or heard any of her displays of temper or razor-edged tongue, his correspondence reveals no such behavior. Nor did he comment extensively on her religion, noting only that the family was religious and went to church during Lent every day.

Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) wrote to his family in Philadelphia after Anna Whistler's departure for America in 1849: “You will find her a very good and pious woman. – without any form or ceremony,”<sup>35</sup> “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.”<sup>36</sup>

Anna Whistler herself indicated Colin Ingersoll's attachment to her (see Image 280): “Young Ingersoll seems glad to serve us in any way, our fire side is the only one he feels at home at, tho he is much liked thro out the American circle, the better I know him the more I find in him to admire and esteem. He is here every day, generally dines with us. Father says he seems to look upon me as a mother.”<sup>37</sup>

The extant negative assessment of Anna Whistler available from the 1840s seems petty and is easily refuted. Some eleven years into the marriage, when Whistler had been in Russia only two months and decided he could not bear to remain there without his family, William Henry Swift wrote his brother, Joseph G. Swift, that he disliked Anna<sup>38</sup>

because “[u]nder a very quiet and ... assured bearing, she has quite a fancy of making a figure” and he “believe[d] her to be both artful and selfish.”<sup>39</sup> “Mrs. Whistler wishes to go to England and I dare say she will go there,” he said, probably referring to her stubborn determination to revisit her half-sisters in Preston en route to St. Petersburg.<sup>40</sup> As soon as the seriously ill James was pronounced able to travel,<sup>41</sup> and Major Whistler had given his approval, Anna Whistler, like “a good soldier’s wife,” made “all her arrangements” briskly and in just two weeks went “to Boston, to New York, to Mrs. Wittenhams (for the daughter) to Brooklyn, to Patterson, to Philadelphia, said her good byes to all her friends, and was off with all her family to England.”<sup>42</sup> In addition to what William H. Swift deemed Anna Whistler’s unloving treatment of her step-daughter (his niece), he censured her for carelessly spending her husband’s large Russian salary that could secure their future.<sup>43</sup> He was aware, at the same time, as Major Whistler’s financial advisor, that the Major was involved in an argument with his brother-in-law, William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31), about a supposed agreement to surrender a portion of his Russian salary to the latter,<sup>44</sup> that also constituted a serious drain on it; but he chose to censure Anna Whistler, perhaps viewing Major Whistler’s extravagance as an act of honor. Anna Whistler nevertheless spoke kindly of William H. Swift, who continued to handle both Major Whistler’s<sup>45</sup> and then her financial affairs after she was widowed.<sup>46</sup>

In Russia, she demonstrated that despite William Henry Swift’s negative assessment of her she was neither “artful” nor “selfish.”<sup>47</sup> She was noticed, in less than a year in St. Petersburg, by other communicants of the English Church and thanked by them for ministering to the recently deceased Mary Gent Hirst during the latter’s terminal illness. She perceived in this attention that she had inherited the mantle of doer-of-good-works so long held by Miss Hirst and accepted it with humility.<sup>48</sup>

\* \* \*

The diary she was encouraged to keep in Russia became not simply a superficial and chatty recounting of events in her life after the model of Eliza Winstanley’s Edinburgh diary (see Appendix D), but expounded

the religious credo that lay at the core of her being. Reproaching her concentration on “self and my own thoughts” as “egotism,” she revealed that the moral model of Christ, resigned and obedient, constituted the mitigating and supportive center of her life. She was at this time a middle-aged woman between thirty-nine and forty-four years of age, but asserting on the eve of her forty-fourth birthday that she felt “as young (in activity) as when in my teens.”<sup>49</sup>

This decade of the family’s personal life was one of great tragedy. It opened with the death on 1 January 1840 of fifteen-year-old Joseph Swift Whistler, followed by the deaths of Anna Whistler’s niece, eight-year-old Louise McNeill, in July, and of her nephew, ten-year-old Henry Cammann McNeill, in August of that same year. Although the decade proceeded with the birth in 1841 of Charles Donald Whistler, in 1842 four-year-old Kirk Boott Whistler died, and in 1843 two-year-old Charles Donald Whistler. In 1845, John Bouttatz Whistler was born, but died thirteen months later, in October 1846. In 1847, Deborah Delano Whistler’s marriage created a rift with her father that lasted until his death. In 1848, the often alarmingly ill James Abbott Whistler was left in England for the sake of his health. Throughout the decade, George William Whistler was a source of anxiety, irritation, and grief to his parents. In 1849, Major Whistler died. Anna Whistler was sustained during these losses and family strife by her deep religious faith.

While emulating Christ in her own suffering, she, however, maintained the belief that the cause of suffering was the will of a loving God who required total obedience without complaint or else exacted revenge. She harshly viewed the failing health of her sister-in-law, Maria (Cammann) McNeill, as an affliction visited on her and her alcoholic husband, William Gibbs McNeill, because his “pride has resisted all other admonitions” and “remained a scourge still,”<sup>50</sup> a reference to his inability to turn for comfort to Christ, “the *friend* who is closer than a brother – the one for adversity!”<sup>51</sup> But of the multiple instances she cites of punishment for rebellion against God’s will, perhaps the harshest concerns children: if the death of a child causes a parent to turn against God and “to the world for comfort,” God deals an even more severe blow “to make us feel our risk in delaying repentance.”<sup>52</sup> The culmination of her compassion for Christ’s sufferings and the physical

sufferings of her last biological son finds its expression in the diaries in an almost unendurable, long passage of raw-nerved hysteria.<sup>53</sup>

While regretting that her family did not accept her harsh religion, she never wavered in her beliefs. She did, however, try, unsuccessfully, to present a more palatable form, suggesting to Debo, for example, that she spend time with people who were examples of religion “in its most attractive form” and who exemplified what “a happy thing ... [it was] to be a Christian.”<sup>54</sup> She wished, when visiting Chaddock Hall (see Image 467), that Debo could have been with her to meet Bessie and Mary Smith, whom she found to be fit examples of attractive Christianity for her step-daughter.

Nor did she have any earthly ambitions for her sons. It was more practical for James to be an architect than an artist, but otherwise she did not ask for them to become important. She felt financial help to George by Joseph Harrison Jr. after Whistler’s death would not build his character. She was more interested in her children’s being spiritual models for others.

\* \* \*

The intellectual aspect of any religion failed to interest her. She considered that “our blessed Saviour [*sic*] precepts are so plain that he who runneth may read.” She was grateful when able to avoid being present at any discussion of dogma and its fine points, believing that “if we walk humbly as to our own merits, looking to Him as the author and finisher of our salvation ‘fulfilling all righteousness’ we may be saved without diving into mysteries, and these questions are so seldom without bitterness that I dread them.”<sup>55</sup>

She felt a kinship with communicants of other Protestant denominations, such as the Ropeses and Gellibrands, who were Congregationalists. She attended services of Protestant denominations other than Congregationalists for special reasons, such as the funeral service in the Dutch Reformed Church (see Image 128) for Wilhelmina van Grooten, because she was the sister of her friend Helene Funck. It was her love of vocal religious music, however, that drew her to venues such as the rehearsals of the choristers of the Imperial Choir and a service at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery on the Peterhof Road (see

Image 397), and enabled William Hooper Ropes to persuade her to attend early Mass at the Catholic Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria (see Image 127) on her first Easter in Russia.

But the proselytizing side of her nature and her temper constantly got the better of her. While the Nevskii Prospekt bore the name “the street of tolerance” because of the many faiths represented in the houses of worship on it, she was adamantly judgmental in her approach to Orthodoxy. Although she was willing to attend an Orthodox or Catholic service, but not without bewailing the use of an intermediary between the congregation and God, hearing of certain specific Russian religious holidays caused her to give vent to a vituperative remark. For example, the celebration of the death of the Virgin Mary (see Image 382), an official holiday, drew from her the acerbic comment: “I wonder what chronicler informs them.”<sup>56</sup> Like William Gellibrand and Mary Gent Hirst, she would have given all but her own salvation to convert Russians to Christ. She berated the English in Russia for not using the advantage of their fluency in the language to influence changes in Russians instead of participating with them in their errors.

Hearing of certain customs of Russian daily life produced a similar reaction. During their summer on the Peterhof Road, the Whistlers were introduced to the practice of a watchman beating on a board at intervals during the night to show his employer that he was carrying out his obligation to ward off thieves and to show his master that he was actually carrying out his task. This elicited the comically irate reaction from Anna Whistler that “it is a shameful evidence of the defects of the religious system, but I trust when the Gospel is preached freely to all nations this people so very apt to learn as they seem may be honest thro love to God & not fear of man.”<sup>57</sup>

Her pared-down interest in what the world and its powerful considered important actually applied to all facets of life for her: to her views on the Imperial personages of Russia, to her fervent hope that Queen Pomare (see Image 293) would be helped in her hour of need, to the calling up for active military duty of Major Whistler’s brother and nephew (see Images 34–35) in the Mexican War, to the controversy over the Oregon Territory, to the wars in the Caucasus. The human aspect was always paramount and the approach religious.

She felt she ought to attempt to see Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) in public, because she would be asked about him when she returned home, but her interest in him was in the personal and homely, just as it was in the case of all the “ordinary” people she encountered, heard of, or loved.

While witnessing a military review, “Independent Yankee” that he was, young Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280) nevertheless felt that Nicholas I was “no ordinary man”: “Tall, commanding, limbs of faultless symatry [*sic*] – cold, like a statue, yet strikingly majestic,” “a face classical than otherwise,” Nicholas I was one of “the finest specimens of ‘the human form divine’ [he had] ever seen.” “[H]is presence seem[ed] to inspire [Ingersoll], ... as the man, one would select from a crowd of thousands, in any land, as ‘born to command’.”<sup>58</sup> While witnessing a similar review, Anna Whistler thought “he looked too proud for mere mortal & ... wondered if he remembered the presence of the King of Kings! for ... how small was all this array in comparison to the Armies of heaven.”<sup>59</sup> She was impressed that at a service at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, where the emperor asked for a special service and prayers for his dying daughter, Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451), he acknowledged his powerlessness by weeping.<sup>60</sup>

As a mother, she empathized throughout the diaries with Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (see Images 420, 424) on the dying and death of a child, but greeted with apprehension the idea that the empress might come to worship Briullov’s portrait of her deceased daughter installed in the memorial oratory (see Image 453). Two years after the grand duchess’s death, she toured the monuments to her memory (see Images 452–457) and was gratified by their emphasis on the Bible and the homeliness and concentration on family in the hut from which the young woman used to feed the ducks.

She wished the empress could be persuaded to use her influence to ensure that only religious music would be played during Lent, and thought of the aid the value of the Imperial treasures could give to the missionary fund.

She did not refer in her appraisal of Nicholas I to the negative aspects of what some considered an unhinged personality. In the case of his spouse, she ignorantly questioned the justice of those, such as

Custine, who, while correctly assessing the empress's facial tic and wornout appearance to be the result of the terror of the Decembrist Rebellion and of years of childbearing, attributed her resultant permanent debility to a subservience to the whim of the emperor, who pulled her back into the social whirl whenever her health seemed to rally. Such commentators were not suggesting that the Imperial marriage was an unhappy one, despite Anna Whistler's interpretation that they were (see Appendix B).

The controversy over the Oregon Territory made her anxious, because she loved both America and England deeply and did not wish to have her allegiances challenged by the possibility of having to make a choice between them (see "Maps"). The War with Mexico raised the possibility of the death of close relatives. Events in Russia she understood less well, but reacted to them similarly, influenced in part by what her English and American friends explained to her. She alluded to the war in the Caucasus in terms of the burden of at least fifteen-year conscription on the common soldier. She seemed unaware of why Nicholas I traveled to England in the summer of 1844, but reacted to the fact that as a father he returned immediately when summoned because of the terminal illness of his youngest daughter. The revolutions of 1848 she responded to by copying out from the French newspaper the translated version of the emperor's speech to his people, the only version she could understand; by referring to their servant Matvey's allegiance to the emperor; and by mentioning that the emperor and empress appeared frequently in public with many changes of costume. Queen Pomare's appeal to Queen Victoria (see Image 287) elicited from her and other ladies at tea in the Whistlers' home the hope that she "might not be deserted in her need by Queen Victoria."<sup>61</sup>

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While the question of the emancipation of the slaves in America was cogent at this time, the issue of the Southern-born Anna Whistler's attitude toward slavery and black people requires consideration, because two males to whom she was closely related, one of whom is mentioned in the diaries and extensively in extant family correspondence, were partners in inter-racial liaisons. Her mother's brother, Zephaniah



Kingsley, was “an Atlantic trader in enslaved Africans, slave plantation owner in Florida, and patriarch of a large mixed-race extended family that functioned in a polygamous fashion.”<sup>62</sup> He was not married in a conventional sense to any of the black women with whom he had children.<sup>63</sup> The overseer of his San Jose plantation at Fort George Island (see Images 58–60) as of 1838 was Anna Whistler’s brother, Charles Johnston McNeill, who was married to Eliza (Coffee) McNeill, a mulatto.<sup>64</sup>

Uncle Zephaniah Kingsley, fearing that his manumitted family members and former slaves would suffer in Florida as a result of miscegenation laws, sent them to live in Haiti, “the first free black republic in the Western world,”<sup>65</sup> in 1839.<sup>66</sup> Before this decision, he had made frequent appraisal trips to Haiti, stopping in New York to conduct business and attend abolitionist meetings, although he eventually ceased to share the speakers’ views.<sup>67</sup> He had expressed his views on slavery in legal documents, starting in March 1811, when he freed his wife, Anna Kingsley, and their children.<sup>68</sup> He had also expressed these views in newspaper articles and a treatise. Anna Whistler was six years old in March 1811 and living in North Carolina. She had to have heard about her uncle’s life from family conversations. In 1815, her family moved north permanently. It is plausible that she never read his *A Treatise on the Patriarchal, or Co-operative System of Society, As It Exists in Some Governments, And Colonies in America, and in the United States, Under the Name of Slavery*, published in 1828, when she was twenty-four,<sup>69</sup> especially given her reluctance to pursue intellectual arguments.

On 13 September 1843, while in New York, Zephaniah Kingsley died of a heart attack.<sup>70</sup> His will, witnessed on 20 July 1843 in Florida, showed that “his concerns were first and foremost for the future of his extended biracial family.”<sup>71</sup> He was worried that “my heirs would break my will,”<sup>72</sup> and, indeed, in October 1844, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill “filed a petition . . . to invalidate her brother’s will and to disinherit the designated heirs,”<sup>73</sup> listing as co-petitioners her children, including Anna Whistler.<sup>74</sup>

On 2 March 1846, however, the validity of Zephaniah Kingsley’s will was upheld by the courts.<sup>75</sup> No extant document shows what Anna

Whistler thought of this action on the part of her mother, whom she deeply loved and was devoted to.

Zephaniah Kingsley died three days before Anna Whistler was to depart for Russia, and she possibly did not know about it until later in her voyage. When she arrived in Russia, her thoughts were all of the loss she had suffered from Charles Donald's death, but it is interesting that she did not mention Uncle Zephaniah in her St. Petersburg diaries.

The family member who suffered to some extent from Martha (Kingsley) McNeill's contesting of Zephaniah Kingsley's will was her own son, Charles Johnston McNeill, who had been named one of three white heirs both to property and money. Kingsley's wife, Anna's, petition "that [Charles] be dismissed as overseer at San Jose,"<sup>76</sup> led to his being replaced.<sup>77</sup> Although Martha (Kingsley) McNeill had spent time in Florida with him as early as 1829,<sup>78</sup> in the autumn of 1846, when she was considering coming to live with the Whistlers until they left Russia permanently, Charles Johnston McNeill traveled north and successfully persuaded her instead to accompany him when he returned to Florida.<sup>79</sup> For an unknown number of years until her death in 1852, she admirably tutored Eliza (Coffee) McNeill in social behavior and engaged in the religious and moral training of this daughter-in-law and of the grandchildren.

Like Anna Whistler's religious views, her views on slavery were instilled in her by Martha (Kingsley) McNeill. She refers in her diaries to her mother's influence in her life, citing proverbs quoted by her and attitudes toward the vicissitudes of life held by her, even demonstrating that her own love of flowers came from her mother. Indeed, in alluding to her mother's visits to Florida, she chiefly revels in thoughts of the varieties of flowers in bloom there and does not at all mention Charles's family and her mother's life with them. There is thus no clear statement as to what she felt about that complex situation, but Charles apparently turned to Anna Whistler for financial help, because her correspondence confirms an instance in which she attempted to solicit a loan for him not only from Joseph Harrison Jr., but from Harrison's father.<sup>80</sup>

At her brother's request, she traveled to Reddys Point and was chaplain to his and Eliza's children, but she did not have her mother's devotion to this project. Her chosen enthusiastic charitable efforts for

black people seemed to be reading the Bible with them. Thus, while living in Pomfret after her return from Russia, she went “to see a poor old colored woman who is bed ridden & who expresses such a wish for my going often that I shall propose daily reading the scripture to her.”<sup>81</sup>

Beyond family loyalty, beyond acts of charity to black people, while not a supporter of slavery, she ignored the possible cruelty of slaveowners and lauded the religious preparation being given by them to the slaves to spread the Bible in a future return to Africa. Extant letters reveal that she did not express her views on slavery until pressed after the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) and Harriet Beecher Stowe's tour of England.<sup>82</sup> The fact that Mrs. Stowe's travels in England increased the “popular mania” for her novel resulted in Anna Whistler's being questioned about her own reaction more frequently than she would have liked. Thus we learn that, while “no advocate for slavery,” she felt she could “witness to the humanity of the owners of southern Atlantic states, & testify that such are benefactors to the race of Ham . . . that the blacks at the south are cared for by Christian owners, being taught from the gospel & all their religious indulgences provided.” She therefore took “the view that God has permitted the stigma to remain upon our country that missionaries might be prepared for Africa, thro the religious instruction provided by slave owners in our Atlantic states, & that thro the Colonization Society it will be effected.” She felt “Uncle Tom may prove an incentive” in effecting these views, “tho so much romance & poison is mixed up with the abolitionist prejudices of the writer.”<sup>83</sup>

In 1858, when visiting Charles Johnston McNeill and her southern cousins, she continued to stress the good life she felt she saw the slaves enjoying: “I wish all who are pained at the thoughts of slavery could see the freedom & easy labor of the workies here”; “As to slavery at the south, I never saw servants so free to idle, the owners have the severest task & such a weight of responsibility in the care & training of such families! But it has long been my conviction [through] the Providence of our Lord that heathen Africa may be enlightened by their people of our Southern States. The galleries of all the churches are free to them & very attentive hearers they appear”; “rice and cotton is cultivated by very contented looking negroes.”<sup>84</sup>

It is noteworthy that Anna Whistler seems not to have meant her diaries to be a confession written for herself alone. She sent Part I to her family in the United States, and took up the writing of Part II chiefly because of her mother's reception of Part I. Years later, she retrieved them from her lumber room to send to her friend, James Gamble, for him to read himself and to read aloud to a Scottish friend. She was never ashamed of Jesus in the world nor of her religious beliefs.

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While Anna Whistler's diaries of 1843–1848 reveal the religious and moral aspect of her biography as no other documents written by her do, this essay depends also on her voluminous correspondence in the Whistler Collection at Glasgow University Library and the Pennell–Whistler Collection at the Library of Congress, as well as the correspondence of John Stevenson Maxwell at the New-York Historical Society and Joseph Harrison Jr. at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Swift Papers at the New York Public Library; the correspondence of members of extended family in the Swift Papers at the United States Military Academy Library archives at West Point; Colin Ingersoll's Journal at Boston University; and, among printed sources, chiefly Kate McDiarmid's biography of Anna Whistler and Daniel Schafer's biography of Zephaniah Kingsley.

## NOTES

1. John 20:29 is Jesus's reply to the Apostle Thomas, who doubted the resurrection of Jesus until he had actually seen and touched Jesus's wounds. Verse 29 is the epitaph on Anna Whistler's tombstone in Hastings, England.
2. Dr. Daniel McNeill is said also to have been known as Charles Donald McNeill, "native of Bladen County, North Carolina [and] identified with Wilmington, North Carolina"; see Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
3. Anna Matilda McNeill to Catherine J. McNeill, Liverpool, 22 November 1829 (McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, pp. 16, 19).
4. Anna Matilda McNeill to Margaret Getfield Hill, Manchester, January 14, 1830 (McDiarmid, p. 20).
5. "Whistler, Lt. George W. of USA. m. in N.Y. Anna Matilda, daughter of the late Dr. Daniel McNeill," *Brooklyn Star*, November 9, 1831, Card Index for *Brooklyn Star*, Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, NY.
6. J.G. Swift to Louisa Walker Swift, New London [CT], 17th Oct. '31, in file J.G. Swift to his wife, Louisa (Letters of General Joseph G. Swift; Swift, Joseph Gardner, 1783–1865, Papers 1800–1865; Manuscripts, 19th Century 10; United States Military Academy (USMA) Library, West Point, NY [hereafter USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers]).
7. William H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, November 4, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers.
8. McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, p. 11.
9. Niece Julia M. Osborne to Uncle Joseph G. Swift, Geneva [N.Y.] Nov. 8, 1831, Family Letters of J.G. Swift and his wife 1822–1831, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers.
10. McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, p. 21. Deborah (Whistler) Haden, writing to James in November 1848, compared the portrait she had of Anna Whistler to the subject herself and said, "it is not nearly so nice or refined looking as the original" (Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden to James Whistler, Nov 28, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, H6).
11. Wright, Thomas. Anna Whistler, mother of James McNeill Whistler, 1845. Pencil and w/c. 16.9 x 10.6 cm. (6 5/8 x 4 1/4 ins), PH 1/57, neg. no. AC874, Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow

- University. It is signed “Tho<sup>s</sup>. Wright (Rait) 1845.” Rait is a transliteration of his Russian signature.
12. Monday morning Dec. 11th [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W371.
  13. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr. Steamer America. August 8th [18]49. Wednesday afternoon, LC: P-W, box 34.
  14. Phoebe Lloyd, “Anna Whistler the Venerable,” *Art in America* 72, no. 11 (November 1984): p. 150.
  15. [F.G. Fish], *St. Ann’s Church (Brooklyn, New York) from the Year 1784 to the Year 1845, with A Memorial of the Sunday Schools, to which is added, An Appendix, containing a brief notice of the other Episcopal churches in Brooklyn by a Sunday School Teacher* (Brooklyn, NY: printed by the author, 1845), pp. 51, 193, 200, 201.
  16. Anna Whistler to Catherine McNeill, Stonington, May 1st, 1838, McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, pp. 29–30.
  17. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J. G. Swift, St. Petersburg, October 28, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
  18. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Stonington, Wednesday, Aug 27th 51, GUL: Whistler Collection, W395.
  19. Kate Livermore to Elizabeth Robins Pennell, October 31, 1906, fol. 2914, LC: P-W, box 292, L.
  20. McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, pp. 138, 155.
  21. The *Rollo* series was written by Jacob Abbott (14 November 1803 – 31 October 1879), “a congregational clergyman, educator and writer of children’s books.” He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1820 and “studied theology at Andover Seminary in 1821–22 and 1824.” In 1825, he “became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Amherst College.” In 1828, “he founded the Mount Vernon School” in Boston. It became “one of the pioneer institutions in America for the education of young women.” Abandoning “traditional disciplinary methods, he appealed to the honor and conscience of his pupils by making the school self-governing.” “In 1833 he resigned” his post as principal and in 1834 “became minister of the Eliot Congregational Church in Roxbury, Mass.” After 1835, although he founded together with his brothers Abbott’s Institution (1843–1851) in New York City and another, short-lived, school, he turned to writing and was most prolific. His “first important work” was *The Young Christian* (1832). *The Corner Stone* (1834) caused a furor in circles “hostile to Unitarianism” and “became

the subject of one of the famous Oxford *Tracts for the Times* (No. 73) by J.H. Newman,” but the two later met and became friends. “In later editions of *The Corner Stone* Abbott changed certain equivocal passages to prevent further misapprehension of his views, which were substantially those of the more liberal Evangelicals of his period.” Another famous work was his *Rollo* series for young readers, which he intended, as he did his other literary works, “as instruments for the accomplishment of certain definite results in human life and character” (Allan Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. [New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1964] [hereafter, *Dictionary of American Biography*], s.v. “Abbott, Jacob”).

There were 14 *Rollo* books in the first series (1835–1842). The purpose of these “stories about a boy named Rollo [and his] experiences on a New England farm and out in the wide, wide world (including Europe) [was] to teach lessons of self-improvement, honesty and industry” (Max J. Herzberg, et al., *The Reader’s Encyclopedia of American Literature* [New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1962], p. 1).

22. John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress from This World, to That Which Is to Come* was published in 1678. Bunyan (1628–1688) was a tinker by profession and a preacher by avocation. He was imprisoned for preaching without a license from 1660 to 1672, for twelve years, and again in 1676–1677 for six months. The Church of England, reestablished at the restoration of Charles II in 1660, cracked down on sectarian preachers who had flourished during the Civil Wars, the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and the Interregnum. *Pilgrim’s Progress* is an allegory. Christian’s spiritual journey is made geographical: he goes from the City of Destruction through the Slough of Despond to the Palace Beautiful, through the Valleys of Humiliation and the Shadow of Death to Vanity Fair and, after a spell in the prison of the Giant Despair, to the Delectable Mountains and finally, after crossing the River of Death, to the Celestial City. On the way, he encounters and engages in lively dialogue with other pilgrims, many less resolute than he (Mr. Honest, Mr. Fearing, Mr. Ready-to-Halt); helpful folk (the Evangelist, the Interpreter); and tempters (Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Ignorance).
23. McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 155. McDiarmid is citing Emma Palmer’s account of how the Sabbath was kept. For Mrs. Sherwood and her edifying tales for children, see the entry for South Shore of Blackpool. on the Lancashire coast. July 28<sup>th</sup>

1847. Wednesday, NYPL: AWP, Part II, and accompanying Notes 843 and 844.
24. McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, p. 138. McDiarmid is citing the answers given to her questions by Anna Whistler's niece, Anna Whistler (Palmer) Stanton.
  25. See the biography of George Washington Whistler in the 1840s in this chapter.
  26. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, January 18, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
  27. Anna Whistler to Major George Washington Whistler Tuesday morning June 8<sup>th</sup> 1847 Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353.
  28. Both quotations in this example are from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret thursday Jan 15<sup>th</sup> 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W405. The instance in Russia was a family excursion in the Summer Garden. James was at the time of letter W405 a cadet at the United States Military Academy.
  29. An essay on the life of George Washington Whistler, written by Anna Whistler in May 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
  30. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23.
  31. John S. Maxwell to Major George Washington Whistler, New York, Monday December 13, 1846 (Monday was December 14), N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
  32. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35.
  33. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33.
  34. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 45. Anna Whistler herself mentioned in 1846 the novelty of having spent a few nights at the Gellibrand dacha, speaking of it as "quite an era in my St. Petersburg life, as I never slept from home before" (entry for August 12/24<sup>th</sup> Monday [1846], NYPL: AWP, Part II).
  35. Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Joseph Harrison Sr Philadelphia United States Alex. July 26<sup>th</sup> (OS) 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.



36. Joseph Harrison, Jr. to his sister Elizabeth Alex. July 27th (OS) 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
37. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg, Monday evening Dec. 13th [OS] English Christmas Day [1846], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375.
38. Among her own relatives Anna Whistler was deeply disliked by Virginia Carry (Ragland) Fairfax, the wife of her nephew, Donald McNeill Fairfax, son of Anna Whistler's sister, Isabella Kingsley (McNeill) Fairfax. Because of Anna Whistler's straitened circumstances, the couple shared their apartment in Baltimore with her in 1855, as a result of which she and "Ginnie" clashed. Anna Whistler forgave her, as she did anyone who displayed antagonism toward her.  
 Anna Whistler's great-nephew, Donald P. Stanton, son of her niece and namesake, Anna Whistler (Palmer) Stanton, daughter of Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, in his answers to Kate McDiarmid's questions recounted anecdotes demonstrating his mother's dislike of her "Aunt Anna." This dislike was prompted by Anna Whistler's humiliation of her as a teenager and remembrances of confiscated toy episodes. Among the more amusing anecdotes he related was the one told upon Anna Whistler's death, proposing that she, who could not play any instrument, was probably now playing the harp in heaven (Anna P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, 22 April [1928], GUL: Whistler Collection, S179). He also informed Kate McDiarmid that his mother said Anna Whistler "was a *snob*, haughty and reserved" with those she did not consider her equals (Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid [26 May 1930], GUL: Whistler Collection, S201).
39. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Springfield, Nov. 4, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers.
40. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Washington, April 19, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
41. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, August 12, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 17 [*sic*].
42. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, September 9, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21.
43. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, September 9, 1843; Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Washington, August 4, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
44. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J. G. Swift, Washington, June 15, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers. See the biography of George William

Whistler in the 1840s in this chapter for details of his father and uncle's quarrel.

45. William H. Swift nevertheless continued to handle Major Whistler's financial affairs and Anna's after the death of Major Whistler and was the executor of the latter's American will.
46. Entry for Tues., July 25: July 23, Anna McNeill Whistler 1850 Diary, LC: P-W, box 33 (hereafter, AMW 1850 Diary). This entry reveals that Mary Brennan also had money (\$300) in the hands of Capt. Swift and was receiving interest. The frugal Anna Whistler was using a diary for an earlier year, containing printed dates. Next to these printed dates she wrote in the dates for the days as they would have been in 1850.
47. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Springfield, Nov. 4, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers.
48. Entry for Sunday [August] 11<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
49. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 26 September 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W361.
50. Anna Whistler to J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept. 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
51. Anna Whistler to Margaret Getfield Hill, 62 Sloane St Christmas Eve 1852, Letters of Anna Mathilda McNeil Mother of James McNeill Whistler 1830–1876, LC: P-W, box 34, fol. 35.
52. Entry for Monday [August] 5<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
53. Entry for Friday [October] 16<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
54. Rev. Thomas S. Grimshawe, *Memoir of the Rev. Legh Richmond, A.M.*, 4th ed. (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1828), p. 599. These are the words of Richmond's daughter.
55. All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the entry for Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I. Even when she learned of the death of Nicholas I, believing that he "had gone to where there is no change, no place for repentance," she hoped "the false system in the Greek and Roman churches – purgatory – may not have been depended upon by the Emperor, but faith in the alone merits of Jesus Christ our only righteousness!" (Anna Whistler to James Whistler [Washington] 176 Preston Street Wednesday 28th [March 1855], GUL: Whistler Collection, W448).
56. Entry for Wed [August] 28<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

57. Entry for Monday 10<sup>th</sup> June [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
58. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 19–20, 25.
59. Entry for June 6<sup>th</sup> *Old Style* ... & 18<sup>th</sup> our calender [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
60. Entry for Wed [July] 17<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
61. Entry for Thursday [August] 29<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
62. Daniel L. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. and the Atlantic World: Slave Trader, Plantation Owner, Emancipator* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2013), p. ix. This aspect of Anna Whistler's immediate family background had not been explored in depth until the publication of Schafer's carefully researched, outstanding biography of Zephaniah Kingsley, although he had earlier written a biography of Kingsley's wife, Anna Magigine Jai Kingsley (Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Magigine Jai Kingsley: African Princess, Florida Slave, Plantation Owner* [Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2003]). Before the appearance of Schafer's two works, a number of articles appeared on the subject of miscegenation in James Whistler's family. See, for example, Philip S. May, "Zephaniah Kingsley, Nonconformist (1765–1843)," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (January 1945): pp. 145–159; Paul G. Marks, "James McNeill Whistler's Family Secret: An Arrangement in White and Black," *The Southern Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (1988): pp. 67–75.
63. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, p. 227.
64. Schafer, pp. 218–219, 292.
65. Schafer, p. 210.
66. Schafer, pp. 219, 292nn16–17; Daniel W. Stowell, ed. *Balancing Evils Judiciously: The Proslavery Writings of Zephaniah Kingsley*. (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2000), p. 111.
67. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 206, 207, 208, 209; Stowell, *Balancing Evils*, p. 111.
68. Stowell, pp. 23–25.
69. Stowell, pp. 39–75.
70. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, p. 229; "Deaths From November 15, 1842 to February 19, 1844: Sat., Sept. 16, 1843: In this City, Sept. 13, Zephaniah Kingsley of Fla. 77y," in Gertrude A. Barber, comp., *Index to the New York Evening Post*, vol. 19 (1939), p. 63.

71. Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, pp. 226, 293.
72. Schafer, pp. 229, 293.
73. Schafer, pp. 231, 294.
74. Schafer, p. 294. Schafer says that it is possible that, although Anna Whistler was named by her mother as a co-petitioner, she was not consulted for her consent, nor were her siblings or first cousins.
75. Schafer, pp. 233, 295. Martha (Kingsley) McNeill's "appeals to Florida's higher courts for a reversal of the decision also failed" (Schafer, pp. 233; see also p. 295n7).
76. Schafer, p. 231.
77. Schafer, pp. 232, 294n5.
78. Anna McNeill to Catherine J. McNeill, Liverpool, 22 Nov. 1829, GUL: Whistler Collection, W344; Anna McNeill to Margaret Hill, Manchester, January 14th, 1830, LC: P-W. Her brother William Gibbs McNeill expressed his disapproval: "Mother, I am sorry to say it, goes again this winter to Florida – she seems to think it her duty & I shall interfere no farther than to put my veto against that crazy craft of Uncle Kingsley's" (William G. McNeill to Joseph G. Swift, Boston, Sep<sup>r</sup>. 18th [18]31, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers).
79. Anna Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
80. Entry for May 4: May 2; entry for May 16: May 14, AMW 1850 Diary.
81. Anna Whistler to Meg Hill, Pomfret, Wed. P.M. Oct. 8, 1851, LC: P-W, box 34.
82. *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852) is a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), an American author. It is "an account of the trials, sufferings, and innate grandeur of Uncle Tom, a Negro slave who is cruelly mistreated by a Yankee overseer named Simon Legree and finally whipped to death by him ... The background is plantation life in Kentucky and Louisiana ... [Stowe] wrote it as a contribution to the cause of abolition, but showed more fairness to the South than was generally realized. Her despicable villain is a Vermonter from her own part of the country; she vents her sharpest ridicule on a Yankee woman. On the other hand, she depicts in admiring colors the true southern gentleman and the genuine southern lady. Mrs. Stowe's primary fear was that the abolitionists would denounce her; she had always avoided approving their cause and

she liked the South ... It is likely that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has sold more widely than any other work of fiction ever written" (Herzberg, *Readers' Encyclopedia of American Literature*, p. 1167). "In 1853 the Stowes visited Europe and were received with tremendous acclaim in England" (p. 1094).

83. All quotations in this paragraph are from Anna Whistler to Catherine Cammann 17 and 28 April 1853, LC: P-W, box 34. See the introductory essay in the chapter "Slavery and Civil War" in Georgia Toutziari, "Anna Matilda Whistler's Correspondence – An Annotated Edition" (5 vols., PhD diss., University of Glasgow, 2002), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 600–609.
84. These quotations are taken from the following letters in GUL: Whistler Collection: Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble South Bay, Charleston, South Carolina Jan 23<sup>rd</sup> Saturday, W488; Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble South Bay Charleston Feb 4<sup>th</sup> 1858, W489; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, South Bay, Friday afternoon May 7<sup>th</sup> 1858, W491.

## GEORGE WILLIAM WHISTLER (GEORGE)

George (see Images 12–13) was Whistler's eldest child, born on 9 July 1822. He was five years old when his mother, Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler (see Image 10), died (9 December 1827), and nine when his father remarried (3 November 1831). He was almost twelve when his first half-brother, James (see Images 24–29), was born, and seventeen when his only biological brother, Joseph, died. He was an indifferent student.<sup>1</sup> The principal foreman at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, Joseph Senior Kirk of Lowell, Massachusetts, told Anna Whistler he had known George in Lowell as a lad. Little else is known of George's youth. One does not have the impression that, like other young men, he was apprenticed in his early teens to learn a trade or business. He seems to have been in poor health and assiduously tried to avoid a cold climate in winter. He may have already been suffering from the heart condition that caused his death at forty-seven, paralleling that of his father at forty-eight from the same ailment.

In May 1843, while his family was preparing to join Whistler in Russia, George, aged twenty-one, was working in the machine shop of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals in Lowell. After consulting with his father, he had “decided to remain ... [there] for a year.”<sup>2</sup> He was working a ten-hour day, like the other employees, enjoyed the work, and said it agreed with his health.<sup>3</sup> This suggests he may have previously lacked the stamina to work full-time.

In August of 1843, he had to accompany Anna Whistler, Debo, and the children (see Images 1–5; 17–19, 21; and 24–30) to England, where he found that he would be required to continue on as their protector as far as Travemünde, because there was no direct ship from London to Cronstadt (see Images 77–85).<sup>4</sup> Whistler regretted George's decision not to travel all the way to Russia with them, since he could have returned home at any time if he so desired,<sup>5</sup> and his presence “would have been a great comfort” to their bereaved family.<sup>6</sup> But George did not wish to run the risk of being unable to leave Russia so late in the season and “was anxious to return to America before the cold weather.” Alone in the United States, he had as guardians and advisors his mother's brothers,

General Joseph Gardner Swift (see Image 11) and Captain William Henry Swift.<sup>7</sup>

Immediately after arriving home, he sent news “of the possible necessity of a voyage,” astonishing his father, who did not have “the slightest knowledge or idea of his delicate health.”<sup>8</sup> The nature of this illness is never referred to by name. Whistler, hearing about it from George himself, was surprised and referred to it only as “delicate health.” Later, he was glad George had not come to Russia with the family, because the “climate would have been fatal to him.” Joseph G. Swift probably named the illness in writing to his brother, but his letter is not extant. William Swift’s reply to Joseph Swift is cryptic and ominous:

The information which [your letter] contained relative to George Whistler, I fear is ominous of his fate. I have known for some years that the disease was lurking about him, but had entertained a hope that he might outlive it. A letter which he wrote me on the day of his departure from New York seemed at the time I received it, to be the last I should ever see from him, this is an opinion of foreboding that has occurred to me more than once in my life, and more than once it has not deceived me, I hope in this case that my fears may not be realised.<sup>9</sup>

This dark response may be referring to a diagnosis of the heart condition that would eventually carry off Whistler, George, and James. It suggests George’s fear that he might die on the journey and his depression. Later in George’s life, William Swift spoke of him as having “the McNeill disease,” a reference, also cryptic, to Anna Whistler’s brother, William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31), an alcoholic. Anna Whistler’s letter to Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) when George died clarifies that, in addition to his heart condition, he had “disease of the liver of so long standing [that it] was incurable!”<sup>10</sup>

Whistler wrote George in November of 1843 that Count Kleinmikhel’ (see Image 243) would be glad to give him a job. He urged George to do all he could that winter to improve, “especially in the machine shop – and on the road,” to get practical knowledge in putting up and running an engine and to learn French, and then to come to

Russia in the spring of 1844 and judge how long to stay.<sup>11</sup> With George so far away, his letters would cross with his father's, and Whistler was frustrated that George's "movements [were] in advance of the possibility of advice from [him]."<sup>12</sup> George had gone ahead with plans for a sea voyage, and Whistler was grateful that General Joseph G. Swift had intervened to arrange a protection for George from the Secretary of State.<sup>13</sup> In late November, George sailed on the *Lausanne* "for the Sandwich Islands, mouth of the Columbia River, Manila and Home again,"<sup>14</sup> on a cruise that was intended to last a year. In Honolulu, he found out that the *Lausanne* was not going to the mouth of the Columbia River, as originally scheduled, but returning immediately to the United States. As he did not wish to return home in winter, he left the *Lausanne*, planning to visit the various islands and come home in the summer of 1845. He considered himself quite well already.<sup>15</sup> He must have gone further afield, however, for when he arrived in the United States around March 1845, and wrote to his father from Brooklyn, the family was under the impression that he had not yet "embarked from China."<sup>16</sup> He declared himself in perfect health and suggested coming to Russia for a visit that summer.

He set about seeking employment again. He wrote his father of the possibility "of entering the navy in the new Corps of Steam Engineers." Whistler liked the idea, feeling that if George's "health will permit it – and he will pursue the course ... he will have ample field for action – it will be an important branch of service in time."<sup>17</sup> He urged George to visit the family in St. Petersburg, but only "if it would not interfere with any prospect he may have for employment," for in St. Petersburg "there would be none."<sup>18</sup> The longer Whistler worked in Russia, the more he came to feel that even if it were possible for George to receive employment there, nothing would induce him to permit his son to be employed in the servile system he himself had come to see in action and to despise.<sup>19</sup>

George left Boston on 1 June 1845,<sup>20</sup> spent a week in England, where he visited the Winstanleys, and on 25 June arrived in St. Petersburg.<sup>21</sup> He was a sponsor at two christenings: for John Bouttatz Whistler, who was born on 29 August; and for Alicia McNeill Harrison, who was born on 12 September.<sup>22</sup> George had planned "to return on 1



Sept: to take his chance for an appt in the ‘Steam Marine’.”<sup>23</sup> William Swift disapproved of the idea on the grounds that George did not have “stamina enough for the situation.”<sup>24</sup> Whistler rejoiced in his son’s visit. He was especially happy that in laying out their views before one another, George concurred “that this was no country for him.”<sup>25</sup> George may also have talked with Harrison, Winans, and Eastwick about possibilities of employment back in the United States, and Thomas DeKay Winans could have suggested his father’s firm. George did not leave Russia until 16 September, when he accompanied Aunt Alicia and Debo to England. In early October, he was in Washington.<sup>26</sup> By the beginning of December, he had taken a job in Baltimore with the firm of Ross Winans (see Image 228), “a much better place for him than the Navy,” in William Swift’s opinion.<sup>27</sup> Here he came to be regarded by Ross Winans in a few months as “*most usef<sup>ul</sup>*”; his employer also anticipated that he would do “well for himself.”<sup>28</sup> George said “he never was so happy ... he now really [felt] that he [was] useful.”

By mid-March of 1846, George wrote his father that he was engaged to marry a Baltimore girl named Mary Ann Ducatel (Baltimore, MD bap. 11 May 1825 – Baltimore, MD 25 February 1852).<sup>29</sup> Mary Ann Ducatel was the daughter of Julius (Jules) Timoleon Ducatel (Baltimore, MD 6 June 1796 – Baltimore, MD 23 April 1849; see Image 14) and Joanna (Barry) Ducatel (Maryland 1800 – Baltimore, MD 16 November 1873), who were married on 11 May 1824.<sup>30</sup> Her father “was educated at St. Mary’s college, and then became associated with his father, long the principal pharmacist in Baltimore.” He then studied natural sciences in Paris for several years. On returning to Baltimore, he became, firstly, professor of natural philosophy at the Mechanics’ Institute and then professor of chemistry and geology at the University of Maryland. Next he was elected to the chair of chemistry in the medical department at the University of Maryland. Eventually, he became professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology at St. John’s College in Annapolis, Maryland. He was invited in June 1838 by the Secretary of War to “attend the examination of the Cadets” at the USMA, which he accepted. He was the author of *A Manual of Toxicology* (1848).<sup>31</sup> Joanna (Barry) Ducatel was related to Captain James Barry (c. 1755 – 7 January 1808) and his wife Joanna Gould Barry (d. 26 October 1811). The extended Barry family

were Irish immigrants; in the 1790s, four brothers – James, Robert, Garret, and Redmond – all immigrated to the United States. Joanna (Barry) Ducatel appears to be the daughter of either James Barry's brother Robert or nephew Robert. The James Barrys had been living in Lisbon, Portugal, and James Barry served as the Portuguese consul general for Maryland and Virginia from 1791. They had two daughters, Ann (d. 17 July 1808) and Mary (d. 17 November 1805), both of whom were unmarried. The Barry family was painted by American artist Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828): the portraits of the Barry daughters are now in the NGA (1954.9.3 and 1954.9.4) [National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC]; the portrait of Captain James Barry (see Image 15) is the Princeton University Art Museum (1979-52).<sup>32</sup> On 27 August 1872, Joanna (Barry) Ducatel advertised in *The Sun* (Baltimore) that her “large and commodious dwelling” was available “for rent.” On 16 November 1873, she died.

Apparently George assured Whistler that he and Mary would not marry until he was financially stable. Whistler “could see no reason for not yielding to his wish,”<sup>33</sup> perhaps remembering that he himself had eloped with Mary Roberdeau Swift when her father would not give his consent to their marriage. He expressed “every confidence in [George’s] not undertaking the responsibility of marrying anybody until he sees some tolerable fair prospects of providing for his happiness.” He also felt that “George’s own letters are most satisfactory proof of his good heart and head,” and indicate his “improvement and progress.” Whistler knew Mary Ducatel’s father from his own Baltimore days. Reminded by Joseph G. Swift that “Miss D. as a little girl was like Deborah,” he recalled that knowing this had made him, then a widower separated from his children, want to see the child because he missed his own young daughter.

At this time, George became embroiled in a conflict between Anna Whistler’s brother, William Gibbs McNeill, and Whistler. When Whistler was leaving Lowell, McNeill had proposed verbally that “in professional matters we were partners – the receipts for our professional services, to be a common fund to be divided equally between us,” but Whistler had intended to “do as [he] pleased, according to circumstances.”<sup>34</sup> McNeill, whose alcoholism was apparent, and who was having difficulties finding

employment, was now demanding money from Whistler. He was writing, however, to George, saying “impudent things” about Whistler, and requiring George to send these letters on to Whistler, most of whose letters he refused to answer directly.<sup>35</sup> William Swift, who was handling Whistler’s financial affairs in the United States, sent McNeill three thousand dollars at Whistler’s request and intended to send him two thousand more as soon as he could “get it without sacrificing Whistler’s worth.”<sup>36</sup> George wrote McNeill a note “withdrawing certain expressions he had used in their correspondence relative to the *habits* of McN.” He also traveled to New York, where he discussed the subject of his and McNeill’s correspondence with McNeill’s wife, Maria (Cammann) McNeill, and became “reconciled to [her] and his cousins.”<sup>37</sup> Whether the matter of money McNeill demanded of Whistler ended here is not clear, but this episode seems to be the basis for the story that Whistler had no savings from his Russian employment because a portion of them was demanded by and given to McNeill.

In August of 1846, George raised with his father the possibility of accepting a position to go to Russia as a partner in the firm of Harrison and Winans to attend to the contract the firm had taken to lay the rails.<sup>38</sup> A competent person would be “given an interest in their establishment.”<sup>39</sup> Ross Winans felt Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229) would do well “to associate some good & suitable person with [him] & that of Young Whistler is the proper person – he is every way qualified to be as useful & efficant [*sic*] as anyone you could select & the propriety of asociating [*sic*] him with you in preference to anyone else you will readily perceive.”<sup>40</sup> Whistler, however, had already advised George against it.<sup>41</sup>

By April of 1847, after apparently being refused a raise, George quit his job with Ross Winans, unwilling to adhere to the usual practice of a long apprenticeship for reputation’s sake rather than for money.<sup>42</sup> His father did not think he had served there long enough “to make his compensation a matter of so much importance.” Whistler had been hoping, too, that George would adhere “to the plan of becoming a mechanical Engineer.” He understood that George’s wish to marry Mary Ducatel had precipitated his impatient decision.<sup>43</sup> William Swift, exasperated by George’s “fickleness” in holding down a job, assessed

him as having “a radical and serious defect in his character, he is infirm of purpose, and a weathercock should form the crest in his coat of arms.”<sup>44</sup>

Seeking employment yet again, George had an opportunity in a machine shop in Charlotte, North Carolina, where it seemed he might be a partner, if he could supply ten or fifteen thousand dollars. Whistler, however, could not give him such a sum “without taking *all* that he [had] saved.”<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, William Swift did “not think George capable of managing such an establishment” in the South, although he felt that “North Carolina [was] a much better climate for [George] than New York.”<sup>46</sup> George, therefore, may have had prospects in New York as well.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps McNeill, who had found employment with the Erie Railroad by October 1846,<sup>48</sup> had proposed it, now that they were reconciled. The extant correspondence of his uncles and his father does not reflect how he was employed for the next two years, beginning April 1847.

On 20 June 1848, George Whistler and Mary Ducatel were married in Baltimore in the Basilica of the Assumption. There seem to be no extant letters from them or others about their wedding or their married life in the 1840s.<sup>49</sup> The Whistlers received some news of them through Joseph and William Swift. Anna Whistler was cheered to hear of “George’s improved spirits and health,” feeling “quite sure he must be happy with such a sweet companion as Mary is described to be.”<sup>50</sup> When Whistler died, Anna Whistler wrote George and Mary a moving account of his last moments. Mary’s father, Dr. Julius Ducatel, had also recently died.<sup>51</sup> Overwhelmed by the correspondence she had to conduct, Anna Whistler asked Mary to inform Martha (Kingsley) McNeill at Stonington of Whistler’s death.<sup>52</sup> When she and the boys arrived back in America, James was the first to meet Mary.<sup>53</sup>

In tribute to Whistler, Harrison wrote to William Swift and to George, offering “to advance thousands for George,” now about twenty-seven years old, to help him establish himself.<sup>54</sup> Anna Whistler, though grateful and not knowing how they would respond to the offer, stated her opposition, feeling that “pecuniary debts . . . seldom cement friendships.” She wished Whistler’s sons to shrink from debt, as had their father. She felt George would “be wise to be frugal & steadily to

pursue the beaten track of engineering,” gradually rising “thro his own perseverance in his profession” and “by his own industry win[ning] the confidence of the public.”<sup>55</sup> She informed Harrison that “George had a new appointment which will enable him to support himself & wife, he will be on the Erie railroad.” He would be happy because he would see many of his cousins, who were also employed on that railroad. He would leave Baltimore early in July for New York, which was to be his headquarters, and receive a salary of \$1200 per annum. He would be able to “take his wife with him sometimes & sometimes leave her in New Haven” with Anna Whistler, if she should settle there.

George accepted his appointment in New York City.<sup>56</sup> His summer quarters were to be Binghamton, New York.<sup>57</sup> He asked to be given his father’s professional papers.<sup>58</sup> Although he must have been grateful for Harrison’s offer, he was remiss in writing to acknowledge his gratitude, and there is no evidence that he ever did. Anna Whistler found George “looking thinner than I ever saw him, but . . . not feeling ill now.”<sup>59</sup> She assured Harrison that George had been “prevented answering your very friendly letter by illness, & by business, the packing up & removal to a new post of duty,” which were “as much as he could possibly accomplish then.”

George’s uncles Swift were exasperated with him, but rightly left his father to be the decision-maker about the professional path he should take. McNeill considered him “a silly boy.”<sup>60</sup> Whistler, who was more easygoing, was nevertheless adamant about what employment George should not take.

In August 1849, Whistler’s remains were lying in a vault in Boston. When it came to the matter of the resting place for them, George behaved in an indelicate manner. Anna Whistler wanted her husband buried in Stonington Cemetery, which she said was also Whistler’s wish. George wanted his father buried in Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, where Whistler’s first wife was buried. Joseph and William Swift both felt it was Anna Whistler’s right to make this decision, and George had no right “to say or do [anything] in the matter.” Both wrote him their opinion, Joseph Swift stating his far more plainly than did William Swift. Whistler was buried in Stonington Cemetery. George’s desire that a

monument to his father be erected in Green-Wood Cemetery was eventually realized.<sup>61</sup>

The entire family loved George. On their arrival in St. Petersburg, all praised him liberally for his care of them during the journey to Travemünde, and Whistler humorously related what an authority on everything George was in James's and Willie's estimation.<sup>62</sup> To Anna Whistler, he was "my loved George" and "my own George." She was totally devoted to him. Feeling she was "painfully situated" in the conflict between her brother William and George in 1846, she stood firmly with George. The three years she had so far been in Russia had confirmed her "fears for my dear but erring brother."<sup>63</sup> She was "thankful dear George does not yield where principal must be upheld." On returning to America, she "found in George a comforter & adviser,"<sup>64</sup> whose views were much like his father's. She thanked God that she had "yet a George Whistler to aid me in strengthening & elevating the principles of my boys." Writing Joseph Harrison Jr., she was "too hurried to write half I feel this eldest brother merits – but as you were never deceived in his father, so may you find in him much to win your esteem & confidence for his own sake, as for attachment to the dear departed."

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The presentation of George's biography in the diaries differs from that of the other family members. George was actually present with his family on only two occasions: accompanying them from Boston to Travemünde in 1843, and visiting them in St. Petersburg from June through August of 1845. All other references are to his life away from them. The last mention of him is in the entry for Saturday, 30 January 1847. His letters for this period are not extant. There seems to be only one extant letter from his father to him, written in November 1843, chiding him for his careless handling of business and financial matters.<sup>65</sup> References to him are sometimes second-hand, relayed to Joseph Swift by Whistler from letters George wrote to Whistler. Other references are first-hand, from reports by William Swift to Joseph Swift, after seeing and speaking with George. William Swift's and Whistler's letters to Joseph Swift are the most extensive source of George's life in the 1840s. Few of Joseph Swift's letters to William Swift are extant, but sometimes

his opinions are revealed through William's responses to them. Anna Whistler supplies detailed information about George's life in the summer of 1849 in her letters to Harrison at that time. These rather sparse sources nevertheless enable us to create a revealing biography of George William Whistler.

## NOTES

1. "George does not love his Book" (Sarah D. Adams to Gen. J.G. Swift, New London, April 12, 1830, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers).
2. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, May 13, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
3. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, May 13, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. P., May 2/14, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
4. Deborah Whistler and Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, October 6th, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
5. Major G.W. Whistler to George W. Whistler, St. Petersburg, November 3, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
6. This and the following quotation in this paragraph are from Deborah Whistler and Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, October 6, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
7. 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).
8. This and the following quotation are from Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Jan<sup>y</sup> 18, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
9. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Lockport, Illinois, December 24, 1843, in response to the news of George Whistler's illness communicated to him by J.G. Swift on November 14, 1843 (letter not extant), NYPL: Swift Papers.
10. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, London, 5 February 1870, LC: P-W.
11. Major George W. Whistler to George Wm. Whistler, St. Petersburg, November 3, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
12. Major George Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Jan<sup>y</sup> 18, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
13. Major George Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Jan<sup>y</sup> 18, 1844.
14. NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, passport no. 1737.
15. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, entry of November 5 in letter of October 28, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.



16. Entry for Tuesday. April 1<sup>st</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. George's letter is not extant.
17. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 26, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
18. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 26, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers; Letters from Wm. Henry Swift to his brother, Gen. Joseph G. Swift, Washington, May 20, 1845, W. Henry Swift, Correspondence 1820–1857, C231, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers.
19. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 26, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers; IGI.
20. M1372: Passport Applications, 1795–1905, roll 16, application no. 292, NAUS.
21. Entry for June 28<sup>th</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
22. PREC STP, no. 5650, p. 328, and no. 5558, p. 329.
23. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, August 23, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers; Letters from Wm. Henry Swift to his brother, Gen. Joseph G. Swift, Washington, May 20, 1845, W. Henry Swift, Correspondence 1820–1857, C231, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers.
24. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, August 23, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
25. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
26. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, October 21, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
27. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, December 1, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
28. This and the following quotation are from Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
29. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Lockport, Ill., April 26, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers; IGI.
30. *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Tuesday, November 18, 1873, p. 2; Ducatel Family Bible Marriages; Basilica of the Assumption [Baltimore, MD] Baptismal Records.

31. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, ed. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1900), s.v. "Ducatel, Julius Timoleon"; IGI.
32. Allen C. Clark, "Captain James Barry," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 42–43 (1940–1941), pp. 1–16; "Appointments of Vice-Consuls for Portugal, 26 April 1791 –6 July 1791," NAUS website, accessed 2 February 2022, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-20-02-0072>; "George Worthen Whistler: Biography," National Gallery of Art, accessed 2 February 2022, <https://www.nga.gov/collection/provenance-info.11108.html#biography> ; IGI.
33. This and the rest of the quotations in this paragraph are from Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
34. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, February 15, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers. A further letter from Whistler indicates that he and McNeill became reconciled (George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, May 29, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers).
35. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, May 26, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers; [Washington], May 28, 1846; Washington, June 15, 1846; Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, July 21, 1846.
36. This and the following quotation are from Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, June 15, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
37. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, July 21, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
38. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, September 10, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
39. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, Sept. 3, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
40. Ross Winans to Thomas Winans, Baltimore, October 13, 1846, Winans Papers, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society (MdHS), Baltimore (hereafter MdHS: Winans Papers), MS 916, box 2, fol. 32. Whistler had suggested someone named Mathews, but Ross Winans wanted Thomas to take what *he* was suggesting into consideration.
41. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, November 19, 1846 [no place given], NYPL: Swift Papers.

42. This and the following two quotations are from Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 8/20, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
43. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, May 20, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
44. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, February 20, 1847 [no place given], NYPL: Swift Papers.
45. This and the following quotation are from Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Washington, June 6, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
46. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, February 20, 1847 [no place given], NYPL: Swift Papers.
47. Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, February 20, 1847 [no place given], NYPL: Swift Papers.
48. William H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, October 5, 1846 [no place given], NYPL: Swift Papers.<sup>5</sup>
49. On 18 June 1851, George and Mary became the parents of a son, George Worthen Whistler. See Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret tues night February 10 [1852] and Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret 3 March 1852, LC: P-W, box 34. For details of George William Whistler's life after the 1840s, see the biographies of the Winans family in Appendix E (hereafter Winans).
50. Joint letter of Major George W. Whistler, St. Petersburg, Jan'y 31 / Feb. 12, 1849 and Anna Whistler, Monday 2nd April / 21st March [1849] In St. P., to General J.G. Swift, NYPL: Swift Papers.
51. ["Ducatel Street"], *The Sun* (Baltimore, MD), Sunday, April 24, 1949. This was the 39th in a series of articles on Baltimore street names. It was written 100 years after the death of Dr. Julius Ducatel.
52. Mary (Ducatel) Whistler to grandmother, Baltimore, May 11, 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W960.
53. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., Stonington. Monday Aug. 13 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
54. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., [London], 62 Sloane St., June 19, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34. All quotations and all information in this paragraph are taken from this letter, except where otherwise indicated.

55. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., [London], Monday, June 25, [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
56. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., [London], Monday, June 25, [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
57. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Stonington, Monday, Aug. 13 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
58. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr. Saturday evening. Preston. July 7, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
59. This and the rest of the quotations in this paragraph are from Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., Stonington. Monday Aug 13 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
60. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, July 26, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
61. The quotation and all information in this paragraph come from Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Philadelphia, September 5, 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers.
62. Major George W. Whistler to George Wm. Whistler, St. Petersburg, Nov. 3, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
63. This and the following quotation are from Anna Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept. 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
64. This and the following quotation in this paragraph are from Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Stonington, Monday, Aug. 13 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34.
65. Major George W. Whistler to George Wm. Whistler, St. Petersburg, Nov. 3, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.

## DEBORAH DELANO (WHISTLER) HADEN (DEBO)

Debo (see Images 17–19, 21) was Whistler's youngest child from his first marriage, born on 24 October 1825. She was approximately two years and two-and-a-half months old when her mother, Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler (see Image 10), died, and six when her father remarried.

Anna Whistler's diaries and the correspondence of both family and friends reflect a long-term conflict between her and her step-daughter before the latter's marriage, and a strong possessiveness on the part of Major Whistler (see Image 7–8, 21) toward his only daughter. Captain William Henry Swift, his brother-in-law, said he had "reason to know" that there was "a great difference in the treatment of Debo when W is at home and when he is absent."<sup>1</sup> Although he encouraged Whistler to remain in Russia alone to save money, he also rejoiced in the decision for the family to join Whistler, because he felt all would be right once Debo was "near her father."<sup>2</sup> While he did not think the relationship between a step-mother and step-daughter need be troubled, he regretfully saw Anna Whistler (see Image 1–5) as the stereotypical unloving step-mother.<sup>3</sup> One has to keep in mind that Debo was his dead sister's child. Anna Whistler was not unloving; she simply wanted to create a pious young woman, rather in her own image.

In addition, both parents seemed to feel "it better that [Debo] should be imured everlastingly within the precincts of her own house."<sup>4</sup> This was true even in Russia. When Debo returned to St. Petersburg in October 1846 after a year's absence in England, the blunt Maxwell made a devastating comment on the loss of freedom she re-experienced in her parents' home. Asking Major Whistler "not [to] be offended at so poor a similitude," he wrote that she seemed to him "now, like a singing bird shut up in a cage of wire."<sup>5</sup>

Maxwell described her as not precisely pretty, "nor such as one would fall in love with at first sight, but ... possess[ing] the severe and classic beauty seen in the Grecian models."<sup>6</sup> She had no "equal in polite requirement" and was diligent in her studies. He admired her heartily for having "every mental quality that can command esteem." While not finding her "coquettish, malicious or vain," he characterized her as

“capricious haughty and witty.”<sup>7</sup> George Henry Prince said she was graceful.<sup>8</sup> She was accomplished on the harp and piano and also sang. She devoted her time in Russia to practicing and performing; to the study of German, which in a year she “[spoke] tolerably well”;<sup>9</sup> and to teaching James and Willie (see Images 24–30). Her French was excellent.

She generally was the pianist at any gathering that included dancing, but at the Laws’ last soir ee before Lent in 1844, to which she went accompanied only by her father, she “found it pleasant dancing.”<sup>10</sup> Anna Whistler hoped that Debo would never “yield to fondness for dancing at the expense of what [Anna Whistler] conceived to be decorous.”<sup>11</sup> When Debo would decline to dance, it won the approval of Anna Whistler, whose “heart [was] pained when [their] views were opposite.”<sup>12</sup> She “so yearn[ed] for sympathy from Debo, that [she was] willing when there [was] no glaring folly to meet her more than half way.”<sup>13</sup> She “love[d] to watch how unassuming [Debo was] compared to other young ladies.”<sup>14</sup> She wished Debo to be one of that small band of Christ’s followers who stand as an example to those in error to lead them “into the way of truth.”<sup>15</sup> She appreciated their spontaneous musical evenings at home, but did not want Debo to practice all morning in order to perform in the evening. Music could be a snare, and such excess only served self-aggrandizement. She thought Debo would be “much more happy ... if she found no pleasure”<sup>16</sup> in the theater or opera. She objected when Debo attended a concert by Clara Schumann (see Image 199) during Lent, because it was not “consistent with a communicant” of the Episcopalian Church “to give countenance to theatres,”<sup>17</sup> especially in that season. Quite ignoring her step-daughter’s love of music and her expertise, she objected also because Debo had already heard Schumann play recently.

But Debo, though devoted to Anna Whistler, would not obey and did not want to be the kind of Christian her step-mother was. She resisted Anna Whistler’s wish to acquaint her with the sainted invalid, Mary Gent Hirst, “whose cheerfulness would render religion captivating to a young person,”<sup>18</sup> and, for some reason, many years later did not want to visit the Gellibrands (see Images 265–266), who were then living in England.<sup>19</sup> Anna Whistler, however, continued to hope to influence her, regretting, for example, that Debo was not with her when she met

the pious young Bessie and Mary Smith at Chaddock Hall (see Image 467) in 1847. But, unbeknownst to her, someone was matchmaking Debo and Francis Seymour Haden (see Image 20) at that moment. After Debo had children, she instituted family prayers, and, when Anna Whistler visited her in London, proposed sacred music in the evening to please her.<sup>20</sup>

Debo was an eligible eighteen when she went to Russia (where she was also called “Dasha”). The Whistlers’ life until after Christmas 1843 was relatively isolated. The diary for 1844, however, shows that the young bachelors quickly responded to her, but her parents responded equally quickly to them. Well before his daughter came to Russia, Major Whistler had revealed to Maxwell the simple condition under which she might marry tomorrow with his consent: if she chose a young officer “who wears the uniform of our gallant little army.”<sup>21</sup>

Maxwell had the advantage over other young men, because he lived in the Whistler home and saw Debo almost every day. Perhaps for that very reason he seemed to forget the Major’s requirement for a fiancé for his daughter. He wrote his mother, coyly suggesting a flowering relationship with Debo. He asked that it be kept a secret,<sup>22</sup> but his family must have betrayed him because the rumors were reported to Whistler by General Joseph G. Swift (see Image 11), to whom he replied: “we know of no matrimonial project in our family . . . we live quite as retired as we ever did in our lives, so whatever noise Debo’s music has made, is confined to ourselves.”<sup>23</sup> And blind to his daughter’s possible matrimonial longings, he trusted he would “bring Debo home quite safe.”

It is possible also that Debo did not want Maxwell as a suitor. His letters show him to have been rather a popinjay. Despite his intimacy with the family, she always responded to his invitations by saying she would only go if her mother went. When she read his book, *The Czar, His Court and People*, in 1848, she rightly judged “some parts [to be] written in rather bad taste.”<sup>24</sup>

Maxwell gave up but recorded another suitor’s attempts. William Bonamy Maingay (see Image 260), brother of Debo’s best friend, Emma Maingay (see Image 263), was in May of 1844 “making love with all his might and mind to Miss W, and judging from the intimacy between this

lady and his sister,” Maxwell thought him “in a fair way to succeed.”<sup>25</sup> Meeting “this new pretender” then for the first time, Maxwell “soon saw ... and heard ... that he made great headway.” While believing that Major Whistler did not like Maingay at all, Maxwell felt that “the objections to him [were] trifling.” But despite his predictions of Maingay’s success in making an impression on Debo “through his personal and agreeable accomplishments,” this courtship, too, did not succeed. Because of the friendship between the two families, however, he continued to be a frequent guest at the Whistlers, often the bearer of letters from his sister, after the Maingays returned permanently to England.

The good-tempered and frank William Miller, a Scottish merchant approaching twice Debo’s age, who was as well honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg, was a suitor in the summer of 1844. The early period of his courtship, covered in the diaries, shows the poor bachelor building up his courage. It is also a clear instance of Anna Whistler working against a potential suitor, as she recorded her conversations with Miller in great detail. He first appears in the diary entry for Friday, 7 June 1844, when he brought to tea at the Whistlers’ dacha Timothy Abraham Curtis, a former banker, who was “willing to ride this far any time to listen to Debo’s piano or harp.”<sup>26</sup> Generally, Miller visited on weekdays, but he came by again on Sunday, 10 June, this time after ten o’clock in the evening in deference to Anna Whistler’s wish that no one intrude on their Sunday. He tried to make a good impression by recounting that he had spent the Sunday at church and done a kind deed, after which, the day on the wane, he had come to Francis and Dorothea Baird’s dacha for dinner and thence to the Whistlers, ostensibly because he was bearing an invitation from Mr. Curtis. On Saturday, 19 June, when he brought Sir William Allan (see Image 320) with him to tea, Miller showed his interest in Debo quite openly. He exhibited a moment’s dissatisfaction when a note from Mrs. Ropes took her away from the tea table. While she was playing the piano for Allan, Miller confessed to Anna Whistler his “desire to see [them] all so very much” that he could not “overcome it even on Sunday.”<sup>27</sup> She laughingly rebuffed his wish to come out some Sunday and walk with Major Whistler, to whom he thought the observance mattered less. Next, he proposed to take her and Debo for a



drive in his phaeton. As the Major was away, the proposal was parried with the excuse that they “were obliged to use the Majors horses every day to keep them in order against his return.” Anna Whistler stated frankly in the diary entry her concern lest a particular significance be attached to their being seen out driving with an eligible bachelor. Miller continued to make visits. He came to tea on Wednesday, 17 July 1844, and to lunch–dinner on Wednesday, 21 August 1844. In September 1844, George Henry Prince recorded in his journal the plight of any man interested in Debo: “Miss W is a belle But Mr. Maxwell and I know pretty well how the wind blows – the matter has been discussed by us in secret.”<sup>28</sup> Because of the gap in the diaries from September 1844 to March 1845, we do not know whether Miller visited the Whistlers in that period nor whether any other suitors appeared.

In June 1845, Miller returned from a trip to Scotland laden with gifts for the Whistlers ordered by Alicia McNeill (see Image 39), with whom he had become friends in the summer of 1844 in St. Petersburg. He even slipped in a gift for Debo from himself. He seemed at ease, inviting himself to dinner one Saturday and managing to intrude successfully on their Sabbath. Although he had said in his note that he would not outstay his welcome, because he was busy that evening, he changed his plans. He drove Debo to Elagin Island (see Image 409), accompanied by Major Whistler and “mademoiselle,” their governess. Anna Whistler was in an advanced state of pregnancy and did not go. After the ride, he stayed to tea. He remained until after ten o’clock and went home only when Anna Whistler hinted he should by leaving the room and going to bed. All of his behavior that day was very forward, and perhaps he had made progress in those unrecorded months. Still, he, too, was not successful.

The climate of St. Petersburg did not agree with young foreign females. Debo’s health began gradually to decline, and “the Doctors advised that she ... leave ... for a time.”<sup>29</sup> In September 1845, she departed St. Petersburg in the company of her brother, George (see Images 12–13), and Aunt Alicia (see Image 39), bound, like her step-mother before her, for a long stay with the Winstanleys in Preston, and with friends in and near London. Separated from her parents, she was free to be introduced to eligible bachelors with less impediment. It is said she met her future husband, Francis Seymour Haden, at the

Winstanleys.<sup>30</sup> Another source specifies that she met him through the Chapmans<sup>31</sup> of Preston, who were friends of the Winstanleys.

There is also evidence that after her return to St. Petersburg in October 1846, there was a Russian suitor, an unidentified army officer, with whom she was purported in 1847 to have “just had a love affair.”<sup>32</sup> It is possible that she had rebuffed his advances, but, whether they appealed to her or not, we must conjecture that Major Whistler may have complained to the authorities, although such an act seems inappropriate for him, given his character. But it had come to their attention somehow, because the officer had been punished by being “sent off to Archangel.”<sup>33</sup> As it was generally customary to send a disgraced person off to his family property when depriving him of permission to reside in the capital, the suitor may have been Captain Petr Petrovich Klokov, who was born in Archangel and had a family home there. Klokov, a bachelor, was Major Whistler’s aide, spoke English, and frequented their home.<sup>34</sup> The Bliss family of Springfield, Massachusetts, who were touring Europe and made a brief visit to the Whistlers in May 1847, learned of the unhappy consequences. They invited Debo, a great friend of their daughter, Sarah, and loved by all their family, to travel with them for the summer “through Switzerland to Paris, and thence to England,”<sup>35</sup> which explains why she left St. Petersburg so suddenly. This must later have seemed providential to Anna Whistler, who viewed Debo’s departures and canceled departures from St. Petersburg in that light, because as a result Francis Seymour Haden proposed to her that very summer.

The successful suitor, Francis Seymour Haden, called Seymour, seemed the ideal choice for her. He was not only a physician but “a talented draftsman ... having attended a government art training school while studying medicine at the Sorbonne in Paris.” On “completion of his medical studies,” he had “traveled through Italy and Switzerland ... from February to August, 1844,” going on “regular sketching expeditions.” He had made etchings of some of his sketches when back in London. Starting in 1845, he had begun to collect etchings, particularly “in the area of seventeenth-century Dutch etching,” accumulating Rembrandt’s work especially, and “in the mid to late 1840s ... began [a] serious study of Rembrandt etchings.” After his marriage to Deborah

Delano Whistler, and while James lived with them in London, he took charge of the latter's schooling and art education, started him off as an art collector as well as criticizing his artistic efforts, and stopped just short of attempting to mold his character.<sup>36</sup>

Anna Whistler's and Haden's letters to Major Whistler received a surprised, anguished, and somewhat raving response from him.<sup>37</sup> He wanted his daughter to come back to him just for the winter and then to marry, but he left the decision to his wife. Because Ann (Ormerod) Haden, the recent wife of Seymour Haden's uncle John, had fostered the relationship between Debo and Seymour, and because Seymour was the nephew of the Whistlers' close friends in Lowell, Massachusetts, Anne (Haden) and Kirk Boott (see Image 43), Anna Whistler yielded to his wish to marry immediately. Perhaps the recent unhappy love affair with the Russian suitor also persuaded her to finally choose Debo's happiness over Whistler's. The unhappy Major Whistler, in requesting the emperor's permission to go to England, gave as his reason not the marriage of his daughter but the illness of his sons, that might require leaving them in England.<sup>38</sup> Already irritated by the letters of the young man whose precipitous proposal had disturbed his tranquility, he took a dislike to Seymour in the few hours of their acquaintance<sup>39</sup> and was unwell during the marriage celebration. The diaries reveal how he avoided making a toast to the newlyweds. From then on, he never responded to Debo's letters to him and Anna Whistler. In August of 1848, the pregnant Debo visited Anna Whistler and the boys on the Isle of Wight. James was left in London in September in the charge of Debo and Seymour, while his mother and Willie returned to St. Petersburg. On December 14, the Hadens' first child was born, a daughter, whom they named Annie (Major Whistler's name for Anna Whistler) (see Images 18–19). "Just before his death," Major Whistler broke his silence and "by a great effort, wrote a note to his daughter full of kindness," which was "a great consolation to [her]."<sup>40</sup> When Anna Whistler broke up housekeeping in St. Petersburg, plans were made to send the piano to Debo, as it was for her that her father had bought it.<sup>41</sup> Dessain's portrait of James and Willie (see Image 27) was being taken to England "to be a comfort to her" when they should all leave her to return to America,<sup>42</sup> for Anna Whistler felt she could not settle in England with the boys out

of deference to her husband's wish that they be educated in their native land.<sup>43</sup>

The friction between Anna Whistler and Debo disappeared with the latter's marriage. They remained close until Anna Whistler's death, even meeting in the homes of mutual friends, such as Tom and Eliza (Stevenson) Smith, after the rift between Seymour and James occurred.<sup>44</sup>

Many years later, Emma Palmer was very careful about what she copied from the diaries for the Pennells about Debo's marriage: "Lady Haden ... of course would not want to be put in [the Whistler biography], as it is written of her then; even the account of her wedding ... I carefully refrained from copying any but the most trivial parts, as I was not sure they would like it."<sup>45</sup>

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Debo's biography in the diaries concludes with the anticipation of the birth of the Hadens' first child in December 1848 (her pregnancy is referred to so obliquely that the reader cannot easily guess). The birth is not recorded, because the diaries stop in September of that year. Of all the Whistler family members, Debo's biography for this period is the only one that relies extensively on the diaries and also the Maxwell Papers at the New York Public Library.

## NOTES

1. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Springfield, Nov. 4, 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers.
2. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Washington, April 19, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
3. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Springfield, Nov. 4, 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers. In this letter, he asked whether it was “not among the possibilities that a woman should feel towards a child as a parent should feel even if she be not the mother?” He knew it was possible, because since his first wife’s death their daughter, Mary, had been brought up lovingly in the Bliss family in Springfield, Massachusetts.
4. Wm. H. Swift to Joseph G. Swift, Springfield, December 12, 1841, NYPL: Swift Papers. In the instance cited here, it was more difficult to persuade Major Whistler than Anna Whistler to permit Debo to go on a visit to New London.
5. John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York. Monday December 13, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. This image was used about her by her uncle, Wm. H. Swift, as well (Wm. H. Swift to Gen. J.G. Swift, Springfield, December 12, 1841, NYPL: Swift Papers).
6. This and the quotations in the following two sentences are from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 32.
7. See also earlier comments about Debo in John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23 (Note 29 in the biography of Anna McNeill Whistler in the 1840s in this chapter).
8. Entry of Saturday, September 21, 1844, in George Henry Prince’s journal, in Edward A. Raymond and Col. Eugene Prince, “Whistler Had a Father, Too,” *My Country* 8, no. 2 [May–June 1974]: p. 13. Except for the few entries in this article, the whereabouts of George Henry Prince’s journal are unknown to me. As S. Hardy Prince of Beverley, Massachusetts, the family member in charge of family archives, died recently (2018), efforts are being made by his successor to determine whether the journal is in these archives.
9. Major George W. Whistler to Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, October 28, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
10. Entry for [Wednesday] Feb 14<sup>th</sup> 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

11. Entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
12. Entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday [1844].
13. Entry for Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> May [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
14. Entry for Thursday [August] 15<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
15. Entry for [Wednesday] Feb 14<sup>th</sup> 1844, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
16. Entry for [Wednesday] Feb 14<sup>th</sup> 1844.
17. Entry for March 29<sup>th</sup> friday evening [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
18. Entry for Tuesday night April 22<sup>nd</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
19. Telling Debo in 1866 that she had “promised to spend a week ... at Albyns,” Anna Whistler added, “I know you would not go there” (Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, Coblenz, 24 January 1866, GUL: Whistler Collection, W522).
20. When Anna Whistler came to live permanently in London, she was pleased that Debo’s children’s “Sunday night exercises [were] bible & sacred music” (Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10–11 February 1864, GUL: Whistler Collection, W516).
21. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 2/14, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 12.
22. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Dec. 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 26.
23. This and the following quotation are from George W. Whistler to Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, October 28, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
24. James Whistler to George Washington Whistler, 62 Sloane St (1849) Friday even. Jan. 26, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
25. All quotations in this paragraph are from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of May 27 in the letter of May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35.
26. Entry for Monday 10<sup>th</sup> June [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
27. This and the following quotation are from the entry for Monday July 1<sup>st</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
28. Raymond and Prince, “Whistler,” p. 13.

29. Major George W. Whistler to Gen. Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, December 19, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
30. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, p. 182; Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 1, p. 22.
31. Whistler scholar Richard S. Schneidermann says that she and Haden met in 1846 (Richard S. Schneidermann, “Sir Francis Seymour Haden A Reassessment of His Etchings and Water Colors” (master’s thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1973), p. 89). See Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 1, p. 22.
32. Typed copy of his autobiography to 1876, Papers, 1846–1897, MSS Collection (BV Bliss, George); N-YHS Library (hereafter, N-YHS: Bliss Papers), vol. 1, fol. 39. George Bliss (the son) only began to write his autobiography in 1896, many years after this event, but there is no reason to doubt his story (vol. 1, fol. 251). It is referred to so guardedly in Anna Whistler’s letter of 10 June 1847 that without George Bliss’s reference one would never guess the background to her comments (Anna Whistler to George Washington Whistler, Esq. [envelope], “Staat Hamburg” Lubec June 10, 1847, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353).
33. Anna Whistler to George Washington Whistler, Esq. [envelope], “Staat Hamburg” Lubec June 10, 1847, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353.
34. See the biography of Petr Petrovich Klovov in Appendix E (hereafter, Klovov).
35. N-YHS: Bliss Papers, vol. 1, fol. 39.
36. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, In the drawing room, with Willie on sofa Friday 22nd Dec 1848, entry of 1 Jan New Years day, N.S. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W374; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Sunday night Nov. 5<sup>th</sup> 1848, W367; James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even: 26. Jan. 1849, W661; James Whistler to Anna Whistler, 62 Sloane St, entry of Monday 19 [March] within letter of Saturday 17 March 1849, W386; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St. Petersburg, December 25, 1848], W376; Deborah (Whistler) Haden to James Whistler [London, July 28, 1849], H10. See also Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison [London] Monday. June 25 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34, and Katherine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James Whistler* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), pp. 3–7, passim.

37. George Washington Whistler to Anna Whistler, Moscow Sep<sup>t</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers.
38. “Miss Debra Whistler was married on the 16<sup>th</sup> of this month which was the cause of Mr. W visiting England” (A.M. Eastwick to E.P. Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works St. Petersburg October 17/29<sup>th</sup> 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Papers*); RGIA: Fond 219, op.1, d. 11. Ob otpuske Vistlera za granitsu i o ego smerti [File concerning permission for Whistler to go abroad on leave and his death], Kleinmikhel’ to Whistler, 16 March (OS) 1849.
39. James Whistler said later that his father disliked Haden instantly and he himself thought Haden was “just like a schoolmaster” (Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, pp. 182, 253, 254). For Christmas 1848, Major Whistler told Willie “he might send a roll of music to Sis for her Christmas present from her little brother,” selecting it himself but calling it Willie’s gift (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Nov. 27<sup>th</sup> 1848. 4 o'clock Monday afternoon, GUL: Whistler Collection, W369). Years later, Anna Whistler explained to Debo that Whistler did not write to her “not from lessened love . . . but from delicacy to her, as he could never mention her husband in [his letters]” (Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, London, 14 December [1867], GUL: Whistler Collection, W535).
40. James B. Francis to his wife, Sarah, London, May 9<sup>th</sup> 1849, GUL: Laver Papers. Francis accurately pointed out: “I suppose he did not wish her to marry out of the United States.”
41. William Whistler to James Whistler. S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg 10<sup>th</sup> May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978.
42. William Whistler to James Whistler. S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg 10<sup>th</sup> May 1849.
43. Emma W. Palmer to Mrs. Pennell, Extract from a letter dated Alexandroffsky, May 14<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 296. The writer is Anna Whistler; the addressee is not identified, but it is not James Whistler.
44. Both Seymour and James were known for their violent tempers. In 1864, Seymour “maligned his former medical partner, James Traer [1833–1867], who had been a good friend to [James] and Anna [Whistler].” This caused James to publicly call Seymour “a scoundrel and hypocrit,” and then, during a chance encounter in a [Paris] café,” to knock him through a plate glass window.



Seymour, in turn, had James expelled from a gentlemen's club of which they were both members. Friends and family were drawn into the fray. The upshot was that Seymour forbade any Whistler entry to his home. Anna Whistler and Debo, however, eventually took up meeting secretly in the homes of such mutual friends as Tom and Eliza (Stevenson) Smith (Daniel E. Sutherland and Georgia Toutziari, *Whistler's Mother: Portrait of an Extraordinary Life* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018], pp. 143–144).

45. Emma W. Palmer to Mrs. Pennell, Stonington, Aug. 28th 1906, LC: P-W, box 296.

## JAMES ABBOTT WHISTLER (JEMIE)

James Whistler (see Images 24–29), the child and adolescent, nine to fourteen years old, suffered from poor health. In July of 1843, when Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) was attending a wedding in Geneva, New York, she received the news that James, left in Stonington, was close to death, this on the eve of their departure for St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup> He had had an attack of rheumatic fever. In St. Petersburg, he battled many colds and sometimes made himself sick by foolishly getting wet in winter. But rheumatic fever was his personal scourge. The pain of an attack was excruciating. It caused a nervous irritability, which weakened him,<sup>2</sup> and “however he [might] suffer pain ... his nervous debility magnified it.”<sup>3</sup> He would become hysterical. Even when it was alleviated, he “could not be touched without screaming for days after.”<sup>4</sup> In April 1844, he had a brief attack that made Anna Whistler think there was going to be a repeat of July 1843.<sup>5</sup> He did in fact have two further serious bouts of rheumatic fever in St. Petersburg. In 1847, it confined him to his bed for nine weeks. In 1848, he had had it for a month when the cholera outbreak created a further danger.<sup>6</sup> In 1843, the sea voyage to Russia improved his health;<sup>7</sup> in 1847, the sea air of Scarborough (see Image 463) and jaunts in rural Lancashire (see Images 462, 465–466) restored him to health again;<sup>8</sup> in 1848, despite the sea air of the Isle of Wight (see Images 489–496), he remained frail. His failure to fully recover prompted Anna Whistler’s decision to leave him in England. Consideration for his delicate health was always paramount.

He was beautiful to look at.<sup>9</sup> Maxwell was struck by the beauty of both James and Willie (see Images 24–30) on first seeing them at the customs house in St. Petersburg.<sup>10</sup> Dessain’s portrait of them confirms this assessment (see Image 27).<sup>11</sup> Others reacted only to James, perhaps because of the vivacity that accompanied his beauty. Dr. Thomas Whitaker of Kirkby Lonsdale, who had no children of his own, was drawn to him,<sup>12</sup> as was “Lady D” on the Isle of Wight, who said “his was a countenance never to be forgotten.”<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Ropes spoke of him as luminous (“that bright boy”).<sup>14</sup> The exquisite pencil portrait of him – a

curly-headed boy with “a gentle, elfin face” – drawn in 1845 or 1846 by an unidentified artist is proof of the women’s words (see Image 26).<sup>15</sup>

In temperament he was high-strung,<sup>16</sup> sensitive, excitable, impatient, cheerful, undisciplined, indolent, careless, and a procrastinator. Anna Whistler felt that he had inherited his excitability from the McNeill side of the family.<sup>17</sup> He was exuberant and noisy, joined in many of these moments by Willie. Maxwell, who took them to Admiralty Square at Shrovetide, pompously described their antics among the silent Russian crowds as American spiritedness.<sup>18</sup> But compared by their mother to “little Russian children” and to English boys, they were decidedly inferior in their manners. She felt they would “have both pleasure & profit in such companions as the Druries.”<sup>19</sup>

James’s impatience was another aspect of his excitability. When news came of the arrival of Aunt Alicia (see Image 39) in St. Petersburg, he wanted to rush out of the yard to the customs house before the carriage was ready. When he heard that an estate they saw on the Peterhof Road belonged to young Count Stroganov’s father, he immediately wanted to visit them. He was not present when his mother attended the feast Count Kushelev (see Image 302) gave for his peasants, but would probably have reacted again with great excitement when young Count Stroganov (see Image 299) was pointed out among the guests.

His extensive hero-worship – of John Stevenson Maxwell, William Hooper Ropes, George Henry Prince, Dr. Thomas Whitaker, Carl Hedenschoug, Aleksandr Koritskii (see Images 167–170), and William Boxall (see Image 209) – was also highly enthusiastic.

A calmer aspect of his excitability was the “unbounded cheerfulness” with which he was blessed.<sup>20</sup> He was blessed as well by “an elasticity of spirits,” had “a contented temper,” was “so grateful for every kindness,” “scarcely ever expressed a complaint,” and was “free from envy.”<sup>21</sup> Bedridden, he expressed no jealousy when Willie went alone to children’s parties or to Carnival. Kept at Monsieur Jourdan’s school until 5:30 as a punishment, he would not allow Willie to wait there for him, but insisted he go home without him at 2 p.m., their usual time of release on Saturday. He willingly gave up even his favorite pastime of drawing when sick, acknowledging that it might cause further injury to his health.

He found it “‘first rate’ to be among fifty other boys”<sup>22</sup> at Monsieur Jourdan’s school and was not homesick like Willie. His father said that “boys – and especially boys like James, are happier at school – than in a family – the only reason ... for preferring the family is, if it in any way be thought better for his health.”<sup>23</sup> But one had to be careful not to suggest that such a temperament meant lesser love of home. Anna Whistler reduced James to tears when she made the mistake of saying to him that he could not know what the homesick Willie felt.

His parents cautioned him not to exert himself in his studies lest he fall sick, but they also urged him to improve his habits of study and carry all efforts through to the end,<sup>24</sup> “not to be a butterfly sporting about from one temptation to idleness to another.”<sup>25</sup> This gave him a mixed message and supported his bad habits.

James frequently exhibited manly behavior, which always impressed his mother. For example, during the outdoor festivities celebrating the return of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (see Images 420, 424) from Palermo (see Image 98), he persuaded his mother to go into the streets with him as her protector. His conduct pleased her more than the spectacle.<sup>26</sup>

James loved to talk. He talked a great deal<sup>27</sup> and asked a great many questions. His “eagerness to attain all his desires for information & his fearlessness, often ma[d]e him offend [his parents] because [they] love[d] him too tenaciously to be reconciled to his appearing less amiable than he is.”<sup>28</sup> The seeming rudeness of his insistence for answers embarrassed them when non-family members were present, but some visitors found his manner amusing rather than troublesome. Similarly, in making comments as he looked at an art book, he demanded that he have an audience for his remarks. Anna Whistler complied, especially when he was ill and isolated from others, giving him her undivided attention.<sup>29</sup>

He was undisciplined, indolent, and a procrastinator. He read in bed under the covers long after he was supposed to be asleep and had to be removed to his mother’s room. He failed to prepare his drawings for the Academy and was forced sometimes to do his assignments seated by his mother’s desk. Even Miss McMaster, the Wood children’s governess, talked to him “playfully ... about his better application to study and greater perseverance in cultivating his talent for drawing.”<sup>30</sup> Mr.

Eastwick (see Image 233) felt “it would be of service to James if he was put under a pretty rigid master for a year or two, [as he] is too much inclined to play for a boy of his age and requires checking.” He assessed James as “a very *clever* boy who may be made of great service to the world.”<sup>31</sup> James was unconcerned about conforming to institutional rules. After presenting his recitation at Monsieur Jourdan’s, he ambled back to his desk chatting to classmates along the way and was kept after school. His parents’ letters to him in England show they were aghast at the late hours he kept at Mr. Phillott’s school, so injurious to his health; they warned of placing him elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> They were not amused that he had engaged in painting scenery for a private theatrical.<sup>33</sup> He failed to be the exemplary young Christian his mother hoped he would be,<sup>34</sup> although he wrote her to send him some prayers.<sup>35</sup> His parents were deeply disappointed that in England he was drinking wine after having taken a temperance vow.<sup>36</sup> He pled as his justification the social embarrassment he felt at being different from the other boys.<sup>37</sup> His mother characterized his general lax behavior by calling him a “saunterer” and likening him to Adeodatus in *The Dark Mirror*, who “was bright and joyous, and thus tempted to wish to revel among the world’s charms, but *whenever* reminded of duty . . . tried to keep the straight path, and would make no turnings from it – which was the more remarkable, for he delighted in the flowers of the broad road, and required repeated warning!”<sup>38</sup> After her husband’s death, Anna Whistler refused Dr. Palmer’s proposal that she and the boys settle in Stonington. She felt she had to have the “courage to look for a home among strangers,” as “New York, or Baltimore” would present “too much distraction for an excitable lad like Jamie,” who was “very much the votary of novelty.” She felt that “only [her] greatest precaution [could] ever confine his attention to the cultivation of his mind for the coming 4 or 5 years.”<sup>39</sup> Anna Whistler thought that James had inherited all his faults from her: if both of them “could take time to think before [they] act, or speak, how much mortification [they] should save both” the Major and themselves.<sup>40</sup>

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Both parents viewed James’s choice of a profession in terms of its usefulness rather than his passion for it. Major Whistler thought that

James “could be most useful” in the profession of “Engineer and Architect.” He felt that James’s “natural inclination or taste for the fine arts – if ... not allowed to become too poetical, [would] certainly be of much service to [him] in any profession connected with arts and sciences.” He urged him to “cultivate now as an *artist* ... an acquaintance with, and a taste for works of art – useful works,” assuring him that later “the study of sciences with a view to a practical application of such works will be a delight instead of a task to you.”<sup>41</sup> He encouraged James to express his opinion on the works of art he saw, but he did not want him to be an artist. His mother seconded his father’s thoughts, pointing out that, although he, too, had once wanted to be an artist, he had come to apply “his talents ... more usefully.”<sup>42</sup> She felt that James would similarly “experience how much greater [his] advantage, if fancy sketches, studies etc. are meant for [his] hours of leisure.” Not wishing, however, to seem unfeeling towards her son’s aspirations, she did not close the door completely, asking that he simply try at this point “to enlarge his views by improving [his] mind first.”

His father died soon after expressing his opinion about what James’s profession should be. His mother, who wanted to honor her husband’s wishes, took James and Willie back to the United States for their education and continued to hope for a time that James would “bend his talent to architecture,” even when he “was full of thoughts of going to West Point.”<sup>43</sup>

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James’s ability to draw came from his father. Major Whistler had taught drawing at West Point. His St. Petersburg drawings of engines, however, had to be corrected. In criticizing James’s sketches, he felt that more detail was needed in them rather than less and that, as he himself had not seen the places James had sketched, “a few more touches would make them a much better illustration of what [James] had seen.”<sup>44</sup> In his comments he anticipated a later critic, who assessed James’s nocturnes as “clever, sketchy and incomplete, like everything he has done.”<sup>45</sup>

James’s love of beauty came from his mother, who “never [lost] a chance to make the impression of the beautiful on [her] mind.”<sup>46</sup> His appreciation of color also came from her. The beauty of natural

phenomena that she described in her letters to him – “for you enjoy beautiful scenery”<sup>47</sup> – he would later paint. She “delight[ed] in the glories of the firmament” provided by “the goodness of our Great Creator” to mix “exquisite delight” with earthly trials.<sup>48</sup> James was the child and adolescent, ecstatic over “the beautiful dissolving views”<sup>49</sup> closing the performance at the children’s theatre in St. Petersburg, taking in the fire of burning illuminations and bursting fireworks, the playing water of fountains, “the vapours overhanging the fields and woods ... mak[ing] them look as if covered with hoarfrost,”<sup>50</sup> the fog on the river, the reflection of buildings and bridges on the river and canals, the reflection of shadowless buildings during the white nights – unconsciously taking in the idea of transformation.

Images of the Neva and the canals of St. Petersburg, the fountains of Peterhof, the Baltic Sea, and the Gulf of Finland dissolved in his memory with other images of water: the Merrimack Falls and Merrimack River in Lowell, Massachusetts, where he was born; the sound at Stonington, Connecticut, ceaselessly crashing; the Connecticut River, which they traveled on by sloop with their furniture during their move to Springfield, Massachusetts;<sup>51</sup> the Atlantic, on whose waves he traveled to encounter Europe for the first time; the sound and the ocean encircling the Isle of Wight that he was too frail to bathe in; and the Thames, only glimpsed on several trips until he was left in London for close to a year. Later, he would fix permanently on canvas the fleeting life of the ephemeral and the power of natural phenomena to transform their surroundings, and would depict in several mediums the river, the sea, and the canal.

His ability to express in writing his ideas about art also came from his articulate mother, who first talked to him of her impressions of nature, light, and color, and then put them down on paper when distance separated her from her son. Her insistence on “the daily morning recital” of scripture “equipped him ... with a high literary standard, familiarity with good English, and a useful supply of appropriate quotations.”<sup>52</sup>

James drew constantly. He drew in his books (see Image 166).<sup>53</sup> The diaries and letters of family and friends confirm likenesses attempted or taken: of Maxwell; the shipboard passenger, Hindus Kissan das Beirage; three maids working for Elizabeth and Richard Picard; little John Picard;

aunts Alicia McNeill (see Image 39) and Eliza Winstanley; a monk; a street sweep; his niece, Annie; and others. Some portraits and drawings were given to the sitters; others he sent to his parents and to friends in letters. The Petersburg sketchbook contains some portraits, but also biblical subjects (see Image 14), figures from Russian life (see Image 165), and scenes on the Isle of Wight.<sup>54</sup>

James drew without instruction, as an amusement, until he went to St. Petersburg. Here, he briefly took drawing lessons at home with a Monsieur Vaney for a few months before the family moved to a rented dacha on the Peterhof Road in May 1844 for the summer. The turning point in his artistic life was his meeting with Sir William Allan (see Image 320), who was brought to tea at their dacha by William Miller, a fellow Scotsman, on 29 June 1844. Allan's flattering comment about James's "uncommon genius," on examining his largely untutored drawings, was the impetus for his first serious formal drawing lessons, both privately with a student of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and in a class at the Academy. But, as his parents did not want him to be an artist, to Allan's concerned comment that they "not urge him beyond his inclination," Anna Whistler replied that James's drawing "had only been cultivated as an amusement and that [she] was obliged to interfere or his application would confine him more than [they] approved."<sup>55</sup> The subsequent drawing lessons they permitted did not change their minds, although, having consented, they constantly urged James to apply himself.

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Some time after the family's return to the city in September 1844 – and probably well before 26 March / 7 April 1845 – James began to take private drawing lessons from Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii (see Images 167–170), who was both an officer in the Construction Division of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings and an advanced student at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, where he was a protégé of the famed Karl Pavlovich Briullov (see Image 173).

Koritskii (pronounced "Kahreet'skee") was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old and James was ten. Still, Koritskii, mindful of the fact that he was teaching Major Whistler's son, may have addressed James as Iakov Egorovich (pronounced "Yah'kuff Yeegor'uhveech"): i.e., James,



son of George. This is a mode of address used by Russian adults to one another in a formal relationship, but not used to children. Or perhaps Koritskii used James's first name and patronymic only when speaking to Major and Anna Whistler about him. In any case, Anna Whistler was amused by Koritskii's formality.<sup>56</sup> As for James, we know only that in his letters he spoke of his teacher as "Mr. Karitzky," and sometimes simply as "Karitzky," in the latter instance as his parents did.

It is a matter of conjecture whether Koritskii was hired for the purpose of tutoring James or of preparing him for entrance to the Academy. When James began to attend the drawing course at the Academy, the Whistlers kept Koritskii on. In this way, James's class instruction was supplemented by a private lesson at home on Saturdays from someone familiar with the teaching procedures in the Academy's drawing courses.

The teaching of drawing at the Academy was divided into three levels, where the models were (1) drawings, engravings, and lithographs; (2) plaster casts; (3) and live models. The first level was divided into two groups: in one, the models were heads; in the other, figures. A similar division into two groups existed in the second level. This created five drawing classes, with the following numbers and titles: (1) "Drawing from Originals of Heads"; (2) "Drawing from Originals of Figures"; (3) "Drawing from Plaster Casts of Heads"; (4) "Drawing from Plaster Casts of Figures"; (5) "Life Drawing."<sup>57</sup> The Russian word "original" in this context means "a drawing, engraving or lithograph of outstanding quality, which serves as a model for others to copy."<sup>58</sup>

James did not meet the age requirement of fourteen for admission to the Academy, but it was probably waived for him because of his father's important position.<sup>59</sup> James was ten years and eight months old when Koritskii paid the nine-ruble fee on 26 March / 7 April 1845, and signed the receipt book for ticket No. 355, issued to "Uistler (Iakov)," "the son of an American," to attend drawing classes (see Image 159).<sup>60</sup> James was the last of nineteen students who signed up for them in March 1845,<sup>61</sup> and four hundred fifty tickets were issued for that year.<sup>62</sup> His name was also registered in a book where the ticket number, to whom issued, documents submitted in order to register, and home address were recorded. The entry for James (see Image 160) reads: "355. Uistler

(Iakov), in Ritter's house on the English Embankment."<sup>63</sup> Judging by the dash in the "documents submitted" column, this requirement was also waived for him. Finally, he was also registered in a book listing Academy pupils from 1845 through 1849, where the number of the drawing class each student was assigned to appears (see Image 162).<sup>64</sup> There was some difficulty in spelling his surname in Russian the first time it was registered (see Image 159).

James began to attend his course on 2/14 April and "seem[ed] greatly to enjoy going to a class." He stood "next a youth of 16 (Caslett),"<sup>65</sup> which was probably Anna Whistler's version of Cazalet, a prominent English merchant family in St. Petersburg.<sup>66</sup> He was "entered at the second room,"<sup>67</sup> meaning the auditorium in which the first level of drawing classes was held. He was placed in "Drawing from Originals of Heads," as the number 1 next to his name in the "Inspector's Class Journal" attests.<sup>68</sup>

A first-hand explanation of what being in the first class entailed is to be found in the memoirs of a full-time Russian student, who entered the Academy in 1847:

Drawing comprised the chief subject of study ... I went into the first class, i.e., drawing from originals of heads ... Soon I received N<sup>o</sup> 2 for my first head, and for my second N<sup>o</sup> 1 ...

Here's what receiving N<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> meant: classes were divided into morning ones, from 9 to 11 o'clock, and evening ones, from five to seven. During the morning classes everyone worked on his own particular specialty, but in the evening everyone, no matter what class he might be in, drew using a French pencil. When the month was up, the drawings were exhibited in the classes for the professors to look at. This was a kind of examination. In addition, every week figures and plaster casts of heads were presented and the requirement was that the outlines of them should be faithfully reproduced [in the pupils' copies] even if the shading was not a finished piece of work. At the monthly inspections, or examination, the pupils did not have to present these weekly assignments because the

professor had looked them over during the week, but some pieces of work, which were prepared exclusively for the monthly examination, had to be presented by a deadline.

After a month the Council of professors would visit all the classes and, for example, in the class for drawing from plaster casts of heads, they would look at [and decide] which of the heads was drawn best and that one would be N<sup>o</sup> 1; the next best would be N<sup>o</sup> 2, etc. Of course, there was a certain amount of squabbling among the professors because one would find a certain drawing best while another would try to prove the opposite and defend the drawing *he* considered best. In these instances the final decision rested with the Vice-President of the Academy. Since the students' surnames usually appeared on the drawings, the professors could show bias in evaluating the merits of the drawings, but it has to be said to their credit that this almost never happened ... Whoever received one of the top ten numbers was transferred in the next third of the year into the next class.<sup>69</sup>

The two professors who taught "Drawing from Originals of Heads" and "Drawing from Originals of Figures" were Ivan Aleksandrovich Voinov and Ivan Ivanovich Vistelius.<sup>70</sup> There is proof only that James was Vistelius's pupil. An extant pencil copy of a neoclassical drawing of a woman's head that he executed in St. Petersburg (see Image 163) bears the customary surnames of teacher and student: "Vistelius" and "Visler."<sup>71</sup>

The angle of the portrait is from the right shoulder and back (not including the spine), which are bare. The woman's head is turned to the right, almost looking over her right shoulder, to the extent that the right iris, which seems light-colored, fills the right corner of her eye and some of the left eye is visible, as is the part in her hair, which is parted in the middle. Her hair, which seems light-colored, is plaited into narrow braids. A double braid encircles the middle of her head while another braid, of which only a single tier is visible, is coiled on top of her head. She has full lips and a long, straight nose. The right shoulder and back are visible down to the level of the middle of the right upper arm. The

elbow is not visible, but the lifted hand with wrist and half of the lower arm can be seen. The hand is turned palm in, and the thumb and forefinger hold up a piece of drapery while the other fingers of the right hand are extended upward and forward. The left arm has been brought across the chest and the left hand rests on the right shoulder close to the neck. The little finger of this hand looks truncated and may be folded under. The raised drapery intersects the left arm so that only the hand, the wrist and half of the lower arm are visible, the same as in the case of the right hand.<sup>72</sup>

James attended the evening class, from 5 to 7 p.m., but from the start did not go every day. After his first class, he hoped to go three times a week, but his ill health, a term as a boarder at Monsieur Jourdan's school, the arrival of brother George Whistler in the summer of 1845 and his stay of several months, skipping a class to stay home and make "something to surprise dear father,"<sup>73</sup> and two summers for his health's sake in England – the one in 1847 extending well into October – all took their toll on his attendance.

He was very impressed that Koritskii was in the life class (see Image 158), and felt that he could never achieve that level himself.<sup>74</sup> Nor was it unheard of that some students "stayed in the same class two and three years,"<sup>75</sup> and this is what happened to him, given his absences and failure to take the monthly assessment examinations that determined advancement into subsequent levels. In 1846 and 1847, he was not formally registered. In 1848, his name appeared in the Inspector's Class Journal, with ticket number 425 assigned to him, but there is no number to show which of the five drawing courses he was registered in, and none to indicate that he took a monthly examination.<sup>76</sup> Four hundred eighty-six students were registered in the drawing courses in that year.<sup>77</sup> The proposed date of 1847–1848 later assigned to the abovementioned drawing he made for Vistelius<sup>78</sup> means it was executed some three years after he began attending the Academy (before June 1848), and that he was still in "Drawing from Originals of Heads." There are no other known extant drawings bearing his name along with that of his Academy teacher. But, as Anna Whistler, looking over "St. P. memorials" of her sons some five years later, wrote James that her "eye met ... your

originals,”<sup>79</sup> other drawings (whereabouts unknown) would seem to have been made.<sup>80</sup>

While the diary entries from 5/17 April 1845 to June 1846 show that James attended drawing lessons at the Academy on an irregular basis, the center in his artistic life was Koritskii, who came to the Whistler home on Saturdays at four o’clock to give him a two-hour lesson.<sup>81</sup> This included the period from September through December 1846, when James attended Monsieur Jourdan’s school, because boarders went home early Saturday afternoon for the weekend. He enjoyed his lessons with Koritskii so much that when he had to miss one because he was kept at school until 5:30 one Saturday as a punishment, he cried.<sup>82</sup> The loan from Koritskii of an *écorché* and a plaster bust,<sup>83</sup> and his condemnation of a drawing of a dog by James, give glimpses into the content of the lessons.<sup>84</sup> Occasionally, Koritskii came to their house on a Monday morning, which may have been connected with an assignment set by the Academy or by him, having a deadline.<sup>85</sup> James’s comment in later years that “he could remember wonderful things he had done during the years in Russia,”<sup>86</sup> although vague, nevertheless shows the elation he felt. James had the opportunity to see Koritskii himself sketch at these sessions. In 1846, Koritskii drew John Bouttatz Whistler “seated in his little carriage driving about the parlour.”<sup>87</sup> In 1847, he drew the figure of Napoleon in James’s sketchbook (see Image 171).<sup>88</sup> And, when James was not registered at the Academy, he sometimes went there to Koritskii’s study in the morning to draw and – in early 1847 – possibly to have his portrait painted.<sup>89</sup> However, the frequency of these lessons was, like attendance at the Academy, affected by considerations of James’s health and by family plans.

In 1847 and 1848, when James was seriously ill and Anna Whistler took the boys to England for both summers, his time with Koritskii was severely curtailed: in both 1847 and 1848 they probably worked together only four months. But James thought of Koritskii even when separated from him. From 1847 on, he constantly referred to Koritskii in his letters to his parents. From England in 1848 he sent paints to St. Petersburg to his father, who assured him that he “would send one half to [Koritskii] as a present from [James].”<sup>90</sup>

It was a blow for both James and Koritskii that at the end of the summer of 1848 James was left in England. He was assured that he would spend the mid-summer vacation the next year in St. Petersburg,<sup>91</sup> but no one could have guessed at that point that he would never see St. Petersburg, his beloved father, or Koritskii again.

Anna Whistler returned to St. Petersburg charged with a commission for Koritskii from James as well as with expressions of attachment to this young man, whom he “look[ed] up to with all the reverence an Artist merits and his master besides.”<sup>92</sup> When correspondence became the only link with his parents, James wrote them so many letters in September and October of 1848<sup>93</sup> mentioning Koritskii that Anna Whistler invited Koritskii to spend the evening of 31 October with the family so “that [they] might deliver [James’s] messages of love to him.”<sup>94</sup> The invitation was for seven o’clock, when Willie, the only remaining family member who spoke Russian, “would be free from study to talk to him of [James].”<sup>95</sup> Willie and Koritskii looked at views of the Isle of Wight, and Willie “recounted to him [their] walks and pursuits.”<sup>96</sup> Anna Whistler showed him a sketch James had made for her of “The Witch of Endor Raising Samuel” and reported to James: “Your master said it was a good effort.”<sup>97</sup> James’s commission to Koritskii was for “impressions in white wax of the Russian eagle,”<sup>98</sup> but Koritskii “said he would try to get a book of Russian heraldry” for James instead.<sup>99</sup> When Willie “told him how often [James] had wished for him, he seemed in a glow of emotion, put his hand on his heart and said “and ‘oh how I wish for him always.””<sup>100</sup> He thanked James “for the paints,” saying “such cannot be bought here.”<sup>101</sup> It was clear that “he delighted to talk of his pupil.”<sup>102</sup> He asked for and received permission to write to James.<sup>103</sup> He did not succeed in getting the book of heraldry by the deadline of 5 November that Anna Whistler had set,<sup>104</sup> and this project fell by the wayside. Nor does he seem ever to have written to James, although he sent his love through Anna Whistler and repeatedly promised to write. Gradually the objects he had lent for copying were returned to him.<sup>105</sup>

For the Academy exhibit in late autumn of 1848, Koritskii submitted a copy he had made of Dessain’s 1847 portrait of James and Willie (see Image 27), “a proof of his affection for . . . dear Jemie.”<sup>106</sup> On

11 December, he presented “dear father with [this] portrait of his pupil and ‘brat’” (Russian for “brother”).<sup>107</sup> Koritskii had obviously intended it as a surprise, because when Major Whistler had gone “one day to the Palette [de Raphael],” an art supplies store, “the vender of crayons etc ... [had] enquired if we had been to see the portrait of our boys exhibited at the Academy, most admirable likenesses painted in oils by a Russian officer.”<sup>108</sup>

Koritskii came again later in December “to recommend a draftsman” to replace the alcoholic Hedenschoug.<sup>109</sup> Major Whistler, knowing Koritskii had given his paints from James to the ailing Briullov, presented to him with James’s love the second half of the paints James had sent.<sup>110</sup>

He came again to consult in late January or early February 1849 with the now-frail Major Whistler about Briullov, whose serious illness required him, too, to leave the severe climate of St. Petersburg. He asked Major Whistler what route should be taken to reach the island of St. Catherine, off Brazil, recommended by Briullov’s doctors.<sup>111</sup> He apparently harbored the hope that he might accompany Briullov on his journey to Europe and thus see James in England.<sup>112</sup>

Koritskii’s last recorded visit took place when he called on the widowed Anna Whistler and Willie in May 1849 before they left St. Petersburg permanently.<sup>113</sup> He told them of his great disappointment. His hopes of going abroad with Briullov and seeing James in England had all been dashed. They were to take a letter from him to James, but there is no further reference to it.<sup>114</sup> With their departure from Russia, the Whistlers lost touch with him.<sup>115</sup>

James was exposed at the Academy to a rigorous, challenging, competitive, structured training, albeit sporadic. Koritskii both taught him and tried to direct him in fulfilling the demands placed on the students, yet attendance in a class and Koritskii’s supervision did little to instill discipline in him. Years later, he expressed the regret that he had not “begun by learning something of drawing,”<sup>116</sup> but he was immersed in the world of art as he had never been before. The elated words of Koritskii’s cousin, Anton Shtukenberg (see Image 250), about his visits to the Academy were equally applicable to James:

[I] loved to wander through the rooms of the glorious Academy. They instilled [in one] a particular poetic mood. I had free access to the Academy and would gaze passionately at Guido Reni, Domenichino and Raphael (in copies made by Briullov and Bruni). This greatly aided the development of my taste and my love of the fine arts ... it seems to me that in the Academy even a person with no hands would have become enamored of painting.”<sup>117</sup>

This awakening later prompted James to name St. Petersburg as his birthplace.<sup>118</sup>

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An aspect of his immersion in the world of Russian art is that through Koritskii he apparently came to the attention of Briullov. It is plausible that Koritskii would have told Briullov that he had been engaged to give lessons to the young son of the American building the railroad. It seems likely that Briullov knew James at least by sight, since James was a pupil of his student, although under any circumstances the beautiful, animated, underage child in the halls of the Academy would have drawn attention to himself. Koritskii wrote in his diary on 30 December [1846 / 11 January 1847] that he “was painting a portrait of the American” (whereabouts unknown), who may have been James, and some of the time the work was carried out in Briullov’s presence.<sup>119</sup> The ailing Briullov’s delight when Koritskii presented him with paints sent by James from London in 1848, and pretended they were for Briullov from James, also suggests that Briullov knew James or knew of him.<sup>120</sup> In fact, he may have known both Whistler boys, for Willie felt free to try to see Briullov as well as Koritskii during the Christmas holidays of 1848.<sup>121</sup>

Anna Whistler would have heard a great deal about Briullov from Koritskii via James and Willie. There is no direct evidence that she ever met him, but indirect evidence suggests that she may have visited his studio, and it is in this period that he was painting some of his best portraits. Her diaries show her acquaintance with only one female portrait by Briullov – *St. Alexandra Ascending to Heaven* (*Sviataia Aleksandra, voznosiasbchaiaisia na nebo*) (1845) (see Image 453) – which



James pronounced “the most interesting of all the works of art around us” when they visited the oratory (see Image 452) of the Alexander Palace in Tsarskoe Selo (see Images 388, 447) in 1846.<sup>122</sup> Two years after leaving Russia, Anna Whistler, with her appreciation for color, alluded to Briullov when describing to James her visits “next door to see Cousin Josée Richards,” daughter of General Joseph Gardner Swift and the niece of Major Whistler, “looking beautiful enough for one of Brulloffs subjects in a cerulean blue robe clasped with turquoise and her eyes as blue as the broach.”<sup>123</sup> It is difficult to imagine that Anna Whistler could make a comparison between Josée Richards and the subjects of Briullov’s paintings based only on statements about them by Koritskii translated by her children and having seen only one of Briullov’s female portraits. Privileged visitors to St. Petersburg could be taken to view artists’ studios.<sup>124</sup> The indirect evidence suggests that Koritskii, through whom his friends obtained access to view Briullov’s studio,<sup>125</sup> may have taken some of the Whistler family on a tour of it as well. He mentioned to Major and Anna Whistler in October of 1848 that Briullov was painting a group of nuns (see Image 176), which he (Koritskii) hoped they might see.<sup>126</sup> This, too, implies entry to Briullov’s studio.

James’s enrollment at the Academy awakened the family’s interest in the exhibits taking place there. Every three years the Academy building was the scene of a public exhibition of the works of Academy professors and students as well as of artists working in St. Petersburg.<sup>127</sup> In the autumn of each year there was an annual exhibit. There were also many smaller temporary exhibits. Attending exhibits also introduced them to the permanent collection.

On 17/29 April 1846, Major and Anna Whistler attended the triennial exhibit. They wanted their children “to become familiar with the subjects of the modern artists.” James and Willie went almost every day that week. James was especially taken by “a boys portrait said to be his likeness and altho the eyes were black and the curls darker than his, [his parents] found it so like him ... the boy is taken in a white shirt with crimped frill open at the throat, it is half length and no other garment could set off the glow on the brunette complexion so finely.” Major Whistler “said he should be glad to buy it, but its frame would only correspond with the furniture of a palace, being a rich vine.”<sup>128</sup> Emile-

François Dessain, a French artist then working in St. Petersburg, showed sixteen works in this exhibit, including six pastel portraits (unnamed in the catalogue).<sup>129</sup> One of them may have been the portrait resembling James, for something inspired his parents to commission Dessain to paint James and Willie. After the exhibit – most likely between autumn of 1846 and an unspecifiable date in 1847 – Dessain executed a pastel double portrait of James and Willie, identically dressed in grey trousers and close-fitting black jackets, the uniform of Monsieur Jourdan’s school, which they attended from September through December of 1846 (see Image 27).<sup>130</sup> Anna Whistler’s “deeper interest” was attracted by the religious subject of *The Brass Serpent (Mednyi zmi)* by Fyodor Antonovich Bruni (see Images 183–184) in the permanent collection, but in her zeal she seemed to imagine more “countenances beaming with Faith” than actually were.<sup>131</sup>

In March of 1847, the Academy mounted a special two-week exhibit of seven paintings by the celebrated Russian marine painter, Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (see Image 178).<sup>132</sup> Major and Anna Whistler, Debo, Willie, and Mary Brennan attended.<sup>133</sup> Anna Whistler recorded with appreciation the play of the light from the torches in the central painting of the group: *Peter I at Krasnaia Gorka Lighting a Bonfire on the Shore as a Beacon to His Foundering Ships (Pyotr I pri Krasnoi gorke, razzhigaiushchii kostyor dlia podachi signala gibnushchim svoim sudam)* (see Image 179). Smaller views of Odessa, Constantinople, and other seaports (see Images 180–182), in which the “sun gilds the water magnificently or the moonbeams play upon the waves all delighted [them] in turn.”<sup>134</sup> Only James missed the exhibit, which his mother must have described to him. He had by then been confined to the house for nine weeks with rheumatic fever. He had not been permitted to draw the entire time, so Koritskii was not coming to their home. James’s compensation was a volume of Hogarth’s engravings of his own originals, which Debo borrowed for him. Looking through it, his thoughts were of Koritskii, to whom he greatly wished to show it.

Unfortunately, only these two exhibits were recorded by Anna Whistler, but they show the rich and exciting offerings James and his family could savor a short ride across the Neva opposite their home. From England in 1849, he continued to be interested in knowing of any

exhibits taking place at the Academy,<sup>135</sup> but Major Whistler was too weak to attend, if he was even aware of them.

Given all the exhibits James must have seen, the tantalizing question remains of whether he ever visited the Hermitage (see Images 114–116).<sup>136</sup> When the family first arrived in St. Petersburg, Colonel Todd took the adult members to the Hermitage. In October 1848, when Koritskii visited the Whistlers and told them he was copying paintings in the Hermitage, he invited Major and Anna Whistler “to go [there] to see the pictures now.”<sup>137</sup> Relating this to James in a letter, Anna Whistler’s response was: “but oh I shall miss my Jemie too sadly there!”<sup>138</sup> A possible interpretation of her comment is that she would miss him too much if she were to go now, because she had been there before in his company. There is support for this interpretation in an earlier analogous situation. In September 1848, she had expressed similar sentiments about visiting the Church of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke) in Copenhagen *without* James on her way back to St. Petersburg, after having visited it *with* James on their way to England in June 1848 (see Images 480–484).<sup>139</sup> Beyond the abovementioned intimation, there seems to be no information about whether James ever visited the Hermitage.

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The Whistlers’ interest in having portraits of family members made in St. Petersburg preceded the commission for the portrait by Dessain. James’s watercolor portrait (see Image 24) was painted in 1844 by C.A.F. Fiessler, a German artist, whose biography cannot so far be established.<sup>140</sup> Nothing is known about the circumstances under which it was executed. It was given to Mary Brennan as a gift by Anna Whistler.<sup>141</sup>

In the primitively painted portrait, James, nine or ten years old, stands at “a wooden drafting table” with “a palette in his left hand and a paintbrush in the right.”<sup>142</sup> The blue-eyed boy with short, curly, dark hair wears a dark-belted beige artist’s smock (unpainted, it is the color of the paper). He is not the beautiful child Whistler was. Behind him and to his left is a green drape with fringe that is perhaps supposed to be gold. The wall is grey. The child is painting the portrait of a woman with long, dark hair, who is wearing a blue dress with stiff pink roses that stick up from

a dark belt. “[H]e is shown in a three-quarter view with his face turned toward the viewer.”<sup>143</sup> The border of the portrait is painted bright blue to resemble a frame. In the lower left of the portrait is written: “n.d. Natur gemalt v. C.A.F. Fiessler. 1844.” In this same year, a full-length portrait photograph was taken of James, showing a sweet-faced boy (see Image 25).

In 1845 or 1846, James’s pencil portrait (see Image 26) was executed by an unidentified artist, whose possible identity has been proposed as Thomas Wright (see Image 208), Koritskii (see Images 167–170), or James himself with later corrections by Seymour Haden (see Image 20).<sup>144</sup>

For his 48th birthday, in May 1848, Major Whistler commissioned a portrait of himself (whereabouts unknown) for his wife from an unidentified artist, who may have been the brother of the children’s tutor, Mr. Biber.<sup>145</sup> James accompanied his father to the artist’s studio at least once. There is no information about the appearance of the portrait. It may be the one Major Whistler bequeathed when dying to Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel’nikov (see Image 247), his colleague and friend in charge of the Northern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.<sup>146</sup>

The English artist Thomas Wright was then active in St. Petersburg. He drew a pencil and watercolor portrait of Anna Whistler in 1845 (see Image 1), signing it in the lower right “Thos. Wright (Rait) 1845” (“Rait” is a transliteration of his Russian signature, Райт). In the drawing, Anna Whistler appears in left profile. She is wearing a light blue dress with a white collar. Her figure is shown to just below the bodice of her dress. She is slender, with a quite long, straight nose. Her visible eye and eyebrow look dark. She is looking straight ahead with an expression of pleasant composure. Her dark hair is pulled back in a braided chignon. A small curl of hair hangs loose in front of her ear. Only the very top of her ear is covered by her hair. Her chin is small and proportionate to her face. Her dress has a puckered panel running from the neck across the shoulder to the top of the elbow-length sleeve, which has a puckered cuff. The collar is squarish and lighter in color than the dress and reveals the neck.

Major Whistler's draftsman, Carl Hedenschoug, persuaded the Whistler parents in 1844 to let him draw James's and Willie's portraits. He produced such hideous caricatures that, although the kind-hearted Major Whistler paid for them, he also burned them.<sup>147</sup>

With Koritskii's presentation of his copy of Dessain's portrait of James and Willie to Major Whistler, he and Anna Whistler each had a portrait of them. Anna Whistler, however, liked Koritskii's copy less than she did the original,<sup>148</sup> and both she and her husband did not seem to consider either artist first-rate.<sup>149</sup> Consequently, as James was now living in England, they shifted their search for a portrait artist. Major Whistler asked that his engineer friend Thomas Macdougall Smith be requested to find "a first rate Artist ... in London that we may have a *good picture* with a perfect likeness."<sup>150</sup> Smith recommended William Boxall (see Image 209). When James's portrait was almost completed, he described to his father the fine background with its "warm tone very like one of Gainsboroughs," with "a beautiful creamy surface" that "looks so rich" (see Image 28).<sup>151</sup> Seeing his portrait, he immediately wondered "what Karitzky would say to it?"<sup>152</sup> Certain of returning to St. Petersburg, he added: "Of course he will see it."<sup>153</sup>

In 1849, after the death of Major Whistler, when Anna Whistler and Willie stopped in London to pick up James on their way home to America, daguerreotypes were made at the request of Joseph Harrison Jr. of her and both boys by William Edward Kilburn in his Regent Street studio.<sup>154</sup> "In the exquisitely clear, jewellike ninth plates of the Whistler brothers, which form a pair of mirror images, the boys sit before a delicately hand-colored backdrop of blue sky and white clouds" (see Images 29–30).<sup>155</sup> The whereabouts of the daguerreotype of Anna Whistler are unknown to me.

On their trips between England and Russia, Anna Whistler, James, and Willie stopped in Germany and Denmark. These stopovers appealed to James, who had expressed to his mother his desire to travel, his particular interests being Italy and Egypt.<sup>156</sup> In Lübeck, they visited the art gallery of Georg Pflüg, which contained many Old-Master paintings. Mr. Pflüg was already acquainted with Major Whistler.<sup>157</sup> On their 1847 stopover from Russia, James, a first-time visitor, went to the gallery three times.<sup>158</sup> He was impressed by "a very fine head painted by a Spanish

master.”<sup>159</sup> They also visited “the marine church where the wonderful clock and the deaths dance are.”<sup>160</sup> The latter, James wrote his father, “consists of series of oil paintings – representing death in 24 different positions exercising his power over people of all ranks; the picture itself was more curious than pretty.”<sup>161</sup>

On route to England in the summer of 1848, their steamer stopped at Copenhagen to take on coal. Delayed by quarantine precautions, they opted to spend their brief time ashore at the Church of Our Lady (Vor Frue Kirke) (see Image 480). The sculptures here were known to them from reproductions owned by the Laws in St. Petersburg. The visit was proposed by James and seconded by the friend of Bertel Thorvaldsen – probably Dr. Olaf Lundt Bang (see Image 485) – whom they had met on board and who had “detect[ed] Jemies love for sculpture.”<sup>162</sup> At the church, they saw Thorvaldsen’s neoclassical marble sculptures of Christ, the apostles, the angel baptismal font, and the terra cotta pediment with St. John in the wilderness (see Images 481–484). Anna Whistler liked the figure of Christ “better than any attempt at similitude of Him that I ever saw before. The expression ... so benign & so commanding.”<sup>163</sup> She was probably moved by Christ’s appearing to be human rather than divine.

Left in London with the Hadens in the autumn of 1848, James was sent to Eldon Villa, a school run by a Mr. and Mrs. Phillott, at Portishead, near Bristol. Anna Whistler was waiting to hear what Seymour, who would see James at Christmas, would say as to whether James had “gained either health or wisdom at Portishead.”<sup>164</sup> She seemed nevertheless to expect James to return to Eldon Villa in the new year and to come to St. Petersburg when his third quarter at the school was over.<sup>165</sup> But after Christmas, James did not return to the Phillotts’ school, where there were too many temptations.<sup>166</sup> He lived with the Hadens, and Seymour arranged for tutoring by “a clergyman well-qualified to teach him.”<sup>167</sup>

Living with the Hadens, James became even more immersed in the world of art than in St. Petersburg. He sat to William Boxall (see Image 209), later director of the National Gallery, for his portrait. He formed a deep attachment to Boxall and, in turn, charmed the artist. He, Debo, and Seymour visited Boxall’s studio to view the portrait, which was “very like and a very fine picture” by “a beautiful Colorist.”<sup>168</sup> He may have

taken Mr. Eastwick (see Image 233) there, too, so that a “report [of his likeness]” could be made in St. Petersburg.<sup>169</sup> He announced with elation that Boxall was going to take him to Hampton Court to see the cartoons by Raphael, “the greatest Artist that ever was.”<sup>170</sup> He wished his father and Koritskii could be there, too. Boxall made him a present of *History of the Early Italian Painters* by Anna Jameson.<sup>171</sup> Boxall’s portrait of the fourteen-year-old boy (see Image 28) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the spring and summer of 1849.<sup>172</sup>

Seymour fostered James’s art education, paying no heed to the fact that James’s parents did not want him to be an artist. It was Seymour, himself an artist, who probably had the greatest influence over James in this brief stay in London. He “was a talented draughts man ... having attended a government art training school while studying medicine at the Sorbonne in Paris.” On “completion of his medical studies,” he had “traveled through Italy and Switzerland ... from February to August, 1844,” going on “regular sketching expeditions.”<sup>173</sup> He had made etchings of some of his sketches when back in London.<sup>174</sup> Watercolors of some of the sketches hung in Debo’s boudoir (see Images 213–222).<sup>175</sup>

Starting in 1845, Seymour had begun to collect etchings, particularly “in the area of seventeenth-century Dutch etching,” accumulating Rembrandt’s work especially. “[I]n the mid to late 1840s ... [he] began [a] serious study of Rembrandt etchings.” It is believed that James’s participation in this activity, even for the short time he spent in England, “would have developed [in him] an extraordinary knowledge not only of Rembrandt’s etchings ... but also of the etchings of the seventeenth-century Dutch school.”<sup>176</sup>

Seymour also “arranged for [James] to attend a series of very popular lectures ... at the Royal Academy Schools in March, 1849” by Charles Robert Leslie (see Image 210), who had at one time been “drawing master at West Point.”<sup>177</sup> James “liked them very much.”<sup>178</sup> His “interest in etching” had been awakened in St. Petersburg, when he whiled away his confining days of illness looking at Hogarth’s book of etchings of his own originals.<sup>179</sup> Leslie’s lecture on Hogarth now impressed him the most.<sup>180</sup> It is felt that Leslie reinforced Seymour’s directing of James’s “interests towards Rembrandt and seventeenth-

century Dutch art.”<sup>181</sup> Seymour started James as a collector by giving him “a 10s Print from one of Fuseli’s works called ‘The Lazar House’ ... taken from Milton and ... a very fine thing tho’ much exaggerated” (see Image 207).<sup>182</sup> He acted as critic of James’s artistic efforts, correcting his drawing of the infant Annie Haden.<sup>183</sup> He also saw the flaws in James’s character. When James was leaving for America, Seymour wrote him a letter telling him “sans [without] reserve of your faults,” but decided James would “think it too severe” and did not send it.<sup>184</sup>

In the spring of 1849, James took James Bicheno Francis (see Image 56), a visiting friend from his childhood days in Lowell, “through several picture galleries.”<sup>185</sup> Not everyone shared his indefatigable enthusiasm for art, as Seymour did, or encouraged his opinion on works of art, as his father had. Francis, the hydraulic engineer who had replaced Major Whistler at Lowell, Massachusetts, characterized James with some amusement as “a very profound Critic – setting down this picture as dumb, that a mess, and another divine, all in the most innocent and amusing manner.”<sup>186</sup> After going “through no less than five galleries,” Francis, who had no appreciation for the arts in general, “got tired to death of pictures.”<sup>187</sup>

\* \* \*

The Russian art experience, augmented by the German and the Danish, and especially by the English, culminated in the adolescent’s declaration in 1849: “I hope, dear Father, you will not object to my choice, viz: a painter, for I wish to be one so *very* much.”<sup>188</sup>

A little more than two months later, his father was dead. James returned with his mother, Willie, and Mary Brennan to their native land. The almost five years abroad, especially in his formative years, had changed him and made him different from his contemporaries at home. He “had a rather foreign air,”<sup>189</sup> as did Willie, and together they made “a most picturesque couple, quite unique, among the other boys” in Stonington.<sup>190</sup>

“There are critical periods in children’s lives,” such as “growing up in a foreign community,” “that predispose them to seek other identities.”<sup>191</sup> It is perhaps in St. Petersburg that James’s aristocratic view of himself was formed.<sup>192</sup> His father had been invited by the emperor to



build the first railroad in Russia. His father had actually been presented to Nicholas I (see Images 420–423). He had breakfasted at the emperor’s table, when he had talked and traveled in the same railroad car with the emperor, when the latter came to inspect the factory at Alexandrofsky (see Images 223–225) and ride on the finished section of railroad. He had received a Russian decoration (see Image 252) for his work. All of this would have been enough to instill in James an aristocratic view of himself, but in addition, the family lived surrounded by Imperial palaces and mansions belonging to the aristocracy. Their first landlord was a count and the grandson of Catherine the Great (see Images 86, 414). Some of the family went to a fête for peasants on the estate of Count Kushelev (see Image 302). They had met young Count Stroganov (see Image 299) on the voyage to St. Petersburg. Being a child, James did not have his mother’s understanding of the social gap between them and the aristocracy that she thought could not be bridged. He wanted to see the young count when the name of the latter was mentioned, but was restrained by her. She may have told him that the young count’s grandmother (see Image 300) had died, as well as his fiancée’s uncle (see Image 310), to both of whom the emperor was devoted. In Briullov’s studio, which he must have visited, and in the permanent collection of the Academy, he would have seen portraits of aristocrats. There is an uncorroborated story that when Major Whistler died, the emperor proposed that James and Willie be educated in his Corps of Pages (see Images 139, 371) and they may have known of the offer their mother rejected. An early inkling of any snobbery in James was recorded by his mother when he was miffed because they had to travel second-class on the train from Hull to Scarborough during their 1847 visit to England.<sup>193</sup> Still, when asked whether he would like to be a grand duke and have the grounds at Tsarskoe Selo “for play grounds,” he rejected the idea because “there could be no freedom with a footman at ones heels!”<sup>194</sup> And, had he been enrolled in the Corps of Pages, his love of freedom and lack of discipline could have resulted in his dismissal.

For six years, he endured artistic doldrums in the United States, until he was twenty-one, when he returned to Europe forever.

\* \* \*

James's biography in the diaries concludes with the summer of 1848 on the Isle of Wight. No mention is made of his having been left in England, when Anna Whistler resumes writing her diary in St. Petersburg in September. Her abandonment of the diary after September 1848 means that James's life and art experiences in England are excluded. Her comments on his lessons at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburg hardly illuminate his experience there. Her first-hand acquaintance with James and Koritskii's relationship within the family yields greater but not abundant detail. This essay on James's life during the St. Petersburg sojourn, on the important continuity of his rich art experiences in England, on his relationship with Koritskii from a distance, and on the illumination of Koritskii's artistic life outside their family has therefore relied heavily on outside sources: the Whistler Collection at Glasgow University Library; the Maxwell Papers at the New-York Historical Society; the Harrison Letterbooks at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Pennell–Whistler Papers at the Library of Congress; James's record at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in the Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv (Russian State Historical Archives) in St. Petersburg; and the *Eastwick Letters* in the possession of Estelle and David Knapp, and extensive printed sources.

## NOTES

1. There was at first some doubt as to whether the family would arrive at all in 1843. Although Major Whistler and Maxwell were looking for a house for them, Major Whistler was “much distressed for [James] who is very ill” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, August 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 17). In the event that he might not be granted permission by Nicholas I to go to Hamburg to meet his family, he had obtained Colonel Todd’s permission on 1 August for Maxwell to meet them, but this proved to be unnecessary (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, August 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 17). Soon, Major Whistler received the news that James “was better” and that “they will arrive here by the end of September” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, August 12, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 17). Both letters are marked “No. 17.”
2. Entry for Saturday Jan 30<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
3. Anna Whistler to George W. Whistler [ St. Petersburg] Tuesday noon 8/20<sup>th</sup> June [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W354.
4. Entry for Saturday Jan 30<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
5. Entry for Tuesday night April 22<sup>nd</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
6. Andrew McCalla Eastwick thought he would not survive: “He is a tender plant and I fear much if they will ever be able to raise him to manhood. It would never answer to send him from home alone; he is too delicate” (A.M. Eastwick to Edward p. Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, May 25<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> June 1848 Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*).
7. Deborah Whistler to General Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg Oct. 6<sup>th</sup> 1843, NYPL: Swift Papers.
8. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, Preston Monday June 21<sup>st</sup> 47 – Saturday July 3 [1847], GUL: Whistler Collection, W654.
9. His beauty was remarked upon from the time he was very young until he was an old man. Kate (Prince) Livermore said:

My dear Father ... used to say after an evening spent with the Whistlers [in Lowell, MA], May I go upstairs and see that beautiful boy asleep? And there was the beautiful child with the bed clothes kicked off but his deep rouge coloured flannel combinations in contrast with his rich

brown curls, and his rosy cheeks fast asleep ... and then my Father would say 'it is enough to make Sir Joshua Renals come out of his grave [?] [?] to paint Jemie'." (Kate Livermore to Elizabeth Robbins Pennell, Sept. 5th 1906, LC: P-W, box 292, L, fol. 2899)

Wallis Gay wrote of the over-sixty-year-old Whistler: "His very handsome grey-blue eyes still sparkled with the fire of youth ... I think it strange that no one ever seems to emphasize his singular beauty. Not only were his features finely cut, but the symmetry of his figure, hands and feet, retained until late in life, was remarkable: in youth he must have been a pocket Apollo" (Wallis Gay, *Recollections of Whistler*, LC: P-W, box 283, F-G, fol. 1091).

10. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22.
11. Pastel portrait by Émile-François Dessain, of James and William Whistler, 1847, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, acq. no. 04.412a-b.
12. Entry for South Shore of Blackpool. on the Lancashire coast. July 28<sup>th</sup> 1847. Wednesday, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
13. Entry for St Petersburg. 1848. September, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
14. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Monday evening Dec. 13th [OS] English Christmas day [25 December NS] [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375.
15. Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler Drawings, Pastels and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1995) (hereafter, MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*), no. 32, pp. 10–11.
16. Emma W. Palmer to Mrs. Pennell, Stonington, Sept. 25th [1906], LC: P-W, box 296.
17. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Feb 19<sup>th</sup> Monday eve [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383.
18. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 32.
19. Entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> of July [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.

20. Entry for Thursday evening 29<sup>th</sup> Oct. [1846], Tuesday night [February] 9<sup>th</sup> [1847], and Saturday evening. Feb 27<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
21. Entry for Thursday evening 29<sup>th</sup> Oct. [1846].
22. Anna Whistler to Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept. 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
23. George W. Whistler to Anna Whistler, St. Petersburg. Saturday 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> – [18]48, GUL: Whistler Collection, W657.
24. George W. Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 6/18 Jan<sup>y</sup> –49, GUL: Whistler Collection, W660.
25. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [ St. Petersburg] Saturday morning Jan 20<sup>th</sup> 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W378.
26. Entry for Saturday afternoon June 20 [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
27. Entry for October 23<sup>rd</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
28. Entry for Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> May [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
29. Entry for Saturday evening. Feb 27<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
30. Entry for Saturday Sept 20<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
31. A.M. Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg, November 1<sup>st</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> 1847 Saturday, *Eastwick Letters*.
32. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
33. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Petersburg Feb. 19<sup>th</sup> Monday eve [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383.
34. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St Petersburg. Sunday night Nov 5<sup>th</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W367; Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Petersburg Feb. 19<sup>th</sup> [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383.
35. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1848. Monday evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370.
36. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St Petersburg. friday. March 9<sup>th</sup> 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W384.

37. George W. Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Feb'y 28th/March 12 [18]49, GUL: Whistler Collection, W379.
38. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [ St. Petersburg] Monday evening 8<sup>th</sup> of Jan 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W377. The work Anna Whistler was reading aloud was *The Dark River: An Allegory*, by the Rev. Edward Munro. She erroneously called James Adeonatus instead of Adeodatus. I have consulted the 3rd American edition, "with Engravings from Original Designs by Chapman" (New York: General Prot. Episcopal S.S. Union, 1848).
39. Anna Whistler to Dr. Geo E Palmer, [London], June 8<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 296. See also Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 11<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34. All quotations in this and the previous sentence are from Anna Whistler's letter to Dr. George E. Palmer.
40. Anna Whistler to George W. Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8<sup>th</sup> 1847. Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353.
41. All previous quotations in this paragraph are from George W. Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Jan'y 6/18-49, GUL: Whistler Collection, W660.
42. This and the following two quotations are from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [ St. Petersburg] Thursday 3/15 Feb. [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W382.
43. Anna Whistler [to Margaret G. Hill] Friday afternoon 20<sup>th</sup>, LC: P-W, box 34.
44. George W. Whistler to Anna and James Whistler, St. Petersburg Saturday 9 Sep<sup>r</sup> – 48, GUL: Whistler Collection, W657.
45. Elizabeth R. Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Art of Whistler* (New York: Modern Library, 1928), p. 98.
46. Entry for Shantlin [*sic*]. Isle of Wight – its southern coast. Saturday July 22<sup>nd</sup> [1848], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
47. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [ St. Petersburg] Monday morning Dec. 11<sup>th</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W371.
48. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [ St. Petersburg] Monday morning Dec. 11<sup>th</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W371.
49. Entry for [Monday] March 9<sup>th</sup> 1846, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
50. Entry for Monday [August] 19<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

51. "The early years and boyhood of James MacNeill Whistler," by Miss Emma W. Palmer, GUL: Whistler Collection, P44.
52. Pennell and Pennell, *Art of Whistler*, p. 135.
53. MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 5, p. 2; nos. 9–11, p. 10.
54. For a detailed analysis of James's St. Petersburg sketchbook, see MacDonald, no. 7, pp. 2–9. Others drew in the St. Petersburg sketchbook, too; Koritskii and Lidderdale have been identified (MacDonald, no. 7, pp. 3, 4, 6).
55. This quotation and the two preceding are from the entry for Monday July 1<sup>st</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWP, Part I.
56. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, no place, no date, with an entry later in the letter dated Tuesday. 26th, no year, GUL: Whistler Collection, W376. On the typewritten copy of this letter, someone has written "[1848] or early 1849." W376 must be compared with Anna Whistler to James Whistler, GUL: Whistler Collection, W375, which is dated " St. Petersburg. Monday evening Dec. 13th English Christmas day." In W375, Anna Whistler caused some confusion for the reader by not stating that 13 December was OS. Monday was "English Christmas day," 25 December (NS). Once this is established, it becomes clear that in both letters, when Anna Whistler mentions Saturday and her conversation with Willie about the new baby, she means 23 December (NS), the day on which she received the news of the birth of the Hadens' first child, a daughter, who was born on 14 December (NS). Thus, "Tuesday 26th" in GUL: Whistler Collection, W376 is 26 December (NS) 1848. There is also internal evidence to support my dating. In W375, the information that "Willie is enjoying being with his companions at Mr Harrison's on Christmas Day" means that he had gone to Alexandroffsky, where the Harrison's lived. In W376, Anna Whistler writes James on the morning of "Tuesday 26th" that "Willie has not come from Alexandroffsky," meaning that he had stayed there overnight and not yet come home. Moreover, as W375 does not contain the writer's signature at the end, while W376 does not contain an opening greeting to the addressee, I believe they are not separate letters, but that W376 is a continuation of W375.

James's first name and patronymic in Russian would be Yakov Egorovich (pronounced "Yah'kuff Yee'gor'uhveech"). "Yacklegorivitch" is a slightly distorted rendering by Anna Whistler in this letter.

57. The existence of these five levels of drawing courses is not clearly apparent in the document concerning the reorganization of the Academy in 1840 (S.N. Kondakov, comp., *Iubileinyi spravochnik Imperatorskoi Akademii khudozhestv 1764–1914* [Jubilee Handbook of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts 1764–1914], 2 vols. [Petrograd: R. Golike, 1914–1915], vol. 1, pp. 150, 184), but is made very clear in the Academy registers that indicate which drawing courses students were registered in. In these books, there are five columns named for the five courses (RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 140v. 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]). Fond 789 contains the records of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts.
- L.A. Seriakov (1824–1881), who entered the Academy as a student in 1847, said there were six drawing courses, the above-mentioned and a sketching (*ètiudnyi*) class (L.A. Seriakov, “Moia trudovaia zhizn’, rasskaz gravera, akademika L.A. Seriakova. 1824–1875” [“My Working Life, the Story of It by the Engraver, Academician L.A. Seriakov. 1824–1875”], *Russkaia starina* 14, [September 1875]: p. 350).
58. A.V. Kornilova, *Karl Briullov v Peterburge* [*Karl Briullov in Petersburg*] ([Leningrad]: Lenizdat, 1976), p. 20; N. Moleva and E. Beliutin, *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia shkola pervoi poloviny XIX veka* [*The Russian Art School in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1963), p. 359; N.P. Sobko, “Zhizn’ i proizvedeniia gravera L.A. Seriakova. 1824–1881” [“The Life and Works of the Engraver, L.A. Seriakov. 1824–1881,” *Russkaia starina* 31 (1881): p. 428. The “original” could itself be a copy and could be the work of a talented student, as had been the case with Karl Pavlovich Briullov (Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, p. 20).
59. In the reign of Nicholas I, there were two sets of amendments to Academy regulations. Those of 1830 raised the age of admission to fourteen on the grounds that because of the previously excessively young age of the general education school pupils, their love of and talent in the fine arts had not yet been able to form or manifest itself at that point (Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravochnik*, p. 150).
60. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734, fol. 18v. Kniga o vydache biletov raznym litsam poseshchaiushchim Risoval’nye klassy IAKh za



1845 g. i 1846 g. [Book concerning the issuing of tickets to various persons attending drawing classes at the IAFA in 1845 and 1846]. On the inside of the cover is written: “Spisok poseshchaiushchim raznym Risolva’nye klassy Imperatorskogo AKh koim vydany dlia vkhoda v onye ot Akademii bilety s ustanovlennoiu platoiu s pokazaniem: Komu imenno vydany bilety s kotorogo vremeni i skol’ko s kogo polucheno deneg i proch. Za 1845 god” [List of various persons attending the drawing classes of the Imperial AFA, to whom tickets have been issued by the Academy for entrance to those classes, together with the established fee, and indicating: to whom the tickets were given, as of what date, and how much money was received from whom, etc. For 1845].

61. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734, fol. 18v (see previous Note for document title). An examination of the fees paid shows that for registration during the period January through April the fee was nine rubles, during May through August six rubles, and during the final third of the year three rubles.
62. RGIA: Fond 789 op. 19, d. 735, fol. 17v (see Note 57 above for document title).
63. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 733, fol. 31r. Kniga dlia zapisi biletov, vydavaemykh uchashchimsia na poseshchenie risoval’nykh klassov na 1845 g. [Book for registering tickets issued to pupils to attend drawing classes in 1845].
64. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 140v. (see Note 57 above for document title).

The documents I consulted about James’s time at the Academy were also consulted by a Russian researcher when the Pennells, in preparation for writing their biography of Whistler, wrote to Russia inquiring about James’s career there. Almost all the information they give about him is incorrect. This is based partly on mistakes made by the Russian researcher and partly on the Pennells’ wish to aggrandize young James’s talent.

65. This and the quotation in the previous sentence are from the entry for Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April [1845], within the entry for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April [1845], NYPL: AWPD, Part II.
66. No Cazalet is registered for 1845, but a Goodlet is (RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734, fol. 5r. (see Note 60 above for document title)). It is possible Anna Whistler confused the two, as she was acquainted with the Cazalets. Such mistakes were not uncommon for her.

67. Entry for Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April [1845], within the entry for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
68. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 14v. (see Note 57 above for document title).
69. Seriaikov, “Moia trudovaia zhizn’,” pp. 350–351. P.P. Chistiakov (1832–1919), who entered the Academy in 1849, says he was put in Course 1, “the class in which they drew with pencil copying originals of heads” (P.P. Chistiakov, *Pis'ma, zapisnye knizhki, vospominaniia 1832–1900*. Materialy podgotovleny k pečati i primečaniia k nim sostavleny E. Beliutinyi i N. Molevoi [*Letters, Notebooks, Memoirs 1832–1900*. Materials prepared for publication and notes to them by E. Beliutin and N. Moleva] [Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1953], p. 513).
70. Through the process of attrition and through the elimination of posts after the death of a teacher or upon his transfer to another course, after 1839 and beyond the period when the Whistlers lived in St. Petersburg, Voinov and Vistelius were the teachers of drawing Courses 1 and 2 (Moleva and Beliutin, *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia shkola*, pp. 352–353).

Ivan Aleksandrovich Voinov (1796 – St. Petersburg 26 September / 8 October 1861), portrait painter, was a pupil in the Academy from 1800 to 1812. In 1808, he received the small silver medal and in 1809 the large: each award was for a life drawing. In 1811, he was awarded the small gold medal for the program assigned him on the theme of *An Old Man and a Boy Performing Some Kind of Exercise* (*Starik s mal'chikom v kakom libo upražhnenii*). In 1812, he was awarded the large gold medal for the program *A Recruit Saying Goodbye to His Family* (*Rekrut, proshchaiushchiiisia so svoim semeistvom*) and also received a first-class certificate as portrait painter. As a pensioner of the Academy, he was a teacher's assistant in the portrait class. In October 1817, he was appointed drawing teacher at the Academy. He was characterized at the end of the 1820s as using in his drawing class predominantly “originals” with a complicated pictorial form and basically connected with 18th-century images, and as preferring figures to heads. In 1848, he was awarded the title of academician and in 1859 that of adjunct professor. He also taught in the Society for the Encouragement of Artists. This biography is a composite drawn from the following sources: T.N. Gorina, ed., *Khudozhniki narodov S.SSR: Biobibliograficheskii slovar' v shesti tomakh* [*Artists of the Peoples of the USSR: A Biobibliographical Dictionary in Six Volumes*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1972), vol. 2, p. 312; Moleva

and Beliutin, *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia shkola*, pp. 68, 143, 352–353n12; Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravochnik*, vol. 2, p. 41; P.N. Petrov, ed., *Sbornik materialov dlia istorii imperatorskoi S.-Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv za sto let ee sushchestvovaniia* [*A Collection of Materials for the History of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts for the One Hundred Years of Its Existence*], vol. 1: 1864, vol. 2: 1865, vol. 3: 1866 (St. Petersburg: Komissioner Imperatorskoi Akademii Khudozhestv Gogenfel'den i Ko, 1864–1866), vol. 1, pp. 525, 532, 537, 538, 557, 564, 567; vol. 2, pp. 9, 32, 35, 36, 48, 93; A.E. Iundolov, comp., *Ukazatel' k Sborniku materialov dlia istorii Imperatorskoi S.-Peterburgskoi Akademii khudozhestv za sto let ee sushchestvovaniia*, izdannomu pod redaktsiei Pochetnogo Vol'nogo Obshchnika Akademii P.N. Petrova s ego primechaniiami [*Index to A Collection of Materials for the History of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts for the One Hundred Years of Its Existence*, published under the editorship of P.N. Petrov, Honorary Free Associate of the Academy, with notes by him] (St. Petersburg: M.M. Stasiulevich, 1887), p. 45.

The son of a joiner, Ivan Ivanovich Vistelius (Novgorod Province 1802 – St. Petersburg 4/16 February 1872), miniaturist, was a pupil in the Academy from 1813 to 1827. His teacher was A.G. Varnek (1782–1843). In 1825, he received the small silver medal and in 1826 the large: each award was for a life drawing. In 1827, he was awarded the small gold medal for the program assigned him on the theme of *The Feat of the Kievan Youth Who, to Save the Family of His Ruler and to Deliver Kiev, Which Was Surrounded by Pecheneg Forces, Swam across the Dnepr to Communicate Important News to His Countrymen, Risking His Life by Doing This in Full View of the Enemy* (abbreviated Russian title, *Podvig Kievliana*). In this same year, he also received a first-class certificate as artist 14th grade and was appointed drawing teacher at the Academy. He was characterized at the end of the 1820s as favoring the use in his drawing class of “originals” that were basically pale-colored outline drawings of figures from antiquity. In 1831, he was awarded the title of “nominee” and assigned a program for the title of academician: *Portrait of V.K. Shebuev* (*Portret V.K. Shebueva*) (1777–1855), rector of the Academy (today in the Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei [GRM] [State Russian Museum], St. Petersburg). In 1832, he was assigned a further program for the title of academician: to paint *Narcissus Looking at Himself in the Water* (*Nartsis, smotriashchiiisia v vodu*); the size of the figure was required to be four vershki: i.e., seven inches (a vershok = 1¾ inches). In 1836, for the title of actual academician, he was

assigned a program to paint a miniature on the theme of *Cain Becoming Sensible of the Evil Deed He Has Committed* (*Kain, po chuvstvovaniu svoershennoe im zlodeianie*); the size of the picture was left to his own discretion. He failed to be elected at this time and did not receive the title of academician until 1848. Other works by Vistelius are a lithograph of *Ossian* (*Ossian*) (from the original by F. Gerard); an engraving of *Alexander I Saving a Sick Peasant* (*Aleksandr I spasae bol'nogo krest'ianina*) (from the painting by Karl P. Briullov); a pencil drawing of *Amor and Psyche* (*Amur i Psikheia*) (in the State Russian Museum). Vistelius taught in the Academy from 1827 to 1871, becoming an adjunct professor in 1859. He also taught in the Drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of Artists from 1843 to 1859 and in the Land Survey School and the Patriotic Institute. He was interested in lithography. A watercolor portrait of him was painted in 1856 by K.K. Zinoviev. Vistelius has been characterized by Moleva and Belutin as a more talented artist than Voinov and a top teacher.

This biography is a composite drawn from the following sources: T.N. Gorina, *Khudozhniki narodov SSSR*, vol. 2, p. 285, and vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 318; Moleva and Belutin, *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia shkola*, pp. 68, 143, 268, 353, 389; Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravocnik*, vol. 2, pp. 39, 76; Petrov, *Sbornik materialov*, vol. 2, pp. 52, 207, 209, 213, 222–223, 224, 260, 274, 333, 342, and vol. 3, pp. 274–275, 339; Iundolov, *Ukazatel'*, pp. 43, 91; Èsfir Atsarkina, *Karl Pavlovich Briullov: zhizn' i tvorchestvo* [*Karl Pavlovich Briullov: Life and Works*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1963), p. 327; Chistiakov, *Pis'ma*, pp. 477, 577; E.N. Teviashov, *Opisanie neskolk'kikh graviur i litografii. Sostavil po svoemu sobraniu E.N. Teviashov* [*Description of Some Engravings and Lithographs. Compiled from his own collection by E.N. Teviashov*] (St. Petersburg: V. Kirshbaum, 1903), p. 76.

71. MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 19, p. 11. Vistelius's name is in the upper right corner; Whistler's is in the lower right. MacDonald did not transliterate the names from the Russian; instead, she transcribed them as though they had been written in English: thus her incomprehensible spellings, "Burmereiyez/Buarepr." MacDonald very kindly supplied me with a photocopy of the drawing. Unable to obtain a photograph of the drawing, I have transliterated the two Russian names from the reproduction of the drawing in her book (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 19, p. 11). The final letter in each surname in Russian is the "hard sign" (*tyrdyi znak*), which until 1917 was placed at the end of all Russian words ending in a consonant. When in this position, it is

not transliterated; therefore, I have not rendered what became MacDonald's final "z" and "r." The quality and size of the reproduction do not permit me to deal with all of the inscriptions on it. The name "James Whistler" in English is visible below the Russian version "Visler." See also Seriakov, "Moia trudovaia zhizn'," pp. 350–351.

72. The drawing has the following history:

Drawn in St. Petersburg, 1847/8: probably sent to Mr. or Mrs. Thomas Winans because, according to Miss Elsie Célèste Hutton, she found the drawing among her mother's papers at Thomas Winans' villa 'Alexandroffsky' in Baltimore (note on photograph, GUL); on 9 June 1950, she wrote to J. Revillon, 'I am so glad to have you tell me about the drawing in pencil of the girls head and the Russian signature. I couldn't make out what that was' (9 June 1950, GUL: Whistler Collection, Rev 1955 3/186-7): passed by family descent to the present owner. (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 19, pp. 11–12)

The private collection was in New Jersey at the time of publication of the *Catalogue Raisonné* (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 19, p. 11). Its present location is unknown.

MacDonald assigned the date "1847/8" to the drawing. This was, of course, determined by style. James's name being in the register of the Academy for 1848 confirms the supposition that he made this drawing in 1847/48 and submitted it to Vistelius in 1848. MacDonald's analysis that, rather than being a copy from a plaster cast as Joseph Revillon thought, "[i]t is more likely to be a careful copy of a neoclassical drawing, or rather an engraving or lithographic copy after such a drawing, since it appears to be imitating the printer's style," cannot be refuted, given that James was in Course 1: "Drawing from Originals of Heads." The "original" he used was either a drawing or an engraved or lithographed copy of a drawing, and it was indeed "very likely that it was both supervised and corrected by ... Koritskii" (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 12).

73. Entry for Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> March [1846], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
74. Entry for Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April [1845], within the entry for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April [1845], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
75. Seriakov, "Moia trudovaia zhizn'," pp. 350–351.

76. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 737, fol. 62v. Klassnyi zhurnal po chasti Inspektora na 1846, 1847, i 1848 god [The Inspector's Class Journal for 1846, 1847, and 1848].
77. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 17v. (see Note 57 above for document title).
78. MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 11.
79. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Scarsdale, April 3, 1854, GUL: Whistler Collection, W432. She seemed to think "originals" meant her children's copies.
80. On inquiring about student work at RGIA, whose holdings include Fond 789: Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, I was told that the fond did not contain work submitted for graduation (*diplomnye raboty*); but then, James was not a full-time student. I was also informed at the Archive of the Academy of Fine Arts that they do not have any drawing by Whistler.
81. Entry for Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April [1845], within the entry for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II; entry for Saturday, Sept. 20, [1846]; entry for Saturday Dec 5<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. Saturday was 19 September in 1846. On Sunday, 20 September, Anna Whistler would not have written in her diary.
82. Entry for Saturday Dec 5<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
83. William Whistler to James Whistler S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg Monday Oct. 2 [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W974. An "écorché" is a figure usually in the form of a statuette, shown without skin to expose the muscular construction of the body (David G. Diamond, ed. *Bulfinch Pocket Dictionary of Art Terms*, 3rd rev. ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992), s.v. "écorché").
84. Entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
85. Entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
86. "Once, he said, in London with his father, he had not been well, and he had been given a hot foot-bath, and he could never forget how he sat looking at his foot, and then got his paper and colours and set to work to make a study of it, 'and in Russia,' he added, 'I was always doing that sort of thing'" (Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 1, p. 15). A similar quotation can be found in Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, p. 171. Major Whistler came to England only once during the time he was working in Russia: to attend Debo's wedding in October 1847. He and James went

from Preston to London without the other family members to meet Francis Seymour Haden and traveled back to Preston with him for the wedding.

87. Entry for Saturday afternoon. May 30<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWP, Part II. This entry marks the first appearance of Koritskii's surname in the diaries.  
 Either Willie was also in this sketch, or there was more than one of "baby" by Koritskii, for, in 1908, William Whistler's second wife, Helen (Tonides) Whistler (1849–1917), wrote to Elizabeth R. Pennell asking "to borrow a pencil drawing of my husband about 10 years old in Russian dress with a younger brother "Johnnie" in a quaint kind of go-cart, this was drawn by their drawing-master in St. Petersburg" (Helen Whistler to E.R. Pennell, Sept. 23, 1908, LC: P-W, box 304, W–Z, fols. 4963–4).
88. St. Petersburg Sketchbook, fol. 23, Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow University; MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 4, 5.
89. Entry for Saturday evening. Feb 27<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
90. Major G.W. Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wed., August 9, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W656.
91. Anna Whistler to James Whistler In my room. St. Petersburg, tuesday evening Sept 26th 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W361.
92. Entry for Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April [1845], within the entry for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April [1845], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
93. James wrote to his family in the remaining four months of 1848. He was unable to discipline himself to send a letter regularly along with the one Debo wrote once a fortnight to her parents or the one Mr. Fairbanks wrote every Friday to Major Whistler, but he managed to comply sometimes and friends personally carried some of them. Their receipt and some of their contents is reflected in the letters of his parents and Willie (Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg, Oct. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1848. Tuesday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W363; Anna Whistler to James Whistler Thursday. Sept. 30<sup>th</sup> Oct. 12<sup>th</sup> 1848. St. Petersburg, W364; Anna Whistler to James Whistler Friday evening Oct. 20<sup>th</sup> 1848, W365; George W. Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Oct. 27/Nov. 8 1848, W659; Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg. Sunday night Nov. 5<sup>th</sup> 1848, W367; Anna

- Whistler to James Whistler In the drawing room, with Willie on sofa Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec 1848, W374).
94. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
  95. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848.
  96. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848.
  97. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848. The whereabouts of this drawing are unknown. MacDonald does not record it in *Catalogue Raisonné*. It would seem to have been executed in 1848. Its biblical subject is taken from 1 Samuel 28 (James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* [London: John Murray, 1974], p. 343).
  98. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St. Petersburg] Friday evening Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W365.
  99. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
  100. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848.
  101. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848. In 1841, the American portrait painter John Goffe Rand (1801–1873), living in London, invented the paint tube. “Made from tin and sealed with a screw cap,” it replaced the accident-prone pig’s bladder for storing paint. Its portability freed painters from confinement to their studios. It also introduced “dazzling new paint pigments such as chrome yellow and emerald green – that had been invented by industrial chemists” (Perry Hurt, “Color App,” *Smithsonian Magazine* 44, no. 2 [May 2013]: p. 20).
  102. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg. Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1848. Monday Evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370.
  103. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
  104. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St Petersburg. Sunday night. Nov. 5<sup>th</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W367.



105. William Whistler to James Whistler S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg Monday Oct. 2 [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W974.
106. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1848. Monday Evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370.
107. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg] Tuesday morning Dec 12<sup>th</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W372.
108. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1848. Monday Evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370.
109. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg, Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 1848; Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg. December 25 and 26, 1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375 and W376; James Whistler to George W. Whistler [London] Friday even. January 26 [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
110. Anna Whistler to James Whistler S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366; Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg. December 25 and 26, 1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375 and W376.
111. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg] Thursday 3/15th Feb. [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W382.
112. William Whistler to James Whistler S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg 10<sup>th</sup> May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978.
113. William Whistler to James Whistler S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg 10<sup>th</sup> May 1849.
114. William Whistler to James Whistler S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg 10<sup>th</sup> May 1849.
115. Although the Whistlers lost touch with Koritskii, mention of James's attachment to him came up again in September 1852, when Koritskii's name appeared for the last time in Anna Whistler's extant letters. Writing to her 18-year-old son at West Point, she expressed the hope that he would enjoy his drawing lessons there and feel similar affection for "the American artist" – probably his professor of drawing, Robert W. Weir (1803–1889) – "as you loved Karitzkie and M.<sup>r</sup> Boxall so ardently" (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Scarsdale, 3 Sept. 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W413). Weir "had succeeded Charles Robert Leslie in 1834" (Lochnan, *Etchings*, p. 11).

116. Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, p. 22; Elizabeth R. Pennell, *Whistler the Friend* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1930), pp. 130–131.
117. Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 1, pp. 127–129. See also F.F. L’vov, “Obshchestvo pooshchreniia khudozhnikov v 1850–1862 gg.” [“The Society for the Encouragement of Artists in 1850–1862”], *Russkaia starina* (August 1881): p. 635.
118. Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 1, p. 233. The Pennells also mention that he spoke of “my Russian cradle” (Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, pp. 180–181).
119. Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei Otdel rukopisei [State Russian Museum Manuscript Division], St. Petersburg (hereafter, GRM OR): Fond 22, d. 37. Fond Zheleznova Mikhaila Ivanovicha Kratkie zapisi Koritskogo A.O. (uchenik K.P. Briullova) o zhizni i rabotakh K.P. Briullova 1843–1847 [Collection of M.I. Zheleznov. Brief notes by A.O. Koritskii (pupil of K.P. Briullov) about the life and works of K.P. Briullov 1843–1847] (hereafter, GRM OR: Koritskii, *Zapisi*), fol. 22v. The photocopy of this page in my possession is clearly marked 23 in the upper right-hand corner, but the archivist wrote “f. 22v” on it when identifying the file. I am inclined to think that the sitter was James, because Anna Whistler recorded on 11/23 January 1847 that “Jemie often had crossed on the ice to the Academy of Fine Arts to spend an hour or two of the early part of the day in the study of his drawing master” (entry for January 1847 / Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> of our style being 11<sup>th</sup> of Russian style, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). In other words, there is a period of twelve days between Koritskii’s entry and Anna Whistler’s (between 11 January and 23 January NS), during which James often went to the Academy. It is, of course, likely that he was going to work with Koritskii, but he could have been sitting for his portrait (whereabouts unknown) as well. Willie Whistler spent at least two mornings sitting to Koritskii for his portrait (whereabouts unknown) in March 1847 (entry for Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). Major Whistler was sitting for his portrait (whereabouts unknown) to someone unidentified, but that was in May 1848 (entries for 19 May [1848] and 22 May [1848], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). All of this, I believe, makes James the likely candidate for “the American.”

Koritskii’s diary does not specifically indicate whether “the American” was present when he was painting the portrait, but he was working on it in the same room as a fellow student, Faddei

Antonovich Goretskii (1825–1868; see Image 185), and Briullov, so they knew who the subject was (Dec. 30 (OS) [1846] [Jan. 11 (NS) 1847], GRM OR: Koritskii, *Zapisi*).

120. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Wednesday November 1st, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
121. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 8 Dec. [18]48, GUL: Whistler Collection, W976.
122. Entry for August 12/24<sup>th</sup> Monday [1846], NYPL: AWPD, Part II.
123. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Stonington, Wednesday Aug. 27<sup>th</sup> [18]51, GUL: Whistler Collection, W395.

Briullov strove for what he called “effect” in some of his portraits of women, a reference to his deliberate exaggeration of colors (N.M. Moleva, *Vydaishchiesia russkie khudozhniki-pedagogi* [*Outstanding Russian Artist-Teachers*] [Moscow: s.n., [1962]], p. 19). It is not possible to say specifically which of his portraits Anna Whistler had in mind, but an outstanding example of “effect” (which was not in his studio) is his *Portrait of Countess Iu. P. Samoilova with Her Adopted Daughter, Giovanina Pacini, and a Blackamoor* (*Portret gr. Iu. P. Samoilovoi s vospitanitsej Dzhovanino Pacini i arapchonom*) (1832–34), in which shades of red predominate (see Image 206). Behind Samoilova is a red velvet drapery, and the shawl grasped by the blackamoor before it slips off her arm is red, as are the edging of his garment, the flower design in the rug, the cloth covering the walls, and the upholstery of the couch. Surrounded by fire, Samoilova, with an arm around Giovanina’s shoulder, sails into the room, an ethereal being in sky-blue shot silk, which echoes the blue of the heavens visible behind her through a door onto a balcony (G.K. Leontieva, *Karl Pavlovich Briullov* [Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1986], pp. 22–25, 183; M. Rakova, “K.P. Briullov – portretist” [“K.P. Briullov, Portrait Painter”], in *Ocherki po istorii russkogo portreta pervoi poloviny XIX veka* [*Studies in the History of the Russian Portrait in the First Half of the XIX Century*] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1966), p. 185).

124. L’vov, “Obshchestvo pooshchreniia,” p. 634.
125. Elizabeth Rigby (see Image 190) describes in her memoirs of Russia and Estonia her visit to Briullov’s studio and apartment as well as to other artists’ studios (Rigby, *Baltic Letters*, vol. 2, letter 25, pp. 271–272).

126. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Wednesday November 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
127. Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 7.
128. This and the previous quotations in this paragraph are from the entry for Saturday. May 2<sup>nd</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
129. *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, 1846), p. 18.
130. Entry for Saturday Sept. 20<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. The date should be the 19th.
131. Entry for Saturday. May 2<sup>nd</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. *The Brass Serpent* was in the permanent collection of the Academy. Bruni's biography and a discussion of reactions to this painting can be found in Notes 328 and 329 in NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
132. Entry for Wednesday, March 23<sup>rd</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. Wednesday was 24 March. Aivazovskii's biography and further information concerning this exhibit can be found in Notes 714–716 in NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
133. Entry for Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup> [1847].
134. Entry for Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup> [1847].
135. James Whistler to George Whistler 62 Sloane St, entry for Saturday evening 27th in letter of Friday even Jan. 26. (1849), GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
136. The Hermitage at the time of the Whistlers' sojourn in St. Petersburg consisted of "the Hermitage proper (or little Hermitage), which stands beside [the Winter Palace and was] built to the designs of Vallin de la Mothe in 1769; the Old or Great Hermitage, completed in 1787 by Felten for the express purpose of housing the rapidly expanding collection of pictures; the theater designed (also in 1787) by Quarenghi, erected on the site of Peter the Great's Winter Palace and joined to Felten's building by a gallery running over the Winter Canal." (Boris Piotrovsky, *The Hermitage: Its History and Collections* [New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, [1982]], p. 15). The plans for a fourth building, the New Hermitage, designed by Leo von Klenze (1784–1864), were approved by Nicholas I in 1842 (V.F. Levinson-Lessing, *Istoriia Kartinnoi galerei Ermitazha 1764–1917* [A History of the Picture Gallery of the Hermitage 1764–1917] [Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1985],

p. 9). The New Hermitage was in the process of being built throughout the remainder of the 1840s. It was completed in 1851 and opened in 1852 as a public museum (Levinson-Lessing, *Istoriia Kartinnoi galerei Ermitazha*, p. 10). An 1846 guide to St. Petersburg explained that “at present the greater part of the Hermitage is undergoing reconstruction and only those rooms from the previous building which face toward the Neva facade have been preserved,” but it was possible to view them (Aleksii Grech, comp., *Ves’ Peterburg v karmane: Spravochnaia kniga dlia stolichnykh zhitelei i prieszhikh, s planami Sanktpeterburga i chetyrekh teatrov* [*All of Petersburg in Your Pocket: A Handbook for Inhabitants of and Visitors to the Capital, with plans of St. Petersburg and four theaters*, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg: N. Grech, 1846) (hereafter, Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1846), p. 94; see also Ivan Pushkarev, *Istoricheskiĭ ukazatel’ dostopamiatnosti Sankt-Peterburga* [*Historical Index to Memorable St. Petersburg Sights*] (St. Petersburg: Konrad Vingeber, 1846), p. 118). James and Willie were too young to visit the Hermitage in 1843.

It also has to be remembered that when the Whistlers were in St. Petersburg, the Hermitage was not a separate institution with its own director, but “a continuation of the Winter Palace” and the property of the Imperial family (Levinson-Lessing, *Istoriia Kartinnoi galerei Ermitazha*, pp. 8, 130). As such, access to it on the part of the public was limited (Levinson-Lessing, pp. 9, 129). It was not until the 1860s that it attained a certain independence from the Court administration, and in 1863 it was permitted to have its own director (Levinson-Lessing, pp. 10–11).

137. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Wednesday November 1st. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366.
138. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Wednesday November 1st. 1848.
139. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, On board the steamer “City of Aberdeen,” Friday noon Sept. 15th [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W359.
140. Up until the 1990s, the name of the artist was misread as Fiefster. The closest approximation to Fiessler in Russia is Fessler: e.g., an Adolf Fessler was a pupil of Konstantin Aivazovskii, Russian marine painter (Amburger Datenbank, Osteuropa Institut München/Historische Abteilung [Munich, Germany] [hereafter, Amburger Datenbank], ID 17303). He, however, seems unlikely to have painted James’s portrait.

141. The portrait passed from Mary Brennan to her niece, Mary Brennan Barrett (see the Brennan, Bergin, and Keefe family biographies in Appendix E [hereafter Brennan, Bergin, Keefe]). It was sold by the Barrett family to a family named Armstrong, eventually becoming the property of Edward A. Armstrong and his sister, Lucia Armstrong Williams, of Richmond, Virginia. They put the portrait up for sale around 1994 in the Mayo Gallery in Richmond, Virginia, where I saw it. It was later auctioned at Sotheby's and donated by the purchaser to the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC. The measurements are 28.1 x 23.3 cm (11 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 9<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in.). This information is based on conversations I had with Robert Mayo and Edward A. Armstrong.
142. Eric Denker, *In Pursuit of the Butterfly Portraits of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), p. 21.
143. Denker, *Pursuit*, p. 21.
144. MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 10–11.
145. My supposition is based on the fact that when Major Whistler died Mr. Biber wrote to Anna Whistler “of the great affliction of his brother at the loss of his first patron” (William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg 10 May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978).
146. Mel'nikov, *Svedeniia*, fol. 198v; E.J. Harden, “Major George Washington Whistler, Railroad Engineer, in Russia: 1842–49,” in *Ex Oriente Lux Mélanges offertes en hommage au professeur Jean Blankoff à l'occasion de ses soixante ans*, vol. 1 (Brussels: Centre d'Etude des Pays de l'Es, 1991), p. 157n35.
147. Entry for English Quai – Ritter–Dom. Sept 23<sup>d</sup>, NYPL: AWP, Part I.
148. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg] Tuesday morning Dec 12<sup>th</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W372.
149. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg] Tuesday morning Dec 12<sup>th</sup> [1848].
150. Anna Whistler to James Whistler [St. Petersburg] Tuesday morning Dec 12<sup>th</sup> [1848].
151. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even. Jan. 26 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661. Kate (Prince) Livermore said: “[I]t is a lovely picture but I should never have known that it was intended for Jemie at [?] period of his life; his

- eyes were a deep blue, were deep set, and were large” (Kate [Prince] Livermore to Elizabeth Robbins Pennell, Sept. 5<sup>th</sup> 1906, LC: P-W, box 292, L, fol. 2900).
152. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even. Jan. 26 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
  153. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even. Jan. 26 1849.
  154. Melissa Banta, “Portrait of an Artist as a Boy: James McNeill Whistler, 1834–1903,” in *A Curious and Ingenious Art: Reflections on Daguerreotypes at Harvard* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press for the Harvard University Library, 2000), p. 117; Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr. London, Monday 25 June 1849, LC: P-W, box 34. In this letter, Anna Whistler said: “Mr. Haden will take me [to Kilburn’s studio], as you so flatteringly wish it & my boys too before we leave London.”
  155. Banta, “Portrait of an Artist as a Boy,” p. 119.
  156. Entry for Saturday evening. Feb 27 [1847], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
  157. Anna Whistler to George Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8<sup>th</sup> 1847. Steamer Nicolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353.
  158. Anna Whistler to George Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8<sup>th</sup> 1847. Steamer Nicolai.
  159. James Whistler to George W. Whistler Preston Monday June 21<sup>st</sup> 47 – Saturday July 3 [1847], GUL: Whistler Collection, W654.
  160. James Whistler to George W. Whistler Preston Monday June 21<sup>st</sup> 47 – Saturday July 3 [1847].
  161. James Whistler to George W. Whistler Preston Monday June 21<sup>st</sup> 47 – Saturday July 3 [1847].
  162. Entries for July. thursday 6<sup>th</sup> [1848] on board the Camilla and Shantlin [sic]. Isle of Wight – its southern coast. Saturday July 22<sup>nd</sup> [1848], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
  163. Entry for Shantlin [sic]. Isle of Wight – its southern coast. Saturday July 22<sup>nd</sup> [1848].
  164. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, In the drawing room, with Willie on sofa Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> Dec 1848, entry of Monday 1<sup>st</sup> Jan New Years day. N.S. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W374.

165. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, In the drawing room, with Willie on sofa Friday 22nd Dec 1848, entry of Monday 1st Jan New Years day. N.S. 1849.
166. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Sunday night Nov. 5<sup>th</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W367.
167. Emma W. Palmer to Elizabeth Pennell, Stonington, Dec. 17th [1906] with extract, LC: P-W, box 296.
168. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even: 26. Jan. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
169. James Whistler to Anna Whistler, 62 Sloane St entry of Monday 19 [March] within letter of Saturday 17 March 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W386.
170. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even: Jan. 26. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
171. James Whistler to Anna Whistler, 62 Sloane St entry of Monday 19 [March] within letter of Saturday 17 March 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W386. The title of this text is actually *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters* (1845); the error occurs in the letter.
172. Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison [London] Monday. June 25 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34; James B. Francis to his wife, Sarah, London May 9th 1849, GUL: Laver Papers.
173. The quotations in this paragraph are from Lochnan, *Etchings*, p. 4.
174. Lochnan, p. 5.
175. Undated continuation (after the beginning of 1848) of the entry for Preston. September. Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPD, Part II.
176. Quotations in this paragraph are from Lochnan, *Etchings*, pp. 5–6.
177. This and the preceding quotation are from Lochnan, p. 7.
178. James Whistler to Anna Whistler, 62 Sloane St, entry of Monday 19 [March] within letter of Saturday 17 March 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W386.
179. Lochnan, *Etchings*, p. 3.
180. James Whistler to Anna Whistler, 62 Sloane St, entry of Monday 19 [March] within letter of Saturday 17 March 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W386.



181. Lochnan, *Etchings*, p. 7. For Lochnan's detailed discussion of what James would have taken to heart from Leslie's lectures, see pp. 7–9.
182. James Whistler to Anna Whistler 62 Sloane St Saturday 17 March 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W386.
183. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St. Petersburg, December 25, 1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W376; James Whistler to Anna Whistler, 62 Sloane St, Saturday 17 March 1849, W386; MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 21, p. 12. Explaining to his mother that Seymour had corrected his drawing of Annie, James did not want to send it to her, preferring to wait until he had made another, uncorrected drawing.
184. Deborah (Whistler) Haden to James Whistler [London, July 28, 1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, H10.
185. James B. Francis to his wife, Sarah, London May 9<sup>th</sup> 1849, GUL: Laver Papers.
186. James B. Francis to his wife, Sarah, London May 9<sup>th</sup> 1849.
187. James B. Francis to his wife, Sarah, London May 9<sup>th</sup> 1849. In 1879, Francis visited the famous James Whistler, "considered the best etcher in England." He "could see nothing good" in those paintings of Whistler's that he viewed, but presumed that the fault lay with him, for he had also attended *H.M.S. Pinafore* and "could see no fun in it" (James B. Francis to his son, George E. Francis. London June 19, 1879, GUL: Laver Papers). His obituary stated that he had no "taste for music except the song of birds" (William E. Worthen, "Life and Works of James B. Francis": Essay 10 (read on 20 February 1893), *Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association, Lowell, Mass.* 5, no. 2 (March 1894): p. 241). The same was true of his taste for art. For his biography see *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 64 vols. [New York: James T. White, 1891–1984], vol. 2, s.v. "Francis, James Bicheno."
188. James Whistler to George W. Whistler, 62 Sloane St Friday even. Jan. 25 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W661.
189. "The early years and boyhood of James McNeill Whistler," by Miss Emma W. Palmer, GUL: Whistler Collection, P44.
190. "The early years and boyhood of James McNeill Whistler."
191. This felicitous comment was made by an unidentified member of the audience at a lecture given in 1994 at the Kennan Institute in

Washington, DC, by Elena Borovskaia. An art historian from St. Petersburg, she was interested in Whistler's "influence on the Russian art of his time." I wish to thank the Kennan Institute for kindly supplying a tape of the lecture.

192. The idea that Whistler's later aristocratic view of himself may have had its foundation in his St. Petersburg years was suggested by another unidentified member of the audience at the abovementioned lecture given in 1994 at the Kennan Institute in Washington, DC, by Elena Borovskaia.
193. Entry for Preston. Lancashire, England. June 26<sup>th</sup> 1847 Saturday NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
194. Entry for Thursday [May] 29<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.

## WILLIAM MCNEILL WHISTLER (WILLIE)

William Whistler (see Images 27, 30), the child and adolescent, was seven to almost thirteen years old during his sojourn in Russia. Like James (see Images 24–29), he was beautiful to look at and for several of their early years they resembled one another. In the Dessain portrait (see Image 27), they almost look like twins, and are both slender. But Willie was robust in health compared to James: “round, ruddy and hard as a Spitsbergen Apple.”<sup>1</sup> He did not suffer from a major chronic illness, nor did he fall sick from minor bouts of cold and flu as often as his older brother. In 1848, however, possibly because he was entering puberty, Willie became fat. In June of that year, after he had been on an inspection trip with his father while James was suffering from another attack of rheumatic fever, Anna Whistler recorded how fat he was.<sup>2</sup> He had a face “like ‘plum pudding Jack.’”<sup>3</sup> Even in referring to his excellent progress in his studies, his mother, calling him “our little Parson elect,” exclaimed “what a student the fat boy is.” He became thinner while attending Baxter’s Commercial School that fall,<sup>4</sup> perhaps because he was so unhappy there.

In temperament he was gentle, tractable, obedient, studious, probably slow in his speech and deliberate in his movements,<sup>5</sup> and a homebody. As he was “rather less excitable than Jemmie, & therefore more tractable,” Anna Whistler (see Images 1–5) preferred to take “this gentlest of my dear boys” as her interpreter when she went shopping.<sup>6</sup> Observing Willie during their 1847 trip to England, she felt that in his manliness as he strode “about the deck holding the Capt’s hand & talking German so eagerly with him”; in his “lovely combination of gentleness and determination to do what is right”; in his constant concern for her when she was seasick, he “was prompted by his dear father, whom he is so much like.”<sup>7</sup>

An obedient child, he held his parents’ views and mouthed similar thoughts. He accepted that his mother approved only of puppet shows but not of the theater. He was surprised that James attended private parties in England that he and their parents had seen held up to ridicule in *Punch*.<sup>8</sup> He did not understand how James, knowing that their parents

disapproved of such snobbish parties, would nevertheless participate and risk injury to his health as well.<sup>9</sup> Major Whistler's last words to him, "Goodbye, be a good boy,"<sup>10</sup> were hardly necessary.

Anna Whistler constantly held Willie up for James to emulate.<sup>11</sup> Recounting to him the abusive treatment Willie suffered at Baxter's, she asked him whether he was not sorry that he was "ever ... rough to so gentle and loving a brother?"<sup>12</sup> None of this changed James's nature, nor did it mar or weaken the brothers' close relationship, which lasted until Willie's death.<sup>13</sup>

\* \* \*

While Koritskii (see Images 167–170) had been engaged solely to give drawing lessons to James, Willie took drawing lessons from their regular tutor, Mr. Biber, but there was a certain amount of interaction: Koritskii lent models to Mr. Biber;<sup>14</sup> Willie was present when Koritskii came to their home on Saturdays; and on at least one occasion Koritskii drew him. Willie was thus engaged in seeing Koritskii drawing and at work with James and participated in the excitement of that atmosphere. We know that he painted some watercolors for James when the latter was sick, that he went to the Academy in March of 1847 to sit to Koritskii for his portrait and saw the exhibits there, and that there is documentation for his acquaintance with Briullov (see Image 173). But James's enrollment at the Academy apparently prompted him to want to take a drawing course, too.

In 1846, when James was not enrolled, Willie, who was nine years and seven months old, was registered in Drawing Course 1: "From Originals of Heads" (see Image 162).<sup>15</sup> Koritskii signed the receipt book at the Academy on 18 February / 2 March 1846, and paid nine rubles for ticket No. 341, which was issued to "Villiam Uistler, son of a Major in American service" (see Image 161).<sup>16</sup> "Villiam" is also registered in the "Book of Addresses of Academy Pupils for 1846" (see Image 162),<sup>17</sup> but only his ticket number and name are recorded. In the columns for noting down documents presented in order to register, and for his address, nothing appears. He was one of 475 students registered for 1846.<sup>18</sup> Willie seems even to have submitted a drawing at a monthly examination just two weeks later: "341. Uistler, Villiam" in Course 1 was ranked "28" in

a group of 52 students for his drawing at an examination held on 2 March 1846 (14 March NS).<sup>19</sup> His ranking was reassessed and changed to “38” (see Image 162).<sup>20</sup>

\* \* \*

Willie was the only Whistler child to remain in St. Petersburg until his father’s death. Parting with James in the fall of 1848 distressed him very much “& for some time, [he] could not bear to hear [James’s] name mentioned without the tears coming to his eyes.”<sup>21</sup> Once he was back in Russia, the question of his education became paramount, and his parents did not know whether to hire tutors or send him to a private school. They considered hiring a previous tutor, Monsieur La Roche, to teach him again,<sup>22</sup> but ended up sending him to Baxter’s Commercial School.<sup>23</sup>

He tried very hard to please his parents by being a good student. He had hated boarding at Monsieur Jourdan’s in 1846, and the necessity of parting with his mother on Sunday night after a day-and-a-half weekend at home had inevitably reduced him to tears.<sup>24</sup> In his homesickness, he was “a complete Whistler,” very like his father and his half-brother, Joseph Swift Whistler.<sup>25</sup> While Anna Whistler had sympathized with him “tenderly” then, duty, she had felt, required her to conceal her sympathy in the hope that “time may reconcile him to his privations.” Asked by her whether he wanted to stay home instead, he had bravely answered that “it is right to go to school and I will do all fathers wishes.” He had brought her “the best testimonials from his masters,” and she did not think he would “disappoint his father.” It was the same when he was sent to Baxter’s. He “dislike[d] going there so much”<sup>26</sup> and “was sad when the weather forced him to have to board for a few days.”<sup>27</sup> For a while, Anna Whistler reported, “the boys flocked around him as a natural curiosity, *because he is an American*,” but then let him alone, “call[ing] him *Independent*.”<sup>28</sup> She also reported that he became “the pet of the whole school,” loved by “all the boys and all the teachers.”<sup>29</sup> How long “all the boys” loved him is not clear, because he wrote to James, telling him of the continuing hazing and rough treatment he received: “they cuff him and taunt him, call him ‘American monkey’, ‘Milk Sop’ etc., when he asks them about the lessons he is to learn, they ‘have to get their own’ and will not oblige him, yet when he takes out his white roll to eat . . . for the

3 o'clock recess ... they beg him and he never refuses to share it."<sup>30</sup> Each evening, he recounted to his mother "the vexations of the day," and she, who had held English boys up as an example of good manners for her wild sons, decided that "the English lads here are of a degenerated stock." Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) counseled him "either to become entirely independent of the boys in lessons play and all, or to knock down any who touches him" and "to become hardened to rough and tumble."<sup>31</sup> Willie pointed out that "they attack him in a gang" and wished that the fearless James "were at the same school with him to fight his battles which he cannot do himself" because "his gentle spirit is principled against tit for tat."<sup>32</sup> His parents, who could do nothing, simply hoped that eventually the other boys might "find out what a high principled lad the Yankee is and that merit and forbearance will meet its reward." Despite his unhappiness at Baxter's, close to the end of their stay in Russia he was second in his class.<sup>33</sup>

Dr. Rogers advised them to send him back to England to study, as apparently in the climate of St. Petersburg there was a risk even "to a healthy boy in going from heated rooms to extreme frosty atmosphere, before and after daylight."<sup>34</sup> Had Major Whistler lived, and had James come home for the summer of 1849, Willie would most certainly have gone back to England with his feisty brother.

When he stopped in England with his mother on the decimated family's journey home, she sent him for that brief period to take lessons from the clergyman with whom James was studying,<sup>35</sup> ever aware of the fragmented education both were receiving. They could also be a solace to one another and talk of their father.

Willie "scarcely knew Jim," who had "grown so very tall and look[ed] much fatter than he used to."<sup>36</sup> They both had their daguerrotypes taken, as did Anna Whistler, by Kilburn (see Images 29–30; the whereabouts of the daguerreotype of Anna Whistler are unknown to me).<sup>37</sup> One of the few cultural events in London that Willie and Anna Whistler attended was the Royal Academy exhibition, where they saw James's portrait by William Boxall (see Images 28, 209).<sup>38</sup> Aunt Alicia (see Image 39) took the boys on a trip to Scotland.<sup>39</sup> They visited Preston, Liverpool, Fleetwood, and all the old haunts, saying what at that

difficult moment might have seemed permanent goodbyes to their relatives and friends.<sup>40</sup> On 29 July 1849 they sailed for home.

\* \* \*

The documentation for Willie's biography comes from the diaries and the family correspondence. Neither contains any mention of him as a pupil at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. The information in the Pennells' correspondence with the Academy, while surprising and confusing, revealed that perhaps Willie had also attended the Academy, and my own research in the Russian State Historical Archives in St. Petersburg and the Pennell–Whistler Papers at the Library of Congress showed that there was indeed documentation for this supposition.

## NOTES

1. John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, Paris. September 13th? 15th? 1845, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers.
2. Entry for June [1848], AWPDP, Part II. This single entry covers all of June. A.I. Shtukenberg recalls in his memoirs that Major Whistler visited him for the last time in Pen'kovo, accompanied by his little son (Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 516).
3. This and the following two quotations are from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [St. Petersburg] Monday morning Dec. 11<sup>th</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W371.
4. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Thursday. Sept. 30th Oct. 12th 1848. St. Petersburg, GUL: Whistler Collection, W364.
5. His slowness of speech and deliberateness of movement were described by Mrs. Leyland (Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, p. 105) and in his obituary (Obituary, William MacNeill Whistler, M.D., Senior Physician, London Throat Hospital, reprinted from the *British Medical Journal* [16 March 1900]: p. 3, GUL: Whistler Collection, W1021). Whether they were present in the child and adolescent is not supported by any manuscript or printed document I have consulted. I assume that as the quality of excitability was present in the young James, so slowness and deliberateness were features of the young Willie. Perhaps they were the result of a birth trauma.
6. Entry for Monday July 1<sup>st</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I.
7. Anna Whistler to George W. Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8th 1847. Steamer Nikolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353.
8. Anna Whistler to James Whistler S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg. Feb. 19<sup>th</sup> Monday eve [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383.
9. Anna Whistler to James Whistler S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg. Feb. 19<sup>th</sup> Monday eve [1849].
10. William Whistler to James Whistler, S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg 10<sup>th</sup> May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978. When Willie returned to St. Petersburg after having spent the night at Alexandrofsky, his father was dead.
11. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Sept. 30th Oct. 12th 1848. St. Petersburg, GUL: Whistler Collection, W364; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Sunday night November 5th 1848, W367.



12. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Wed. Dec. 13. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W373.
13. There was a rift between them for several years late in their lives (Pennell and Pennell, *Whistler Journal*, p. 254).
14. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Monday Oct 2<sup>nd</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W974.
15. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 737. Klassnyi zhurnal po chasti Inspektora na 1846, 1847 i 1848 god [Inspector's Class Journal for 1846, 1847 and 1848], fol. 20r; Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735 Spisok uchenikov Akademii Koim vydany biletu 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. 14v.
16. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734. Kniga o vydache biletov raznym litsam poseshchaiushchim Risoval'nye klassy IAKh za 1845 g. i 1846 g. [Book concerning the issuing of tickets to various persons attending drawing classes at the IAFA in 1845 and 1846], fol. 40r. On the inside cover it says: Spisok poseshchaiushchim raznogo zvaniia litsam Risoval'nye klassy Imp-skoi AKh o vydache onym dlia vkhoda v klassy biletov s ustanovlennoi platoi i proch. Za 1846 god. [List of persons of various callings attending drawing classes at the IAF, about the issuing of tickets to them for entrance to the classes, along with the established price, etc. For 1846].
17. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 736. Kniga adresov uchenikov Akademii 1846 g. [Book of Addresses of Academy Pupils for 1846], fol. 48r; Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 14v (see Note 15 above for document title).
18. Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 17v (see Note 15 above for document title).
19. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 737, fol. 20r and Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 14 (see Note 15 above for document titles). The entry for James and Willie in d. 735 reads "Uistler, Iakov, Villiam," but the 28th place is assigned to ticket holder No. 341, who was Willie.
20. RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 730. Èkzamennaia kniga za 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846 i 1847 g. Spisok Imp-skoi AKh uchenikov poluchivshikh N°N° za risunki po Èkzameni proiskhodiashchemu 3 Marta 1846 god. [Examination book for

1843, 1844, 1845, 1846 and 1847. List of IAFA pupils who have received numbers for their drawings in the examination taking place on 3 March [15 March NS] 1846], fol. 97v.

The documentation showing that Willie attended the Academy is confused and puzzling. The confusion arises when we consult the “Examination Book for 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846 and 1847,” which contains “List of IAFA pupils who have received numbers for their drawings in the examination taking place on 3 March (OS) 1846.” Of the fifty-two students (listed non-alphabetically by surname only from 1 to 52) who took the examination in the course “From Originals of Heads,” “Uistler” is rated “38.” There is thus in this document a discrepancy in the date of the examination (3 March [OS] instead of 2 March [OS]) and in the number received for the drawing (38 instead of 28). In this list “28” was received by the student named “Zubov.” Confusion could have been eliminated had each student’s class admission ticket number been noted down as well, but unfortunately it was not. If we compare a group (thirteen) from these fifty-two surnames with the same surnames listed in “The Inspector’s Class Journal for 1846, 1847 and 1848” for 2 March (OS) 1846, we find that the numbers they received for drawings coincide in both documents in the case of eight students, while in the case of five students, including Whistler, the numbers received for drawings do not coincide in both documents. Three of the five had a number which differed in each document. Two students received the same number in the class journal, but only one of them could and did receive that number in the list of fifty-two students, a decision probably made by the vice-president. The day of the examination and the evaluation of the drawing may have been changed, but, according to the records, the examinee was ticket holder No. 341, who was registered in the Academy in 1846, and he was William Whistler.

21. Deborah Haden to James Whistler, Riddings Derbyshire Saturday [September 15, 1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, H3. Saturday was 16 September.
22. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg friday afternoon Sept. 29th 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W362.
23. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, In my room. St. Petersburg. tuesday evening Sept. 26th 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W361; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Sept. 30th Oct. 12th 1848. St. Petersburg, W364.

24. Entry for Thursday evening 29<sup>th</sup> Oct. [1846], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
25. This and the quotations in the following three sentences are from Anna Whistler to Gen. Joseph G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept. 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
26. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, In the drawing room, with Willie on sofa Friday 22nd Dec. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W374.
27. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Nov. 27th 1848. 4 o'clock Monday afternoon , GUL: Whistler Collection, W369.
28. Anna Whistler to James Whistler. Thursday. Sept. 30th. Oct. 12, 1848 St. Petersburg, GUL: Whistler Collection, W364.
29. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Nov. 27th 1848. 4 o'clock Monday afternoon , GUL: Whistler Collection, W369.
30. This and the following sentence are from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Wed. Dec. 13th. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W373.
31. George W. Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Jan'y 6 / 18-[18]49, GUL: Whistler Collection, W660. In this letter, Major Whistler expressed quite forcefully to James how Willie ought to conduct himself.
32. This and the following sentence are from Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Wed. Dec. 13th. 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W373.
33. William Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg 19th Feb. [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W977.
34. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Monday evening Dec. 13th [OS] English Christmas Day [25 December NS] [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375.
35. William Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., Sloane Street, June 16th 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
36. William Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., Sloane Street, June 16th 1849.
37. Banta, "Portrait of an Artist as a Boy," p. 117; Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr. London, Monday 25 June 1849, LC: P-W, box 34. In this letter, Anna Whistler said: "Mr. Haden will take me [to Kilburn's studio], as you so flatteringly wish it & my boys too before we leave London."

38. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., London, Monday 25 June [1849], LC: P-W, box 34. In this letter, Anna Whistler does not say that she went to see Boxall's portrait of James, only that she gave her permission for James and Willie to go with Emma Maingay.
39. 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.
40. Anna Whistler to Joseph Harrison, Jr., 62 Sloane St., June 19, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34; Anna Whistler to Mrs. Harrison, 62 Sloane St, June 20th [1849]; Anna Whistler to Mr. & Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr., Fleetwood. Monday. July 15th 1849.

# THE ST. PETERSBURG DIARIES OF ANNA MCNEILL WHISTLER

## PART I: 1843–1844

S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg, November 28<sup>th</sup> 1843.

My arrival in this beautiful city was under such trying circumstances that I could not record the meeting with my dear husband when it took place as I should have done for my twin-Sisters<sup>1</sup> gratification. It is exactly two months to a day since then, & my mind has been so absorbed by anxiety while watching over my darling Jemmie & Willie<sup>2</sup> whose health has alternately suffered from the effects of this climate & I have myself been often ill, & too much depressed to write when I had leisure, but I am spurred on to make the exertion to begin a journal now, on reflecting that however trifling the events of my home, they may be interesting to review in after years, at all events to my little boys, the training of whom is my sweetest employment. This evening I am alone, their Sister at an opposite neighbours<sup>3</sup> & their father<sup>4</sup> gone to sit with Mr Fair....<sup>5</sup> who is very sick. My James & Willie tho only 9 and 7 years old will never forget our voyage across the Atlantic last August, for the twelve days spent on board the Acadia<sup>6</sup> from Boston was a term of novelties & delights for them, they were such brave sailors that not even the shock we all felt (when the night after we left Halifax we run down a Barque) terrified them & when they made the acquaintance of the crew of that vessel which our Capt had taken on board just in time to save these 14 poor fellows from sinking in their own<sup>7</sup> — they were so eager to relate to me all the particulars of the adventures that I doubt not they felt like heroes themselves. Fondly does their poor mother now recal all those days! — when surrounded by her diminished family circle, & while thankful for present comforts — misses sadly her dear George<sup>8</sup> who has returned to our native land — & weeps over her loss of little Charlie<sup>9</sup> tho she knows he is a bright angel in heaven & she would not wish him again in this world of sin & trial — yet the sad void made by

the death of this darling can never be filled to his fond mother, his 2<sup>nd</sup> anniversary was passed on board the Acadia the 27<sup>th</sup> of last August. “Charlie is two years old” he was so pleased to repeat to all who asked how old he was — he spoke so distinctly & had so many original ideas, that but for his fragile form & delicacy of skin so very infantine — he would have been thought older, he used to enjoy playing on deck as much as his two seniors Jemie & Willie, for his own kind nurse Mary<sup>10</sup> watched him & he was always happy if she were only by his side. I musn’t linger, but tell of our arrival in Liverpool at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1843.<sup>11</sup> & of the kind welcome we found at dear M<sup>rs</sup> Sandlands<sup>12</sup> to whose house we immediately went. she has since recalled (in a sympathising letter<sup>13</sup> to me) my Charlies remark as he watched her knitting “I remember Grandmother” he said in his gentle fond tones! Oh we shall never forget *him*! It would be quite impossible to describe the meeting with my Sisters,<sup>14</sup> especially the arrival of myself & children at Preston, my Sister Eliza’s face spoke volumes & she said there had not been such perfect satisfaction as hers, since Josephs welcoming his father & family in Egypt!<sup>15</sup> How much the weather combined to add to my enjoyment on revisiting England & meeting so many old friends after an absence of 14 years! I admired the perfect verdure of the green fields hills & valleys (even as much as I had Niagaras green wave when I gazed on it last June)<sup>16</sup> bright sunshine attended us every day, & my soul was filled with wonder & with adoration that God should thus distinguish us with such unclouded happiness. James & Willie played in their good Uncle Winstanleys<sup>17</sup> garden, or went with the little sons of M<sup>r</sup> Chapman<sup>18</sup> to ride on their donkey. My precious darling Charlie had his morning or afternoon strolls with his nurse Mary. his sweet voice was the first sound that attracted me at the hour of day. he would come in by himself to say good morning to his dear mother & stand by my window peeping out thro the blind to discover what was passing in Fishergate St.<sup>19</sup> & when I was dressed I carried him in my arms to the drawing room where he would point his tiny finger to a beautiful painting over the mantle piece (of Miss Maudes)<sup>20</sup> & say “Mama theres Raphael”.<sup>21</sup> Sometime he would stand at the head of the stairs where the full length portrait of *Mary Maclean*<sup>22</sup> hung in a vestibule & pointing to it say “theres the “Scotch beauty” it looks like Cozey Mary.

Cozey Julie!<sup>23</sup> The first drive we had, my dear Sister would take *all* the children, our friends M<sup>rs</sup> Sandland & her Eliza<sup>24</sup> being on a visit to her, were with us, so that the carriage was full & Charlies nurse was left at home, even tho seated on his mothers lap, his affection for Mary induced the little darling to miss *her* & before our afternoons drive was over to say “I wonder what Mary is doing! “Charlie must go home to Mary”! Oh how much intelligence this *baby* discovered! & he was so gentle so full of love I ought to have been warned that he was ripening for the skies — but he seemed to be improving in health & I flattered myself as his difficulties in teething were over he would become stout & Oh how often I fancied the delight his father would take in “Kirkies<sup>25</sup> own Charlie” as that little sainted brother used to call the baby — Charlie was no longer a baby, he did not fancy toys, but delighted in flowers, & his *hymn book* — as he called the nursery rhymes — was in his hand always, for he even took it to bed with him, Even ere we had left Stonington he had distinguished the Lords day & used to say “not to pay drum on Sunday” & he never omitted repeating the Lords prayer after Mary any night or morning, he discovered a remarkable fondness for music “Sissee pay for Charlie” then would lead Debo to the piano & ask for “Lucy Long”<sup>26</sup> Sometimes if he heard her hum a familiar air he would call it by name & add “come Sissee play that for Charlie” Friends flocked daily to my Sisters hospitable mansion to see us, for our visit was to be too brief to admit of our making many excursions — my boys used to ask their Aunts “who were to dine *that* day, or who coming to stay longer to see Mother!” but one morning we rose early enough to ride twelve miles to breakfast at Ribchester.<sup>27</sup> dear Jane Simpson<sup>28</sup> was with us. Aunt Eliza. Aunt Alicia & the three little boys. Never, never can I forget that happy morning! I loved the dear family at the parsonage<sup>29</sup> & felt it a privilege to take *my children* to visit them. How beautiful the valley of the Ribble looked as we gazed at it from the top of the rising ground just as we approached Ribchester! <sup>30</sup> How gratifying our welcome from the excellent M<sup>r</sup> Hazlewood,<sup>31</sup> his dear wife<sup>32</sup> & children!<sup>33</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Hazlewood wept as she embraced me for at that moment her grief for the loss of her Elizabeth revived, that sweet girl had been my pet when I was last in England, but when she attained her 17<sup>th</sup> year God called her to her heavenly inheritance, she died last July,<sup>34</sup> & had given so many evidences

of her love for her Saviour that we ought to rejoice that she was released from sufferings here & so soon gathered to His fold, her mother only whispered me "I wish I could have shewn her to you!" After breakfast I went up stairs to put my darling Charlie to sleep, & while afterwards I walked with my friend & listened to all the interesting particulars of her Elizabeths life & death, he was being refreshed by a mornings nap. I felt while talking with M<sup>rs</sup> H how "good to be here! my affections became elevated as her devotion glowed in her words "Is it not comforting to reflect on the love of our Heavenly Father? Is it not delightful to think that He gives his Angels charge of us & tho they are invisible to us we are continually surrounded by them?" She spoke of the Coming of Christ of his 2<sup>nd</sup> Advent<sup>35</sup> as an event full of blessedness. Oh I felt if we all could make our intercourse with friends thus profitable, if every visiter was so fed with heavenly food! the hours flew as we walked & opened our hearts to each other, but we went into the old church with its fine old carved pulpit & richly colored glass windows,<sup>36</sup> so different to any my boys had seen we could hardly get them out but, Catherine H loom was even more interesting & novel to James who wove very readily. this sweet young girl only 12 years of age, weaves as a pastime that she may clothe the poor, she reminded me of her Sister Elizabeth, & may she become indeed like her. Every day of the fortnight spent under my dear brother Winstanleys roof was so precious, each is recorded on my memory, but I cannot write of each, his good Sister M<sup>rs</sup> Ainslie<sup>37</sup> died the last Sunday we were in Preston, she was a true christian, her "good works do follow her"<sup>38</sup> but her hopes in her Saviour alone made her so happy in her death, she had never murmured at her sufferings during two years, (from cancer), but was thro her illness, as she had been thro life, an example to us all. her funeral was to take place the very day we took the Cars for London. The kind Ormerods<sup>39</sup> who had been so untiring in their proofs of regard for us spent the day but one at my brothers half promising to come again to say good bye thus to avoid the pain of it in reality. My dear Sister Alicia had made up her mind to accompany us to London, at prayers that morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> of Sept my sister Elizas voice faltered & my tears fell silently. My brother Winny<sup>40</sup> had found an excuse for taking the early train for Liverpool, to avoid seeing us go from his house. My heart was full of sorrow & I



followed him with my darling Charlie who ran after “Unc Winstanley for one more embrace. I think now I can see his little form tottering on the gravel walk, in his eagerness to reach that kind uncle — whom he was to be no longer with in this world! The only showery day we had in England was during our journey to London, which rendered it pleasanter. When we stopped our old friend M<sup>r</sup> Stevenson<sup>41</sup> was at the depot waiting to welcome me with a letter from my beloved Whistler. We found our lodging commodious & retired at Kents in Norfolk St Strand —<sup>42</sup> And I experienced more than ever the disinterested affection of my Sister Alicia, she took James & Willie to be her bed fellows & was unbounded in her indulgence to the little trio during that pleasant week. To M<sup>r</sup> Ralston<sup>43</sup> I am under great obligations for advising & aiding us in our arrangements for proceeding to my husband — And the attentions we received from D<sup>r</sup> Bootts<sup>44</sup> family were as unexpected as gratifying, the dear old lady his mother<sup>45</sup> was many times at our lodgings offering to take us to the Parks<sup>46</sup> &c. One afternoon my sister & self availed ourselves of her carriage & took the boys to the Zoological Gardens,<sup>47</sup> how delighted little Charlie was in Aunt Alicias arms, or running sometimes himself along the walks, he made many smile when he clapped his hands with delight at the Giraffes & called them pretty Peacocks. We spent another afternoon at M<sup>r</sup> Stevensons, all of us staid to tea even our little one for his nurse also could find a welcome there, I observed with pain the weight of a dozen years of sorrow upon dear M<sup>r</sup> & S Stevenson,<sup>48</sup> her Eliza<sup>49</sup> is now what she was beautiful & attractive Debo & she soon became fond of each other, Bell<sup>50</sup> the family nurse could scarcely look at any of the group for little Charlies fondness for his Mary carried her back to auld lang syne when she had been as blessed by the little Stevensons endearments, but even Frankey<sup>51</sup> the youngest had grown to be so great a lad he has a situation from home so that only Miss Eliza remains. We were glad again to find the Poizats<sup>52</sup> in London, they had been such acquisitions to us on board the Acadia, when they called upon us little Charlie recognized them immediately & went up to M<sup>r</sup> Poizat holding out his hand for him to put Cologne water upon it. At last we were obliged to bid adieu to dear Aunt Alicia & take the Steamer for Hamburg.<sup>53</sup> she sat up all that night & I most of it talking with that kind Sister. The children were aroused before dawn, my darling

baby seemed at once to understand he was going to “father” for he was not the least peevish at being disturbed, tho Mary could not persuade him there was no time to say Charlies prayers - she found it was best to gratify him & let him kneel as usual & repeat the Lords prayer - As the boatmen rowed us down the Thames by lamplight & starlight how charmed this bright little creature was! And when we descended the ladies cabin on board the John Bull from the Wherry<sup>54</sup> he continued to tell us that “Charlie was wide awake” which I feared might disturb any passengers who might wish to sleep, but one of the ladies said the next day, how amused she was to hear such a baby talk. My darling continued well during the trip to Hamburg & the few hours we spent at the Hotel<sup>55</sup> in that city he was no trouble, but always a source of joy — George obtained two carriages for us as we were to travel all night, most comfortable they were — Never in my life have I enjoyed a ride as much as ours that night, I felt too happy to wish to close my eyes, my children all around me, all in health, & going to their father. Oh I often pondered on the mercies I felt I so little deserved & wondered from what quarter the black cloud would arise when the change should come — The road was fine, the stars shone so brightly I could see many interesting pictures of Denmark.<sup>56</sup> We stopped very frequently under large sheds to bait the horses<sup>57</sup> & many toll bars too there were. Willies nights rest was unbroken but James & little Charlie were as bright as the stars, & had so much to point out to Mother! George got out at one of the little Inns & procured us coffee & cakes at midnight, the best I almost ever tasted — The Entrance to Lubec<sup>58</sup> is very pretty, it was early dawn when our carriages stopped out side the gates of the town till our passports were inspected when we were allowed to pass thro without much detention. At the hotel in Lubec we made our toilette & breakfasted, my darling ate his bread & milk with relish & took a refreshing nap until we were summoned at Noon to take the stage for Travemunde. As we rode I watched all my family group, he the picture of health sleeping in the arms of his sleeping nurse. Our dear George was to bid us adieu at the Steamer Alexandra.<sup>59</sup> We were threatened at first with opposition to my taking my boys into the Ladies Cabin & a State room appropriated to us in the forward Cabin, but it seemed too solitary for us, & especially as I had a dread of meeting a storm on the Baltic<sup>60</sup> this being the 22<sup>nd</sup> of Sept. Ah

how well it proved that we were not separated from the other lady passengers — whose sympathy & kindness I can never forget. At last the trial came of parting from our dear George. Willie was almost heartbroken & for two hours was inconsolable. When little Charlie observed my grief he said “Mary ! brother George gone! Mama cry! poor brother George, Charlie wants him back again” We exerted ourselves for each others sake & Debo & I took James & Willie to dinner table – when I returned from the saloon having left my baby apparently well I consented to walk the deck with Debo for an hour to cheer her knowing how much she needed it on losing sight of George who had been of such comfort to us on our former voyages. When I went back to the Ladies Cabin I observed with astonishment Charlies quietness. Mary then told me he had refused to eat & seemed sea sick, but we both hoped it would soon pass & relieve him. I took him to my own bosom for whenever he felt ill Charlie was most comfortable in his mothers arms, that night he never left them except to try change of position in the berth in hopes he might sleep, but no he did not close his eyes, I administered powders once or twice put up for him by his good Uncle Palmer<sup>61</sup> & which in all other attacks had benefitted this precious child, I must not omit in the evening when Mary would have lain her darling in the berth to pat him to sleep he tried to kneel down first to say “Charlies prayers” supporting himself by holding to the sides of it, “Charlie is too sick to kneel down, say them in bed” which he did clasping his little hands together as he was wont & repeating every word, it was the last time in his little life here below! tho he expressed the same wish again the next night. The next morning was Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup>, the symptoms of illness had increased, the little patient never murmured, but could retain no medicine, the last dose I administered he said gently “Most done, no more medi Mama for Charlie *if you please*” Debo was much concerned for her little favorite brother & longed for a physician, I knew that God alone could bless the means & I felt comfort in believing in His presence Once sweet Charlie turned & said “Sissee” as tho he would like to prove he loved her but he went not from his mother even to Mary, till she had gone to her berth on Sunday night, when I put him in her arms in hopes her warmth would impart some to him, his extremities had become so clammy! I walked the cabin with him after all had retired for the nausea distressed him, at

last laid down wrapping myself around him to try to warm him, he put his cold little hands in my bosom saying “Charlies *own*, mama” but neither he or I closed our eyes from the moment we first embarked, as my baby neither fretted or moaned I was only aware of his increased sufferings by his struggles & starting out of the berth with him flew into the deserted cabin, my sobs aroused Debo from her berth & her cries of distress brought out all the ladies, the steward too ran in & as the kindest act he supposed was to conceal the agonies of death from a mothers eyes he hastily put out the light, but soon restored the lamp upon my pleading for it. A warm bath too he had ready in a few moments & I put my darling in it supposing he was threatened with a fit, as one of the ladies hinted it might be from his teeth. I cut his gums myself for none other was there to do it & God gave me strength in that hour or surely nature could not have supported it. Never shall I forget the look of fond recognition from my dying babys eyes & as<sup>62</sup> held him in my arms in the warm bath which evidently relieved him. I wrapped his little body in a blanket which the compassionate Stewardess tho she could not speak a word of English handed me, & sat down gazing on the angelic expression of my Charlie for now I realized that his mild eyes could not long be turned to his poor mother, mine were rivetted till his were glazed by death. I pressed my lips in agony to his fair beautiful brow, then gave up that precious body to stranger hands as they besought me & went to my state room to break the sad tidings to poor Mary whom no one had awakened, Oh how my heart bled as she uttered the grief my lips refused! And deploring her desolation I comforted her if I might with assurances of my love for her for Charlies sake who had loved her so much & for whose sake she had come so far from her own dearest ties.<sup>63</sup> May she meet him to be separated no more! And may the lessons taught us by this “little one” shine still on our path, tho dead he yet speaketh, little Charlie could not be persuaded to go to his bed or to rise from it without kneeling down to pray to God in the words which Jesus himself taught us to use, little Charlie distinguished Sunday & may his brothers remember the lesson I tried to draw from the sad event when I told them of their loss the next morning, that God had called this second little brother to a better world on the sabbath day to impress their minds solemnly on its return every week to keep it holy. Kirkie had left them

for heaven on a beautiful Sabbath morning only a year ago last July, his hands clasped in prayer & his bright eyes raised in extacy as tho he saw what we could not - angelic messengers! his last words were "Mother I want to go to heaven" & now "Kirkies own Charlie" as he used to call the baby whom he loved so peculiarly! had joined him on the hallowed evening of the sabbath, how blissful the meeting of these two pure spirits! Jesus has assured us "of such is the kingdom of heaven"<sup>64</sup> little Charlie lost his Kirkie when he was not quite a year old, so he could not remember his beautiful brother of four years old, but his fondness for his miniature<sup>65</sup> was very remarkable & under any circumstances it was preferred by him to any thing that could be offered, he would kiss it many times, call the picture "Charlies own Kirkies" & hug it to his breast. And now they are *forever* together! happy beyond our conception. Oh may we so live that they may welcome us to where all tears shall be wiped from our eyes! I will not wring my heart by recording the sad task which I aided Mary to perform, but it was a privilege for me to hold him the next morning in my arms while she fondly arranged his beautiful ringlets in the vain hope that his father might look upon him even tho he could not speak to tell how much Charlie had loved him. his precious corpse occupied that lovely forward cabin which it had been proposed our family should have for the voyage, & poor Mary & I used to visit it every day, indeed she could not go to her berth at night till she saw her beloved charged<sup>66</sup> & thus assured herself nothing could harm the body she still loved. The fourth morning after my babys death we were at Cronstadt<sup>67</sup> & then I heard it was prohibited taking any corpse to St Petersburg & I must submit to leaving this that seemed indeed a part of myself at Cronstadt but it would be placed in the sanctuary - in the English church<sup>68</sup> - I was wound up to endure all that combined to deepen my distress without uttering complaint. knowing that our Heavenly Father ordered all this chastening for my good. Ah how clouded was my joy at the approaching meeting with my dear husband! My boys were continually exclaiming at the brilliant objects which presented, as we sailed up the Neva, each clinging to their new acquaintance the young count Strauganauf<sup>69</sup> who was so indulgent as to answer all their questions about the gilded spires, domes, &c. At last when our Steamer stopped at the English quay, I having once more to encounter the

officers of the customs went into the Cabin to shew our passport, on returning to the deck I heard Whistlers voice calling Jemmie for most tantalizing case! he was not permitted to go on board to meet & welcome us - but at length after another officer had stopped me about our passport, we stepped ashore & my dear husbands happiness was complete, none but God knows the weight of sorrow at my heart to think I must so soon embitter his joy. I dreaded his turning round to look after the children as he did often, at last he seemed to wonder what our nurse had done with him he looked in vain for, but as he would begin with "where is the little one, I abruptly stopped by begging him not to ask me any questions till he could do so at home, he must have seen agony depicted on my countenance & he has since told me his heart sunk as [*sic*] the dreadful thought that our baby had by some fearful accident found a watery grave, I will not linger at the Custom house<sup>70</sup> for it was truly harrassing to stop there while our trunks were rudely overhauled,<sup>71</sup> however we were more civilly treated than at first promised & soon after Whistlers friend M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell<sup>72</sup> came there & was introduced to Debo & I, he very kindly offered to stay with Mary thro the rest of the examination, then Whistler gladly drove us home our St — the Galernia — being the very next back of the English quay. I felt much overcome, yet Oh so grateful as I viewed our comfortable home.<sup>73</sup> A fine ship offering to sail for Boston<sup>74</sup> our kind friend Major Bouttatz<sup>75</sup> went the very next day to Cronstadt, had the precious body put in a leaden coffin & sent back to its native land, which was a cause of thankfulness to Whistler & myself that it might be placed in the same grave with our Kirkie, in the same enclosure with our sainted boys Joe & Henry.<sup>76</sup> This climate was detrimental to my recovery for some weeks & my dear James & Willie were ill by turns from the effect of the Neva water, so that my cares did not cease, but I had such a desire to aid & comfort my dear husband who had I knew anticipated such, after his years exile from us. I tried to appear cheerful, I encountered fewer difficulties in housekeeping than I had expected too in the great Russian capital, found every convenience in our kitchens, pantries &c, the servants<sup>77</sup> speak some English, & Mary such a comfort to me! The weather was thro Oct very delightful, occasionally the Neva rose & the guns were fired to warn the inhabitants on the islands to be on their

guard against an inundation! but we were not alarmed tho one day the water run thro our S<sup>t</sup> from the river. We are blessed in excellent neighbours M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Ropes<sup>78</sup> from Boston (who has the only American mercantile establishment here) he even insisted upon having our dinners cooked for us the first few days, & in every particular has evinced interest in his Yankee acquaintances. M<sup>rs</sup> R a nice young English lady with two nice little girls,<sup>79</sup> she proves a superior musician, & many times herself & our Debo practised duetts, alternately at either home, until on the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month M<sup>r</sup> R came over for us to rejoice with him in the birth of a third little daughter!<sup>80</sup> Winter kept off till about that time, the river closed suddenly & we have had snow almost every day. I have felt no wish to go out, but had to make the effort occasionally to return calls with Debo. Our fellow passengers M<sup>rs</sup> Nichol Baird<sup>81</sup> & her sister Miss Kremmer<sup>82</sup> were among the first who left cards for us, they are exceedingly intellectual and agreeable, & as I associate with them all their sympathy & kind attentions in my affliction I always am glad to see them. they are Germans but speak English perfectly, the Bairds are a rich English family<sup>83</sup> here — One of the first ladies who came to see me was M<sup>rs</sup> Hirst,<sup>84</sup> as her sister to whom I had brought a letter from Preston<sup>85</sup> was too great an invalid, I was also much inclined to make a friend of this English lady but my Willies illness made me unwilling to go out & after his recovery my own health was so feeble I have not yet returned that pleasant call. One day it is true Debo & I were just ready to step into a carriage to ride to M<sup>rs</sup> Hirsts when strange to tell our lad Alexander<sup>86</sup> who had never refused before to do any thing we required — refused to act footman, the carriage was dismissed & alas poor Alex in 1/2 an hour after, to the grief of Jemmie who was teaching him English — & to my vexation too, for now I had all the annoyance of teaching Maurice<sup>87</sup> the duties of butler &c. About that very time too we had a new Dwanick<sup>88</sup> so that poor Mary used to be perplexed how to tell these two foreigners the work of the house. but our cook<sup>89</sup> who is uncommonly good natured & speaks english left her duties whenever necessary to interpret for us. Our Crate of China, boxes of books, silver, Harp &c had to be unpacked by Mary with our aid, really we were almost in despair about our new Dwanick he was so like a bear, had not long been in S<sup>t</sup> P & never in a decent house before, he used to smoke us out when he lit the peeches,<sup>90</sup>

every step he took shewed his dirty boot, & Debo complained of the smell of his sheep skin, & Whistler declared he would pay him his months wages & send poor Fritz<sup>91</sup> off. Another immediately was recommended but within the last few days after his successor was engaged, Fredric improved so astonishingly, he was up at five! the house thoroughly warmed before we left our rooms, we began to feel very sorry to think of turning the poor fellow off especially as cook told me he had left a young wife & child in the country & was trying to earn a subsistence for them. At length the newly engaged Dwanick came, new coat passport &c to enter our service, he was a nice looking fellow, but Whistlers sympathies were excited for poor Fritz, who was aghast when made to comprehend he was to be displaced, to reconcile him, my kind husband gave him his choice of 25 rubles in addition to his months wages to go - or, but he saw the tears flowing over his rough cheeks & consented to keep him — now what to do with the new candidate who had left a situation & bought a new coat to serve us — Whistler bought his coat & gave it to Fritz as an inducement to keep himself clean, & payed the other a months wages to find another place with. How glad we all felt at tea to hear this negociation was ended & our poor Dwanick retained. I hope he may prove a rough diamond, for he is very industrious & good natured, keeps every place under his care very nice now & as he wears his new coat now & has learned the way to the bath looks always tidy himself. I hear him sometimes practising english words, “good, instead of “harasho” —<sup>92</sup> this last word reminds me that I have not yet assigned a place in my narrative to one of my earliest acquaintances in St Petersburg, a poor little mendicant who so generally expresses his satisfaction by Harasho when we give him bread or money that I could almost mistake that for his name instead of Andrea,<sup>93</sup> whom our boys are so glad to see come up the back stairs & find his way to the parlor where he knows he is welcome for tho not more than three years old he has been a pensioner of my dear husband some months. Whistler was first attracted to poor little — Andrea in the arms of his degraded looking mother — by his resemblance to our departed Kirkie, his sparkling black eyes & remarkable forehead, — but on giving the poor woman money, she touched the pavement with her brow & kissed his feet before he could stop her, afterwards when he encountered them, he



made signs that she should go into the yard, & it used to be a sad satisfaction to him to take the child to his own room & seat it on his knee, for he had provided for its coming clean to him, so these mendicants fell to my care, the first time I went down to see the mother & gave her money & food she kissed my feet ere I was aware of the custom here, it is so painful to me I always now send her any trifle by Mary or my little boys, but Andrea has not a cringing nature, he always comes up to shake hands with me & seems to feel at perfect liberty to play with Willie while his poor mother waits below in her sheep skin, till he takes her the 25 Kopeeks silver<sup>94</sup> which he always expects for her. he is a noble looking child & Oh that a way may be opened for us to serve him more effectually than by temporary relief. he looks so like our own bright eyed Kirkie, especially in a little plaid coat Willie has outgrown, which Andrea wears. Recalling incidents for the past two months I do so very irregularly. I should earlier have mentioned having had the comfort of hearing several times from home & of course I have had some enjoyment in answering these precious letters & in writing to my dear sisters in England. By one mail I was delighted to receive a package of papers the Christian Witness,<sup>95</sup> but the postage was so frightful about \$28 on 1/2 doz papers I did not think it right to open them as coming to the Legation they could decline receiving what they had not ordered. Our Ambassador Col Todd<sup>96</sup> has been very polite to us, soon after our arrival he returned from Sweden<sup>97</sup> where he had been making an excursion of pleasure, & called immediately to welcome his country women to St P. Indeed we occupy Boberinskys House,<sup>98</sup> which was his quarters, & here Whistler had apartments (which he now lets to M<sup>r</sup>. Maxwell being on the ground floor)<sup>99</sup> until the gallant Col gave up the house,<sup>100</sup> which we hire ready furnished at about \$18.00 per ann<sup>101</sup> — The Col has been extremely polite in offering us the use of his carriage & four greys! I had been out only two or three times except to church the first month after our arrival, but one very fine day he called & offered to shew us the Winter Palace,<sup>102</sup> of course Debo wished to go & as Whistler had never been thro it he consented to accompany us, so I had a strong inducement to overcome my disinclination to going into the gay quarter of this showy city. I was very much gratified by all shewn us. The situation of the Palace is very advantageous fronting the Alexandre

Square — thro which we approached it from the Nevski — on one side & the Neva on the other, where we entered it<sup>103</sup>, the view upon the river is beautiful, the old fortress & church with its gilded spire on the opposite side very imposing,<sup>104</sup> & all the buildings in the vicinity of the palace being being [*sic*] palaces, splendid barracks & also the Admiralty<sup>105</sup> in the next square which is noble in its dimension & style of architecture there are no gloomy contrasts, but all speak of the prosperous reign of the Emperor Nicholas.<sup>106</sup> I was not astonished at the magnificence within his Winter Palace tho the Stair case<sup>107</sup> appeared to me the grandest I had ever ascended & the suites of rooms of every splendid variety, but I was surprised at the freshness of every thing, the *perfect neatness* delighted me.<sup>108</sup> Whistler & I whispered each other how much we should have enjoyed taking our dear Jemmie thro so many attractive objects, he wished so much to be of the party! & we hope another year to have the satisfaction of hearing our dear boys remarks on the palace, but the Imperial family having come to town for the Winter<sup>109</sup> there will be no chance till they move out to Sarscanello<sup>110</sup> again. I have forgotten to mention that soon after the Cols return from Sweden he attended the royal baptism at Sarscanello, on Sunday 23<sup>rd</sup> of Oct,<sup>111</sup> the sons of the Grand Duke Alexander,<sup>112</sup> who is the Emperors eldest son, there was a partial illumination thro St Petersburg, our boys begged to sit up to look at it tho it was Sunday night, but it was so paltry (only lamps on the pavement) they were soon tired of it & willing to go to my room as usual for me to read the scriptures to them before kissing them for good night. And now as I am continuing to make up for lost time, in Dec<sup>113</sup> I will mention that last friday & Saturday being the 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> according to our style but the 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> Nov by Russian calculation of time, they were anniversaries here not to be forgotten, the Greek churches all had solemn services in commemoration of the death of the late Emperor Alexander<sup>114</sup> on friday, & the next day was a holiday, for 18 years ago the present Emperor had been acknowledged, <sup>115</sup> there was an illumination of the Sts in the evening. The weather has been very variable notwithstanding Winter was so tardy in its approach & so suddenly locked every thing in its icy grasp, we have had two thorough thaws already, our dear boys have lost their pond & their ice hill from our yard for the present, the carts which frequently go round to take away snow

or dirt from enclosures or streets, had alarmed James for the safety of his winter sports, but the attentive Feodore had always smoothed away all traces of wheels, & had swept their pond daily, we used to watch our dear boys with delight from our double-windows,<sup>116</sup> especially when little Willie took his first lessons in skating, he soon moved with as much ease as his *Master* Jemie on his skates & we did not wonder at their chagrin when the thaw came I have much to record for it is now after Christmas,<sup>117</sup> weather has continued variable, tho thro all the thaws the Neva has continued solid, & the Sleds have always had enough snow to run upon the middle of the streets, from the labour bestowed thro the vigilance of the police who make it a point that the dvanic of each house does his proportion of cleaning & levelling the snow from the side walks to the middle of the street, thus the walking is always good, for the instant snowing ceases it is cleared from the side walk & if slippery sand is sprinkled, & if a thaw during the day threatens uneven sledge drives, the ruts are filled up by the poor Dvanics<sup>118</sup> before the nights frost hardens them.<sup>119</sup> Certainly the long reign of winter in this capital is rendered very endurably [*sic*] by the precautions used, wrapped in our Shubes<sup>120</sup> we are in a glow when we walk or ride tho the cold may be 12 deg — And our houses are so thoroughly heated by means of Peeches, that we sleep comfortably upon mattresses under one blanket — We hear that some winters when the cold is 30 deg & that hardy bird the crow falls dead from the severity of the atmosphere, even furs fail to protect. We observe a multitude of doves about the caves of public building [*sic*], indeed in all our walks they cross our path, they are secured from destruction, from being held sacred birds. I never<sup>121</sup> so many birds in Winter!

My dear boys will remember their fathers first absence<sup>122</sup> from home since our arrival, just before Christmas, for it was a cold evening when he set out in a covered sled<sup>123</sup> with M<sup>r</sup> Trouvellier<sup>124</sup> for Col Melnakoffs camp<sup>125</sup> & we had some little stir to prepare, he had a sledge ride that night of 80 miles & gave us the joyful surprise of breakfast with us the next day but one, having travelled both nights to shorten his absence from home. That day of his return being 22<sup>nd</sup> of Dec I availed myself of M<sup>r</sup> Ropes offer & sallied forth in quest of Christmas gifts for my dear boys, & deposited a precious lock of our darling Charlies hair at

a German jewellers<sup>126</sup> to have a brooche made for his own Mary, knowing it would be more acceptable than any present I could make her. On coming out of a confectioners in the Galernia<sup>127</sup> I saw Debo in a Sled with her dear father on their way to the English Magazine,<sup>128</sup> they had a plot to surprise me which I did not suspect, I wished to give my boys a merry Christmas, but only anticipated the satisfaction of gratifying them in observing this anniversary. I hoped no one would wish me a *merry* Xmas! Debo & I arranged the Russian pictures<sup>129</sup> bon bons &c for her little brothers in the Chancery, which no one was to enter till after breakfast. Very early their light spirits were in full flow awakening Mary-Sister - Father- Mother! too happy to realize our diminished family circle, reaching their stocking where Santa Clause had deposited sweets, after their toilettes were completed, they did not as usual pass thro my dressing-room on their way to the parlor to study their Scripture lessons till prayers, but staid in Sisters room - very mysteriously - how full of glee they seemed during breakfast! And when at last we led them to the Chancery to discover what Santa Clause had brought them their anticipations were all realized, the games just what they liked — & the little chairs just what they needed — but I really believe *my surprise* in the form of a most beautiful rose-wood Escrotoire<sup>130</sup> (which they had been privy to — for their names were signed under their dear Sisters in the affectionate note<sup>131</sup> which she presented with it to me) was more acceptable to them than their own gifts from me. their dear father took an ivory pen handle inlaid with silver with a card of gold pens from the complete Escrotoire & presented it to his grateful Annie as his own peculiar gift. I was much overcome! to think I should have been singled out as the favored one o[f] the family group! I longed to relieve my full heart by tears, for I dared not attemp[t] my thanks in words, lest I should weep as I kissed each dear one whose fore thought had made me happier than I believed it possible on this day — for busy memory mourned the absence of George, & made painfully visible the many broken links in our family group. But as I earnestly desired to contribute to the happiness of these left me, I courted the influence of happy childhood & smothered my sad reflections Debo took the boys over to M<sup>r</sup> Ropes to present some trifles to their nursery & as she staid to play some duetts with a Miss Mengies,<sup>132</sup> her father & I excused her to Col Todd when he

called in his Sled — with four greys postillion, veils footman & all to take a Christmas drive with her, we invited him to dinner but he was engaged at Mr Gs<sup>133</sup> where we had declined going because I would not leave my boys on Christmas day. We had four American friends<sup>134</sup> to join us in roast turkey pumpkin pies &c. After the dessert while we were all still seated at table Willie & James spoke some french fables very prettily which they had prepared to surprise their father with. Jemmie had not committed all the lines upon the Solar System to memory<sup>135</sup> as he had intended, but Willie gave us an english peice in so touching a manner that his father said it was very pathetic. It was written by our countryman the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr Hawks “Give us this day our daily bread.”<sup>136</sup> I had said to Debo in the morning I thought she would have her offering from across the brook — American letters! They arrived early in the evening by the Steamer which left Boston on the 1<sup>st</sup> We had much to be grateful for, our dear George had written & the dear girls at Stonington<sup>137</sup> also, but his was a farewell & it wrung sorrow from his fathers heart, what else could sustain us under such a trial but trust in God, who over-rules all the events of our lives for good “tho clouds & darkness surround His throne”<sup>138</sup> mercy is His prevailing attribute. Our affectionate tender George compelled to leave his native land to embark on a whole years cruise for health, with only strangers on board the ship Lausanne<sup>139</sup> his uncle the Gen<sup>l</sup><sup>140</sup> had written us an hour after our dear boy had left New York to say George had left in good spirits, well supplied with books — among them that best of all the word of God — I could have whispered to my husband “Oh can you not trust him to God whose presence on the great deep will comfort & sustain our beloved Son” but I felt that sympathy with his sorrow then would be best received, & wept silently with him, tho we talked nearly the night thro of our dear George. My solace is in prayer for this most dutiful Son & I have the hope that all which now seems against him shall by Gods blessing result in, *enduring* benefits. It comforts me now to recal all Georges amiable qualities, how devoted a Son to me he has been! ~~to me~~ especially after his dear father left Springfield — And during our voyage across the Atlantic, all this will cheer me until we meet again & *his promise* too to apply himself to the study of the Scriptures & to join himself to the Saviours little band of followers now, in the days of his youth. Upon my pillow I recal all our

conferences on this subject & trust that George never forgets his mother in his prayers. We may not hear of our dear boy in many months, but God is with him. We heard by the same Steamer that the Middlesex with our precious Charlies remains had reached Boston — And that my beloved mother was on her way to Florida<sup>141</sup> — We are indeed a scattered family, but if our interests are beyond the reach of change our hearts must ever be united. I began writing my dear neice Julia on the 26<sup>th</sup> her 18<sup>th</sup> Anniversary & enjoyed writing at my own complete escrotoire. Whistler looked so gratified while he pretended to laugh at my childish fondness for my beautiful desk — I never was in possession of any thing I prized so much & to use the nice pen he gave me was quite charming. As I sat alone in the parlor on Thursday night<sup>142</sup> it was a temptation to scribble, for he & Debo were playing upon piano & flute in the next room. At 11 oclock I put my escrotoire away in the study to preserve it from dust while the parlor should be cleaned early in the morning. And when it was not in its place the next morning I suspected no evil but rather thought my dear Whistler might have removed it to his Chancery as he had much writing to do & my gold pens were so excellent. thus I lost some hours, for until he confessed himself as ignorant as the children & myself of what had become of their Christmas gift to their mother, I did not commence my investigation<sup>143</sup> — the servants of course would confess no knowledge of it. Maurice the German footman appeared most guilty & when Whistler on glancing his eye around the music room missed also his Flute we had much reason to suspect that this young man so professedly fond of music must be the thief — all said no common depredator from the S<sup>t</sup> would have selected such article[s] while so many more valuable articles were in the parlors & all agreed that it must have been one of our own servants. The master of the police of our quarter<sup>144</sup> took the poor Dvanick & Maurice to the guard house to question & threaten them separately but thefts in S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg are so frequent, we could not entertain many hopes of being more favoured than others, altho Whistler offered a tempting reward & *no questions*.<sup>145</sup> It pained me that I (who had known so many sorrows) should for several days allow this disappointment to weigh upon my spirit, it is not safe in this world to set too high a value upon any gift, we

can at best only enjoy for an indefinite period all here below, but we a [sic]<sup>146</sup> only as “children of a larger growth & are fond of earthly toys”<sup>147</sup> the flute was dear to us from many tender associations, Whistler never can play upon another with as much pleasure, for it had been his solace after weariness during 15 years & had twice crossed the Atlantic with him!<sup>148</sup> it seemed really that the thief had considered more to vex us than to enrich himself. for had I been asked what I would most readily relinquish of all my goods & chattels the Escrotoire would have been the last superfluity I should have parted from. I shall always retain however the sweet emotions my dear Debo's affectionate note awakened on Christmas morning & the delighted countenances of Jemmy & Willie can always remain while memory lasts. They are almost consoled for my loss by having Alexander (our first footman who was deprived of his place by a fit of pride refusing to go behind the carriage) back again, as their father has been advised to discharge Maurice & also our poor Feodore. Our new Dvanick is a much more civilized looking creature & as his brother has for years been a faithful servant to M<sup>r</sup> Ropes<sup>149</sup> we must hope it will all prove for the best. as I profess to believe every event ordered for good, tho it is more difficult for us apply<sup>150</sup> this wholesome maxim to every day trifles. We recognize the Invisible hand which guides all things in life & death, and we kiss the rod because we are assured our heavenly Father does not *willingly* bereave us, it *must then be for our good!* & Oh we are secure that we have fallen into the hands of God & not of man — happy for us would it be that we should in every day vexations — which apparently spring only from the ground — also possess our souls in patience.<sup>151</sup> My dear husband has had a very severe cold ever since he went that sledge ride to visit Col Melnikoff. he has suffered so much from pain in his chest & cough, my hands & heart have both been entirely occupied with care about him.

January 1844. On the 1<sup>st</sup> or New Years day according to Russian style (tho the 13<sup>th</sup> of new style) we welcomed a letter from Stonington, the envelope contained one from Julie to Debo as usual whic[h] was the best of all New Years offerings, tho short it was the echo of her fondest affections — And there was also one to me from my own dear Sister Kate with such blessed accounts of her own home I felt my heart bound to meet her there, & her pen brought more vividly than ever before my

minds eye all of the dear ones at Marias, but I was even more grateful to her for the minuteness of her account of the interment of those precious remains we had sent from us two months before<sup>152</sup> to find a grave with our departed Kirkie. To some it might seem unimportant, yet to us it is pleasant that death cannot divide these our two youngest darlings Kirkie & Charlie who loved each other so entirely. they shall mingle! their redeemed spirits now mingle! they are one in Christ — And so shall we all be if we can only give ourselves up to Him. How infatuated we are when we ever lose sight of the end for which we were created! Oh may we grow in grace & in the knowledge of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ! that when each of us must pass thro the valley of the shadow of death,<sup>153</sup> the hope of going to Him may support us. My precious little Charlies own Mary was very thankful to hear that her darlings body had been deposited where she might if spared to return to America, visit it. I am also very much relieved of anxiety on her own account since she has lately offered to wait our movements here, I was always pained to listen to her proposal to leave us to rejoin her brothe[r]<sup>154</sup> for Mary has seemed a part of our own family since Charlie loved her so fondly & I have fervently prayed that God would direct her in her choice whether to go or stay as would be for her good, for I would not selfishly urge her making a sacrifice of her own feelings to mine. How many there are bound up in my heart of hearts with my Angel baby! all who knew him loved him, thus I trust he may become to many a *visible* object to lead affections to the Eternal source of Love — his cousin Mary<sup>155</sup> who had delighted in him last summer will never forget the music of Charlies voice, she wept on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Nov — at his grave. but Oh may she not sorrow as those without hope, tho I trust she will retain the lesson how evanescent are all earthly enjoyments. And my beloved Mother! Charlie always talked of “Grandmother & the flowers” as tho he was the fonder of her for being so fond of them, next to Kirkies picture Charlie loved flowers, “Cousin Carri”<sup>156</sup> will think of him when roses adorn her parloure next summer, her kind George<sup>157</sup> used to delight my little one by filling his lap with them as he drew him around the grounds in Wilkies<sup>158</sup> straw carriage. Oh happy reminiscence! how glad I am to recal that pleasant visit to Pine Grove<sup>159</sup> now! dear Eliza Van Vechten<sup>160</sup> too was fond of my gentle Charlie & he never forgot “Cousin Eliza” then



she was full of delightful anticipations, since then she has been required to give up the little one she thought *her own*.<sup>161</sup> Joy & sorrow are so mingled in this life of discipline — indeed at times we can scarcely distinguish them. I feel the “joy of grief”<sup>162</sup> as I contemplate that my loss is Charlies gain of happiness that cannot be clouded — And I must all my life remember how chastened was my pleasure last Summer after I had seen Niagara, had spent a happy week at Gen Swifts & been present at dear Josephines marriage)<sup>163</sup> on returning to Pine Grove to be with my darling baby again — I seemed to have accomplished so much in anticipation of leaving my native land — but ere I could kiss my little ones soft cheek I was intercepted by my own loved George with the startling intelligence that my own Jemie was at the point of death<sup>164</sup> — May God have prolonged his life for a blessing to us! he has comforted me as I lamented my loss of his darling baby brother who now rests in Kirkies grave — Which of us may be laid next in that hallowed enclosure is a solemn & interesting question — I cannot describe how touched is my heart when I hear of the illness of children of my friends, our kind neighbours the Ropes have had all three of theirs suffering from colds, Ellen<sup>165</sup> is so patient! yet has been so low I thought that the Angel of death stood beside her crib last sunday night, but they are all recovering — And when I have listened to such sayings of a child as M<sup>rs</sup> Bodiscos<sup>166</sup> little boy<sup>167</sup> utters “God has made me to live *forever* with Jesus”<sup>168</sup> & looked at his pensive, pale, countenance I have coupled him with my little one, who was born the same summer, & whose intelligence was so surprising. James & Willie having heard from Mary (who had been to see the nurse of little Bodisco)<sup>169</sup> how engaging he was & perhaps wishing also to see his grand playthings, called lately at the Hotel de Paris,<sup>170</sup> where they met with a most friendly welcome & came home laden with bon bons from the beautiful M<sup>rs</sup> Bodisco which she had reserved for them from the Emperors own table, she is quite a favorite at court & is called the “beautiful American”<sup>171</sup> On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of this month I had an opportunity of studying her face & person. for I accompanied my husband & daughter to Col Todds birth day dinner,<sup>172</sup> where we also met our Pastor & family,<sup>173</sup> also the English & Brazilian Secs of Legation.<sup>174</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell went with us.<sup>175</sup> Averse as I now am to going to any party I yet was agreeably surprised into an interest in those around me. As I sat

next my host he conversed more with me of his home in Kentucky than he had done before & as he alluded to his trial in losing three children in one week by scarlet fever,<sup>176</sup> I thought how few in the court circle would suspect he had such a vein of feeling — he usually appears so light & gay — When his health was drank by his guests, he recovered his usual tone of pleasantry & joked upon his being age. 21, and rising! the Col is certainly a young looking Grandfather, for his hair is not grey & his ivory is sound — yet he served under Gen Harrison during our late war.<sup>177</sup> while I only remember the illumination of 1815 as a child in New York<sup>178</sup> tho I suppose the Col judges me quite his contemporary, for he one day offered me his glass. my eye sight does not begin to fail yet,<sup>179</sup> tho at 39 I have many a silvery hair to warn me of old Times noiseless flight — But of this said dinner party. Mrs Bodisco wore a green velvet with short sleeves, her round fair arms bound round by three bracelets & a weighty necklace of pearls fastened with a very large rich locket of diamonds. I must confess I am not fond of seeing young persons who need no borrowed ornaments, so lavish of them, her teeth are pearls & her brow so smooth & fair, and if she were intellectual her eyes would be more sparkling than diamonds, for she seems perfectly amiable & is so frank she does not even hesitate to say she likes Russian society better than that of her own country & every night is glad to be in ball rooms or theatre,<sup>180</sup> the Bodiscos<sup>181</sup> left the Cols when it was time to go to another party. but the Laws seemed inclined not to go so soon. & as our pastor is the promoter of sociability he collected the young folks around him & seemed to afford them much merriment.<sup>182</sup> after tea was finished we understood the Col had an engagement for the evening so we returned home by ten. Mr Maxwell came up to our parlor where we had a cheerful chat about our native land. then he asked Debo if it was too late for music, she sung several songs at his request & I felt we need never go from our own roof for recreation, tho the Col had been exceedingly kind & hospitable, indeed had procured a piano & had it tuned purposely that his favorite Miss Debo should play upon it. but she was not required to sustain the whole obligation of yeilding the gallant Col sweet sounds for his politeness & forethought in providing the instrument. Our pastor is musical & joined with his daughters in singing Russian songs. When

Debo sung Chorny-Tsvayts<sup>183</sup> she surprised M<sup>r</sup>. Law by her correct pronunciation, but this is all the Russ she knows.

Feb 14<sup>th</sup> 1844. Being alone at 10 oclock for Whistler has gone with our dear Debo to the last soirée at our Pastors<sup>184</sup> I shall endeavour to note some of the events which have been so absorbing as to interfere with my journalizing the past weeks. Although my life is a retired one I have many demands upon my time, for Debo is often in a bustle of preparation & requires her mothers assistance. The marriages in the Imperial family (of young Grand Duchess Alexandra youngest daughter of the present Emperor to the young prince Fredric of Hesse — & of the Grand Duchess Elizabeth (daughter of Grand Duke Michel) to the Duke of Nassau)<sup>185</sup> will long be remembered by my children, as these important events were much talked of by some of our visiters & we had a succession of ringing of bells firing of cannons & illuminations for a whole week — Of course the ceremonies were very splendid at the Winter Palace — our friend Maxwell had described the betrothals,<sup>186</sup> but poor fellow he took so severe a cold at the nuptials of Alexandra<sup>187</sup> on Sunday that he is yet quite ill<sup>188</sup> — the following Wednesday — being 19<sup>th</sup> of January Russian style — Debo accompanied Emma Maingy & some other ladies to be a spectator of the wedding festivities of the royal cousin Elizabeth,<sup>189</sup> her father was rather ashamed that his Yankee girl should condescend to mingle even in a fashionable crowd to be a looker on upon an assemblage she could not be received in, but his *Indian* pride<sup>190</sup> does not descend to his children, for Jemie tried to persuade Mother to avail of a ticket M<sup>rs</sup> Bodisco pressed upon my acceptance & Debo did not complain of the fatigue of standing from noon till night to gaze upon the Emperor, Empress the court & all its splendor. royal brides & all! In the dining hall there were three tables spread that with service of gold for the Imperial family, the other two had silver services, but Debo looked very much exhausted when she came home & we should have been sorry if she had expressed any wish to go again the next evening to gaze upon the dancers at the ball at the Winter Palace. when tickets were brought by young Giraffeski<sup>191</sup> for her — the Trouvellers<sup>192</sup> had promised to come to our house & our kind neighbours the Ropes too came over, for then we had not become alarmed about our friend Maxwell as we became soon after — M<sup>rs</sup> T. is

the finest pianist I ever heard, listening to her was a treat & especially so to Debo & M<sup>ES</sup> Ropes, it was music of a peculiar kind like liquid strains of soft & rich melody, she seemed also to enjoy Debo's harp & M<sup>RS</sup> Ropes singing & at the close of the evening gave a most ludicrous report of the crowd at the Palace where she had been induced to go on her way to us. I could only understand by her gestures that she was fortunate in having escaped without losing her sleeves or other parts of her dress! thus Debo congratulated herself that she could join in the laugh without being torn to pieces herself.<sup>193</sup> But I think it was the last merry mood our dear girl was in for some days, M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell became so dangerously ill that we all sympathised in the grief we feared awaited his parents, our boys walked on tip toe lest they might disturb one whom they love so fondly, Whistler sat up night after night with him & every moment he could steal from his duties during the day he spent at the bed side of his young countryman.<sup>194</sup> This day a week ago<sup>195</sup> was the crisis of his fever, his symptoms alarmed even D<sup>r</sup> Rogers,<sup>196</sup> who called in a consulting physician.<sup>197</sup> I ventured often into the room for the patient was delirious & could not be annoyed by it,<sup>198</sup> this night week Fairbanks was with Whistler beside him, when I came up stairs after 12 o'clock I feared I might not find M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell living, my anxiety roused me before day light, I made a hasty toilette & went down. Oh how cheered I was on entering the ante room at the sight of Whistler & M<sup>r</sup> Fairbanks taking a cup of tea which Le Ron<sup>199</sup> had just prepared them, & I returned with the good report to Debo that a favorable change had occurred during the night & the young countryman in whom we all felt interested we hoped would be spared to make one of our fire side again & to realize his wish to return to his native New York again — but I considered he had been on the verge of eternity & I earnestly prayed that he might experience that sense of the mercy of God in prolonging his life as would lead him to devote it to His honor & glory.<sup>200</sup> The Sunday after M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell was seized with the brain fever which has thus reduced him my James was quite poorly as he occasionally has been since his illness of last year, I therefore staid from church to read to him, Mary took little Willie & on their return they had so much to relate of the sudden death of old Admiral Hall!<sup>201</sup> We had heard his absence from his seat remarked since Christmas for he was one of those would have thought it a privilege to

be even “a door keeper in the house of God”<sup>202</sup> but he was very aged & had been ill. Col Todd has always occupied the same pew with him, & as M<sup>r</sup> Law was not yet in the desk they had exchanged a friendly greeting, the aged christian telling our Ambassador that tho his wife & daughter<sup>203</sup> deemed it rather imprudent in him to go out his great desire had overcome their advice. for he added “I have been absent from church two Sundays! The service soon after commenced with the morning hymn, the good old man stood & praised God among the congregation until that verse (which I have always thought so elevating to the soul) “Wake & lift up thyself my heart, And with the Angels bear thy part”<sup>204</sup> when he suddenly fell dead against Col Todd! tho most there supposed he had only swooned, no doubt his spirit was instantly among that blissful company “Who all night long, unwearied sing, Glory to Thee, Eternal King!”<sup>205</sup> I went to church on the day of the old Admirals funeral,<sup>206</sup> there were only a few ladies, but a crowd of military, all with badges of mourning. the body covered with a purple & gold pall before the altar. Our service is so peculiarly solemn I hoped many might understand & feel it. Even the horses which drew the hearse were covered with black cloth as was the family coach the procession was preceded by men carrying flambeaus. Last Sunday M<sup>r</sup> Laws text was “dust thou art & unto death shalt thou return”<sup>207</sup> he alluded to the event of the sabbath before & the example of that soldier of Christ, urging us also to be ready, for who among us would be next called & how soon! is of thrilling import, the old admiral was long in the service of this country tho a Scotchman<sup>208</sup> by birth. His daughter sat in the pew with me, she wept during all the service & I observed when we all rose to join in the morning hymn, she knelt. Col Todd the other day was remarking on the excellent character of Admiral Hall & added he had avoided mentioning his death in writing to his own family lest they might be led to fear the like sudden call for himself as the other occupant of that pew died as suddenly last May! and Sir Ker Porter<sup>209</sup> was in the prime of life, he was brother to the Authoresses A-M & Jane Porter,<sup>210</sup> had just made his arrangements for returning to England when returning from court he fell dead at the door of his own house!<sup>211</sup> The Col certainly looks as tho he would go on the even tenor of his way a long while yet, for tho he is nightly at entertainments he is decidedly temperate in every way & looks

as tho he could sing “be gone dull care”<sup>212</sup> he certainly strives to render unto all their claims upon him, regularly attends the Episcopal service in the morning, the Presbyterian in the evening<sup>213</sup> after which he pays his respects at the Count Nesselrodes<sup>214</sup> where there is always a Sunday night soiree, but the Col does not so far forget the sacred season as to make one at the card tables, tho gambling is the favorite recreation, the Col attends the French theatre<sup>215</sup> for the language & the company he meets there, the Italian Opera<sup>216</sup> because music is his passion! & the Palace on any day the Emperor signifies it to be his wish for in the court circle he is *upon duty* as the Ambassador of his country, but he whispers to his countrymen there is a dreadful wear & tear of conscience & he wishes his office could be changed for one tending to the interests of a better world! *I* think in whatsoever situation we are placed we may by self denial & a holy resolution honor God, who orders our sphere of action to try us whether we love Him better than all else. but I do not condemn those who act differently from my views & have no merit in declining amusements which I could not enjoy. But Oh I tremble for my children “the snares of the world” are so enticing until proved by christian experience that they are destructive to our love of Christ, and the young are slow to turn from the “voice of the charmer” whose reasonings are so plausible while tempting them to enjoy pleasure while they may for the dark days come so soon!<sup>217</sup> thus enticing them into scenes where they forget the divine presence of Him who has told us *to be known* as His disciples in the world.<sup>218</sup> My dear Debo may compare her rational domestic career with the dissipation of the youth of this gay metropolis & feel satisfied that she may *sometimes* attend a french play or the Opera without injury to herself, but Oh how much more happy she would be if she found no pleasure in them! she is a dear, amiable child, dutiful & always cheerful, yeilding to her fathers views of what is right, and already a favorite in the English circle here, the influence of a perfectly amiable young person, so gifted as she is might be so impressive in society with decided christian obligations, that I am too apt to lament that my dear daughter does not realize that she is required by her vows as one of Christs little flock to “let her light shine”<sup>219</sup> that those who are in error may be led into the way of truth, but Debo does not think with me on this subject, & I know that it must be wisdom from above which

can convince her. I wish to be patient & to cast my care upon God. On monday last she was to have gone to a ball at the Hall of the Noblesse<sup>220</sup> where the presence of the Imperial family & all the court would make a splendid scene of novelty to charm her, but when Col Bouttatz<sup>221</sup> came soon after breakfast with tickets for the Opera & her father gave her the choice of the morning or the evening amusement she decided to give up the ball, so at 1 o'clock they went & returned at our usual dinner hour four o'clock, very much gratified with the Barber of Seville,<sup>222</sup> in the meantime I had gone out in a sledge under M<sup>r</sup> Ropes care to a German jewellers<sup>223</sup> to shew my dear Debo that tho I would not advocate her fondness for public amusements I yet enjoyed contributing my mite to please her. I selected a very pretty gold chain, which I was glad suited her taste when I presented it on her return home, she needed one to guard the pretty glasses her indulgent father had bought her some days before, & his approval of my additional purchase more than repaid me for venturing out in such a severe frost. It was 12 degrees below zero, yet I must confess I do not suffer from cold wrapped in my fox skin. The Ropes came in sociably to tea that evening thinking they might see Debo (whom they love & admire equally) dressed for the grand ball, but she could not have been better satisfied there than she seemed at the piano or harp with M<sup>rs</sup> Rs accompaniment, until eleven o'clock when they partook of some fruit & bade us good night. We all feel more cheerful since M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell is convalescing, tho it is slowly,<sup>224</sup> he still has some friend to watch by his bed side every night — Joseph Ropes<sup>225</sup> is there now. Debo & her father came from M<sup>rs</sup> Laws soiree just at 12. the party would not probably break up till 3. our folks were there just two hours, Debo found it pleasant dancing yet she expressed no desire to linger when her father proposed to leave. how much I admire her amiability she does not know! & surely she will retain the good opinion of those who revel longer, for moderation wins respect. The day before this ball at our parsons we went to M<sup>r</sup> Maingys<sup>226</sup> to dine at 5 1/2, they are not fond of parties so we only met two gentlemen, Miss Grant<sup>227</sup> whom we know thro M<sup>rs</sup> Baird<sup>228</sup> joined us at tea, she had invited herself that she might hear Miss W- play again! while the young ladies were in the music room I had some pleasing conversation with M<sup>rs</sup> Maingy<sup>229</sup> who is truly pious, we talked of our departed little ones!<sup>230</sup> of our

churches & pastors in England & America,<sup>231</sup> it was a treat to me to listen to the opinion of one who expressed the undivided interest I feel in the Saviours kingdom. We afterwards went together to the sleeping apartments of her little Lily & Freddy,<sup>232</sup> he is between my boys in years & very fond of them. I did not wonder when I saw his play room that they should like a day on the Island so much, their rooms all communicate as is common in Russian houses numerous & small so that each of the girls have a separate establishment boudoir & all! Eliza<sup>233</sup> is most interesting to me, but I admire Emma<sup>234</sup> who is perhaps most talented & is very pretty. M<sup>r</sup> Maingy reminds me of my dear Brother Winny, in looks & character, he seems also to appreciate Debo as that kind Uncle did when we were in England. This was the coldest weather we have had this winter, I heard of many frost bitten faces! but really in these warm houses one can hardly be aware of the extreme changes. the days are lengthening rapidly almost 12 hours day light now, how cheering to me for I feel how little I accomplish. This is the week of the Carnival or *butter week*<sup>235</sup> as the Russians call it as they eat no meat now, in anticipation of Lent, but how strange their inconsistency, their eagerness for amusement because they are to be deprived of it for forty days proves they must think it is a season of penance instead of one of improvement. Architects have been very busy in erecting temporary theatres, swings, ice hills &c in the Admiralty Square <sup>236</sup> that *all classes* may enjoy recreations this week, while the Opera has become a *morning* revel this week, that the higher classes may devote the evenings to balls. The Col sent us tickets for a masked ball to be given at the Palace, 'tis the only occasion upon which the Emperor descends from his dignity to exchange words with *the people* who may gain admittance, of course even Debo's curiosity would not take her into such a mixed crowd altho the strictest decorum is observed even in public places here & of course at the Imperial Palace<sup>237</sup> — On the night of M<sup>rs</sup> Laws soirée there was also a great ball at the Palace of the Grand Duke Michel given in honor of his daughters marriage,<sup>238</sup> many wore costumes, M<sup>rs</sup> Bodiscos cost \$1000. Col Todd had not reached the English Quay when Debo & her father p<sup>d</sup> their parting compliments — but he had promised the Laws to be there at midnight, for the Imperial family keep early hours & for the Empres's health<sup>239</sup> eight oclock is the hour for receiving, wherever she



goes. so that the Col would find the night still in its meridian when the court should release him & could pay his devoirs in the English circle after twelve. How thankful I feel that our dear Debo is satisfied with a moderate participation in these things!

Feb 26<sup>th</sup> <sup>240</sup> During the last week the little leisure I could command I devoted to writing my beloved Sister Ktaie [*sic*] & my Springfield pastor,<sup>241</sup> if my letters convey half the pleasure theirs to me bring my time was well spent! We had hoped the mail which came in yesterday from England would have brought us intelligence by the Steamer of the 1<sup>st</sup> but too soon! we are too impatient! Oh what a vast obligation is ours to the poor mail driver! & to those brave mariners too who endure such hardships at this season of the year to bring us comforts! The extreme cold of the past fortnight has made me reflect deeply on the great difference in the lot of individuals of the vast human family. We within our heated mansions would be scarcely conscious how severe the atmosphere without but for our thermometers or the reports we listen to from those who ask our commiseration for the suffering poor. Such real Russian winter has not been experienced in St Petersburg in many years. Sledges have arrived from the country with driver & in some cases *all* frozen to death. Postillions found stiff & dead seated upon their masters equipages! Ah how can the rich reconcile it to themselves that their idleness & frivolity should so condemn their retainers to sudden death. that *pride* may be gratified while their coach & four stop the way. God will bring them to judgement! those who delight in mercy shall obtain mercy<sup>242</sup> may my children abide by the golden rule in every circumstance of their life. We have kept at home for a week, 30 deg below zero being too keen an atmosphere for a drive or a walk, but the sun shone brightly after the snow fell every day. Our pastor Mr Law & his ladies called yesterday<sup>243</sup> the cold having moderated, they mentioned upwards of 30 persons had been found dead from cold in this quarter alone last week 3 at the guard posts just at our corner. Ah the sad question! were *any* prepared to meet their Saviour? will solemnly obtrude as we listen to these melancholy accidents! That we are not removed from liability to sudden death within our comfortable homes must be often felt, for many have been the cases among the higher orders which we hear their associates lament, tho they seem not to lay it to heart. Last

evening we had a few friends to join us at tea. Their two Excellencies Col Todd & M<sup>r</sup> Bodisco — with our beautiful young countrywoman. I listened to their remarks upon the *last ball* they had attended in the court circle & learnt the host then so full of health & spirits died of a fit at the age of 45 last Sunday!<sup>244</sup> We cannot judge of the heart, but Oh what comfort to surviving relatives when our lives bear testimony to our faith in Jesus. And alas in this gay city the *many* appear not to live as tho they loved Him better than the world. M<sup>rs</sup> Bodisco spoke in raptures of the uninterrupted seasons of pleasure she has participated in at this dissipated court, & said she should never wish to return to her native land if she had her own relatives here — no society in America she says<sup>245</sup> — she must have lost relish for what is rational & intellectual & sincere! Oh I can think of no earthly delight to compare with that of our return to our native land! As I anticipate our approach to a sight of its shores within the beautiful harbor of New York or Boston I am afraid of growing too impatient to realize all this fond dream! but she thinks after having visited Niagara there is nothing more to induce even an American to desire ever to return there! She wants the patriotism of our little boys, who exalt their native land above all other countries upon Earth. I allowed them to remain in the parlor an hour after their usual bedtime last night for our favorite Miss Khremmer (who had won their hearts on our voyage upon the *Bullie*) was among us, Col Bouttatz also & Melnikoff. I was not sorry I indulged my darling boys. they behaved so like gentlemen their father commended them today upon it. Jemmie was part the evening *enjoying the Spy to himself*, I watched him laughing so heartily yet quietly over some of Ceasers speeches<sup>246</sup> I could scarcely refrain from joining in it. While Debo collected the circle of amateurs around her piano M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes aiding her with her fine voice I sat with M<sup>rs</sup> Bodisco who has so little ear for music she did not even recognise our national air Yankee Doodle<sup>247</sup> when played, & seemed to like her seat on the sofa too well to leave it. M<sup>r</sup> Ropes regaled her with some histories of Russian depredations,<sup>248</sup> but afterwards as she unconsciously tossed about a few elegant little volumes on the sofa=table upon which she leaned her snowy arm, she discovered they were all on religious subjects, which induced her to tell me she had an extensive library of religious works at my service, they had been parting gifts from her

pastor<sup>249</sup> on her bidding adieu to him, but she shrugged her shoulders & said she had never time to look into them. all her reading now must of necessity be in french as that is the language at court! When she afterwards described to me the death of her infant so suddenly taken from her on the day of her fathers funeral<sup>250</sup> too, just as she was packing up to leave Georgetown, I wondered she should not have sought comfort in these good books on her long voyage. I certainly shall borrow them that I may recommend their perusal to her! Miss Khremmer staid later than the others & was delighted with our Indian portraits.<sup>251</sup> I told her how glad I was we had anything to shew her which she had not met with in her travels. she is so sensible & agreeable she reminds me of my dear Charleston Cousins.<sup>252</sup> Debo has been spending today on the Island. I am always willing to spare her to the Maingys, much tho I miss her dear self from my side, I know she is delighting & delighted there, such companions will give her a distaste for those are less improved. I returned by her a book which Miss M had lent me & have been deeply interested in perusing it. Blunt upon the Epistles to the 7 churches of Asia from Rev:<sup>253</sup> I read sometimes to Whistler just at bedtime in it, & last Sunday<sup>254</sup> evening he gratified me by asking me to read a whole lecture which I did with all my heart! God bless him & teach us together by His spirit to enjoy such studies. how *secure* the family union where such subjects are understood & preferred! My dear husband is now reading beside me. since his french tutor<sup>255</sup> has left him free, we are momentarily expecting Debo, it is nearly ten, but as M<sup>rs</sup> Gellebrand<sup>256</sup> was to bring her in their sledge she waits her movements no doubt. My darling Willie was thrown out of a sledge yesterday, Jemie more active swung himself off. In such cases the driver in St Petersburg always drives off lest the Police should deprive him of vehicle & horse for his carelessness.<sup>257</sup> my boys were persuaded by Alexander the poor Swashdic<sup>258</sup> should not be pd (tho Willie confessed they had gone the worth of 50 kopeeks silver)<sup>259</sup> & they seemed to deem it quite a proper revenge for the bruises he was the cause of to little Willie, that he went off without his pay, until I pointed out to them their dishonesty. all today they have been urging me to send them up the Galernia to compensate the poor driver for breaking his sledge. but snow has been incessantly falling until tonight, they describe the roads like waves of the sea out of

the city, such heavy falls of snow are not usual here, we have this winter had heretofore a little snow every day light & fine like dust, & have not minded walking out in them. I drove with M<sup>rs</sup> Gellebrand as far as the Gastinandva<sup>260</sup> in a snow storm which in America would be a sufficient embargo to keep ladies in the house, but had secured from cold by furs, I really enjoyed it, tho I had a great deal to shake off when I reached our own vestibule again. My errand had been to have a black satin dress fitted, & M<sup>rs</sup> G had gone very kindly gone to talk Russ with the mantua maker<sup>261</sup> for me. It has since been finished & I do not think it dear, silk lining for Cardinal,<sup>262</sup> rich gymp<sup>263</sup> &c &c 50 rubles paper,<sup>264</sup> about 10 dollars. I could find no bombazine<sup>265</sup> at the English Magazine which is the great shop here the satin cost me about as much as the making & trimmings, & as there was not attempt at a bargain I suppose it was a fair price. I must record the 1<sup>st</sup> day of March this year tho the 12<sup>th</sup> has arrived, but on that morning Debo & I had some exquisite enjoyment in listening to the choristers of the Imperial Palace, she because the music was so perfect of its kind & she could speak her delight to Emma Maingy who sat next her, & I — when I closed my eyes against the crowd, could imagine myself among those who sing heavenly hallilujahs. *all* all that have gone before me seemed to be near enough for me to hear & see their bliss! & my heart was so full I wept. It is not unusual for persons to be quite overcome by this choir of boys, their choruses are such perfect melody, but the solos are most melting! little fellows from the size of our little Willie stood in front & so the size uniformly increased up to manhood. there is an asylum appropriated to them for their education & home.<sup>266</sup> at the end of an hour the rehearsal was over, & on our way out to our sledges we saw their school rooms, & the apartment where their dinner tables were already set. Emma pointed out decanters of Quass (a sour but favorite Russian beverage)<sup>267</sup> several on each long table. the boys looked as if they would be glad when we should let them take their seats. they had been standing so very erect, for that hour, but tho Whistler allowed his imagination to embitter his pleasure in listening to them by the idea of how they must be dulled & *punished*<sup>268</sup> the home looked comfortable & their countenances happy. Emma came the next Sat<sup>269</sup> to spend the day & practise at our house with Debo, she brought me a favorite volume from her mother who was right in her assurance

that I should enjoy it. “Reads meditations.”<sup>270</sup> I am told he died last Sum<sup>r</sup> in his native land England, he surely was in the full faith of our blessed Saviour & Oh may many be led by this work to esteem the knowledge of Christ as they ought, I shewed Emma an American prayer book,<sup>271</sup> as some one had misinformed them about the service of our church in my dear country. they had heard that we were not allowed to use a written form of prayer she admired the hymns exceedingly, in the English chapel here we have such a meagre collection of hymns & no chaunts sung – I often think over the devotion of the singing in the Westerly church<sup>272</sup> & wish here it was so! Since I last wrote upon the incidents of this Winter, we have heard from Stonington. no letter addressed to myself by the steamer of the 1<sup>st</sup> of Feb but one from dear Kate Prince<sup>273</sup> written in Dec, in sympathy for my loss in our darling Charlies death. what a treat it was to get it! I have so often thought of this warm hearted girl & really longed to hear from her. I had written her a few lines by the last mail in the hope she might go to Boston to see M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison<sup>274</sup> who is to leave there next month to join her husband here. My dear brother W<sup>ms</sup> letter to Whistler<sup>275</sup> was all I could wish, so cheerful, so confiding & so affectionate, his mention of our precious mothers welfare with Charles<sup>276</sup> caused my heart to lift itself up in thankfulness to God! I had had distressing dreams of Mother & her long silence is such a blank, that I began feel [*sic*] “all else availed little”<sup>277</sup> till I could be assured she was well. Debo had letters not only from her “Twin” but from Eliza Van Vee I entered into the interesting details of each & it was my painful duty that night to disclose to my dear husband the death of his brother James.<sup>278</sup> At this distance from all our natural ties how striking is the knell which sounds upon our hearts at such tidings. Oh may the warning be not lost upon us! how many have departed since Whistler left his country less than two years ago! And who of us may be summoned next becomes a startling question — The news of dear cousin Carri was truly gratifying this she calls the happy winter of her life — she is so thankful that she can walk again without crutches — and so blessed in her restored husband & snug home.<sup>279</sup> May God see fit long to continue this peace of mind to her & may her life shew forth her praise! for unless we appreciate every blessing as from the true source, it is lost upon us.

Fri 22<sup>nd</sup> [March] Again I find a leisure hour to record the little vanity in my life just now 10 oclock has just struck, I am alone by my old friend the study lamp & a cheering bright fire in our parlor, Whistler having just gone in a Sledge to bring our dear Debo home from Vassili Ostrow, across the Neva, where I took her this morning to pass the day with her friend Emma Maingy – the truth is we feel very careful of our only daughter now, she has been drooping lately, last Saturday she had an intense head-ache while we were spending the evening at M<sup>rs</sup> Bairds,<sup>280</sup> which confined her to the house all Sunday, & on her return yesterday from the ice hills (where she took little Willie & one of our Pastors nice daughters - she had again such a tormenting head ache she was obliged to give up the pleasant evening she had anticipated at M<sup>r</sup> Laws, & I to forego the sociable M<sup>rs</sup> Gellebrand had invited me to, which I felt an *unusual* inclination for as M<sup>rs</sup> Maingy & M<sup>rs</sup> Wood<sup>281</sup> were there. however as Debo received D<sup>r</sup> Rogers approval today she fulfilled her engagement, 15 deg frost early this morning — but a beautifully bright day, we should have enjoyed our drive, if the road across the Neva were not rough as waves of the sea — At last Debo grew frightened & called out “Stchoy”<sup>282</sup> to the Iswashtic,<sup>283</sup> but he did not stop his Sledge until she had actually been pitched out. we trembled, then laughed as no fall could have been more softly-While I was at dinner today our neighbour M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes sent me over a Russian doll to purchase dressed in the full costume of a nurse of this country<sup>284</sup> — which since I understand to be a means of support to a reduced but highly respectable lady — who once kept her equipage I shall buy — and who knows but yet little darling Julie Palmer<sup>285</sup> may see & admire it as her own — if any body will take it to Boston! My dear Jemmie lost his participation in Willie’s extraordinary pleasures last week of attending M<sup>rs</sup> Laws bazaar for the poor,<sup>286</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Gellebrands juvenile dinner party in commemoration of little Ellen Ropes<sup>287</sup> birth day — from his having caught cold in skating upon the Neva, he alarmed us by symptoms of croup & was confined to his bed until last sunday,<sup>288</sup> when he was allowed to welcome Mons Vaney,<sup>289</sup> for his having lost a drawing lesson was a greater chagrin than Willies going without him that day I left Emma with Debo while Whistler & M<sup>r</sup> Ropes accompanied me in a Sledge some versts on the Peterhoff road<sup>290</sup> to look at a house for the summer, we stowed Willie in

for he takes such a wee space & Mr R chose to stand behind, which in this country is deemed more suitable to a gentleman than sitting with the “Tswashtic” the sun shone bright & after my weeks confinement I enjoyed the ride exceedingly. tho we had to encounter deep snow in approaching the houses four of which we inspected,<sup>291</sup> situated in extensive grounds with plenty of wood around I could imagine how pleasant the [*sic*] would be in June. I finished my despatches on tuesday<sup>292</sup> for the next Steamer and also wrote my Sister Alicia by that days Courier. Mr Harrison<sup>293</sup> had preceded it a week, by him I sent a few Russian slippers & gew gaws to our young friends & we managed to slip in a Russian puzzle<sup>294</sup> for Johnny Chapman<sup>295</sup> from Willie which is a great secret between him & I! for Father objected lest it should trouble Mr H. but he loves to gratify children & he proposed putting the box in his own trunk *privately*. We have heard of the travellers as far as Berlin.<sup>296</sup> Mr H will be relieved when he exchanges the Kabitka<sup>297</sup> for a Steamer, when he set out from this with a lady inside with himself, he could not have anticipated much ease, no room even to sit up, as persons are expected to recline in these covered sledges when travelling & to sleep all the way that is the only provision made. he will enjoy his return to Russia I trust, bringing wife & children,<sup>298</sup> what a transition from Winters snows, to Summers verdure! but he will experience that first in England. How cheering the long bright days are beginning to be here, we heed not the solid & interminable white pavement, for the sky looks benignly — & until 7 oclock I enjoy my work or book by day light — I send Mary with Willie to take a stroll now *after* dinner as it is necessary to take the fresh air regularly, for health, they reported this evening the rebuilding the temporary theatres &c in the Admiralty Square, in anticipation of Easter, when the people are to throng there for a weeks holiday again.<sup>299</sup> the secret of pulling them down during Lent, I am told is, that the proprietors may thus be obliged to afford work to the mechanics, whose families probably squander their hard earnings in these shows. The Emperor interest in the welfare of his people is very fair where he can judge for himself of what will be just. for instance there is now a bridge building across the Neva,<sup>300</sup> which it is so essential to have finished before the ice breaks up,<sup>301</sup> that the mechanics upon it work all night and all day. We observed them busy one sunday on our way to church & so

did the Emperor I presume (for he is daily driving about the city in his one horse sledge pretending to be nothing greater than any other military man whose uniform he wears<sup>302</sup> – for an order was issued forbidding the work on the bridge on the Sabbath. It is well there is moonlight for the poor fellows, my Willie said to me as we walked on the English quay & I remarked to him how hard they toiled, while they sung a kind of sea song, “Dont you think mother the poor must be glad that God said there should be one day of rest in every week?” Indeed our heavenly parent who knows the eagerness of humanity for worldly advantages knew *we* should never reserve any time to prepare ourselves for eternity. & He has provided all things for our comfort if we will but have confidence in His wisdom & love for us *his children*

March 29<sup>th</sup> friday evening. Debo has gone with Miss Khremer to the Michel Theatre<sup>303</sup> this eve to a concert at which the wonderful Pianist Clara V<sup>304</sup> is to perform, as my dear daughter had a fine opportunity for listening to her performance a few days ago when she visited the Smoloff institution<sup>305</sup> with the Maingays, I was the more chagrined that she went tonight, for I cannot think it consistent with a communicant of our church & in Lent too — to give countenance to theatres, but Debo knows my opinion, so I say nothing only my heart is pained when our views are opposite. Ah how thankful I feel at this moment for the comfort my precious Mothers<sup>306</sup> yeilds me! & one from dear Maria too so circumstantial that I can almost imagine myself by her side. how thrilling her account of little Georgy Palmers<sup>307</sup> illness! May dear Kate be taught that the children God has given her are from a garden of paradise — not hers — but lent for her comfort, & to be recalled at any moment. Even in this world there is one place at which our souls all meet even which [*sic*]<sup>308</sup> seas roll between us, at the footstool of mercy. Oh what could comfort us as faith in prayer does! how earnestly do I daily ask the blessing of our Saviour on *all* I love, most especially upon my dear George & upon my Mother, & *He* is already granting my urgent request that she may be an instrument of good by example & precept leading many to Him. I can no longer regret her not coming to Russia — tho I wish for her dear society every day — it was mercifully ordered that she should go to my dear brother Charles & Oh may all her endeavours for his comfort be rewarded by his following in the footsteps



of such a mother.<sup>309</sup> Debo will be so glad when she comes in presently to find a letter from her Twin for her — We were disappointed that our budget<sup>310</sup> did not come early in the week — When the Galignani<sup>311</sup> informed us of the arrival of the Hibernia at Liverpool in 12 days from Boston — we then read the awful account of the exploding the great gun on board the Princeton at Washington & so suddenly taking the lives of the Sec of the Navy. the Sec of State & four other persons.<sup>312</sup> & I have reflected much upon the providence of God which has in the past year, twice shielded our dear Donald Fairfax<sup>313</sup> from injury when exposed to death, for I presume he must be attached to this man of War — I trust his precious life may be prolonged on Earth to shine on the narrow path & induce his young companions to join him in it & as a blessing & comfort to us all. How much anxiety are we saved when those we love shew in their daily conduct that their devotion to the Saviour exceeds their love of earthly attractions, a feeling of *security* attends all my fond reveries of Donald. I must not omit recording our visiting the Gastinandva today. Col Bottatz [*siz*] was our pilot thro the crowd of purchasers & venders of artificial flowers, images &c in anticipation of Palm-Sunday.<sup>314</sup> this business has been most active all this week. Our dear boys were quite excited by the novelty of the scene, James animation attracted the wonder of many, for even in crowds here such decorum & gravity prevails that it must be surprising when there is any ebullition of joy.<sup>315</sup> Willie *bargained* for a Harmonica & a banner with the Russian Eagle — the latter he wishes he could send to Jacks!<sup>316</sup> Indeed both with Jemmie & himself usually an “All this availeth me nothing” if Willie Wyatt<sup>317</sup> & Jacky could only be with us it would be very well — Whistler gave James a Cosmorama of the Seasons,<sup>318</sup> which he exhibited to us this evening all lit up. The workmen are busy as they were before Lent rebuilding the temporary theatres-ice hills-&c in the Admiralty Square for Easter holidays. these temporary amusements are called the Catchells<sup>319</sup>

April 10<sup>th</sup> 1844. The sound of the poor workmens hammers driving piles for the new bridge across the Neva has been over some days.<sup>320</sup> I miss their song now when I take my stroll upon the English Quai. the ice must soon break up, for thawing has made rivulets thro out the streets. yet we have had 7 deg of frost at night this week — Last week

was Passion-week<sup>321</sup> & our church as thronged every day for prayers as any Greek or Roman, we could not even find places in the pews sometimes, but sat around the walls. On Good Friday<sup>322</sup> I took my dear little Willie by the hand to the house of God, a string of equipages lined the Quai, for many attend even from Cronstadt at this season to receive the Communion. but my dear boy was separated from me by reason of the crowd in the church. I remarked his good behaviour with thankfulness. Debo was in like manner obliged to sit apart from her father, altho we went to the side of the church appropriated to the gents: the sexton would have shewn Whistler the respect of a higher place, but he is inclined in a place of worship to “take the lower room”<sup>323</sup> & could scarcely retain that from the urgent demand for places, so many young officers attended to receive the holy communion - as all in the service of Russia must of necessity be members of a christian church, & descendants of English parents naturally prefer that of their forefathers.<sup>324</sup> Debo was invited to go with the Laws to the Kezan<sup>325</sup> Church Sat night-to witness the Greek ceremony of hailing Easter, but we objected to her remaining out so long after her usual hour of rest, she has not been well lately - so she merely dined at the Parsonage & when we sent for her at ten she slipped away unnoticed. M<sup>r</sup> Ropes who once had attended the Kezan gave me so minute a description that I can imagine how imposing is the service & shall not brave the dense crowd. Just before midnight the priests form a procession, each bearing some holy vessel of gold & silver from the Altar, they chaunt solemnly as they leave the church ( thro a side door) & after making a circuit out side they re-enter, the people then chaunt tumultuously “Where is Christ” upon which the priests chaunt “He is risen”<sup>326</sup> instantly every one in that dense crowd hold up a lighted taper, such a sudden change from darkness to light discovers how closely they connect the good things of this life, with their Saviours resurrection. Avenues are formed thro the crowd for spreading out all sorts of food to be blessed by the priest. their fast having been so severe during Passion Week they immediately begin devouring curds, hard eggs &c at midnight — & either owing to this imprudence or the weeks revelling which follows, very many more deaths than usual occur. On Easter Sunday I was induced to rise as early as 5 oclock by M<sup>r</sup> Ropes coming for me to walk with him to the Catholic

church<sup>327</sup> to hear the mass so beautifully sung there, the morning was clear & mild, I enjoyed the walk very much & was quite compensated for the effort it cost me to follow my guide thro the crowd which *filled* every corner, it was just 6 o'clock when the service began. A kind of martial music of triumph opened it, then the fine toned Organ accompanied the voices of the chaunters After the crowd dispersed we lingered near those who really came there to worship. I observed many prostrate upon the marble pavement, even their foreheads touching it in front of a door, & was told that had represented the holy sepulchre. At each Altar there are confessionals where were priests all in white even with white hoods, engaged in listening to the kneeling penitents whose lips were at the little window towards which they bent their ear, in french, german, or russ, the notice was printed on each stall — On our return thro the Nevski what a contrast all the Fancy shops presented filled with luxuries, but above all the Easter Eggs adorned them, & as we continued our route home thro the Alexandra square<sup>328</sup> it was still more shocking to see the preparations for commencing the Easter amusements, men at the booths unpacking refreshments of every kind, mead, cakes, fruit, nuts, but above all colored eggs — banners flying! & all looking as if they, rejoiced that the restraint of Lent was taken off, for it is so strictly observed here that all amusements are prohibited, & during Passion week the Imperial family leave the Winter Palace to seclude themselves some versts from the hum of the city.<sup>329</sup> I found my family just leaving their rooms, we assembled as usual for reading the scriptures & I read that beautiful prayer for Easter Sunday from the book my Twin Sister had obtained from Mr W<sup>m</sup> Hull<sup>330</sup> for my use. I felt sorry that custom should infringe *in my home* upon the sanctity of the day God has consecrated to rest, & if my life is spared to another Easter here I shall put off the exchange of gifts until Easter Monday, as I find they do at Mr Ropes — But there was the cooks ornamented loaf stuck full of flowers upon the breakfast table — & a small plate of colored eggs from each servant Dvanic, Porter & even Mr Maxwells man Le Rong had sent up his, with the motto “Christ is risen” upon some. Alexander had selected the choicest he could buy made of wax or sugur for each of us, so that we felt obliged to present him with 5 silver rubles to repay him, each one giving their proportion to make up the sum. & as I held my

ruble for his acceptance he kissed my hand so *gracefully* as he said in good english “thank you M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler” My heart involuntarily prayed he might become the servant of the only true God. I begged him not to join in any of the amusements in the square on sunday promising him a holiday any other, he seemed sincere in his assurance that he would rather not go there, but to church as usual. I was glad too that our Mary proposed to go with us to the English church.<sup>331</sup> Willie had his mothers hand again. I love to listen to his remarks in my walks at all times when we are tête a tête, but never more than this morning when he was anticipating the full congregation we were going to meet “Dont you think Mother it is delightful to see a church *quite* full? I think it is a *splendid* sight but I should not think so if the people were all Germans like our man Maurice who could not understand M<sup>r</sup> Law when he went with me to church” “Perhaps if he had Willie, he would have learnt better than to steal.”— In the afternoon we had no service as administering the communion to such an unusual number had prolonged M<sup>r</sup> Laws duties. I was at no loss at home, read with my boys & afterwards in “Reades Meditations”<sup>332</sup> to my dear husband. We were just setting out for M<sup>r</sup> Ellerbys chapel<sup>333</sup> after an early tea when it began to rain, which is such a rare state of the weather we did not venture out.

Tuesday night April 22<sup>nd</sup> <sup>334</sup> Every day I have so many demands upon my time from anxiety to continue the boys studies — their sister being much diverted by visiters from teaching. indeed *answering notes* takes some time every morning for where so many servants are half their day idle it is a temptation to send them as couriers with friendly or complimentary billets from house to house but however agreeable, it interferes sometimes with more important duties. I hope in the country to have fewer interruptions, for the long winter has gone without my acquiring much either in French or Russ, but in the Summer by early rising I hope *make*<sup>335</sup> time. We have had some delightful weather this spring & thro the untiring perseverance of the Police upon the poor Dvanics the streets have been entirely cleared of their deep pavement of ice, the power of the sun which shines so bright in this climate, of course caused plenty of mud for a week or so, but the stones are quite clear now thro every thoroughfare. Debo & I had a charming drive this morning up the Nevski in a nice Droschky. little Willy stood up between us & by

his attempt at speaking Russ in every shop was not only useful but amusing. today being dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes birth day & also the 4<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of her wedding<sup>336</sup> we were in search for some pretty & appropriate offering it being the custom in Russia always to make presents on birthdays (every servants [*sic*] even expects it) Debo could find nothing she liked (not too extravagantly dear but a pen handle at the English Magazine. I had gone as soon as breakfast was over to offer my best wishes of many happy returns of the day. the good young couple looked so truly contented with little Ellen seated in her high chair between Papa and Mama at their morning repast, which they told me had been delayed by M<sup>rs</sup> R having notes to read & answer, & so many pretty gifts from his brother, Sisters & their own little trio. <sup>337</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Gellebrands lines were worth all M<sup>rs</sup> R said for her heart abounds in love to the Saviour & to all around her. We have been invited to meet a party of friends at her house this evening in honor of the anniversary, but as Whistler has a sore throat & our darling James is still confined to his room I shall not be there. We had a very pleasant evenings [*sic*] at the Gellebrands last week & also at the Ropes the departure of the Maingays for England induces us to meet them as often as possible. The same little circle were with us last Wednesday evening,<sup>338</sup> my only alloy was that Jemie was confined to his bed, with a mustard plaister on his throat. he has been very poorly since the thawing season commenced, soon becoming overheated takes cold, when he complained of pain first in his shoulder then in his side, my fears of a return of last years attack made me tremble, & when I gaze upon his pale face sleeping, contrasted with Willies round rosy cheeks my heart is full, but I know that our heavenly Father permits it to be thus “Be still & know that I am God”<sup>339</sup> is ever sounding, to silence human wishes or repinings. Our dear James said to me the other day so touchingly “Oh I am sorry the Emperor ever asked Father to come to Russia. but if I had Willie Wyatt & Jacky<sup>340</sup> here I should not feel so impatient Mother to get back to Stonington.” yet I cannot think it the climate here which affects his health, Willie never was as stout in his native land & James looks better decidedly than when we brought him here. Our friend M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell is now well enough<sup>341</sup> to profit by the clean dry pavements, he usually invites Will to walk with him which is always a gratification to my little boy. James used to be his

chosen companion in his rides, & soon I hope he may join his kind friend in his strolls, he is in our parlor every evening now, being lonely in his own & it not being thought prudent for him to venture out after dinner. At 8 o'clock I am often still at my sewing or reading without a candle & can hardly persuade James to put up his drawing to go to bed while it seems yet day light. Yesterday I took a stroll with Debo after dinner on the English Quay, she had promised to go to Mr<sup>s</sup> Ropes to tea & when I looked at my watch & told her it was seven o'clock she thought it must be a mistake for the sun was shining on our faces. the ice of the Neva looks like plains of mud now, so much dirt has gone from the s<sup>ts</sup> into it, every day we suppose it may break up, & they prohibit any driving across, altho people still walk upon the Neva. We cannot drink the water now it looks so thick & until we obtain a filterer, we melt ice from our ice house<sup>342</sup> for the table & for our rooms. We hope the bridge may not be as long away this year as prophesied. (there is we hear a vast quantity of ice from the Lake Ladoga to pass down our river this season) Debo will feel her being prevented going over to the Island to the Maingays as much as I shall the interruption to my visits to my christian friend Miss Hirst.<sup>343</sup> Willie & I walked over the bridge Sunday afternoon as I had promised her I would go to read to her, this is the first call I have made here on the sabbath, tho so much visiting is in fashion in St Petersburg. as we passed by those selling fruit &c at stalls & could not avoid hearing every demonstration of forgetfulness of the divine command to "Remember the Lords day to keep it holy"<sup>344</sup> my little boy made many remarks which I wished might have been in Russ to be understood by all who stared at the chatterbox. We saw two ladies in a coach in full dress going out to dinner I supposed, garlands of flowers on their heads & large bouquets in their hands. then I thought "she who liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth."<sup>345</sup> I congratulated myself on at last seating myself by the bedside of the dear invalid, who always welcomes me with open arms. her nurse very soon prepared an orange for Willie's refreshment after his walk of two miles, & then he interested himself in a good little book which kept him quiet as a dozing kitten while I read aloud some of Miss Hirsts favorite chap from 2<sup>nd</sup> Corinthians, how forcible was every verse of the 4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> chap<sup>346</sup> while she commented so clearly upon them. I felt it was good to be with one so near heaven,

& always wish Debo would be introduced to this true friend, whose cheerfulness would render religion captivating to a young person — she has suffered exceedingly the last month, not able to read even her bible for three weeks, but now better. today I had a note from her own hand by her nurse & in return for the books she brought my boys, sent back some nice calves foot jelly & Ainsley Ginger cakes,<sup>347</sup> knowing Miss Hirst relishes them

Wed. morning 23<sup>rd</sup> April.<sup>348</sup> I will not be tempted abroad by bright sun shine or balmy air until I note down my thankfulness for so many mercies as crown my lot, my darling James after more than a weeks confinement to his room, came to the breakfast table this morning. Last evenings mail brought me a letter from my dear Sister Alicia with the joyful promise that she is coming to Russia with Mr Harrison. I hope soon to record good news from across the brook it is such a blank when a month intervenes between letters. Emma Maingay dined with us yesterday & went with Debo to the Gellebrand tea party<sup>349</sup> at nine p.m Mr Maxwell seemed as much to enjoy the duetts they played on piano & harp while we were at our tea table as Whistler did. After they were obliged to leave us & I had read to my boys as usual I found Mr M alone in our parlor for Winans<sup>350</sup> was with Whis — in the Chancery, he cannot be absent from Alexandrofski<sup>351</sup> in the day & comes almost every night on business of the shop — so we were tete a tete until past eleven. I arose this morning at five oclock to put a mustard plaister to my husbands throat. the temptation to take a nap after it was strong. but I resisted & thus enjoyed reading my bible & held communion with my God an hour before the rest of the family awoke. having no longer a little Charlie to awaken me early I have not risen till after the sun this spring, but I must recover my old habit of early rising again. Last week Mrs Maingay was so kind as to drive me about in her carriage two days, shewing me the way to different places where she has been well served for twelve years. when I can speak Russ as she does I may bargain as profitably. I was surprised in passing thro the Moskoy<sup>352</sup> to see at a shop window the beautiful scarlet plaid which Mrs Ormerod<sup>353</sup> had given my boys for dresses, & which I had given to the tailor<sup>354</sup> (who made their g<sup>t</sup> coats — to make up into tunics a few days ago, I smiled & said he was enticing customers, yet I did not suppose he would steal a vest pattern

or two from the ample measures allowed to make the tunics full & long enough to let out in case of their outgrowing. I shall never be sharp enough for the rogues I have to deal with here, so rare is honesty among the lower classes of this country that even Russians of the respectable sort acknowledge this is a nation of thieves. I paid the tailor 30 rubles banco for making the tunics, nor thought of examining them any further than that they fit nicely, the next day Mary detected how much they were stinted, the guilty rogue will not come, tho I have sent for him as if for further orders, he is self accused & I do not envy him. I did not know till Emma M<sup>355</sup> told us of the young Grand Dukes<sup>356</sup> wearing scarlet shirts that it was the favorite color for any but footmen of the Court, she admires Jemmie & Willie exceedingly in their scarlet tunics, which indeed are so becoming I wish dear Annie O<sup>357</sup> could see how fine her taste proves to be. M<sup>358</sup> Maingay & Emma called this morning as they did not expect to come again for a week at least, & we agreed it would be running to great a risk in us to fulfil our promise of spending tomorrow evening at their house, we might be obliged to spend a week, for there is every prognostic that the ice will move & the bridge taken to one side to give it free passage without a half hours warning. Debo however would enjoy an embargo with her friends & I promised if there was no disturbance on the Neva she should cross to the island bag & baggage tomorrow morning to stay some days. My dear Whistler was much disturbed today by a communication from a young friend.<sup>358</sup> time may disclose it, he retired to his room & I observed frequently traces of emotion all day. he could scarcely sleep tho we did not retire till midnight, for this something on his mind.

Thursday [April] 24<sup>th</sup> <sup>359</sup> Alas for my darling daughters dissatisfaction, she looked so ghost like at breakfast she had to confess herself more unwell than ever & we could not consent to her leaving home at a time too when if she became ill the doctor might be shut out from visiting his patients at the Island, her fathers tenderness deepens for her daily & I am sure I loved her more than ever for so amiably yielding her inclination to our prudence. I have never heard a high wind in St Petersburg, in the evening however there was a threatening moaning sound as of an approaching storm & we were sure the ice would go before morning. the wind was south east, Debo fancied she heard a



cannon at midnight, which is the warning given when the Neva is rising an [*sic*] an inundation may be expected. we could not remember what was the 3<sup>rd</sup> agent which combined with the breaking up of the ice & the wind at south-east would prove fatal to St Petersburg.<sup>360</sup> but Debo was so uneasy Alexander was despatched to ask the Bushnics<sup>361</sup> opinion of the state of the river & his report lulled her fears, tho her head continued to ache.

Friday [April] 25<sup>th</sup> <sup>362</sup> We have rain very seldom, but the pavements shewed it had been raining in the night, and our suspence was over, the ice had freed itself at 4 o'clock & in its violent rush for the Gulf had carried the bridge with sixty soldiers upon it out of sight of the city, to prove how unusually intense the cold of Feb, the ice shewed itself double the thickness it guessed at,<sup>363</sup> six feet thick no wonder in its rapid movement it should carry [*sic*] the bridge of boats. Debo & I took a drive in a Droshky as the streets were too wet to walk that we might peep at the change of scene on the Neva. Yesterday our Dvanic trudged across on the ice with a note from Miss Debo to Emma,<sup>364</sup> but he trembled at the prospect of his not getting safe home again & took a loaf of brown bread under his arm — now there is scarcely a peice of ice as large as the Gondolas<sup>365</sup> which are rowed about in all directions, these boats are so gaily painted red & green outside, wreaths of flowers within & the oarsmen dressed in cold shirts over their trowsers complete the picture, our little Willie stood up in the Droshky as we could not squeeze him in between us, he was contented any way & chatted half Russ half English all the way. poor Jemmy is still confined to the house, where a cough has obliged us to keep him a fortnight, but today he is allowed to go down to Mr Maxwells parlor, where my boys would like to be always.<sup>366</sup> This evening while we were at tea American letters were handed Whistler, none for me however, Debo was happy at hearing from her constant Jule & her chum Josephine Mauran.<sup>367</sup>

Saturday [April] 26<sup>th</sup> <sup>368</sup> I wrote Sarah Adams <sup>369</sup> & Debo acknowledged the favors she had received, she had also a note from Emma & a paper of toffy with anxious inquiries as to the state of her health. I walked with her to Frazers<sup>370</sup> in the Grand Moskoj for some materials for her embroidery we observed at some of the fruit shop<sup>371</sup> windows little baskets of ripe cherries, strawberries & raspberries, it was

a curious exhibition contrasted with ice in the canals, but they did not tempt us buy cherries at a ruble banco apeice! Radishes are more reasonable.

Monday [April] 28<sup>th</sup> <sup>372</sup> Yesterday proved showery. Debo remained at home with Jemmy, but Willie went with his father & I to the English Chapel, the attendance was good as most of the congregation keep equipages, & the morning service is generally crowded, in the afternoon there is a lamentable difference, tho M<sup>r</sup> Law is very urgent that the whole of the Lords day be honored & that we should not neglect assembling ourselves together. Whistler did propose going out to Sarsocello to see Col Todd<sup>373</sup> as he finds little leisure for visiting during the week, but I discouraged him by saying “You know as you spend Sunday so will your work in all the week days prosper or not” M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes sent over to offer a seat in her carriage if we would go to the “American & English Chapel at 6 oclock, I felt much pleased that I availed myself of the offer, M Ellerby<sup>374</sup> preached from Rev 3<sup>rd</sup> chap. 11<sup>th</sup> verse<sup>375</sup> and very deeply interesting was his subject to me, he applied his arguments to his hearers urging us to repent & hold fast. M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes is organist, the voluntary was very soft & composing to the mind, the hymns truly devotional. On my return at 8 oclock I kissed my boys good night & then headed the tea table. M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell has lately joined us at dinner & tea for as he had to submit to our taking care of him during his severe illness I have begged him to prove he is not dissatisfied with his fare by continuing to partake with us, for the Russian dishes from a Club house might be too rich until he is able to exercise more. so he very amiably agrees to my wishes.<sup>376</sup> After our social repast was over we adjourned to the parlor & as it is our habit to read separately some good book or one reads aloud, Whistler engaged us soon as his listeners to one of Blunts excellent discourses upon the life of St Paul.<sup>377</sup> I am so thankful to hear our young friend Maxwell speak of his favorite parts of the bible, for while he was at the point to die I took myself to task that I had never evinced the interest I felt for his immortal soul, that I should from false delicacy have been restrained from urging him to go to church with us, he did not like to venture into our parlor on Sunday for he was aware we received no callers, but his illness broke down the barriers & every day I become more & more interested in the young American thus brought into the

bosom of our family. We have had a rainy day again today & have none of us been out to walk.

Tuesday [April] 29<sup>th</sup> <sup>378</sup> I was much amused today that Major Trouvellier should mistake M<sup>r</sup> M for Debos music master, he delights in music & could not resist the temptation of lingering to listen to her harp after he had come up with his Grandmothers address<sup>379</sup> to me, at an unfashionable hour for a call. the Major had much to relate as many weeks had intervened since he left the city — his wifes upsets in the Sledge on their journey to the country, & his own hardihood in venturing the day the river broke up to cross in his carriage upon the ice 1/2 an hour only before the stream was freed from its natural bridge, how very sudden the transition The Ropes came to tea at our house sociably, he was in his merriest mood, I could not resist the peals of laughter, tho my heart was sad after joining in it, she is a delightful combination of sweetness of temper, cheerfulness & affection, with much sound sense & *love of music*<sup>380</sup> I sent of [*sic*] a letter to my dear Kate by todays Courier. And now at 11 1/2 must try to dream of *home*.

[Wednesday] May 1<sup>st</sup> 1844. We had Major T & Col M<sup>381</sup> to dine with us. Debo not well enough to come to table, but after they had gone she came into the parlor, sewed until tea time, then played over all her songs at the request of M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell.<sup>382</sup>

Friday [May] 3<sup>rd</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Maingay called yesterday & begged “Dasha”<sup>383</sup> might go over today to stay all night. I was very glad my dear daughter was so well she could accept the very friendly invitation, she acknowledges she was benefitted by the medicine recommended, she left us soon after breakfast today, indeed little Willie & I accompanied her across the Neva in one of those gaily painted gondolas we admire so much, the river was smooth as a lake & the weather bright & summer-like.

Sat [May] 4<sup>th</sup> I could not have dreamed that the bridge which was only replaced yesterday (at the expense of towing it up 1000 silver rubles)<sup>384</sup> should today be drawn aside because of the ice floating from the Lake Ladoga, for the weather is so warm we have the fortresque<sup>385</sup> in ever [*sic*] room open all day to admit the fresh air & no fire either in the parlor grate or any of the peaches. So I continued to expect Debos return from the Island until M<sup>r</sup> La Roche<sup>386</sup> came to give her a German lesson,

then I understood that the crossing was impeded by the ice! Yesterday I forgot to mention was the Empress *name* day.<sup>387</sup> I should have liked to see the review,<sup>388</sup> but the heat of the weather made me tired after a drive up the Nevski to a Millener<sup>389</sup> for Debo's straw bonnet & then crossing the Neva with her. there was an illumination as usual on such anniversaries, but the moon light was so brilliant it shamed the dingy lamps upon the pavement. I understood too late! the ships decorated & hung with cold lamps on the river fronting the winter Palace looked very gala-like. This afternoon we dined at two & drove to our country retreat to explore it once more previous to our taking possession. I was sorry Debo was not along to choose her rooms Mrs Ropes went in her place, the drive was rather warm & very dusty, our dear boys enjoyed their range exceedingly, & I liked the house even better than before, our landlord had bought *new* furniture for our accommodation, which with newly painted floors &c promise us freedom from insects. The boys like the pond at the back door better than I do!

Monday [May] 6<sup>th</sup> Yesterday the river was full of floating ice, yet it felt like June weather, on our way to afternoon service however I observed the bridge in its place & no ice. I rather hoped the Maingays would bring Debo to church. Mr Law gave us a beautiful discourse upon the *Jealousy of God*, but few were present to profit by it. Lady Stuart<sup>390</sup> was one of the congregation, much improved by a half mourning dress, so much more suitable than bird of Paradise plume to one of her age & ugliness. On our return from church Whistler took a row across the Neva to see Debo. Mr Maxwell joined us at tea & we spent the evening quietly in serious conversation. I enjoyed reading in my room to my boys.

Thursday [May] 29<sup>th</sup> <sup>391</sup> I have been so constantly occupied as not to be able to note down what happened. we have been settled in our nice country house just a fortnight, & altho the rain has sometimes brought a chilly feeling we have been quite comfortable within doors as our Peaches render our rooms warm enough without double sashes, but before I remark more of our nice home upon the Peter hoff road I shall go back to the last week we were in the Galernia & mention a day we passed at Sarscosela with Col Todd.<sup>392</sup> At noon Whistler & Mr Maxwell accompanying us we rode to the station<sup>393</sup> & took the cars (upon the only rail road in Russia)<sup>394</sup> which soon transported us the 20 versts to

the pretty town of Sarsco sela.<sup>395</sup> it would be ungenerous in me to remark how inferior this rail road, cars &c seemed to us Americans for the people were all civil to us & some of them seemed to know my husband & to be pleased to see him. the country is flat & uninteresting between St P and Sarsco.<sup>396</sup> the town itself with Macadamised sts<sup>397</sup> remarkably clean. After lunching at the Cols we all walked to the Catherine Palace<sup>398</sup> situated in beautiful grounds kept in the most exquisite order. we observed many peasant women sweeping the grass plaits & smoothing the gravel walks, gathering every speck from either into their aprons.<sup>399</sup> water in lakes & falls gives variety to the straight walks & avenues, but the trees are not noble<sup>400</sup> tho the evergreens are fine. The Palace is at present the quarters of the *heir* Grand Duke Alexander<sup>401</sup> when at Sarsco, for a New Palace<sup>402</sup> is occupied by the Emperor in another part of the town. This built by Catherine like all other of her designs is tasteful, costly & still in perfect repair.<sup>403</sup> we did not go into the chapel<sup>404</sup> at one end of it, as we had scarcely time to linger as long as we wished in the splendid suits [*s'iz*] of apartments,<sup>405</sup> which as we walked thro admiring the views of the grounds from the windows, seemed to exceed each in magnificence. & again I was astonished at the perfect neatness & freshness of a palace which has been built so many years. One suite of apartments in the Chinese style, furniture & all to correspond, the walls, ceilings, doors &c pannels of looking glass framed together by the finest chinese porcelain.<sup>406</sup> Another suite of rooms with inlaid floors of Mother of pearl in flowers,<sup>407</sup> as polished as a mirror, of course the *path* thro out the palace is upon cloth to preserve the polished floors as no carpets are used. & so much respect is required to be shewn to the place that servants are stationed to relieve gentlemen of their surtouts<sup>408</sup> on entering the Palace. I was troubled that Mr Maxwell should be exposed to the risk of taking cold. for we all felt the chilling difference between the atmosphere of the galleries & that of the warm sunshine the suite of apartments which had been furnished for the Grand Duchess Alexandrine on her marriage the past winter Debo thought most attractive for altho perfectly elegant they have a modern air of refinement not unsuitable to the taste & convenience of the present day.<sup>409</sup> but I was most interested by the room which the Emperor Alexander had occupied just before his death.<sup>410</sup> the camp bed behind the screen &

simplicity of all its furniture shewed he wished only conveniences for himself, where splendor reigned. they pretend<sup>411</sup> that no article has been changed since he was there, fine damask napkins as if just used the day before are hung over the chair & all the paraphernalia of his toilette razors, brushes &c upon his dressing table. Debo was the only one who yielded to expressions of delight, my boys seem not yet to have their heart in these things & I could add a wish that they never might — Jemmie wished he could stay to examine the fine pictures & know who painted them,<sup>412</sup> but as we returned thro the grounds & I asked him if he should wish to be a grand duke to have them for play grounds, he decided there could be no freedom with a footman at ones heels! On our going back to the Cols a nice dinner was soon placed on the table, for dessert among the various temptations forms of cream, which were no doubt all the better for coming from the dairy of the Catherine Palace, as the Grand Duke A has fine cattle on his farm<sup>413</sup> — I had forgotten to mention the extensive Conservatories<sup>414</sup> attached to his grounds we had not time to enter them, they looked tempting so many exotics peeping thro the open glass, for the day was bright & warm as June. We returned to St Petersburg by the 5 o'clock train, & from the mirth of the young folks I judged they were not wearied by the rational pleasure we had been occupied with all day. Willie & James were bountiful with their riddles for Mr M & Sister to solve & laughter was infectious. Being engaged to tea at Mrs Maingays we had only time to dress when our neighbours the Ropes were ready for we had agreed to cross together in the same barge. the only stranger to me was a Miss Musgrove, who is English governess in some Russian family of distinction,<sup>415</sup> a very superior lady, I enjoyed conversing with herself & Mrs M while the girls & Ropes played at cross purposes.<sup>416</sup> At eleven o'clock we went home in our barge for we felt no fear tho there was no moon, it was not dark. On Monday the 13<sup>th</sup> it being 1<sup>st</sup> of May old style there was as usual a Fete at Catrineoff,<sup>417</sup> the sun shone bright & I suppose literally all the world of St Petersburg was there but ourselves, I was busy finishing my packing for our removal the next day.<sup>418</sup> we should have moved to the country on the 1<sup>st</sup> but that we did not wish to meet the gay throng, our road laying in the same direction.<sup>419</sup> Very few will take up their abode in the country so early, but I longed to try change of air for my dear James who the last night we

passed in the Galernia was in a burning fever & kept me bathing his aching temples & wetting his parched lips, thank God the change has been blessed to him, he has not made a complaint since we came here. Our friends find the roads so good & the distance so easy we are not deserted. Mr Maxwell has been twice to see us<sup>420</sup> & promises to stay some days, the Maingays several times & Emma spent a week,<sup>421</sup> & tho it was for the delight of Debos society she sometimes sat in my room to read aloud in such books as comfort the christian. she is a very gifted girl, but to my ear her voice in reading is sweeter than at the piano & I shall have a pleasing association of her always for she was ever ready to gratify me by reading or serious conversation while I sat at work — How secure it is to love those who love the Saviour. I pray this young friend of my dear daughter may retain the same views in London she has been brought up with, that she may become the decided young Christian her Sister Eliza is<sup>422</sup> — Of course it is painful to part from those who have made *friends* of us when strangers in a foreign land, but the Maingays have paid their last visit to us & we to them ere they returned to their native land. I have been busy today writing by them to my friends & sisters in Lancashire. Mr Stockhol<sup>423</sup> has just arrived I must go out to do the honors, it is very friendly of him to come in a hard rain to see us. I cannot think as I did last month it never rains in Russia we have had complete April weather this week. the verdure around us is refreshing & the sun set thro the wood opposite our house we never tire of admiring, I always think of my dear Mother & wish her here. Our grounds are kept in the most perfect order without trouble to us & last Sat our landlord sent us in from his green house more than a dozen plants in full flower, Hydrangias, Roses, & Stocks every window sill is filled.<sup>424</sup> The quiet of the country accords with my wishes & altho it is the common practise to entertain guests on Sunday especially during the Summer which is the busy season among merchants, it is understood that I am averse to it, therefore our acquaintances favor us other days. Last Sunday we had our new Curate.<sup>425</sup> I liked his fervent manner he seemed not to think he was in a strange congregation, both himself & Mr Law officiated at the communion service. Lady Stewart took it for the last time among us!<sup>426</sup> Mr Laws was a farewell sermon (for the Summer) too<sup>427</sup> his text was from Coloss. 2<sup>nd</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> <sup>428</sup> but he never is personal in his application &

indeed his discourse was more upon the descent of the Holy Spirit. as it was Whitsunday.<sup>429</sup> This is one of the great festivals of the Greek Church but the poorer classes seem to understand such anniversaries no further than as early holidays, the road was thronged, every shop filled with boughs of trees or flowers. I understand it is rejoiced in by them as the first day of summer, so tho the weather was less Summer like than any we have had for a month we saw many dressed in book muslins & gauzes<sup>430</sup> going to church of the better classes, & the lower order of women had managed to put on white gowns, yet still the *very poor* in their sheep skins crossing themselves before the Picture of the Virgin at the door. In the afternoon we saw bands of Peasants sauntering along the road, for their choruses attracted us to the window, but tho Emma professed to delight in their music I found even she could not persuade herself they sung *hymns*. Oh no their words she said were foolish & low beyond our conception. Ah if I could speak to them I would teach them how they should spend the Lords day! for tho they are all eager for Tracts,<sup>431</sup> the mass seem to reflect no more than the dumb beast which perish<sup>432</sup>

Friday [May] 30<sup>th</sup> <sup>433</sup> My dear husband brought me letters yesterday by the Steamer of the 1<sup>st</sup> Debo from Jule was sent to the Island to her, but as her father is to bring her from M<sup>rs</sup> Maingays today I shall perhaps have some news from Stonington, my letter was from my own dear mother, it was (as her voice always is) truly comforting. When last I was with my friend Miss Hirst as I spoke of this loved parent to her the tears (which her own bodily anguish never call forth) streamed over her pale face from joy that the poor negroes were so anxious for the scriptures & clasping her hands she expressed her thanks that God had devoted my mothers visit to Florida to so blessed a purpose, as to do *His* work.<sup>434</sup> Oh may it be thus while she is continued on Earth till she shall shine at the last as the perfect day on entering upon her rest! We had showers of rain again today my Willie was driven in from planting the daisies sent him by M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell for his little garden. & Whistler was wet to the skin while crossing the Neva in a barge for Debo, but he did not accomplish his purpose of bringing her home. M<sup>rs</sup> Maingay plead so earnestly to keep her their *last* evening at Vasili Ostrow he could not resist it.



Sat [May] 31<sup>st</sup> <sup>435</sup> My dear husband kindly wished me to accompany himself & boys to the city as the sun shone charmingly & they were to attend the annual review in the Champ de Mars<sup>436</sup> of 70,000 troops by the Grand Duke Michel (the Emperor having gone to England)<sup>437</sup> but as Debo was not to go I concluded to wait another opportunity & to avail myself of my loneliness to answer my dear Mothers letter, which I did, I had also to make arrangements for dining some gents who had promised to come out,<sup>438</sup> but with my excellent cook & good footmen it was only necessary to issue orders. I welcomed my dear runaways at four o'clock. Debo looking very sad from bidding adieu to the Maingays, she brought home Emmas & Freddys & Lilly pictures to keep them in their place in our memories. with an envelope from M<sup>rs</sup> M to me not to be opened till this day week at noon!<sup>439</sup> Whistler regretted I had not attended the Review the hard rains having laid all the dust & all the soldiers in new uniforms which they receive only once in two years it was brilliant in an unusual degree.<sup>440</sup> Our boys had pressed thro in front of all the crowd, & had not consented to let Alexander take them away until the very end, they gave me a full description & said they admired the Chevalier Guards (the Empress corps) <sup>441</sup> best of all. Our Ambassador of course was there,<sup>442</sup> he & M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell did not come to us until our other guests & selves had nearly finished dinner.<sup>443</sup> The Col brought me a present of a basket of American Apples, very choice, some countryman had sent him three barrels & when he discovered they had been at the Custom house a fortnight he could only out of the three save one — but even these were a treat to distribute.

Monday 2<sup>nd</sup> of June.<sup>444</sup> Yesterday we had clear weather tho we wore our cloaks in the carriage to church with great comfort. The road was full of troops all day, for it had also been the case before the review, poor soldiers they have not the privilege of a sabbath day — many of them were singing that wild strain to which we are not [*sic*]<sup>445</sup> becoming familiar, but I wondered to see ladies & gentlemen seated in their summer houses — which are always pitched close to the road to observe all that passes — not surprised however that the lower classes should fill the shop doors & windows to idle & to gaze. but Oh it makes my heart ache & I wish I could speak to these poor deluded souls! I feel as my friend Miss Hirst I'd give all but my own salvation, to convert them to Christ. plenty are

ever to be seen crossing themselves before the shocking pictures of the Virgin in whatever direction we may go. but they turn from that to *do evil* & confess if questioned they do it as a form & not with any reverence. Our church was full as it always is of a morning & now we have only one service a day — Mr Law gone,<sup>446</sup> our new Curate preached, it was Trinity Sunday & he read the Athenasian creed<sup>447</sup> again, which he explained most satisfactorily, after having touched upon his new relation to us his text was taken from the Epistle of St. Jude 20 & 21<sup>st</sup> verses.<sup>448</sup> Every argument so clear, his manner so earnest, no wonder coming from the heart, he should touch the heart & keep the attention awake thro out. Debo felt his discourse to be *short*, & Mrs Gillebrand as we came down the aisle pressed my hand & whispered, delightfully impressive & convincing.<sup>449</sup> Today Debo commenced her instruction with the boys again, & after Mr Hadenscoff<sup>450</sup> had accomplished much in Whistlers drawings of Engines, he begged as a pastime they might go into the Chancery to sit to him for their pictures to present to “Mama”. We waited dinner in hopes Whistler would return from town, so it was nearly six o'clock as it rained after, we could not walk. Debo practised while her father read American papers to me while I sewed, after my boys had taken their bread & milk & gone to bed I went up to their room & read in one of the good books Miss Hirst supplies them with. we took our coffee after nine & had not to light a candle until to read the bible & prayers & for bed.

Wednesday June 5<sup>th</sup> Yesterday I accompanied my dear husband in the carriage to the city while he went to the Department to meet the railroad Commission.<sup>451</sup> I shopped & paid a call at Mrs Gillebrands to offer my services at the time of her taking possession of her country house — then had a lunch with my nice young friend Mrs Ropes & a two hours chat with her when my husband came for me to go over to the Island with him to look at Lodas house<sup>452</sup> which he has thought of renting. I was not so well pleased with it as I had expected, too much space seems to have been given to Show, in the grand staircase & five rooms designed for entertainment,<sup>453</sup> we recrossed the Neva in a boat & were dissappointed Mr Maxwell was not ready to drive home with us as we had planned to a 4 clock dinner, he followed us however before sunset & we hope he will enjoy his visit to our Dom on Drurys estate.<sup>454</sup>

We had a delightful saunter thro some of our neighbours grounds,<sup>455</sup> a winding avenue of birch enclosing sometimes a meadow carpetted with wild flowers, or a pond of water with pretty boats upon it gave sufficient variety to call forth our admiration & on our way back the setting sun gilded the woods, & my heart was warmed with adoration & thankfulness that God so bountifully provided enjoyments for us. it was late for my boys, & I could not read to them as usual when they went to bed, but we made no stranger of M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell & were glad to close our evening with family worship<sup>456</sup> & wish each other good night. This morning before we were out of our room, our dear Willies voice was heard welcoming our friend M<sup>r</sup> Ropes who had come 10 versts to breakfast with us. he soon joined Will & Debo at the swing. I let them enjoy it awhile as I stood talking with M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell on the front piazza then rung the prayer bell which soon assembled us all in the parlor. Our cook had excellent hot rolls, minced meat, fresh eggs & coffee on our table by eight oclock, we were all blessed with health, to appreciate her skill appetites were ready & we had a jovial meal. when M<sup>r</sup> R was about to mount his tall steed to return to his mercantile pursuits, I filled his side pocket with American apples for his Ellen<sup>457</sup> as she could not eat them here today. While writing just now Whistler who has staid at home today called me to the Piazza to see the troops passing from St Petersburg to Peterhoff. they proved to be the Chevalier Guards. mounted on fine black horses, all their officers are young noblemen I was pleased to discover M<sup>r</sup> M & our boys in the wood opposite also enjoying the sight of this noble cavalry. James has brought in a string of Perch which he caught & now both he & Willie are ready to read to me I must attend to instructing them till dinner time as their father proposes us a drive after, the weather is so very favorable & the late rains have laid the dust for which this road is notorious,<sup>458</sup> mosquitoes annoying!

Monday 10<sup>th</sup> June. Before noting down how profitably we have spent this day, quietly at home, I must touch upon the pleasant drive hinted at above. it was along the Peterhoff road but further than we had been, as we usually make our excursions on foot Whistler having the horses in town, we drove past some beautiful Seats occupied by Russian or English gentry<sup>459</sup>. Debo pointed out the Estate where the pretty M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson<sup>460</sup> as she is called spends her Summers she is near enough to

be a neighbour to us & as she sings delightfully Debo wishes to have her among our few visitors, further on she pointed to an estate that our friends the Maingays occupied,<sup>461</sup> but it is not so conveniently near town as we must live so we cannot promise Jemie to try to rent it next year! We passed a fine Monastery<sup>462</sup> which my curiosity would have led me inside of for we saw there was an evening service performing. the last place we drove to was the finest the name on the gate which is always attached to the Dacha (or country house) told us a very rich Russian Nobleman was the possessor of the pretty Italian-looking villa Mr Maxwell said Count—— was master of horse to the Grand Duchess Helen.<sup>463</sup> Our friend on retiring to his room for rest confessed how much he had enjoyed his day with us. The next morning when we assembled at prayers Mary had a sad report from Miss Debo the mosquitos had feasted on her face during her last nights slumbers, & it proved that she must be a prisoner in her room all day. I never saw such swellings occasioned by these little insects before, altho James has been poisoned here by them also in an extraordinary degree. her forehead was in two puffs & her eyes half closed, she used iced water & vinegar all day, yet still the next morning her phiz was as unnatural as ever.<sup>464</sup> Mr Maxwell interests himself so much in the boys & Whistler being in the house time was not idle with him, he was kind enough to sit by me some part of the morning read to me a letter from his own dear mother<sup>465</sup> written just previous to her having heard of his late illness, she expresses her regard for me in the most gratifying terms, that she loves me as a sister & hopes she yet shall claim my friendship in my own native land.<sup>466</sup> I felt overpowered that her sons mention of our family in his correspondence should have elicited such an interested [*sic*] in unworthy me! Mr M also favored me by handing me a letter he had lately received from a Norwegian<sup>467</sup> he have [*sic*] spent some hours last Summer with this gentleman in Christiana, a correspondence had ensued, & the Norwegian wrote in as glowing terms of the United States as of his own republic, the hand was like copperplate & the English correct. I was not aware before how happily Norway is governed, titles have been abolished there seem to be no poor there, the religion is Lutheran & all who hold any office in that country must be members of the Christian church,<sup>468</sup> it is a cheap country for there are no duties & the most

salubrious climate in northern Europe. What a pity that intoxication should be the besetting sin of the lower orders – but as wine & liquors are without duty they are sadly too cheap. I fear tho Mr M met not one beggar in Norway,<sup>469</sup> drunkenness will make many. God forbid! rather may a better spirit influence to forsake what will destroy the good effect of all the advantages they have within their reach. We had quite a trading at our front gate with a Russian Pedlar while Mr M was with us. little Willie & James talked him into some bargains Mr M sent their sister up a jumping rope a basket also for her work \_ thus recommending industry & exercise. I was glad Debo was able to present herself friday evening<sup>470</sup> as it was the last of his stay. Mr Miller<sup>471</sup> & Curtis<sup>472</sup> arrived to tea, the former was once President of the Bank of England.<sup>473</sup> his hair is white as snow now & he talks of his wife & daughters in England,<sup>474</sup> still he is most cheerful & so great an amateur of music he is willing to ride this far at any time to listen to Debo's piano or harp — After they left at eleven o'clock we rung for lights because we must have our outside shutters closed to secure us from thieves. Mr M has been much amused with the tattooing the watchmen keep up at intervals thro the night to shew to the families they are on guard.<sup>475</sup> it is a shameful evidence of the defects of the religious system, but I trust when the gospel is preached freely to all nations this people so very apt to learn as they seem, may be honest thro love to God & not from fear of man. I felt very sorry Mr M found it necessary to leave us on saturday morning<sup>476</sup> to prepare for going in the next Steamer to Stettin,<sup>477</sup> he accompanied Whistler in his Droshky to town promising to come out again for 24 hours at least.<sup>478</sup> The Ropes drove out to see us about our dinner time, it is such a proof of their regard for us I feel as tho I could hardly be kind enough in my welcome of children nurses & all. We ladies & Mr R took a stroll about a verst on the public road & turned into the beautiful grounds belonging to Mr — Dacha<sup>479</sup> & brought away each a large bunch of every variety of pretty wild flowers, lilies of the valley among the rest. the circular avenue of birch encloses a rich prairie on a small scale the wild flowers make such a carpet. When we were taking an early tea my dear Whistler came back from the city & right glad was I we had a comfortable meal all ready to refresh him after his days fatigue. I could not be amused<sup>480</sup> at hearing Jemmies remark after the Ropes had gone, he wished Mr R or

Mr M might be with us all the time, one so merry the other so agreeable! he really felt sad to let them leave our house. My boys had their bath as usual Saturday & they needed it uncommonly after their romps with some Cadets who had come up from school to pass the Sabbath with Mrs Norman<sup>481</sup> their grandmother who lives on the same estate with us. Sunday<sup>482</sup> was so cold I was not too warm with my English woolen cloak over my velvet mantilla<sup>483</sup> & poplin gown<sup>484</sup> in riding to church. I regretted so few were there to listen to Mr Williams excellent sermon from St Luke 16<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> verse.<sup>485</sup> he preaches the word indeed with power. Oh my heart glowed with thankfulness to God that such a teacher of righteousness had come to supply our Pastors place. Whistler alluded to his sermon as he rode home & said he gave no quarter, Debo thought him bigotted altho she confessed she listened to his earnest pleading with pleasure. I gave it as my conviction Mr Williams would hold out the hand of fellowship to any thorough Christian whether Presbyterian or Episcopalian, but I thought he must condemn any who were lukewarm followers of Him who had Himself despised all such. And my dear husband agreed with me that Mr W brought every one to the Bible to try of what spirit they were. It always pains me to observe our road so full of people of all ranks intent on idleness or pleasure (falsely called) & I am so sorry so many English families when they move into the country for the Summer reconcile it to their consciences never to go to town to attend divine service, eleven oclock allows ample time, & if the drive took two hours instead of one I'd consider it a privilege to be able to accomplish it. I find after we dine there is not too much leisure to occupy with my boys in reading. they enjoy it for Miss Hirsts<sup>486</sup> supply of religious books yeilds us great variety, so that we never need a walk to add to it. Whistler kept beside us listening with pleased satisfaction to a story illustrating the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment,<sup>487</sup> the contrast between mis-spending and spending-well the last day (in preparation of the first day of the week, & of those who loved to keep the *sign* that they were Gods people, my boys had many remarks to make, and that we may always experience the blessedness of the day of rest we here enjoy I earnestly pray. the little Normans<sup>488</sup> come in to listen to my Sunday afternoon readings, & as Jemmie and Willie take coffee with us they have many pleasures which those who live in the gay world could scarcely

appreciate. After my boys had gone to bed & I had read to them a chapter I seated myself between Debo & her father by the parlor window admiring the effect of the setting sun upon the wood opposite our house. When it was ten o'clock having selected two beautiful chapters for our evening service I thought as we were without guests we would by day light join in family worship. I *felt* much as I read the 42<sup>nd</sup> Psalm, & the comforting words of the 40<sup>th</sup> of Isaiah<sup>489</sup> & was so absorbed in our Sabbath evening prayer in the conclusion that I heard not the approaching footsteps of Mr Miller,<sup>490</sup> tho Whistler did, he softly withdrew until our family service was over, then came in saying on his way from Mr F Bairds<sup>491</sup> where he had been dining he promised Mr Curtis to call & ask us to fix a day for the excursion to Lake Ladoga.<sup>492</sup> he sat half an hour with us & took the trouble to recount to me how he had spent his sabbath, at church in the morning by the sick couch of a friend afterwards until five o'clock when he felt it no harm to take a solitary ride to dine with friends in the country. Mr Miller & I always have a pleasant argument upon religion, he is very good tempered & altho he says I am too strict, he has too much good feeling to infringe upon my privileges as a Christian & manages his visits to us on week days that he may not intrude upon our Sabbaths.

Monday 17<sup>th</sup> June Any Indifferent person might judge we had leisure for journalizing or even idling hours of these long days in the retirement of Peterhoff road, but when the time of retiring to my chamber comes to review the day I invariably confess to how *much* I have left undone that ought to have been done, for between housekeeping, teaching my dear boys, studying a little french & Russ myself, a visit to our neighbours & receiving a visiter now & then from town I accomplish nothing with my pen, except in the way of hurried scrawls to England & to my dear native land. Last week we had a farewell visit of 24 hours from our favorite Mr Maxwell.<sup>493</sup> the same day W<sup>m</sup> Maingay<sup>494</sup> came unexpectedly, ensuring his welcome by bringing a letter from Emma dated Lubec giving Dasha a most entertaining sheet full of their voyage from St Petersburg.<sup>495</sup> We had a stroll between dinner & tea thro an estate about half a verst from our domicile,<sup>496</sup> where wild flowers abound. Mr M talked with me much about his fathers country seat upon our beautiful Hudson.<sup>497</sup> my little Willie is his shadow when he can be &

as he used his Russian Jack knife to cut the stalks of flowers I gathered, he called to mind the bonnie wee pen knife mother had lost in her desk, whereupon our friend took his pen knife out of his pocket & offered it to me for a kopeck that it might not cut him out of my memory. I the next morning gave him half a kopeck<sup>498</sup> for it! and also a note of introduction to our kind fellow passengers<sup>499</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Baird,<sup>500</sup> who were to be his on board the same Steamer Alexandra! Ah how full my heart was as I recalled the scenes of my babys illness & death in that cabin, where the sympathy of these ladies M<sup>rs</sup> Baird & her Sister Miss Khremer bound me to them. And now they have gone from St Petersburg for 5 years<sup>501</sup> I can scarcely expect to meet them again in this life.<sup>502</sup> May we in a better! Many might suppose the name of the Alexandra would call up painful emotions so that I should not bear to hear it mentioned, but it is not so, it is an indulgence to me to visit the cabin in imagination where I last held my Charlie to my bosom, last heard his soft voice say he loved his own Mother, & say his evening prayer. even to go to the lonely State room A where I gazed on his body in death is a selfish indulgence to me which I cannot always suppress & I always feel the wish to be a passenger again on board the Alexandra that I may in reality occupy the same state room we were in together. But my chief desire is to keep ever in view that bright haven where we may meet at last to part no more, where we may “all be one in Christ Jesus our Lord!”<sup>503</sup> Only this far have I attempted to write up my journal being left by Whistler & Debo while they take a walk to M<sup>r</sup> Anderson,<sup>504</sup> when my dear little neighbour<sup>505</sup> comes in to sit with me. And another week has rolled over my head for this evening is Tues 25<sup>th</sup> June. Yesterday Debo received a letter by the last Steamer from her twin enclosing one from dear little Emma Palmer<sup>506</sup> to me. All well & my dear Mother<sup>507</sup> soon expected to be there. I was made very happy by the Steamer before bringing me letters from my own Mary<sup>508</sup> & also one from my kind young friend Kate Prince.<sup>509</sup> high as postage is I ever feel richer when I can purchase such treats than any other luxury. Last Sunday we all went to Church, it was the day of Saint Barnabas the Apostle & M<sup>r</sup> Williams text was “For he was a good man, full of faith & of the Holy Ghost”<sup>510</sup> from which he drew the character of a christian, comparing it with that of a worldly *good* man, moral benevolent, &c &c, but remarked no code of morals could satisfy



a true christian which was not based upon faith in Jesus Christ our Lord & Saviour. The Sunday before I had been induced to give up the benefit of listening to him for the duty of spending the morning by the bed side of my suffering friend Miss Hirst,<sup>511</sup> she was speechless & it comforted her to hear me read the scriptures, she had greatly sunk within the week & continued so feeble I have gone purposely to spend an hour with her several times since, she is fond of flowers, the doctor says he needs not ask who has been with her the fresh bouquet shews my visits, & it is a privilege I may not long enjoy for she seems gradually sinking into the grave. I perceive from time to time she looks thinner & paler if possible, so I go once or twice a week now the 11 versts between us purposely to see her. no complaint arises from her increased sufferings, tho when I question her she tells me what by the Lords strengthening her she is enabled to endure, perhaps one hours sleep in a whole night & such perspirations her clothing has all to be changed ten times in the 24 hours! sometimes when I have been gently fanning her, or bathing her hands in Cologne or putting a small lump of ice in her parched lips, she exerts herself to whisper “Inasmuch as ye do it unto one of the least of these my disciples, ye do it unto Me”<sup>512</sup> Oh to me she seems a distinguished Saint! and I wonder that I am selected when there are so many others more worthy the privilege of becoming her friend, she always addresses me by the tender epithet of Love & having lost her only Sister & both her parents<sup>513</sup> if God permits I will close her eyes in death & be as a Sister to her, she has an only & kind brother in M<sup>r</sup> Hirst,<sup>514</sup> but his school demands most of his time, her attentive Nurse Elona<sup>515</sup> tho neat & excellent in her capacity is a Russian, and lacks the attraction of the knowledge that is in Christ Jesus our Lord, when Miss Hirst has begged her not to sew on Sunday telling her it made her unhappy to witness the breaking of Gods command, she has answered the time would hang heavy without employment! my friend has said many times to me she would give all but her own soul to be able to talk Russ sufficiently well to teach the poor & ignorant the gospel plan of Salvation.<sup>516</sup>

Monday July 1<sup>st</sup> My dear Whistler left us last thursday<sup>517</sup> after a very early breakfast, for Moscow I had put him up a nice prog-canister<sup>518</sup> as he expected to be absent a fortnight, & gave him a Yankee plum cake<sup>519</sup> (which is thought so excellent in this land of few cakes — to take with

my compliments to Col. Melnikoff.<sup>520</sup> We had the honor of entertaining that gent two days last week — Our early rising the day of my husbands departure yeilded me abundant leisure for putting my closets &c in order & installing Fedor, the Dvanic, in Alexanders place as footman, he having attended the Master, before the boys must come in to lessons at 10 oclock — We were in the midst of a two oclock dinner when we heard a footstep in the entry, no knock having announced it I hoped my gude-mon might have come back for another day, but in walked William Maingay, of course bringing a letter from Emma to Debo!<sup>521</sup> he spent the afternoon thereby preventing my writing to Stonington as I had purposed. We had promised to take tea with our kind neighbours the Gillebrands sociably as the rain on Wednesday had interfered with our meeting our pastor Mr Williams & a few others there, so we not only took James & Willie with us but W Maingay too. While M<sup>ES</sup> Ropes was gratifying Debo with a game out of doors with these three young lords of the creation<sup>522</sup> I had a nice chat with Mr & M<sup>ES</sup> G. about their party the day before.<sup>523</sup> it is gratifying that congregationalists & episcopalians can be so cordial, they were more than ever pleased with Mr Williams, some argument having been started, drawing a parallel between Hume<sup>524</sup> & Voltaire<sup>525</sup> as both Infidels, it was opposed by D<sup>r</sup> H<sup>526</sup> who thought Hume had tried hard to become convinced of the truths of Christianity. “No one ever tried without succeeding “(by *prayer* & studying the scriptures—” Mr W replied. He afterwards gave them most interesting incidents of his travels thro Greece & his sojourn in Syria for two years, he preached at Jerusalem & knows the Bishop intimately, he visited Mount Carmel where Eliza [*siz*]<sup>527</sup> offered the wonderful sacrifice by fire from heaven, he described it as if made purposely – a table on top of a mountain spacious enough for all that was exhibited there to display Gods power! & as the question of where the water was obtained has often been disputed he asked his Arab guide for a drink & to Mr Ws astonishment & delight he took him to an abundant source, a spring in the mountain! *always* full as deep as the height of two men! Probably it was miraculously formed for Elijah or how should Ahab have been ignorant of it, and it remains to this day to illustrate the truth of scripture.<sup>528</sup> Mr Williams is preparing a work upon Syria for the press.<sup>529</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Law thinks he studies too much but he always looks bright & in

perfect health. M<sup>ES</sup> G shewed us quite a collection of articles for sale for the benefit of missionaries. brought from Toolar,<sup>530</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Maingay & I each made a purchase of an iron finger-ring. he did not leave us to return to his solitary quarters at Vasili Ostrow until 10 o'clock On Friday<sup>531</sup> we were obliged to give our boys holiday that our letters for the courier. might be ready for the courier. I answered dear Kate Princes letter & enclosed a half sheet in Julias from her twin, for it is long since I've been favored by either of my dear Sisters<sup>532</sup> & I cannot always write without encouragement, tho my heart is ever with them & I make allowances for their silence, yet Oh how I yearn to have it broken! We have rain every day & as this prevents my walking I suffer so much from cold feet I wish I had brought my little french warming foot stool & must send to Stonington for it. We feel obliged now to use the horses & about six o'clock as the sun shone out bright we took a drive meeting M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Ropes<sup>533</sup> at our gate we took him in by way of benefitting by his call, & he directed our "Coacher" a pretty circuit from the Crasnacello road<sup>534</sup> back to this, by which we passed the most beautiful seat I have yet seen in Russia It used to belong to Booterlin<sup>535</sup> & report says he lost it by a throw of the dice! when Jemmie heard it is now in the possession of Count Straugnoff<sup>536</sup> he was scarcely to be restrained from calling, forgetting he only knew the young Count & merely as a fellow passenger on board the Alexandra! there is a lake on the estate encircled by a walk in the nicest order & besides boat house, trees &c to render it picturesque a mill seat below. We had the finest view of the Gulf of Finland from the vicinity of this mansion & also of St Petersburg, the gilded dome of the Isaacs Church,<sup>537</sup> & the Spire of the Fortress<sup>538</sup> glittering in the distance. M<sup>r</sup> Joseph<sup>539</sup> had brought me a supply of Tracts in Russ, Finnish & German also the German bible which Jemmie wished to present M<sup>r</sup> Hadenskoug,<sup>540</sup> for all his kindness, when Whistler proposed to the Sweed three hours recess from his drawing table for necessary rest & walking, he begged to give James a writing lesson one hour & then to exercise with our dear boy, which plan had been adopted to their mutual satisfaction. Saturday<sup>541</sup> morning was bright & we had no dread of being overtaken by a shower when we set out for town to shop & make calls. Debo went to M<sup>ES</sup> Laws thro the court at the back of the church as we drove thro the Galernia when I had to stop at our

Grocers.<sup>542</sup> with the help of little Willies fluency in Russ I obtained all I wished, then drove to the Island. while I called upon M<sup>ES</sup> Hirst<sup>543</sup> I sent my dear boy in to Miss Hirsts<sup>544</sup> apartment with a fresh bouquet for her & Fedor carried some jelly to the Nurse, also for this interesting invalid. when I entered her room Willie was arranging the roses in some vases beside her bed, she looked brighter than for many weeks past & conversed with ease, but soon requested me as usual to read some of Gods word for her support, as now she is dependent on others for this comfort. her sight is enfeebled & her hands more powerless than ever. I alighted at the Parsonage for Debo (after Willie & I had done our shopping in the Nevski, what should I do without this darling child, he is rather less excitable than Jemmie & therefore more tractable, they each can make their wants comprehended in Russ but I prefer this gentlest of my dear boys to go with me. having suited myself with Summer caps & gloves for them both my business was over, except to apologise for Whistlers not having called yet upon M<sup>r</sup> Williams,<sup>545</sup> the season for work in the field is so short<sup>546</sup> & his undertaking so vast, he has no leisure for pleasure. We had hardly regained our “Dacha”<sup>547</sup> or country house before the heavy clouds which had so suddenly gathered discharged thunder, & a tremendous rain. M<sup>r</sup> J Ropes was caught in the wood opposite our house & while he left his cousin M<sup>r</sup> Hooper<sup>548</sup> (just from Boston) under the trees he ran over to borrow an umbrella. M<sup>r</sup> Prince<sup>549</sup> & young Merrilies<sup>550</sup> also sought shelter under our roof, they had been with our Jemmie in a boat on the Canal at the end of our Avenue. When M<sup>r</sup> Ropes<sup>551</sup> came to see us after the weather cleared he described how droll they all looked in borrowed coats after their soaking! Just as we were seating us at tea, a carriage drew up to our door & M<sup>r</sup> Miller entered introducing Sir W<sup>m</sup> Allen<sup>552</sup> the great Scotch artist of whom we have lately heard who has come to S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg to revive on canvass some of the most striking events from the life of Peter the G<sup>t</sup>. They had been to the Monastery on the this [*sic*] road of Seergay<sup>553</sup> to listen to the chanting at vespers in the Greek chapel. & M<sup>r</sup> M laughingly congratulated his companion that they were just in the nick of time for our excellent home made bread & fresh butter, & above all the refreshment of a good cup of tea! When he offered the cake basket afterwards to Sir William he recommended the plum cake as being made

at home & so like Scotch bun!<sup>554</sup> adding M<sup>rs</sup> W has visited Edenburg<sup>555</sup> & is partial to the Scotch! A slight interruption to his satisfaction was when a note from M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes caused Debo to leave the table, he protested against it saying “Miss W you should make them understand you attend to no business after dinner” his chat then turned upon the subject of Sir W Allens painting (Peter the G<sup>t</sup> teaching the Moozeecks<sup>556</sup> to make ships)<sup>557</sup> this made Jemmies eyes express so much interest, that his love for the art was discovered & Sir W<sup>m</sup> must see his attempts. When my boys had said good night the artist remarked to me “your little boy has uncommon genius, but do not urge him beyond his inclination” I told him it had only been cultivated as an amusement & that I was obliged to interfere or his application would confine him more than we approved.<sup>558</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Miller took a chance while Debo was playing for his countryman to say to me. “Do you know why I have come today? it is that I may not offend you by intruding on Sunday, sometimes I have such a desire to see you all so very much I cannot overcome it even on Sunday” I told him he must be sure I should welcome my husbands friends every day but upon the Sabbath when I considered myself engaged. he laughed & said “what is to become of poor Batchelors then? but I respect your views madam for in Scotland we are brought up to be very strict about the observance of the Sabbath, but the major is not so particular as you are, perhaps sometimes when he is at home you will excuse my coming from town to walk with him? I now laughed & answered tho I knew my husband would scold me for such inhospitable treatment of his friends, yet I must confess I missed him from my Sunday readings with our children & I really thought as the Merchants have no Change to go to on Saturday afternoon they must have set it apart as a holiday instead of being obliged *for their health* to steal half of the Lords day which I always found too short for reading the many good books, I am always *intending* to profit by. He always is so good tempered & so frank I can venture to tell him plainly what I think without fear of offending. He tried to extort a promise from me that I would consent to his driving Miss W & myself in his Phaeton<sup>559</sup> soon. but I told him we were *obliged* to use the Majors horses every day to keep them in order against his return,” for I well know how the busy bodies would talk if we should be met on this road where so many English are, & we have always

endeavoured to go on our path of duty without notoriety. but I have been entering too minutely into our conversation [*sic*]. Altho we have had rain every day this month, it has not been ever until after our return from church on Sundays. the congregation was twice as full the last Sabbath as usual. Mr Williams text was from the 15<sup>th</sup> of Rom 2<sup>nd</sup> verse.<sup>560</sup> he first alluded to the text he had preached from the sunday (I spent with Miss Hirst) "If I please men I am not the servant of Christ"<sup>561</sup> & while he remarked upon the seeming contradictions of different parts of the bible, reconciled them by saying like its divine author it was full of mysteries, that hereafter these should be cleared away & we must read with prayer & meditation that our faith might be strengthened, but that the context of his present subject shewed how we should please our neighbour & to his *edification*, that we should put no stumbling block in his way. but strive all to be one in Christ Jesus" After church when Mr Curtis handed us to the Calash<sup>562</sup> he asked if we would go to see the launch of a frigate<sup>563</sup> on thursday, but really I felt sorry that worldly engagements should present themselves & thanking him said I could not so suddenly make up my mind, so he walked out on monday<sup>564</sup> to take tea with us, however we concluded as Whistler was absent we had better not venture into the crowd which of course would fill the Admiralty square for the spectacle. Mr C had heard at Sarsko of the continued sufferings of the favorite Grand Duchess whose life is now like a candle in its socket flickering, sometimes almost out, then blazing momentarily!<sup>565</sup> the young Prince of Hesse alas! appreciates not the blessing he is so soon to be deprived of. all Russians are indignant at his thoughtlessness. at times riding with boon companions as he was on Sunday last - or found playing cards with those beneath him in rank. How pained the fond Empress mother who watches beside the sick couch or that lovely daughter must be by such want of sympathy. Report says the Grand Duchess Olga is indignant at the unfeeling conduct of her new brother in law, & says while she weeps at the prospect of being deprived of her adored Sister, it is well she will be summoned to a happier world ere she could be aware of the heartlessness of the Prince.<sup>566</sup> How little we think in passing thro magnificent Palaces of the aching hearts at times there! I remember as Debo observed the perfection of taste displayed in that suite of apartments which had been newly furnished in the Catherine Palace for

this young couple, I thought they at least might be exempt from all intrusion [*sic*] of evil upon their happiness in each other, both so young, so accomplished, so admired & she I knew deservedly beloved by all classes! but *vanity* is stamped on all perishable things! May she be happy in her Saviour! I wish I could have seen her *once!* she has been thought the most graceful & beautiful of all this Imperial family, so distinguished for beauty. We received a card of invitation today for a wedding to be at Col Todds on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July.<sup>567</sup> On tuesday I had a note from my dear husband, for now thursday<sup>568</sup> has overtaken me & as I have given my boys holiday, to celebrate the Independence of their country I shall write up my journal. their father was well, but felt the cold on his journey (this season is they say unusually cold from the incessant rains) he had made Alexander get his Shube on their way & it was lucky for the poor fellow would have shivered, out side, travelling night & day. Whistler says he must not indulge himself by staying so much at home again, as he suffers from home sickness dreadfully. but I should think the remedy painful as the effect. I wish we may never be reconciled to a separation from each [*sic*]<sup>569</sup> in this world! we miss him much! Debo has been amusing me with the new work by Prescott. “Conquest of Mexico.<sup>570</sup> we have finished the first vol in three afternoons, it is quite like romance. our neighbours the Gillebrands & Ropes took tea with us on Tuesday.<sup>571</sup> I told them of the charming report I had read in M<sup>r</sup> Maxwells letter to Whistler of his health & all the novelties he met at Berlin,<sup>572</sup> but I did not tell them of the gratification I had felt in receiving a kind letter from his mother,<sup>573</sup> it was more than I had expected for any attention in my power to bestow on her son. M<sup>r</sup> Gillebrand gave me the content of a letter he had received from the interior of Russia because it said I must be interested in the good cause. it was from an old German Baron<sup>574</sup> had been translated into excellent english, the strain was one of deep piety, devotion to the spread of the gospel. he described the blessed effects of the distribution of Tracts, the only channel now left in this land, for bibles are no longer allowed to be printed<sup>575</sup> & it is also forbidden that any should speak of any other faith than the Greek faith to the poor, who nevertheless seldom hear a sermon in their own churches, & the service being in a language they do not understand, the Slavonian, they quiet their consciences by bowing & crossing themselves before pictures of the

virgin & child, unless when awakened by truths from the tracts, which they are so eager to obtain they will walk versts for them. the old Baron writes for thousands more *for all classes*, soldiers in particular. Landlords are glad to have them distributed among their serfs & tenantry. for the [sic] benefit by the change in their habits & lives from the good effects. I was indeed delighted to learn all this & as M<sup>r</sup> G promised Debo the original document for a german exercise, I shall hope to send her translation to my native land. Our boys have great pleasure in distributing Tracts, on Sunday especially when we observe a knot of idle young men playing, or lolling on the grass, we pitch out a Tract which they pick up as a prize, & thank us as if from their hearts, but the most satisfactory way of distributing them is when regiments are passing to give one to each soldier - asking permission first from the commanding officer, which they are too polite to refuse - this week thousands have in this way been distributed by dear M<sup>rs</sup> Gillebrand, for our road has been thronged by troops. she says they always halt at her gate, as for three years she has done thus. but yesterday she was made rather uneasy by the report Alexa<sup>576</sup> carried her of the displeasure of the officers, when the soldiers broke their ranks & shoved each other in the ditch, in their haste to receive the tracts for them, she so dreads a prohibition! but the word is now abroad in this land! May it produce fruit!<sup>577</sup> Yesterday<sup>578</sup> while we were reading Mexico, the boys out playing with their Russian playmates in this enclosure — M<sup>r</sup> Ropes drove up bringing a letter to Debo it was from Emma Maingay, dated Black heath<sup>579</sup> near London — After our tea we ordered the Droshky that Debo might call upon Miss Law<sup>580</sup> at M<sup>r</sup> Andersons, we were invited to take seats on the back Piazza, I found myself at the side of a kind of Miss Becky Dugude<sup>581</sup> a poor cousin of the family I understand & liked her much, she seems to have a heart overflowing with kindness, & loves little children. M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson (called the beautiful M<sup>rs</sup> A) came down all ready for a ride on horse back, we persuaded her not to let our call hinder her as it was already past eight o'clock — as she mounted & kissed her fair hand in adieu, leaving an invitation with her husband for us to take tea the next day, which I declined. Debo enjoyed herself with the two young ladies left to entertain her in a Russian “Gee joggle” formed by a plank laid across a low block of wood. they stood up one at each end & kept time



with each other jumping, a gentleman on the ground by each, to hold the lady by the hand. the Peasant girls need no one to keep them at the end of the board for they are expert in this exercise,<sup>582</sup> but it would be dangerous if one jumped too far back, as a fall backwards would be rather awkward. the effect of the game is so pretty I told Debo, on our drive home, she must describe it to Jule that it might be adopted at Stonington. This morning Jemmie began relating anecdotes from the life of Charles the 12<sup>th</sup> of Sweden & rather to upbraid me that I would not *let* him do as that monarch had done at 7 years old, manage a horse! I discovered he had taken the volume to bed<sup>583</sup> & read while I thought him asleep. the truth is my Jemmie has fallen into those habits of late rising in consequence of keeping awake till ten o'clock that I have removed him from the nursery to my room, that in his fathers absence I may manage him, I should have been at a loss how to afford my dear boys a military parade today but there was an encampment of cadets about two estates off & they went with Col Drury's<sup>584</sup> sons to see them, they have several play fellows now Scharchinka (or little Alexander), Vaascha (or little William) are their favorites.<sup>585</sup> The flies are most tormenting! they really crawl into my eyes, there is no frightening them off by brushing. When our queer Virginia Randolph was Ambassador to this country he only staid a few days & complained he found "all the plagues of Egypt here with none of its fertility!"<sup>586</sup> but the country looks luxuriant now. It is hay-making time, I fear many of the beautiful fields of wild flowers have been sacrificed by the scythe. I have enjoyed so much pleasure in selecting from the many varieties in my walks with Willie to decorate my parlor, the delicate blue forgetmenot is very abundant on the marshy land here & keeps quite fresh a week in water. I every day wish for my dear Mother to delight in rambling thro the flowery meads with us! she would be stopped at every step to pick something new as I am. Willie has been seeking strawberries in the wood but none scarcely are ripe yet! we have had too much rain & too little heat.

Friday 5<sup>th</sup> July. Major & M<sup>rs</sup> Trouvellier<sup>587</sup> drove up from the city to spend the evening with us, we had not long returned from a drive of about 12 versts, having attended the vespers at Seergay Monastery. where the chaunting is delightful. we saw many poor & rich assembled at prayers, all alike at time [*sic*] touching their foreheads upon the

pavement crossing themselves incessantly. I watched one lady with the deepest interest she was dressed in white muslin, put me rather in mind of Mrs Barns<sup>588</sup> & seemed truly absorbed in her silent devotions, using fewer gestures than the others & kneeling longer, her fair brow occasionally pressed against the hard cold pavement. We could understand when the priests offered the prayer for the Imperial family by the names, & we imagined when all there joined most vociferously it was for the favorite Grand Duchess Alexandrine. The little Chapel is richly gilded, the screen before the Holy of Holies — into which the foot of none but the Priests may never [*sic*] enter — filled with pictures of the Saviour, Saints & Virgin Mary. Shrines on every side with pictures of Saints & tapers burning before them. I observed where we first went in a priest at a table teeming with kopecks already — selling these tapers to the people to burn before their patron Saints. Three times during the service the gilded doors of the screen were unfolded & a beautiful Altar peice discovered, a painting of the Trinity. Our blessed Saviour bearing his cross but seated in Heaven beside the Almighty Father. The dove representing the Holy Ghost hovering above them. Incense was showered upon all at prayers before every picture. I could not discover the great difference between this & mass in the Roman church, tho the Greek church professes such a wide distinction. the prayers were in an unknown tongue rapidly run over (except that for the Imperial family) the cross & beads I only saw in the hands of the high Priest - or Bishop probably - his vestments much like those worn at Mass by dignitaries at the Roman Altar, but the long black robes of all the other brotherhood were more like nuns robes & their long hair parted in the middle gave them quite a feminine appearance.<sup>589</sup>

On our drive home we observed all the peasantry along the Mackadamised road busy watering it, using small buckets filled with mud from the ditches on either side of the Turnpike, for it becomes very dusty in a few hours. I looked up at the clouds & said to Debo “if they will wait a half hour it will be sprinkled from above,” but we concluded the Emperor must be expected at Peterhoff as had been reported in the morning. we did not meet him however, but after our tea there was a commotion on the road I joined our boys at the gate, for never having seen his Imperial Majesty I was willing to mingle in the throng of

expectants. At last we learned when the company of Cadets were passing that the Emperor had only accompanied them as far as the Kras-nakabac (or red drinking house)<sup>590</sup> & had gone back to town, his two little sons, the grand dukes Constantine & some other name I forget,<sup>591</sup> were in the ranks. they had all been regaled with tea & good things on one or two of the Russian Estates in our neighbourhood & had a march of 19 versts yet before they could reach the camp at Peterhoff<sup>592</sup> - Poor little fellows I thought of them in the night while I listened to the pouring rain, & knew they must be drenched to the skin. some of them were only from ten to twelve years old, but soldiers at heart. One of the officers had singled out our Jemie & asked him first in Russ then in French what regiment he belonged to? "None here I must wait to get again to my own country" Thus the 4<sup>th</sup> of July proved as exciting a day in Russia for our dear boys as it was no doubt to their cousins in Stonington. James is rather a trial to his mothers patience, but I hope will reward my perseverance when his character developes further, he is so eager in the pursuit of all that interests him. I now adopt the plan of hearing my dear boys read directly after breakfast. Willie first while James practises on the piano half an hour, then [*viz*] Jem who hinders me not a little by his questions, he was much amused this morning on remarking that much which was said of the Russian character in touching upon the life of Peter the Czar, had come under his own observation. It is just so mother isn't it they will not kill or eat a pigeon yet, this is in the history of Charles 12<sup>th</sup> <sup>593</sup> which is the book he delights in now. And it is time I should stop scribbling, to talk with my darling boys before I join their Sister at Mrs Gillebrands, a shower detained her to dinner at our neighbours & they have sent to invite me to tea. I have been writing my dear Whistler this afternoon or I should have missed dear Debo who has not left me night or day since her father went away. Major Trouvellier expects to see him next week & will take my letter enclosing Mr Maxwells to him.<sup>594</sup>

Sat [July] 6<sup>th</sup> We had as heavy showers during the morning as I ever saw fall, but before dinner the sun shone gloriously. Mr Ropes comes always from town before dinner on Saturday for merchants have no Exchange the last day of the week, he dropped in to chat with Debo about the wedding at Sarsko on the 4<sup>th</sup> & I rejoiced we had not attended it as I like not to be where toasts are given & where the lavish distribution

of Champagne makes at least slight innovations upon propriety. I think a religious ceremony ought not to become a carousal, it ought to be a joyous event, but if my daughter were the bride I should feel hurt that the gentlemen should forget the the [*sic*] delicacy & respect due to her so far as to let their mirth grow noisy. Mr Kirk cannot claim his bride until their marriage is confirmed by the Lutheran ceremony.<sup>595</sup> I had really shivered from cold in the house all the morning & took a quick walk *cloaked & bonnetted* upon our parterre while Debo was making her toilet after dinner, the sun shine made me feel comfortable & all nature looked so fresh & bright I wished for my dear mother to admire the clean-washed flowers as I did. I counted 24 varieties in full bloom, from the violet to the dahlia — We had promised to go with the Ropes to Saigay chapel, it being St Johns day<sup>596</sup> the chaunting would be finer than usual & so it proved, for the band of court singers were added to those we had heard before, the chaunting was the most perfectly harmonious singing I ever listened to, but Oh I have the painful conviction that this worship is not that which is right the poor people prostrate themselves seemingly soul & body. but their offerings are to Saints equally with the Saviour, who has said Look unto *Me* & be ye saved all the ends of the earth, for there is none else but *me* who can come between you & an offended God.<sup>597</sup> the higher classes seemed to cross themselves without devotion gazing round upon the assembling crowd & I observed the high Priest while his back was turned to the people take out a pocket comb & smooth his long beard! this was in the most solemn part of the service, for he immediately after turned to his flock as Moses might have done to the Israelites to deliver a communication to them from the Most High,<sup>598</sup> for as he hurried thro something in the Slavonic, they all fell on their faces on the pavement. There were more tapers than common sold, dozen [*sic*] were burning before the Saint Saigay (this picture has a tiara of real diamonds & its richly gilded frame corresponds with that of the blessed Saviour on the other side of the altar & has even greater homage pd to it. St. John had also many tapers burning before his shrine today. Mr Gillebrand said to me when we were again out in the open air, “I have lived among these people 20 years & am more & more convinced of the errors of the Greek church, but without the bible how soon we should also lose our light!” We had before service gone over the burying

ground & saw some beautiful tombs, one in particular of two little boys only brothers affected me, the sculpture in pure white marble, their hands clasped in prayer upheld by the cross between them.<sup>599</sup> We saw wreaths of fresh flowers thrown upon some of the tombs. Debo & I took coffee at ten by ourselves, for Mary had bathed our boys & given them tea early. No visitors arrived.

Sunday [July] 7<sup>th</sup> <sup>600</sup> A bright morning for we have been favored with sunshine to attend divine service every sabbath. We took M<sup>ES</sup> Ropes in our Calash to town as she wished to be as little while as possible from her baby & M<sup>r</sup> Gs carriage leaves home early. I had warned M<sup>r</sup> R the day before that my dear sister Alicia was one of the passengers of the Mermaid<sup>601</sup> which he said might be in today, so he promised to let me know after church thro his Artelgic.<sup>602</sup> Our congregation of gentlemen was diminished by the prospect of the Launch!<sup>603</sup> Ah how I wished M<sup>r</sup> Williams excellent discourse from Dan<sup>l</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> part of 16<sup>th</sup> verse. “thy God whom thou servest He will deliver thee”<sup>604</sup> it was chiefly to urge the young to the service of their Maker, but it was full of good advice to all. I was thankful I had listened to it before I heard that my sister was actually at the English Quai, when my mind reverted to the past, my own arrival & its attendant trial! I could not restrain the impatience of Jemmie to meet Aunt Alicia he was flying off from M<sup>r</sup> Ropes yard without leave! so I called him back & we drove round tho I feared it was only to encounter the crowd which always collects, for none around allowed to go on board the boat, tho the police may long detain their friends during their examination, happily for us however we soon saw luggage passing to the Custom house & thro the favour shewn M<sup>r</sup> Ropes my Sister was in a few moments in our carriage, leaving her keys for them to open her trunks without her, we went again to M<sup>r</sup> Ropes & soon he brought the Harrisons I was so much pleased with her amiable, sensible, countenance I kissed her welcome & her darling little girl of 4 years old & boy of 6<sup>605</sup> most attractive, docile & neat children, how pleased I was that they did not resist my embraces. I really am proud of the appearance of these Americans. And as we rode out on the Peterhoff road how eager James & Willie were to shew off to Aunt Alicia all the novelties, distributing tracts to the soldiers they were sure would interest — Debo who had preceded us in M<sup>r</sup> Gillebrands carriage was the first to imprint a kiss of

welcome upon my dear Sisters lips. After dinner while she took a nap for she had been up since three oclock, I read to the little Normans & my boys as usual. My dear Sister after tea walked thro the wood with us, she seems much pleased!

Monday [July] 8<sup>th</sup>,<sup>606</sup> This morning we sent to town for my sisters trunks, the custom house officers had not objected to any thing & the writing materials, gloves, hoisery, flannels &c which I had commissioned her to bring me I received undisturbed & with duty. M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes called while we were at dinner to be introduced to my sister, who afterwards retired to her own room to write to England, when Debo & I continued Prescotts Mexico.

Tuesday [July] 9<sup>th</sup>,<sup>607</sup> I ought to have noted we had no rain yesterday for it was remarkable. my sister feels the contrast between the verdure here this summer & the parched fields of England. Showers commenced again today, but the sun shines so gloriously between them & the atmosphere is so transparent my Sister cannot but notice it. I ordered the Calash & went with her to town to call upon the Harrisons & also upon Miss Hirst taking only little Willie with us. We sat an hour with my invalid friend who was so cheered at receiving one from Preston so highly recommended as my Sister & as a follower of our Lord that I never knew her so animated, I feared she would suffer for talking so much, afterwards, but she said "Never mind the suffering, that I am used to let me enjoy the present treat" twinges of pain often took her breath for a moment. My Sister said on leaving the house it was as if we had been visiting a being of a better world & that the celestial expression of Miss Hirsts countenance increased the happy effect. We drove up into the Nevski after crossing the bridge, to get some drawing paper for James at the palet de Raphael,<sup>608</sup> then told the driver Ne Dacha,<sup>609</sup> on our road home we had a slight sprinkle. In the afternoon the beautiful M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson & her guests called to propose a drive thro some fine grounds & to take tea with them afterwards. I declined, but Debo went with them. We had wild strawberries (the first) at tea, our Willie wished he knew where they grew, he would go to gather more! When I had seen my boys in bed I accompanied Aunt Alicia in a call upon our neighbours, she was charmed by their kindness, we found their pastor M<sup>r</sup> Ellerby & his lady<sup>610</sup> there, also Miss Mac Masters<sup>611</sup> & her pupils the little

Woods,<sup>612</sup> come to make a visit of a fortnight at the Gellibrands. We were obliged to leave them at 10 o'clock as I had promised to send the Droshky then for Debo. while my Sister & I sat waiting for her (after we had had prayers with Mary) we naturally spoke of that little one who had been our delight when together at dear Uncle Winstanleys at Preston.

Wed [July] 10<sup>th</sup> This is a decidedly rainy day! We were most agreeably surprised today while at dinner by my dear husbands return, he had been travelling all night to reach home. he thought Sister might arrive today! how glad he was to find her already quite settled among us! And now as he has been inspecting the drawings &c done in his absence I can throw aside my fear to talk over the past fortnight. he has suffered from cold in travelling but looks well, thro [*sic*] rather browner than when he left us. he says he has been *sailing* thro bogs knee deep, what could he have done without water proof boots! sometimes on horse back seventeen hours at a sitting, no wonder his joints are unhinged!

Thursday [July] 11<sup>th</sup> <sup>613</sup> I awake this morning with mingled feeling of joy & sadness, these anniversaries always cause such mixture of emotion in the retrospect of the past, & we see more clearly the flight of time in our reduced numbers. I told Whistler it seemed longer to me than ten years since my Jemmies birth, so much has happened to mark the interval. When we assembled at prayers our dear boy came out of his fathers office - instead of just down stairs - where he had been shut up with M<sup>r</sup> Hadenskoﬀ <sup>614</sup> since six o'clock! at some mysterious employment, it was solved when we went to breakfast under each plate was a note to each,<sup>615</sup> mine tho not his own composition<sup>616</sup> as the others were, was so beautifully expressive of love to a mother that I felt as last Christmas day, quite overcome by the *surprise* & as the lines were my darling Jemmies own selection I shall copy them, that he may be reminded of his happy childhood when perhaps his grateful mother is not with him.

To my Mother . July 10<sup>th</sup> 1844

“They tell us of an Indian tree	Far better loves to bend its arms
Which howsoe’er the sun & sky	Downwards again, to that dear earth
May tempt its boughs to wander free	From which the life that fills & warms
And shoot & blossom, wide & high,	Its grateful being, first had birth.
“Tis thus, though woo’d by flattering friends,	Oh God hear my

<p>“and fed with fame, (if fame it be)          “This heart, my own dear mother bends,          “With loves true instinct back to thee.          On my tenth birth day, your little James.</p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 5px;">           prayer recorded here            that this holy feeling            filial love<sup>617</sup> may            never desert him!         </td> </tr> </table>	prayer recorded here that this holy feeling filial love <sup>617</sup> may never desert him!
prayer recorded here that this holy feeling filial love <sup>617</sup> may never desert him!		

As I contrast my darling James healthful appearance with his last years palid looks I feel the mercy of Him who holds our lives in His keeping & pray my dear boys may be prolonged to His honor upon Earth, then it will surely be to the comfort of his mother. Of course no school today! but a determined rain kept Willie & James within doors. Aunt Alicia, Sister & I answered the notes<sup>618</sup> while dear father had to drive off to town. A strawberry treat to all the children in the neighbourhood had been proposed to commemorate James birth day. but it so happened that a birth day at Mr Drury's<sup>619</sup> had engaged all there and the Normans, so when Mrs Gillebrand sent to invite us boys and all to tea at her house we agreed to go there. This is a great Russian holiday 29<sup>th</sup> June old style,<sup>620</sup> but what it is for I do not understand, only no business is attended to in the city therefore all the gents of the Ropes & Gillebrand clans are in the country today. & our boys will have a fine romp — they always expect it when Mr Ropes is at home

Friday [July] 12<sup>th</sup> <sup>621</sup> My dear husband brought from Alexandrofski the new flute which Mr Harrison had purchased in London for him at his request, he liked it at once & we listened to some delightful duets by his accompanying Debos transposing on the piano which happened not to be set high enough for the flute. Mrs Ropes & Miss Mc Master came in to listen. It was amusing at bed time to see with what care my husband wiped his flute & put it away in its case, giving it into my keeping, thieves in this country often plead an excuse for stealing by complaining that valuables are left in their way to tempt them! what a pity we had not put the dear *old* flute & my pretty escrotoire beyond their reach.

Sat [July] 13<sup>th</sup> <sup>622</sup> After the tremendous rains of the two past days the sun came out upon a clear blue sky today & Whistler agreed to Debos proposal to take herself & our dear boys to town, as she wished to go to Worrnozoffs<sup>623</sup> for a new muslin dress. While they were away I was occupied looking after the ways of my household, little Andrea & his mother came, I set her to scrubbing for I do think it wrong to encourage a system of begging. some jugglers came to the yard, little Andrea put



me so in mind of my own precious Kirkie as he ran to me on tip toe with his fingers in his mouth looking half timid, half assured I could not deny him, with those full black eyes speaking so much more intelligibly than his Russian tongue! I opened the door for him, seated him there and threw out some kopeeks for the organist.<sup>624</sup> My sister Alice brought her work to my room, three gents came up the front walk, the Pratchka (or Laundress)<sup>625</sup> was washing windows in the dining room & would have been frightened away had I not told her “Nee tchevo”<sup>626</sup> so we went to the drawing room with M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Ropes & his two cousins,<sup>627</sup> one had lately arrived from America & it proved that his brother M<sup>r</sup> Hooper had been in Whistlers employ in Springfield.<sup>628</sup> The party came back from town, in time for little Willie & I to take an hours walk with Aunt Alicia before dinner. In the afternoon while we were reading the Conquest of Mexico, we were not aware that M<sup>r</sup> W Maingay passed my room window, but when tea was ready found him seated in the parlor with Whistler. he & Debo played Duetts on the harp & piano (how Emma would have laughed had she listened to her brothers attempts) until eleven oclock — the twilight is so deceptive they were surprised to discover how late it was, but Whistler & I were each occupied with a book, & dear Aunt Alicia had long since stolen off to watch her darling James who was obliged to go to bed with a bad head ache. I received a most affectionate note from my friend Miss Hirst<sup>629</sup> in return for a form of calves foot I had sent her by them to town. how much I wished to go with it that I might read to her, she is so feeble again. And I always feel it such a benefit to myself to read the Scriptures to her. I forgot to remark this day (the 1<sup>st</sup> of July old style the Empress birth day) is the greatest holiday in the year in Russia, there has always been in this reign, a grand fête at Peterhoff to celebrate it,<sup>630</sup> but the illness of the Grand duchess Alexandra interferes with all gaiety at court now. We hear the flattering hope that she was better has proved false, her feeble frame could not bear longer than one night in the cow house, but she has been removed to the little lodge next the dairy.<sup>631</sup> God has found it best to withhold his blessing on all the means as yet tried. I trust He has better things in store for her than a restoration to health could enable her to enjoy. Oh may she put her trust in Him.

Sunday [July] 14<sup>th</sup> 632 A fine bright morning for us to drive into town to attend divine service & an excellent discourse from our young pastor as usual, it was upon Charity, his text was taken from Mat 26<sup>th</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 633 and while he urged upon us to relieve the necessities of the poor in this land, he besought us not to forget our duty to the spiritual claims of those in all lands especially in our own. I never enjoyed uniting in commemorating the dying love of our Lord & Saviour at His holy table so much as on this sabbath M<sup>r</sup>. Williams low & solemn tone is so devotional. & as there were very few, the altar only three times filled, he repeated to each member separately the whole verse, thus allowing time for private prayer, my soul felt strengthened & refreshed. In the afternoon we had rain but not enough to prevent the little Normans coming to my room from the cottage to listen to my Sunday exercises with my dear boys.

Wed [July] 17<sup>th</sup> 634 My sister & self went to town with Whistler yesterday & had some rain to encounter for not 24 hours is without this *cold* summer. It was to attend to the exchange of her passport for a billet of residence, no stranger may sojourn in St P without this tax.<sup>635</sup> Col Bouttatz joined us as had been agreed, for in all such cases he is ready to serve us. We had first to go to the Count Benkindoffs<sup>636</sup> & as his house is almost a palace, he lives surrounded by palaces (near the Summer gardens<sup>637</sup> which the plentiful rains render uncommonly beautiful this season) so my Sister had a view of the finest part of the city, indeed we made a complete circuit before arriving at the Bureau for Strangers, while she went in to prove her identity I sat in the carriage exercising my Russ by reading the signs. We afterwards spent two hours at the bed side of dear Miss Hirst while Whistler went to the Railroad department, the Col promised to visit us. And as Col Todd also had told Whistler he would be with us this Wednesday, he made up his mind to be at home all day, however we had just finished breakfast when old M<sup>r</sup> Curtis stopped at our door to say he was on his way to Sairgay Monastery & begged us to take seats in his carriage, as the chaunting would be uncommonly fine & the ceremonies on St Sairgays day<sup>638</sup> brilliant. Debo persuaded Aunt Alicia to chaperone her notwithstanding her horror of going to such a place of worship & as they were early & met an old admiral<sup>639</sup> who knew M<sup>r</sup> C they procured places, tho hundreds could not gain admittance, as

was the case of my husband & self, for he not having heard the chaunting of the Greek service ever, was induced to follow them, knowing he would be back in time to receive Col Todd. As we pressed our way thro the crowd in the chapel yard, a grand procession of priests & bishops came out, most magnificently dressed in light blue velvet inlaid with silver they looked so new we concluded they were so for the occasion. the higher order of the brotherhood wore splendid crowns glittering with diamonds & other precious stones & pearls, they showered incense on the prostrate crowd, & carried wax tapers lighted in their hands. but there was not apparently the least feeling in the clergy that they were worshippers of a great High Priest & the people looked with such awe upon them one might have thought they were their deities. Many hundreds were there & many Splendid equipages, the field opposite the church was filled with carriages of all descriptions & we understood many had been there from the night before. Oh if we could collect a multitude to join in our simple & pure form of worship to hear the word of truth happy would it be for them! Debo did not return home till after us, the Emperors carriage had passed theirs! I always just miss the sight! it was supposed he was on his way to Peterhoff, but we afterwards heard from an eye witness of his unexpected entrance thro the crowd into the Chapel,<sup>640</sup> when he asked for an especial service & prayers for his dear daughter the Grand duchess. As he knelt before the Altar in his devotions his tears were observed to flow, & all around him were struck to see the great man so humbled, & his form wasting thro grief, that she who a few months past was his pride as he gave her at the Altar a blooming bride to the young Prince of Hesse Castle should now be sinking into an early grave.<sup>641</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Curtis spent the day with us, but tho we waited for Col Todd, he did not arrive to dine with us, he came in his coach & four at six introducing young Parker<sup>642</sup> who brought a letter from M<sup>rs</sup> Mac Swift,<sup>643</sup> we were right glad to chat with him about the Chews,<sup>644</sup> he is an intelligent, modest young gentleman, we were surprised to hear his travelling companion thro Europe is Col Thayer.<sup>645</sup> It so happened that M<sup>r</sup> Miller came in to tea, and our friend Bouttatz was true to his promise & arrived just as we were surrounding the table, he stayed with us tonight. the boys are delighted.

Thurs [July] 18<sup>th</sup> By 6 o'clock this morning Col B<sup>646</sup> was in our garden. Whistler felt timid about imposing our form of prayer upon him & would have had family worship in retirement, but I felt we might pursue our usual course of assembling in the parlor without exhibition, for I have a dread of aught which might approach to *being ashamed of Jesus* in the world. Our kind friend knelt with us, & I have no doubt at breakfast he listened to my boys verses of scripture with approbation, for he loves children so much, he must like to see them trained in the paths of peace, he was even unusually gentle & kind, told them of his amusement in the garden in watching the old turkey with her family of young turkeys & ducks & chickens! she seemed so uneasy, with so many different *sorts* to take care of. We had most tremendous rains today, I really suffer from cold not being able to go out for exercise.

Friday [July] 19<sup>th</sup> <sup>647</sup> We were glad of tolerable weather for Col Thayer & Mr Parker dining with us, & they seemed equally delighted with our rural situation, at dinner they praised the fresh salmon, green peas & above all the iced mead,<sup>648</sup> which is a delicious drink. As Mr Gellibrand or Ropes could not meet our American friends at dinner, we invited the ladies to come with them to tea, & as Mr Curtis brought a German Mr Thal<sup>649</sup> sans ceremonie, we had quite a parlor full. much music of course as the two last are Amateurs. I sometimes tremble lest dear Debos music should prove a snare to draw her into too much notice & consume too much of her precious time.

Sat [July] 20<sup>th</sup> <sup>650</sup> I put on a good warm cloak when I seated myself beside Whistler in the droshky this morning. with a form of Jelly to take to my invalid friend. I parted from him at the bridge as he was bound for Alexandrofski, but on my alighting at Mr Hirsts gate I was disappointed to hear my poor suffering friend was in too much pain to see me, it was the first time I had ever been denied admittance. I went into the Summer house in the pretty garden & her good Elona provided me with writing materials that I might leave a few lines of affection & sympathy to comfort her, when able to read them. Rain came powerfully soon after my safe arrival at home, the house becomes so chilly we often are glad of the heat from one Peach, so in anticipation of my gude mons return I ordered that in the dining room, & he approved of it when he came at tea time.

Monday [July] 22<sup>nd</sup> <sup>651</sup> Yesterday morning we were again favored with clear weather. the subject of Mr Williams discourse was luke warmness in our devotions & service to the Saviour! Ah how well for a congregation when a preacher fearlessly points this lamentable fact for our consideration. In the afternoon the rain was very determined there was no holding up between the showers when the little Normans could run in to join James & William in our sabbath reading. Whistler & Aunt Alicia however listened with them to the instructive narrative of Archie Stewart. <sup>652</sup> and in the evening Debo read one of Blunts excellent sermons upon the life of St Paul to us. What a transition there was during last night in the weather! tremendous rolling of thunder awoke us all accompanying heavy rain, which has carried off the cold & brought us back a Summers heat, which even I feel quite oppressive, but I will not complain. the farmers are rejoicing & the hay makers are very busy trying to dry some of the grass which they had every prospect of losing thro the incessant rains. This is my darling Willies 8<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, he & James have no lessons & seem as lively as the birds among their numerous little friends. Of course we had each a note from Will for our breakfast, as he would not be out done by James. <sup>653</sup> And I have been very busy all this morning bargaining with the fruiterers for their strawberry feast A long table spread for a dozen, now collected in our grounds. the little Russian children are remarkably well behaved & polite, so that my boys have both pleasure & profit in such companions as the Druries. On rising from table they invariably come up to the lady & of the house to tender thanks with a graceful bow or courtesy

Wed [July] 24<sup>th</sup> <sup>654</sup> Fine warm weather continues. Yesterday my Sister & self went to the city with Whistler directly after breakfast, as Miss Hirst had expressed a wish we should partake of the Communion with her, but as we could not so early venture into a sick room we went to our house upon the English Quai, <sup>655</sup> where we found workmen busy at repairs. the view of the Neva now such a busy, gay, scene, is delightful from the balcony, but my husband is dissatisfied with our new accommodations, the lodgings like all in Russia are more for display than convenience, and Whistler could not help contrasting the rough corners, with the gilded cornises & painted ceilings. Ah how comfortable are the snug homes of America & England! still in Russia we have many

domestic arrangements to reconcile us, the servants so respectful & willing. I will take the evil with the good every where, for it must be mingled upon earth. Sister & I took a gondola at the ferry steps opposite the Ritter House where our new quarters are, and were so attracted by the beauty of a Steamer on its way up the river we did not notice our little boat was crossing its wake until the tossing made us fear a capsize, my heart was in my throat & my Sister who is timid screamed “Mercy” while the oarsman or Pirasvostschi<sup>656</sup> quietly said “Neetcheevo” or never mind & tho I trembled I felt it was a false alarm. We walked slowly up to Mr Hirsts, (after paying our 5 cop-silv<sup>657</sup> ferriage which certainly was little enough for two crossing in a gaily painted barge under a nice awning) the heat tho not quite so intense as yesterday was enough. The dear Invalid was very feeble, the doctor<sup>658</sup> who had just left her had prohibited her saying a word, indeed she could scarcely whisper, but tho so low, she looked the picture of neatness & the slight flush on her cheek tho painful is beautiful to gaze up. she pointed to a book of Prayers for the Sick (by bishop Slade)<sup>659</sup> & I read the portions which were most appropriate from time to time. Never shall I forget the privilege of partaking of the sacred emblems of our Lords love for us, with one so truly waiting upon Him. I felt that He was indeed among us. M<sup>r</sup> Williams performed the service most feelingly, but as she was too feeble to converse promised to visit her again the next day to pray with her. We remained a while after him & found Whistler at the Quai waiting for us. M<sup>r</sup> Stockoll<sup>660</sup> drove out to tea & spent the evening till midnight! on our piazza. This morning looked unpropitious for Whistlers trip to Cronstadt with our American friends, but he left home by 8 o'clock supposing Col Thayer would be expecting him. After a slight shower the sun has come out & as the heat is less I hope they enjoy their sail Gen Distrain<sup>661</sup> was to go with them, he is in the Russian service & very intellectual, Debo had a joint-epistle yesterday from our friends at Marseilles, the kind Poizatts,<sup>662</sup> he took the pen first, to describe the lovely blue eyed girl his Cecilia had presented him on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May! she dilated on the improvement of her other children, Mary had learned to speak english while she was in America last Summer — & Charles was following in her steps in preparation for a promised visit to Philadelphia, she tenderly touched upon my bereavement of the gentle little Charlie

she had fondled on board the Acadia, but was sure his mother would not wish to call back to this world of trial an angel from heaven! Indeed I could not be so selfish as to wish him back again, my most earnest desire is that those still lent me may feel that they are only pilgrims here, I have no earthly ambitious views for them but that as faithful followers of the Saviour they may be as lights in the paths of holiness & peace.

August 1:<sup>st</sup> Thursday.<sup>663</sup> Whistler for a wonder has staid at home today & while he is writing a report upon his late inspection of the railroad to Moscow for the Count Kleinmichel,<sup>664</sup> Debo Aunt Alicia & the boys have taken the Calashe to return the calls of Miss Morgan<sup>665</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> F Baird,<sup>666</sup> as they are 14 versts<sup>667</sup> apart the drive will give them appetite for a five oclock dinner. The only evening I have been out this summer except at our neighbours the Gellibrands was last week at the request of the beautiful M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson to keep her wedding day<sup>668</sup> I was surprised to meet so many there, W<sup>m</sup> Maingay came among the others from town & brought me the pleasure of a few lines from his dear mother,<sup>669</sup> for his father has come to St Petersburg from London. In the long twilight the young people walked about the grounds & engaged in Russian games, Debo stole away to take a peep at Emmas letters.<sup>670</sup> I wished my Jemie & Willie could see the Shetland pony fed from the hand of the Anderson boys,<sup>671</sup> so tame it follows them all over the house — As the piazza & trees were hung with colored lamps they had to be lit & then we adjourned to the music hall a lofty spacious room extending across the front of the house, M<sup>rs</sup> Anderson put me in mind of the picture of some Circassian maid<sup>672</sup> as she sung to her guitar & her black eyes looked so melting, the bloom of her cheek so soft & rich, but her greatest attraction is her unaffected sweetness of manner, she certainly is gifted, for I would rather hear her sing than any one I ever listened to, but yet my heart still holds my own dear Debo above all I contrast her with among these who assemble to be gay & I was so grateful to her when she declined waltzing! I hope she never will yeild to her fondness for dancing at the expense of what I conceive to be decorous. Our evening was concluded with assembling around a table for fruits & champagne. Water melons from Astracan!<sup>673</sup> scarlet strawberries from the Andersons own garden. But I must not linger over the last week when I have to record so much of this. My dear friend Miss

Hirst has been daily growing more ill, last Sunday<sup>674</sup> I sent her a form of Jelly before church & a bunch of flowers from my little Willie accompanied it, I was surprised that she should write me an acknowledgement. but she is so grateful! the doct came to see my James on Monday<sup>675</sup> but was in great haste as Miss Hirst was so extremely ill her brother had been sent for, I could scarcely sleep that night thinking of her & the next day<sup>676</sup> went to the city with my husband to offer my services at her bedside, I found poor Elona overwhelmed with sorrow for her suffering mistress, never shall I forget the patience of this true christian, she raised her eyes to heaven as if imploring strength, which surely was yeilded or she could not have endured without uttering a complaint what she did, at times when she could scarcely breathe for pain she would be raised in her brothers arms & rest her feeble head on his shoulder, she seemed burning up with fever & it was a mercy that she could from time to time take the smallest lump of ice in her mouth, as she could not swallow half a teaspoon full of water. But why depict her sufferings - except to shew the support of religion, when she could speak she would say to me “give me comfort” I cannot do without the word of God” — her moans were heart rending, we all wept silently at sufferings we could not remove, even her brother was often unmanned, then she would so gently say “Why distress yourself dear brother? you do all in your power, God comfort you!” And in the midst of all her agonies she was so considerate for us it was truly touching, she would point to a seat that her Sister might rest while I fanned her & I heard her trying to utter an order to the nurse to bring me a glass of nice cold milk, which she had used to like to see me enjoy. I did not leave her till eight in the evening, & as I walked sadly backwards & forwards in the 5<sup>th</sup> Line<sup>677</sup> to catch a sight of our carriage & prevent its rattling up to the gate I had the happiness of seeing my dear husband walking to meet me, we crossed the Neva in a little boat & were soon on our road home, we found the Ropes & music — I dont know a much more trying transitio[n] than mine proved my heart was sadder than ever as the Piano, Harp & Flute drew forth harmonies — to delight the rest, & I was thankful when we could all kneel around the family Altar & retire to our rooms. On Wednesday<sup>678</sup> we had a visit for the first time from our Pastor M<sup>r</sup> Williams, introduced to tea sociably. they came in



unexpectedly & were listening to Debo & her father playing a sweet duett ere they were discovered, Debo was rather shocked for she had heard that M<sup>r</sup> W was not fond of music. I told her it must be only the excess (of spending whole mornings in practising & evenings in exhibition) which he could not help disapproving, & so it proved, he asked for sacred music, which alas she could not gratify him with, but he urged her to practise some he should send, & remarked that he wished every one of his congregation who had voices would use them freely in church to drown the wretched singing of the German boys who compose our choir, he lamented that the chaunts were not sung in church & said, he by comparison, had never known the beauty of the Psalms of David<sup>679</sup> until he heard them in the Cathedral service. Thus our young Clergyman proved himself not only a conmissier but an Amateur of the divine science of music, but he has been like many other christians greived that the gift has been devoted only to worldly amusement, & withheld from approving the perversion of the talent. No expence has been spared by the English Factory to make their Chapel all it ought to be, a new splendid Organ<sup>680</sup> for which they pd a thousand pound, a hired organist,<sup>681</sup> but as a young lady observed truly the other day the congregation rather praise God by proxy! M<sup>r</sup> Williams urges them to join in the responses & the hymns, which I have ventured always to do at the expense of being called a disturber of the awful silence! Debo & Whistler seemed to enjoy the cheerfulness & intelligence of our young pastor, my boys were attracted by his playful remarks about good children in church while Aunt Alicia was charmed with his accounts of Syria & Greece, he spoke of our missionaries M<sup>r</sup> Southgate<sup>682</sup> & Hill<sup>683</sup> with deep interest & said M<sup>rs</sup> Hill<sup>684</sup> was the most astonishing woman he ever met with, her school at Athens<sup>685</sup> I have ever been interested in & supposed her energy in carrying on her course of instruction to the heathen was what he lauded, but no it was her sweet dependence upon God, her devotion her faith & simplicity. The Gellibrands came in after tea, D<sup>r</sup> Handsides<sup>686</sup> asked for Scotch music & seemed quite enraptured by the accompaniment of my husbands flute to Debos piano. I observed our clerical guest had become wrapped in reflection. I thought of the close of our evenings at Stonington when dear M<sup>r</sup> Newman<sup>687</sup> had been our guest & longed for a pause in the music that I might consult my husband

about asking for prayers ere we separated. When there was a movement as if to say goodnight I could wait no longer & whispering M<sup>r</sup> Williams my wish that he should conduct our family devotions I placed the bible in his hands, as he read from Ephesians,<sup>688</sup> he made some appropriate [*sic*] remarks after which he prayed most fervently. I have not felt so comforted since I left my own dear mother & *her home*. M<sup>r</sup> G drew aside & commended me for what I had done saying he should follow my example in his own house, but after I had retired to my room Whistler was silent. today he has talked with me about it, & has been uncomfortable lest our deviating from M<sup>r</sup> Laws practise should bring remarks upon him. May God direct us what is our duty! I feel that every Pastor might desire to close every visit thus, & as I am not afraid of any remarks upon my own conduct if I do not bring censure upon others, I shall hope to enjoy again this my share of the visit of our Pastor again. And now after the interruption of visitors I will close this days account. Col Melnikoff & his brother<sup>689</sup> (who holds some situation at court) came rather unexpectedly to dine with us today, for a rare event my husband was at home, having been writing an important document for Count K, so we made no strangers of them, Debos fluency in the french tongue is a great advantage here, she conversed entirely with M<sup>r</sup> M, I have felt a stronger desire than ever to acquire a knowledge of french since my predicament when this gentlemans wife<sup>690</sup> called one day in the Galernia upon me & we could not say a word to be understood by each other — About 8 clock in the evening the Andersons came also, these gents became so enchanted by the music, especially the voice of the beautiful M<sup>rs</sup> A they could scarcely tear themselves away at ten oclock tho they had to ride nearly 20 versts. They begged Whistler to let them come soon again to our country retreat “there is so much more enjoyment in visiting thus sociably, Madame M, would find it so!”

Friday Aug 2<sup>nd</sup> <sup>691</sup> This day has been in strong contrast to yesterday, yet I always feel on visiting Miss Hirst it is better to spend an hour at her bed side than in the most joyous circle, for I feel Gods presence there. this dear lady has been sinking in bodily strength rapidly & I have scarcely expected to find her breathing from time to time, my sister only went with me to town today as Whistler was still busy with his rail road document at home, she feared to intrude into the sick chamber &

sauntered about the garden, the low moans of the sufferer sunk upon my heart as I approached her room, M<sup>rs</sup> Hirst sat fanning her, silently weeping. I thought to relieve her while I could stay & took the fan, the dear invalid knew I was there, tho when she spoke it was with so much exertion & in so feeble a tone I could only hear her say “Give me comfort” read the word of God to me” a choise collection of prayers & texts always shared her table with her favorite flowers, she never valued any thing but in connection with her Saviour, she did while able to admire them, read in every petal His goodness & indulgence to mankind. And now could not exist without His word. I would not be irreverent! but as I witnessed her agonies this day I thought perhaps since those He suffered on the cross none could have been more severe or lingering than hers. but I know it passeth human knowledge to judge of the agonies of His soul for the sins of the whole world! — At times she had to be lifted in good Elons arms to breathe, the dreadful disease having reached her throat she could not even swallow the water from the tiny lump of ice, while the surface of her body appeared consuming with heat, her feet could not bear even the linen sheet, they looked delicate as an infants, it is five years since she has stood upon them! Oh how often have I had my patient little suffering Kirkie before my minds eye this day! If God permits the “little ones” He loves thus to be afflicted how hateful must sin be in His sight. He scourges every Son whom He receiveth,<sup>692</sup> Oh how dangerous is death bed repentance! Oh that we might all give our hearts to Him in their freshness to be kept by Him as Miss Hirst did, her soul stayed on Him was free from terrors, her mind perfectly clear unto the last. After a paroxysm of great pain, when she could speak she asked me to read a prayer. I knelt beside her, & felt Oh so humbled! wondering that *I* should be permitted to comfort such a saint, & as I repeated the Lords prayer at the close of one I had read for a person near death, my emotion so entirely overpowered me, that she gently laid her hand upon my head & soothed me! Strength was lent her to fulfil her last desires, she distinctly said “I could like to kiss your Sister before I go” she put her feeble arms about me & blessed me & as she called over the names of my husband & children seemed to breathe a prayer for them, which may God of His infinite goodness answer! then taking M<sup>rs</sup> Hirsts hand she placed it in mine & said “promise me you

will transfer the love you have shewn to me, to this Sister” I did so heartily, then she thanked me & blessed me again for the comfort I had been always to her & added “God brought you here, for He had work for you to do,”<sup>693</sup> then alluding to M<sup>r</sup> Williams visits, she added “I told you love, God was multiplying my blessings at the last of my days on earth” she embraced my Sister affectionately calling her her sister in Christ Jesus. We all wept thro this exciting hour but herself. I knew she must rapidly sink after it & whispering M<sup>rs</sup> Hirst, that I felt these precious moments should be sacred to themselves, moved as if to go, she called be [*sic*] once more to kiss & to bless me, then waved her hands as if to consent to my leaving her, whispered “If I live you will see me again, farewell now my love” I feel that this is our last interview on earth! If I ever enter that state of perfect happiness which I feel is awaiting her, I shall know if I am in error now, in imagining the joy of my children in welcoming to the skies their mothers friend! We shall know each other, even as we are known<sup>694</sup> “Oh that this reunion might ever be our *strongest* wish, that the trifles of earth might not enchain our desires. but Jesus must become the object of our supreme attachment or our affections can never mount on high, And His word must be our chief study, that in this life we may honor Him, or He will say at the awful day of Judgement “I know you not” — <sup>695</sup> Oh that we appreciated how precious is *time*.

Monday [August] 5<sup>th</sup> <sup>696</sup> My kind husband indulged the wish I had to go to the Island before Church time yesterday by driving early to town. I left him at our Consuls, for M<sup>r</sup> Gibson<sup>697</sup> is an invalid too - and went along to M<sup>r</sup>. Hirsts. poor Elona met me, she was weeping & raised her arms letting them fall disconsolately. I found both M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Hirst in the sick chamber, the patient had not opened her mouth since Sat morning at 3 oclock — Oh how emaciated by suffering! I kissed her for the last time, yet she opened not her eyes. I hastened over to church as her brother desired the prayers of the church & it was too late to send a servant. M<sup>r</sup>. Ellerby had had to accompany his sick wife to Revel,<sup>698</sup> so his flock were added to our scanty number & the church was respectably filled, M<sup>r</sup> Williams text was from the 19<sup>th</sup> chap 18<sup>th</sup> verse 1<sup>st</sup> Kings.<sup>699</sup> it was liked by all of his *mingled* auditors for it was full of charity & brotherly love. I have just heard from M<sup>rs</sup> Hirst that her dear Sister was last night

released! she is to be buried on thursday next,<sup>700</sup> she had seemed free from suffering many hours before she ceased to breathe, but neither spoke, or opened her eyes, all her worldly cares were over on friday & I do not doubt she held sweet communion with Jesus, while to observers she had ceased to notice any thing around her. M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes has just told me of a very afflicted Mother who lives about 4 versts off. I never saw M<sup>rs</sup> Hodges,<sup>701</sup> & from the style of her living should never have wished to visit at her house, for almost every Sunday they had a dinner party. but now I am drawn by sympathy towards her & wish I could go to her to weep with her. she had one of the dearest little babies who last Saturday afternoon was frolicing at her knee, it was taken uneasy that night & last night after hours of suffering died!<sup>702</sup> Ah how like this case to my little Charlies! he was the brightest of my family group on Saturday & the following night his eyes were glazed by death! God deals with us very gently, He takes these little innocents around whom He knows our tenderest affections are entwined, & it is well with us to be afflicted, but woe if we harden our hearts & turn to the world for comfort, then the next blow from our Heavenly Father must be more severe to make us feel our risk in delaying repentance. I am told M<sup>rs</sup> Hodson is a most fond mother & this is the first death in her family of little ones. May the affections of all the rest follow it!

Tuesday [August] 6<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Ropes has just heard of the arrival of his ship which he has known to be a fortnight beating about in the Baltic, with his Sister, a young lady, of 18 on board.<sup>703</sup> but she alas is detained there by reason of some neglect in the want of a signature to her Passport. her brother has been all today running from one person in authority to another in St Petersburg to explain the awkward situation of his Sister, & to petition that she may land, but in vain. and now as a last resource is to go to Sarsocella to ask Col Todds influence.

Wed [August] 7<sup>th</sup> <sup>704</sup> Our dear Debo has been an invalid for several days, or rather saved a fit of illness by a general eruption on her skin, M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes & M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand have been so kind as to come by turns to read aloud to her as she was not allowed to use her eyes. This afternoon M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Maingay came so that I was bound to entertain him, for variety my Sister & I went into the fruit garden with him, ate plenty of currants, raspberries & goose berries, just as we were turning to leave the tempting

spot our landlady M<sup>rs</sup> Drury<sup>705</sup> came in, & invited us to look at the grapes, peaches, nectarines & apricots in the green house, they were touch-me-nots, tho enough to excite the desire to pull & eat. As we passed last out I slipped a silver peice to give the old gardener into his hand, & heard “Bladastie”<sup>706</sup> but did not expect the old man would prove his gratitude by more than words, he gave my little Willie a sweet nosegay for “Maminka”<sup>707</sup> a bunch of sweet cluster roses & a damask rose. And much as I prized the possession I was made glad by it a second time, when a friend of Whistlers out of health<sup>708</sup> called in the evening & I made over my prize to him in a bunch of sweet peas, Whistler had waited in town for American letters, so Debo was cheered by a long one from Jule & I had one from Mary & Eliza<sup>709</sup> each, but so many gentlemen came in to tea I had to put them in my pocket until after tea, it was tantalizing, but I could not have enjoyed reading them in a crowd & I had to do the honors to our unexpected guests. I have just done feasting on Stonington news, my dear brother & all but Mary were off for West Point. Oh how I should enjoy walking about there with dear Maria, I cannot believe a friend they write me is to be married upon the hasty engagement they say. J. D. P.<sup>710</sup> is too prudent for such a rash measure. I have many times today thought of this being the anniversary of our loss of dear Henry. it is four years since that bright youth was so suddenly taken from us at Springfield, but my anguish of spirit then tho softened into a settled sorrow can never be obliterated. The anniversaries of those loved ones who have gone before us into eternity are as tenderly noted by my memory as the birth days of the dear boys left me. I did not write it, but all day the 10<sup>th</sup> of last month the scene of that Sabbath morning when we all stood around my Kirxies dying bed was vividly before me, two years have already passed since then & the anniversaries of his own little Charlies birth & death are rapidly approaching. Oh that those spared to me may live prepared to die!

Thursday [August] 8<sup>th</sup><sup>711</sup> My Sister & I went in the Calashe with Whistler to town to attend the last service for dear Miss Hirst, the church was hung with black, that is the Altar, Pulpit & pews for the mourners, the case of the coffin was dark blue embroidered with silver, her age 37<sup>712</sup> in silver characters, some one approached it soon after we were seated with a basket of fresh flowers & strewed them with care upon the

coffin forming a garland I liked this mark of attention & thought of her love of flowers. M<sup>r</sup> Williams read the burial service in the church with solemn feeling. There were eight pall bearers & as we followed the sad train down the aisle I observed poor Elona dressed in black (wearing a neat mourning cap as servants in Russia do not wear bonnets) she was weeping most heartily, I really respected her grief & sympathised in it for I had long seen proofs of her attachment I extended my hand across the pew to where she was, she pressed it as tho she would fain cling to me. Oh may the lessons she has learned from her dear Mistress continue to remind her to trust in God. As our horses could not take us to the Island where the burial ground belonging to the English Church<sup>713</sup> is, my Sister & I stood upon the balcony of our lodgings on the Quai & watched the mournful procession cross the bridge. No one can tell how much I shall miss my visits to Miss Hirst. On reaching home I heard that M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrands Sister had arrived, M<sup>r</sup> Ropes had brought her from Cronstadt (for the Cols representation of his young countrywoman gained permission immediately for her introduction to S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg)<sup>714</sup> they took a boat to Strenla [*siz*]<sup>715</sup> where M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrands carriage met them, and when I went to our kind neighbours to welcome her, the three sisters<sup>716</sup> looked so happy together & Miss Martha Ropes so joyous frolicing after the little ones I told her she seemed to have forgotten all the annoyances of her voyage, “All but being marshalled up to the Governers house in Cronstadt with a soldier at her heels, that can never be forgotten, for the indignity had caused tears of mortification” she said also as she was detained two days after the ship had made that Port, they could not wait her uncertain departure to unload the cargo, & that the fleas from the bales of cotton skipped over the page she was reading.<sup>717</sup> She is very fair & very youthful in her appearance, she reminds me of Sarah Bliss.<sup>718</sup>

Saturday [August] 10<sup>th</sup> <sup>719</sup> My beloved Mothers birthday,<sup>720</sup> may God continue to her health & comfort. This also the anniversary of our loved Henrys funeral.<sup>721</sup> but I had to appear more engrossed with things present, than the past. Our letters to England & America were sent by the Courier today. We were writing all yesterday. Today M<sup>r</sup> Maingay & his son are to be our guests at dinner. The sun shines. I shall walk in the garden My landlord has just sent me in a present of a plate of Nectarines

& Peaches from his Green house very acceptable & at the rate they sell here very valuable I should probably pay a paper ruble a peice, these with melons & as fine cherries as I ever saw will make our dessert fine.

Sunday [August] 11<sup>th</sup> <sup>722</sup> I arose at six oclock & thus gained time for reading, dressing & breakfasting to leave early for town. The weather so propitious that Debos wish to go to church was granted, we all went, the sun shone so bright & the air so clear I was sure it would continue fine as it did the whole day. I did not observe old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon<sup>723</sup> waiting at the church door to greet me, it would appear that the mantle of dear Miss Hirst has descended upon me, for so many thank me for my having resorted often to her sick room & notice me as they never did before, they little know what a privilege I esteemed it that I was permitted to approach that blessed Saint. Old M<sup>rs</sup> L whispered also the news which had just reached town of the death of the Grand Duchess Alexandrine, it had occurred the day before she had died in giving birth to an infant.<sup>724</sup> Not yet 19 years old, how early has closed her brilliant earthly career! Oh that the young would only lay it to heart, that “this world is but a fleeting show”.<sup>725</sup> I saw many in church as we were there half an hour before the time - who had not attended all summer. Among them the family of the little baby who was buried last wednesday.<sup>726</sup> I was glad also that the invalid brother of M<sup>r</sup> Miller <sup>727</sup> was there for his rheumatism has prevented his going to the house of God. I never listened to a more impressive discourse in all my life than M<sup>r</sup> Williams gave us from 1<sup>st</sup> Kings again, “Hast thou found me Oh mine Enemy?”<sup>728</sup> towards the conclusion he said, none but God could know how painful it was the Servant of God to denounce His judgements upon any, & then spoke of the comfort experienced by the faithful Pastor among the sick or dying who leaned on the sure hope in a risen Saviour, to whisper consolation to the departing soul of a believer, to hold out the promise of those joys “which eye hath not seen, or ear heard”<sup>729</sup> to tell of the golden crowns & golden harps & of that swell of harmony from the innumerable voices of that redeemed company who feel an eternal Sabbath not too long to sing the praise of Jesus. Oh how fervently our young preacher pleaded with us for Christs sake to be reconciled to God — After our cold dinner I collected the books & children for my sunday school, I had an addition to our number in two nice lads of the family who took possession of the



empty house on this estate last week — I read first a Sermon for children & questioned them upon it, then made each of them read aloud to me from Scriptural Instruction for the least & the lowest,<sup>730</sup> & was delighted with the behaviour of the new comers W<sup>m</sup> & John Drury,<sup>731</sup> so much gentleness & reverence in their manner of reading. Before dismissing my little friends I regaled them with a dish of delicious cherries which had been kept in the ice house till almost like ices, then I gave them lessons to commit to memory for the next Sabbath. As little affectionate Alice Handisides<sup>732</sup> wished to stay to tea I kept her & her Sister,<sup>733</sup> Debo played some hymns for them for little Mary loves music dearly she says.

Monday [August] 12<sup>th</sup> I have just done writing of yesterday (as I never write on Sunday) & now will merely notice of today how changed the weather is, we have had steady rain all day. all the common signs for good weather from change of moon, rising of Barometer &c fail here this Summer. Dr Rogers<sup>734</sup> has been with Debo & I, he finds her quite recovered, & sat an hour to cheer her with news of the day, yet that most talked of is certainly of a sad nature, the funeral of the Grand Duchess, in preparation for it the camp is breaking up & the troops going to town. our road has been full all day. The royal infant is to be taken to Denmark to be buried & it is supposed the Prince of Hesse will soon return to Copenhagen. he is to receive the dowry & jewels of his wife, the former is one million silver rubles, the jewels also must be [*sic*] very valuable, so the Prince will return to his court richer in money at least than when he came for his royal bride.<sup>735</sup> As her death is the first that has occurred in the Imperial family since that of her Empress Aunt the wife of the Emperor Alexander<sup>736</sup> it is the first in twenty years! we feel interested to hear how her mother the present Empress bears it.

Tuesday [August] 13<sup>th</sup> <sup>737</sup> Showery all today, tho the sun shone long enough for us to call upon our new neighbours the Drurys, the family of the eldest son of our landlord. I was much pleased with the lady, who is niece to the Empres's late physician, they have ten children & a french governess,<sup>738</sup> we saw & pitied the little boy whose face was so mangled by the great black dog last Sat evening it is a mercy his eye is not seriously injured for it has marks of having been in the dogs mouth. When Whistler returned from town he reported having been to Sarsco to see the Col, he had a mind to remain in town tonight to witness the funeral

procession by torch light. At this moment while I am so happy in listening to the voice of my dear daughter what grief there must be at the Palace, the body of that daughter & sister & *young wife* is to be removed this evening to its narrow bed, it leaves Sarsco at 8 o'clock & is to be deposited in the old Fortress Church on the Island opposite St Petersburg in the dead of night, it certainly would have been worth while to see so vast a procession moving by torch light,<sup>739</sup> but Whistler never voluntarily remains from home. he has to leave us too soon to go to Moscow. We walked in Our landlords garden during half an hours sunshine this evening & had a feast of ripe fruits goose berries, raspberries, strawberries & currants, & brought some in for the boys.

Wed [August] 14<sup>th</sup> <sup>740</sup> This is the 2<sup>nd</sup> *Summer* day I have felt in Russia, all nature seemed to rejoice in the sunshine. I took a long walk thro the woods with my Sister, we met some family groups in our stroll my heart warmed towards an old lady dressed in black, who was so delightedly noticing her little Grand child in a Russian nurses arms. We were just in time to dress for dinner when Whistler arrived, & also Col Bouttatz & M<sup>r</sup> Stockol, my husband brought a letter from England containing much sad news, the death of Woodcock Winstanley<sup>741</sup> & the extreme illness of M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Smith of Chaddock<sup>742</sup> The conversation in the drawing room of course turned upon the affliction of the Imperial family. the crowd which met them last evening at the gates was so great that the royal carriages could scarcely press their way thro, the Emperor was gratified by this manifestation of the sympathy of his subjects there was not any display in the conveying the corpse to the Fortress Church, it was only attended by the Imperial family. I am told the Emperors letter to his subjects<sup>743</sup> is very touching, indeed as well as can be judged of a man so elevated by station, his conduct is natural.<sup>744</sup> Of course there will be a court mourning.<sup>745</sup> Col B now has his silver epaulets covered with crape. All places of amusement are to be closed for six weeks, what a pity they should ever be opened, if they are improper now they are always dangerous for "in the midst of life we are in death"<sup>746</sup> It is impossible to know what report to credit as respects the state of mind the grand duchess left this world in, they are so contradictory some say she did not dream of dying, others that she often spoke of it.<sup>747</sup> I like to think it true that her English Governess<sup>748</sup> (who is said to be a most devoted

christian) never left her, it is said her hair has turned grey from watching & anxiety, we hear that after the birth of the infant the grand duchess felt better than for many months & expressed a desire to be left to repose, her governess retired, but in about half an hour returned finding her dead! her screams brought in the Empress, who embracing her said “I hope at my death I may have as faithful a friend near, as you have continued to be to this dear child”<sup>749</sup> — The corpse of the infant is not with that of the mother, it is placed in the Lutheran Church until it can be taken to Denmark<sup>750</sup>

Thursday [August] 15<sup>th</sup> <sup>751</sup> Mr Ropes had letters by the G<sup>t</sup> Western yesterday. I had hoped for one but was dissappointed! Today at eleven oclock my beloved husband bade me adieu for another fortnights absence to go to Moscow — Debo & the boys went 7 versts with him to meet his travelling equipage. I tried to rejoice in the unusually fine weather, but my heart so oppressed with sadness refused, & I retired to find comfort in communion with my Heavenly Father, & in His word to seek direction. Oh that I could cast all my care upon Him, who pitieth my weakness & who knoweth all my wants! It accorded not with my sadness to dress for a dinner party today, but for Debos & Aunt Alicias enjoyment I fulfilled my engagement to M<sup>rs</sup> F Baird. Their country seat is one of the finest on this road,<sup>752</sup> I had no idea of meeting so many — for she had invited us sociably herself. We sat down to dinner about 20, M<sup>rs</sup> Law her three daughters & Mr Williams among the guests, - I should not have relished being as she was the senior & lady of honor to be handed in by Mr Halliday<sup>753</sup> the father of M<sup>rs</sup> Baird a silly old man who lives without God in the world & every day loses the little intellect he has in drink. his wife<sup>754</sup> has lately had a second stroke of apoplexy therefore was not of the party, but she alas! has lived only for this world & now tho they think she cannot recover, they studiously keep death from her view by encouraging hopes for this world which she cannot realize. We had a sumptuous entertainment, the courses handed round by the servants in Russian style,<sup>755</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Baird seems to have all the hospitality of our friend M<sup>rs</sup> Dickerson.<sup>756</sup> We adjourned to the Balcony after dinner for coffee & to enjoy the extensive view of the Gulf of Finland. A variety of exotics lined the sides of this piazza, M<sup>rs</sup> B complimented Debo by placing a bunch of Orange flowers in her hair.

Mr Williams made quite a playful attack upon my daughter about the report she had circulated against his love of music, she very amiably acknowledged she was the author! In the course of the evening I had a tête à tête with our young Pastor, very much to my satisfaction for in it he thanked me for the way in which I had closed his evening at our house, remarking he felt he could do no good in visiting unless he was acknowledged as a servant of Christ & he felt painfully that few circles realized that a clergyman was present even when he was invited to meet members of the Church. Now I trust my dear husband will not feel afraid of remarks upon our irregular proceedings if at the close of another evening I ask our pastor to lead our family devotions, for I know he wishes to honor God whenever a suitable occasion offers) Mr Williams gave me an interesting account of a stranger who arrived in St Petersburg only last tuesday (with her husband the Capt of a vessel from Montrose Scotland & who was left a widow on wednesday.<sup>757</sup> he had visited her several times & begged me to do so. I felt grateful again this evening to my dear Debo that she was not among the waltzers & tho our Rev<sup>d</sup> friend made no remark on the dancing I am sure she would not have retained his good opinion if she had been whirled among the giddy throng. M<sup>rs</sup> Baird & her brothers<sup>758</sup> sung some Russian songs to admiration & even he clapped his hands & encored. Afterwards when Debo at her request played, he said to me “Your daughter’s selection is so delightful & her modest discretion in choosing short peices so remarkably I must think you have advised her, to induce her listeners always to wish she would not so soon leave the instrument, it is like temperance at a feast, our taste is never cloyed, — I did not detract from my gentle daughters merit by assuming any of the credit, due only to her innate delicacy. Indeed tho I make no outward demonstration, none can admire her as I do always when she mingles among the fashionables here. knowing as I do her power to shine & win attention, I love to watch how unassuming she is compared to other young ladies We ordered our carriage when M<sup>rs</sup> Law did hers at 10 oclock altho all cried out against the early hour. M<sup>r</sup> Williams said in good old England it was deemed a reasonable time & laughingly told our hospitable hostess she must not hope he would learn to behave better!

Friday [August] 16<sup>th</sup> This day a year ago we left Boston! so much has marked the twelve months it seems a longer time, yet how rapidly it had fled! what have we done in our Saviours service? & what to conquer evil propensities? Oh that we might be wise to improve the days God may yet allot to us on earth, to prepare to follow those whom He has taken to eternity! Today I wrote to my Sister Eliza & M<sup>r</sup> Winstanley<sup>759</sup> as my husband had made me promise to do, about our carpets for the town house. The Gillebrands & Ropes<sup>760</sup> came to tea, the weather very warm, mosquitoes so tormenting, now that the evenings close in early we require candles & were therefore obliged in self defense to close the casements. This was the day of the Grand duchess funeral. it is said the Emperor was quite unmanned. It is also reported that the Prince of Hesse Castle, left in the Steamer with the corpse of his infant for Copenhagen.<sup>761</sup> It is said he has endowed a hospital with part of the rich dowry of his deceased wife,<sup>762</sup> yet his follies are still trumpeted, & the report of his boisterous orders that plenty of champagne & segars should be put among his sea stores is shocking to think of. we must charitably hope it is only a presumption.<sup>763</sup> “A good name is better than gold.”<sup>764</sup>

Sat [August] 17<sup>th</sup> As I was bound by two promises to visit in town today & my Sister wished also to call upon Miss Morgan<sup>765</sup> we drove thither notwithstanding the excessive heat & dust. As I had understood the funeral of Capt Roy was to be early, I might perhaps comfort his poor widow & tho a stranger I ventured into the hotel in the Galernia. usually resorted to by English Sea Captains.<sup>766</sup> I was not unwelcome to poor M<sup>rs</sup> Roy. “I have met with a heavy affliction” was her first remark to me, but God has sent the staff with the rod,<sup>767</sup> I trust it will prove for my good. perhaps I thought too much of my dear husband, he was a quiet man, I never heard him say a rough word to any one & he never uttered an oath as some do to his sailors” She told me afterwards that she had only been six months married, after a seven years engagement, her husband had not been well & that had induced her to embark with him, she often repeated how thankful she felt she had come to be with him at the last. she spoke of the merciful arrangement of Him who over rules all events in bringing also another Capt from Montrose to the same house, as she should now return in his vessel to her Sisters.<sup>768</sup> she told me her husband had suffered so much during his few hours illness that

she was made willing to let the Saviour take him from her, said he had repeated the Paraphrase from Job (the 188<sup>th</sup> hymn in our prayer book) “Few are thy days &c<sup>769</sup> - & had told her if God prolonged his days, how differently he should live, (yet he was a good man! had brought up & educated several brothers,<sup>770</sup> his marriage had been retarded that he might first work for them) When dying he repeated the 23<sup>rd</sup> Psalm!<sup>771</sup> I wished the poor bereaved widow to promise to go home with me after the funeral for it did not take place till two hours after my interview with her) I knew in our quiet life she might be undisturbed & thought the rural scenes around us might accord with her feelings, but arrangements were making for her going back to her husbands vessel, she knew all his crew,<sup>772</sup> they had loved him, they were from Montrose & she had much to do for her voyage, so while she seemed grateful, she was firm in declining my proposal. I am sure I shall never lose the sweet impressions the converse of this widow made upon me, her simplicity, her deep piety, her gentle submission to the will of Him who cannot err! I went to comfort, & instead received counsel to be treasured up against time of need, her Scotch accent & her bible language made it seem like some tale of Lights & Shadows of Scottish life,<sup>773</sup> but it was to her a sad reality! Only last sunday they had made the port of Cronstadt in one short week how much she had been called upon to endure! My Sister said much to strengthen the faith of this humble christian & our tears flowed while she wiped away her own as tho she dreaded making a display of her grief, to which at first tears had refused relief. We watched the funeral of the stranger as it wound its way across the bridge, while we stood upon our balcony at the English quai. My Sister preferred remaining there as she had a book, to crossing with me in a small boat to call on M<sup>rs</sup> Hirst. I had an opp- of gladdening another poor body without much trouble, a poor Russian girl was just seating herself in another boat, when seeing me she without ceremony sprung beside me the boat man would have lifted her back to her place, had I not said “Nee chee voo”,<sup>774</sup> and when paying my own ferriage, I told her “Nee naa da”<sup>775</sup> as she was about to offer her 10 kopeecks copper<sup>776</sup> & settled for hers at the same time, she could hardly refrain from embracing me, such trifles are favors to the poor! she no doubt was a servant of the lowest order & had been to the police to have her passport renewed,<sup>777</sup> as she held it in her hand, she

followed me thanking me in Russ as far as she could. I had my hot walk for nothing M<sup>ES</sup> Hirst not returned from the country. As we had Marys trunk<sup>778</sup> to take home in our Calashe, we could not call on Miss Morgan. she was right glad to receive it, & the boys brought one old thing after another for me to look at which had been thrown in when we were leaving Stonington Ah how keenly nursery scenes there presented themselves, No one knows how much I yet miss that little one whose soft voice memory brings to my ear the sweetest music to my heart.

Sunday [August] 18<sup>th</sup> <sup>779</sup> We drove so early to church, that we might accommodate M<sup>ES</sup> Ropes with a seat to Chapel, that I had a half hour to read before the congregation assembled. M<sup>r</sup> Williams preached from the 1<sup>st</sup> lesson, that beautiful history of Naaman, his text 12<sup>th</sup> verse of 5<sup>th</sup> chap of 2<sup>nd</sup> Kings,<sup>780</sup> he applied it most plainly & forcibly to his hearers. I have not seen so full a congregation this summer. The Harrisons met us after church, I was glad to find them regular worshippers among us & begged them also to attend M<sup>r</sup> Williams preaching at Alexandrofski.<sup>781</sup> In the afternoon I had as usual my Sunday school collected in my parlor, I was most delighted with the new comers as my Willie calls the little Drurys next door. they had their bible recitation so perfect & read in their turn so attentively, I kept them to tea, as I did the little inattentive Normans, for I wish to give them happy associations of the sabbath day kept as it ought to be, not as they have been accustomed to keep it. In the evening Debo read aloud one of Blunts sermons to Aunt Alicia & I, Mary too came in.

Monday [August] 19<sup>th</sup> <sup>782</sup> I have quite forgotten to note down my refreshing baths (at Drurys bath house in the wood opposite where there is a pond, this hot week past, but this morning being cloudy I did not go, we however ventured to set out to spend the day at the Harrisons notwithstanding the threatenng of rain. We took Mary & the boys, leaving Fedor to take care of the house, the ride to Alexandrofski did not prove as interesting as it was agreable, for it was just a succession of manufactories and little log houses after the bounds of St P.<sup>783</sup> but the road was good & the weather not too hot, the Harrisons gave us a cordial welcome they had feared rain would prevent our visit. What a delightful house is theirs!<sup>784</sup> so spacious & well built, we admired the pretty view up the Neva from the balcony of their drawing room, there is also water

at the side of the house, for their extensive garden rises from the borders of a canal, we walked there eating fruit, until the sun shone out in his full strength at noon & drove us in. I took a fancy to dear little Annie Harrison, she looks like a dark eyed sister of Johnny Barns<sup>785</sup> might, for she reminded us of him, & me she made think of Kirkie, such splendid eyes & forehead, rich dark ringlets and she is just the age he was when I lost him. Oh what a picture she was when she fell asleep at dinner, her bonnie cheek resting upon her arm, her unusual exercise with the boys in the garden had quite overpowered her, I stole away from the drawing room in the afternoon to look at her as she still slept on the sofa in the dining room. After M<sup>r</sup> H had taken my boys to see M<sup>r</sup> Winans at the works, we ladies were induced to accept his offer to shew us how they make Locomotives. It proved very interesting, certainly the Emperor will be much gratified when he visits them<sup>786</sup> & sees all the improvements the Americans are making in his government iron works, so many fine machines they have imported from the U States & from England. M<sup>r</sup> Winans pointed out some of the American mechanics which have come over to join this establishment, they all looked well & are contented .<sup>787</sup> We went down to the lower regions where they melt the iron & waited to see the process of running it into the moulds for wheels &c. My Sister grew frightened & scampered off not knowing the men were bound for that very end of the building We had a hearty laugh at her expense when we observed them following her with the red hot liquid hemming her up in a corner while they poured it into the moulds ‘alls well that ends well’<sup>788</sup> she good humouredly joined in the mirth. We were introduced to M<sup>r</sup> Kirk (the lately married) he did not look like a gallant bride groom in this dirty region, but he said he had known our dear George as a lad in Lowell<sup>789</sup> & I promised to call upon his wife when next I go to Alexandrofski, they occupy the house at the opposite side of the works corresponding with the Harrisons, Winans keeps batchelors hall in one story, certainly they have much to make their home in Russia delightful, Neva water conducted to every part of their houses, bath rooms, hot houses & all such luxuries. I urged them all to begin as they ought to go on with regard to the Sabbath, which is so seldom hallowed here, and to lead all their English & American mechanics to attend the service at the School room It certainly is the duty of each one



of us, from the home of the Pilgrims to let our light shine, that those who dwell in darkness may learn to respect the commandments of God. The great work for each individual (no matter what the earthly calling of each) should be winning souls to Christ, & we find this work to perform by precept & example here. On our drive home we admired the splendour of the setting sun & the ruby colored sky, our party prophesied a fair day tomorrow, but I thought this summer all old signs had failed. Jemmy kept up a conversation in Russ with the coachman. little Willie tho buttoned up to the throat in his English great coat, crept under my good grey cloak for the air was chill & the vapours overhanging the fields & woods made them look as if covered with hoarfrost. We have only a few nights this summer dispensed with a blanket, tonight we need one.

Tuesday [August] 20<sup>th</sup> A raw cloudy morning, settling into rain. M<sup>r</sup> Curtis stopped just at our dinner time, I concluded he would join us sans ceremonie at our family meal as he had done before, & spend the afternoon in hearing Debo play & hurried preparations accordingly, but he came to bid goodbye, as he expects to take the Steamer next Sat<sup>790</sup> for Lubec, not to return this year from England! the old gentleman likes Russian society & regrets leaving it. I quite forget to say that last week we were very early surprised by a visit from a M<sup>r</sup> Robertson,<sup>791</sup> who as a graduate of West Point had claims upon Whistler tho he brought him no letters. he breakfasted with us. last Sat<sup>792</sup> he left for England to return to the U States. Dear little Willie had his little Russian cronies in to spend the afternoon Sarschinka & Varscha<sup>793</sup> & he got up a Russian play by inspiration. Aunt A & Sister & Mary were presented with tickets, while Jemmie was writing a note to M<sup>r</sup> Hadenskoug on his birth day,<sup>794</sup> poor fellow! I dare say he thinks of many a happy birth day under his own roof & now he is dependent on us for kindness, Jemmie loves him sincerely & gratefully I suppose his partiality to this Swede, makes him espouse his countrys cause & admire the qualities of Charles 12<sup>th</sup> so greatly to the prejudice of Peter the G<sup>t</sup>. he has been quite enthusiastic while reading the life of this king of Sweden this summer aloud to me. & too willing to excuse his errors.<sup>795</sup>

Wednesday [August] 21<sup>st</sup> <sup>796</sup> A very fine bright day, our boys rejoiced in their anticipated pleasure for this afternoon, we had invited

Martha Ropes to lunch with us, the Mr Millers also arrived from town by noon, our repast was enjoyed as a dinner for we were bent upon an excursion for some hours. But for our meeting so many troops within the last few versts of Peterhoff<sup>797</sup> we should have found the ride most agreeable, passing so many noble estates & palaces belonging to the Russian nobility,<sup>798</sup> it is supposed 40.000 troops were on this road today at the breaking up of the camp. some ordered to Barracks in St P others going to Peterhoff. we left them at its gates<sup>799</sup> & went immediately to the gardens, the imperial family being at the Palace<sup>800</sup> we could not see the inside of that, but it was pleasanter walking thro the extensive grounds, for they abound in beautiful objects & the fountains are perhaps the finest in the world, whenever the Emperor is at Peterhoff they are playing, the source must be inexhaustible for the reservoir at the entrance is supplied from the gulf of Finland.<sup>801</sup> I wish I could describe these gardens to convey some of the pleasure I enjoyed. The old Palace is situated rather elevated & the water descends in sheets over steps, all the heathen deities preside,<sup>802</sup> Jemie was delighted with the figure of Sampson tearing open the jaws of the Lion from which ascended a jet stream 100 feet high<sup>803</sup> he was diverted at the *fencing* of some of the gilded figures with water,<sup>804</sup> indeed which ever way we strolled we saw novelties the bath house painted within & without in the most fanciful yet chaste manner, its fountain in the centre, ropes covered with scarlet cloth all around it, the descent to the water by an inclined plain, sofas in the rooms at the end of the house for taking siestas after bathing, preparations were making for some of the ladies of the Court to bathe, a footman came with sheets & towels, we took the hint & retired.<sup>805</sup> I was most charmed by the Summer house<sup>806</sup> as it is called down on the border of the Gulf, it is encircled at the back by a most beautiful flower garden, & the view of the extensive sheet of water is enchanting, perhaps Peter here watched his fleet in its infancy, he built this retreat for himself, but after his death his daughters indulged their taste by adding many magnificent suites of apartments, he only had *use* for a few, his kitchen where he is said to have cooked all his own meals adjoining the room where he slept which looks out upon the gulf. there are some fine pictures,<sup>807</sup> but Peters own paintings of the feathered race<sup>808</sup> ought to be most highly prized tho our Jemie was so saucy as to laugh at them. I

dare say our boys will not forget the dirty flannel night cap upon the pillows of Peter the G<sup>t</sup>.<sup>809</sup> A very fine carving in Ivory of Catherine being presented to Peter for the first time, is well worth examining.<sup>810</sup>

Thursday [August] 22<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>811</sup> The weather was propitious, but we had put off our excursion to Lake Ladoga until Whistlers return, no news from him yet! how much we miss his arrival from town every evening! No letters yesterday as we had hoped from Boston, but on our return from Peterhoff Mary handed us two, which M<sup>r</sup> Ropes himself had brought, one proved from Emma Maingay<sup>812</sup> the other from M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell to my husband, he was at Hamburg,<sup>813</sup> so well & in such good spirits I think he would not disapprove of our opening his favor as it contributed to our cheerfulness. The Gellibrands came this evening bringing a Miss Goodenough,<sup>814</sup> a lover of music. Debos harp never was in such perfect tune, M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes played duetts with her I dont know when their music has so charmed me, especially the sacred melodies “Thy will be done” and “Thou meet’st me where’er I go”,<sup>815</sup> pleased all. For my own part it is a cause of regret to me whenever I hear foolish words set to music, it ought always to elevate the feelings & no matter how melodious the air, I cannot enjoy what seems in direct opposition to the warning of our Saviour upon “idle words”.<sup>816</sup> My darling wish is, that if my dear James & Willie acquire any proficiency in music, they may contribute to the praise of God in public worship.

Sat [August] 24<sup>th</sup> Miss Morgan<sup>817</sup> came by 12 oclock in M<sup>rs</sup> Bairds<sup>818</sup> carriage from town to pass the day sociably with us, the old lady<sup>819</sup> had declined accompanying her, as a ride of ten versts to & fro she feared would unfit her for attending Church & the communion the next day. (How proper to make the last day of the week a day of preparation for the first! I was sorry M<sup>r</sup> Morgan<sup>820</sup> did not come until the meat was removed from table, especially as I had wished him to taste a great rarity among Russian vegetables (our Squash or Simlin,<sup>821</sup> our landlord had sent me in a present of “vegetable marrow” from his hot beds, but M<sup>r</sup> M is out of health, so calves foot jelly was just right for him, Debo had been invited to quite a dinner party at the Gellibrands & she wished to meet Miss Allen<sup>822</sup> the neice of Sir William A but could not leave our two guests without rudeness until, after she had contributed to entertain them, when we were at tea, she was excused &

on her return at 10 o'clock told me she had been charmed by Miss Allens unaffected sweetness & intelligence, joined to her talent for music, she sings scotch & spanish songs.

Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup> <sup>823</sup> I waited till late Sat evening in the hopes my dear Whistler might come home as he had not written, ere I sent a note to invite Miss Forester<sup>824</sup> to take a seat in our carriage to go to church, she gratefully accepted, as she wished to hear Mr Williams & yesterday was his last sermon. The church was filled in consequence, many were there who had not been the whole summer before! indeed he has so faithfully pointed out the sin of lukewarmness, that by degrees we have observed the number of his hearers increasing. He took his text from 2<sup>nd</sup> Corinthians 3<sup>rd</sup> chap 9<sup>th</sup> verse,<sup>825</sup> and introducing his subject by exalting the profession of a minister of the gospel, he most solemnly dwelt upon his duties as a clergyman of the Church & as if standing before the judgement seat of Christ asked the awful question had he been faithful to his charge? his own voice faltered often, & not many eyes were dry, his quotations from scripture were as they always are most forcible, the bible is his foundation always, therefore who can oppose the truths he advances. there were also an unusual number of communicants. I spoke to Mrs Law after service she was in deep mourning. she told me the death of her husbands mother<sup>826</sup> had put an end to his travels thro G<sup>t</sup> Britian & that we must expect him immediately to return to St Peters As we drove home Miss F — thanked me over & oft for taking her to church, she said she never heard such a sermon in her life, it had not been her will to stay from the house of God all Summer! how sorry I felt that she had to meet a dinner party in the afternoon thus to commemorate the 4<sup>th</sup> birth day of the *only child spared* her cousin,<sup>827</sup> was not to deserve the blessing. I wished in my heart I could send the vol of Legh Richmonds containing his simple lines on the 4<sup>th</sup> birth day of his little boy,<sup>828</sup> so appropriate, & which might offer to the worldly mother some valuable admonition for her boys *happiness*. And now that I have noticed the Lords day which has become my holiday from earthly cares, I will touch upon the pleasant afternoon we have had today (I forgot to note last friday, I drove to the city with my Sister to pay some calls, & at Mrs Woods was invited to take my family to meet hers at the gardens of Katrineoff<sup>829</sup> today. Mrs Gellibrands party

also went, and our pastor Mr Williams soon joined us there, the sun shone upon us, as we sauntered about the pretty grounds admiring the serpentine streams flower beds & green grass (for the incessant rains have kept even this favorite resort so near the city quite verdant) We went into the old palace said to have been built by Peter the G<sup>t</sup>, himself<sup>830</sup> and certainly examined many of his attempts at the arts & sciences<sup>831</sup> within it, some very old & beautiful embroidery<sup>832</sup> we admired, but most of all its curiosities a chinese cabinet of ivory inlaid<sup>833</sup>. the hangings<sup>834</sup> thro out the apartments are of Peters time his spirit of economy might be a lesson, as it forms a striking contrast to the profusion of the present time. On our return to the Summer house where Mrs Wood rents a parlour<sup>835</sup> (that she may afford her children the range of these convenient grounds every afternoon) we found a large table set covered with sweet meats, fruits, home made bread & butter, tea & coffee, I had time for a nice chat with our hostess & friends before we assembled at the plentiful board, & was allowed to depart with my little boys & Aunt Alicia immediately after. Debo remained under Mrs Gellibrands wing, & on her reaching home made me congratulate myself upon having avoided a disquisition upon the Athanasian Creed<sup>836</sup> & also some stern remarks upon M<sup>r</sup>. Moleneux<sup>837</sup> view of the Lenten fast & Regeneration.<sup>838</sup> I always feel that our blessed Saviour precepts are so plain that he who runneth may read & that if we walk humbly as to our own merits, looking to Him as the author & finisher of our salvation “fulfilling all righteousness”<sup>839</sup> we may be saved without diving into mysteries, and these questions are so seldom without bitterness that I dread them. I certainly have enjoyed much christian fellowship with the Gellibrands, tho they are not of our church, & I have also felt refreshed & edified in listening to the gospel as preached by Mr Williams these three months past. In heaven all these walls will be broken down, we shall be one in Christ Jesus —

Tuesday [August] 27<sup>th</sup> <sup>840</sup> I have counted the days lately & in communings with my own spirit have thought of this day twelve months ago when we had our dear George with us on board the Acadia & I so fondly listened to my darling Charlie as he would answer to all who asked him of his birth day — “Charlie is two years old today.” And do I weep selfishly this anniversary that he is not still at my side? Oh no! I have

learned to be quite reconciled to my loss, not that *time* has rendered the impression of my anguish at closing that dear babys<sup>841</sup> in death less acute, but *faith* thro which I see him rejoicing in his Saviours love comforts me. there is a chord in a mothers heart of such exquisite tenderness which as it vibrates to memory awakening is so of mingled pleasure & pain, of fondness & sorrow that none but a mother who has outlived a darling child can understand it. Sometimes it seems a burning spot of intense love in my heart. But as my Heavenly Father called home *both* my darlings on His own holy day of rest, every sabbath becomes to me an anniversary of their new birth. Thus also has the first day of every year become a consecrated day to me, when our Heavenly Parent took back one He had lent us for fifteen years even our bright & darling Joe. Praise be to Him for calling our affections from this world of toil & anxiety to rest with Him upon the many anniversaries of affliction which have thus been rendered good for us. My only wish is that all left us may so pass the time of their sojourning here that they may be faithful unto the end for Christ, labouring for Him *in* the world, not of the world.

Wed [August] 28<sup>th</sup> <sup>842</sup> When Debo proposed to me yesterday that we should avail of an invitation from Col Todd to pass the day at Tsarskoe Selo as when Whistler is here we cannot use the horses without interfering with his daily visits to town, I determined to yeild to her wishes that we might gratify Aunt Alicia with a sight of the Parks about the Palace in all their verdure, so we ordered the Calashe notwithstanding Coachers dread that 21 versts would be too much for our ponies. Willie took his seat at his side on the box & his prattle in Russ always charms poor Péotre. After turning out of the cross road into the turnpike we found ourselves in a beautiful avenue of Linden trees with noble mile stones<sup>843</sup> like monuments, on this route we passed some of the neatest villages I have seen in this country, the gable end of the log cottages facing the road is generally carved & painted,<sup>844</sup> & on either side the turnpike (which must be the original Imperial road to Tsarskoe before the railroad was built, indeed still preferred by the Empress) there is also a private country road along by the villages so that the avenue is very broad, we observed the peasants all in their holiday suits & many hurrying to church (for there are gorgeous Greek churches at suitable points of access wherever we drive) It was the Anniversary of the *Virgin*

*Marys death!*<sup>845</sup> I wonder what chronicler informs them — even all the children seemed to have at least a new shirt or frock, and we could see into the cottages young maidens braiding each others hair & tying the large bow of ribbons at the end of the braid which hangs down the back & of which the [*sic*] look so proud. I wish I could draw a sketch of the classic stone fountain<sup>846</sup> we passed just as we were turning out of this avenue to wind upwards into another leading into Tsarskoe, nothing in this country which the Emperor is likely to come in sight of can be built without his approving the style, so we find even the stone wells on these public roads are classic. On arriving at the Cols it was only 12 o'clock, his reception was flatteringly cordial, his carriage had been waiting upon us some hours, so we soon stepped into it & drove thro the beautiful grounds belonging to the New Palace,<sup>847</sup> within which is the Armoury,<sup>848</sup> there we alighted, the first object which rivetted my attention was a little visiter standing on the porch a beautiful black eyed boy! Willie said as I stooped to kiss the stranger “he looks like Andrea doesn’t he Mother?” and so said Aunt Alicia, but my heart whispered Oh so much more as my own Kirkie used to! and James discovered that the resemblance was to that “bright eyed” brother, so much more refined in beauty than Andrea. I could have lingered long beside him, but who ever he been [*sic*] brought there by called him off, as did the Col us at the same instant. My boys will not forget the suits of Armor in such variety of different countries, but especially those two which had been worn by the Emperor Nicholas & his eldest son the Grand Duke Alexander,<sup>849</sup> also the immense gun which it is the Emperors pride to handle so dexterously in going thro the exercises.<sup>850</sup> We saw some noble horses the veritable skins stuffed to appear like life,<sup>851</sup> one which had belonged to Tipoo Saib with a figure wearing his own armor placed upon his saddle.<sup>852</sup> An old helmet taken from Herculaneum<sup>853</sup> excited some wonder tho not for its beauty, and the massive lock upon one of the doors was pointed out by our guide as a great curiosity, known to be at least two thousand years old & taken from Jerusalem it is a ponderous but by no means rough specimen of mechanism.<sup>854</sup> Debo long gazed thro her glass & admired the accoutrements for an equestrian covered with diamonds presented to the present Emperor, those from Mahmoud in 1833 most gorgeous, but the other said to be the gift of the Pascha of Persia the saddle cloth lilac

showered over with diamonds looked most brilliant, scabbard, stirrups, girths &c of each glittering with these priceless stones.<sup>855</sup> I should be laughed at in the Court of earthly Princes if I expressed a wish that the value of these might be transferred to the Missionary fund, instead of being shut up in glass cases to excite envy & amazement. My little Jemmie [*sic*] heart was sad as in examining other glass cases, he discovered swords which had been taken in the battles between Czar Peter & Charles 12<sup>th</sup> he knew from their rich hilts set in pearls & precious stones they must have belonged to noble Swedes.<sup>856</sup> Oh! he exclaimed I'd rather have one of these than all the other things in this armory, how beautiful they are!" The noble circular hall in the centre of the building which was formerly a palace, used in Alexanders time to be used as a banquetting hall, it is lighted from the roof,<sup>857</sup> we saw what used to be the sleeping apartment of the Empress of this late Emperor, for this was her favorite abode,<sup>858</sup> probably because too small for state, as we find the Imperial family now prefer their new Palace from this reason that they can live retired in it. We were told we could not enter that, as the room the favorite Grand duchess so lately occupied is being fitted up as an Oratory,<sup>859</sup> an especial service is to be performed in it on the return of the Court to Tsarskoe Selo,<sup>860</sup> probably prayers offered up for her soul? Ah when will the time arrive when all these errors will be done away with in the Greek Church "There is no repentance in the grave"<sup>861</sup> thro Eternity the soul must be as it leaves this world of trial! We did not propose gaining admittance into the Catherine Palace as we had been thro it with the Col on our former visit, & that also was undergoing a thorough refreshing for the Grand Duke Alexanders family soon to return to.<sup>862</sup> We had enough in the extensive grounds to interest my Sister, the serpentine streams, lakes (with snowy swans) & fountains, the water brought from a great distance,<sup>863</sup> the Chinese bridge with Chinese men & women keeping it<sup>864</sup> delighted our boys most, but they were willing to be driven home with the Col & Aunt A for a luncheon at 2 oclock, while Debo & I went to call on a friend of M<sup>rs</sup> Maingays<sup>865</sup> We were told the governess Miss M<sup>c</sup> Lean<sup>866</sup> was in, she was delighted to see Debo & I was as much delighted with her, Among the many agreeable ladies I have become acquainted with here, I have given the palm to three English governesses<sup>867</sup> for elegance, affability & intellectual adornments,



this young lady so gentle & refined, is the bosom friend of Eliza Maingay, her politeness must spring from piety then or Eliza would not select her, in conversation with her time slipped away, until as we were rising to go Madame O Lainy<sup>868</sup> carriage was heard, just as we were moving to go, with regret at not seeing her she arrived, & Oh how pleased I felt we had not missed her, she is quite an invalid for all the sashes were closed ere she dared enter into the drawing room, she is about my own age, has one young daughter<sup>869</sup> to whom Miss M<sup>c</sup> L is governess. Oh how delightful a woman is Madame O Lainy! she reminds me somewhat of my dear friends Henriet & Alwina<sup>870</sup> in manner speaks English just as they do, she hopes to be our neighbour in town<sup>871</sup> & I am glad of it, for her character is that of a most benevolent lady & as she is in deep mourning for her husband<sup>872</sup> & out of health herself, we shall not meet dissipation within her doors, the fine paintings in her rooms exhibit a most refined taste, she has the remains of great beauty herself.<sup>873</sup> The Col expressed himself alarmed by our long absence & was just on the point of going himself to look for us when we returned to his house. I was somewhat annoyed that he had deemed it necessary to entertain us to have a dinner party in preparation for us, two gents had fortunately been engaged but three met us at five o'clock. One was a Russian Gen<sup>l</sup> who spoke English,<sup>874</sup> tho he did not avail himself of it to say much to any one. Madame O Lainys nephew<sup>875</sup> also spoke our language & made himself very agreeable, but the Capt of the Chevalier Guards<sup>876</sup> who sat next Debo tho he spoke only french was the greatest acquisition to the party, he had so much vivacity & politeness, the Col also felt himself bound to address him in the Court language! it was to me really ridiculous that he would interpret every speech he made, to me. I at last told him that I understood french tho I wanted confidence in attempting to speak The Col proposed in french drinking the Emperors health in champagne, which not even the Russian Gen<sup>l</sup> who declined wine, could refuse & even I put my glass to my lips tho I, invariably refuse, for I did not know if it might not be misconstrued into disrespect & for Whistlers sake I went thro the motions, this encouraged my little boys & they presented their glasses to be filled, and forgetting at their little side table the guests at ours, Willie in his glee called out aloud "Santé à l'Empereur" the Capt clapped his hands with delight & afterwards addressed the little

American in french, all at the table laughed & called the boys “bon sujets.” I had wished to be at home by eight oclock, the Cols arrangements frustrated my intention & when he urged that we would take a short drive of 20 minutes to Pavloski<sup>877</sup> that Debo might hear the bands of music I could not deny her the gratification, so we again took possession of his carriage after coffee & he drove with one of the young Gents, the boys were told by the Chasseur (who always of course takes his place behind the Cols equipage) as we drove thro the town & the soldiers doffed their caps to the carriage, that they were paying honors to him, to his green feather he ought to have said, but the truth is the Chasseur as readily as Miller<sup>878</sup> adopt all the consequence of our Ambassador himself & are divertingly happy in their conceits, tho they do provoke Madmoiselle Whistler by their airs, I do not mind them as they are remarkably attentive to us. Our short drive was really enchanting Tsarskoe is certainly the neatest place I ever saw in my life, not a stone out of place, the head gardener of the Imperial Grounds has also the supervision of the whole town<sup>879</sup> it is related of him that one of the Imperial family once found fault with his want of neatness in the Parks. he was alarmed! not a leaf was allowed to remain on the nicely sanded walks! no but he had forgotten spittoons!<sup>880</sup> But of our drive, it was shady just before entering the fairy scene at Pavloski<sup>881</sup> for the evergreens are of an enormous size, the rail road extends this far & by the 7 oclock train from St Petersburg the garden becomes filled, green benches are placed in every direction Hermans band (a famous German band)<sup>882</sup> plays alternately with a fine military band, Jemie liked the latter best, Sister the former, as to little Willie he unconsciously marched or danced as either measure was played, the Pavilion was being hung with variagated lamps, but we only were beguiled into lingering a half hour. Our own horses being quite refreshed, were ready for a start when we reached the Cols again. but Miller had tea ready & we must accept the refreshment, tho I thought proper to decline the loaf of home made bread just from the oven which he knew was a greater treat than plum cake to those who are only “bakers clients”. We had a full moon to light us upon our road, the peasants were all assembled before their doors in groups this holiday evening singing their own peculiar glees, or dancing, I was so in hopes to find my gude mon at home, but was disappointed.

Wednesday [August] 28<sup>th</sup> 883 Such a rainy day! we did not budge out, letters arrived from Boston to cheer us after our early dinner, but had not dear Sarah Adams sent me one I should have felt myself quite neglected by the loved circle of relatives across the brook, my brother had written Whistler<sup>884</sup> & I opened his letter, but it was so hurriedly written that my name was not even mentioned. All were well at both houses,<sup>885</sup> Charles, Soph, Kingsley & wife<sup>886</sup> added to the dear circle, there was cause for thankfulness, tho my heart was so full I wished for a place to hide myself away to weep. Neither Mother or Sisters had thought it worth while to fill the blank pages my brother had sent! In the midst of my sadness I was summoned to the parlor to entertain William Maingay, & moreover we were engaged to tea at the Gellibrands. I can exert myself where others are depending upon my efforts, so I trust I was not deficient either in acts of kindness at home or at our neighbours, we had our own round table surrounded at home for the childrens, & for M<sup>r</sup> Ms refreshment first & at eight oclock he attended us to the next estate, & kept his poor horses & Coachman waiting in the road until eleven that he might not be the first to leave the friendly circle. No one guessed how sad was my heart. I had not heard from Whistler either, & he gone a fortnight.

Thursday [August] 29<sup>th</sup> 887 My dear mother has often found “the darkest hour of the 24 is that preceeding day light”<sup>888</sup> in her many vicissitudes, and I find the old adage arising when anxieties are removed from my mind thro the merciful providence of God. Debo had very kindly read to me from her three letters from dear Jule, Mary Swift<sup>889</sup> & Sarah Adams what might interest me & also another just received from Emma, & I sympathised in her joy at such proofs of affection. I was writing this poor scrawl of a journal - which it is well is almost ended - when Mary came in saying “Oh Ma’am be happy ! M<sup>r</sup> Whistler has come! how delighted I was to kiss his sunburnt cheek & to hear he had been quite well, tho only one night in bed, he had one day walked 7 versts & rode 47 over such bogs! yet he looked as tho he had undergone all his labours cheerfully. M<sup>r</sup> Fairbanks returned in his carriage as he went, we soon had a cold cut ready with a fine musk melon out of the ice to refresh them. Whistler dismissed the jaded horses & muddy equipage, and soon our Péotre was in readiness to drive M<sup>r</sup> F to town as he was impatient

to get the American letters he felt must be awaiting him. I always feel interested in his wife & children,<sup>890</sup> & hope he has good news to cheer his heart, he so often is home=sick & Pittsfield<sup>891</sup> is so far off! The Gellibrands came to tea in number about 7. Whistler was quite a lion, all so rejoiced to have my gude mon back again — by chance I found my chair close to his while M<sup>rs</sup> G & ourselves were in an eager discussion about the Sandwich Islands, we ladies hoping Queen Pomare might not be deserted in her need by Queen Victoria<sup>892</sup> — when M<sup>r</sup> G moved his seat to the side of his dear good wife & we involuntarily joined in the laugh which was raised against us by the Spinsters for being such Darbys & Joans!<sup>893</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Ropes declared he was the only disinterested man in the room. Yet after tea he took his usual station at his little wifes side to turn the leaves of her music book while she played duetts with Debo, or accompanied her harp. The Misses Wilks<sup>894</sup> also are fine musicians, and Whistlers flute was brought into the concert, what a pity all votaries of pleasure, would not have such resources *at home!* as my good husband, daughter & M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes played there's no place like home<sup>895</sup> on piano, harp & flute my heart sung with them, for my feelings were attuned to the truth of the sentiment. I was indulged at the close of the evening with my favorite Sacred melodies, & after our guest left us, we read the 1<sup>st</sup> chap of 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians<sup>896</sup> & knelt around the family altar, my heart overflowing with thankfulness & love to our Heavenly Father for all His mercies.

Friday Sept 13<sup>th</sup> <sup>897</sup> How glad Whistler was to welcome his young friend Maxwell to St Petersburg the day before yesterday!<sup>898</sup> I rode to town with my dear husband whose only inducement for going was to meet him, in my heart I participated in the satisfaction of both on their embracing after a three months separation.<sup>899</sup> how entirely the health of M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell is reestablished! he too expressed great pleasure at finding us looking so well, he promised after paying his respects to M<sup>r</sup> Gibson our Consul,<sup>900</sup> to follow us out to dinner, we waited until 4 oclock, until 1/2 after & then sat down hopeless of his coming little Willie had been dressed & on the look out for his friend an hour & continually asked why he did not come *as he promised*, at last he did arrive,<sup>901</sup> I welcomed him *home* & regretted his not joining us at dinner, he took out his watch (it had not been regulated since he left Hamburg so of course we had a

laugh at his expence he set it by Whistlers, & I went out to order him a beef steak. How happy Le Rond looked as he bowed to me in the vestibule, to be in the service again of his young master!<sup>902</sup> And how delighted my boys were to be on each side of their kind friend! we persuaded him to send the carriage back to town & take up his quarters for the night under our roof. he was not unwilling, provided he should not incommode us — if he had peeped in the nursery he would have been amused at the close stowing there, Aunt Alicia gladly gave up her room to him for she at once liked her countryman,<sup>903</sup> and she insisted that I should let her sleep with Willie, we allowed the boys to sit up till nine oclock that they might participate in our enjoyment. I fear they rather annoyed M<sup>r</sup> M for they both crept on his knees to watch his countenance while he told his travels, how charming the recital! we each longed to follow his advice & go the same route thro Prussia, Germany, France &c. He afterwards opened a box & presented me with some beautiful steel ornaments he had bought at Munich, he also gave the boys keep sakes & stocked Whistler with cigars.<sup>904</sup> Debo has had the youngest daughter of D<sup>r</sup> Law passing a week with her, Emily<sup>905</sup> & herself had amused themselves during the morning in making riddles of the names of all their acquaintance in S<sup>t</sup> P. they silyly added M<sup>r</sup> Maxwells to the list & gave them out to be solved at the tea table, which occasioned some merriment. I have not observed my dear husband so cheerful for a great while he played accompaniments on the piano, ending with Irish airs on the bag pipes. I persuaded Debo to close her concert with some sacred music that our minds might be attuned to Gods word & to prayer. I know not what our young friend felt at kneeling again at our family altar, but I hope he was grateful to God who had restored him in health to us after perils by sea. Yesterday when we assembled at breakfast I persuaded him not to go to town & also told Emily Law we could not send her home in the rain. so Whistler went alone. The sun came out gloriously, after my dear boys reading to me they went fishing with M<sup>r</sup> M, about noon the young ladies followed them, taking some currant bun for all to eat in the wood. About 2 hours after I heard James *shouting* forth his excitement & soon perceived a cart full Debo, & Emily seated on a log inside the rough vehicle, M<sup>r</sup> M at the back & our boys hitched on at the sides, James mirth had arisen from his “skoray”ing<sup>906</sup> the poor

driver, & Sister begging him to go slowly over the jolting road. Whistler by way of a treat came home to dinner at 4 o'clock I had feared as neither butcher or fish monger came we should have short commons, but our good cook really worked a miracle out of two pair chickens, beef steaks, mushrooms, squashes &c in the shapes of pies & pasties so that, our board was bountifully furnished. The Gellibrands came to tea (all but Martha who was not well) and seemed as glad to talk with Mr Maxwell as we are to listen to him. M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes & Debo played on harp & piano Whistler accompanying them. our visitors were obliged to leave before their usual time as baby was so naughty as to send for Mama.<sup>907</sup> After the rest of us dispersed to our several apartments Whistler sat some time talking with Maxwell who is soon to say farewell<sup>908</sup> — This morning he must return to town, so my sister & self have been left to take care of the boys, as Debo went with Emily, to spend today with her. I have had a heavy heart since they left, in reflection of the past year, & thinking of the future, prayer has comforted me & I have found hope in Gods holy word.

English Quai – Ritter–Dom.<sup>909</sup> Sept 23<sup>d</sup> <sup>910</sup> While Debo is at her piano in the front drawing room the boys dancing to her music I shall try to record the change which has taken place the past week, I am seated in my own snug chamber, but instead of looking out upon Mr Drurys flower garden it overlooks the yard of Ritter-Dom in St Petersburg. Our last evening in the country was spent at the kind Gellibrands, after my days hard work at packing up I felt it to be very refreshing, Mr G [*sic*] had such a charming bright fire in her parlor grate to cheer us for the evenings begin to get chilly. Tuesday morning<sup>911</sup> after our 6 carts of goods & chattels were underweigh & our Calash waiting at the door I stepped in to bid good bye to my neighbours on each side, the Drurys are so kind I could scarce find words to express my thanks, at the last moment our good old landlord sent me in a basket of “vegetable marrow” string beans to salt for winters use & a still more attractive basket of every variety of Dahlias, with another filled with grapes from his green house. Willie & Tscharsinka embraced tenderly bidding adieu & promising to visit each other in Russ. the weather was propitious, & we accomplished much in unpacking all our things. Mr Ropes insisted upon our dining at his house which is under the same roof with our own,

we merely have to cross the head of our wide stair case from our front door to his,<sup>912</sup> we each selected these lodgings for their healthy situation on the English Quai, the view & the air of the Neva so fine, my dear husbands office is one of the snuggest of our rooms, we have just ten rooms including kitchens & for servants, our rent half of that of the Bobrinsky dom, is yet extravagently high \$ 900! tho our flat is the 3<sup>rd</sup> story. And now we are in nice order I am sorry Whistler must leave us just when he could enjoy his home so much for he has laboured to procure us comforts. but the Count K goes to Moscow tomorrow<sup>913</sup> & he leaves us for a fortnight. he was too busy in his office to write last friday<sup>914</sup> as we did by the Courier, as we did [*sic*], however much I wished him to answer my brothers last few lines I know Whistlers letters number 3 to 1 of Macs<sup>915</sup> and that he would gladly write oftener if he could for his thoughts are continually turning to this friend of his youth. Our boys have been every fine day to see M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell which was a relief to me while I was in a bustle & could not attend to them, he one day took them a drive to Alexandrofski & dined them at the Hotel de Paris, another day he gave them a sail across the Neva & sauntered about with them on some of the Islands. Willie especially loves this countryman of ours & wishes *I* would only go back to America when he does then Willie would not hesitate to accompany him home! last Saturday<sup>916</sup> he dined with us, as did M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Ropes & M<sup>r</sup> Geo Prince, As we were afterwards seated in the drawing room, Debo having regaled us with coffee & music our boys spoke a french dialogue, Willie wished lights brought in to give effect, but there was applause enough without. We were somewhat annoyed by the interruption of the Swede M<sup>r</sup> F<sup>917</sup> who some time ago begged to be permitted to try his skill as a portrait painter upon our boys, he brought the *caricatures* to present to their father how provoking & he has the impudence to ask the modest sum of 35 silv rubles for them. Whistler could only throw them in the fire!

Thursday [Sept.] 26<sup>th</sup> <sup>918</sup> Last Sunday<sup>919</sup> was the only one I have staid from public worship for many months & yet we are within five minutes walk of the “Aaglitzkie Tscierkoff” or “English church”<sup>920</sup> but my soul was heavy with sorrow as the anniversary of my little Charlies removal from me, tho to a better world — brought back the sight of all his sufferings on board the Alexandra & all his patience & love seemed

again visible. At family worship I felt near fainting & could scarcely repeat the Lords prayer to be heard tho it has become more full of meaning since my little one's fondness for it has so associated it with him. As I embraced my dear Debo (as is my custom on rising from prayers before breakfast every morning, my heart became relieved by weeping. I retired to my room again with my darling Willie & Jemmie & read with them until time for Mary to get them ready for going to church with their father, & felt soothing as was the sympathy of all I was best alone to pour out my soul in supplication to my Saviour to make me thankful as I ought to be that He has taken that little one He lent me two whole years at a time when I needed comfort & to beseech Him to forgive me if the renewal of my selfish grief should be in His sight sinful, I even felt grateful that my heart was soft enough still to weep over the remembrance of my trial of last year! but I ought rather to be grateful that I do not sorrow as those without hope!<sup>921</sup> Oh the extacy of the prospect of our all being united around the throne of the Lamb! I read that suitable chap the 15<sup>th</sup> of 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians<sup>922</sup> alone, when my boys came to my side again I read a pretty little juvenile tract to them upon the raising of Lazarus in which family harmony is so touchingly described how strong was the bond of affection between Lazarus & his Sisters.<sup>923</sup> Our Lord could not have called them. His friends had it not been so, He would not have *of* resorted thither had not their love to each other been next to their love to Himself. May my Jemmie & Willie cultivate this love which will make them in humility - prefer each other. Our family is a scattered one upon this earth but love to Jesus can unite our hearts. How much I have thought of my gentle George this day! Where & how has he spent the last year since he bade us adieu at Travemundie!<sup>924</sup> In the afternoon I read to my dear Whistler from a volume lately sent me by a friend from England upon the re-union of glorified Spirits.<sup>925</sup> Ah how kindly considerate is my dear husband in spending his sabbaths thus separate from the world to please me. by & by I trust his own satisfaction will depend upon devoting all the hours of Gods holy day to the interests of eternity. I wept with Charlies Mary this day as we spoke of the past. she is a good girl & I trust is leading such a life that she may meet him to part no more. what a comfort she is to me! I pray God may reward her seven fold, she certainly does her



duty in the state of life to which He has called her, is so patient & forbearing, so industrious & modest I trust in His sight her motive is for the praise of God. “Aunt Alicia” and I talked with our boys after they went to bed of those who were of as bright promise as themselves who have “gone before” them into a home prepared for them since the foundation of the world. even of our sainted boys Joe & Henry, and of Sweet Louly<sup>926</sup> too. Would that I could every day keep my thoughts elevated, what a privilege to have one day in seven set apart for holy contemplation. This week I have been in a whirl of business, work people of all descriptions pressing in to accomplish all that needed in our new lodging. My dear Whistler also has been obliged to go to Moscow, he left very early on tuesday<sup>927</sup> morning to be absent a fortnight, the Count Kleinmichel has gone with him to examine the rail road. of course Alexander attends him, so I am compelled to speak to Fedor in Russ, my little Willie is ready to explain for me & upon an emergency M<sup>r</sup> Ropes cousin Geo Prince comes in to aid me, I cannot direct the work people but this young countryman is so obliging & the counting house so near- under the same roof<sup>928</sup> – he comes in any moment, how glad I shall be when all these work people are done! they are so filthy in their persons! their long matted hair & beards, never disturbed by water or comb except in their monthly baths<sup>929</sup> which their church obliges them to take, I shudder as their long dirty robes sweep past me & fly from their sheep skins as from contagion, Aunt Alicia has a regular hunting for fleas now every day & says the odour of these men is dreadful. Oh how *nice* we shall keep our lodgings when they are rid of. We have had a regular Equinox<sup>930</sup> this week. Whistler went away under a tremendous rain storm & wind, but the weather today is mild as that of my own native land at this season, & as bright, last night<sup>931</sup> the moon light was enough to tempt us out, but Debo has had a cold & we enjoyed looking out upon the Neva from our drawing room, M<sup>r</sup> Prince took tea with us & M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell came after. *all Americans* together we talked of our native land, while we partook of a basket of delicious French pears (sent me in the morning by M<sup>r</sup> M — he said he should send some trees from France for his fathers farm upon the Hudson & hoped we might yet enjoy them there! We talked over our purchases of Furs & for our friends at home & planned going to the Gaustinandva today to make purchases,

for the boxes must be ready to send to Cronstadt tomorrow for the Ship sails the next day for New York<sup>932</sup> thus at the last I am hurried, for tho I have looked forward all Summer to this gratification I could not shop while residing in the country, M<sup>r</sup> R always too busy to go with me to the market & I cannot talk Russ or make bargains. I at this moment hear the carriage from M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrands rattling into the court bringing home M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes & children.<sup>933</sup> What lovely weather they are favored with & their lodgings in apple pie order thro M<sup>r</sup> Rs indefatigable exertions. I must run across our staircase thro all the painters to welcome them! But here comes my Willie with something to keep me in my seat. Such a treat! a long letter from dear Mary McNeill. Debo had reported the arrival of the Steamer this morning she watched the stepping ashore of the passengers – from our front balcony – at the English Quai, & we knew we should have letters!

Friday [Sept.] 27<sup>th</sup> <sup>934</sup> This is my 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. it is necessary to close this past years journal now as it is to go in a box to Stonington which must be ready to be sealed in an hour, therefore this hastily penned manuscript must be sent without correction, but my dear Mother will be indulgent to its errors as she has ever been to those of her children, & it is sacred to my family. My kind Sister Alice embraced me with tears on wishing me many happy returns of my birth day. how much I owe her for untiring interest in myself & children, may God help me to shew her the love she has ever shewn me. I must write my Twin Sister Eliza after my box is packed as I promised, this day last year I wrote her in my state room on board the Alexandra, with a heart aching from the loss I had then so recently sustained. When I review the past year my soul is filled with adoration to God for all His mercies to me. He has indeed revived me, my health is excellent & my spirit restored to cheerfulness. A birth day is a solemn mile-stone on our road to eternity! Oh may the Holy Spirit enable me to form new desires this day to live to my Saviour, & help me to examine my heart & my faith in Him. Yesterday afternoon I went to the Gaustinandva to purchase Moscow Silks<sup>935</sup> for sending to Stonington & Kazan Shoes,<sup>936</sup> My loves goes with them! M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell waits to seal my box.<sup>937</sup>

## NOTES

1. Anna Whistler (27 September 1804 – 1 January 1881) is referring to her half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (27 September 1788 – 20 August 1857; see Image 40), born on the same day in the same month as she, as her “twin” sister. Although this is the usual reference in Anna Whistler’s diaries, there are other situations in which the term is applied. When Major Whistler died, Anna Whistler received a letter of condolence in which the writer spoke of her own mother, widowed twenty-nine years earlier in the same month under similar circumstances, as Anna Whistler’s twin sister: “it is just 29 years today since my own dear Mother was deprived of her earthly stay, you are as it were twin sisters in this affliction for how similar are many of the incidents” (joint letter from Betsy Sandland and her daughter, Lizzie, April 27, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34). See the biography of the Sandland family in Appendix E (hereafter, Sandland) and Anna Whistler’s biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
2. Anna Whistler is referring to her sons, James Abbott Whistler (11 July 1834 – 17 July 1903) and William McNeill Whistler (22 July 1836 – 27 February 1900). See their biographies in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Images 24–30.
3. It has not been possible to ascertain who the neighbor was that Anna Whistler’s step-daughter, Deborah Delano Whistler (24 October 1825 – 3 December 1908) was visiting. See her biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Images 17–19, 21.
4. Anna Whistler is referring to her husband, Major George Washington Whistler (19 May 1800 – 7 April 1849). See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Images 7–8, 21.
5. “Mr. Fair. ....” is Reuben Goodale Fairbanks (29 December 1804 – 5 October 1882) (Lorenzo Sales Fairbanks, *Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family 1633-1897* [Boston: Printed for the author by American Printing and Engraving, 1897], p. 225; Episcopal Diocese of New York Church Records, Register of Burials, 1767 – 1970). A railroad contractor from Massachusetts, he had come to Russia in April 1843 on the recommendation of Major Whistler and had successfully bid “to set up and supervise the operation” of steam excavators and pile drivers (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 108, 123). See the biography of the Fairbanks family in Appendix E (hereafter, Fairbanks).

6. The *Acadia* (see Image 77) was a British and North American Royal Mail Steam Ship and, as of 1840, regularly sailed between Boston, Halifax, and Liverpool (“Cunard Steamers One Hundred Years Ago,” *Sea Breezes* 3 [January–June 1947], p. 87). It arrived at Halifax from Boston (Capt. Alex Ryrie) on 18 August 1843 and sailed a few hours later for Liverpool. Listed among its passengers from Boston to Liverpool were “G.M. [sic] Whistler, Mrs. Whistler and Miss Whistler, 3 children, and servant” (*Morning Herald*, August 21, 1843, pp. 2–3). According to published mail schedules, the vessel would have left Boston on 16 August 1843 (*Belcher’s Farmer’s Almanack for the Year of Our Lord 1843* [Halifax, NS: C.H. Belcher, 1843], p. 37). Anna Whistler confirms this date of departure in her diary entry for Friday [August] 16<sup>th</sup> [1844]. See also the *Boston Post* for 17 August 1843.
7. On the morning of 19 August 1843, when the *Acadia* was eleven hours out from Halifax for Liverpool, the weather being thick and hazy, it struck down the barque *Merchant* (Capt. Thomas L. Boss) from Amsterdam, owned at Newport, Rhode Island, in smooth water at 1:50 a.m. in latitude 44°37’N, longitude 60°58’W. The *Merchant* sank in about 45 minutes. The *Acadia*, however, had stopped immediately and sent out her boats. All officers and crew of the barque were saved. They were taken in the *Acadia* to Liverpool, arriving there on 28 August, and were given accommodations on the steamer *Caledonia*, which left Liverpool on 5 September, arriving in Boston on 21 September (*Boston Advertiser*, September 22, 1843). The account given by Capt. Boss to the *Newport Rhode Islander* is more detailed and exciting: *Boston Post*, September 22, 1843. See also *Boston Shipping List*, September 23, 1843, p. 28, col. 1.; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret, thursday p.m. Nov. 13th [18]51, GUL: Whistler Collection, W402).
8. Anna Whistler is referring to her step-son, George William Whistler (9 July 1822 – 24 December 1869), who had accompanied her and the children from the United States to Travemünde. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Images 12–13.
9. Charles Donald Whistler (27 August 1841 – 24 September 1843) died on route from Travemünde to St. Petersburg.
10. Mary Brennan (bap. 20 May 1828 – 25 May 1895) had gone to Russia with the Whistlers as nursemaid to Charles Donald Whistler. See Brennan, Bergen, Keefe in Appendix E.

11. Although Anna Whistler says they arrived at Liverpool on 29 August, the *Boston Advertiser* of 22 September 1843 states that it was on 28 August.
12. Betsy Hewitt (Dorlin) Sandland (bap. 3 July 1792 – 9 January 1859) was the widow of an English commission merchant who had died in Savannah, Georgia, in 1820 (J.D.S., “James A. Whistler, the Artist,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, June [?] 1874; *Register of Deaths in Savannah, Georgia*, vol. 4: *Sept. 1818–1832*, comp. the Genealogical Committee, Georgia Historical Society, 1989, p. 50). See Sandland in Appendix E.
13. It has not been possible to locate this letter. Anna Whistler’s letters from Major George Washington Whistler were among the few she kept.
14. Anna Whistler is referring to her half-sisters, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (27 September 1788 – 20 August 1857) and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (before 12 November 1790 – 20 September 1863); see Images 39–40.
15. Genesis 46:29–30: “<sup>29</sup> And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen, and presented himself unto him; and he fell on his neck and wept on his neck a good while. <sup>30</sup> And Israel said unto Joseph, Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive.”
16. Anna Whistler had been present at the marriage of Louisa Josephine Swift (30 April 1821 – 16 January 1859) to Peter Richards Jr. (28 October 1811 – 30 August 1893), the Rev. P.P. Irving presiding, at Geneva, New York, on 22 June 1843. Josephine – or Josée, as she was called – was the daughter of General Joseph Gardner Swift (31 December 1783 – 23 July 1865; see Image 11), brother of Major Whistler’s first wife. General Swift had written in his journal: “the wedding party dispersed, some to the falls, others to N. Y., etc.” (Harrison Ellery, ed., *The Memoirs of Gen. Joseph Gardner Swift, LL.D., U.S.A., First Graduate of the United States Military Academy, West Point, Chief Engineer U.S.A. from 1812 to 1818. 1800-1865. To which is added a Genealogy of the Family of Thomas Swift of Dorchester, Mass., 1634* [Worcester, MA: F.S. Blanchard, 1890], p. 247. See also *Geneva Courier*, July 4, 1843, p. 3, col. 2).
17. This is John Winstanley (22 December 1776 – 22 May 1859), solicitor, second husband of Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40). See the biographies of the Winstanley, McNeill, Wellwood, Picard, Ware, Hull, Simpson, Clunie, Wilkin,

- Biggs, and Cragg families in Appendix E (hereafter, Winstanley ... Cragg).
18. James Chapman (9 April 1791 – 17 May 1861), Railway Secretary, and his family were the Winstanleys' neighbors at Railway House on Fishergate Street (Mannex, *History, Topography, and Directory of the Borough of Preston, with the Town and Parish of Chorley* [Beverley, UK: W.B. Johnson, 1851]). The 1841 Census for Preston shows that James and Eliza (Hatton) Chapman (1805 – 18 February 1850) had four sons: James, nine; George, eight; Edward, six; Alfred, three (1841 Census for Preston, H0107/498, fol. 34, p. 15, Public Records Office, Chancery Lane, London, UK [hereafter, PRO]). See the biography of the Chapman family in Appendix E (hereafter, Chapman).
  19. Together with Churchstreet, Fishergate constitutes "the main thoroughfare of Preston" (Charles Hardwick, *History of the Borough of Preston and Its Environs, in the County of Lancaster* [Preston: Worthington; London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1857], p. 427).
  20. The 1851 Census for Liverpool, Parish of Everton, lists a household for an Edwin Maude, seventy-one years of age, Chief Searcher of Customs, Cape of Good Hope, Superannuated, born in Kendal, Westmorland. He was living at 3 Christian Street with his wife, Fanny, fifty-five years of age, born in Port Antonio, Jamaica, and his children, William, unmarried, twenty-four years of age, a student at home, and Sarah, unmarried, nineteen years of age, both British subjects, born in Cape Town (1851 Census for Preston, HO 107/2190 and RG 9/2737, PRO). In 1843, Sarah would have been eleven years old. It is not possible to say who the Miss Maude in the portrait was.
  21. The reference is to Raffaello Santi or Sanzio (1483–1520), commonly known as Raphael, Italian High-Renaissance painter. The reference to Raphael indicates the two-year-old child's precocity and suggests that art was a topic of interest to the family.
  22. Mary McLean was a close friend of Eliza Winstanley and the sister of Elizabeth Isabella (Cottnam) McLean (entry for St Petersburg. 1848. September, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Note 1153). She has been incorrectly identified as the mother of Eliza Winstanley and Alicia McNeill by Kate R. McDiarmid and Elizabeth Mumford (McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, p. 38; Elizabeth Mumford, *Whistler's Mother: The Life of Anna McNeill Whistler* [Boston: Little, Brown, 1939], p. 6).

23. Cousin Mary was Mary Isabella McNeill (19 August 1823 – 24 October 1867); Cousin Julie was Catherine Julia McNeill (26 December 1825 – 20 October 1897) (see Images 32–33). Both were the daughters of Maria Matilda (Cammann) McNeill (1799 – 29 December 1850) and Major William Gibbs McNeill (3 October 1801 – 16 February 1853; see Image 31), Anna Whistler’s brother. Catherine Julia McNeill appears in the diaries more than her sister and is called variously Julia, niece Julia, Julie, Jule, and “Twin.” She is not, however, “sister Julia” (entry for Saturday [May] 3<sup>rd</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPD, Part II). She and Deborah Delano Whistler may have been called “twins” because they were both born in 1825. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
24. Eliza Sandland (c. 1820–2 November 1885) was the daughter of Betsey Hewitt (Dorlin) Sandland. Her married name became Boyd. See Sandland in Appendix E.
25. Kirk Boott Whistler (16 July 1838 – 10 July 1842) died of scarlet fever in Springfield, Massachusetts, while Major Whistler was en route to Russia, and was buried in Stonington, Connecticut.
26. “Lucy Long” or “Miss Lucy Long” was a popular “Negro melody” about a suitor’s courtship of Lucy Long. The words were altered and adapted for English (Gumbo Chaff, comp., *The Ethiopian Glee Book: A Collection of Popular Negro Melodies*, arranged for quartet clubs, by Gumbo Chaff, A.M.A., first banjo player to the King of Congo [Boston: Elias Howe, 1848]; Henry Russell, *Songs, Dramatic, and Descriptive Scenes, Cantatas, Characteristic Ballads, and Negro Melodies* [London: G.H. Davidson, 1846], pp. 39–40).
27. Ribchester is a small village on the north bank of the River Ribble, some 10 miles east of Preston. Between c. 79 and 400 AD, as the name implies, it was the site of a Roman fort. There is not “much written evidence about Ribchester” “until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” at which time it was considered poor in comparison to its past history. “Before the second half of the eighteenth century,” it was a small village “with no more than a few hundred inhabitants.” In the seventeenth century, “the poorer sort of people” lived “by spinning and weaving linen clothes,” but “cotton manufacturing replaced that of linen” in the eighteenth century. By the late eighteenth century, the increase in the number of handloom weavers led to the building of many new cottages. Ribchester began at this time “to take on something like its present appearance.” For some fifty years after 1780, “handloom weaving and certain related trades like bobbin turning

- reigned supreme in Ribchester.” However, by the 1840s, when Anna Whistler visited Ribchester with James and Willie, hard economic times had come for the weavers because of “the advent of efficient power looms.” The population of the village declined steadily in subsequent decades as young people moved to towns to find work (A.C. Hodge and J.F. Ridge, *Ribchester: A Short History and Guide*, 2nd ed. (Preston, UK: Carnegie Press, 1986), pp. 4, 8, 9, 11).
28. Jane Simpson (b.1790, bap. 27 August 1797; d. 4 January 1852) was a Scotswoman of independent means, who lived in Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland (see Image 70), with the family of Richard Stuart Picard (bap. 16 January 1807 – 26 November 1887). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
  29. This is the parsonage of St. Wilfrid’s, the Parish Church of Ribchester, where the Haslewood family lived.
  30. “The village lies ‘in the midst of one of the richest and most smiling prospects we ever saw’ and is beautifully placed ‘at some distance all around enclosed with higher ground, well clothed with wood and hedgerows’ “ (Hodge and Ridge, *Ribchester*, p. 1).
  31. The Rev. Boulby Thomas Haslewood (Durham, 30 January 1796 – Ribchester, 28 May 1876) was for forty seven years Vicar of Ribchester with Stydd, Lancashire. He received the BA (Sen. Opt.) in 1818 from St. Peter’s College, Cambridge University, and was made a deacon in 1819 and priest in 1820. He married on 15 February 1822 (see following Note). He was instituted as Rector of St. Wilfrid’s Church in Ribchester on 16 April 1829 and was the “author of a Visitation Sermon.” “He was highly esteemed by his parishioners, although it is to be regretted that the old Parish Library was allowed to become gradually dispersed, and the numerous Roman Antiquities discovered during his incumbency to be irrevocably scattered.” He was “buried 1 June 1876 at Ribchester, M.I. A tablet erected by the parishioners describes him as ‘learned and eloquent’” (Francis Haslewood, *The Genealogy of the Family of Haslewood, Staffordshire and Warwickshire Branches...* [London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1881], p. 8; The Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *The Plantagenet Roll of the Blood Royal: The Clarence Volume* [London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1905], p. 484; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, comp. J.A. Venn, pt. 2: *From 1752–1900*, 6 vols. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951], vol. 3, pp. 282–283; Thomas Charles Smith and Rev. Jonathan Shortt, *The History of the Parish of Ribchester, in the County of Lancaster* [London: Bemrose; Preston: C.W. Whitehead, 1890], pp. 156–157).



32. This is Margaret (Ogden) Haslewood (14 July 1798 – Ribchester, 21 February 1854) (Haslewood, *Genealogy*, p. 8; Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *Plantagenet Roll*, p. 484; Smith and Shortt, *Parish of Ribchester*, p. 156). The dates given here are from the tombstone inscription (north corner of Ribchester Parish Church yard) (Smith and Shortt, *Parish of Ribchester*, p. 208). This death date is contradicted by a certified copy of an Entry of Death for Margaret Haslewood, Registration District: Preston, Sub-district: Alston, County of Lancaster, General Register Office for England and Wales (GRO), which gives 20 February 1854.
33. The Haslewood children were: Dickens Haslewood (20 April 1823 – 30 December 1897); Margaret Biss Haslewood (17 August 1824 – 30 August 1882); William Maude Haslewood (23 February 1828 – 20 October 1888); Boulby Haslewood (7 October 1829 – 19 October 1897); Catherine Haslewood (10 August 1831 – 21 February 1866); Mary Jane Haslewood (26 January 1838 – 26 September 1905) (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 3, pp. 282–283; Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval, *Plantagenet Roll*, pp. 484–485; Haslewood, *Genealogy*, pp. 8–9 and a chart drawn up by descendant, David Haslewood; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1905). The three surviving sons mentioned here all became clergymen. Except for Catherine, whom Anna Whistler mentions by name, it is not possible to say which Haslewood children were present when she visited the family.
34. This daughter is Elizabeth Boulby Haslewood (20 May 1826 – 25 July 1843) (Haslewood, *Genealogy*, p. 9), whom Anna Whistler had last seen when Elizabeth was three or four years old. There is a loose sheet of paper along with the manuscript of Anna Whistler's diary that contains "Lines written on the death of dear Eliz<sup>th</sup> Haslewood," by her sister Catherine, aged 11 years, copied in Eliza Winstanley's hand. See Appendix C.
35. The Second Advent of Christ, or Second Coming, refers to "the future return of Christ in glory ... to judge the living and the dead, and to terminate the present world order. Primitive Christianity believed this event to be imminent, and this belief has often been revived" (Elizabeth A. Livingstone, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. [Oxford, London, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013] [hereafter, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*], s.v. "Parousia").
36. St. Wilfrid's, the Ribchester Parish Church, dates from the thirteenth century. For a description of its history, see J.H. Finch, *A Goodly Heritage: Being a Description of Ribchester Parish Church*, rev.

ed. (Ribchester, UK: John Barton, 1984) and William Farrer and J. Brownbill eds., *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, vol. 7 (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1966), pp. 37–43, first published in 1912 by Dawsons of Pall Mall, London.

The pulpit of which Anna Whistler speaks “is of oak and octagonal in plan, with pilasters at the angles, richly carved panels and projecting cornice carried by shaped brackets. On the door are the date 1636 and the initials of Christopher Hindle, vicar, and attached to it is an oak reading-desk, probably of equal date, forming a two-decker” (Farrer and Brownbill, *History of Lancaster*, vol. 7, pp. 39, 42). There is a woodcut of the pulpit by J.S.B. Wallis, former rector of St. Wilfrid’s, reproduced on p. 16 of Finch, *Goodly Heritage*, as well as information about Hindle (pp. 17–18).

As for the “richly colored glass windows,” the East Window “contains fragments of late fourteenth or early fifteenth century stained glass, once depicting Our Lord in Glory” (Finch, *Goodly Heritage*, pp. 13–14). Attention is called by Finch to “the economy of line of the mediaeval craftsmen and the rich colouring of the glass” (Finch, p. 15). The rest of the stained glass was “no doubt ... destroyed by Puritan iconoclasts” (Finch, p. 18).

37. Jane (Hatton) Ainsley, aged 78, died in Preston on Sunday, 10 September 1843 (*Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, Saturday, September 16, 1843). Her funeral was to take place on 14 September. She was the widow of George Ainsley, gentleman, who had died on 18 July 1841 in Preston, aged 77 (certified copy of Entry of Death for George Ainslie, Registration District of Preston, Sub-district of Preston, County of Lancaster, GRO). Jane (Hatton) Ainsley was John Winstanley’s sister-in-law, as his first wife, Margaret, was also a Hatton and her natural sister.
38. 1 Timothy 5:10: “Well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints’ feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work.”
39. “The kind Ormerods” are Richard (c. 1775 – 31 December 1861) and Esther (Smith) Ormerod (bap. 18 November 1777 – 4 July 1863) (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, International Genealogical Index [hereafter, IGI]). Richard Ormerod and his father were engaged in business together as brass and iron founders (*Slater’s General and Classified Directory for*

*Manchester and Salford 1845* [Manchester, UK: I. Slater, 1845]; hereafter, *Slater's Directory* and the year).

40. It was customary for people related by marriage or friendship to call one another by titles used in blood relationships. Thus, Anna Whistler called her half-sister's husband, John Winstanley, "my brother Winny." In the days when Major Whistler was widowed but had not yet proposed to Anna McNeill, she called him "brother George." Jonathan Knight (1787–1858), part of the intimate circle of the McNeills in New York, was called "Uncle Jonathan."
41. Walter Stevenson (bap. 8 September 1788 – 10 May 1860) had been Chief Teller at the Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh but had been dismissed in 1840 for fraud. See the biographies of the Stevenson and Smith families in Appendix E (hereafter, *Stevenson and Smith*).
42. Kent's Hotel was a private family hotel at 32 Norfolk St., Strand, proprietor Ben. Kent (*Post Office London Directory 1844* [London: Frederic Kelly, 1844]; hereafter, *Kelly's Directory* and the year).
43. Gerard Ralston of 21 Token House Yard, London, was agent to the firm of Harrison, Winans, and Eastwick, who were building the locomotives and the rolling stock at Alexandrofsky for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (Joseph Harrison Jr. to Gerard Ralston, Esqre, Alexandrofsky, July 4 (OS), 1844 and Joseph Harrison Jr. to Mr. G. Ralston, Alexandrofsky, August 19/31, 1844, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). A Philadelphia bookseller, he had been living abroad some ten years already (Madeleine Elsas, ed. *Iron in the Making: Donlais Iron Company Letters, 1782–1860* [Cardiff, Wales: Glamorgan County Council and Guest Keen Iron and Steel Company, 1960], pp. 190, 191).
44. This is Dr. Francis Boott, MD (26 September 1792 – 25 December 1863; see Image 80), brother of Kirk Boott, the Whistlers' friend in Lowell, Massachusetts (see Image 43). Born in Lowell, Dr. Boott had settled in England. He was a distinguished botanist as well as a medical doctor.
45. Mary (Love) Boott (1766–1856) was the mother of the Whistlers' friend, Kirk Boott, of Lowell, Massachusetts, and of the aforementioned Dr. Francis Boott.
46. "The Parks, which form one of the most beautiful features of the metropolis, are situated chiefly in a series from the back of Whitehall Street, in a westerly and northerly direction, and are thus blended with the fashionable end of the town" ("London: A

Description and Guide to the British Metropolis,” *Chambers’s Information for the People* 1, no. 14 [1842]: p. 218; hereafter, *Chambers’s Information* 1842).

47. The Zoological Gardens are located in Regent’s Park, which “is situated considerably apart from the other parks, in a northerly direction from [Kensington Gardens], and consists of a circular enclosure of about 450 acres, which are laid out on the most approved principles of what is called landscape gardening; its centre is enriched with lakes, plantations, shrubberies, and eight beautiful villas. The park is surrounded by extensive ranges of buildings, forming splendid terraces, variously designated, and all decorated with sculpture in agreement with their respective orders of architecture; producing an effect of beauty and grandeur rarely witnessed ... [a]t the northern extremity of Regent’s Park are the Zoological Gardens, the property of the Zoological Society, and established in 1826. These gardens are very extensive, and being removed from the dingy atmosphere, noise, and bustle of London, they present an agreeable and truly countrylike aspect. The grounds have been disposed in the style of landscape-gardening – here a clump of shrubby trees and border of flowers, indigenous and exotic; there a pretty miniature lake; and at proper intervals is seen a neat rustic cot, with its straw-thatched roof and honeysuckled porch. Much of the ground, also, is occupied as green meadows, either subdivided into small parks for deer and other quadrupeds, or dotted with moveable trellis houses, the abodes of different kinds of birds which require the refreshing exercise of walking on the green turf. Throughout the whole, neat gravel walks wind their serpentine course, and conduct the visiter to the bear-pit, monkey-house, aviaries, and other departments of the establishment. The gardens are open every week-day for the admission of visitors, who must previously procure an order from a member of the society, and likewise pay a shilling each at the gate” (*Chambers’s Information* 1842, pp. 218–219).
48. This is Frances (Morton) Stevenson (bap. 27 April 1783 – 16 October 1845) (*Old Parochial Registers of Scotland* [hereafter, *OPRS*]; IGI for Midlothian, Scotland; certified copy of an Entry of Death, Registration District of St. Pancras, Sub-District of Kentish Town, County of Middlesex, GRO). One of the causes of Mrs. Stevenson’s sorrow undoubtedly was her husband’s dismissal in 1840 from the Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh. See Stevenson and Smith in Appendix E.

49. This is Eliza Isabella Wellwood Stevenson (c. 1821 – 11 February 1889) (1851 Census for Westminster, HO107/1480, fol. 156, PRO; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1889). She was named for Anna Whistler's half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40), who, in her first marriage, was the wife of Colonel Robert Wellwood (7 February 1747 – 7 July 1820). See Stevenson and Smith in Appendix E.
50. It has not been possible to identify Bell.
51. Francis Stevenson (c. 1826 – 1 February 1902) was described in the 1841 Census as an apprentice (1841 Census for St. Pancras, HO107/683, bk. 3, fol. 17, PRO). He became a civil engineer.
52. Jean Robert Poizat (7 June 1803 – 16 July 1868) and his wife, Louise Cecilia (Flour or Flouer) Poizat (14 May 1820 – 16 September 1888), boarded the *Acadia* in Boston with Anna Whistler and her family (see Image 78). They were listed as being from Philadelphia. Mrs. Poizat was born in Philadelphia, but they had only been visiting that city and actually lived in Marseilles, France ("Passengers" section, *Boston Post*, August 17, 1843; "Passengers" section, *Halifax Morning Herald*, August 21, 1843). See the biography of the Poizat family in Appendix E (hereafter, Poizat).
53. "From May to October the most expeditious mode of proceeding from London to St. Petersburg is by Hamburg and Lübeck, and thence by the Baltic steamer to Cronstadt and the Russian capital ... Assuming ... that time is an object, and that the traveler adopts the route by Lübeck and the Baltic, it will be desirable, as the Lübeck boats sail from Travemünde every Tuesday morning, that he should leave London by the Hamburg steamer of Friday ... At Hamburg it will be well to take a look at the vehicle and cattle which are to convey him to Lübeck; also to have a clear understanding with the driver that he takes the best road; ... The distance between Hamburg and Lübeck is 40 miles ... Travemünde is 10 miles [from Lübeck] ... The average passage from London to Hamburg is about 54 hours, from Travemünde to Cronstadt about 84 hours ... but these boats ... is [*sic*] sometimes 100 hours in accomplishing it, and has [*sic*] been as long as four or five days. The distance from Lübeck to St. Petersburg is rather over 700 miles." This route is considered "uninteresting" (*Murray's Handbook for Northern Europe*, vol. 2, 1849, p. 438).

Lübeck was a major seaport of Schleswig-Holstein and was located on the Trave and Wakenitz rivers. Travemünde was a city

located at the head of the Trave River estuary on the Bay of Lübeck. See Images 81–84.

54. The word “wherry” is “said to be another form of the word ‘ferry,’ from the fact that wherries were often ferry boats. [...] The old Thames wherries [...] were wide and long with a high pointed bow ending in a sharp iron nose. [...] Where the wherry is actually a ferry boat, it is often pointed both bow and stern and rowed either way” (A. Ansted, *A Dictionary of Sea Terms for the Use of Yachtsmen, Amateur Boatmen, and Beginners* [London: Upcott Gill, 1898], p. 309). The high pointed bow allowed passengers to disembark dryshod where there was no landing dock. In 1820, “there were still 3,000 wherries plying on the Thames, while the hackney coaches could muster only a sorry 1,200 in the whole of London. As late as 1829, [the wherry was] the usual conveyance from the neighbourhood of Westminster to Vauxhall,” although they were shortly thereafter made obsolete by new bridges and steamboats (Edward Walford, “The River Thames,” in *Old and New London*, vol. 3, *Westminster and the Western Suburbs* [London: Cassell Petter and Galpin, 1873], p. 310).
55. This is Streit’s Hotel in Hamburg (see Image 82), Jungfernstieg 19, corner of Gänsemarkt, proprietor Christian Streit (Gerd Nauhaus, ed., *Robert Schumann Tagebücher*, vol. 2: *1836–1854* [Leipzig: Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1987], p. 708). The hotel had partly burned down in May 1842 in a huge conflagration that “destroyed 1,450 houses, including 24 hotels along the Jungfernstieg” (Gerd Nauhaus, ed., *The Marriage Diaries of Robert and Clara Schumann from Their Wedding Day through the Russian Trip*, trans. Peter Oswald [Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993], pp. 150, 348). The back premises remained standing among the ruins, so that the hotel business could continue while the house facing the street was being reconstructed. The work took from June 1842 to August 1843 (Rainer Hering, *150 Jahre Streit’s 12. Mai 1837–12. Mai 1987* [*150 Years of Streit’s, 12 May 1837 – 12 May 1987*] [Hamburg, Germany: printed by the author, 1987], p. 9). The hotel was therefore open for business when Anna Whistler and her children stopped in Hamburg for the first time. On subsequent trips between Russia and England, members of the Whistler family stayed at Streit’s Hotel.
56. Anna Whistler is referring to glimpses of Schleswig-Holstein, which was part of Denmark.

57. The meaning of “bate” in the sense of deducting or subtracting is probably meant here. Thus, some of the horses were removed and either reduced in number or replaced.
58. For a view of Lübeck in the 1840s see Image 83.
59. The Russian steamers *Alexandra* and *Nikolai* plied the route between Travemünde and Cronstadt.
60. The terrifying experience of encountering a storm on the Baltic Sea, especially in the autumn, has been described by a number of travelers. See, for example, in the 1840s, Thompson, *Life in Russia*, pp. 10–11.
61. This is Dr. George Edwin Palmer (15 April 1803 – 8 May 1868) of Stonington, Connecticut, physician (see Image 36). A widower, he married, on 23 March 1840, as his second wife, Anna Whistler’s youngest sister, Catherine Jane McNeill (c. 1812 – 20 May 1877). The Palmers’ home was “The Old Corner House,” at 24 Main Street (see Image 37), which had been built in 1785 by Dr. Palmer’s father, Captain Amos Palmer. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
62. Anna Whistler omitted “I.”
63. Mary Brennan had a brother, James Brennan (1 February 1822 – 4 September 1886), in Springfield, Massachusetts. See Brennan, Bergin, Keefe in Appendix E.
64. Mark 10:14: “Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.” See also Luke 18:16.
65. It has not been possible to obtain information about a miniature of Kirk Boott Whistler.
66. Anna Whistler meant “charge.”
67. Cronstadt (see Image 84) is a fortress city on the island of Kotlin at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland. Given the shallow draft of the Neva River, ships headed for St. Petersburg are required to dock at Cronstadt and transfer their cargo – both human and freight – to smaller, lighter boats, which are called “lighters.”

Anna Whistler has already said they arrived at St. Petersburg two months from the day she began keeping her diary, i.e., September 28th. Here, she says they arrived four days after the death of Charles Donald Whistler. He died on September 23; four days later would have been September 27. Maxwell, however, confirms September 28 as the day of their arrival (John S.

Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Saturday, September 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22).

68. The English Church in Cronstadt, located on Alexander Street, was built in 1824 in late Classical style and opened on 15 June of that year (see Image 85). It was described in 1828 as follows:

The edifice is plain but elegant, and very neat and commodious within. It is 97 feet in length, and 43 in breadth, with 18 windows on each side; and has a portico of several columns, and a small belfry, after the shape of those in our [English] country churches. The altar, which is in a recess, in the form of a semicircle, with six columns, is covered with blue velvet and gold fringe. On one side of this stands the pulpit, and on the other the reading-desk; but these are too large, and out of proportion to the place itself ... This building is said to have cost 15,000 l.; part of which was defrayed by ... the English-Russian company, and part by a duty imposed on English vessels here. The minister has an income of 7000 rubles, with a house, etc. besides the emoluments derived from surplice fees. (William Rae Wilson, *Travels in Russia*, 2 vols. [London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828], vol. 1, pp. 321–322, 323)

The resident English population of the city was about 100. During navigation, about 700 English and 50 American vessels entered the port. Their crews averaged ten men to a ship. The average number of communicants was 40 to 50.

When the British Seamen's Hospital at Cronstadt was relocated in 1866, it was described as standing "opposite the English Chapel, frequented by seafarers, ... also the seat of the British vice-consulate" (*Handbook for Travellers in Russia, Poland and Finland*, new rev. ed. [London: John Murray, 1865]; *The Illustrated London News*, December 29, 1866). The church accommodated about 200 people. Support of the Church and appointment of the minister rested with the Russia Company. The Church had no resident poor and few casual calls upon its charity, so that communion alms were mostly distributed among the Russian poor (G.E. Biber, ed., *The English Church on the Continent; or, An Account of the Foreign Settlements of the English Church: Including a Notice of the Times of Service, and Other Information Useful to Travellers and Foreign Residents* [London: Francis & John Rivington, 1845], p. 73).

It was described in 1983 as having been preserved to the present day without any particular changes to its façade (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada* [*Architectural*



*Monuments of the Leningrad Suburbs*] [Leningrad: Stroizdat, Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1983], p. 571).

69. Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov (7 December [OS] 1818 – 26 July [OS] 1864) was at this time twenty-four years old. See the biographies of the Stroganov, Vasil'chikov, and Kushelev families in Appendix E (hereafter, Stroganov, Vasil'chikov, Kushelev) and Image 299.
70. The Customs House (see Images 95–96) formed part of the architectural ensemble of the spit of Vasilievskii Island and was built according to plans by the architect Giovanni Francesco Lucchini (1755–1826) almost at the same time as the warehouses of the Stock Exchange (see Image 152–153). Its construction in 1829–1832 was made necessary by the development of the port of Petersburg in the first half of the 19th century, when customs facilities could no longer fit into the old houses adapted for them on the bank of the Little Neva. In its silhouette, the Customs House – designed in the forms of Russian late Classicism – matches the *Kunstkamera*, which is located symmetrically with respect to the axis of the ensemble of the spit of Vasilievskii Island. Rectangular in plan, the main façade of the Customs House faces the Little Neva and is crowned by a sloping cupola on a tall drum. The main façade is distinguished by an Ionic portico that rests against the projection of the first floor, which is treated as the ground floor and is rusticated. On the pediment crowning the portico are statues of Mercury, Neptune, and Ceres (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* [*Architectural Monuments of Leningrad*] (Leningrad: Gos. izd-stvo literatury po stroitel'stvu, arkhitekture i stroitel'nym materialam, 1958), p. 97).
71. For a description of a reception by Russian customs officials of a ship arriving at Cronstadt see Rigby, *Baltic Letters*, vol. 1, letter 2, pp. 31–33, 37–39; Thompson, *Life in Russia*, pp. 11–15; *Murray's Handbook for Northern Europe*, vol. 2, p. 439.
72. John Stevenson Maxwell (February 1818 – 2 March 1870), Secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg (July 1842 – November 1844), described for his mother this first meeting with Anna Whistler and the children and the vicissitudes of their journey:

The day before yesterday Thursday I went out in the morning to walk. It was a fine morning, one of a few fines one's we have had lately. The house was all cleaned and the next Monday M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler was to arrive in the steamer

from London direct. On my return home all the servants but one had gone out and this one could not speak anything but Russian. I saw, something had occurred but could not devine what it could be until Major Whistler came in and informed me that in consequence of a change of arrangements in the London line of steamers his family had come on by way of Lubec, that they were now in the Custom house, and that he had lost a little boy his youngest by death. He was in misery indeed and asked me to go with him to the Custom house as he had no one who could render him in this unexpected and sudden incident the least assistance. I went to the Custom house and found M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler there, with her daughter and two beautiful little boys. It was with difficulty I could get in the building and it was only by pushing an officer to one side that I succeeded. I prevailed upon the Major and family to go home, and superintended with the assistance of M<sup>rs</sup> Whistlers maid the examination of some dozen trunks etc. This and other form's gone through with, the passports examined, and the books, papers etc sent to the Censor's, I went home, and ordered a dinner for them from the Club and have done all in my power since to make them contented. I have not since seen the ladies of the family. They left Lubec all well, saying farewell to the eldest son who ~~has~~ turned back toward the U. States. After being out twenty four hours the youngest child hitherto in fine health was taken sick. Every attention was rendered by the passengers and the Captain, but there was not a bit of medicine on board and in spite of all they could do, without this, the child died with convulsions. By using strong entreaties they succeeded in prevailing upon the Captain to keep the body on board until they reached Cronstadt and here again M<sup>rs</sup> W prevailed so far as to have it landed and placed in the English Chapel there. Imagine the distress of the Father when he hastened to the boat, hearing his family had come, and was prevented by the police from going on board; when he ~~only~~ saw from the quai that one was missing, and when he called out to know where was this ~~other~~ one. It was terrible indeed and a sad winter will they have in this dreary land (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Saturday, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22). See the biography

of the Maxwell family in Appendix E (hereafter, Maxwell) and Images 54–55.

73. The mansion they were renting (see Images 88–94), which has partly been described in “St. Petersburg and the Journey There” and “Their Home and Social Life,” belonged to Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii (6/18 January 1800 – 4/16 October 1868; see Image 86). It was located in the First Admiralty District, Fourth Ward. The mansion occupied the territory where two houses had stood, one of which was rebuilt in the 1790s by a Swiss architect in Russian service since 1783, Luigi Ruska (1758–1822), in the style characteristic for an estate in the city at the end of the 18th century. In 1797, both houses had become the property of Bobrinskii’s father, Count Aleksei Grigorievich Bobrinskii (see Image 87), son of Catherine the Great and Count Grigorii Grigorievich Orlov (see Images 414, 443). The architectural treatment of the façades of the central mass of the house was more elaborate than that of the other structures. The middle section of the main façade was distinguished by an Ionic portico, which emphasized the projecting mass that contained the staircase. The portico was decorated with allegorical sculpture. The garden façade of the house was broken up by semicircular projecting bays, or pavilions, and a portico with four Corinthian columns and a pediment. In 1822–1825, the inside of the mansion was remodeled and an enfilade of reception rooms was created on the garden side. The main staircase was decorated in an extremely severe and simple manner. A round opening was made in the covering above the staircase, and through it could then be seen the walls decorated with a cornice with modillions, the light metal railing of the circular gallery of the upper floor, and the painted decorations of the cupola. Among the rooms of the house were a ballroom, the Red living room, the White Salon, and the Blue Salon. The Blue Salon had been included in Major Whistler’s apartment, in which Maxwell now lived (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22). The outstanding painted decor of the White Salon and ballroom is thought to be the work of Giovanni-Battista Scotti (1777–1830). Other rooms in the house contained similar decoration (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* 1958, pp. 228–229; *Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* 1975, p. 284; Levina and Kirpideli, *Po ètim ulitsam*, pp. 138–142). See Images 88–94 of the Bobrinskii mansion, and “Maps.”
74. John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22. The ship was the *Middlesex*

(entry for December 1843 in entry dated S † Petersburg. November 28<sup>th</sup> 1843, NYPL: AWP, Part I).

75. This is Major Ivan Frantsevich Buttats (2/14 June 1809 – 25 July / 6 August 1876) of the Corps of Transport Engineers, who had been sent to the United States to accompany Major Whistler back to Russia in 1842. See his biography in Appendix E. His name will be spelled as it appears in Anna Whistler’s diaries (“Bouttatz”); it will be spelled “Buttats” if it appears in a Russian document.

Institut russkoi literatury Akademii nauk (Pushkinskii dom) (IRLI) [Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House)] Fond 2/Б-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 1876 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.

76. Joseph Swift Whistler (12 August 1824 – 1 January 1840), the son of Major Whistler and his first wife, Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler (August 1804 – 9 December 1827; see Image 10), died of typhoid fever on New Year’s Eve, while at home for the Christmas recess of 1839–1840 from boarding school (McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother* manuscript, GUL: Whistler Collection, F21, fol. 65). Henry Cammann McNeill (1 March 1828 – 7 August 1840), Anna Whistler’s nephew – the son of her brother, William Gibbs McNeill and of Maria (Cammann) McNeill – died by drowning in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1840 (*Springfield Republican*, Saturday, August 8, 1840). Thus, Kirk Boott Whistler and Charles Donald Whistler were buried with their half-brother and their first cousin in the same plot in Stonington, Connecticut. According to the inscription on the monument, Henry’s body was later removed to be buried with the remains of his brother, William Wyatt McNeill (October 1833 – 4 June 1853), who died in New Orleans as a result of a streetcar accident. I wish to thank Richard Blodgett of N. Stonington,

Connecticut, for taking me on a tour of Whistler places in Stonington, for sharing his notes, and for supplying photographs of the monuments in the Whistler family plot. Mr. Blodgett is writing a book on James Whistler and the members of his class (1855) at West Point.

77. What little information is available about the Whistlers' servants has been supplied in the entry for October 23<sup>rd</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II. Their surnames do not appear in the diaries.
78. William Hooper Ropes (10 March 1814 – 16 November 1891) was an American merchant of the firm of William Ropes and Company, founded by his father. The Ropes family also lived on the Galernaia, apparently nearby. See the biographies of the Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, and Hall families in Appendix E (hereafter, Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall).
79. William Hooper Ropes's wife was Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (23 April 1822 – 11 December 1903). Their daughters were Ellen Gellibrand Ropes (15 March 1841 – 1924) and Mary Emily Ropes (10 August 1842 – September quarter 1932) (list of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers; Mary Tyler Gellibrand to grandparents, Leeds, March 9, 1841, Ropes Family Papers, 1734–1952, Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), Boston [hereafter, MHS: Ropes Papers], Ms. N-174). See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
80. The new baby was Louisa Harriet Ropes (18 November 1843 – 1 June 1903). Her married name became Mrs. Edward Abbs Cattley (list of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers). All three children are described in Joseph S. Ropes to Wm. L. Ropes [his first cousin], St. Petersburg, April 20 / May 2, 1845, MHS: Ropes Papers).
81. This is Sophia Joanna (Krehmer) Baird (St. Petersburg c. 1805 – Derby 22 August 1885), widow of Nicol C. Baird (1/13 October 1800 – 1830) (1881 Census for Derby; *National Probate Calendar* [UK], 1885; PREC STP, no. 1825). They were married on 27 August (OS) 1828 (PREC STP, no. 3754).

This lady is a sister of a gentleman named Cramer, who was formerly Russian secretary of Legation in the United States and the sister in law of Gisborne, a prominent member of the British House of Commons [who married her sister, Sarah, in 1814]. She is of an old Livonian family, very accomplished, and a young widow with a good figure and most magnificent black eyes. Her father in law, named

Baird of Scottish blood died last winter [Charles Baird died on 28 November / 10 December 1843] in St Petersburg, leaving a fortune of \$2 000 000. He left the most of this immense property to his only living son [Francis Baird] and to an only child [Sophia Constance Baird, baptized in Paris December 3, 1829] of M<sup>rs</sup> Baird, the lady in question, a handsome sum upon her attaining a certain age. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Berlin, June 23, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 37)

See also G.H. Prince to Mary T. Gellibrand, St. Petersburg, May 2/14, 1841, MHS: Ropes Papers. For information about Charles Baird and his son, Francis, see V.A. Chernenko, “100 let na blago Rossii: dinastiia Berdov v Sankt-Peterburge” [“100 Years for the Good of Russia: The Baird Dynasty in St. Petersburg”]. In *Rossiiia – Velikobritaniia Piat’ vekov kul’turnykh sviazei: Materialy VI Mezhdunarodnogo petrovskogo kongressa Sankt-Peterburg 6-8 iunniia 2014 goda* [Russia – Great Britain Five Centuries of Cultural Ties: Materials from the 6th International Peter the Great Congress, St. Petersburg 6–8 June 2014], ed. A.V. Kobak and O.L. Kuvaldina (St. Petersburg: Evropeiskii dom, 2015), pp. 484–501. See also Images 274–277.

82. Sophia Joanna (Krehmer) Baird had an unmarried sister, named Elizabeth, with whom she later lived in Derby, where she died in 1885 (*National Probate Calendar* [UK], 1885). They were both British subjects then and both born in St. Petersburg (1881 Census for Derby).
83. The Bairds, as the preceding notes make clear, were a rich Scottish family.
84. This is Margaret Gordon Hirst (c. 1809 – 22 March / 3 April 1891), whose husband, Thomas Nelson Hirst (12 November 1794 – 22 May / 3 June 1863), ran a private school in St. Petersburg. See the biographies of the Hirst family in Appendix E (hereafter, Hirst).
85. This is actually Mrs. Hirst’s sister-in-law, Mary Gent Hirst (bap. 22 March 1797 – 23 July / 4 August 1844) (Index to Huddersfield Parish Church Registers, YK/R301, Society of Genealogists, London (hereafter, SoG); PREC STP for 1844, p. 312). It has not been possible to determine who in Preston wrote the letter to Mary Gent Hirst. See Hirst in Appendix E.
86. Alexander was the Whistlers’ butler.

87. Maurice was a young man, a former waiter, “who had not been very long in St. Petersburg, who spoke German and a little Russian” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, entry dated Jan. 4, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27).
88. “Dwanick” (see Image 362) is Anna Whistler’s pronunciation of the Russian word for “the man who takes care of the yard,” spelled “dvornik” and pronounced “dvor’nyeeek.” He was responsible for the care of the section of street in front of the house, too, but often, as was the case in the Whistler household, also did indoor work.
89. “The Major lives better than Col Todd did ... he has everything of the best - above all in this country a good cook who can give an English taste and turn to her dishes” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 30).
90. The Russian word for “stove” is spelled “pech” and pronounced “paych,” almost like “peach.” An English plural suffix is added here to the Russian singular. The spelling in the text of the diaries varies: peech, peitch, peach.
- The firing of the stove was well explained and its virtues extolled by Maxwell: “All the houses are warmed by the *peitch* which is a species of oven in which is placed several pieces of wood cut about the size of that which you were used to burn in your room. This wood is fired and the chimney is left open for the smoke to escape until the wood upon the floor of the oven is one mass of red hot coals. Then the Mugik [peasant] shuts down or closes the chimney and with his poker scatters within the oven the live coals. From these the oven soon becomes very warm and throws off a very pleasant heat, free from gaseous compounds and very agreeable to the feelings. If the thermometer indicates too much heat you have only to open the little door made in your double window and you soon have the right temperature” (John S. Maxwell to [his uncle] Dr. John B. Stevenson, St. Petersburg, May 6, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers).
91. The servant’s Russian name was Fyodor, but Anna Whistler calls him both Fritz and Fredric in this entry and spells his Russian name elsewhere as Feodore.
92. The Russian word for “good” is spelled “khorosho” and pronounced “hurrahshaw’.”
93. It has not been possible to identify Andrea and his mother.

94. This twenty-five-kopek piece was a silver coin, called a “chetvertak” (from the Russian word “chetvert’,” or one quarter), and worth one-fourth of a ruble (Iu. A. Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov ili Èntsiklopediia russkogo byta XIX veka* [*What We Can't Understand in the Russian Literary Classics; or, An Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Russian Life*], 2nd ed. [Moskva: Flinta–Knowledge, 1999], p. 54).
95. *Christian Witness* was an Episcopalian weekly published in Boston, beginning in 1835, for the Massachusetts Episcopal Convocation. It ceased publication in 1841 and was replaced in that year by *Christian Witness and Church Advocate*.
96. Colonel Charles Stewart Todd (22 January 1791 – 17 May 1871; see Image 278) was the American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia: appointed 27 August 1841; letter of recall 27 September 1845; formal leave 27 January 1846.
97. Todd to Wheaton, St. Petersburg, 22 Oct. / 3 Nov. 1843, RG84, vol. 165, fols. 99–100, NAUS.
98. Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii (Bobrinskoi) (6/18 January 1800 – 4/16 October 1868) was the grandson of Empress Catherine the Great and Prince Grigorii Grigorievich Orlov (see Images 414, 443). He was a member of the committee set up “to supervise the ... construction” of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (Richard Mowbray Haywood, *The Beginnings of Railway Development in Russia in the Reign of Nicholas I, 1835–1842* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1969], p. 227), of which Major Whistler, as consulting engineer, also became a member. See his biography in Appendix E and Image 86.
99. Major Whistler and John Stevenson Maxwell lived from the time of their arrival in Russia in 1842 in the house of Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii. The house, which then served as the American Legation, had been rented by Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, who was living in it when they arrived in St. Petersburg and rented accommodations to them (John S Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Oct. 8/20, 1842, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 3). When Colonel Todd, who had been hearing rumors that he was to be recalled, found it financially expedient to give up the house, Major Whistler took the entire house for his family (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, September 9, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21). Maxwell, too, was making preparations to move and had already decided where he would live “when Major W. took the house and offered me the rooms he occupied last winter at the same rent I was going



to pay elsewhere, with the privilege of leaving them at any time I choose. I of course was glad to accept his offer, upon his stating that he did not want the rooms and would not let them to any one but me” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21). The freedom to give up his lodgings whenever he might choose, instead of paying three months in advance elsewhere, appealed to Maxwell, who expected his own recall to follow Todd’s. But they were not recalled, and Maxwell, comparing his lodgings to those of his colleagues of the same rank in the diplomatic corps, felt he had “far better rooms for comfort and for show than any” of them (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23).

His description of his rooms enables us to know how a portion of the house looked during the Whistlers’ stay:

Well I am settled for the winter. have taken the rooms in the basement [ground floor] formerly occupied by Major Whistler ... My expenses will not be greater than they would have been elsewhere except in one particular. In the house in which I expected at first to hire apartments. the fuel or heat was a fixture, and formed part of the rent, which is the same I pay here except that I provide my own fire. I can do this for \$50 for the winter and it is worth 50 dollars to be in a house where you live with one family you know ... You enter from the Porters Hall into a large room in blue. which I will call the Anti-chamber. It contains a large looking glass, three sofa’s, a number of chairs, and has three curtained windows looking into the street and a highly polished oak floor. In this room there are two doors, one leading into an apology for a buffet, thence into my little bed room, and thence again into my dressing room. Out of the buffet or pantry a door opens leading to the court yard etc. The other door in the blue room leads into my parlour where I am now writing this. The walls are ornamented with a kind of woollen paper representing large red grape vines in a very flourishing state. Around the edge of the ceiling there run’s a gilt or brass band about two inches in breadth, and a chandelier of golden look hangs from the middle of the same. The two windows upon the street are hung with white figured curtain’s which look very well when newly washed, and in opposite corners fastened into the two peitchs for heating the rooms are mirrors of large dimension. The furniture is

all of mahogany and the curtains the chairs and sofa of red figured velvet as soft as down can make them. There are four tables, a fire screen, three good ~~views~~ paintings representing charming views in the Crimea etc etc all belonging to Count Boberinsky our landlord excepting a picture of Peter the Great hanging over my head which belongs to Major Whistler. A grate has been inserted in one of the peitches, and a good Liverpool coal fire now blazes away diffusing quite a radiance on all within its radeii which is again reflected from the bright surface of the newly waxed and varnished oak beneath my feet. If I can keep out the dust and dirt, if the heat dont melt off the legs of the tables and chairs, if bugs dont breed in the cushions and sofas I think I shall be snug for the winter. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22)

It is not clear what happened to the portrait of Peter the Great, but the frame is referred to in the later family correspondence (from the GUL: Whistler Collection, Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Scarsdale, 11 July 1855, W458; and Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Scarsdale, 18 July 1855, W456).

100. Colonel Todd (see Image 278) had been hearing rumors that he was to be recalled and therefore was uncertain about the type of accommodations he would take when required to renew the lease. Finally, on quarter-day he “concluded to give up the house ... having no news of a decided character by the last steamer, by which he could regulate his future movements” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21). He set out for Stockholm, intending to be absent three weeks, and to take up lodgings on his return at “M<sup>rs</sup> Benson’s a boarding house on the key where he has engaged a suite of rooms” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843). The boarding house of the misses Elizabeth and Sarah Benson was located on the English Embankment in the house of Rall, numbered variously as No. 39 and No. 240–241 (RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 13. *British Residents and British Congregation St. Petersburg 1845* [hereafter, *BRBC STP 1845*], fol. 5). Maxwell’s reaction to Todd’s choice was that he would “be comfortable, pay dear and loose [*sic*] caste” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22), for “according to the notions that prevail here and the established etiquette he might as well

live in a stable” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Oct. 20, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 23). Maxwell himself later stayed at the misses Benson’s boarding house and has left a delightful vignette of its atmosphere and landladies (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43). See the biography of the Benson sisters in Appendix E (hereafter, Benson).

101. Anna Whistler meant \$1800. When they moved to Ritter’s house in 1844, she spoke of the new rent as being \$900, half of the old (entry for English Quai – Ritter-Dom, Sept. 23<sup>d</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I).

When Major Whistler sent for his family, Maxwell accompanied him to look for a suitable house for them: “Rents here are enormous, particularly for furnished houses. and it is almost impossible to get a house to one’s self as they are all so large. Many families live together, each occupying a floor, and in one house here there are 4000 inmates. The Major has not yet made a choice, but he cannot get one to suit him under \$2000 per annum furnished and \$1500 unfurnished” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Aug. 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 17).

102. The Winter Palace (see Images 114–117) was the residence of the Imperial Family. The sixth Winter Palace, it was built in 1754–1764 by Francesco-Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700–1771). It stands on the site of the razed fourth Winter Palace that he had started to build with his father, Carl Bartolomeo, in 1732. As had the fourth palace, it faces onto the Palace Embankment and Palace Square. It is in the shape of an irregular square around a courtyard, and is four stories high. The main façade of the Winter Palace, which faces onto Palace Square, has gates in the middle consisting of three entries that lead into the main courtyard. To the sides of these gates are porticos with lanterns: the one on the left is the portico of the Heir Apparent, on the right that of the Commandant (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, p. 241; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 240–242).
103. One side of the Winter Palace faces the Neva along the Palace Embankment (see Image 114). Between the front of the Winter Palace and the semi-circle of the Main Staff Headquarters building opposite it is a vast area called Palace Square, sometimes called Alexander Square because of the Alexander column in the center of it (see Images 116, 132). Palace Square may be entered

from the Nevskii Prospekt by passing along a short section of street called Malaia Millionnaia, which is irregularly perpendicular to the Nevskii Prospekt, and then through the arch in the building of the Main Staff Headquarters (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 43, 178–179, 341). One then crosses Palace Square and emerges onto the Palace Embankment. Driving along this embankment, one could see across the Neva the Peter and Paul Fortress, with the golden spire of its church (see Image 130). On the Palace Embankment side of the Winter Palace is located the main, or Ambassadors', staircase (also called the Jordan staircase; see Image 115), which leads along a magnificent portico into the main salons of the Winter Palace (Grech, p. 241). This is where Colonel Todd and the Whistlers entered the Winter Palace.

104. The Peter and Paul Fortress and Church (see Image 130) are discussed in the entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> of July [1846], NYPL: AWPB, Part II, and accompanying Note 453, when the Whistlers visited these buildings.
105. The first ships' wharf in St. Petersburg was established by Peter the Great (see Image 411) on 1 October (OS) 1704 on the left bank of the Neva, where the Admiralty now stands (see Image 118). The most outstanding improvements to the building were made in the reign of Alexander I (see Image 418), according to the plans of Academician Andreian Zakharov (1761–1811). The entire length of its façade, from the side where the Nevskii and other two prospects fan out, extends for 200 sazhen. (A sazhen equals 7 ft, or 2.13 m.) The building has three projections: the center projection extends out 10 sazhen and the two side projections 17 sazhen. In the center of the first projection, there is an arch, which constitutes the main gates. The gates are decorated with bas reliefs by Terebenev (1780–1850) and with statues of sea nymphs supporting the heavenly sphere and the figures of Achilles, Ajax, Pirrhos, and Alexander of Macedon. Above the arch is a tower with twenty-eight Ionic columns that form a kind of gallery. Above the cornice are twenty-eight statues representing, among other things, the seasons, the elements, and the countries of the world. The tower rises from the cornice in a round column and ends in a cupola with clocks on three sides. Above that is a lantern surrounded by a gallery with light iron railings. From here, the gilded iron spire begins, at the top of which is a ship 10 feet tall. Under the ship can be seen a crown and an apple, the latter having a diameter of three and a half feet. The height of the spire from the ground is 33 sazhen. On both

sides of the central projection the building extends for 37 sazhen and is decorated with military fittings instead of bas reliefs. From here start small projections, of which the first have six columns, while the second have twelve columns, all eighteen Doric. The superb façades, enriched with bas reliefs by Terebenev, give both these projections a magnificent appearance. The roof is decorated with statues by Anisimov. The façades of the sides of the Admiralty that face the Winter Palace and the Senate perfectly match those buildings and are 50 sazhen long. On the Neva side, there are two pavilions; one covers the end of the side façade of the Admiralty and serves as the boundary of the two parallel lines of this building. In the center of the pavilion is a high arch, under which small vessels with masts freely pass. Every day from dawn till dusk the Admiralty flag flutters above the roof of this pavilion (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 303, 305–306).

106. An excellent, judiciously balanced biography of the complex character of Emperor Nicholas I (Nikolai Pavlovich Romanov) (1796–1855; see Images 420–423) in English, by W. Bruce Lincoln (1938–2000), is *Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, [1978]). As Lincoln states in his preface, “Perhaps no ruler left more of an impression upon nineteenth-century Russia than did the Emperor Nicholas I, for the origins of nearly every major change or event during the last century of Romanov rule can be traced to his reign” (Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, p. 9). He was “admired, even venerated,” on the one hand, and seen “as the personification of oppression,” on the other (Lincoln, p. 9). Because there are so few historical works on him, it is from the “biased, often bitter” “autobiographical and memoir accounts” of men “who suffered the ravages of censorship during his reign” that we have received “an untempered portait of a cruel, perhaps even mentally unbalanced tyrant” (Lincoln, p. 9) Lincoln recalls as a contrast the nostalgic words of Baroness Frederiks that “during the lifetime of Nikolai Pavlovich, Russia had great and noble stature ... [and] he heaped still greater glory upon her” (quoted in Lincoln, p. 10). See also T.A. Kapustina, “Emperor Nicholas I, 1825–1855,” in *The Emperors and Empresses of Russia: Discovering the Romanovs*, ed. Donald J. Raleigh, comp. A.A. Iskenderov (Armonk, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), pp. 256–293.
107. For the Jordan Staircase, see Image 115.

108. When the Winter Palace was not occupied by the Imperial family, its rooms and galleries were open to select visitors. The Winter Palace the Whistlers were viewing was a restored edifice. It had burned down in December 1837, and what the public viewed had been restored to its original appearance. The restoration was carried out with astonishing speed under the supervision of Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243), head of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings and Major Whistler's superior, and was completed around Easter of 1839. This is one reason why everything seemed fresh to Anna Whistler. For an account of the fire and restoration, see Richard Mowbray Haywood, "The Winter Palace in St. Petersburg: Destruction by Fire and Reconstruction, December 1837 – March 1839," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Ost-europas* [*Yearbook for the History of Eastern Europe*] 27 (1979), H. 2: pp. 161–180.

The New Hermitage (see Image 113) was being built for exhibiting the Imperial collections because the Hermitage was crowded and could not be expanded, as well as because it was the living quarters of the Imperial family. Leo von Klenze (1784–1864), who had been the architect of the Old Pinakothek and the Glyptothek in Munich, was invited to design it. The two persons responsible for supervising the work were the minister of the Imperial Court, Prince P.M. Volkonskii, and the head of Transport and Public Buildings, Count P.A. Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243). The latter had been responsible for rebuilding the Hermitage after the fire of 1837. Construction of the New Hermitage was begun in 1840 and completed in 1852 (V.A. Suslov, "Nikolai I i Novyi Ėrmitazh" ["Nicholas I and the New Hermitage"], in *Nikolai I i Novyi Ėrmitazh, Katalog vystavski "150 let Novomu Ėrmitazhu"* [*Nicholas I and the New Hermitage: Catalogue of the Exhibition "150 Years of the New Hermitage"*] [St. Petersburg: Izdstvo Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha, 2002], p. 9–17).

109. The Imperial family would move to Tsarskoe Selo in early spring and back to St. Petersburg in November. In 1843, they moved back to St. Petersburg on 9/21 November (M.A. Korf, *Dnevnik God 1843-i* [*Diary for 1843*], in *Vremena i nray: memuary, pis'ma, dnevniki* [*Times and Mores: Memoirs, Letters, Diaries*], ed. I.V. Ruzhitskaia [Moscow: Akademiia, 2004], p. 344).
110. The name of the town was Tsarskoe Selo (pronounced "Tsar'skuhyuh Sillaw"; see Images 383–394). The simple explanation of the name is that it began as the Finnish "Saari mois" ("high place," "elevated land"), which in Russian became

“Sarskoe Selo” (“Saari Village”) and later “Tsarskoe Selo” (“The Tsar’s Village,” “The Imperial Village”) (George Heard Hamilton, *The Art and Architecture of Russia* [Baltimore, MD: Penguin, [1954], p. 283; William Craft Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993], p. 221, to name but two sources). S.N. Vil’chkovskii, the author of a guide prepared for the two-hundredth anniversary (1910) of Tsarskoe Selo, offers a plausible fuller explanation for the name of this ancient settlement, which passed from Russian into Swedish hands and during Peter the Great’s war with Charles XII of Sweden was returned to Russia. The Swedish feudal lord, on receiving the ancient Russian ancestral lands of Saritsa as a fief, naturally changed its name to Saritsgof, because the suffix “gof” meant there was a landlord’s house in the given settlement. Such settlements with a noble owner living in them were in Russian usage of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries referred to in this locale as a “myza” (grange, farmstead), probably because the local Finnish population called them “mois,” which means “myza.” Thus, the noble Saritsgof became in the speech of the Finnish settlers Saarimois, while it passed into Russian speech as Saritskaia and Sarskaia myza. The name Sarskaia myza changed in the time of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna to Sarskoe Selo because there had by then arisen around the former “myza” an entire settlement with a church attended by all the peasants from the surrounding Russian villages. Gradually the word “selo” began to replace “myza” in official documents as well. In the reign of Catherine the Great, everyone said and wrote “Tsarskoe Selo,” but “Sarskoe” appeared in some official documents up to 1808 (S.N. Vil’chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, reproduction of the 1911 edition [St. Petersburg: Title Publishing House, 1992], p. 12). However, Pushkarev said in 1842 that the place continued to be called “Sarskaia” up to the present time, while “Tsarskoe” was the name used in all official documents as of 1725 (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 48). As we see from their correspondence, Colonel Todd and Maxwell wrote “Sarscacello” even in the 1840s.

In addition to “Sarscacello” one also sees the spelling “Sarscocello” in the diaries, but they are pronounced identically: “Sar’skuhsillaw’.” In these English versions, “c” represents in the first instance the sound of “k” and in the second instance the sound of “s,” as though it is first “c” from the Roman alphabet and then the Cyrillic “c,” the equivalent of English “s.” Thus,

where one would expect the English pronunciation “chello” as in Monticello, we get instead “sello.”

111. Grand Duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich, the Heir Apparent (see Images 428–429), was born on 8 September 1843 [20 September NS] (Korf, *Dnevnik 1843*, p. 282). His christening took place on Sunday, 10 October 1843 [22 October NS] (Korf, pp. 303–305). Eventually, it was decided by Nicholas I that the child’s birthday would be celebrated on 10 October (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 278, Wednesday, December 8 [December 20 NS], 1843, p. 1273). Anna Whistler was in error about the date of the christening.

Maxwell has left an amusing account of Todd’s invitation to and attendance at the christening:

I think I told you in a former letter of the birth of a prince; the lineal heir to the Imperial honours. Great has been the rejoicing thereupon. The first intimation I had of the event was an unusual firing of cannon; the next, a visit from a Master of Ceremonies ‘pour annoncer l’heureuse délivrance de Son Altesse Impériale, Madame la Grande Césarevna Grande Duchesse Marie Alexandrovna et la naissance de Son Altesse Impériale le Grand Duc Nicholas Alexandrovitch’. Then followed a proclamation from the Emperor to his well beloved subjects directing a general Te Deum throughout the empire and finally a circular was issued to the Court giving the necessary information respecting the process of baptism. I enclose you one of these Circulars in French; let Ag [his sister, Agnes] translate it for you. In the Circular no mention is made of the place or position assigned the ‘Corps diplomatique’ and I verily thought at one time that this interesting set of wise acres were intentionally left out. His Excellency Colonel Todd was really quite astonished at the oversight and only recovered his ministerial composure upon the reception of a note inviting him, and not me, to the holy ceremony. The Secretarys and such small fry were beneath notice on such an occasion and Ambassadors and Envoys ‘all the go’ As to my individual self it was a matter of perfect indifference whether I went or not and the truth is it was greatly for my interest not to go at all. The place of ceremony is fifteen miles from here and I would have had to incur considerable expense to have gone and returned and I would not have seen more than I am almost tired of seeing already. His Excellency left here at 6 in the morning, was on his feet most of the



day, soiled his uniform in the rain, and has been laid up with a cold ever since; the only particular indemnification he received on this particular occasion being (to use his own words) ‘the honour of dining for the first time at the very same table with an Emperor’. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Nov. 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 24)

See also his description of his and Todd’s attendance at the “revelailles, which being translated, signifies the churching and giving thanks upon recovery,” which took place on 25 October / 6 November (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Nov. 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 25; Korf, *Dnevnik 1843*, p. 329).

112. The parents of the Grand Duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich (Tsarskoe Selo 8 September [OS] 1843 – Nice 12/24 April 1865) were Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (Moscow 17 April [OS] 1818 – St. Petersburg 1 March [OS] 1881), the future Aleksandr II, and Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna (Darmstadt 27 July / 8 August 1824 – St. Petersburg 22 May [OS] 1880) (born Maximiliana-Wilhelmina-Augusta-Sophia-Maria, Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt) (Yu. A. Kuz’min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia 1797–1917 Biobibliograficheskii spravochnik* [*The Russian Imperial Family 1797–1917: A Biobibliographical Handbook*] [St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2005], pp. 72, 203, 266). See Images 425–427.
113. Anna Whistler did not indicate a new entry, but at this point she was writing in early December.
114. Emperor Alexander I (b. St. Petersburg 12/23 December 1777; see Image 418) died in Taganrog on 19 November / 1 December 1825.
115. The accession of Nicholas I (Tsarskoe Selo 25 June 1796 [OS] – St. Petersburg 18 February 1855 [OS]; see Images 420–423) took place on 14/26 December 1825; he was crowned in Moscow on 22 August / 3 September 1826. For an explanation of the events occurring between his brother’s death and the events of 14/26 December, see Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, pp. 13, 17–47. For the date of his coronation, see Kuz’min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, p. 238.
116. They are the equivalent of Western storm windows, but with a larger space between the two panes.
117. Anna Whistler was now writing in late December.

118. “Dvanic” (see Image 362) is Anna Whistler’s pronunciation of the Russian word for “the man who takes care of the yard,” spelled “dvornik” and pronounced “dvor’nyeek.” When she uses the term a few lines later, she adds the English plural suffix -s.
119. Image 97 shows the care of the Nevskii Prospekt in winter: *Nevskii Prospekt by Moonlight* (*Nevskii Prospekt pri lunnom osveshchenii*) (1855–59).
120. A “shuba,” pronounced like “shoe” + “buh,” is a loose, hooded, ankle-length, fur-lined cloak or pelisse. Anna Whistler renders this pronunciation as “shu’be” (two syllables). The anglicized plural would be “shoe” + “buzz” (see Image 13).
121. Anna Whistler omitted the verb in this sentence, probably “saw.” See “St. Petersburg and the Journey There” regarding the symbolic meaning of the pigeon for Russians.
122. Major Whistler was away from the evening of 20 December until the morning of 22 December 1843.
123. The covered sled was called a “kibitka” (see Image 354).
124. His name on his Russian service record transliterates as Vil’gel’m Ivanovich Truveller (born c. 1809) (RGIA: Fond 200, op. 1, d. 8101. Formulianiyni spisok o sluzhbe i dostoinstve Korpusa Inzhenerov putei soobshcheniia Maiora Truvellera. Za 1841 god. [Service and merit record of Major Truveller of the Corps of Transport Engineers. For 1841.]), but he was an Englishman named Frederick William Trewheeler (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 57; *PREC STP* for 1834, p. 192). In early 1843, he had submitted to P.P. Mel’nikov (see following Note) a project for building a railway from Peterhof. Mel’nikov had responded that Truveller’s drawing and note were not sufficiently complete to permit a positive conclusion to be drawn [RGIA: Fond 207, op. 5, d. 85. Po pis’mu Maiora Truvellera, s pro’ektom na ustroistvo zheleznoi dorogi ot Petergofa k vnov’ predpolagaemomu soobshcheniiu mezhdru obeimi stolitsami. 7 fev. 1843 g. – 12 fev. 1843 g. [Concerning the letter of Major Truveller with a project to build a railway from Peterhof to the again proposed connection between the two capitols. 7 Feb. 1843 – 12 Feb. 1843], fols. 6r, 7r and v, 8r-13r). When he met Anna Whistler, he was retired and a civilian contractor under contract to build the Volga bridge for the Department of Railways (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 205). Except for Russian documents cited, his surname will be spelled as it appears in Anna Whistler’s diaries.

125. Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (22 July / 3 August 1804 – 22 July / 3 August 1880) was in charge of the Northern Administration of the tract of the future St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. The Northern Administration ran from St. Petersburg to the Kolomenets River in the Valdai Hills of Novgorod Province. Mel'nikov made his residence in the town of Chudovo. See the biographies of the Mel'nikov family in Appendix E (hereafter, Mel'nikov) and Image 247.
126. As there were several German jewelers on the Nevskii Prospekt and on streets running off the Nevskii, it is not possible to say which one they went to.  
 For a discussion of Victorian hair jewelry and its significance as a memory of death (*momento mori*) object, see Karen Bachmann, “Hairy Secrets: Human Relic as Memory Object in Victorian Mourning Jewelry” (master’s thesis, Purchase College, State University of New York, 2013) and Helen Sheumaker, *Love Entwined: The Curious History of Hairwork in America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); see also Image 367.
127. There was one confectioner on Galernaia Street. This was Kalats, whose shop was located in the house of Shitt at 24 Galernaia Street (N. Tsylov, *Gorodskoi ukazatel' ili Adresnaia kniga vrachei, khudozhnikov, remeslennikov, torgovykh mest, remeslennykh zavedenii i t.p. na 1849 god* [City Directory, or, Address Book of Doctors, Artists, Artisans, Places of Trade, Artisans' Establishments, Etc. for 1849] [St. Petersburg, 1849], p. 174). Twenty-four Galernaia Street was the second house from the corner of Zamiatin Lane. See “Maps.”
128. The English Store or Magazine (*Angliiskii magazin*) was the best and most widely stocked of all Petersburg stores (see Image 108). Founded in 1789, it had belonged since 1815 to Konstantin V. Nichols and William F. Plincke. Located on the corner of Nevskii Prospekt and Malaia Millionnaia Street (entrance from this street) in the house of Vasil'chikov, No. 61, it remained in this building for almost one hundred years. The store had no sign, and its only distinguishing external feature was that half of each window was frosted glass. Everything from wine and china to velvet and diamonds was sold here. In the basement, there was a wine cellar on the left, one of the best in the capital; on the right were sold cigars, faience, and porcelain wares. Upstairs there was a series of gallery-like rooms containing toiletries, cosmetic goods, bone, bronze, leather and steel articles; stationery; silverware; silk, wool and cotton fabrics, muslin, tulle, ready-to-wear dresses, mantillas, etc.; gold and silver articles, insignia (for orders); diamonds;

broadcloth, velvet, carpets, rubber, etc. Foreign goods were ordered for it directly from abroad from the best factories, and the best Petersburg artisans filled orders for it as well. The prices were high, and no haggling was permitted, but even the most inexperienced customer could rely on the word of its salesmen. The store was famous also for the politeness and attentiveness of its floorwalkers (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 17–18; Vikentii Kishkin-Zhgerskii (P. Kiszke-Żgierski), *Kommercheskii ukazatel' goroda St. Peterburga na 1831 god* [*Commercial Guide for the City of St. Petersburg for 1831*] [St. Petersburg: Litografia Varmonta, [1831]], p. 5; Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaiia*, pp. 25–27; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 622).

129. The “Russian pictures” are probably the facsimile portraits of Russian peasants by Russian artists that Anna Whistler wrote James in 1853 she had found among some books in her trunk (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, New York, Dec. 1st thursday evening [1853], GUL: Whistler Collection, W427). Whatever the work was that she gave her sons for Christmas, it had to have been published no later than December 1843. The work that comes to mind is the bilingual collection of lithographs *Sobranie risunkov izobrazhainshchikh raznoshchikov v S. Peterburge – Cris de St. Pétersbourg. Collection de petits dessins à l'usage de la jeunesse, dessinés & coloriés dans l'établissement de Charles Beggrow* [*The Cries of St. Petersburg: A Collection of Small Drawings for the Use of Children, Designed and Colored in the Workshop of Charles Beggrow* [Karl Beggrow]] (St. Petersburg: Charles Beggrow, 1834) (see Images 364–365). That they were individual (loose) pictures seems attested to by Anna Whistler’s comment that she “arranged” them.
130. The word is “écritoire.” This desk was stolen and never retrieved, but an earlier laptop desk belonging to Anna Whistler can be seen at the Lighthouse Museum in Stonington, Connecticut. It is 7½ by 11½ inches and bears a silver plaque with the initials A.M.W. and the date 1833. It was given to the museum by “Mr. and Mrs. David M. Johnstone in the 1970s after Mrs. Stuart, his mother, moved from the 24 Main Street house [“the Old Corner House” of the Palmer family]” (Mary M. Thacher, librarian, SHS, to E. Harden, 2 June 1996).
131. It has not been possible to locate this note.
132. Emma Elizabeth Maingay (6 February 1826 – 27 December 1904) became Deborah Whistler’s closest friend in St. Petersburg. They remained lifelong friends in England. See the biographies of the

Maingay family in Appendix E (hereafter, Maingay) and Image 263.

133. William Clarke Gellibrand (31 March 1791 – 20 April 1884), husband of William H. Ropes's sister, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (13 October 1812 – 16 April 1894), was an English merchant and a partner in Hubbard and Company. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E and Images 265–267.
134. Anna Whistler does not identify her guests, but one of them was Maxwell, who described “the history of my Christmas day” to his mother:

Soon after ten I went above stairs and wished the Whistlers a merry day and offered the Major and the Majors daughter, tickets to the first great ball of the Nobility in the evening. The Major who had been sick for some days was still too ill to think of going out and I myself could not expect to take charge of the youthful daughter, even if agreeable to herself or her Father, for it would not be proper as things are constituted here. Miss W was a little disappointed but had not much to regret as we will see hereafter. Having accepted to dine with them at 4 P.M. I left ... After two or three other calls. I returned and dressed for dinner. Soon after going aloft I handed M<sup>rs</sup> W, to the table and with three other American guests sat down to an excellent dinner. Just as I finished my coffee I was summoned to attend my German Professor ... Then it was time to dress for the ball ... I presented M<sup>rs</sup> W. with a few jars of Russian preserves, and divers specimens of Russian cakes and confectionary. To the young lady I sent some bonbons and three of the ~~best~~ Opera's of the best composer's, to the Major I sent some fine French fruit, including St Germain pears, for which I paid one ruble each, and the boys I gave some trifling affairs as playthings. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27)

Maxwell also made clear in this letter that he was talking of “Christmas our style,” that is, according to the Gregorian Calendar. In saying that Deborah Whistler did well by not being present at the ball, Maxwell had in mind that the ball at a later hour changed to a masquerade, which was open to all classes of

society who chose to buy tickets to it, and she might, therefore, have been offended (see Image 374).

135. In order to help his children commit the dry and difficult facts of the solar system to memory, Rev. Legh Richmond (see Image 189) presented the material in a poem called “The Solar System.” It consists of an introduction, eleven stanzas describing the sun, planets, asteroids, and comets, and a conclusion devoted to the glorification of God the Creator. The poem was published in 1833 for its usefulness to other children. See *Domestic Portraiture*, pp. 36–40. It is not possible to say when Anna and Major Whistler became aware of the book, but by 1843 it had passed through several editions.

Legh Richmond (Liverpool 29 January 1772 – Turvey 5 May 1827), evangelical divine, entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1789, where “he obtained considerable proficiency in the practice and theory of music.” He suffered from weak health, as well as being permanently lame from a childhood accident. He received the BA (aegrotat degree) in 1794. In 1797, he married Mary Chambers of Bath. In 1799, he received the “M.A., and was ordained to the curacy of the parishes of Brading and Yaverland in the Isle of Wight,” with his residence in Brading. Under “the influence of ... Wilberforce’s ‘Practical View of Christianity,’” shortly after coming to the Isle of Wight he “first adopted those strictly evangelical views with which his name was thenceforth associated.” Here, too, he gathered the material for “his three famous tales of village life”: “The Dairyman’s Daughter,” “The Young Cottager,” and “The Negro Servant,” which he wrote in 1809, after having left the Isle of Wight, and published between 1809 and 1814 under the name “Simplex.” Instantly popular, “they were reprinted by the Religious Tract Society in 1814 under the general title of ‘The Annals of the Poor.’” The book was translated into many languages, “obtained a very wide circulation in America,” and was estimated to have reached a circulation “in the English language alone” of two million copies during Richmond’s lifetime. In spring 1805, Richmond became “assistant chaplain to the Lock Hospital in London,” but on 30 July of the same year “was inducted into the rectory of Turvey in Bedfordshire.” Here, he became a popular preacher, drawing an audience from other towns as well, as “[c]lergymen of ability holding evangelical views were rare.” He was also “among the earliest clergymen to initiate and encourage” village benefit societies. He was, as well, deeply involved “in the establishment of the great evangelical societies like the British and Foreign Bible

Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews,” undertaking “extended and successful preaching tours ... to collect money for them.” In 1806, he became editor of the series *Fathers of the English Church*. Eight volumes “of selections from the writings of the English reformers” appeared between 1807 and 1812, but the venture was not a financial success, and in 1814 his friends “with some difficulty” covered the losses. In 1814, he was also appointed personal chaplain by the Duke of Kent. In 1820, while on a preaching tour in Scotland, Richmond visited Iona, which had no church or resident Christian minister. Although he raised some £92,000 to remedy this lack, the Duke of Argyll, owner of the island, himself undertook to build “a church, minister’s house, and school.” Richmond’s fund was used instead to set up “a free library for the island.” In 1822, memorials were erected in the Isle of Wight to the cottagers whom Richmond had made famous, and he himself was present at the ceremony. In 1825, Richmond’s second son, Wilberforce, died at Turvey of consumption, and, shortly after, his eldest son, Nugent, died at sea of fever, while returning home from India after a long absence. Richmond’s already-delicate health was further undermined, and he died on 8 May 1827 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Richmond, Legh [1772–1827]”; *Domestic Portraiture*; Grimshawe, *Memoir of Richmond*).

136. Francis Lister Hawks (Newbern, NC 10 June 1798 – New York 24 September 1866) graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1815. He studied law in the only law school in America at that time, in Litchfield, Connecticut, and at twenty-one was admitted to the bar in North Carolina. The death of his wife, Emma Kirby, whom he had married in 1823, influenced a decision to become a cleric. In 1827, “he was ordained ... a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church.” He served for about a year in New Haven, Connecticut, where he also married again, and then in Philadelphia. He next was called to New York, serving briefly at St. Stephen’s Church and then, for twelve years, at St. Thomas’s. He came to be considered “a pulpit orator” of “very remarkable ability.” In 1835, he published several volumes in a children’s series called the “Boys’ and Girls’ Library,” which consisted of dialogues between a knowledgeable “Uncle Philip” and an inquiring audience of children. In 1836, he “visited England ... for the purpose of obtaining copies of ... documents ... related to the early history of the Episcopal Church in America,” some of which he later published. In 1837,

he established, with a colleague, the *New York Review*, to which he contributed two outstanding articles: one on Thomas Jefferson and the other on Aaron Burr. In 1839, he established the St. Thomas' Hall School on Long Island that failed financially and bankrupted him. He was also connected with the N-YHS (founded in 1804), which he helped "to restore ... to life and usefulness" in the late 1830s, when it was in a period of decline. From 1849 to 1859, he was on its Executive Committee; from 1855 to 1859, he was the First Vice-President of the American Ethnological Society (organized in 1842); and from 1855 to 1861, he was President of the American Geographical and Statistical Society. From 1836 to 1863, he published works "relating to American history, civil and ecclesiastical." In 1843, he accepted a call to Mississippi, where he spent about one year before accepting a call to New Orleans, where he served for five years. In 1849, he "was recalled to New York" to become rector of Calvary Church, and a subscription was raised to eliminate the debt he had incurred in establishing the St. Thomas' Hall School. In 1861, out of sympathy with the Southern cause, he resigned from Calvary Church and accepted a call to Christ Church in Baltimore. He returned after some two years to New York and eventually became rector of a new church, which was called the "Chapel of the Holy Saviour." On 4 September 1866, he spoke at the cornerstone ceremony of this new church. On the twenty-seventh, he died. He was buried in Greenwich, Connecticut. (All quotations are taken from Evert A. Duyckinck, *A Memorial of Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL. D.* Read before the New-York Historical Society May 7th, 1867 [New York, 1871], pp. 9–40. See also "The Late Francis L. Hawks," *Putnam's Magazine* [January 1868]: pp. 100–105.) There is "a list of his sermon titles from ... October 1864 to June 1866" at the N-YHS; almost "all of his titles are short lines of New Testament scripture." As "most of his sermon-writing was done during his rectorship at St. Thomas Church ... (1831 to 1843)," I was directed there. (All quotations are from Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 17 August 2004). An enquiry sent to Saint Thomas Church resulted only in acknowledgment of my letter but no subsequent information (Rev. Andrew C. Mead, New York, to E. Harden, 21 October 2004).

137. The only daughter, at this time, of Anna Whistler's sister in Stonington, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, was Julia McNeill Palmer, who had been born on 25 March 1841 (d. 22 February 1902) (Donald P. Stanton to Kate McDiarmid, Stonington, 25



- November 1928, GUL: Whistler Collection, S191). Therefore, Anna Whistler had to be referring to her nieces, Mary Isabella McNeill and Catherine Julia McNeill (see Images 32–33), daughters of her brother General William Gibbs McNeill (1801–1853; see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill (1799–1850). They must have been making one of their frequent visits to Stonington. It has not been possible to locate their letters. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
138. Psalm 97:1–2: “<sup>1</sup> The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof. <sup>2</sup> Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne.”
139. The *Lausanne* was cleared for departure from the port of New York on 29 November 1843 (*New York Herald*, November 29, 1843, vol. 9, no. 316, whole no. 3538). It has not been possible to locate young George Whistler’s letter.
140. In a letter dated 26 November 1843, General Joseph Gardner Swift (1783–1865; see Image 11), brother of Major Whistler’s first wife, requested of Colonel John J. Abert (1788–1863), Commander of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, that he get a Protection from the Secretary of State for George W. Whistler Jr. of New York, his nephew, who was “on the eve of sailing for the Sandwich Islands, mouth of the Columbia River, Manilla and Home again and had to act on the spur of the moment because of delicate health and the fact that the only ship travelling to that particular destination was to sail on Wednesday” (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, passport no. 1737). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
141. It has not been possible to locate this letter containing information about Charlie’s remains and Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (10 August 1775 – 7 April 1852; see Image 22). Martha (Kingsley) McNeill was going to visit her younger son, Charles Johnston McNeill (6 March 1802 – 2 March 1869) at Reddys Point, Florida (Ida Brooks Kellam and Elizabeth Francenia McKoy, *St. James Church Wilmington, North Carolina Historical Records 1737–1852*, 3 vols. [Wilmington, NC: I.B. Kellam, 1965], vol 1, p. 75; Schafer, *Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley*, pp. 114, 153; Anna Whistler to [Mr. and Mrs. Gamble], London, May 6, [18]69, GUL: Whistler Collection, W356; biography of Anna Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s”; biography of Charles Johnston McNeill in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E).

142. Anna Whistler is referring to Thursday, 28 December 1843.
143. “A few days since Major W’s little boys and daughter presented their Mother as a Christmas gift a very pretty rosewood writing case of very rich workmanship. Two or three mornings after it had disappeared, and we are all at a loss how to account for the robbery. It was taken from the drawing room – during the night. Some of the servants undoubtedly have stolen it, but what can be done? To apply to the police would be to create expense and difficulty, and to turn away the servants would be to take others perhaps worse than those on the premisses” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27).
144. It has not been possible to ascertain the name of the Master of Police of their quarter.
145. Maxwell elaborates on the loss of the flute, the servants on whom suspicion fell, and the Whistlers’ kindness to their servants:

The Major has discovered that he has lost his flute as well as the writing case. This flute, a very fine one he paid 20 guinea’s for many years ago in London and he valued it as an old companion above all price. We have sent to the police, the officers have been here, searched without finding, carried off a young man who was a waiter, who had not been very long in St. Petersburg, who spoke German and a little Russian, and who is generally suspected as the robber. They attached a rope to his arm and in this way took him off. At the police office, he charged it upon the Dvornik or Court yard keeper, a poor ignorant wild Russian who is half frightened to death and who has likewise been before the police. But they have both been released, and the officers after manifesting very little care in the matter seem to have dropped ~~the matter~~ the enquiry. My old fox of a servant [La Ronne] was out with me late on the night of the robbery. I sent him home from the French theatre with the carriage, and returned myself with a friend sometime after midnight when we took supper. It is impossible to say with confidence whether he knows any thing of it or not. He has access to every thing I have, and as I trust to him I thought best to inform him that if any thing was gone I would shoot him, a privilege I have by virtue of my office. But I really pity the Majors family in such a state of affairs. They have been so unaccustomed to lock up from their servants, but to

treat them kindly and with confidence. Those they have they pay better and treat better than they ~~are~~ could expect, and to be plundered in this impudent way is outrageous. The man that is suspected cannot speak one word of English and the only way of directing him was through the quickly acquired German of Miss W. The worst of the matter is, that having applied to the police, he (Major W) will be exposed to the extortions of this body of swindlers for some time to come, nor will he ever recover his things, if they are found, without paying the finder their full original value. The only way to live in security here is, either, to have little and lock that up yourself as securely as you can and trust to luck or to have much and pay a princely salary to the man you think honest enough to be your maître d'hotel, and master of your house from top to bottom. In this last case. you hold one person responsible. and are relieved from much embarrassment. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, entry dated Jan. 4, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27)

This was not the first time that Major Whistler's premises had been robbed. In September 1843, not long before the arrival of the Major's family, Maxwell wrote his mother at length about the theft of a large sum of money from the Major's rooms, his carelessness with his money, the preferential treatment he received, and crime in St. Petersburg in general:

Our quiet household has been disturbed by a very serious occurrence. although a common one in St. Petersburg. Major Whistlers rooms upon the basement [ground] floor were entered from the windows on the street night before last [Thursday, 8 September], his desk drawer broken open and six hundred dollars in paper roubles taken therefrom. In a port folio in the same drawer there was about the same amount of money, (all of which he had received from the Government the day before) which the robbers did not discover. They took however two gold eagles, ~~of~~ American coin, and left one which they, in their haste could not have seen. There was much other valuable property in the room and the Colonel of the Police and Aide de Camp to Pevrofsky [L.A. Perovskii (1792–1856)], Minister of the Interior, who visited the premises, expressed it as his opinion that the theft was committed by some person living on the premises and knowing the money to be in the drawer. This is the opinion of the

Major and mine, and Colonel Todds. for no one could, except some one who saw it, know that the money was in that particular drawer. The officer who visited the house at the request of his Excellency Col Todd; for we are exempt by virtue of our position from the voluntary attentions of the police; requested permission to work secretly and use extraordinary measures to detect the robbers. The permission has been granted and I have no doubt agents are about us who will discover something, although Major W. will never recover a cent, as I am informed that nothing is ever restored to the owners. Major W is rather careless with his money, and as there are no ordinary banks of deposite, is liable to meet with accident, particularly ~~here~~ as there are very numerous thefts now every day in the neighbourhood. It is a little remarkable that the police force of the quarter or district on the morning preceding the robbery, summoned before them our ~~dwor~~ dwornick or person who sweeps the sidewalk and court yard, and informed him that as the long nights were approaching fast, he must keep a watch with his neighbour dwornicks, for they would not answer for any burglary that might be committed in the neighbourhood. Certain it is many robberies are committed, and murders too. We hear of them occasionally, but the great majority of cases are never known to the public, as there are no newspapers or person's permitted to mention such events. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843, entry dated Sept. 10, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21).

It has not been possible to ascertain the name of L.A. Perovskii's aide de camp.

146. Anna Whistler meant "are."
147. "Men are but Children of a larger growth" is a line spoken by Dollabella in John Dryden's *All for Love; or, The World Well Lost* (1678) (Menston, UK: Scholar Press, 1969), p. 46.
148. The two trips made by Major Whistler were the one to England in 1828–29, where he was sent by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the one in 1842 to Russia.
149. It has not been possible to determine the name of the new dwornik or of his brother.

150. Anna Whistler meant “for us to apply”.
151. Luke 21:19: “In your patience possess ye your souls.”
152. Emma Woodbridge Palmer (24 November 1835 – 28 July 1912), Anna Whistler’s step-niece, writing to Elizabeth Robins Pennell in 1906, said of Charlie’s funeral:

H. Clay Trumbull in a little sketch of the Whistlers speaks of the arrival of his little body, as follows An incident that made an impression on my mind in connection with the absence of the Whistlers in Russia, was the death then of their youngest child, and the bringing to Stonington of a casket containing his body, everything was different from the plain N England style Instead of the red mahogany, or cherry, there was an ornate oaken sarcophagus ornamented with silver lace, including a Greek cross of this lace, on the top of the sarcophagus. I was asked by my Aunt Mrs Palmer to act as bearer to the little one! (Emma W. Palmer to Elizabeth R. Pennell, Letters Relating to Whistler, LC: P-W, box 296)

It has not been possible to locate the letter from Catherine (McNeill) Palmer. Maria mentioned here is Maria (Cammann) McNeill, sister-in-law of Anna (McNeill) Whistler and Catherine (McNeill) Palmer. Julie is Maria (Cammann) McNeill’s daughter.

153. Psalm 23:4: “Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.”
154. Anna Whistler is referring to Mary Brennan’s brother, James, in Springfield, Massachusetts (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Stonington, August 23, 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W389; Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Scarsdale, Monday evening Dec. 15th [18]56, GUL: Whistler Collection, W472). See Brennan, Bergin, Keefe in Appendix E.
155. This is Mary Isabella McNeill (see Image 32), daughter of General William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill.
156. This is Caroline (Whistler) Bloodgood (12 March 1810 – 26 November 1893), daughter of Major G.W. Whistler’s eldest brother, William (see Image 34). She married (c. 1826) Lt. William Bloodgood (1801 – 1 August 1874), USMA Class of 1824. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.

157. George Bloodgood (1830 – January 1909) was the son of Caroline (Whistler) and Lt. William Bloodgood. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
158. Wilkins Bloodgood (1841–1862) was the son of Caroline (Whistler) and Major (New York Militia, 1838–54) William Bloodgood. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
159. Pine Grove was a small town in Schuyler County, New York. It was located some forty miles south of Geneva, Ontario County, New York. Along with Tyrone and Tobanna, it was a post office (John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* [New York: S. Tuttle, 1844], p. 532). It is here that Anna Whistler left Charles Donald Whistler for at least a week with Cousin Caroline (Whistler) Bloodgood.
160. Eliza M. (Hamilton) Van Vechten (9 July 1824 – 30 December 1898) was the daughter of Major Thomas Hamilton (U.S. Army), and Catherine (Whistler) Hamilton, Major G.W. Whistler's sister (James Whistler Wood [son of Major G.W. Whistler's youngest sister, Caroline (Whistler) Wood], comp., *Whistler Family Genealogy*, Chicago Historical Society [hereafter, CHS: *Whistler*], p. 4; see also Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E). She is also called "Eliza Van Vee" in the diaries.
161. Eliza M. Hamilton married (22 September 1842) Abraham Van Vechten (24 December 1819 – 7 May 1894), an attorney. Their first child, whose name we do not know, died. Eliza was again pregnant at the time of this diary entry. A second child, Hamilton, was born 3 October 1844 (d. 19 May 1894) (Peter Van Vechten Jr., *The Genealogical Records of the Van Vechten's from 1638 to 1896* [Milwaukee, WI: Radtke Bros. and Kortsch, 1896], p. 44; James Brown Van Vechten and Marquis E. Shattuck, comps., *The Van Vechten Genealogy* [Detroit: Printed by the author, 1954], p. 116).
162. "The Joy of Grief" was written between 1802 and 1806 by James Montgomery (Irvine, Ayshire 4 November 1771 – Sheffield 1 May 1854), a Scottish poet belonging to the Moravian Brethren. It appeared in *The Poetical Works of Rogers, Campbell, J. Montgomery, Lamb, and Kirke White: Complete in One Volume* [Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1829], p. 124 of "The Poetical Works of James Montgomery" therein; William Anderson, *The Scottish Nation; or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland*, 3 vols. [Edinburgh and London, A. Fullarton, 1863], vol. 3, pp. 184–185). "Montgomery's reputation today rests on his hymns, which are well-represented in modern hymnals ... he played a significant role in establishing the use of

- hymns in worship ... He not only contributed original compositions to Thomas Cotterill's collection, but his support and encouragement helped to ensure official sanction of this, the first authorized hymnal of the Church of England" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Montgomery, James [1771–1854]"). It is possibly from this hymnal of her church that Anna Whistler knew "The Joy of Grief." The phrase refers to the "sweet relief" that comes "while the wounds of woe are healing" and "pensive memory ... retraces scenes of bliss forever fled," and one's hopes ascending to heaven, "triumph ... over death and time" (*Friends' Intelligencer*, 33 [1876–77]: p. 638).
163. Anna Whistler had been present at the marriage of Louisa Josephine Swift (30 April 1821 – 16 January 1859) to Peter Richards, Jr. (28 October 1811 – 30 August 1893), the Rev. P.P. Irving presiding, at Geneva, New York, on 22 June 1843. Josephine, or Josée, as she was called, was the daughter of General Joseph Gardner Swift (31 December 1783 – 23 July 1865; see Image 11), brother of Major Whistler's first wife. General Swift had written in his journal: "the wedding party dispersed, some to the falls, others to N.Y., etc." (Ellery, *Memoirs of Gen. J.G. Swift*, p. 247).
164. "On board the steamboat at Albany, I unexpectedly met Mrs. McNeil Mrs. Whistler Debo. and George hurrying on to Stonington where they expected to find Cousin Anna's eldest son on his death bed" (Alexander J. Swift to his father [General Joseph G. Swift], West Point July 1st 1843, Alexander J. Swift (1810–1847) Papers, USMA Library, West Point, NY, [hereafter, USMAL: A.J. Swift Papers], CU 587).
165. The child is Ellen Gellibrand Ropes (1841–1924).
166. This is Harriet Beall (Williams) Bodisco (c. 1824 – 20 June 1890), American wife of the Russian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, Baron Alexander Andreevich Bodisco (18/29 October 1786 – 11/23 January 1854). At the time of their marriage on 9 April 1840, Harriet Beall Williams was sixteen and her bridegroom fifty-three. Mrs. Bodisco was considered strikingly beautiful. See the biographies of the Bodisco and Williams families in Appendix E (hereafter, Bodisco and Williams) and Images 283–285.
167. The child is Nicholas Alexander Bodisco (b. Georgetown, DC, 6/18 April 1841). This information from the records of Christ Church in Georgetown has very kindly been provided by its director of administration and archivist, Glenn A. Metzdorf. The

- dates given in the will of Baron Alexander Bodisco, dated 1 July 1853, agree with it. I wish to thank Robert W. Lyle, curator, Peabody Room, Georgetown Regional Branch of District of Columbia Public Library, for supplying a copy of the English translation of the will, originally in French (hereafter, *Olographe Testament*); see also extracts in the newspaper *Georgetowner*, February 2, 1956. Anna Whistler was comparing the child with Charles Donald Whistler. See Bodisco and Williams in Appendix E.
168. This may be a child's version of John 3:16: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."
  169. Nicholas Alexander Bodisco had an English nurse named Marie Trueman. This information is taken from Baron Bodisco's request on 6[/18] June 1844 in St. Petersburg for a passport to return to his post in Washington. It was to be issued for Mr. and Mme. Bodisco and their three-year-old son, Nicholas, accompanied by their personal servants: Marie Trueman, Englishwoman and nurse to the child; Cyrille Bigle, of Paris, maid; and Samuel Dohna, Swedish subject (Arkhiv Vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii (AVPRI) [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire], Moscow: Fond MID, Kantseliariia, 1844, op. 469, d. 175, Washington/Bodisco-Cte Zabelo/, l. 76 [Fond of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chancery, 1844, op. 469, d. 175, Washington/Bodisco – Cte Zabelo/, fol. 76]).
  170. The Bodiscos were staying at the Hotel de Paris (proprietor: Louis), a first-class hotel located on the corner of Malaia Morskaia Street and Brick Lane (*Kirpichnyi pereulok*), in the building belonging to Voronovich (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 160; Konechnyi, *Prigulki*, p. 284n6).
  171. In giving his mother an account of the Americans staying in St. Petersburg in the winter of 1843–44, Maxwell said of Mrs. Bodisco: "The lady has been presented to the Emperor, Empress etc who pronounced her beautiful while every body wonders how the old fox without a hair on his head or a tooth of his own won so stylish a republican lady. Having charmed the Emperor she is invited every where and has commenced her first lessons in Russian life" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Dec. 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 26).
  172. On January 22, 1844, Colonel Charles Stewart Todd (see Image 278) celebrated his fifty-third birthday.



173. Reverend Edward Law (7 August 1790 – 10 November 1868) was from 1820 to 1864 Chaplain to the British Legation at St. Petersburg (Joseph Foster, *The Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage of the British Empire* [Westminster: Nichols and Son, 1882], p. 253; *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford*, comp. Joseph Foster, vol. 2, 1715–1886 [Oxford, UK: Parker, 1891], p. 822). His wife was Mary Elisabeth (Mosley) Law (bap. Rolleston, Staffordshire 12 September 1792 – 11 May 1877). Those of their children likely to have been present were their daughters, Henrietta Maria (25 October / 6 November 1822 – 18 November 1892), Caroline Frances (7/19 August 1824 – 24 November 1897), Emily Mosley (7/19 November 1827 – 2/14 February 1880), Isabella Sarah (30 March / 11 April 1830 – 2 February 1865); and their son, Alfred Markham (7/19 November 1832 – 9 November 1870). Of their two married daughters, Mary Eliza (Law) Cattley (9/21 March 1821 – 22 February / 6 March 1859) could have been present (*Foster's Peerage*, p. 253). See also the biographies of the Law family in Appendix E (hereafter, Law) and Images 253–255.
174. The Honourable John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield (1802–1879; see Image 291) was Secretary of the British Legation at St. Petersburg in 1843 and at this time in 1844 (Bloomfield Papers, FO 356, National Archives, Kew, Richmond, UK (NAUK); Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages* [London: Harrison, 1883]). The Secretary of the Brazilian Legation at St. Petersburg in 1844 (appointed 6 October 1842) was José Maria do Amaral (Rio de Janeiro 14 March 1812 – Niterói 23 September 1885) (Antônio Carlos Gonçalves Valerio [coordinator] and Rodrigo Aldeia Duarte [responsible for the information], Ministério de Justiça Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, to E. Harden, 18 December 2012).
175. Maxwell left no record of Colonel Todd's birthday celebration in his letters. No. 27 is dated January 1st, 1844 (with an entry for January 4); no. 28 is dated March 6th 1844 (with entries for March 7 and 8). In the interval, Maxwell was seriously ill.
176. In 1828, Susanna Hart Todd (b. 1821), Charles Stewart Todd Jr. (b. 1822), and Henry Clay Todd (b. 1823), three of the twelve children of Colonel Charles Stewart and Letitia (Shelby) Todd (11 January 1799 – 22 July 1868) died (Genealogy of the Family of Colonel Charles Stewart and Letitia (Shelby) Todd, Todd Family Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society, fol. 8).

177. Todd volunteered when the War of 1812 broke out and “was made acting quartermaster in the advance of the left wing of the Northwestern Army. He served on Gen. William H. Harrison’s staff, his courage and intelligence winning him steady promotion until in March 1815 he was inspector general with the rank of colonel” (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Todd, Charles Stewart”).
178. The War of 1812 was concluded on 24 December 1814, with the Treaty of Ghent. The news of the peace was received in America on 11 February 1815 and celebrated by a general illumination of New York City on 27 February 1815 (I.N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, 6 vols. [New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1926], vol. 5, pp. 1579–80; see also *New York Evening Post* [February 28, March 1 and 2, 1815] for “detailed descriptions of the transparencies and the fireworks”).
- According to General J.G. Swift’s mother-in-law, the family of Dr. Daniel McNeill was to leave Wilmington, North Carolina, in April 1815, for New York (M.M. Walker to Louisa Swift [her daughter], Wilmington March 25th 1815, USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers). But a notice in a Wilmington newspaper, dated 10 April 1815, indicated that “he intends early in May, to depart with his family for New-York” (*Wilmington Gazette*, April 27, 1815, p.4, col.5; see also Raymond Parker Fouts, *Abstracts from Newspapers of Wilmington, North Carolina 1807–1810, with Extant Issues of 1812–1816* [Cocoa, FL: Gen Rec Books, 1984], vol. 5, p. 116, item 885). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E for a discussion of when Dr. Daniel McNeill was living in New York.
179. Anna Whistler later had serious and recurrent eye trouble. James and Willie took her to an eye specialist in Coblenz in September 1865 (Anna Whistler to James Whistler [Coblenz, Germany], 25 November [1865], GUL: Whistler Collection, W520; Anna Whistler to Margaret Hill, London, 22 Oct. 1865, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 45–46).
180. “Mrs. Bodisco was not well known in Washington previous to her marriage. Her family did not visit the first people there and she herself left school to become a wife. She is thought very beautiful here, and here she is indeed a beauty. She has a fine fresh complexion very unusual in St. Petersburg. Her features are those common to thousands of our young countrywomen, rather pretty than classic and that win rather than command. She has nothing of the elegance or ease of manner that distinguishes the ladies of the Court nor has she the advantages of a superior education. But

these are difficulties she will easily conquer. Under the eye of so distinguished a piece of patch work as her husband, she takes a lesson every day and evening and will be re-transplanted the next summer a perfect model of a courtly dame. ——” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, January 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27).

181. Nothing specific is said in the diaries about Baron Bodisco, whose acquaintance Major Whistler had made in Washington, DC, in 1842, when Bodisco, as Russian Envoy, had negotiated with Major Whistler the conditions under which the latter would accept the invitation to supervise the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. Maxwell, however, portrayed him at the first great ball of the nobility with total candor:

He is a very ugly man but an amiable in manner as are all Russians. He is very old, wears a wig, and reminds me very much of Brahem [John Braham (1774–1856)] the singer in looks and carriage. His dress, which is of a very fashionable cut, gives his figure the forced expression of youth, denied him in every particular of shape and every lineament of feature. You can detect even in the uncombed locks of his handsome peruke and in the bespotted appendages of his dress all the slovenly indications of the dandy in dotage. His mouth is toothless, his breath horrible and the *tout ensemble* justifies the opinion of those who considered him the ugliest man in the United States. But then he was considered the most agreeable by many. Concealing his decrepitude in the make of his habiliments, illuminating his phiz with a smile skin deep, and yet deep enough to erase the wrinkles, assuming a manner that seems as natural as it is condescending and agreeable, the old fellow becomes the admiration of the Washington ball-rooms and wins the love of a pretty damsel of sweet seventeen. Age cannot conquer the cunning of the Russian diplomatist” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, January 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27)

It is interesting that in his book Maxwell transposed details of his description of Bodisco from this letter to describe the Russian secret agent (J.S. Maxwell, *The Czar, His Court and People: Including a Tour in Norway and Sweden*, 3rd ed. New York: Charles Scribner, 1854), pp. 279–280). For this reason, Maxwell’s letters should be consulted in preference to his book.

182. Maxwell spoke of Rev. Law as “the merry Parson with a fine family” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Mar. 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29).
183. The song Debo sang was a popular romance of the period called “Chornyi tsvet” (“The Color Black”) (*Liubimye russkie romansy i pesni dlia odnogo golosa* [*Favorite Russian Romances and Songs for Solo Voice*]. St. Petersburg: M. Bernadaki). Translated line-by-line, the text is as follows:

Color black, gloomy color  
 You are dear to me forever.  
 I swear that with another color  
 I shall never fall in love.

*Refrain:*

Don't force me,  
 Don't make me  
 Stop loving the color black,  
 I haven't strength to, I haven't the power.

Why, the world will ask,  
 Am I in love with the color of shadows,  
 I shall say, the color black  
 Is the color of my friend.

*Refrain*

And even if suddenly my dear friend  
 Should forget me,  
 The color black, the gloomy color  
 I shall continue to love.

*Refrain*

I have one thought  
 The color black and She.  
 With her forever I shall fuse  
 My gloomy soul.

*Refrain*

Saying farewell to the earth  
 I shall array myself in the color black  
 And as long as there is light in my eyes  
 I am in love with the color black.

William Bonamy Maingay (see Image 260) made a stilted, rhymed translation of it that is reproduced in Note 382, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell,

St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33). The music, without words, appears in M. Bernard, *Sto russkikh narodnykh pesen' aranžirovannykh dlia odnogo fortepiano* [One Hundred Russian Folk Songs, Arranged for Solo Pianoforte] (St. Petersburg: printed by the author, n.d.), p. 83. See Appendix F for a copy of the sheet music for “Chornyi tsvet.”

184. The Law family had “given a ball every other week all winter” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29). This was the last before Lent and was held on 2/14 February.

In 1844, the Western and Orthodox Easter Sunday fell on the same date: 27 March / 7 April.

185. Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (Tsarskoe Selo 12/24 June 1825 – Tsarskoe Selo 29 July / 10 August 1844; see Images 434–435, 444–446, 451), youngest daughter of Nicholas I (Nicholai Pavlovich Romanov) (Tsarskoe Selo 25 June / 6 July 1796 – St. Petersburg 18 February / 2 March 1855; see Images 420–423) and Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (born Frederika-Louisa-Charlotte-Wilhelmina) (Charlottenburg, Prussia 1/12 July 1798 – Tsarskoe Selo 20 October / 1 November 1860; see Images 420, 424), married His Serene Highness Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Hesse-Kassel (26 November 1820 – 14 October 1884), later Landgraf Elector of Hesse-Kassel (see Images 444–445 of the engaged couple). Her first cousin, Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna (Moscow 14/26 May 1826 – near Wiesbaden 16/28 January 1845; see Image 441), daughter of Nicholas I’s brother, His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (St. Petersburg 28 January 1798 / 8 February 1799 – Warsaw 28 August / 9 September 1849; see Image 439) and Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (born Frederika-Charlotta-Maria, Princess of Württemberg) (Stuttgart 28 December 1806 / 9 January 1807 – St. Petersburg 9/21 January 1873; see Image 440), married His Serene Highness Duke Adolphe Wilhelm of Nassau (24 July 1817 – 17 November 1905; see Image 442) (G.I. Studenkin, “Romanovy Tsarstvuiushchii dom Rossiiskoi Imperiii s 1613 g” [“The Romanovs The Reigning House of the Russian Empire Since 1613”], Supplement, *Russkaia starina* [Old Russian Days and Ways] (1878): pp. xxii, xxiii, xxiv; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, p. 95, 97, 144, 149–150, 232). For an assessment of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna’s appearance and character, and a description of her engagement, marriage, illness, and death, see the diary of her

sister, Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, Queen of Württemberg, written between January 1881 and January 1883. Here also will be found loving and generally frank appraisals of the entire Imperial family. The diaries were written in French and published in German (1955) and Russian (1963) translations. I have used the Russian translation: *Son inosti Zapiski docheri Imperatora Nikolaia I Velikoi Kniazhny Ol'gi Nikolaevny, Korolevy Viurtembergskoi* [*A Dream of Youth Memoirs of the Daughter of Emperor Nicholas I, Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, Queen of Württemberg*] (Paris: s.n., 1963). See also Images 444–460.

186. Anna Whistler gave no details of Maxwell's oral account, but fortunately he also left a sparkling and amusingly written vignette of the betrothal of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna in the chapel of the Winter Palace and of the ball given the evening of the same day (26 December 1843 / 7 January 1844):

I repaired to the palace in the ordinary way, and where I was received in much the same way as I have heretofore described. The only remarkable ~~event~~ and sensation I experienced on the way at all novel was the excessive cold. The morning was beautiful, bright and clear but so cold that every thing seemed ready to crack. The manes of the horse's and the beards of the men were white with frost and whatever was touched with the naked hand sent an icy chill into every nerve and muscle of the arm. The Thermometer stood at 2 degrees and  $\frac{1}{4}$  below Zero Fahrenheit and at  $16 \frac{1}{2}$  Raumer. The temperature of the Palace was very agreeable. I joined the Corps in the Salle des Maréchaux or hall of the Marshals, and from there went with them into the Imperial Chapel. We were the first introduced into this magnificent room, and took up a position next the railing, which divided the alters from the main body of the room. so that we had a fine chance to observe all that occurred. All the diplomats were there except Lord Stuart. In our select company were included Lady Stuart, the ladies of the Saxon and Sardinian Ministers, a few distinguished strangers and the Roman Catholic Bishop. We had remained long in our places when the doors were thrown open and the Grand Masters of Ceremony with their ~~use~~ batons ushered in the procession, headed by the Metropolitan and the Bishops in long robes of all colours, with great big chimney pot looking caps on their heads, and their beards and hair hanging on their backs and breasts - Next came the

Imperial family according to age and rank, and finally came the officers of states and ladies of the court. The priests and the Imperial family passed through a gate in the railing, directly in our front and the Court people filled up the room directly in our rear. The Priests commenced reading prayers, when the Emperor took the Prince Hesse by the arm and placed him in position before the alter, and the Empress took the G Duchess Alexandra and placed ~~on~~ her next him. The Metropolitan then placed a lighted candle in the hands of each one and then the ceremony of the service was continued for a long while, by ~~rea~~ the prayers and responses of the clergy. Then the Metropolitan placed rings on their fingers after which the Empress approached and taking the rings from off the finger of the Prince she placed them on those of the Duchess, and ~~then~~ ~~the~~ ~~rig~~ rings of the Duchess she placed upon the fingers of the Prince. Then commenced delicious music from the choir - all vocal, but superior to any instrumental music you ever heard and said to be the finest sacred melody in the world - After this the Greek Cross was carried about with the invocations of the Bishops, and was presented to the bride and groom to kiss - which being done, the happy pair, approached the Emperor and Empress and the rest of the family and kissed and were kissed again in the most affectionate matter. Such kisses it was good to see and hear. They were none of your half and half affairs, but regular smacks which resounded beneath the arched vault above us. After this interesting process the affianced couple repaired again to the alter, and kneeled down. The Imperial family done the same and the whole audience of course followed suite. I went down on my marrowbones without any difficulty for I never strap myself up as many do for these occasions, being perfectly satisfied with the shape nature has imposed upon me. But unfortunately this is not the case with courtiers generally and old diplomatists in particular. Some of these from the unbending stricture of their stuffed coats and the unyielding nature of their unmentionables found it hard work to get down. I saw one on all fours, another leaned on me for support, and his Excellency who stood in front as stiff as a poker, let himself down by a masterly manouvre, and without apparent damage, although ~~a~~ I thought the sound I heard

of rip and tear proceeded from angry discussion ~~any~~ among the seams of his tightened garments. As soon as the prayers were over, the cannon commenced firing, the Imperial Family retired as they came and we were at liberty to retire too. As I was going out I met M<sup>rs</sup> Bodisco in full Russian costume . . . The Colonel hastened away with such trepidity that I finally concluded he had damaged his pantaloons, although I did not like to ask him if such was the fact, for he is too much of an Adonis in his own estimation, to have any one else think otherwise and I did not think it safe to offend him by seaching [*sic*] the truth more particularly for so an un-adonis-like mishap. The ceremony interested me more ~~particular~~ than any thing I have witnessed in some time. The solemnity, the importance of the parties, the novelty of the scene the peculiarity of the Greek devotions, the dress of the Bishops, the sounds of the prayers uttered in the ancient Slavonian, and the beautiful music, all combined, made a powerful impression upon me. I shall never forget it. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Jan. 1, 1844, entry dated Jan. 8, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27)

187. The marriage of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna and His Serene Highness Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Hesse-Kassel took place on 16/28 January 1844 (see Image 446) (Studenkin, "Romanovy," pp. 23–24; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, p. 95).
188. "I attended soon after the marriage ceremony of the Grand Duchess Alexandra which resembled the betrothal very much . . . A few days before this ceremony I was frequently called to the palace for various fêtes and on one of these occasions I must have taken cold. The morning of the marriage I was quite unwell, but felt obliged to attend as a matter of importance as well as the ball in the evening. The next day I felt much worse and had to get Colonel Todd to excuse me to the Grand Master of ceremonies for not attending the marriage of the G. Duches Marie to the Duke of Nassau and whatever other of the almost nightly feasts I omitted. I sent for the Doctor" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 6, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 28).
189. The marriage of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna and His Serene Highness Duke Adolphe Wilhelm of



Nassau took place on 19/31 January 1844 (Studenkin, “Romanovy,” p. 24; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, p. 150).

190. “*Indian pride*” is false pride.
191. Engineer Lieutenant Dmitrii Ivanovich Zhuravskii (17/29 December 1821 – 18/30 November 1891; see Image 249), graduate of the Institute of Transport Engineers in St. Petersburg, Class of 1842, was in charge of building the railway bridge across the Vereb'ia River, which he “had assisted Whistler, Mel'nikov, and Kraft in designing” in 1842–1843 (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 317). His name was pronounced “Zhoorahf'skee.” Anna Whistler rendered the spelling as “giraffe” plus “ski.” The ball for which he brought tickets took place on 20 January / 1 February 1844.
192. For Mr. Trouvellier, see Note 123 above. Maria Vladimirovna (Kozliakinova) Trouvellier was his second wife, listed in his service record of 1841. I have no information about when they were married. His first wife was “Ann Woolff, Spinster of the Russian Greek Church,” whom he “married according to the Rites of the Greek Church on the 7th of February 1834.” She died in 1835. He had a seven-year-old daughter from this first marriage, who is also mentioned in his service record (RGIA: Fond 200, op. 1, d. 8101 (see Note 124 above for document title); PREC STP for 1834, p. 192). The *BRBC STP 1845* gives his second wife's surname as Kozlianoff (fol. 57).
193. This is a reference to the fact that at a later hour the ball changed to a masquerade, which was open to all classes of society who chose to buy tickets to it (see Image 374).
194. “I remember ~~for~~ well the circumstances attending my sickness for the first three days, of being bleed and leached etc - After that time I lost all consciousness and for six weeks was in a delirium. I have very narrowly escaped death. In fact they thought I would not live and about the time for ~~wright~~ writing by the last steamer it was a matter of discussion between Col Todd and Major Whistler as to the propriety of writing you about me, but the Major carried the day, as he showed that I was so low that it would be as bad almost as communicating my decease. It seems my disease was a fever of the Typhoid class (not Typhus) It was a brain fever and congestion of the brain was feared. I acted very wildly they tell me. On one occasion I jumped out of bed in the night, beat my servant and the friend who watched over me and

in a state of nudity run from my parlour (in which my bed had been placed on account of its being a better chamber in every respect.) to a little cold room I used as a dressing room or cabinet.

March 7. It was only when Major W made his appearance that I consented to go to bed. Another strange fancy was I am told a continued and fierce desire to go to the 6th Ward Hotel and at the crisis of my disease this formed by [*sic*] constant endeavour and I thought the Loco Focos had made a conspiracy to keep me from going. Fortunately about this time among the many other kind American friends who watched me, was a M<sup>r</sup> Fairbanks a contractor of the railroad a man of great strenght [*sic*] - He was with me 3 nights when my disease took a turn for the better. To him and a half dozen others I feel much indebted and to my dear good Doctor also. But how can I describe the care and anxiety of M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler. You yourselves could not have manifested more solicitude. I am told they were constantly at my bedside and the Major slept near by me” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St.Petersburg, March 6 and entry of March 7, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 28).

195. The crisis of Maxwell’s fever, therefore, took place on 7 February.
196. This is Dr. James Rogers (1810 – 11 July 1890), physician to the British Legation. See his biography in Appendix E.
197. Dr. Rogers called in Dr. Nikolai Fyodorovich Arendt (Kazan 1785 – St. Petersburg 14/26 October 1859; see Image 343), surgeon, considered “the most popular and most accessible doctor” in St. Petersburg in the first half of the nineteenth century. In the reign of Alexander I (see Image 418), he participated, as a regimental doctor, in the military campaigns against Napoleon and against Sweden and acquired extensive experience in battlefield surgery. In 1814, he served as chief medical inspector of the Russian troops in France and, through March 1815, was in charge of the hospitals he personally organized. As of 1820, he was head doctor of the St. Petersburg Artillery Hospital. He devoted himself to surgery and became known for his outstanding success in averting post-surgical deaths. As a result of his long service and the level of knowledge exhibited by him in both medicine and surgery, he was awarded in October 1821 the degree of Doctor of Medicine without taking the examination for it or writing a dissertation. This was unprecedented in the history of Russian medicine. In March 1827, he retired and took up private practice. From 1828–1845,

he was chief consultant at the Obukhov Hospital, where he worked without salary. In 1829, he treated Nicholas I and was appointed His Majesty's personal physician, serving in this capacity for the next ten years. He was initial in establishing the code of regulations of the St. Petersburg Children's Hospital (December 1834) and was the hospital's first consultant. He rode about the city every day in his carriage, attending both rich and poor, treating the latter without remuneration. It was his great grief that he could not save the life of Pushkin (1799–1837), when called to the latter's bedside after the fatal duel. He died on 14/26 October 1859 and was buried in the Smolensk Lutheran Cemetery (Bukharkin, *Deviatnadsatyi vek*, bk. 1, pp. 174–175; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).

198. "March 8 ... Major W told me last evening what I did not know before and that is that the Doctor himself was at one time in great fear and held a consultation with a German physician who examined my body. His greatest relief in the midst of his doubts was that in my wildest moments I always recognised him and called his name when asked for it - in fact I knew every body I had ever seen before except M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler and the Major says that one evening while he sat at one side of my bed while M<sup>rs</sup> W was smoothing a pillow on the other side I looked earnestly at her trim black dress and white cap and asked if that was a Catholic. I took her for some sister of charity" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Mar. 6, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 28). "M<sup>rs</sup> W has ... manifested great solicitude for me and I have been told that this dear lady wept for me often, fearing I would die" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29).
199. The following composite portrait of La Ronne Schipouloff, Maxwell's servant, is taken from Maxwell's letters: "To finish this picture of a bachelors life and a bachelor's quarters in St. Petersburg I will go still further into particulars. I have a room for my servant, coal, house, stable if necessary etc in the Court yard. My servant at present is the old chasseur of his Excellency. His name, La Ronne. He pretends to speak English, French, Swedish and Russian but I doubt if he fully comprehends either. I have to give him ten dollars a month and he finds himself. All servants here have to find themselves. This is the rule, but if one does not lock every thing up, they find themselves at the expense of the master" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell,

St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22). The verb “to find” has here the meaning of “to provide food and lodging.” This is most familiar in the British (often naval) expression “all found,” which is said of an employee’s wages and means “with board and lodging provided free: *your wages would be five shillings all found.*” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], s.v. “find, *v.*”).

In describing Todd’s coach on the day they rode together to the “revailles” of Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna (see Images 426–427), Maxwell enables us to see one of the attractive aspects of La Ronne’s previous duties as chasseur for Todd: “the dashing four horse equipage of his Excellency with outrider and Coachman in blue and ~~gold~~ silver, and a Chasseur in green and gold, armed with a blade that would have astonished Sir William Wallace and decorated with a plume, that would be the admiration of the militia, drove up in great style ... My servant, my valet and footman, the ancient chasseur, La Ronne, besides his mustache, had nothing else to recommend him. He had been stripped of his finery when he left the Colonel and came to me. He looked very fierce and with great contempt upon the new chasseur dressed in the old insignia of office” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Nov. 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 25). Like his fellow Orthodox Russians, he adhered to the strict fasting of Lent: “I offered my servant some [calves foot] jelly. and although he loves good things and had eaten nothing but ~~four~~ bread and salt for 5 weeks he would not touch it” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Mar. 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29).

La Ronne’s surname we learn when Maxwell is leaving Russia for the summer in 1844: “even my faithful Laronne Schipouloff, my very diplomatic valet, preferred to keep the money I had given him to pay his way to and from the Alexandra, to going with ~~the~~ his master any further than the quay” (John S. Maxwell to George Washington Whistler, from Berlin, Thursday, June 20, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). Maxwell came to know his virtues. “I have had to increase the wages of my servant La Ronne in order to retain him in my service. I now pay him at the rate of sixteen dollars a month. He is worth that to me, for he knows how to wait, knows a little of all the European languages, finds out every thing that is going on, understands all the etiquette, is respectful, well dressed, and wears a very fine pair of mustaches, in fact he is a person who unites the knowledge and experience of the servant, the courtier and the Diplomat. So I consider La Ronne and the

German teacher as justifiably expensive to me and look sharp to cut off all useless expenditures to preserve their service” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Nov. 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 24). See also Maxwell, *Czar*, pp. 128, 206, 217, 226, 231, 237, 240, when La Ronne was still Ambassador Todd’s courier (1842).

As *chasseur*, La Ronne wore a “uniform of green and silver, chapeau and white fountain plume, and sword. The *chasseur* appendage is a court relic ... He generally rides behind the coach, and is its ‘protector’ I suppose. In the house he is the *valet*. Our valet is a *fiene* looking fellow when rigged out in his war paint – his black moustache waxed to points, and he is ‘every inch a soldier’ – but in the house, he promises to be as obedient, and ~~kind~~ gentle, ‘as a sucking dove!’” (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 10).

Anna Whistler spells his name Le Ron, Le Rong, and Le Rond.

200. Her prayers seem to have been answered. Certainly she must have felt free on his recovery to make known to Maxwell what she had prayed for. In any case, he wrote to his mother, in words rather resembling Anna Whistler’s: “God has in his mercy, by his miraculous power, rescued me from the very jaws of death, and to him be all the glory” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 11, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 34). “The Doctor has promised to let me be shaved and dressed by the end of this week and go up stairs, but he says I must not listen to too much music — A treat it will be to hear a song, and talk with M<sup>rs</sup> W as I used to do of home” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29).
201. Admiral Robert Hall (2/13 September 1761 – 23 January / 4 February 1844), an Englishman in the Russian Navy, aged eighty-three years, “died (suddenly in the Church)” (PREC STP for 1844, p. 306). The Russians called him Roman Romanovich Gall. See his biography in Appendix E.
202. Psalm 84:10: “For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.”
203. Admiral Hall’s wife was Natalia Elisabeth (Pegelof) Hall (31 December 1780 [OS] – 21 September 1855 [OS]) (Amburger Datenbank, ID 84207). 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 Lt. General in the Russian Navy (Amburger Datenbank, ID 84212; *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 27; Irina Reyfman, *How Russia Learned to Write Literature and the Imperial Table of Ranks* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016], Appendix: Table of Ranks). Both women were members of the Reformed Church. After the Admiral's death, the two women continued to live in their house on the 9th Rota (Ninth Line) in the Liteinaia District (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 27). "Rota" was the word used in the Semyonov Regiment instead of "liniia" to mean "line"; both words mean "street" (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 328–329). Ninth Rota was also called Basseinaia Street (Grech, p. 329).
204. These lines are from the fourth verse of the hymn "Awake my soul and with the sun" by Thomas Ken (1637–1711).
205. These are the remaining two lines of the fourth verse of "Awake my soul."
206. Admiral Hall's funeral took place on 27 January / 8 February 1844 (PREC STP for 1844, p. 306).
207. On 30 January / 11 February 1844, Rev. Law's text was "dust thou art & unto death shalt thou return." It is a paraphrase of "In the midst of life we are in death" and "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," taken from *The Book of Common Prayer (The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with The Psalter, or Psalms of David* [Philadelphia: Female Protestant Episcopal Prayer-Book Society of Pennsylvania, 1839], p. 265) and used in "The Order for the Burial of the Dead" (pp. 262–266).
208. Admiral Hall, as has already been noted, was an Englishman (Robin Inglis, *Historical Dictionary of the Discovery and Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America*, *Historical Dictionaries of Discovery and Exploration* 4 [Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008], p. 148).
209. Anna Whistler left a blank space for his first name. Sir Robert Ker Porter (b. Durham 26 April 1777; bap. 10 July 1777; d. St. Petersburg 22 April / 4 May 1842; see Image 288) was a painter, traveler, and diplomat (IGI for County Durham; PREC STP, no. 5172, p. 285).
210. Anna Maria Porter (b. Salisbury 22 December 1778; bap. 7 September 1779; d. 21 June 1832; see Image 290) and Jane Porter

(b. Durham 3 December 1775; bap. Durham 17 January 1776; d. Bristol 24 May 1850; see Image 289) were both writers. The monument to their father and his children, from which their death dates are taken, is in Bristol Cathedral (see also “Jane Porter,” *Orlando: Women’s Writing in the British Isles from the Beginning to the Present*, Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK, accessed 28 April 2021, <http://orlando.cambridge.org/>; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Porter, Jane”).

211. The widowed Sir Robert Ker Porter, who was serving as British consul in Venezuela, had spent the winter of 1841–42 in Russia, visiting his daughter, Maria Robertovna (b. 27 May 1813 [OS]), who was married to Pyotr Evgrafovich Kikin (Elizaveta Renne, “Ser Robert Ker Porter Khudozhnik v Rossii” [“Sir Robert Ker Porter: Artist in Russia”], *Nashe Nasledie [Our Heritage]* 63–64 [2002]: p. 152). He suffered a seizure at the door of his house and once inside passed into a coma and died the next morning. In his obituary in *The St. Petersburg English Review*, his death is described as follows:

The severity of a polar winter, acting on a constitution acclimated to warmth alone by so many year’s sojourn under the tropical sun of South America, gradually undermined his health and weakened his frame ... he cheerfully made his preparations for re-embarking for her shores by the first homeward steamer in May ... On the 3rd of that month, he went by appointment to take his leave of the Emperor ... The farewell he received was accompanied by an invitation for a revisit, when the just begun new bridge of granite, to unite the two shores of the Neva, should be finished ... Meanwhile the heat of a summer sun, in a land which has no medium transition between the seasons like our spring, had that morning burst the hitherto winter cloud over the city. Every creature, more or less, feels the abrupt change; but the effect on him we lament was almost instantaneous. During his drive home, which was short, the excessive heat appears to have suddenly thawed the hitherto almost frozen up blood in his veins. In that extraordinary congelation, to his feelings, was always the term in which, whenever he did suffer himself to complain of his sensations, he described them and their petrifying influence oftentimes on his spirits. And, alas! before he reached the house door, the fearful reaction of the blood set a-flow had gushed with such violence towards his

head, that when he stepped from his carriage, which he did without assistance, he was observed to stagger; and then, by the aid of his servants, he walked into the house. But when he had reached the room where his sister was, he neither spoke nor opened his eyes more. Two physicians were instantly on the spot. Every means that medical skill could apply were used to produce some sign of revival, but in vain. For fourteen hours he continued to breathe, but lay pale and motionless as a statue, and at half past six o'clock, the ensuing morning, his mortal life became extinct." (Obituary, Sir Robert Ker Porter Papers: box 6, no. 665, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA)

The extensive "Memoir of the Late Sir Robert Ker Porter" appeared in *The St. Petersburg English Review of Literature, The Arts, and Sciences* (S. Warand and Thomas B. Shaw, eds., *First Year*, vol. 4 of *The St. Petersburg English Review of Literature, The Arts, and Sciences* [St. Petersburg: Hauer, 1842], pp. 554–562). It was probably written by his sister, Jane, who had accompanied him to Russia. Dr. George Lefevre, outgoing physician of the British Embassy (the predecessor to Dr. James Rogers), who had resigned and was returning to England, attended Porter's "last agony" (Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 3, pp. 75–76).

Porter was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery (Renne, "Ser Robert Ker Porter," p. 162). There is a discrepancy between his year of birth on the monument there (1781) and the monument in Bristol Cathedral (1777).

212. "Begone, dull care!" by an unidentified author, is "17th-century glee still sung in Victorian times" (Arthur Burrell, ed., *English Lyrical Verse* [New York: E.P. Dutton; London and Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1927], p. 23; Charles G. Wheeler and William A. Wheeler, eds., *Who Wrote It? An Index to the Authorship of the More-Noted Works in Ancient and Modern Literature* [Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1881], p. 21). The second and final stanza states: "My wife shall dance and I will sing / And merrily pass the day / For I hold it one of the greatest things / To drive dull care away."
213. Colonel Todd (see Image 278) attended the English Church in the morning and the British and American Chapel in the evening (see Images 110–111, 125). For the latter, see George H. Prince to Hardy Ropes, St.P., Feby 7 NS 1842, MHS: Ropes Papers.
214. Charles Robert, Count Nessel'rode (Karl Vasilievich Nessel'rode) (2/13 December 1780 – 11/23 March 1862; see Image 309), chancellor of the Russian Empire as of 1845, was foreign minister



- throughout the thirty-year reign of Nicholas I. Nessel'rode was a Protestant and was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery on 15/27 March 1862, after a funeral service in the English Church, performed by Edward Law, DD (PREC STP, no. 7372).
215. The French troupe permanently performed in the Mikhailovsky Theater (Viktor Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi po S. Peterburgu i ego okrestnostiam* [A Walk with Children about St. Petersburg and Its Environs], 3 vols. [St. Petersburg: Guttenberg Press, 1838], vol. 2, p. 254; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 366; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 641). From June to August, French plays were usually performed in the Stone Island (*Kamennyi Ostrov*) Theater (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 282; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 641).
  216. For the Italian opera, see Note 222 below.
  217. Psalm 58:3–5: “<sup>3</sup> The wicked are estranged from the womb: they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies. <sup>4</sup> Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear; <sup>5</sup> Which will not harken to the voice of charmers, charming ever so wisely. Also Proverbs 14:27: “The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.”
  218. John 13:34–35: “<sup>34</sup> A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. <sup>35</sup> By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.”
  219. Matthew 5:16: “Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.”
  220. The Assembly Hall of the Nobility (Dvorianskoe sobranie) (see Images 145–146) was opened on 6/18 December 1835 in the building belonging to Engel'gardt. Since the end of 1839, it has been located in a building built for it on the corner of Novo-Mikhailovskaia Street and Mikhailovsky Square (or Italianskaia Street). The purpose in setting it up was to create a gathering place in which the participants could find pleasure in dances, permitted games, the reading of newspapers, and other pursuits appropriate to an educated society. Members are hereditary nobles from all over the Empire. Guests at balls and masquerades and visitors on ordinary days may be non-hereditary nobility, honorary citizens, famous artists, and Russian and foreign merchants. Males under 17 years of age and females under 16 are not permitted. There are two categories of membership: permanent members, who have

access to the hall at any time; and visitor members, who have access only to the six balls or masquerades held annually. Permanent members each receive two tickets to the balls for the ladies in their family. The number of permanent members is reckoned to be over six hundred. Persons belonging to the social groups named above and temporarily in St. Petersburg may be visitors on ordinary days, while nobles owning their own homes in the capital, in service here and already members of other assemblies and clubs may not. The latter must be members. Twelve visitors are permitted each day and may retain this privilege for no longer than six months. The Assembly Hall is open daily from nine in the morning until two in the morning. On the days when there is a ball or masquerade, the public may not enter earlier than one hour before the event. The Assembly Hall is closed the last three days before Easter. The balls, which in recent years have been combined with masquerades, constitute the main charm that the Assembly Hall of the Nobility holds for the capital. The magnificent and spacious hall illuminated by crystal chandeliers offers many conveniences for these festive occasions. The hall is encircled by columns, behind which are raised galleries accessible by a few steps. From these galleries one can watch those dancing and make one's way around the hall without crossing the dance floor. In front of the columns around the entire hall are three rows of red divans arranged like an amphitheater. Adjoining the hall are elegant rooms for the public that are opened only on these occasions. Buffets are set up here and the public takes its ease in the coolness of these rooms after dancing. The Assembly Hall is also used for charity balls, private concerts, lotteries, etc. (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 183–185; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 650–655). The ball Deborah gave up for the opera took place on 24 January / 5 February.

221. Major Ivan Frantsevich Bouttatz held the rank of lieutenant colonel as of 6/18 December 1843 (RGIA: Fond 446, 1844, op. 13, d. 4. Vsepoddanneishie doklady GUPSiPZ 12 Dek. 1844 g. 1229 Buttats [Most Devoted Reports of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings 12 Dec. 1844 (OS), 1229 Buttats].

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.

222. Col. Bouttatz’s gift was a rare commodity. The first season of the Italian Opera of St. Petersburg ended on 29 January / 10 February 1844, and tickets had been at a premium the entire time. The repertoire consisted of ten operas: Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville* and *Otello*; Bellini’s *La Sonambula*, *Capuletti e Montecchi*, *Il Pirata*, *I Puritani*, and *Norma*; Donizetti’s *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Belisarius*; and Mozart’s *Don Giovanni* (A. Rozanov, *Polina Viardot-Garcia*, 3rd ed. [Leningrad.: Music Publishing House, 1982], p. 43). Deborah attended the matinee performance of “The Barber of Seville” on 24 January / 5 February 1844. It was one of the six operas in which Viardot-Garcia (see Image 198) sang that season (Rozanov, p. 43). One Russian newspaper had predicted that the subject of conversation during New Year’s Day visits on 1 January 1844, would be the Italian Opera, the singing of Viardot-Garcia, and how impossible it was to get a ticket in the loges (Rozanov, p. 43).

*The Barber of Seville* by Gioacchino Rossini (1792–1868) would have been performed at the Big Stone Theater (*Bol'shoi Kamennyi teatr*), which was built in 1784 on the spot where its wooden predecessor had stood. On 1 January 1811 (OS), it burned down, and 7 years later the reconstruction of a new building was completed. The main entrance has a portico with eight Doric columns and a statue in Carrara marble of Minerva, whose spear is a lightning rod. In 1836, the theater was remodeled by the architect Cavo. Its spaciousness and magnificent decor make it one of the most outstanding buildings in the capitol. When completely full, it can hold more than 2000 persons. During masquerades, a floor is placed over the orchestra seats on the same level as the stage for one-and-a-half hours, making the entire theater resemble a huge hall. Along with the foyer, it can then easily accommodate up to 12,000. The theater is intended exclusively for ballet and opera (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 638–640). It is located on Theater Square in the Second Admiralty District, Fourth Ward, on Nikol'skaia Street, between

- Ofiterskaia and Torgovaia streets, and faces the Kriukov Canal (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar*’, pp. 20, 51, 52). See also I. Bozherianov and V. Nikol’skii, *Peterburgskaia starina. 24 ocherka i rasskaza* [*Old Petersburg Days and Ways: 24 essays and stories*] St. Petersburg: N.I. Ignatov, [c. 1903], pp. 108–113.
223. This may be the same German jeweler to whose shop Mr. Ropes took Anna Whistler at Christmas 1843. She is no more specific here.
224. “My diet is very low but I am fast recovering. It is awful tedious work. The D<sup>r</sup> will not let me read any thing or talk much. As a great favour I am permitted to write this, but it is because I insist upon it... The Major offered to write for me but I could not let him. I have not even been able to be shaved so afraid are they of excitement. I am lifted out of bed by two men I now employ and I do not know as yet that I have my legs on my body, for I cannot feel them — so reduced have I been. I am a perfect skeleton. My constitution has suffered a check which it will take many months if not a year to recover — I am now satisfied this climate will never do for me. Another winter would almost kill me if not quite (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry for March 7 in letter of March 6, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 28).
225. Joseph Samuel Ropes (6 February 1818 – 14 March 1903) was the brother of William Hooper Ropes. He also worked for William Ropes and Company and was a translator of religious tracts. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
226. William Maingay (8 May 1791 – 24 April 1862) was an English merchant in St. Petersburg. See Maingay in Appendix E and Image 258. The dinner took place on 1/13 February. William Maingay reminded Anna Whistler of John Winstanley of Preston.
227. “Miss Grant” may be Elizabeth Wylie Grant (c. 1813 – 4/17 October 1901).
228. This is probably Sophia (Krehmer) Baird, Nicol Baird’s widow, whom Anna Whistler met on the boat coming to St. Petersburg. It is quite clear when she is speaking of other Baird women, such as Charles Baird’s widow (“old Mrs. Baird”) or the wife of Charles’ son, Francis (“Mrs. F. Baird”).
229. This is Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (16 January 1801 – 28 June 1877), wife of William Maingay. See Maingay in Appendix E and Images 258–259.

230. Two of the Maingay children had died in St. Petersburg: Amelia de Jersey Maingay (20 October / 1 November 1833 – 23 November / 5 December 1835) and Charles George Maingay (21 October 1830 – 15/27 January 1843; see Image 261). Anna Whistler had lost Kirk Boott Whistler (16 July 1838 – 10 July 1842) and Charles Donald Whistler (27 August 1841 – 24 September 1843), but she probably would also have included Joseph Swift Whistler (12 August 1825 – 1 January 1840), her step-son.
231. Anna Whistler could have spoken of Rev. John Nichols, her Lebanon, Connecticut, pastor; Rev. William H. Newman, her Westerly, Rhode Island, pastor; Rev. Theodore Edson, her Lowell pastor; or Rev. Henry Washington Lee (see Image 44), her Springfield pastor. I do not know what church she attended when living in Paterson, New Jersey, in the early years of her marriage. When she was a young girl living in Brooklyn, her family attended St. Ann's Church (today St. Ann's and Holy Trinity Church). Mrs. and Miss McNeill are recorded as communicants in 1821 and Dr. McNeill in 1823, during which period the Rev. Henry Ustick Onderdonk (1789–1858) was Rector ([Fish], *St. Ann's Church*, pp. 51, 193, 200, 201). It has not been possible to ascertain precisely who Mrs. Maingay's pastors were. One of them could have been Rev. James Moore (1769–1846), vicar (1814–1846) of St. Pancras Church in London, where her eldest son, William Bonamy, was baptized in October 1819 (Samuel Palmer, *St. Pancras; Being Antiquarian, Topographical, and Biographical Memoranda, Relating to the Extensive Metropolitan Parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex: with Some Account of the Parish from Its Foundation* [London: Samuel Palmer; Field & Tuer, 1870], pp. 42–43; PREC STP, no. 5563, p. 330).
232. The children are Emily Maingay (23 January / 4 February 1834 – 25 December 1890; see Image 264), who was called "Lille" or "Lily" by her family, and Frederick Thomas Maingay (1/13 May 1835 – 11 October 1862). Anna Whistler mostly wrote "Lily" and once "Lillie" and "Lilly" in the diaries.
233. This is Eliza Anne Maingay (12 February 1821 – 20 November 1899; see Image 262), called "Nina" within her family but not in the diaries.
234. This is Emma Elizabeth Maingay (6 February 1826 – 27 December 1904; see Image 263), Deborah Whistler's closest friend in St. Petersburg, maid-of-honor at her wedding, and lifelong friend in England.

235. Maslenitsa (Shrovetide) (pronounced “Mah’slineetsuh”) is derived from the word “maslo” (pronounced “mah’sluh”), which means both “butter” and “oil.” It is the equivalent of Mardi Gras week and “maslo” is equal to “gras.” The usual English translation is “Butter Week.” After this week, Orthodox Russians may not eat any animal products, including butter, in their food until Easter Sunday (T.A. Agapkina, *Èntsiklopedicheskii slovar’ A–Ia Slavianskaia mifologiia* [*Encyclopedic Dictionary A–Ia Slavic Mythology*] [Moscow: Ellis Lak, 1955], pp. 253–255, 299–301). For a detailed description of the entire Easter season, see Robert Sears, *An Illustrated Description of the Russian Empire*, rev. ed. [New York: Hurst, 1881], pp. 547–566.
236. Admiralty Square (see Image 118) is part of a vast expanse of three contiguous squares stretching from the building of the Guards Staff past the Winter Palace, the Admiralty, and St. Isaac’s Cathedral to the buildings of the Senate and Synod. Admiralty Square is the name given to the area in front of the main line of Admiralty Boulevard, from which boulevard Nevskii Prospekt, Gorokhvoi Prospekt, and Voznesenskii Prospekt fan out like rays. On this square, General Staff Headquarters are on the corner of Nevskii Prospekt; further along, between Nevskii and Gorokhvoi prospekts, are the provincial offices; and between Admiralty and Voznesenskii prospekts stands one of the biggest hotels of the capital: the London Hotel, and the Civic Society, or Burger Club. Along this same line, closer to St. Isaac’s Cathedral, stands the former home of Lobanov, which now belongs to the War Ministry. Ice hills and booths are put up on this square for Shrovetide (*Maslenitsa*) (see Image 344), while swings and booths are put up for Passion, or Holy, Week (*Sviataia Nedelia*) (see Image 345) and the public parades both in carriages and on foot (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, p. 1; Pushkarev, *Nikolaenskii Peterburg*, p. 74).
237. On 4/16 February 1844, there was to be a public masked ball at the Court of His Majesty for Russian and foreign gentry and merchants (see Image 373). Children under fifteen and members of the gentry not in costume would not be admitted. The distribution of tickets had begun on 30 January / 11 February (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 26, Wednesday, February 2 [February 14 NS] 1844, p. 113). “The Col” is Anna Whistler’s usual reference to Colonel Todd.
238. The ball in honor of the marriage of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna to his Serene Highness Prince Adolphe of Nassau was held on 2/14 February 1844. The

Grand Duke Michel is her father, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich. See Images 439, 441, 442.

239. Among the materials accompanying the manuscript of Anna Whistler's diaries is a single, abridged quotation from the Marquis de Custine's *La Russie en 1839*, in English translation. It is his description of the exhausted and nervous appearance of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna, attributed by him to the stress of (1) the Decembrist rebellion in 1825, which threatened her husband's accession to the throne and the entire Imperial family with assassination and (2) her years of bearing children (Marquis de Custine, *Empire of the Czar A Journey through Eternal Russia*, foreword by Daniel J. Boorstin; introduction by George F. Kennan [New York: Anchor – Doubleday, 1990], pp. 137–138; see also pp. 159, 161). This passage, copied in Anna Whistler's hand, is followed by her response to what she deemed to be Custine's lack of generosity and of justness in attributing the empress's debility to a subservience to the emperor and thereby suggesting an unhappy marriage. But although Custine was implying that the emperor had power, he was not saying the marriage was unhappy. Anna Whistler entitled the quotation an "Excerpt from the Marquis de Custines travels in Russia In 1842" (see Appendix B). In his biography of Aleksandra Fyodorovna, whom he knew personally, A. Th. von Grimm corroborates in detail Custine's statement and also does not suggest an unhappy marriage (A. Th. von Grimm, *Alexandra Feodorovna Empress of Russia*, trans. Lady Wallace, 2 vols. [Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1870], vol. 1, pp. 157, 246).
240. Anna Whistler sometimes made mistakes in recording dates, but rarely in recording days. The date of this entry – 26 February, which was a Monday – indicates that all the events Anna Whistler records for the previous day would have taken place on a Sunday. The Whistlers normally did not entertain, work, or amuse themselves on Sunday. Although the diaries do show that she occasionally made an exception on Sunday, I believe the date of this entry is wrong, and it cannot be a Monday. Moreover, Anna Whistler does not refer to having or not having attended church the day before, which she usually referred to when writing on Monday.
241. Reverend Henry Washington Lee (29 July 1815 – 26 September 1874; see Image 44) was rector of Christ Church, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1838–1847. He was terminated there in November 1847 (Christ Church Guild, *Christ Church Parish*

[Springfield, MA] [s.l.: s.n., 1927], pp. 30–41). “Sister Katie” is Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer.

242. This Biblical quotation may be a combination of two sources: Matthew 5:7, “Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy”; and Micah 7:18, “Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy.”
243. If the diary date of 26 February, a Monday, were correct, it would mean Rev. Law (see Image 253) and the females in his family visited them on Sunday, 25 February, but Rev. Law usually held two services on Sunday and he would also have respected the Whistlers’ request for Sunday privacy.
244. Because the diary date, 26 February, a Monday, is in doubt, the Sunday referred to here could be 18 or 25 February. It has not been possible to ascertain the name of the deceased.
245. “M<sup>rs</sup> Bodisco has been quite a lioness all winter. She is I fear spoiled for although she is pretty she is weak and ignorant – I had a conversation with her at one of the balls at the palace. The poor little fool said she would never be able to live with comfort in America there was no society there etc etc” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Mar. 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29). See Bodisco and Williams in Appendix E and Images 283–285.
246. Caesar Thompson was a Negro servant in *The Spy* (1821), a historical novel by James Fenimore Cooper (15 September 1789 – 14 September 1851).

Cooper’s family moved from his birthplace of Burlington, New Jersey, in 1790 to “a huge tract in central New York,” where his father established Cooperstown and “built a pretentious manor estate on Otsego Lake.” Cooper “spent his boyhood” here, “learning much about frontier and wilderness life from the rude inhabitants of the place” that he used “in his later writings.” Educated at Yale, he also “shipped as a merchant seaman and served for three years as a midshipman in the navy.” “He lived in New York, later in Paris, ... [and] in 1833 ... [returned to] Cooperstown” permanently.

*The Spy* (1821), his second novel, caused a furor that made him decide to be a writer. It is considered “an entertaining mixture of fighting, espionage and love.” “The central character is Harvey Birch,” “based on a real personage” who was “a secret



agent employed during the Revolution to gather information on British activities” and ran the risk of being hung by either side. Birch is “a Yankee peddler on whom George Washington (in the novel called William Harper) relies strongly. The action takes place in Westchester County, N.Y., where two bands operate, the Americans and the British. Captain Henry Wharton, of the British faction, visits his Westchester home and is almost captured, but his patriotic sister Frances persuades Mr. Harper to aid her brother. The leader of his pursuers is Major Payton Dunwoodie, betrothed to Frances. Urged by Frances to delay his pursuit, Dunwoodie uses an immediate marriage ceremony as a pretext for the delay. Birch is active in all these events, sometimes in the manner of a Yankee peddler, sometimes in the lofty style of the aristocrats. But he is depicted throughout the book as a man of noble instincts and deep patriotism who refuses all rewards.”

Cooper, while “not especially concerned with Negro rights, ... enjoyed describing Negro characters, and in ... the servant Caesar ... presented the first of his numerous full-drawn portraits of Negroes.”

“Sir Walter Scott’s *Waverley* (1814) influenced Cooper in writing [*The Spy*] and later novels. At times he makes the somewhat primitive Westchester seem like a land of chivalry transported from the Scotch Highlands or the Middle Ages. Mr. Harper resembles Bonnie Prince Charlie ... rather than the actual commander of the American armies.”

*The Spy* is also said to demonstrate “that Cooper was always ... ‘a loose, slovenly author’” (Herzberg, *Reader’s Encyclopedia of American Literature*, pp. 209–210).

247. “Yankee Doodle” is a traditional American folk song with its roots in the political conflict between the British and the nascent American nation of the eighteenth century. “Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, a British army physician, is credited with penning the ‘Yankee Doodle’ lyrics [during the French and Indian War (1754–1763)] to mock the ragtag New England militia ... – ‘Yankee doodles’... An old English nursery rhyme provided the tune, which was also used in a musical play popular in the British colonies in the mid-1700s. (Chris Carola, “Dandy New Theory Suggests ‘Yankee Doodle’ is Now 250,” *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, July 5, 2008). At the outset of the American Revolutionary War, “as opposition to British rule in the American colonies heated up, satirical songs took on a new edge. Rebellious colonists sang songs insulting Britain’s king, George III, as a drunken tyrant, and British soldiers answered with songs

ridiculing the Americans as backwoods yokels.” Written years earlier for a similar purpose, “Yankee Doodle” “was so popular with British troops that they played it as they marched to battle on the first day of the Revolutionary War. The rebels quickly claimed the song as their own, though, and created dozens of new verses that mocked the British, praised the new Continental Army, and hailed its commander, George Washington. By 1781, when the British surrendered at Yorktown, being called a ‘Yankee Doodle’ had gone from being an insult to a point of pride, and the song had become the new republic’s unofficial national anthem” (“Yankee Doodle,” *Historical Period: The American Revolution, 1763-1783*, Library of Congress online, accessed 30 April 2020, [http://www.loc.gov/teachers/lyrical/songs/yankee\\_doodle.html](http://www.loc.gov/teachers/lyrical/songs/yankee_doodle.html)).

248. It has not been possible to determine what these depredations were.
249. Mrs. Bodisco’s pastor was Rev. Stephen Griffith Gassaway (Baltimore, MD 25 September 1818 – St. Louis, MO 16 February 1854), seventh Rector of Christ Church, who served from March 1843 until 1850. “Mr. Gassaway ... came to Christ Church via Ohio, on the recommendation of [the] third Rector, the Reverend John Thompson Brooke, who was then Rector of Christ Church in Cincinnati. Mr. Gassaway went on to be Rector of Saint George’s Church in St. Louis in 1850, where he was tragically killed in an explosion on a river boat in 1854.” His pastoral skills “apparently were exceptional” (Glenn A. Metzdorf, Christ Church, Georgetown, DC, to E. Harden, 22 August and 14 September 1994). See also *Missouri Republican*, February 17 and 19, 1854, for the announcement of his death when the *Kate Kearney* exploded and for tributes to him.
250. Mrs. Bodisco’s father, Brooke Williams (1790 – 1 September 1843), Chief Clerk in the Adjutant General’s Office, died in Georgetown, DC, and was buried on 2 September 1843 (*National Intelligencer*, September 2, 1843). The infant who had died was the Bodiscos’ eleven-month-old son, 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) (Glenn A. Metzdorf, Christ Church, Georgetown, DC, to E. Harden, 22 August and 14 September 1994). See Bodisco and Williams in Appendix E.

251. If the Indian portraits were brought from the United States by Major Whistler in 1842 or by his family in 1843, some of the Indian portfolios available to them before their departure were: James Otto Lewis, *The Aboriginal Portfolio; or, A Collection of Portraits of the Most Celebrated Chiefs of North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1835–[1836]); and part of Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America... Embellished with One Hundred and Twenty Portraits of the Principle Chiefs, from the Indian Gallery in the Department of War at Washington* (Philadelphia, 1838–1844).

It is less likely that Anna Whistler may be referring to George Catlin's portraits of North American Indians. Catlin (26 July 1796 – 23 December 1872) began creating a gallery of paintings of North American Indians in 1829–1830, which he completed in 1838. This gallery of paintings and objects was exhibited in the United States in 1837–1839. In 1839, Catlin took it to London. The exhibit opened on 1 February 1840, at Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly (see Image 79), where it was on view for three years. Major Whistler, on route to Russia, was in England from some time in the latter part of June 1842 until 18 July 1842, and might have seen the exhibit then. The collection remained in England until the end of 1844 and was exhibited in Manchester, where Anna Whistler and the children could have seen it in 1843. But it is not clear whether either the Major or they could have obtained pictures in 1842 or 1843.

There was a forty-eight-page English catalogue published in 1840 with the following on the title page:

A descriptive catalogue of Catlin's Indian Gallery, containing portraits, landscapes, costumes etc., and representations of the manners and customs of the North American Indians. - Collected and painted entirely by Mr. Catlin, during seven years' travel amongst forty-eight tribes, mostly speaking different languages. - Egyptian Hall: Piccadilly, London. - Admittance, one shilling. - 1840.

*Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio* did not appear until late 1844 (London) and was available by subscription only, but when Nicholas I was in England in 1844, Catlin forwarded to him in June all the plates of his *Portfolio* then finished (Thomas Donaldson, *The George Catlin Indian Gallery in the U.S. National Museum (Smithsonian Institution), with Memoir and Statistics, from the Smithsonian Report for 1885* [Washington, DC: Government

Printing Office, 1887], pp. 1–8, 11, 701, 775, 779–793). See also, Colonel Merl Moore, Falls Church, VA, to E. Harden, 22 July 1997; “Foreign Correspondence of the Atlas,” *The Boston Daily Atlas*, Sept. 5, 1844, Dec. 24, 1844, Feb. 5, 1845; “Catlin’s North American Indian Portfolio,” *The Times* (London), Nov. 24, 1844; John C. Ewers, ed., *Indian Art in Pipestone George Catlin’s Portfolio in the British Museum* (Washington, DC: British Museum Publications & Smithsonian Press, 1979, pp. 12, 14). Colonel (Ret.) Moore was researching pre-1860 printed sources for material about American artists when we became acquainted at the National Portrait Gallery.

252. The Miss Krehmer mentioned here was the sister of Mrs. Nichol Baird (Mr. Baird’s given name also appears in documents as Nicol and Nicholas). Anna Whistler had met them on board the *John Bull*, where they had witnessed the death of two-year-old Charles Donald Whistler. Anna Whistler’s maternal grandparents came from England to Charleston, South Carolina. She refers in her letters to Charleston cousins, who are in New York in 1867 and whose house in Charleston was destroyed (Anna Whistler to Mr. James H. Gamble, Homeland, August 3, 1867, and 27 [August 1867], GUL: Whistler Collection, W526). The persons she mentions are cousin Anna Johnstone (1787-1870) at East 41st St., New York; Anna Johnstone’s niece, Mrs. Margaret Corbett (b. 1804); and Mrs. Corbett’s daughter, Elizabeth Duclos (Mrs. Polydore P. Duclos) (Anna Whistler to Mrs. Wann, Tues. morning 6th [1867], GUL: Whistler Collection, W527; Anna Whistler to Mr. Gamble, London, Sept. 7, 1870, W539). The addressees were James H. Gamble (b. 1820) and his sister, Jane (Gamble) Wann (1822–1875). Their domicile was Homeland at Vanderbilt Landing on Staten Island. See the biographies of the Charleston cousins in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
253. *Expository Sermons on the Epistles to the Seven Churches*, published in 1838, was a work written by the English divine, Henry Blunt (12 August 1794 – 20 July 1843), born at Dulwich; BA, Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1817; “Priest’s orders 20 Dec. [1818].” He was famous as a preacher, doing most of his work at Chelsea, and the author of many popular printed works arising from courses of lectures he delivered each year during the Lenten season on “various leading persons in the Old and New Testament.” These are considered his best works, “full of human interest,” practical, and marked by beauty both of language and of style. Even before going to college, he helped establish “the first Sunday school at Chelsea,” an interest that he continued to maintain later (and one

that probably endeared him to Anna Whistler). He also “introduced bible and communicant’s classes” and “published the first parish magazine, . . . the ‘Poor Churchman’s Evening Companion’” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Blunt, Henry [1794–1843]”). “Miss M” is one of the Maingay daughters, probably Eliza, whose piety Anna Whistler admired.

254. If the diary date, 26 February, a Monday, is correct, the Sunday referred to here should be 18 February.
255. It has not been possible to establish who Major Whistler’s French tutor was; however, Major Whistler did not achieve fluency in French. Anton Shtukenberg (see Image 250), a Russian colleague engaged in building the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, who had great respect and affection for him, said: “Whistler frequently visited the works and would stay with me. He spoke French badly and although our conversation was a bit labored, still it was very useful for me” (Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 514).
256. This is Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (13 October 1812 – 16 April 1894), wife of William Clarke Gellibrand and sister of William Hooper Ropes. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Hall, Prince in Appendix E and Images 266–267.
257. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* had carried a warning on this subject just a few days before:

His Majesty the Emperor has taken note of the unusually great speed of cab traffic and, in order to curtail it, has ordered the following: to announce once again to the inhabitants of the capital the Ukase of 1808, which has many times been reconfirmed and from the strict adherence to which no one and no one’s cab has been made exempt. According to the Ukase of 1808 cab drivers are not permitted to drive rapidly and carelessly. For failure to carry out this regulation and for any accident arising as a result, cab drivers will be arrested and their horses confiscated. Anyone injured as a result of such speeding will be treated in the city hospitals at the expense of those who were riding in the cabs. (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 33, Saturday, February 12 [February 24 NS], 1844, p. 145)

258. The Russian word for “cabman,” “driver,” is spelled “izvozchik” and pronounced “izvaw’shcheek” (see Images 352–352).
259. If they had paid for it and with a single coin, they would have used the silver coin called in Russian “poltinnik” or “poltina”

- (pronounced “polteen’nyeek” and “poltee’nuh”) worth half a ruble or fifty kopeks (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 54).
260. The Russian phrase for “trade rows” or “arcade of shops” (literally, “merchants’ yard”) is spelled “gostinyi dvor” and pronounced “gosstee’nee dvor’.” Designed in 1752 by Francesco-Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700–1771) in the Baroque style (“to replace a similar structure destroyed in the 1736 fire”), the plan for it was revised in the early 1760s by Vallin de la Mothe (1729–1800), who “preserved the basic features of Rastrelli’s monumental plan” of “long arcades and massive porticos,” “but stripped the design of its statuary in favor of a simple detailing of the structure,” where the “classical element appeared most explicitly in the use of Doric columns to frame the entrances.” Built from 1758 to 1785, it consists of two tiers of arcades on both the exterior and interior of the building, which has the form of a trapezoid, and stands between the Nevskii Prospekt, Bol’shaia Sadovaia Street, Chernyshev Alley, and Gostinaia Street. Its external appearance had not changed by the 1850s, but had been enhanced in recent times by the presence of luxury stores rivalling some of the best stores on the Nevskii Prospekt. Here there were individual shops selling, for example, mirrors, perfume, tobacco, china, table linens, yard goods, furniture, antiques, and paintings. Inside the Gostinyi Dvor, with its arcades paralleling the exterior of the building, was a second set of shops with storerooms and warehouses and shops selling iron and brass wares. In the central courtyard was a weighing station (all material in the design of the building and all quoted material is from Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 261; the rest is from Bur’ianov, *Progulka s det’mi*, vol. 2, pp. 161–163; Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 160–164; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 561–562). Mrs. Gellebrand in this entry, also called “Mrs. G,” is Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Images 266–267).
261. A “mantua maker” is a dressmaker (C. Willett Cunnington, Phillis Cunnington, and Charles Beard, *A Dictionary of English Costume* [London: Adam and Charles Black, [1960]], p. 133).
262. In the 18th century, “cardinal” referred to “a ¾-length hooded cloak” worn by ladies, usually of scarlet cloth. In the 19th century, it referred to “a shorter cloak ending about waist-level and without hood or collar” and was “fashionable in 1840s” (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, p. 38).
263. “Gymp (gimp)” refers to “silk, worsted or cotton twist with a cord or wire running through it,” which was used for trimming

or decoration on clothing and upholstery (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “gymp”).

264. There was a dual monetary system in Russia: paper money and silver. Paper money, which appeared in Russia in 1769, was called “assignatsii” or “bankovskie biletii” (bank notes). At first, a paper ruble was equal to a silver one, but because too much paper money not backed by silver was released, the rate of exchange began to fall. Copper and paper money were treated as equal, but silver money was valued at a higher rate. One silver ruble began to be considered the equivalent of four paper rubles. In 1839, the rate of exchange was officially fixed, making one silver ruble equal to 3.5 paper rubles. Around 1843, state credit notes (*kreditnyye biletii*) were introduced instead of “assignatsii,” which were removed from circulation. People nevertheless called these notes by the old name for a long time (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, pp. 56–57). Anna Whistler sometimes refers to the paper ruble as “banco,” from the other term, “bankovskie biletii” (bank notes), used to mean “assignatsii.”
265. “Bombazine” was a “twilled or corded dress-material, composed of silk and worsted; sometimes also of cotton and worsted, or of worsted alone. In black the material is much used in mourning” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “bombazine”).
266. The first school for training the choristers of the Imperial Court Chapel Choir (so renamed in 1763) was established by Imperial decree in 1738, during the reign (1730–1740) of Empress Anna Ioannovna (1693–1740). The school and lodgings are housed in a state-owned building on the Moika Canal at Choir Bridge (*Percheskii most*). The boys are recruited when young and come mainly from the Ukraine. They receive a general and musical education in classes at the choristers’ school and are salaried. Those whose voices change enter the civil service, while those whose voices do not change remain lifetime members of the choir.

The director of the Imperial Court Chapel during the Whistlers’ St. Petersburg sojourn was Aleksei Fyodorovich L’vov (1798–1870; see Image 195). L’vov had no particular expertise in church music but was an “accomplished amateur violinist,” whose travels in the retinue of Nicholas I enabled him to meet “the leading European musicians of his time” and to gain “an international reputation as a musician.” He was chosen for the director’s post in 1837 by Nicholas I because of close personal ties, forged in part by his musical reputation and his training as

an engineer and military officer, a training that always appealed to this emperor. More importantly, “in 1833 he won Nicholas’ special favor by composing the hymn ‘God Save the Tsar’, which became the Russian national anthem.” Wishing “to establish a uniform standard of church singing throughout his realm,” Nicholas I gave L’vov enormous powers of censorship, which he exercised to an intimidating degree. During L’vov’s 24-year tenure as director, “the only compositions added to those already approved under Bortniansky [(1751–1825) [a predecessor] were his own.” If the choice of repertoire was conservative and limited, the ordinary one-time visitor to the choir’s rehearsals would probably be unaware; however, Clara Schumann (see Image 199), who did not like L’vov, was aware. Together with her husband (see Image 200), she attended the choir rehearsal on 25 February / 8 March 1844. Her response was: “Unfortunately they sang really mediocre compositions, surely including some by L’vov” (Nauhaus, *Marriage Diaries*, p. 250).

Still, what particularly struck “visiting foreign musicians,” but other visitors as well, were the technical excellence and sonority of the Imperial Court Chapel Choir performances, the unique mellowness of the singing, which made the “choir resemble a grandiose organ, the magnificence and effect of which upon an impressionable listener’s nervous system is beyond description.” Clara Schumann recorded that it was “the first chorus we have ever heard, the basses resemble organ basses at times, and the sopranos often sound quite supernatural, more beautiful than the most beautiful women’s voices” (Nauhaus, p. 250). And Berlioz, visiting Russia in 1847, noted: “In our time we have no doubt that the Choir of Court Singers in Russia surpasses all choirs that exist at this moment in the entire world ... To compare the choral performance in the Sistine Chapel in Rome with these wondrous singers is the same as comparing a miserable little troupe of fiddlers in a third-rate Italian theater with the orchestra of the Paris Conservatoire. The effect of the music performed by this choir upon nervous people is irresistible. At those incredible accents you feel that you are being overwhelmed, almost to the point of pain, by a nervous state that you don’t know how to control. Several times I attempted in these circumstances to remain calm, straining my will power, but I could never succeed” (Most of the information in this note and all quotations, except the Schumann quotations, are taken from Vladimir Morosan, *Choral Performance in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* [Madison, CT: Musica Russica, 1994], pp. 57–83. Additional information is taken from



Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 463–464; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 416–419). Predisposed to a similar nervous receptivity by a constitution overwrought with grief at the loss of two young children in the previous two years that released in turn memories of others “that have gone before,” Anna Whistler, too, was overwhelmed.

Rehearsals took place every Friday morning and entrance was by ticket (Nauhaus, *Marriage Diaries*, p. 250). Major, Anna, and Deborah Whistler, together with Emma Maingay, attended a rehearsal on 18 February / 1 March.

267. “Kvas” “is the plainest and cheapest sort of drink, extracted from malt, sometimes from bread-crusts – and is commonly drunk by the people; at first its taste is quite insupportable, but one soon gets accustomed to it and prefers it to any other beverage, especially in summer, on account of its cooling properties. It is very wholesome, not intoxicating, and constitutes the chief drink of the Russian people” (Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 69). There are various kinds of kvas, some with fruit or herbs added. The recipe given here is for a simple Russian bread kvas (*russkii khlebnyi kvas*):

Cut black bread into small slices and dry in oven. Pour boiling water over the rusks. Strain after 10–12 hours. Mix yeast and wheat flour in a small amount of rusk infusion. Leave in a warm place to rise. Brew some mint in the rusk infusion, boil well, and add sugar. As soon as the yeast rises, pour it into the sugar infusion, add the mint and sugar, mix and put it in a warm place until a thick foam appears. Remove the foam carefully, strain the liquid and pour into bottles, without filling them to the top. Seal the bottles tightly with corks and stand them in a cold place. In twelve hours the kvas will be ready. (V.S. Mikhailov, *Pravoslavnaiia kukhnia [Russian Orthodox Cooking]* [Moscow: Kubka, 1996], p. 65)

268. Carolyn C. Dunlop, *The Russian Court Chapel Choir 1796-1917*, vol. 1, Music archive publications, series F (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2000), pp. 21, 22.
269. Emma Maingay (see Image 263) spent 9 March 1844 with the Whistlers.
270. The volume was *Christian Meditations; or, The Believer's Companion in Solitude* by Thomas Shaw Bancroft Reade, Esquire (1777 – Leeds 12 April 1841). It was published soon after his death (London: Hamilton, Adams; Leeds: J.Y. Knight, 1841). He was also the

- author of *Christian Experience* (London, 1832) and *Christian Retirement* (12th ed., Kirkby Lonsdale: Arthur Foster, 1840) (Laureen Baillie, ed., *British Biographical Archive* [New York: K.G. Saur, c. 1986], microfiche; British Library catalogue). Anna Whistler's information about when Reade died does not coincide with the facts (*The Leeds Intelligencer & Yorkshire Advertiser*, April 17, 1841).
271. For the United States, see *The Book of Common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, According to the Use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America: Together with The Psalter, or Psalms of David* (Philadelphia: Female Protestant Episcopal Prayer-Book Society of Pennsylvania, 1839). For England, see *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of The United Church of England and Ireland: Together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, Pointed As They Are To Be Sung or Said in Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* (Oxford: Printed at the University Press, 1839).
272. As Calvary Church, the Episcopalian Church in Stonington, Connecticut, was not completed until May 1849 (consecrated on 31 May 1849), when the Whistlers lived in Stonington they attended services at the Westerly Church, the Episcopalian Church in Westerly, Rhode Island (Minor Myers Jr., *History of Calvary Church, Stonington* [Stonington, CT: Calvary Churchwomen, 1973], p. 14). Their means of transportation was a handcar ("The early years and boyhood of James MacNeill Whistler," by Miss Emma W. Palmer, GUL: Whistler Collection, P44).
273. This is Katherine Prince (13 April 1820 – 19 November 1906), daughter of the Whistlers' friends, John Dynely Prince (12 August 1779 – 5 January 1860), superintendent of the Merrimac Print Works in Lowell, Massachusetts, and Susan (Travers) Prince (d. 15 June 1867). Her married name was Livermore. It has not been possible to locate this note.
274. This is Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (21 September 1817 – 21 July 1906, wife of Joseph Harrison Jr. Her husband, who had gone to Russia in 1843, was a partner in the firm of Harrison, Winans, and Eastwick, making the locomotives and rolling stock in Russia for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. See the biographies of the Harrison family in Appendix E (hereafter, Harrison) and Images 226–227.

275. It has not been possible to locate this letter written by William Gibbs McNeill to Major Whistler.
276. Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22) was with her son, Charles Johnston McNeill, in Florida.
277. As a verb, “avail” has among its meanings “to be of use” or “to afford help.”
278. James Whistler (c. 1796 – 11 October 1843), brother of Major G.W. Whistler, had at his death “no family” (CHS: *Whistler*, p. 3; Cheryl Whistler Garrison, “Descendants of Major John Whistler,” ancestry.com; *Times-Picayune*, Tuesday, October 17, 1843). It would be logical to assume that the announcement of his death was made in the letter from his niece, Eliza Van Vee (Eliza Van Vechten), to his niece, Deborah Whistler, rather than in the letter from Catherine Julia McNeill, his other niece, known as Deborah’s “Twin.” See his biography in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
279. The reference is to Cousin Caroline (Whistler) Bloodgood and her husband, William. See Note 156 above and Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
280. This is Sophia (Krehmer) Baird, whom they visited on Saturday, 16 March 1844.
281. This is Lydia (Procter) Wood (26 November 1810 – 22 April 1880), whose husband, Charles, was engaged in the manufacture of cotton cloth in Russia. See the biography of the Wood family in Appendix E (hereafter, Wood) and Images 271–272. Anna Whistler had hoped to see her at the sociable on Thursday, 21 March.
282. The Russian command for “Stop!” is both spelled and pronounced “stoy.”
283. Here, Anna Whistler comes much closer than before in rendering the pronunciation of the Russian word for “cabman,” “driver,” spelled “izvozchik” and pronounced “izvaw’shcheek” (see Images 352–353).
284. Anna Whistler also sent via Maxwell “a doll dressed in the Russian national costume for his sister, Agness” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry for June 8 in letter of Sunday, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
285. This is Julia McNeill Palmer (25 March 1841 – 22 February 1902), daughter of Catherine Jane (McNeill) and Dr. George E. Palmer

- (see Image 36) of Stonington, Connecticut. Her married name was Boardman.
286. It has not been possible to ascertain when this “bazaar for the poor” was held during the week of 11–16 March. Maxwell writes on 26 March of “a fair only three days ago at the English Parsons” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29), which took place after Anna Whistler’s entry of 22 March.
  287. It was the third birthday of Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, born 15 March 1841.
  288. Because James had been ill and missed his drawing lesson, Anna Whistler broke her rule and allowed him to have a lesson on Sunday, 17 March 1844. On the same day, she drove with her husband and William Hooper Ropes, as interpreter, to look at a house on the Peterhof Road for the summer because Mr. Ropes was free on Sunday.
  289. Among the tutors hired by the Whistlers in 1844 was a drawing teacher named Monsieur Vaney. We know only that he was in their employ until they left in May to spend the summer in a dacha on the Peterhof Road.
  290. The Peterhof Road runs along the shore of the Gulf of Finland in a broken line, sometimes approaching the shore, sometimes receding from it. Its length, measured from Kalinkin Bridge in St. Petersburg to the Imperial Palace and town of Peterhof, is twenty-eight versts. The road consists of a highway with elevated paths for pedestrians. Along its tract are to be found the Gates of the Russian Guard, Tentelev Village, Krasnyi Kabachok, the Hospital of All That Mourn (an insane asylum), the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, Strel’na and, just before Peterhof, Alexandria, the personal palace of Nicholas I (see Images 395–403). In addition to these places of interest, magnificent dachas are to be found along both sides of the road (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 432–433). Dachas of far greater simplicity are also to be found here, some built on land on which villas have been razed. Such was the dacha the Whistlers finally rented.
  291. Which four houses they inspected cannot be determined, but they chose a house on the estate of Thomas Drury Sr., located “about 3½ miles from the city barrier.” It was “a fine large house with improved grounds. furnished,” for which they agreed to “pay \$225. for the season,” which meant they could stay the entire year, if they wished, but it was “not intended for cold weather” (Major

- G.W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, entry of May 18 in letter of April 4, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers). “The house stands upon the spot once occupied by the large house of the Princess Narishkin, the Mistress of Alexander. This villa has long since been pulled down and the property sold - It was bought by a man named Drury who built three country houses upon it - one of which is his own residence and another of Major W” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35). See M.I. Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe okrestnostei Peterburga* [*The Forgotten Past of the Environs of Petersburg* (St. Petersburg: A.S. Suvorin, 1889; Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1994), 1889 ed., p. 129.
292. Anna Whistler finished her despatches on Tuesday, 19 March 1844.
293. This reference is to Joseph Harrison Jr. (20 September, 1810 – 27 March 1874), American locomotive engine builder from Philadelphia, partner in the firm of Harrison, Winans, and Eastwick, which was engaged in constructing in Russia the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. See Harrison in Appendix E and Image 226.
294. This may be a reference to a jigsaw puzzle. See Yevgenia Petrova, ed., *Play and Passion in Russian Fine Art* (St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei, 1999), p. 47.
295. There was no Chapman child named John. Perhaps “Johnnie” was used to distinguish the child James from his father of the same name (conversation with Robin Spencer [retired] of St. Andrew’s University in Scotland).
296. There is no letter from Mr. Harrison from Berlin among the correspondence to the Whistlers. The carbon copies he made of his letters in a special letterbook indicate that while in Berlin he wrote letters, but did not use the letterbook, called “Wedgwood’s Patent Manifold Writer.”
297. This is the Russian word for a “covered sledge,” spelled “kibitka” and pronounced “keebeet’kuh” (see Image 354).
298. This reference is to Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Image 227) and their children, William Henry Harrison (23 December 1837 – 10 March 1886) and Annie Harrison (25 December 1839 – 1915) (RG84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Diplomatic Posts, American Embassy, Great Britain, C18.2: London Passport Book 1836–1845, NAUS [hereafter, NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2], passport nos. 1097

- and 1099, destination: St. Petersburg). See also Harrison in Appendix E.
299. Anna Whistler is referring to the resumption of celebrations in Admiralty Square during Holy Week (see Images 378–379 for icons of the Holy Week feast days).
300. The first 147 bridges across the Neva were floating bridges (see Image 99). Work to replace them with permanent ones started in the 1840s and Annunciation Bridge (see Images 140–142) was the first built (G.I. Bogdanov, “Problemy sokhraneniia mostov Sankt-Peterburga” [“Problems in the Preservation of the Bridges of St. Petersburg”], *Peterburgskie chteniia* 96 [1996]: p. 281). Work on it had commenced on 1/13 January 1843. Major Whistler did not live to see it completed. It was being built “from a point where the Kriukov Canal entered the [Grand] Neva on its left bank to a point on the right bank between Lines 5 and 6 near the Academy of Arts on Vasilievskii Ostrov. The left bank end of the bridge was near the Annunciation Church [see Image 131] and square of the same name” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 362), which the Whistlers lived very close to. Work was being carried out under the direction of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings, headed by Count P.A. Kleinmikhel’ (see Image 243), and under the chairmanship of Lt. Colonel (after December 1843) of Engineers M.G. Destrem (see Image 246) (Haywood, pp. 362–363). In charge of building the bridge was Major of Engineers S.V. Kerbedz (Haywood, pp. 361–363). It was completed in 1850 and opened on 21 November / 2 December 1850 by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), who walked across it (Haywood, pp. 364–365). It was popularly called the Nicholas Bridge. “Harrison, Winans and Eastwick played a secondary but still very important role” in the construction of the bridge, “producing and installing in ... 1848–1850 the cast iron works for [it]” (Haywood, p. 360).
301. Anna Whistler’s statement implies that the bridge had to be completed by the time the ice broke up in 1844, but the driving of piles for the piers had just begun. “Because of the difficulty of laying the foundations of the piers, which was the most difficult task of all, work began to fall behind schedule” and “had to be suspended once the ice was about to break up, which in that year happened in early April” (Haywood, p. 363). “The driving of piles” was not completed until “spring of 1846” (Haywood, pp. 363–364).

302. “The Emperor, is frequently seen in the Nevsky. His approach will be noticed by the unusual flutter of the crowd ... Hats fly off, and each one wheels to the right-about, and waits the approach of his Imperial Majesty. If he rides, it is in an old and forlorn barouche or sleigh; if he walks, it is alone and at a moderate pace. There is nothing in his appearance to attract attention. A tall figure in a chapeau and plume, a dark cloth cloak and strapless pantaloons, passes along, receives the homage of his subjects, gives them the military salute in return, and disappears before the multitude have recovered from their surprise” (Maxwell, *Czar*, pp. 91–92); see also the entry of June 19 [1847], BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 57–58.
303. The Mikhailovsky Theater, also called the Michel Theater, was located on the square of the Mikhailovsky Palace (see Image 135), in which Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439), brother of Emperor Nicholas I, lived. The theater, built by the architect Aleksandr Pavlovich Briullov (1798–1877), was located on the corner of Engineer (*Inzhenernaia*) Street and is a brief walk from the Nevskii Prospekt. Its architecture renders it undistinguishable from the private homes in its vicinity. It can seat up to 900 persons and has a large stage and good acoustics. It was opened on 8/20 November 1833. Mainly performances by the French troupe were given in this theater, but sometimes the German troupe presented comedies here (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 365–366; Jerermann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, pp. 99–100; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 640–641).
304. Clara (Wieck) Schumann (Leipzig 13 September 1819 – Frankfurt 20 May 1896; see Image 199) played her fourth and final public concert in St. Petersburg on 17/29 March 1844, at 8 p.m. at the Mikhailovsky Theater to a full house. Each half of the concert also contained a vocal performance by Wilhelm Versing (1811–1879), bass of the German Opera and also of the Italian Opera in St. Petersburg (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhibizn' Peterburga*, p. 172). The program for the first part of the concert consisted of: Overture; Concerto in G minor for piano and orchestra by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy; aria by Mozart (Mr. Versing); Scherzo by Clara Schumann; “Gretchen am Spinnrade” by Schubert/Liszt; Étude in A minor by Chopin. The second part of the concert consisted of: Overture; “Lied ohne Worte” by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy; Étude “Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär” by Henselt (1814–1889); Prelude and Fugue by Bach (by request); songs (sung by Mr. Versing); Concert Piece in F minor for piano and orchestra by Weber (Nauhaus, *Schumann Tagebücher*,

p. 542n648). Clara Schumann recorded that without the “clear profit of over 1000 rubles silver [they] made [they] would have had trouble leaving Petersburg” (Nauhaus, *Marriage Diaries*, p. 266). I wish to thank Dr. Gerd Nauhaus, Director of the Robert-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau, Germany, for supplying photocopies of the programs of the four public concerts given in St. Petersburg by Clara Schumann. Anna Whistler, who did not attend either of the concerts she mentions, probably knew of Clara W. Schumann only from Debo and her friends, nor did she know German. She could not recall Schumann’s last name when writing the diary entry and probably wrote “V” for her middle name, given the pronunciation of “W” like “V” in German. She probably heard Debo, who was studying German, pronounce the name.

305. The Smol’nyi Institute for the Education of Young Noblewomen (see Image 147) was founded by Catherine the Great in 1764 and “modelled after Mme de Maintenon’s seminary at St Cyr” (Hamilton, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 180, 190). The boarding school was first housed in the Resurrection Newmaiden Convent, “an establishment for orphan girls,” which had been designed by Rastrelli (1700–1771) for Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) (Hamilton, pp. 180, 190). The more usual name for this Convent was the Smol’nyi Convent, from the Russian word for “tar” (*smola*), because of its proximity to the area where tar had been stored for the navy in the time of Peter the Great. The future building for the school (1806–1808), built next to the Smol’nyi Convent, was designed by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817), who considered it his masterpiece (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, pp. 250–253, 271, 292, 295–296, 319; Dmitrii Shvidkovskii, *St. Petersburg: Architecture of the Tsars*, ill. Alexander Orloff, trans. John Goodman [New York; London; Paris: Abbeville Press, 1996], pp. 65–66, 71, 100, 102, 103; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 1, pp. 65–71). It was located on the corner of Voskresenskaia Naberezhnaia Street and Orlovskaiia Street on the Grand Neva in the Rozhdestvenskaia District, Fourth Ward (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, pp. 103, 104). For a detailed description of the pupils’ activities, chiefly in the time of Catherine the Great, see Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 46–55; for the 1830s, see Bur’ianov, *Progulka s det’mi*, vol. 2, pp. 324–331.

Clara Schumann played informally at the Smol’nyi Convent on the afternoon of 15/27 March 1844. In her diary, she did not indicate what she played. She dwelt rather on her embarrassment



at the attentions paid her by the young women: “Wednesday the 27th/15 ... Around 1 o’clock at the invitation of Prince von Oldenburg [see Image 294] we drove to the Smolny Convent, where aristocratic young women are educated and for whom, since they are not allowed to go out, I was supposed to play. ... I played a lot, and afterward had to make a tour among all the ladies, all of whom wanted to thank me - I could well have been like a queen if my face hadn’t revealed my embarrassment and the unfamiliarity of this role. Later we made the tour through the inner rooms of the institute, always accompanied by a troupe of young girls, one of whom wanted to carry my gloves, another my wrist warmer, the third my shawl, etc., and wouldn’t give these back until we had arrived at the staircase, where a unanimous chorus of repeated thank-yous rang out. Despite the many embarrassments that followed one another here, the thing did give me much pleasure” (Nauhaus, *Marriage Diaries*, pp. 264–265). Deborah Whistler attended the concert with the Maingay family.

306. Anna Whistler omitted the word “letter” here. It has not been possible to locate this letter.
307. This is George Edwin Palmer Jr. (8 May 1843 – 24 March 1909), son of Dr. George Edwin Palmer and his second wife, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, of Stonington, Connecticut. The writer is Maria (Cammann) McNeill. It has not been possible to locate this letter. For the obituary of George Edwin Palmer Jr., see *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, Sat., 26 March 1909, p. 7, col. 7. See also his biography in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
308. Anna Whistler probably meant “when.”
309. Rather than come to Russia, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22) had decided to go to Florida to stay with her younger son, Charles. Anna Whistler’s remarks to Mr. and Mrs. Gamble, on receiving the news in April 1869 of her brother’s death, reflect her certainty that he had indeed been positively influenced by their mother: “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 with* for God has taken him!” (Anna Whistler to my dear friends, London May 6<sup>th</sup> [18] 69, GUL: Whistler Collection, W 536).

310. The word “budget” means “a bundle.” Anna Whistler is referring to the bundle of mail they had received.
311. *Galignani’s Messenger* was a newspaper founded in 1814 in Paris by Giovanni Antonio Galignani (1757–1821), a bookseller, and carried on by his sons, John (1796–1873) and William (1798–1882). It was popular among English residents on the Continent. They also published reprints of English books (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Galignani, John [1796–1873]” and “Galignani, William [1798–1882]”; “Unique Mission of Gallagnani’s Messenger Has Ended,” *New York Times*, August 21, 1904).
312. On 28 February 1844, the man-of-war USS *Princeton* was making an excursion with some 350 guests on board. On its return journey, when about two or three miles from Alexandria, Virginia, the large gun called the “Peacemaker” was fired for the third time. The gun burst, “split into two parts and [broke] entirely off the gun’s barrel,” killing the secretary of state, Abel P. Upshur (b. 17 June 1790); the secretary of the Navy, Thomas W. Gilmer (b. 6 April 1802); Colonel David Gardiner (b. 1784) of East Hampton, New York, formerly a state senator; Commodore Beverly W. Kennon (b. 7 April 1795), chief of the Bureau of Construction, Equipment and Repairs of the Navy; Mr. Virgil Maxcy (b. 5 May 1785) of Maryland, “the recent U.S. chargé d’affaires at The Hague”; two sailors; and I. More, the valet of the president of the United States. Captain Stockton was injured (Edward L. Beach, Captain, U.S.N. (retired), *The United States Navy: A 200-Year History*, The American Heritage Library [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986], pp. 196–222; *The National Intelligencer*, February 29, 1844; *New York Herald*, March 1, 1844). For a conversation on the subject of accidents between Major Whistler and Nicholas I after this event, see Major G.W. Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 4, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers.
313. Donald McNeill Fairfax (10 March 1821 – 10 January 1894), Anna Whistler’s nephew, was the son of her elder sister, Isabella Kingsley (McNeill) Fairfax (c.1798 – c.1850) and of George William Fairfax (5 November 1797 – June 1853). He was at this time a “passed midshipman” in the United States Navy. He had indeed been on the *Princeton*. The other incident in which he had escaped death was the destruction of the *Missouri* by fire in Gibraltar Harbor on 26 August 1843 (*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). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E and Image 38.

314. Palm Sunday, celebrating the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem, is the Sunday immediately preceding Easter Sunday: 19/31 March in 1844 (see Image 378). In Russian it is called “pussy willow” Sunday (*verbnoe voskresenie*). Generally the cycle of spring holidays began a week before Easter, on the Saturday of the eve of Palm Sunday. In St. Petersburg, there was a kind of fair called “the pussy willows” that was set up in front of the Gostinyi Dvor along its Nevskii Prospekt and Sadovaia Street sides. The populace celebrated under the arches of these arcades of shops, and there was a brisk trade, mainly in bunches of pussy willow branches decorated with paper flowers and wax cherubs, and in balloons, toys, and sweets. As Lent was not yet over, there was no real revelling, but the appearance of masses of people in the streets, the noise and shoving of the crowd, the witty loud cries of the pedlars and hawkers and the sellers of pussy willow branches and toys was all taken as a kind of rehearsal for the big popular celebration of Easter to come in Admiralty Square (A.F. Nekrylova, *Russkie narodnye gorodskie prazdniki, uveseleniia i zrelishcha. Konets XVIII nachalo XX veka* [*Russian Folk Holidays, Amusements and Entertainments Celebrated in the City: From the End of the 18th to the Beginning of the 20th Centuries*], 2nd ed. [Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1988], p. 20). This fair, according to Anna Whistler, who was writing on the Friday before Palm Sunday, had been going on all the previous week (see Image 345).
315. Maxwell took James and Willie to Admiralty Square during Easter Week, and, making a comparison of this same “ebullition of joy” to the sombreness of the Russian character he was observing, pompously and patriotically interpreted their vivacity as the manifestation of freedom by the citizens of a free land, not understood for what it was by those who were not free:

Last week (Easter week) I took my dear little friends the Major's boys. in my carriage and falling into line with the procession of vehicles. went up and down the Square of the Admiralty, where the clown's of the circus upon the balconies and the clowns of the crowd upon the street excited equal laughter. These boys besides their beauty are very different from all the children you see in this country. The early intelligence of youth with us is well known to be remarkable. Here this is very striking - when these boys

are compared with those around them, but this character. is nothing in point of singularity to that which I especially noticed on this occasion. The Russians great and small, in hundreds filled the great square gazing upon the various objects presented for their admiration. They were not a merry nor a noisy assemblage as we comprehend ~~this~~ the merriment and noise of an assembly. ~~and~~ but the very youngest of them all seemed as demure and sedate as if stricken in years. This population from whatever cause always and on all occasion's presents this sombre and melancholy picture and I would not have had my attention particularly attracted by it, had it not been for the noisy companions I had in charge. Every thing at all extraordinary, a Harlequin Punchinello etc were noticed with a noisy vivacity that not only drew the eyes of the bystanders, but also those of the police as I imagine - and had I not been rather more than an ordinary person, one having privileges, I would have been disposed to check my merry friends. Look there! haurra! hallo! sung out the youngsters in great glee every few moments, to the astonishment of the passers by. who perhaps trembled for the audacity of the rising generation. Little did they dream that the musical voices that were ringing in their ears, and the sparkling eyes and fine curling heads of hair, they saw belonged to a free and far off land, and that in their midst, these gifts of nature seemed alone the gifts of God to the sons of freedom. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 32)

316. Jacks is Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill (3 October 1835 – 22 April 1898), son of Maria (Cammann) and William Gibbs McNeill. He is also the Jacky mentioned in the following sentence of the diaries. See his biography in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
317. Willie Wyatt is William Wyatt McNeill (October 1833 – 4 June 1853), brother of Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill. See his biography in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
318. A cosmorama is a collection of views, of truly remarkable monuments, buildings, sites from all over the world, illuminated by daylight or fire and constructed in such a way that one looks at these views from a dark room through a magnifying glass. Such a public cosmorama was available all through the winter of 1845

- in St. Petersburg near the Alexandrine Theater on the Nevskii Prospekt (Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 306–309, 309n133).
319. In the week before Easter Sunday, swings (see Image 346) were added to the carousels and theater booths being rebuilt in Admiralty Square. Just as Butter Week, celebrated when it was still winter, was characterized by ice hills (see Image 344), so Easter week, part of the spring celebration, was characterized by swings (*kacheli*), a wooden ferris-wheel with four cars (Nekrylova, *Russkie narodnye gorodskie prazdniki*, p. 22; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 269n65). The Russian word for “swings” is spelled “*kacheli*” and pronounced “*kahchay’lee*,” and is a plural. Anna Whistler was using the Russian singular form with the English plural suffix -s, probably the usage of her friends.
320. Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 363.
321. Passion Week was 19–25 March / 31 March – 6 April 1844, culminating in Easter Sunday, 26 March / 7 April.
322. Good Friday occurred on 24 March / 5 April 1844.
323. Luke 14:10–11: “<sup>10</sup> But when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room; that when he that bade thee cometh, he may say unto thee, Friend, go up higher: then shalt thou have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee. <sup>11</sup> For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted.”
324. “By the way let me say a word on Good Friday. These days of high church festival are observed here with much more particularity than elsewhere in Europe. In our Country, we know nothing of them and I am sure like nine tenths of the people of the US. I could not tell when I first arrived whether Lent preceded or followed Easter. Good Friday in St. Petersburg is the only real Sabbath in as far as the observance of religious worship is concerned that is known here. I knew that the folks up stairs, (as M<sup>rs</sup> W is very pious) had gone to prayers every morning in the English Chapel, ... but on this day, Good Friday, I did not hear the piano going, the organ grinders who have just thawed out, did not pass my windows as usual, and there was a remarkable quiet in every respect. ~~On~~ From the family on their return from church I heard that it was crowded to excess, that many English, who have become half Russian in their habits, were present, and that Count Nesselrode [see Image 309], who is a protestant, paid his annual visit to the holy alters. In fact there are hundreds of the upper or wealthy order, who like Count Nesselrode think it

sufficient for them to attend only on Good Friday” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 7. Easter Sunday. 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 31).

325. The Cathedral of the (Icon of) the Kazan Mother of God (see Image 126) is located on the Nevskii Prospekt in the Second Admiralty District. The earlier Kazan Cathedral was built in 1733. The present cathedral was designed and built by the architect Andrei Nikiforovich Voronikhin (1759–1814). Constructed over a period of ten years, it was consecrated on 15/27 September 1811.

Both the exterior of the Kazan Cathedral and the Corinthian columns adorning it are made of Pudozh limestone, which is yellowish-gray in color. It was used as well for the architraves, bas reliefs, statues and other decorations. The capitals of the columns are also of Pudozh stone, while the bases are of cast iron. The portico on the Nevskii Prospekt side is embellished with colossal bronze statues of John the Baptist and princes Vladimir, Alexander Nevsky, and Andrew the First-Called. The magnificent bronze doors located on this side were modeled on the famous “Gates of Paradise” of the Baptistery in Florence. The semicircular colonnade consists of 132 columns and is 40 sazhen in diameter. It contains a colossal bronze statue of the Archangel Gabriel at one end and the Archangel Michael at the other, each on a granite pedestal. The cupola of the building, 9 sazhen in diameter, consists of six rectangular Corinthian pilasters and is covered by an oval vault with a gilded cross on top. The cathedral, including the cross, is just over 33 sazhen high. The internal structure of the cathedral is cruciform. In the center rises the cupola with its sixteen windows. From the four pillars under the cupola there is a double-rowed Corinthian colonnade of 56 pink Finnish granite columns going in four directions, to the main altar and the three main doors of the cathedral. Each column has a bronze capital and base. There are three altars. The main altar is dedicated to the Kazan Mother of God, that on the right to the Birth of the Most Holy Mother of God and that on the left to Antonii and Feodosii, the miracle-working saints of the Kiev Cave Monastery.

The miracle-working icon of the Kazan Mother of God, in a mounting (*rižu*) of pure gold decorated with precious stones and pearls, is to be found in a special case on the main iconostasis to the left of the Royal Doors. This icon accompanied the Russian Army in 1812. The iconostasis of the main altar is covered in silver donated by the ataman of the Don troops, who had seized it from the French, who had pillaged it in Moscow. Trophies of

the wars of 1812, 1813, and 1814 hang over the tomb of Prince Mikhail Illarionovich Golenishchev-Kutuzov-Smolenskii (5/16 September 1745 – 16/28 April 1813), commander-in-chief of the Russian Army, who was buried here in 1813. In the square in front of the cathedral on the Nevskii Prospekt are bronze statues of Prince Kutuzov and Prince Mikhail Bogdanovich Barclay de Tully (1761–1818), also a hero of 1812, which were unveiled on 25 December 1837 / 6 January 1838. On the east side of the cathedral is the Catherine Canal and Kazan Bridge; on the west side there is a semicircular square (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 2, pp. 197–208; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 277, 552; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 1, pp. 83–87; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 132–136).

326. On re-entering the church, it is the priest who speaks. He calls out “Christ Is Risen!” and the congregation responds “Verily He Is Risen!”
327. The Catholic Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria, Maiden and Martyr, the oldest and largest Catholic church in St. Petersburg (see Image 127), is located on the Nevskii Prospekt across the street from the tower of the Town Hall. Its court yard and building come out in back onto Mikhailovskii Square. The church is built on a spot granted by Empress Anna Ioannovna in ukases of 1738 and 1739. The project for designing the church, entrusted first to Pietro Antonio Trezini (1710–1768), was given in 1759 to Vallin de La Mothe, who basically changed it. The foundation of the building was laid on 16/27 July 1763, but because of financial difficulties it took more than twenty years to complete. Initially the construction was directed by Antonio Rinal'di (1710–1798), at the culminating stage by the architect D. Minchaki (b. 1754). The money for its construction was given partly by the state treasury, partly by donation. The most extensive help in collecting the money and in building the church and church buildings came from a Bavarian merchant, Andrei Pirling, who for a long time carried on his business in the so-called Nuremberg shops, which were set up on the lower floors of the façade wings of the church building. The solemn consecration of the church by the Papal Legate of Pope Pius VI, Cardinal Giovanni Archetti (1731–1805), took place on 7 October 1783 (OS). The church has the form of a Latin cross and is crowned with a cupola. It is 44 meters long, 25 meters wide, and 42 meters high, and holds about two thousand people. The main façade has a monumental arched portal, which rests on free-standing columns. The façade culminates in a high parapet on which are placed statues of the

four Evangelists and a group of angels holding a cross. Above the main entrance, to which used to lead nine wide steps, are the words “My house shall be called the house of prayer” (Matthew 21:13) and the year 1782. The interior of the church is magnificent. The altar, made of various-colored marble and crowned with a gilded bronze cross three metres high and two silver reliquaries, was the gift of Antonio Branca of Livorno. The last Polish King, Stanislaw Poniatowski (1732–1798), who died in St. Petersburg on 1/12 February 1798, is buried here, as is Marshal Jean-Victor Moreau (1763–1813), who was fatally wounded in the battle of Dresden. The clergy of this church in its early years and again from 1816 to 1892 were from the Dominican Order. During the reign of Nicholas I, the church received the boon of a loan of 500,000 paper rubles at advantageous terms to expand the church building. In 1851, it was stated to be one of the most extensive and profitable buildings in the city, with excellent stores still to be found on its Nevskii Prospekt side. On the Mikhailovskii Square side of the building was the book store of Krashennnikov and the sale of church books took place. The entire court yard was occupied at that time by artisan tenants and others (Shul'ts, *Kbramy Sankt-Peterburga*, pp. 232–240; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 216–217, 290; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 301; Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 265; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 220–221; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 221–223).

328. They went home by the same route by which they had gone to church, since Anna Whistler writes: “On our return through the Nevski what a contrast.” The reference here is to Palace Square in front of the Winter Palace (see Images 116, 132), which she elsewhere in the diaries correctly calls by its other name “Alexander Square,” but in this entry calls “Alexandra Square.” In Russian, it would be called “ploshchad' Aleksandra” (“square of Alexander”); here, Aleksandra is the masculine genitive case, although it looks like the female name Alexandra. From Alexander Square, she saw “the preparations for commencing the Easter amusements” in Admiralty Square. Confusion about the route they took is caused by the fact that there actually is an Alexandra Square. It is located between His Majesty's Own Palace and the Public Library, which are on the other side of the Nevskii Prospekt, about opposite the Church of St. Catherine. Alexandra Square takes its name from the Alexandrinskii Theater, which it is located in front of (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 75). The



Alexandrinskii Theater is named for Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna.

329. Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432) wrote in her memoirs that her parents always spent Passion Week in the Anichkov Palace (see Images 133–134) with the family, preparing for confession and Communion (*Son iunosti*, p. 19). They returned to the Winter Palace when “Christ is risen” was proclaimed in the churches and the church bells “throughout the city [began] to peal, and the cannon in the fortress to thunder” (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fols. 75–76). The Anichkov Palace is located on the Nevskii Prospekt, about two versts from the Winter Palace (von Grimm, *Alexandra Feodorovna*, vol. 1, p. 140).
330. William Winstanley Hull (15 March 1794 – 28 August 1873), Esquire, barrister-at-law, was the eldest son of Dr. John Hull, MD, and of Sarah (Winstanley) Hull, John Winstanley’s sister (Henry Fishwick, *The History of the Parish of Poulton-le-fylde, in the County of Lancaster* [The Chetham Society, 1885], pp. 55, 85–86). Neither the book nor the Easter prayer can be identified. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
331. Mary Brennan was a Catholic, but she did not accompany Anna Whistler and William Hooper Ropes to St. Catherine’s Catholic Church earlier in the day. Anna Whistler also mentions that she and Aunt Alicia had prayers with Mary (entry of Tuesday [July] 9<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWP, Part I) and that Mary came in to listen one Sunday when Debo read aloud one of Blunt’s sermons (entry of Sunday [August] 18<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWP, Part I). It was Mary who took Willie to the English Church on the Sunday Admiral Hall died there (entry of Feb 14<sup>th</sup> 1844, NYPL: AWP, Part I). She also seems to have attended afternoon services at the English Church frequently in 1846 (entry for March 9<sup>th</sup> 1846, NYPL: AWP, Part I). She may have been too timid to leave the Whistler circle.
332. Thomas Shaw Bancroft Reade, *Christian Meditations; or, The Believer’s Companion in Solitude* (London: Hamilton, Adams; Leeds: J.Y. Knight, 1841).
333. Reverend Thomas Scales Ellerby (18 March 1810 – 11 June 1892) was pastor from 1840 to 1853 of the British and American Congregational Church, which was located on New Isaac (*Novo-Isaakienskaia*) Street, near the Post Office in the First Admiralty District, Third Ward (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, p. 52; Nistrem,

*Adres-Kalendar'*, p. 42). See the biographies of the Ellerby family in Appendix E (hereafter, Ellerby) and Images 125, 256.

334. Tuesday was 23 April.
335. Anna Whistler meant “I hope to make time.”
336. These two events occurred on 23 April 1822 and 23 April 1840.
337. These family members were Joseph Samuel Ropes, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, Elizabeth Hannah Ropes, Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, and Louisa Harriet Ropes (see Images 266–267).
338. Anna Whistler is referring to 17 April 1844.
339. Psalms 46:10: “Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.”
340. Anna Whistler is referring to William Wyatt McNeill and Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill, the sons of her brother, General William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill.
341. Maxwell suffered the effects of his illness for a long time. Even by May he was still not able to open his fingers completely and his hair was coming out by the handful. He took the advice of a hairdresser to remedy the latter condition by having his head shaved and temporarily wearing a wig (letters from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell: St. Petersburg, May 11, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 34; St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, no. 35; St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, no. 36).
342. “When the Neva is frozen to the thickness of a foot and a half or two feet, great slabs, five feet long and three feet wide, are hewn out of its icy covering, and with these the cellars are filled. The ice, however, is not stowed away in these great blocks, but is first crushed into small pieces, which are stamped down into a compact mass in the cellars. This mass again freezes into solid layers of ice, the lowest or ground-tier of which is never taken out, when the cellars are well constructed, but remains perpetually there, a frozen foundation two or three feet deep, upon which, each successive winter, fresh ice is piled up to a height of five or six feet. Ice is deemed such a necessary of life in St. Petersburg, that the finest house would obtain no tenant if its ice-cellar were bad. People literally cannot exist there without ice. It is in constant use. In the first place, all kinds of eatables—meat, milk, butter, etc.—are kept in the ice-cellar. Then it is mixed with water, beer, quass, and with almost all cold drinks. When there is a superfluity of it, the Petersburgers place it on the stoves and

- under the beds, to cool the apartments” (Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 69). “In bad (mild) winters there is often a great deficiency of natural ice, for enough is wanted to fill all the cellars not only of the city but of the surrounding country villas” (Jerrmann, p. 69).
343. On Sunday, 21 April, Anna Whistler and Willie went to visit Mary Gent Hirst, who was living in the house of her brother, Thomas Nelson Hirst, on Vasilievskii Island, on the Fifth Line, between Bol’shoi and Srednii prospekts, at No. 31. See Hirst in Appendix E.
  344. Exodus: 20:8: “Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.”
  345. I Timothy 5:6: “But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth.”
  346. Chapters 4 and 5 of 2 Corinthians were appropriate readings for someone near death, their message being that affliction works glory and that absent from the body we are at home with God.
  347. Ainsley ginger cakes may be a recipe provided to Anna Whistler by Jane (Winstanley) Ainsley, sister of John Winstanley. There are several recipes for gingerbread in Margaret MacDonald, ed., *Whistler’s Mother’s Cook Book* (London: Paul Elek, 1979), pp. 110–113), but none is called an Ainsley ginger cake.
  348. Wednesday was 24 April 1844.
  349. Emma Maingay (see Image 263) and Debo (see Images 17–19, 21) went to the tea party at the Gellibrands on 23 April 1844. This was the abovementioned celebration of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes’s twenty-second birthday and fourth wedding anniversary.
  350. Thomas DeKay Winans (6 December 1820 – 10 June 1878), son of Ross Winans (17 October 1797 – 11 April 1877) of Baltimore, represented his father’s firm in the partnership of Harrison, Winans, and Eastwick. See Winans Appendix E and Images 228–229.
  351. Alexandrofski (pronounced “Ahliksahn’druffskee”) refers to the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, “located on the left bank of the Neva 6.7 miles from the center of St. Petersburg along the road to Schlüsselberg” (see Images 223–225) (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 106). It is here that the locomotives and rolling stock were being made for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. See also Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1846, p. 119.

352. Anna Whistler would have frequently heard the expression “na Morskoi” (pronounced “nuhMarskoi”), meaning “on Morskaia Street,” where “Morskoi” is the feminine prepositional case. Her English usage here of “thro the Morskoi” suggests the Russian expression “po Morskoi” (pronounced “puhMarskoi”), where “Morskoi” is the feminine dative case, identical to the prepositional case. She also rarely detected the rolled “r” in Russian words and therefore omitted it in her spelling of them. Thus, she wrote not “Morskoi,” but “Moskoy.” There were two streets here, parallel to one another, one called Bol’shaia Morskaia ulitsa (Grand Navy Street) (pronounced “Bahlshah’yuh Marskah’yuh oo’leetsuh”), the other Malaia Morskaia ulitsa (Little Navy Street) (pronounced “Mah’luhyuh Marskah’yuh oo’leetsuh”). Bol’shaia Morskaia (see Image 109) was one of the most magnificent and animated streets of St. Petersburg. It started at the arch in the Staff Headquarters building on Palace Square, crossed the Nevskii Prospekt, and went on until it met and crossed Post Office Lane. At that point, it became one with the Moika Embankment. It took its name from the fact that when St. Petersburg was founded, claywalled cottages were built here for naval officers and sailors. It was paved with wood. Here were to be found part of the building containing Main Staff headquarters and the Ministry of Finances, the building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the home of the Military Governor General, as well as the homes of many members of the nobility. There were also numerous shops, including luxury stores, e.g., for clothing and furniture. Malaia Morskaia was much shorter and much quieter, with less traffic. It had fewer stores and artisans and several hotels. Anna Whistler was referring to Bol’shaia Morskaia (Grech, *Ves’ Petersburg* 1851, pp. 43-44, 341–342), even though she wrote only “Moskoy.” In another entry, she referred to a shop specifically on Bol’shaia Morskaia (entry of Saturday [April] 26<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I).
353. This is Esther (Smith) Ormerod (bap. 18 November 1777 – 4 July 1863), wife of Richard Ormerod (c. 1775 – 31 December 1861), a brass and iron founder.
354. Anna Whistler’s derogatory comments about the lower classes of Russia imply that the tailor was Russian. Neither edition of *Ves’ Peterburg v karmane* (1846, p. 126; 1851, p. 453) is helpful in this instance, as they list only recommended foreign tailors on

- Bol'shaia (and Malaia) Morskaia. See Rigby, *Baltic Letters*, vol. 1, letter 4, pp. 74–75.
355. This is Emma Maingay (see Image 263). She is mentioned again in the following sentence along with her mother, Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (see Image 259).
356. The young Grand Dukes, the sons of Emperor Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), were Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich (Tsarskoe Selo 27 July / 8 August 1831 – Alupka 13/25 April 1891) and Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich (St. Petersburg 13/25 October 1832 – Cannes 5/18 December 1909). Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, pp. 227–232, 273–279. See Image 420).
357. This is Ann Ormerod (1802 – 24 September 1847), daughter of Richard and Esther (Smith) Ormerod. Her married name was Haden. See Note 353 above.
358. There is no direct reference in the Whistler papers to indicate who this person might be. Major Whistler was mentor to a number of young men while in Russia. In 1848, a recently graduated young Russian named Hartung came to show himself off to Anna Whistler (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Wednesday November 1st, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366). Her remarks suggest that a difficult time was over for him. Even on his deathbed, Major Whistler asked after several men about whom he was concerned (Anna Whistler to [Joseph and Sarah Harrison], Fleetwood. Monday. July 15th. 1849, LC: P-W, box 34). In addition, any man who might have expressed an interest in Deborah would also have distressed him.
359. Thursday was 25 April.
360. “The Gulf of Finland runs from St. Petersburg in a due westerly direction, and it is exactly from that quarter that the heaviest storms always blow. The west wind naturally sweeps the waters up towards the city. If the gulf were broad at its termination ... but, unfortunately, the gulf narrows gradually to a point, and that point is St. Petersburg. When a gale, therefore, blows from the west, the waters of the Gulf are blown into the Neva, and oppose the exit of those that come rolling down from the lake ... The Delta of the Neva is flat and low, and there is scarcely a spot of ground in the capital that lies more than twelve or fourteen feet above the customary level of the sea. A rise of fifteen feet is, therefore, enough to put the whole city under water, and a rise of thirty or forty feet would be enough to drown nearly the whole

- population. All that is necessary to bring about such a calamity is that ... a storm from the west should arise just as the ice is breaking up, and that this should happen when the river is at its highest” (Kohl, *Russia*, p. 21). See the explanation of the flood signals in “St. Petersburg and the Journey There” and Image 107.
361. This is the correct English rendering of the Russian contraction “bushnik” (pronounced “boosh’nyeek”) from the word “budochnik” (pronounced “boo’dushnyeek”) meaning “policeman on guard duty at his sentry box on the street.” “Budka” (pronounced “boot’kuh”) from which the root of “budochnik” is taken, means “sentry box,” “booth.” To the singular of the contracted word is added the English possessive suffix: ’s. Alexander, the footman, had only to step out to the sentry box on the corner by their house.
362. Friday was 26 April.
363. Here it seems Anna Whistler should have written “the thickness it had been guessed at.”
364. This is Emma Maingay (see Image 263), Deborah Whistler’s best friend in St. Petersburg.
365. See Images 101, 102, 105, and 114, showing gondolas.
366. Maxwell, in describing his day, spoke of James’s and Willie’s visits: “Sometimes the lunch is varied by a glass of jelly from M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler or sometimes I order a little caviare etc and make it a *dejeuner à la fourchette* for my pretty visitors, the boys who have come to say good morning and to know if I walk, out that day, ~~in~~ which case they would like to go with me” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33).
367. Jule is Catherine Julia McNeill (see Note 23 above, Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E, and Image 33). Josephine Mauran (14 September 1825 – 16 February 1887) was the daughter of a wealthy New York entrepreneur, Oroondates Mauran (see Image 47) (J.C. Stockbridge and J.E. Mauran, comps., *Memorials of the Mauran Family* [Providence, RI: Snow and Farnham, 1893], p. 85). She and Deborah Whistler apparently attended the Candas’ school at 17 Lafayette Place, New York, together. See the Mauran family biography in Appendix E; letters from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell: St. Petersburg, March 26, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 29; St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, no. 35. It

has not been possible to locate these letters from Catherine Julia McNeill and Josephine Mauran.

368. Saturday was 27 April.
369. Sarah Adams (New London, CT 29 December 1821 – 1876) was the daughter of Eli Adams (Lincoln, MA 14 March 1770 – New London, CT 18 July 1822) and Sarah Delano (Swift) Adams (Boston 24 February 1788 – 11 May 1839). They were married on 13 December 1810 in Boston, Massachusetts. Both parents were buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery, New London, Connecticut. Sarah Adams' aunt, her mother's sister, Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler, was the first wife of Lt. George Washington Whistler. Sarah Adams was therefore Deborah Delano Whistler's first cousin (IGI; Cynthia Hagar Krusell, Marshfield Hills, MA, to E. Harden, 26 October 2014; Ellery, *Memoirs of Gen. J.G. Swift*, p. 24 of the Swift Genealogy). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
370. The shop of Christian Freze (pronounced "Freh'zeh"), where one could buy wool, patterns for embroidering, and artists' paints, was located on Bol'shaia Morskaia Street in the building belonging to the pharmacist Shtraukh (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, p. 130; Kishkin-Zhgierskii, *Kommercheskii ukazatel'*). This was a German surname anglicized by the English-speaking colony to Frazer.
371. The best fruit shop, Smurov's, was located on the corner of Bol'shaia Morskaia and Gorokhovaia streets (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, p. 129; 1851, p. 44; Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol'shaia Morskaia*, pp. 96–97; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 311). See Image 360 of an unspecified fruit shop.
372. Monday was 29 April.
373. In a "sudden fit of economising," Colonel Todd (see Image 278) took "a pretty country house at Sarskoe Celo" for the summer, but moved there in April when it was still cold (letters from John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell: St. Petersburg, Mar. 26, 1844, no. 29; St. Petersburg, April 7, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 31). He lived in the house of Doctor Vedrinskii or Vederinskii at 161 Moskovskaia (Moscow) Street near the church (AVPRI: Fond MID, Kantseliaria, 1844, op. 469, d. 52/Etats-Unis/:Colonel Todd:/ [Fond Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chancery, 1844, op. 469, d. 52], fol. 52 v; RGIA: Fond 485, op. 3, d. 790. Tsarskoe Selo. 1-aia chast' II kvartal. General'nye plany uchastka po Moskovskoi ul. i fasady doma [sic] na nem,

- prinadlezhavshikh [sic] Vedrinskomu, Gassel' E.M., Tumanovu A.I. Arkh-y Vidov A.F., Gil'debrandt, K.K. 1830<sup>e</sup> - 1870<sup>e</sup> g. g. [Tsarskoe Selo. First district, second ward. General plans for the plot on Moscow Street and for the façade of the house [sic] on that plot that belong [sic] to Vedrinskii, E. M. Gassel, A.I. Tumanov. Architects A.F. Vidov and K.K. Gildebrandt. 1830s - 1870s]. "He carried with him, the Chancellerie of the legation, paper's and book's, and established the office of diplomatic affairs in a place pretty enough in the summer, but at all times out of the way of business, and at this season here, equal to Siberia for dullness and cold winds." His decision surprised many people "for the change, from the gay life he seemed to love in the City to such perfect seclusion in such a country, seem's at least queer" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33).
374. Reverend Thomas Scales Ellerby (18 March 1818 – 11 June 1892) was pastor of the British and American Congregational Church. See Ellerby in Appendix E and Images 125, 256.
375. Revelation 3:11: "Behold I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown."
376. Maxwell did not know how to repay the Whistlers. "Yesterday morning my beard was cut off - I washed myself ~~myself~~, dressed etc and after looking in the glass and being satisfied that I looked very interesting and as clear in complexion as the most effeminate dandy would wish to look. I put on my pelisse, gave directions to have my room's ventilated and cleaned during my absence, and with a little assistance went up stairs. Quite an event indeed - I was of course quite a lion. I wished as soon almost as I saw M<sup>rs</sup> W to express my gratitude to her, but ~~I~~ she saw what was coming and begged me not to say one word and moreover insisted that I should be provided for as usual until I had totally regained my strenght [sic]. She says the food I obtained from the Club (I send out for my dinners) she thought badly cooked, the ingredients bad and that until the first of May I must be provided for from her kitchen. I am puzzled nay almost embarrassed how to avoid such minute attention ~~and~~ while I fully enjoy and appreciate it - I assured her that I appreciated her kindness, that her good things were of a kind that reminded me of home and that the breakfast she had sent me that morning was the very best (as it was in taste, niceness etc.) I had eaten in Russia. But that I had every thing necessary to provide a bachelors table and that the Club dinners though frugal and not so nice as her's were good enough for me



- but it was no use, and down come the breakfasts, dinners teas, and various articles in spite of me ... tell me, inform me how I am ever to repay these good people. I owe the Major 4 months rent ... I can pay him but for this comfort, his care, this provision for my happiness, tell me how I am to thank him and his lady?" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, April 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 30). Maxwell had long been in the practice of sending his servant, La Ronne, to the Commercial Club on the corner of the English Embankment and Zamiatin Lane with a "patent dinner preserver," in which La Ronne would bring back meals (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 22). See also Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, p. 138; 1851, pp. 300–301).
377. See Note 253 above. Each Lenten season, Henry Blunt delivered a course of lectures in Chelsea "on the lives of various leading persons in the Old and New Testament." His course on "St. Paul" consisted of two series, delivered in 1832 and 1833 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Blunt, Henry [1794–1843]").
378. Anna Whistler wrote 30th, but changed it to 29th. Tuesday was April 30th. Mr. M in this entry is Maxwell; Kate is Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler's sister in Stonington; the Major is Major Trouvellier.
379. A niece of Anna Whistler's had written her about having met Maxwell's grandmother [Ann McDonald Stevenson], at a Mrs. Graham's, and Anna Whistler now wished her mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), to call upon Maxwell's grandmother. "I have given the address. 15 Harrison Street. New York, but as Grandma may be out of town I should like you for my sake to enquire about this lady and make her acquaintance when you go to town" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33; William M. MacBean, "The Year 1778, No. 460 Thomas Stevenson," *Biographical Register of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York*, vol. 1, 1756–1806 [New York: Printed for the Society, 1922], p. 266).
380. For assessments of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes's character and musical talent, see Mary T. Gellibrand to Uncle Hardy, Okta, near Petersburg, June 6/18th, 1838, MHS: Ropes Papers; Joseph S. Ropes to his grandparents, St. Petersburg, Sept. 19 / Oct. 1, 1840, MHS: Ropes Papers.

381. The reference here is to Major Trouvellier and Colonel P.P. Mel'nikov (see Image 247).
382. Writing to his mother on the same date, 1 May 1844, Maxwell described what his day as a convalescent had been like for the last month. Music was a part of every evening, first instrumental and then vocal: "Then perhaps it is that I take a lesson in Russian by trying to sing a Russian song with Miss D- ... I give you a translation of one of these by an ardent admirer of this young lady. It will give you an idea of the general character of Russian song, which is melancholy always. It is called the sable shade and is addressed as far as I can judge either to a black damsel or black ghost" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33). This is the song "Chornyi tsvet," which Deborah Whistler had sung in Russian on an earlier occasion. See Note 183 above. The English translation Maxwell gives was, in my opinion, made by William Bonamy Maingay (see Image 260), one of Deborah's admirers. Each line of this translation is equivalent to two lines of the original Russian text.

Sable shade, dismal shade, thou'rt to me ever dear  
And I vow none beside e'er shall vie with thee here.

Refrain:

Sung after every two lines  
None shall e'er me compel, none shall e'er thee expel,  
Sable shade from my heart thou shalt never depart.

Men will say but oh why dost thou love such a shade  
Tis the lure I'll reply of my own lovely maid.

If my maid, my sweet maid should her lover forget  
Still the shade, the dark shade, I will love, love it yet.

That dark shade in my brain, with my maid it shall reign  
Joined forever with thee my dark spirit shall be.

When my last hour shall come, the dark shade I'll put on  
And till lifes light is o'er the dark shade I'll adore.

Maxwell does not say what other songs Deborah Whistler played that evening, but in earlier letters he mentions her ability to sing in several languages (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Dec. 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 26). See Appendix F for a copy of the sheet music for "Chornyi tsvet."

383. Dasha, a Russian affectionate form from the name "Darya," was given to Deborah Whistler. She continued to be known by the name in England when she was Mrs. Francis Seymour Haden.

384. Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, pp. 127, 130.
385. This is the small, door-like pane in a window that could be opened to ventilate the room. The double window installed for winter had such a pane as well.
386. M. La Roche gave German lessons to both Deborah Whistler and John Stevenson Maxwell (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell St. Petersburg, Nov. 1, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 24). When he left the Whistlers' employ cannot be ascertained. When James was left in England in the fall of 1848, the Whistlers considered rehiring M. La Roche, who was a strict taskmaster, to be Willie's "governer" (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Friday afternoon Sept. 29<sup>th</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W362). The Amburger Datenbank contains several entries for a family named Blanché de la Roche, but it is not possible to identify the Whistlers' tutor from the information given.
387. 21 April / 3 May was the name day of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna.
388. For a description of a major military review, see "St. Petersburg and the Journey There" and Notes 77–81 therein.
389. Straw hats were sold in the shop of Mrs. Vretman, located on Ofiterskaia (Officer) Street in the building belonging to Wagner (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, p. 127).
390. Lady Elizabeth Stuart (14 January 1789 – 23 June 1867) was the wife of Sir Charles Stuart, Baron Stuart de Rothesay (2 January 1779 – 6 November 1845), the British Envoy to St. Petersburg in 1843 and part of 1844. They married on 6 February 1816. She was Lady Elizabeth Margaret, the third daughter of Philip Yorke, the third Earl of Hardwicke (John Debrett, *Debrett's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage* [London, 1819], p. 268; Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, 31st ed. [London: Burke's Peerage, 1869], p. 516). Maxwell, who met her in 1842, said: "I met his Lady (who has just arrived here and who intends taking a large house) in the large fashionable store here called the English Magazine. She is one of the plainest looking women I ever saw—and has a streak of red in each cheek just as old English ladies in good health generally have" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Oct. 8/20, 1842, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 3). Lord and Lady Stuart were leaving Russia on 3

- June 1844 (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
391. The day and date of the previous entry, that for Monday [May] 6<sup>th</sup> [NS], coincide. Starting with the entry for Thursday [May] 29<sup>th</sup>, the events referred to make it clear that Anna Whistler recorded the wrong *day* in the next several entries. They should read “Wednesday [May] 29<sup>th</sup>,” “Thursday [May] 30<sup>th</sup>,” and “Friday [May] 31<sup>st</sup>.” On Thursday, 30 May, Major Whistler made a fruitless trip to bring Deborah home from the Maingays, because, as this was their last night in St. Petersburg, they asked that she be allowed to spend it with them. On Friday, 31 May, the Maingays sailed from St. Petersburg for Cronstadt. Friday, 31 May, was also the day the Major and his sons attended the military review with Maxwell, which is confirmed in the latter’s correspondence (John S. Maxwell to Major Whistler, May 27? 28? [1844], N-YHS: Maxwell Papers; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, , N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36). The Whistlers had left St. Petersburg on 14 May, but 29 May marked “just a fortnight” that they had been actually settled in their house.
392. On 10 May, when Maxwell and the Whistlers visited Colonel Charles Stewart Todd (see Image 278) in Tsarskoe Selo, they found him “looking forlorn enough. He was not dressed, and unshaved and unshorn looked like giant Grim. He had been very lonely, having no acquaintances who had yet moved in the vicinity. He soon brushed up however” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 11, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 34).
393. The St. Petersburg terminus of the Tsarskoe Selo Railway was located at “the crossing of the Zagorodnyi Prospekt and the Vvedenskii Canal” (Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 147), located in the Moscow District, Fourth Ward (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, p. 127).
394. The Tsarskoe Selo Railway, built by the Austrian engineer, Franz Anton von Gerstner (1796–1840), and opened for service in November 1837, was the first and at this time the only railway in Russia (see Image 383). The train made two stops: Tsarskoe Selo (21½ versts from St. Petersburg) and Pavlovsk (25 versts from St. Petersburg) (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, p. 544). It had actually been operating since the fall of 1836, but only from Tsarskoe Selo to Pavlovsk, a distance of 5 versts, and the train had at first been drawn by horses because of the failure of the steam engines for it

to arrive from England (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 39, 246; Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 122). There is a well-known story that the first time Nicholas I rode on the new railway he ordered his carriage placed on a platform car, got into it and rode thus from Tsarskoe Selo to Pavlovsk. Afterwards, he usually rode on the railway in a separate first-class car (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 40).

The regulation for establishing a company of shareholders for building the railway was approved by Nicholas I on 21 March / 2 April 1836. The founders of the shareholding company – namely, the Equerry of the Imperial Court, Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii (Major Whistler's landlord; see Image 86); the merchants Benedict Kramer and Johann Plitt; and Franz Anton von Gerstner – put together the capital, amounting to three million rubles. The founders were obliged to agree, in signing the confirmed regulations, that they would take certain precautions for the safety of a technologically innocent public; they would, for example, have bells or some other type of warning signal on the “steam equipages,” and the passengers coming from St. Petersburg would not be allowed to get out of the cars along the route between the gate of the town they were approaching (i.e., “a wooden barrier at the city limits”) (Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 99) and the office where their documents would be checked (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 39–40). Because the train whistle frightened the public, it was replaced by music. An organ ordered from abroad especially for this purpose was placed in front of the smokestack of the engine. These organs played various musical pieces to the accompaniment of loud trumpets and drums and a special employee of the railway was assigned to turn the handle of the organ while the train was in motion (Vil'chkovskii, p. 246). The official opening of the railway, with all ministers and the diplomatic corps in attendance, took place on 30 October / 11 November 1837, and Gerstner himself drove the first train to Tsarskoe Selo (Vil'chkovskii, p. 40). It took thirty-five minutes, while the return trip took twenty-seven, “and speeds up to sixty versts an hour were attained” (Haywood, *Beginnings*, p. 127). “The railway to Pavlovsk was opened ... on May 22 [June 3], 1838” (Haywood, p. 136). In the 1840s, one-way fares were: first-class, 71 kopeks silver (2.50 rubles paper); second-class, 51 k. silver (1.80 r. paper); third-class, 35 k. silver (1.20 r. paper); fourth-class, 20 k. silver (70 k. paper) (R. Haywood West Lafayette, IN, to E. Harden, 27 November 1998). For a detailed and technical description of the building and

operation of the Tsarskoe Selo Railway see Haywood, *Beginnings*, pp. 108–158.

395. Of all the towns in Russia, Tsarskoe Selo at this time was the most well-proportioned. The cleanliness and regularity in the layout of its streets were striking. The private homes were arranged as if according to a single plan and façade, giving the entire town a kind of charming uniformity (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 53).
396. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 1.
397. As of 1 January 1841 (OS), twenty-five of the thirty-one streets and lanes of Tsarskoe Selo had been macadamized (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 53).
398. The name of the Catherine Palace (see Images 385–387) is misleading in that it in fact refers to Catherine I (see Image 412), consort of Peter the Great (see Image 411), but is often thought to honor the famous Catherine the Great (see Image 414), who had been responsible up until this time for the last major changes to the palace, chiefly to its interiors, and had initiated many other architectural projects within Tsarskoe Selo. Anna Whistler's comments suggest some confusion on her part: "This [palace] built by Catherine like all other of her designs is tasteful, costly & still in perfect repair" is true of Catherine the Great. In a later reference, she shows that she knows it was named for Catherine I, but persists in attributing the gilding, etc., to Catherine I, seeming not to understand that the palace in that reign was only a small stone edifice.

In 1708, Peter the Great gifted to the future Catherine I six farmsteads, including the Sarskaia (A.N. Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki* [*Pushkin: Palaces and Parks*] [Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1964], p. 7). A small, modest, two-storied stone palace with sixteen rooms was built here between 1717 and 1723 based on plans by the architect, I. Bronshtein (Johann-Fredrich Braunstein). The commencement of a major remodeling of it into a magnificent Baroque palace (called first the Great Tsarskoe Selo Palace) occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century in the reign of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413), daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I. The remodeling of Catherine I's stone palace and the construction of two symmetrical wings joined to the central building by galleries was begun in 1741. The work was entrusted to a series of architects, culminating in Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli, "who demolished much of [his predecessors'] completed work (particularly the galleries) and

added a third story to the main structure, which was extended the full length of the palace” (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 238). Catherine the Great, prompted by a combination of taste and of contempt for her aunt’s preference for the Rococo, set about “dispersing or dissolving [its] traces” (Hamilton, *Art and Architecture*, p. 185).

The Catherine Palace is almost a thousand feet long. “Above the rusticated ground floor, with its arcade of French windows separated by atlantes, the building is marked by white attached columns” (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 239), which from 1753 had as their background a bright azure façade, replaced in the 1840s with an insipid and banal greenish color (Aleksandr Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo v tsarstvovanie Imperatritsy Elisavety Petrovny* [*Tsarskoe Selo in the Reign of Empress Elisaveta Petrovna*] [St. Petersburg: R. Golike i A. Vilborg, 1910], p. 87). “Despite the symmetry of the facade, its culminating point is not the central structure, but rather the pentacupolar church that anchors the east wing of the palace... The resolution of the Catherine Palace in favour of its end point (a corresponding domed pavilion on the west end was later modified during the reign of Catherine II) is in accord with the horizontal essence of the structure. This principle was reaffirmed in Rastrelli’s plan for the interior ..., whose main entrance was from the west wing. From that point, two parallel enfilades extended the length of the palace without the interruption of a center cluster of rooms. The later central vestibule and grand stairway, built for Catherine II by Charles Cameron (1745-1812) in 1780... , established a midpoint that allows one to proceed to either half of the enfilade” (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 239).

399. “The gardens at Zarskoye Selo are certainly the most carefully kept in the world; the trees and flowers are watched and inspected with the most anxious minuteness. An old invalid soldier commands his five or six hundred men as gardeners and overseers. After every falling leaf runs a veteran to pick it up ... Every tiny leaf that falls in pond or canal, is carefully fished out; they dust and trim and polish the trees and paths in the gardens, as they do the looking-glasses and furniture of the saloons; every stone that is kicked aside is laid strait again, and every blade of grass kept in a proper position” (Kohl, *Russia*, p. 183). “The trunks of the trees alongside the palace were periodically scraped and washed with soap, while the macadamized roads and the paths were kept as smooth as parquet floors. Special persons went about the garden after every rainfall and a peg was stuck into the

- ground next to every puddle. Early in the morning the indentations from the puddles were removed with a pick, fine cobblestones and sand were sprinkled into them and then they were watered and the indentations filled up... If someone threw away a piece of orange peel, a boy would run to gather it up into a basket” (Dmitrii S. Likhachev, *Poezẓia sadov: k semantike sadovoparkovykh stilei* [*The Poetry of Gardens: Toward a Semantics of Garden Park Styles*] [Leningrad: Nauka, Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1982], p. 291).
400. “The trees were clad in the first brilliant green of spring ... but the growth is almost entirely confined to birch, fir, oak, elm, and lime. The three latter are rather rare” (Bloomfield, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p. 207).
401. “In 1841 the architect Hippolyte Antonovich Monighetti (1819–1878) decorated some of the interiors of the Catherine Palace for Tsarevich Alexander Nikolaevich ... Gradually it was to become his favourite residence. His apartments, which lay on the ground floor of the Zubov Wing, opened on to the private garden, where a great pergola was installed, together with a marble fountain and beds filled with scented flowers ... together the whole family planted the oak trees that still grow on the shores of the great lake” (Ivan Petrovich Sautov, *Imperial Palaces in the Vicinity of St. Petersburg. Tsarskoe Selo: Watercolours, Paintings and Engravings from the 18th and 19th Centuries*, commentaries by Larissa Valentinovna Bardovskaia [Paris: Alain de Gourcuff Éditeur, 1992], pp. 12–13).
402. The New Palace (see Images 388, 447) was the palace Catherine the Great had ordered built (1792–1796) for her grandson, the future Tsar Alexander I (see Image 418). In 1843, Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) ordered that it be named the Alexander Palace. A description of the Alexander Palace is given in Note 487, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
403. Vil’chkovskii describes the difference between the expenditures made and results achieved at Tsarskoe Selo by empresses Elizaveta Petrovna and Catherine the Great. In Elizaveta’s reign, all building was done in haste, everything was richly decorated, but everything was redone several times (Vil’chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 23). Catherine herself likened Elizaveta’s inconsistencies to “Penelope’s labor” (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 288; Dmitrii Shvidkovskii, *The Empress and the Architect: British Architecture and Gardens at the Court of Catherine the Great* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996], p. 212). In Catherine’s reign, despite large expenditures, before building was undertaken



exact estimates were drawn up and models were even made; no excess luxury was permitted. Catherine personally checked every estimate and paid close attention to the construction work, sometimes purposely coming in from St. Petersburg in the spring to inspect its condition. The external gilded decorations of the palace and pavilions on which Elizaveta's architects spent huge sums lasted only a short time because of the instability of the materials used. Catherine had to make large expenditures just to remove everything that had rapidly become shabby and restore the respectable appearance of the façades. What was built by Catherine, on the other hand, still looks today [in 1910] as it did when just built. In a word, everything that Catherine did in Tsarskoe Selo was executed solidly and broadly, carefully finished and sustained in every detail (Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 206; Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 23).

There is another reason why everything was "still in perfect repair," and why it seemed neat and fresh to Anna Whistler: a part of the palace had been restored less than twenty-five years before the Whistlers visited it. A fire had occurred on 12/24 May 1820, completely destroying the church and twelve rooms adjoining it, damaging and ruining all the furnishings and walls right up to the Picture Gallery. The architect Vasilii Petrovich Stasov (1769–1848) had been ordered to rebuild it all to look as it had before (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 98; Aleksandr Uspenskii, "Imperatorskii Bol'shoi Tsarskosel'skii Dvorets" ["The Imperial Great Palace of Tsarskoe Selo"], *Khudozhestvennye sokrovishcha Rossii* [*Art Treasures of Russia*] 12 [1904]: p. 419).

404. The construction of the Church of the Resurrection of the Saviour, designed by Rastrelli, was begun on 8/19 August 1745. It was consecrated on 30 July / 10 August 1756. The interior walls were sky-blue with gilded wooden carving. Rastrelli gave it a flat ceiling instead of the cupola that was usual for a Russian church. On the outside, it had five gilded cupolas. It burned down completely on 12/24 May 1820, and most of the icons perished, but it was restored "according to the old models, from memory" (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 86–87). The new church was consecrated in 1822 (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburgska* 1842, p. 60). There was an entrance at the carriage approach to the church where visitors, such as Maxwell's party, could present their tickets for admission to the palace. They would then have gone up the white marble staircase built in 1843 by Stasov. It was called the church staircase because it was situated alongside the vestibule of the church (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 83–84),

which they chose not to visit that day. See also V.V. Lemus, L.V. Ėmina, E.S. Gladkova, and G.P. Balog, *Muzei i parki Pušbkina* [*Museums and Parks of Puškin*] (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1980), p. 46. There are no diary entries to indicate that they ever visited the church.

405. Anna Whistler is referring here to the enfilades with their suites of rooms. There were five suites, or “apartments.” Her comments about various rooms, ranging from Alexander I’s bedroom to the Mirror Room in Catherine the Great’s apartments, show that they walked the entire length of the palace that day, entering via the Church Wing, going through the central portion to the Zubov Wing, and back again to exit via the Church Wing. This second floor consisted of some sixty rooms, not all of which they would have had access to (Petrov, *Puškin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 48: plan of the second floor, end of the nineteenth century). Maxwell, in his description of their visit to the Catherine Palace, points out some of the same things as Anna Whistler, but cannot help fill out her remarks, as his own are very brief. He felt so indebted to the Whistlers for their care of him when he was sick that the excursion “afforded [him] remarkable pleasure” because it “enabled [him] to show some little attention to Madame and Mademoiselle” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 11, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 34). He later visited Colonel Todd for several days and then wrote a long, idyllic account of Tsarskoe Selo with exquisite vignettes of the beautiful grand duchesses (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35; see also his letter to Major Whistler, Sarskoe Celó, May 20, 1844).
406. Anna Whistler’s lack of punctuation here (no period after “etc”) makes it seem as though she has conflated descriptions of two totally different rooms: the Chinese Salon and the Mirror Room, both in the Fifth Apartments. A small door led from the Chinese Salon into the inner apartments of Catherine the Great, where the Mirror Room was located. The Chinese Salon had four floor-length windows and one of regular size facing the private garden, while two opened onto the square (*ploshchad’* – although it is possible that, in describing the interior, Viľchkovskii meant *ploshchadka*, which means “landing,” not “square”). It was double-lighted. Its walls were covered with original eighteenth-century panels transferred here by the architect, Charles Cameron, from an earlier Chinese room of the palace. The panels, made of wood, were painted black and covered with coromandel lacquer. On

them were depicted Chinese houses, inscriptions, and other decorations, all of which were gilded. The panels were in frames of black wood. Around them were fastened very precious ancient Chinese enamels. A large number of vases and dishes of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, Tibetan brass idols, and other things were arranged on semicircular pyramids. From the ceiling, painted in Chinese style, hung four chandeliers made from vases joined with gilded bronze ornament. These vases were made in Europe by Chinese workers. The Mirror Room, Catherine the Great's favorite "working" study, was a small room with two windows facing the private garden and a door opening onto the "Mirror Landing." All of its walls and doors were covered with mirrors divided by narrow colonettes (see Image 387). The ceiling was decorated with frescos in Italian Renaissance style and a glass lantern was suspended from it (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 62; Viĭchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 122, 126; Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki* pp. 37–38).

407. Anna Whistler seems to mean a number of rooms with inlaid floors, but the room famous for containing such a floor is the Lyon Room (see Image 386), so named for the brocaded silk covering the walls, which was manufactured in Lyon, France. Like the Mirror Room (see previous Note), the Lyon Room was one of several created in the 1780s by Charles Cameron in place of Rastrelli's fourth and fifth antechambers, which Cameron destroyed. It was also in the Fifth Apartments. It had three floor-length windows facing the square. The walls were covered with yellow silk. Cameron faced the lower parts of the walls with lapis lazuli. The window and door frames were made of massive gilded bronze on a background of lapis. The fireplaces were also trimmed with lapis and decorated with figures of Carrara marble. The parquetry of the floor and the marquetry of the door panels were made from the wood of twelve kinds of foreign trees inlaid with large stylized mother-of-pearl flowers. This type of incrustation was associated in the minds of Cameron's contemporaries with Nero's "Golden House," the interior of which, according to Suetonius, was decorated with gold, precious stones, and mother-of-pearl. The doors from the Lyon Room led into the Chinese Salon described in the previous Note (Viĭchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 121–122; Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, pp. 44, 124; Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 62; Lemus et al., *Muzei i parki Pushkina*, pp. 38–39, 45).
408. "From c. the 1820s to the 1840s [the surtout was] often called a 'surtout greatcoat'; being an overcoat, S-B or D-B, made like a

frock-coat and the forerunner of the TOP FROCK” (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, *Dictionary of English Costume*, pp. 86, 87, 209, 215–216).

409. I have not been able to determine the location of the suite of apartments in the Catherine Palace furnished for Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (Alexandrine) upon her marriage.
410. The bedroom of Alexander I (see Image 418) in the Old (Catherine) Palace, along with his “parade” and “work” studies, were made into a memorial to him. An undated inventory of the furniture in the bedroom lists a chest of drawers, chair, small table, folding camp bed, and dressing table, as well as the location of the emperor’s belongings in and on these pieces of furniture. Listed as being on the camp bed are a yellow chamois straw-filled mattress; two chamois pillows, one crimson, one green; a linen pillow case; three linen sheets; a calico coverlet; a white piqué cover; and a pair of shoes. Listed as being on his dressing table are a rectangular folding mirror in a mahogany frame, a small box with articles for brushing his teeth, a hairbrush, a tortoise-shell comb, and a silver handbell. Six napkins, among other things, are listed as being in the chest of drawers (RGIA: Fond 487, op. 21, d. 580. Opis’ veshchei, nakhodiashchikhsia v komnatakh na polovine imperatora Aleksandra I i opisi sobstvennykh veshchei Ekateriny II, imperatritsy Elizavety Alekseevny (zheny Aleksandra I) i dr. (bez daty). Vedomost’ veshcham imeiushchimsia v komnatakh na polovine Pokoinogo Gosudaria Imperatora Aleksandra Pavlovicha v Tsarskosel’skom Starom Dvortse, sobstvenno prinadlezhavshim Ego Imperatorskomu Velichestvu [Inventory of things in the rooms of the apartments of Emperor Alexander I and inventories of the personal things of Catherine II, Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna (wife of Alexander I) and others (no date). Register of things in the rooms of the apartments of the late Emperor Alexander Pavlovich in the Old Palace at Tsarskoe Selo personally belonging to His Imperial Majesty], fols. 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r).

Vil’chkovskii describes the bedroom in greater detail. The bedroom of Alexander I has two floor-length windows looking out onto the park. The walls are covered with Chinese silk with watercolor drawings depicting scenes from the life of the Manchus. Rich gilded carving and plaster work frame the wallpaper. Above the alcove, in which stands the modest field bed of the emperor, is the monogram of Catherine II on a magnificent carved gilded arch in the style of Louis XV. The ceiling contains a painting called *Allegorical Depiction of the Natural Sciences*

(*Allegoricheskoe izobrazhenie estestvennykh nauk*). In the corner is a fireplace also in the style of Louis XV. Between the windows is a floor-length mirror; the furniture is mahogany, Empire style, covered with dark-green Morocco leather. In the chests of drawers are many small toilet articles and personal things of the emperor. By the mirror stand his sword and saber. On the bed is a straw mattress in a chamois cover, hair pillows in the same kind of cover, a cotton coverlet and another of piqué. On the wall are plans of Petersburg and Tsarskoe Selo. Above the doors and the stove hang the pictures *Pastoral (Pastoral)*, *Vestal Virgin (Vestal'ka)*, and *Flowers (Tsvey)*, repaired after the fire of 1820 by Antonelli (1791–1842) (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 93–94).

Until 1781, this suite of “Second” Apartments (Vil'chkovskii, pp. 92–100) constituted the rooms of Catherine the Great, and Alexander I's bedroom seems to have previously been hers (Vil'chkovskii, p. 98).

411. One might have expected this kind of remark from Maxwell, but he points out the same details without being caustic (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35). See Rigby, *Baltic Letters*, vol. 2, letter 24, pp. 262–263 for a touching appraisal of this room.
412. There was a portrait room and a picture gallery in the Catherine Palace, both located in the Third Apartments (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 100–108). The fine pictures James “wished he could stay to examine... & know who painted them” were those in the picture gallery, and most of them would have been almost impossible for him to see, given their placement and his height as a child of ten. This room occupied the entire width of the palace. As a result of the fire in May 1820, the church, part of the palace adjacent to it, and the Lyceum burned down. The Lyceum was transferred to St. Petersburg in 1843. The ceiling of the Picture Gallery, by Pietro (d. 1770) and Francesco (1729–1793) Gradizzi, was destroyed in order to contain the fire and replaced in 1820 by a new one, based “on the old model.” The work of Academician S. A. Bessonov, the painting depicted *The Feast of the Gods on Olympus (Olimp)*. The pictures in the collection were transferred to new canvasses. The room was decorated with gilt and plaster work in Louis XV style. Three floor-length windows faced onto the park, and three onto the landing (east and west walls). Between the windows were tall mirrors with decorative panels above them containing paintings. A tall mid-18th century stove made of German tiles stood in the middle of the north and south walls, dividing them into two symmetrical parts. Equidistant from

each stove were two sets of magnificent double doors with gilded carved figures of caryatids and Minerva. These walls, starting from low wooden panels with gilt carving, were covered to the ceiling, trellis-style, with pictures almost touching each other, separated only by narrow gilt baguettes. There were 130 pictures. One hundred fifteen of them had been bought in 1745 in Prague by the court painter, Georg Groot (1716–1749), “a painter of animals and birds,” by order of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna. The remaining fifteen pictures could have come from works in storage bought by Peter the Great and his agents and through purchase from foreigners in Russia, e.g., from ships’ captains. They are all oil paintings, chiefly on canvas, but also on wooden panels and copper plates. Most are by Dutch and Flemish artists, the rest by German, French, and Italian artists. Most are originals, but some are anonymous copies of works by old masters and others are attributed to their schools. There are themes from antiquity and the Bible, allegories, still lifes, landscapes and seascapes, portraits, battle scenes, architectural views, and genre scenes. Groot’s two lists of the paintings (and objects) he purchased (amounting to 195 pieces) are detailed in their description of some of their subjects. (His lists can be found in Aleksandr Uspenskii, *Imperatorskie dvortsy* [*The Imperial Palaces*], 2 vols. [Moscow: Pechatnia A.I. Snegirevoi, 1913], vol. 2, pp. 169–174). In 1755, V. Neelov (1722–1782), an “architect’s assistant,” made an inventory of the Picture Gallery, but it was based on genre, e.g., “16 waist-length male portraits,” and therefore less useful. In the 1760s, Jacob Staehlin (1709–1785), a Swabian scholar working in Russia (1735–1785), whose notes made over a forty-year period constitute an inestimable primary source for the history of the arts in 18th-century Russia, compiled a detailed wall-by-wall inventory of the collection in the Picture Gallery, for the most part giving artists’ names (J. Stählin, *Zapiski Iakoba Shtelina ob iziashchnykh iskusstvakh v Rossii* [*Jacob Stählin’s Notes on the Fine Arts in Russia*], ed. and trans. K.M. Malinovskii, 2 vols. [Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1990], vol. 2, pp. 40–44). Some of his attributions to old masters have been refuted. New attributions continue to be proffered up to the present time. The layout of the paintings is said to have remained the same from 1756 to 1941, the fire of 1820 notwithstanding. Vil’chkovskii supplied a numbered wall plan showing the location of each picture based on a room inventory for the Picture Gallery (document now in the Arkhiv gosudarstvennyi Ėrmitazha [Archive of the State Hermitage], St. Petersburg [hereafter, Arkhiv GE]). The publication of his

book (1910) evoked criticism of his identification of some of the paintings in the Picture Gallery. He responded to this in his foreword to the second edition (1911), explaining that because a check ordered by the Imperial Hermitage was in progress, he had amended only those things that were not in doubt. The restoration of the Catherine Palace after its destruction by German troops during World War II (111 of the canvasses in the Picture Gallery had been evacuated by the Russians) entailed efforts to determine the original makeup of the collection in the Picture Gallery. The Picture Gallery as it is since 1967 is described and the text accompanied by reproductions of 130 paintings in Vera Lemus and Liudmila Lapina, *The Catherine Palace Museum in Pushkin: Picture Hall* (Leningrad: Avrora, 1990). One hundred seven of the pictures in the original collection as described by Staehlin are still extant. One is in the Hermitage collection, eleven have perished, and the location of nine is unknown. This means that some of the paintings on the walls of the Picture Gallery today have hung there only a brief time. By comparing Staehlin's inventory with Viľchkovskii's and with the reproductions in Lemus and Lapina's book, we can suggest some of the pictures that might have been in the Picture Gallery in the 1840s (St=Staehlin, V=Viľchkovskii, LL=Lemus and Lapina in the list that follows): Among the works (except where noted, all cited are oil on canvas) by Western European artists of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are: (1) *Knifegrinder*, oil on wood, signed in monogram, by David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690) (St 80, V30, LL 67); (2) the signed *Battle of Poltava*, commissioned by Peter the Great, by Pierre Denis Martin the Younger (1663–1742) (St 57, V 31 or 52, LL 98); (3) also by Martin, the signed *Actions Taking Place before the Battle of Poltava* (St 78), or *The Battle of Poltava* (V31 or 52), or *Battle at the Village of Lesnaia* (LL 97); (4) *Still Life from the Hunt with Dead Game Birds* (St 14), or *Dog Guarding Dead Game Birds* (V 96), or *Guard* (LL 56), by Jan Fyt (1611–1661); (5) also by Fyt, *Dead Game* (St 44), *Still Life with Dead Hare* or *Dead Hare* (V 111), or *Still Life with Dead Hare* (LL 57); (6) painting by Jean-Marc Nattier the Younger (1685–1766), *Sculpture in the Form of a Woman with Attributes of This Art* or *Allegorical Depiction of Sculpture* (St 12, V109), or *Allegory of Sculpture* (LL 99); (7) the signed and dated (1696) painting by Johannes Glauber (1646–1726) *Landscape* (St 81 or 83), or *Landscape Meeting of Apollo and Daphne* (V 25), or *Meeting of Apollo and Daphne* (LL 17); (8) also by Johannes Glauber, *Landscape* (St 81 or 83), or *Landscape In the Foreground Apollo Running after Daphne* (V 23), or *Apollo and Daphne*

(LL 18); (9) the signed and dated (1716) painting by Ottmar Elliger the Younger (1666–1735), *Dido on the Pyre* (St 61), or *Dido Consigning Herself to the Pyre after the Departure of Aeneas* (V 46, LL 115); (10) also by Ottmar Elliger, *Capture of Cleopatra* (St 63), or *Aeneas Introducing Himself to Dido* (V48), or *Dido and Aeneas* (LL 114); (11) the signed genre painting by Jan Miense Molenaer (c. 1610–1668) called *A Company of Dutch Country Folk* (St 69), or *A Family Scene* (V 37, LL 25); (12) Pieter Rysbrack (1655–1729), signed painting called *Landscape with Rysbrack and His Family* (St 52, V 19), or *Landscape with a Sarcophagus* (LL 60); (13) signed and dated (1637) painting by Theodor van Thulden (1606–1669) called *Virtue and Vice* (St 72), or *An Allegory of Ignorance Possessing Wealth and Driving Art and Commerce Away from Itself* (V16), or *Allegory of Ignorance Possessing Wealth* (LL 65); (14) painting by Andrea Celesti (1637-1712?), *Judith Cutting off the Head of Holofernes* (St 66), or *Judith and Holofernes* (V 12, LL 84) (bought in Italy 1717); (15) painting by Jacques Blanchard (1600-1638), *Jupiter as a Golden Shower over Danaë* (St 49), or *Jupiter As a Golden Shower Gaining Entrance to the Chamber of Danaë* (V 40), or *Danaë* (LL 101) (bought in Antwerp in 1716); (16) signed painting by Gaspard or Jasper Broers (1682–1716), *Dutch Fair* (St 22), or *Fair* (V88 or 116, LL 47 or 48); (17) also by Gaspard or Jasper Broers, *Fair with a Crowd* (St 36) or *Fair* (V 88 or 116, LL 48); (18) *Jupiter* (St 5, V 98), or *Jupiter with a Striking Rod in His Hand* (LL 111) by Johann Karl Loth (1632–1698). This selection is in no way a rejection of expert commentary on the remaining paintings. It simply represents what is easily demonstrable in the limited space of this note (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 100–108; Uspenskii, *Imperatorskie dvortsy*, vol. 2, pp. 169–173; Stählin, *Zapiski*, vol. 2, pp. 7–8, 40–44, 75–76; K.V. Malinovskii, “Opisaniia imperatorskikh zhivopisnykh kollektsii v Peterburge i zagorodnykh dvortsakh, sostavlennye Iakobom Shtelinym” [“Descriptions of the Imperial Art Collections in Petersburg and Its Environs, Compiled by Jakob Shtelin”], *Muzei [Museum]* 1 (1980): pp. 174, 190–191); Petrov, *Pushekin: Dvortsy i parki*, pp. 40, 123; Lemus and Lapina, *Catherine Palace Museum*, numbered plates). Vil'chkovskii's guide was published in English, French, and German editions in 1912 by the Berlin firm of Meisenbach-Riffart (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. VIII, X).

413. The establishing of an Imperial model farm at Tsarskoe Selo (see Images 458–459) had as its impetus an interest in agriculture on the part of Empress Maria Fyodorovna (see Images 415–416), mother of Nicholas I (Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 221). In 1810–



1811, a small farm was built on the border of the Alexander Park, where it was proposed to keep big-horn cattle of the best Western European and Russian breeds and merino sheep (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 20). In 1818–1822, the replacement of the original wooden structures by stone ones designed by Adam Menelaws (1753–1831) in the Gothic Revival style so favored by Nicholas I took place (Petrov, p. 20; Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 394; I. Iakovkin, *Opisanie Sela Tsarskogo* [*Description of Tsarskoe Selo*] [St. Petersburg: V tipografii departamenta Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia, 1830], pp. 145ff.). During the summer of 1820, the basic buildings were built in the rough: the cattle yard, dairy, and central pavilion (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 126). In 1822, to this group of structures were added wings for the merino sheep and later a circular three-storied tower fifteen meters high (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 126). The complex of oldest structures consisted of (1) a central two-storied pavilion in English Gothic style made of red brick, (2) two single-storied wings connected to the central pavilion by sections of fences, and (3) in the middle of the yard an extensive stone cowshed, also in Gothic style (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 126). A parcel of field lands from the village of Kuz'mino was added to the farm and the portion of the park adjoining it began to be called the Farm Park (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 20). The mezzanine of the main pavilion had sloping walls painted to look like tents (Benois, p. 221). The farm had an interesting collection of paintings, mostly by Dutch seventeenth-century painters, specialists in depicting animals, but as time passed the best paintings were transferred to the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 221). It is to this model farm that Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, ill with tuberculosis, was brought for the cowshed treatment.

Maxwell, who visited the farm with Colonel Todd, recorded: “We visited also a dairy in the grounds, belonging to the Grand Duke Alexander and filled with all kinds of cattle of the most approved breed. The stalls of the cows were as clean as the floors of a palace, and the cows themselves far gentler than many of the Princesses” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).

414. There were two groups of conservatories in the park grounds. The Big Conservatory, made of stone, was built towards the end of 1753 and consisted of a central hall, glassed-in conservatories, and two pavilions. It was part of the service buildings of the

palace ensemble. It was remodelled in 1820–1823, according to the design of the architect V.P. Stasov. After remodelling, it consisted of a complex of four independent two-storied buildings formed into one whole by means of connecting glassed-in colonnades. The colonnades served as hothouses for laurel trees. The baroque decoration of the façades of the Big Conservatory was completely removed, and the building took on the look of late Russian Classicism. For the rest of the nineteenth century, the building underwent repairs but no further remodelling. The head gardeners used to live in the fourth Pavilion: in Catherine the Great's time it was Busch; in Alexander I's Ljamin. Since the reign of Alexander I, the superintendent of Tsarskoe Selo had his residence in the First Pavilion. In Catherine's time, the architect Charles Cameron lived there. Behind the line of big conservatories, the whole area was taken up by hothouses for flowers (Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 62–63; *Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 140). There was also an extensive section of the Alexander Park to the southwest of the Cross Canal, where there had been conservatories since the 1780s. The buildings of the conservatories, hothouses, and closed cold conservatories for fruit trees were laid out in three rows. In 1819–1828, these conservatories were remodelled and partly built anew by Menelaws. In 1819–1820, he built one for cherry trees. In contrast to the majority of buildings built by him in the Alexander Park, which were in Gothic Revival style, these were in the style of late Classicism. The most interesting conservatory was the one located near the ruins of the Gothic Chapel. Its central pavilion was decorated with eight Doric pilasters, and the ends of the windows were semicircular (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 122).

415. Miss Mary Musgrove, governess, lived at "Avai's on the Fontanka at the Anichkov Bridge" (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 37).
416. "Cross-purposes" is a parlor game in which questions and answers are deliberately mismatched for comic effect.
417. "Catherineoff" is the anglicized name of the palace and park called Ekateringof (Catherine Palace) and pronounced "Yikuhtirin'guff" (see Images 405–406). It was located beyond the Obvodnyi Canal in the Narva District on the shore. The Ekateringof lands stretched as far as Chernaia Rechka, which constituted the boundary between St. Petersburg and Tsarskoe Selo districts. From the Gulf of Finland, the lands extended as far as the Narva (Peterhof) Road. On 1 May (OS), there was always

a public celebration here to commemorate Peter the Great's first sea victory over the Swedes in early May 1703 (OS). Especially noteworthy at these festivities was the spectacle of people promenading along the many avenues of Ekateringof in their carriages (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 14; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 213–215). A more extensive description and history of the site is given in Notes 829–834, accompanying the entry for Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I. The palace was usually called the palace of Peter I (see Image 405).

418. Maxwell, who also had to move, had thought of going to the boarding house run by the misses Benson, as such places are “well kept ... by clever clean English women,” but gave up the idea because of his intense “dislike of the boarding house system” with its lack of the “exclusiveness necessary and agreeable to [his] station” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Aug. 25, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 19; see Benson in Appendix E. He chose instead to move “for gentility’s sake” into the Hotel de Paris, “a more fashionable, more expensive and far dirtier place,” where he took two rooms, for himself and La Ronne, and was thus “relieved from the tittle tattle, the gossip and obsequious insolence of low, ~~cokney~~ cokney John Bulls, who love of all things to intrude if they can into the mysteries (to them) of a gentlemen’s life, habits and organization” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 11, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 34). See Note 170 above and Benson in Appendix E.

On 14 May, Maxwell “delivered up the keys of [his] establishment to the Major” at two o’clock, “and said goodbye to them all as they left in their carriages for the country” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).

419. They had also been invited to a dinner party at the Ropeses on 1/13 May to celebrate the Gellibrands’ wedding anniversary (see Images 265–266), but as Anna Whistler was too tired after packing and Maxwell too unwell, they “remained at home and talked of a home beyond the Atlantic and beyond the skies” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).
420. Maxwell made his first visit on the day after the Whistlers moved, 15 May, arriving with “1 dozen Chateau Margeaux and 2 bottles of Champagne” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell,

St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35). He did not like the Whistlers' summer house, "a fly box - a nut shell - and though in internal arrangements good enough, ... too small and objectionable in many respects ... like all these things in Russia ill adapted to the climate ... they had the blues. The boys were cheerful enough, and M<sup>rs</sup> W was in her usual good temper and spirits. But the Major was all buttoned up and Miss D all shawled up, and doors were kept shut and fires all lighted to keep out the cold ... To crown the whole the cook became sick and the dinner was not a promising one - and then it was vowed to remain in town another summer if a better house and better servants and other things were not at hand. It was now the wine I brought down for the house warming played a part - ... all hands cheered up. so did the weather ... and by eight ... every thing was illuminated by the setting of the sun" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).

421. Maxwell described one day in that week, Monday, 27 May, on the afternoon of which he went to visit the Whistlers. This is probably the second of the two visits that Anna Whistler said Maxwell had made to them. He was accompanied by his "crony Strokoffsky a Polish nobleman," who had dined with him and had expressed, as on many previous occasions, his wish to be introduced to the Whistlers, having never seen an American lady. Strokoffsky was a state councilor (5th grade) in Russian government service. At the Whistlers, they met not only Emma Maingay, but her elder brother, William Bonamy, with whom Maxwell was not acquainted (see Images 260, 263). Maxwell thought Major Whistler did not like William Bonamy, who was interested in Deborah Whistler, while he himself expressed his usual disdain towards Englishmen of certain classes (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, August 25, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 17; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, no. 35).
422. Anna Whistler is referring to Eliza Maingay. See Maingay in Appendix E and Image 262.
423. Anna Whistler spelled this surname Stockhol, Stockoll, and Stockol. Baron Eduard Andreevich de Stoeckl (1804 – 26 January 1892) was at this time in 1844 junior secretary to the Russian Mission in Washington and apparently on home leave (AVPRI: Fond DIS / i / KhD, op. 464, d. 3127 Stekl'). He had probably met Major Whistler in Washington during the negotiations to hire

the latter as consulting engineer for the building of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. See the biographies of the Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, and Ironside families in Appendix E (hereafter, Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside) and Image 286.

424. Maxwell said: “There ~~is~~ are no gardens attached as private property to the country houses here - The ~~are~~ gardens and grounds are kept in order by the owner, he enjoys the fruits alone, and his tenants enjoy the walks and nothing more. They must buy their fruits vegetables and flowers” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35). Maxwell’s comments to the contrary, the Whistlers’ landlord, Mr. Thomas Drury, was very generous to them, as several passages in the diaries, including this one, show.
425. The new curate, who preached on 26 May, Whitsunday, was Rev. George Williams (4 April 1814 – 26 January 1878), divine and topographer, educated at Eton, Cambridge, and Oxford. He received his BA in 1837 at Cambridge and was ordained in that year. From 22 September 1838 until Michaelmas 1840, he held “the perpetual curacies of Great Bricet and Wattisham.” In 1840, he received his M.A. at Cambridge. From 1841 to May 1843, he was with Bishop Alexander in Jerusalem as chaplain to that city. From May 1844 to August 1844, he replaced Rev. Edward Law as chaplain at St. Petersburg and, from September 1844 to June 1845, replaced Rev. R.W. Blackmore at Cronstadt. In “holding these posts he became involved with the desire of bringing together the Greek and Anglican churches.” In 1845, he published *The Holy City; Or, Historical and Topographical Notices of Jerusalem; with Some Account of Its Antiquities and of Its Present Condition with Illustrations from Sketches by the Rev. W.F. Witts* (London: John W. Parker; Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1845); a second edition appeared in 1849. In 1846, he published “a collection of ‘Sermons Preached at Jerusalem in 1842 and 1843’.” From 1846–1848, he was dean of arts at Kings College, Cambridge, and from 1848–1850 dean of divinity. He received the BD at Cambridge in 1849. In 1860, he undertook “‘a long and arduous journey in Russia’ ..., with a view to spreading knowledge of the benefits available for foreign communities at English universities.” After posts at St. Columba’s College near Dublin, King’s College, and Cumbrae College, “a tour in the East with the Marquis of Bute and several years in residence at Cambridge, [he] was presented ... [in] 1869 to the important vicarage of Ringwood in Hampshire.” He died suddenly on 26 January 1878. One of his last acts “was to send his signature to

the clerical declaration against war with Russia.” He is said to have been “endowed with a noble presence and dignified voice” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Williams, George [1814–1878]”). Anna Whistler spoke of liking “his fervent manner” in this diary entry, and in another remarked that his “low and solemn tone is so devotional” (entry of Sunday [July] 14<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I). All of his subsequent preaching seemed to impress her.

426. Lord and Lady Stuart were leaving Russia on 3 June 1844 (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).

427. In April 1844, Rev. Edward Law (see Image 253) requested from the Russia Company a leave of absence for up to three months, adding that he had written to the Bishop of London, asking him to provide a substitute for that time. “Between May 23 and Aug. 5, 1844 (both inclusive) there are 14 Entries by the Rev<sup>d</sup> Geo: Williams. Off: Minister during the absence, in England, of M<sup>r</sup> E. Law, who on that occasion took his Degree of D.D. at the University of Oxford, by the request of the British Factory, who, in the kindest manner, presented him with £100 for the attendant expences thereof” (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<sup>d</sup> Edward Law M.A. 1833. John Kirton, Script, fol. 18r). He received both his Bachelor of Divinity and his Doctor of Divinity degrees on 21 June 1844 (Joseph Welch, comp., *The List of the Queen’s Scholars of St. Peter’s College, Westminster, Admitted on that Foundation Since 1663; and of Such as Have Been Thence Elected to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, from the Foundation by Queen Elizabeth, 1561, to the Present Time*, new ed., with numerous additions by An Old King’s Scholar (London: G. W. Ginger, 1852), p. 468).

John Kirton, clerk of the English Church in St. Petersburg, died on 2 September 1852 (OS), age sixty-six, and was buried on 5 September 1852 (OS) in the Smolensk Cemetery (PREC STP for 1852, p. 434, no. 6306).

428. Colossians 2:5: “For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ.”

429. Whitsunday, or Pentecost, is the seventh Sunday after Easter and celebrates the “feast of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Apostles on the 50th day after Easter” (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “Whitsunday”). See Image 380 for an icon of this feast day.
430. “Muslin” is “a thin cotton, white, dyed, or printed.” “Book muslin” is a “thin white muslin used for ladies’ dresses” (*Webster’s Revised Unabridged Dictionary* (1913), s.v. “muslin,” “book muslin”). “Gauze” is a “very thin, transparent fabric of silk, linen or cotton” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “gauze”).
431. See Note 577 below concerning the Reports of the Religious Tract Society for 1843–1849.
432. Psalm 49:20: “Man that is in honor, and understandeth not, is like the beasts that perish.” Psalm 49 is considered a “meditation on the transience of life and wealth” (Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1977], pp. 692–693; hereafter, *New Oxford Annotated Bible*).
433. May 30 was a Thursday. Persons mentioned in this entry who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Catherine Julia McNeill, Anna Whistler’s niece (Jule); Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, Anna Whistler’s close friend, now moving permanently to England (Mrs. Maingay); the terminally ill Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst); and Anna Whistler’s mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (my own dear mother, this loved parent, my mothers visit).
434. Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), in her winter visits to East Florida, was teacher and chaplain to the Negroes on her son’s plantation (see Images 58–60) and to his mulatto wife, Elizabeth (Coffee) McNeill (c. 1828 – 23 August 1898) and their children. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
435. May 31 was a Friday.
436. The Field of Mars (*Marsovo pole*), first called the Tsarina’s Meadow (*Tsaritsyn lug*), was a vast, superbly planned area for military parades, reviews, and exercises. Every spring, it was the site of the emperor’s inspection of the troops of the Guard Corps before they set out for camp. The Field of Mars stretched along the entire length of the Summer Garden on the Swan Canal side. From the south, it was intersected diagonally by the Moika River (opposite the garden of the Mikhailovskii Palace). It was bounded from the west by a group of houses that in olden times was called Beautiful or Red Street. To the north, the field extended to the

service buildings of the Marble Palace (home of Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich), alongside which is Suvorov Square, with a view of the Neva. Further along, it extended to the magnificent building of the Austrian Legation (formerly the house of Prince Saltykov) and the residence of Prince Oldenburg (formerly the house of I.I. Betskii). When the capital was first planned, the Field of Mars was considered part of the Summer Garden. Later, it was turned into a meadow, called the Tsarina's Meadow. From 1740–1742, it was a garden. A monument to Prince Suvorov-Italiiskii was at first erected at the opposite end of the field, near the Moika. At the other end of the square rose Rumiantsev's obelisk, later transferred to the First Cadet Corps. The monument to Suvorov was later placed in an area that was freed up between Prince Saltykov's house and the service buildings of the Marble Palace, when Prince Saltykov's garden was destroyed. After the rebuilding of these service buildings (from 1845 through 1850), no permanent new structures appeared on the Field of Mars for the entire second half of the nineteenth century (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 346–347; V.S. Shvarts, *Arkhitekturnyi ansambl' Marsova polia* [*The Architectural Ensemble of the Field of Mars*] [Leningrad: Iskusstvo, 1989], pp. 135–136, 140; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 72–73). A famous panoramic painting of the Field of Mars is *A Parade in the Tsarina's Meadow on 6 October 1831* (*Parad na Tsaritsynom lugu 6 oktiabria 1831 goda*) by Grigorii Grigorievich Chernetsov (1802–1865) (Shvarts, *Arkhitekturnyi ansambl'*, pp. 127–130).

On 27 or 28 May 1844 (the date as written is not clear), Maxwell wrote to Major Whistler, informing him that he had “this moment received through the Aide de-camp of General Muller, the enclosed billet d'entrée to the residence of General Muller, which is directly opposite the marble palace of the Grand Duke Michel and overlooking the ground of parade. The review is on the 18 and 19 old style [30 and 31 NS], that is on Thursday and Friday next of this week; the first for infantry, the second for cavalry. The number of the lookout is 17 and the Company limited to 4 persons” (John S. Maxwell to Major Whistler, May 27? 28? [1844], N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). Maxwell suggested that the Major and the ladies decide who would go, but could not, with his limited Russian, understand whether the invitation said boys under twelve would be admitted (John S. Maxwell to Major Whistler, May 27? 28? [1844]). For an extensive description of the Guards review in 1847 see BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 23–31.



437. Nicholas I went to England in June 1844 “to explore the possibilities for improving Russia’s relations with Britain, and, most of all, to discuss the problem ever-present in his mind: the future of the Ottoman Empire” (Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, pp. 220, 222). Reluctant at first to have him visit, “Queen Victoria agreed to receive [him] in late May or early June” (Lincoln, pp. 220–221). “Nicholas accepted the invitation in early April” and left St. Petersburg on 12 May, arriving “at Woolwich on 1 June (NS)” (Lincoln, p. 221). He “remained in England until 9 June (NS)” (Lincoln, p. 222). No formal agreement had been made between the two powers, and the “visit and his miscalculation of the extent to which the British were willing to commit themselves to giving formal assurances about the future actually laid the basis for future conflicts” (Lincoln, p. 223). See “Europe’s Gendarme Emerges,” in Lincoln, pp. 196–231, for a discussion of the Eastern Question; pages 220–223 deal specifically with Nicholas’ visit to England in 1844. “Grand Duke Michel” is Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Emperor Nicholas I.
438. On 19/31 May, Maxwell returned from seeing Todd in Tsarskoe Selo and found Major Whistler and Count Strokoffsky waiting in his rooms. “The Major informed me that Mrs W. expected company at her house that day, that Miss W. had gone to bid farewell to her companion who went to England in the steamer, and that they therefore could not use the ticket ... He proposed however that I should go with him and the boys to see the parade—after which he wished I would go down with Colonel Todd to the country to dine” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
439. The steamer for England would be departing Cronstadt on Saturday (John S. Maxwell to Major Whistler, Sarskoe Celu, May 20, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). The pictures referred to in this entry were of Emma, Frederick, and Emily Maingay. See Maingay in Appendix E and Images 263–264. It has not been possible to locate the message from Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (see Image 259). Anna Whistler was not to open it until Friday, 7 June 1844.
440. “The day was a fine one and there were 58.000 men in the field. The Grand Duke Michel in the absence of the Emperor commanded the troops looked and manoeuvred exceedingly well ... The artillery, the flying artillery, with cannon, baggage and wagons, bridges and boats passed over the ground with

prodigious speed and were followed by cavalry, ten thousand in force on beautiful horses, at full ~~speed~~ gallop and this without breaking a rank or deviating an inch from a certain and well defined line of march. It was an extraordinary and brilliant display of the power of Russia ~~in~~ on her peace establishment . . . At three we left” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).

441. Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (see Images 420, 424) became commander-in-chief of the Horse Guards as of 22 August / 3 September 1831 (S. Panchulidzev, comp., *Istoriia Kavaleriarskogo Ee Velichestva Gosudaryni Imperatritsy Marii Fyodorovny polka* [History of the Cavalier Guards 1724–1799–1899. On the Occasion of the One Hundredth Jubilee of Her Majesty Empress Mariia Fyodorovna’s Cavalier Guard Regiment], 4 vols. [St. Petersburg: Èkspeditsiia zagotovleniia gosudarstvennykh bumag, 1912], vol. 4, p. 290). They were a knightly guard and had their beginnings in the company of bodyguards formed by Peter the Great for the coronation of Catherine I in 1724 (see Image 401). The type chosen for the Horse Guard was blonde; if possible, blue-eyed; handsome; tall. Their parade uniforms were white, the smooth-fitting trousers of kid. They wore golden chest and back armor resembling knightly armor. Their casques were silver-colored and crowned with the two-headed eagle (see Images 370, 423). They rode bay horses (Vilimbakhov, Faibisovich, and Letin, *Khrabrye dela vasbi*, pp. 27, 33, 43, 58; B.I. Antonov, *Imperatorskaia gvardiia v Sanktpeterburge* [The Imperial Guard in St. Petersburg] [St. Petersburg: GLAGOL, 2001], pp. 50–56).
442. The Ambassador was Charles Stewart Todd (see Image 278). “I saw his Excellency among the staff, bouncing about on his dancing steed and laughed inwardly at the idea that the militia was represented there” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
443. Maxwell went back to the hotel to wait for Todd. They went to Todd’s rooms, where the latter took off “his regimentals.” By then, “it was too late to start for the Majors to be on time for dinner.” They therefore dined in town and then set out. They “arrived at six, found several gentlemen there and dinner just served” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36). Neither Anna Whistler nor Maxwell identified the gentlemen.
444. Monday was 3 June.

445. Anna Whistler must have intended to write “now.”
446. Reverend Law (see Image 253) was to leave for England on the day of this diary entry, Monday, 3 June. “M<sup>r</sup>. Law went to Cronstadt yesterday [1 June] and goes away with his daughter [Caroline] in the steamer in which Lord Stuart and lady will leave to-morrow” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
447. Trinity Sunday is the first Sunday after Pentecost (or Whitsunday). It celebrates the doctrine that “the one God exists in three Persons and one substance, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit” (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “trinity, doctrine of the”). The Athanasian Creed “expounds the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, adding a list of the most important events in the Lord’s life; it includes anathemas against those who do not believe its affirmations” (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “Athanasian Creed”). “The Christian doctrine of the Incarnation affirms that the eternal Son of God took human flesh from His human mother and that the historical Christ is at once fully God and fully man. It asserts an abiding union in Christ’s Person of Godhead and manhood and assigns the beginnings of this union to a definite and known date in human history” (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “Incarnation”). The “new Curate” was Rev. George Williams.
448. Jude 20–21: “<sup>20</sup> But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, <sup>21</sup> Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.”
449. See also John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36.
450. Anna Whistler spells this name in a variety of ways: Hadenscoff, Hadenskoug, Hadenskoug. Carl Robert Hedenschoug (6 February 1813 – 2 December 1861) was a Swedish draftsman working for Major Whistler. See his biography in Appendix E.
451. On Tuesday, 4 June, Major Whistler had gone to the Department of Railways, which was located on the corner of Sadovaia Street and Ekateringof Prospekt, in the building belonging to Adam (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1846, p. 17). He was going to a meeting of the Temporary Technical Commission, of which he was a member. For a list of the other members, see Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 40–41, 54, 55.

452. Egor Karlovich (Georg Eduard) von Lode (25 August 1786 [OS] – Narva 10 December 1844 [OS]), collegiate councilor (6th grade), was director of Imperial educational institutions in Saratov Province. He had a house on Vasilievskii Island, Vasilevskaia District, First Ward, on the Fifth Line, between the Grand Neva Embankment and Academy Lane. It faced a side of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and was numbered house No. 1 in Nistrem’s 1844 guide to St. Petersburg residents (*Nistrem, Adres-Kalendar’*, p. 204. Only ten districts are included. Petersburg, Vyborg, and Okhta districts were excluded because they lacked the new house numbers instituted in 1836). In November 1838, it was numbered No. 45; in August 1850, No. 45/88. See A.A. Polovtsov, ed. *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’* [*Russian Biographical Dictionary*], 25 vols. (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskoe Russkoe Istoricheskoe Obshchestvo, 1896–1918; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1962), vol. 10 (citations are from the 1962 edition).
453. “It is a usual characteristic of the Russian style of building – a characteristic which pointedly indicates the national quality of variety, – that in all houses, even in those occupied by the inferior classes of citizens, the principal, most agreeable, and important apartment is appropriated to the purposes of a drawing room. So long as this is spacious and handsome, the Russian attaches little importance to the degree of comfort or to the habitable condition of the inferior apartments in which he passes his life” (Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 45).
454. “Dom” (pronounced “dawm”) means “house” or “home” in Russian. Maxwell had been told by Anna Whistler that there would always be a room in their summer home for him (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 33) and on his first visit had been shown the “little room all ready for me almost” but as it was “the only spare room they have ... I could not think of remaining, at least, that night”. He promised, however, to come and stay a while before leaving Russia (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35). On 17 May, the Major dined with Maxwell at Todd’s lodgings in Tsarskoe Selo and “insist[ed] upon my spending a week with him before I leave” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844). Beginning 4 June, Maxwell spent three full days with the Whistlers (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS, Maxwell Papers, no. 36).

455. "I have noticed that they have no fences to divide the different lots A man owns an Estate, there are perhaps a dozen homes on it, these are all ... used as a walk by any of the tenants which makes it much pleasanter, than when one has his walk circumscribed by a stone wall, or a high fence" (entry for Monday, 24th July [1848], PEM: Fettyplace Journal).
456. "We had prayers morning and evening, which I attended. ~~the M<sup>rs</sup>~~ W. reading the bible and prayers herself" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
457. The words "his Ellen" would seem to refer to William Hooper Ropes's wife, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, rather than to his daughter, Ellen Gellibrand Ropes.
458. "I never saw such a disagreeable place. It seems that this road is one of the most frequented in Russia and as the summers are very warm and dry, the clouds of dust were really overpowering and could be felt upon the tongue even in the house every time a mouth was open" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).
459. For example, Edward Cattley (1816–1895), Russia merchant, and Clemence Elizabeth (Camp) Cattley (1816–1884) (married 1843) had a country house "about 15 versts half way to Peterhof ... He is consul and has princes dining at his table sometimes" ("Echoes from Old St. Petersburg," part of Stephen Thomas Cattley [1835–1903] diary 1850 [edited by Edith Mary Smith, in the possession of Rev. H. Hansen, copied by Gerald N. Coveney], MS 1406, Leeds Russian Archive Special Collections [LRA], Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Yorkshire). The entry is dated July 1850.
460. Ann Elizabeth Main (1820 – 27 July / 8 August 1874) (PREC STP, no. 296, p. 1037) was married to Matthew Anderson (c. 1798 – 5/17 November 1877) (PREC STP, no. 421, p. 1092) on 13/25 July 1838 in the English Church (PREC STP for 1838, p. 237). She was called "the beautiful Mrs. Anderson." According to Pyliaev, an estate on the Peterhof Road belonging to a Mr. Anderson seems to have been formed from parts of the estates of Count Vorontsov and Vorontsov's neighbor, Count Panin, court servitors in the time of Catherine the Great. Part of Panin's estate became the property of the counts Sheremetiev and was called "Ulianka." Legend has it that the name came from an inn belonging to a Finnish woman named Uliana. Mr. Anderson's

dacha was said to occupy the spot where that inn had stood. Both the original Vorontsov and Panin estates were near the estate located on the eleventh verst that Shcherbatov sold to the government and that was turned into the insane asylum of All That Mourn (Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 134–142). More recent scholarship says the dacha belonged to Vorontsov, and that it was rented out up until the 1840s, when an Englishman named John (Ivan Matveevich) Anderson bought it (S.B. Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga Istoriko-arkhitekturnyi putevoditel'* [*The Peterhof Road: A Historical and Architectural Guide*] [St. Petersburg: Evropeiskii dom, 2002], p. 136). The Matthew Andersons probably spent summers in his house, which was considered “exceptional in its model orderliness and in being equipped with all amenities” (Gorbatenko, p. 136).

461. It has not been possible to identify the dacha the Maingays had occupied at an earlier time, but as William Bonamy Maingay later called his home in Tunbridge Wells “Strelna,” it is possible the dacha was in the Strel’na area. See Maingay in Appendix E.
462. The Trinity-Sergius Monastery (or Hermitage) by-the-Sea (*Troitse-Sergieva primorskaiia pustyn'*) (see Image 397), a male monastery of the first class, is located at the fifteenth/nineteenth verst of the Peterhof Road, on the right side of the road, near Strel’na (see Images 398–399). In 1731, at the death of her sister, Catherine, Empress Anna Ioannovna gave this sister’s farmstead as a gift to her own personal confessor, Varlaam, archimandrite of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery near Moscow, who was then living in St. Petersburg. Varlaam transferred from the home of Anna Ioannovna’s deceased mother in St. Petersburg a wooden church, which he placed near the stone house on the property. In 1734, Varlaam founded here the New-Trinity-Sergius Monastery. On 12 May 1735 (OS), he consecrated the church in the name of St. Sergius. Varlaam died in 1737 and was buried at the monastery, which continued to be under the jurisdiction of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery in Moscow. In 1752, construction of six new stone buildings was begun. In this period, two churches were erected: in 1758, a church for the archimandrite cells, named for St. Sergius of Radonezh, the Miracleworker; in 1760, the cathedral, named for the Holy Trinity. In 1764, the Monastery was transferred to the jurisdiction of the St. Petersburg eparchy and classified as a monastery of the second class. It was elevated to the status of a monastery of the first class in 1836. As described in 1839, the Monastery had the appearance of a rectangular castle, surrounded on the outside, from the east, west, and north sides,

by ponds and walks, and on the south side by two well-cultivated parterres, which bordered upon the Peterhof Road. Between the parterres lay the entry road to the monastery. There were four church edifices in the monastery: (1) the Cathedral of the Lifegiving Trinity; (2) the Church of James the Apostle and Brother of God; (3) the Church of St. Sergius of Radonezh, the Miracleworker; (4) the Church of Valerian the Martyr. Trinity Cathedral and the Church of St. Sergius of Radonezh will be discussed further in notes about Anna Whistler's visits to them. Trinity Cathedral has a three-storied belltower on its west side. The exterior of the cathedral and belltower is decorated with Corinthian columns and pilastres and sculpted figures. The cathedral contains the miracleworking icon of St. Sergius and is therefore a place of pilgrimage in summer. The Church of James the Apostle is located in a stone wing at the entrance to the monastery on the right side, facing the Peterhof Road. It was consecrated on 22 August 1820 (OS). On the northern side of the monastery, in a line with the cells and refectory, is the Church of St. Sergius. It has five cupolas and is an example of the Orthodox basilica. It was consecrated on 18 July 1822. The Church of Valerian the Martyr is located in the home for invalids on the west side of the monastery. It was erected during 1805–1809 over the remains of Count Valerian Aleksandrovich Zubov (1771–1804), the conqueror of Derbent, who died of wounds received in battle, by his brothers and consecrated on 21 June 1809 (OS). Underneath the church is a burial grotto for members of the Zubov family. The home for invalids was established by the Zubov family at their own expense to care for thirty males of various callings, mainly wounded soldiers. There are up to forty monks in the monastery. The square within the monastery, except for the orchards and the paths, is paved with natural stone. On this square, at the north and east sides of Trinity Cathedral, is a burial ground, where illustrious persons, including foreigners and non-Orthodox believers, are buried. Many of the magnificent and elegant tomb monuments here are considered works of art.

The following feast days are celebrated in the monastery: (1) in the Trinity Cathedral, Holy Trinity Day (Pentecost) (29 May / 10 June); the Feast of the apostles Peter and Paul (29 June / 11 July); Feast of the Beheading of John, the honest, praiseworthy Forerunner and Prophet of the Lord (29 August / 10 September); (2) in the Church of St. James the Apostle, the Feast of James the Apostle and Brother of God (23 October / 4 November); (3) in the Church of St. Sergius, the Feast of St. Sergius (5/17 July); the

Feast of St. Sergius (25 October / 7 November); (4) in the Church of Valerian the Martyr, the Feast of that St. Valerian who was martyred around the year 230 (22 November / 4 December).

A full religious procession (with cross and banners) around the monastery takes place on 5/17 July (Ivan Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1839, pt. 1, pp. 152–157). Grech, the compiler of *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, seems to have depended on Pushkarev's description but made some mistakes when condensing the material (p. 491). See also Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 180–204; Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, pp. 190–195; P.N. Stolpianskii, *Petergofskaiia pershppektiva Istoricheskii ocherk [Peterhof Perspective A Historical Sketch]* (St. Petersburg: Sankt-Piter-Burkh, 1923), pp. 33–35; Pushkarev, *Nikolaenskii Peterburg*, pp. 120–123; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 1, pp. 53–64.

463. All dates in this biography are Old Style. The Equerry to Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (1807–1873), wife of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (1798–1849), brother of Nicholas I, was Count Aleksandr Nikolaevich Tolstoi (21 September 1793 – 23 July 1866). He was educated in St. Petersburg in the private school of the Jesuit priest, Father Gruber. Despite receiving a Catholic education, he remained devoted to Russian Orthodoxy and personally paid for the construction of fifteen Orthodox churches. He began his military service as sub-ensign (*portupeipraporsbchik*) in the Astrakhan Grenadier Regiment on 24 February 1814. In 1815, he was transferred to the quartermaster section of His Imperial Majesty's (Alexander I) Suite, and on 30 August promoted to ensign (*praporsbchik*). In January 1817, he was transferred to the Guards staff. In 1819, he was transferred to the Horse Guard Regiment, where, on 11 March, he was appointed adjutant to Prince A.S. Menshikov (1787–1864). He was at the Congress in Leibach with Prince Menshikov, and from here was sent with dispatches to the ambassador in Constantinople, Baron G.A. Stroganov. Then for a time, he served as adjutant to Adjutant-General Prince Volkonskii. On 2 August 1822, he was appointed an aide-de-camp to Alexander I, but on 23 January 1827 (reign of Nicholas I) was relieved of military duties because of ill health, with the title of “kamerherr,” appointed to the Court. In February of 1827, he was appointed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and sent to serve with the Russian ambassador in Paris. Five years later, he transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and for some three years was charged with special assignments in the office of the governor-general of Finland. On 12 December 1834, he was made a member of the committee for Russian



horsebreeding. In 1836, he was promoted to actual state councillor (4th grade), and in 1838 appointed equerry to the Imperial Court. On his return from abroad in 1840, on which trip he had accompanied Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, he was appointed to serve as equerry to her. During his continuing court service, Tolstoi held the post of marshal of the Imperial Court and Winter Palace (*oberhofmarshal*) and carried out many special Imperial assignments. When the emancipation of the serfs took place, he gifted to his peasants the payment of twenty percent of their manumission fee. In the autumn of 1865, Tolstoi went to Nice for the cure because of ill health, but died there on 23 July 1866. His body was brought back to St. Petersburg and buried in the family vault of the Lazarus Church of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery. Tolstoi was married to Anna Nikolaevna Khilkova and was without issue (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheski slovar'*, vol. 21, pp. 32–33).

464. “The country at this season even in Russia is delightful - The mosquitoes and other insects however are very annoying and Miss Whistler [*sic*] was so bitten one night by the gallinippers as to have her face swelled and her eyes almost closed” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
465. Maxwell’s mother was Agnes (Stevenson) Maxwell (5 January 1796 – 21 April 1866). See Maxwell in Appendix E and Image 54.
466. Maxwell wrote home of Anna Whistler’s response to his father’s letter: “I read to M<sup>rs</sup> W. that part of Fathers letter speaking of your and his gratitude for their attention to me etc - M<sup>rs</sup> W. desires to be remembered to you and hopes to see and know you well one of these days” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36). See Maxwell in Appendix E and Image 55.
467. On 25 May 1844, Maxwell received a letter from a man named Stoltenburg, whom he had met on 5 July 1843, while travelling in Scandinavia. This letter is not among Maxwell’s papers at N-YHS; however, in a letter dated 15 July 1843, from Maxwell to his mother, there is an extensive passage about the meeting with Stoltenburg:

... valet who was ahead stopped at a pretty cottage surrounded [*sic*] with rose trees and flowers to light his pipe. The gentleman residing there hearing from him of

his stranger employers and that one of them was an American, hastened out and was at the gate when we drove up. He advanced towards us and insisted upon our going in, and as an inducement told me in excellent English that he had travelled in America twenty years since, that he loved my country and wanted to talk about it. Resistance was in vain and in we went. ... here were maps of the United States, pictures of the Presidents, collections of American insects and some American plants. Why did you not come here yesterday ... You would have seen the flag of the United States and that of Old Norway flying side by side. as they do every 4<sup>th</sup> of July in many parts of this country. You may imagine how happy I felt at all this ... we talked a great deal of America and Norway. M<sup>r</sup> Stoltenburg, thinking that Norway had the advantage of us in having a President who was not chosen by the people. He meant the King of Sweden ... From his manner, feeling and energy. from his mode of life and careless independence I was lead to think of Burn's [Robert Burns (1759–1796)], M<sup>r</sup> Stoltenberg's little domain consisted of 15 acres only. but most charmingly situated ... It is called in honor of the lady [Mrs. Stoltenberg] Marion-lyst or Mary's joy. After a detention of 4 hours passed most delightfully, after an invitation to remain for the night, after an injunction to visit Norway in her glory; in the winter, after promising to send him some hickory nuts to plant, and after many adieu's and hand-shakings. we departed ... I know nothing of this kind of hospitality in our country. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Hamburg, July 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 16)

“After [Oslo] was destroyed by fire in 1624, Christian IV of Denmark-Norway built a new town farther west ... and called it Christiania” (*Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Oslo,” accessed November 15, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Oslo>). It has not been possible to identify Mr. Stoltenberg. “The cottage ‘Marienlyst’, likely identified with the small farm ‘Marienlyst’, was at that time still situated outside the borders of Kristiania in the municipality of Aker. Marienlyst was a part of the greater farm, Nedre Blindern” (Torkel R. Bråthen, Regional State Archives of Oslo, to E. Harden, 22 December 2010). A search “in the municipal censuses from Aker of 1842 and 1843,” which are “not

- completely preserved,” did not contain information about Marienlyst (Robert Kalleberg and Unn Hovdhanger, Oslo Kommune, to E. Harden, 14 March 2011).
468. All the topics Anna Whistler mentions in this sentence are taken up in Maxwell’s abovementioned letter of 15 July 1843, to his mother (N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 16).
469. “Sweden is filled with beggars and barons, who meet you at every turn, but not a beggar did I see in Norway and the last noble permitted to enjoy a title while he lives is now so old that a few months will terminate his life and with it the existence of the aristocracy” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Hamburg, July 15, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 16).
470. Friday was 7 June 1844.
471. William Miller (25 March 1809 – 10 October 1887) was a Scottish merchant and honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg.
472. Timothy Abraham Curtis (30 January 1786 – 13 May 1857) was the second son of Sir William Curtis BT (1752–1829), who had been lord mayor of London in 1795–1796. Sir William, along with his brother, had amassed great wealth through the ship’s biscuit business they had inherited from their father. Timothy Abraham Curtis’s path, in contrast, was one of bankruptcy. He was a director of the Bank of England from 1820 to 1841, including the period 1834–1837 as deputy governor and 1837–1839 as governor. He ceased to be a director in 1841, when he disqualified himself through the sale of his holding of Bank Stock (capital stock of the Bank of England). His bankruptcy gave great pleasure to the Stock Exchange, because during his governorship brokers had been barred from continuing to use the Bank’s premises as a market to conduct their business. He was in Russia as partner in the firm of Bury, Curtis and Kennedy of Liverpool, which had difficulties in adhering to its contract with the Russian government to supply cast iron immovable arches for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He died intestate and a bankrupt. His widow and children refused to apply for a grant of letters of administration to his estate. A receiver was therefore appointed by the court under the Bankruptcy Act in force at the time and a grant of letters of administration for Curtis’s estate was issued to that receiver. The document cites Curtis as a flax spinner late of Grandholm Works near Aberdeen in North Britain. He died at Woodstock in the County of Oxford. His effects were under £20 (W. Marsten Acres, *The Bank of England from Within 1694–1900*, 2 vols. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931], vol.

- 2, pp. 481–483; John Francis, *Chronicles and Characters of the Stock Exchange* [London: Willoughby, 1849], pp. 294–295; *Dictionary of National Biography* (1971), s.v. “Curtis, Timothy”; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 89, 364; *Burke's Peerage*, 1869, p. 294). I wish to thank D.A.H. Byatt of the Archive Section, Corporate Services Department, Bank of England, London, for his help in untangling Anna Whistler’s statement and Clive Dyal, Record Keeper at Principal Registry of the Family Division, for his help in interpreting the letters of administration for Curtis. For Curtis’s family, see Note 474 below.
473. Anna Whistler should have written “latter.” Maxwell gives the correct information: “Last evening [June 7] several gentlemen were out there and among them was a most interesting man by the name of Curtis, for many years Governor of the bank of England” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8th in letter dated June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
474. Timothy Abraham Curtis married on 25 April 1809 Margaret Harriett Green (bap. 11 August 1788 – 8 June 1847). Their daughters were Harriet Anne (c. 1812 – 3 November 1883), Emma Charlotte (Curtis) Bevan (c. 1813 – 22 July 1881), Sophia (c. 1815 – 22 March 1902), Elizabeth Ann (bap. 23 August 1821), Frances Moncton (bap. 12 May 1824 – 10 August 1850), and Annette de la Touraine (Curtis) Raitt (c. 1829 – 5 April 1900).
475. “Every night about 10 o’clock I heard a beating of sticks upon something, which from the sound I imagined to be a wooden fence. Upon enquiry I ascertained that this beating was kept up all night by the watchman to frighten away the thieves and to give them notice that a watch was kept upon the premises. I went to see the spot where this nightly ceremony was performed and there I saw a board nailed ~~across~~ upon two posts placed upright, upon which the watchman played with two sticks as upon a drum. It is usual to have this done it seems upon every estate and it struck me as a very queer thing indeed” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
476. “Saturday June 8<sup>th</sup> I have just returned from a visit of three days to the country house of Major Whistler. I passed a very agreeable time there, and what with running about with the boys etc. I have improved in health to a remarkable degree” (John S. Maxwell to

- Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
477. In the 31 May entry of the long letter to his mother, begun on 17 May 1844, Maxwell, who had intended to leave Russia permanently, wrote that he had “been induced to change [his] plans” because Todd was “in great anxiety respecting his position” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35). Maxwell was leaving only for the summer, going to Germany, and returning “in the fall or sooner . . . if Colonel Todd remains *here*, it will be for the winter and . . . if I can *then* obtain leave to absent myself well and good, if I cannot I shall in all probability resign and go South, for I have no idea of trying the winter again. But in the present state of affairs all I can do, with any safety is to make the most of my time and proceed on the 15 of June, two weeks from tomorrow to Berlin - and thence where time and circumstance may direct my steps” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35).
478. “When I said Farewell to the Whistlers to-day, I did so thinking perhaps that I would not see them again before my departure . . . Consequently as you may imagine I took leave of them with some feelings of regret. I think however I may go out again for a few hours next week” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
479. It has not been possible to ascertain whose dacha this was, located about a verst beyond where the Whistlers lived.
480. Anna Whistler meant “could not but be amused.”
481. It has seemed that Eugenia Maria Reay, who married Benjamin Norman (12/23 November 1797 – 1836 or 1837) in St. Petersburg on 28 November / 10 December 1822 (PREC STP, no. 3234), is the Mrs. Norman intended here. We can ascertain Benjamin Norman’s death year from the baptism entry for his daughter, Mary, given as 30 July [/ 11 August] 1837. In this entry, he is called the *late* Benjamin Norman, which means he had died within the previous 9–10 months. The widowed Mrs. Norman was described in 1845 as a dissenter living at the Dissenting Chapel (British and American Chapel) and engaged in the millinery trade (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 42). She may have been living there earlier, which would account for why her daughter Emily was buried from the house of the pastor, John Croumbie

Brown, in 1840. Mrs. Norman was very ill in 1842, according to Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, who reported that Mrs. Norman's little daughter was staying with the Gellibrands until her mother was better. The little daughter would have been Mary. (The letter, although dated only "August 17/29 from the Peterhoff Road," had to have been written in 1842 because in it Mrs. Gellibrand speaks to her father of two events that took place in 1842: (1) the strife between Archibald Mirrielees and her brother, Joseph Samuel Ropes, that led to the severing of ties with William Ropes and Company by the former; (2) the birth of the Ellerbys' daughter, Lucy).

A thorough investigation of sources in England about the Norman family in Russia shows that there is no clue to where the family came from in Britain that might have led to further information about births and deaths missing from registers and Foreign Office correspondence and seeming therefore not to have taken place in Russia. For example, there is no burial entry for the above Benjamin Norman in any record of the two British churches in St. Petersburg, so he may have died away from this city.

Benjamin and Eugenia (Reay) Norman had four known children: William Joseph (c. 1824 – 22 July [/ 3 August] 1882), Emily (c. 1833 – St. Petersburg 11 June [/ 23 June] 1840), Caroline Steen (St. Petersburg 3 December [/ 15 December] 1834 – St. Petersburg 2 June [/ 14 June] 1838) and Mary (b. St. Petersburg 15 July [/ 27 July] 1837). It is quite likely that the Elizabeth Norman who married Karl Ferdinand Hensell in St. Petersburg in 1855 and the Benjamin Norman who married Ellen Margaret Brown in St. Petersburg in 1859 are further children of Benjamin and Eugenia (Reay) Norman born between 1823 and 1832. A witness at both weddings was William J. Norman, who may have been brother to these two Normans. He himself married in St. Petersburg in 1853 (his wife was Jessie Bartels). Elizabeth and Benjamin were not baptized in a British church in St. Petersburg and neither were William Joseph and Emily. It could be that these four children were all baptized in a non-conformist church in Britain, but a search for them in the IGI and in a central index to non-conformist baptisms has proven fruitless. The evidence suggests that Benjamin and Eugenia (Reay) Norman left St. Petersburg fairly soon after their marriage in 1822 and that they returned before the end of 1834.

The first 437 baptisms (1840–1872) and the first 513 burials (1840–1886) of the British and American Congregational Church

in St. Petersburg are unknown, because the church transcripts (registers) are missing. This omission almost certainly accounts for some gaps in the biographical information about the Normans. For example, it probably explains why the death and burial of Eugenia (Reay) Norman cannot be known and why the baptisms of some of her grandchildren are not known. Moreover, as her son, William Joseph, and probable children, Elizabeth and Benjamin, were not married until the 1850s, it does not seem possible that she could have been a grandmother at this time.

As a result, the Cadets who visited Mrs. Norman, their grandmother, cannot be identified, any more than can “the little Normans,” except possibly for Mary, Eugenia (Reay) Norman’s daughter, but we do not know her date of death.

The deceased Benjamin Norman had several siblings, including William (b. 10 May 1792 [OS]), Sarah (b. 10 November [OS] 1795) and Christiana (b. 27 August [OS] 1805). A wife of William could be a grandmother with cadet-aged children, but there is no record of his marriage because, after the registration of his birth, William disappeared from the records, along with his siblings.

For information about the British and American Congregational Church on Novo-Isaakievskaja Street in St. Petersburg, see Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sanket-Peterburga*, vol. 3, p. 269.

482. Sunday was 9 June 1844.
483. “1840’s. (F.) A small mantle, deep at the back, with long scarf ends in front” (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, *Dictionary of English Costume*, p. 132).
484. “Poplin” is “plain-woven fabric with a fine horizontal rib, produced by weaving with a warp thread finer than the weft ... originally made of silk and worsted” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “poplin”).
485. In Luke 16:31, a rich man, who has died, seeing the dead beggar Lazarus in Abraham’s bosom and himself in torment, wishes to warn his living brothers of the torment awaiting them if they do not repent, but is told by Abraham: “If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.”
486. This is the mortally ill Mary Gent Hirst, whose brother, Thomas Nelson Hirst, ran a private school in St. Petersburg.

487. Exodus 20:8–11: “<sup>8</sup> Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. <sup>9</sup> Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work: <sup>10</sup> But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: <sup>11</sup> For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.”
488. Eugenia (Reay) Norman may have had one young daughter at this time: Mary Norman, born 15/27 July 1837 and baptized on 30 July / 11 August 1837 by William Glen (Transcripts of Non-Conformist Church Registers, 1818–1840, RG4/4605, NAUS). See Note 481 above.
489. The 42nd Psalm begins: “As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God.” The 40th chapter of Isaiah begins: “Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God.”
490. This is William Miller (25 March 1809 – 10 October 1887), a Scottish merchant and honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg. For further information about him, see the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
491. Francis Baird (28 February / 12 March 1802 – 13/25 March 1864; see Image 275) (PREC STP, nos. 1907, 7614), son of Charles Baird (1766–1843; see Image 274), had been educated at Edinburgh University and had joined his father’s business when seventeen. On his father’s death, he had inherited most of his fortune and had become sole proprietor of the metalworks. At this time, the firm was involved in the construction of St. Isaac’s Cathedral and the building of the Annunciation Bridge (see Images 119; 140–142) (John R. Bowles, “From the Banks of the Neva to the Shores of Lake Baikal: Some Enterprising Scots in Russia,” in *The Caledonian Phalanx: Scots in Russia* [Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland, 1987], pp. 69–75).
492. “Lake Ladoga lies between the government of St. Petersburg on the south, Olonetz on the east, and Viborg on the north and west. Its greatest length, from north to south, is one hundred and thirty miles; its average breadth is about seventy-five miles; and its area, six thousand three hundred square miles. It is the largest lake in Europe, and receives no fewer than sixty streams . . . It discharges



- itself at its southwestern extremity, by the Neva, which falls into the Baltic. It contains numerous islands, many of which are inhabited, and its shores are much indented, generally low, and send out so many shelving rocks into the water, as to make the navigation very dangerous” (Sears, *Description of the Russian Empire*, p. 37). Timothy Abraham Curtis was actively attempting to organize a trip to Lake Ladoga (see Image 404).
493. Maxwell had “secured a ticket and passage for the steamer of Saturday next [15 June]” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of Tuesday morning June 11 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36). On Friday, 14 June, he added a new entry to letter no. 36: “Yesterday morning I went out to Major Whistler and remained until this morning. I bid them all good bye, hoping to see them again ere I left forever. The Major came to town with me and will see me off to-morrow in the boat bound for Stettin” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 14 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).
494. William Bonamy Maingay (14 October 1819 – 26 August 1902) was the eldest child of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay. Starting in 1844, with the departure of his family permanently from Russia, he remained as the representative of his father. See Maingay in Appendix E and Image 260.
495. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Emma Maingay to Deborah Delano Whistler (Dasha).
496. It has not been possible to identify this estate.
497. John Stevenson Maxwell’s father, Hugh Maxwell (15 June 1787 – 31 March 1873), a lawyer, owned a country estate called Roslyn on the Hudson River at Nyack, New York. See Maxwell in Appendix E and Image 55.
498. A kopek was a brass coin, spelled “kopeika” and pronounced “kahpey’kuh.” It equaled one-hundredth of a ruble; a half-kopek was a brass coin, spelled “denezhka” and pronounced “dey’nyeezhkuh” (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 53).
499. Anna Whistler uses a plural subject and verb here because she was thinking of Sophia Krehmer and Mrs. Nicol Baird’s daughter, Sophia, who also were on the steamer (John S. Maxwell to Major G.W. Whistler, Berlin, June 20, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). See Notes 81 and 82 above.

500. See Note 82 above. Maxwell wrote to Major Whistler: “On Sunday [16 June] the Captain pointed out the person of M<sup>rs</sup> Baird and I had the honor to present to that lady the letter of introduction from M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler” (John S. Maxwell to Major G.W. Whistler, Berlin, June 20, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers).
501. The reason for their departure from Russia was that the “daughter is in delicate health and the object of the mother now is to promote her strength by a visit for a few years to the mineral baths and waters of Germany” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Berlin, June 23, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 37). This daughter is Sophia, who had received an inheritance from her grandfather, Charles Baird (see Note 81 above).
502. See Note 81 above. Maxwell wrote to Major Whistler: “I found M<sup>rs</sup> B a most agreeable lady, and I think her eyes remarkably fine. The daughter is certainly tall and Miss Kramer very intelligent. All these ladies spoke in the highest terms of their delightful intercourse with your family and regret that any thing whatever should oblige them to part with such society - Need I say that this confirmed my good opinion of these ladies” (John S. Maxwell to Major G.W. Whistler, Berlin, June 20, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). He “secured rooms for M<sup>rs</sup> Baird and party in Berlin at the British Hotel, where he was also staying, and they went to art galleries and the theater together (John S. Maxwell to Major G.W. Whistler, Berlin, June 20, 1844). In the letter to his mother from Berlin, Mrs. Baird becomes “the black-eyed widow,” and he is much more playful in his remarks about her (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Berlin, June 23, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 37). At the end of June they parted company, Mrs. Baird going to Marienbad and Maxwell to Leipzig (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Toplitz, June 28, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 38).
503. Galatians 3:28: “There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus our Lord.”
504. For Anderson, see Note 460 above.
505. This is Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes. The Ropeses were staying with the Gellibrands, who were the Whistlers’ neighbors on the Peterhof Road.
506. Emma Woodbridge Palmer (24 November 1835 – 28 July 1912) was the daughter of Dr. George Edwin Palmer (see Image 36) of

- Stonington, Connecticut, and his first wife, Emma (Woodbridge) Palmer (28 February 1802 – 16 February 1839). She was Anna Whistler's step-niece. Her letter was enclosed with one from Catherine Julia McNeill (see Image 33) to Deborah Whistler (see Images 17–19, 21).
507. This is Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), who would be returning to Stonington, Connecticut, after spending the winter with her son, Charles Johnston McNeill, in Florida.
  508. Mary Brennan must have gone on a visit somewhere. She appears in the entry for Wed. morning 23<sup>rd</sup> April (actually 24). She is not mentioned again until this entry of Tuesday, 25 June, when Anna Whistler records having received a letter from her perhaps a week before. She is mentioned as again being with the Whistlers on July 6 (entry for Wed [August] 7<sup>th</sup> [1844]. NYPL: AWPD, Part I).
  509. This is Katherine Prince (13 April 1820 – 19 November 1906), daughter of Susan (Travers) and John Dynely Prince of Lowell, Massachusetts.
  510. The feast of St. Barnabas the Apostle is celebrated on 11 June, which in 1844 was a Tuesday. Mr. Williams's epistle text was based on a quotation about Barnabas from Acts 11:24: "For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord." Barnabas, not one of the Twelve Apostles, was closely associated with the newly converted Paul (Robert Brownrigg, *Who's Who in the New Testament*, vol. 2 of *Who's Who in the Bible* [New York: Bonanza Books, 1980], pp. 39–40). Anna Whistler's entry was made on Tuesday, 25 June. By "last Sunday" she seems to mean 23 June, as she did not go to church on 16 June, and her attendance on 9 June is taken up in the entry of Monday 10 June.
  511. This is the mortally ill Mary Gent Hirst. See Hirst in Appendix E.
  512. Matthew 25:40: "And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."
  513. Mary Gent Hirst's only sister was Elizabeth (23 June 1800 – before June 1844). Her parents were William (bap. 14 October 1767 – 6 April 1822) and Ann (Nelson) Hirst (d. before June 1844) (SoG). See Hirst in Appendix E.
  514. Thomas Nelson Hirst (12 November 1794 – 22 May / 3 June 1863) ran a private school for boys in St. Petersburg in his home. See Hirst in Appendix E.

515. It has not been possible to obtain any information about Elona (pronounced “yeelaw’nuh”). This is an endearing form, along with many others, from the given name Elena (pronounced “yeeleh’nuh”) (N.A. Petrovskii, *Slovar’ russkikh lichnykh imen* [*Dictionary of Russian Personal Names*] [Moscow: Sovetskaia èntsiklopediia, 1966], pp. 108, 285).
516. The purpose of the Gospel Plan of Salvation is “to re-enthroned in the heart of man that principle, which reigned there before the fall in full supremacy, and in which his highest glory and happiness consisted – the love of God” for man (L. Bonnet, *The Family of Bethany; or Meditations on the Eleventh Chapter of the Gospel According to St. John*, translated “from the French, by the Translator of *The Exile from Eden*, etc. [William Hare],” introduction by Rev. Hugh White, 10th ed. [London: James Nisbet, 1844], p. 1).
517. Major Whistler left for Moscow on Thursday, 27 June 1844.
518. A “prog-canister” (or “prog-basket”) is a case or box for holding “prog,” which is colloquial term for “provisions for a journey or excursion,” or slang for food generally (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “prog”).
519. Anna Whistler’s cookbook contains three recipes for “plumb pudding,” one baked and two boiled (MacDonald, *Whistler’s Mother’s Cook Book*, pp. 78–81). All contain varying quantities of crumbs, milk, eggs, sugar, brandy, and spices, making the first “light-textured” and “not over-sweet”; the second “fairly rich, with a good fruity flavor”; and the third “fairly rich” and “semi-sweet.” All contain “fresh beef suet.” The presence of milk, eggs, sugar (bullock’s blood was used in the refining process), and animal fat caused Russians to refuse the plum pudding as a gift during Lent (Bowles, “Enterprising Scots in Russia,” p. 70).
520. This is Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel’nikov, Major Whistler’s colleague in charge of the Northern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. See Mel’nikov in Appendix E and Image 247.
521. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Emma Maingay, which was delivered by her brother, William Bonamy Maingay (see Images 260, 263).
522. The phrase “lord of the creation” can be found in “The History of Tom” in *The History of Jack and His Eleven Brothers: Displaying the Various Adventures They Encountered in Their Travels* (London: T. Hughes, 1823), p. 63; first published in 1815 by J. Kendrew

- (London). Tom finds a wounded and dying blackbird and starts “to reflect on the wanton cruelty of man — man that proudly calls himself the lord of the creation.” Anna Whistler probably meant they felt the sheer physical power of being male.
523. The Gellibrands’ party had taken place on Wednesday, 26 June 1844.
524. The reference is to David Hume (Edinburgh 26 April 1711 – Edinburgh 25 August 1776), Scottish philosopher and historian; irreligious skeptic (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Hume, David [1711–1776]”).
525. The reference is to François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire (Paris 1694 – Paris 30 May 1778), French writer, historian and philosopher, atheist (*Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Voltaire,” accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Voltaire>).
526. This is Dr. James Ronaldson Handyside (29 July 1798 – 11/23 December 1872), physician (PREC STP, no. 1220, p. 1000). The Gellibrands and Ropeses were his patients. Dr. Handyside’s flabby response seems to be an attempt to be placatory, while Mr. Williams, who “gave no quarter” in his sermons, remains immovable in his belief that success crowns the sincere effort that is accompanied by prayer and study of scripture.
527. Anna Whistler meant “Elijah.” See Note 425 above and the *Dictionary of National Biography* for further details of the biography of Rev. George Williams.
528. For the story of Elijah’s and Ahab’s sacrifices at Mount Carmel to determine whether the Lord or Baal be God, see 1 Kings 18.
529. The book on Syria does not seem to have been published. Anna Whistler may have meant the book on Jerusalem, which appeared in 1845. See Williams’s biography in Note 425, NYPL: AWP, Part I.
530. The city of Tula (pronounced “Too’luh”) was famous for its metalwork.
531. Friday was 28 June 1844.
532. Anna Whistler wrote to Katherine Prince and Catherine Julia McNeill (see Image 33), but not to Catherine (McNeill) Palmer and Maria (Cammann) McNeill, her sister and sister-in-law.

533. This is Joseph Samuel Ropes (6 February 1818 – 14 March 1903), brother of William Hooper Ropes. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Hall, Prince in Appendix E.
534. There were several roads to the village of Krasnoe Selo (pronounced “Kras’nuhyuh Sillaw”) (see Image 407). The name means “Beautiful, or, Red, Village.” The Krasnoe Selo Road to which Anna Whistler refers was a turnoff on the eleventh verst of the great Peterhof Road. Krasnoe Selo is located on an elevated spot formed by the Duderhof hills. At first glance, it resembles a district town rather than a village. It has a stone church named for the Holy Trinity and established during the reign of Catherine the Great, who had a summer palace built here. The palace on the Duderhof heights built by Nicholas I and resembling a large peasant hut is particularly remarkable. The peasants of Krasnoe Selo cultivate orchards on the slopes, which constitutes their main commercial endeavor. The Imperial Guard has encamped in Krasnoe Selo in summer since 1824. Their camp is usually set up on the slope of a hill opposite the village. At the foot of the hill is a rather extensive lake, while from the other side it is surrounded by brush and forest. The camp presents a charming picture. The cavalry usually sets itself up in the village, while the infantry camps in tents, which take up the entire space. The soldiers’ tents are set up in one line in three rows, at a certain distance. Behind and separated somewhat from them are the non-commissioned officers’ tents; then separated from them the staff officers’ tents; then the tent of the regimental commander, which is always in the midst of the regiment. The tents of the brigade commanders are in the midst of the brigade. Beyond them is the tent of the division general. Behind the tent of the regimental commander are placed the tents of his adjutants and, somewhat further off, tents for the chancery and musicians. In every regiment, in front of the battalions, at a distance of several sazhen, are the tents for the guards. All this gives Krasnoe Selo an unusual appearance and attracts the attention of the visitor (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, pp. 189-191; Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 192, 204, 312–313; Pylaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 430–431); see also BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journals, pt. 1, fols. 92–93. The Whistler party did not travel all the way to Krasnoe Selo; they simply took a ride along part of the road leading there.
535. Anna Whistler is referring to Count Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin (1807–1876; see Image 305). The surname is pronounced

- “Bootoor’lin.” In his autobiographical notes, Buturlin described his “wild living” (M.D. Buturlin, “Zapiski grafa M.D. Buturlina” [“Notes by Count M.D. Buturlin”], *Russkii arkiv* [*Russian Archive*] 5–8 (1897), p. 46) and revealed that Pushkin had told him that *he* was the prototype for Eugene Onegin.
536. Anna Whistler is referring to Count Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov (1794–1882), father of the young Count Stroganov the Whistlers had met on the lighter from Cronstadt in 1843. It has not been possible to establish the exact location of the Stroganov estate said to have been won from Buturlin. See Stroganov, Vasil’chikov, Kushelev in Appendix E.
537. The Cathedral of St. Isaac of Dalmatia (see Images 119–124) was in the process of being built on the square between Isaac Bridge and Blue Bridge (*Sinii most*), so called because of its color in olden times, when it was made of wood. Its construction was initiated by Catherine the Great in 1768 in memory of the birthday (30 May [OS]) of Peter the Great. The architect was Antonio Rinal’di (1709–1794). The work, marked by frequent interruptions, was completed “for the time being” in brick by order of Paul I (see Image 417) in 1800 and given a temporary roof with a cupola. The foundation of the cathedral, which was built by the architect Auguste Monferrand (1786–1858), was laid on 26 June (OS) 1818. “When the cathedral is completed it will number among the most magnificent and richest religious edifices in the world. All of its inside walls will be robed in Russian and foreign marble. The capitals and bases of the columns are bronze covered with gold leaf. The cupolas, surrounded by granite columns, are embellished with bronze sculptures. These five cupolas will be covered with gilded bronze leaves. Gigantic granite pillars support its porticos with their elegant bas reliefs. The interior is being decorated by the most important Russian artists. Divine service is at present being conducted in a temporary church in the Main Admiralty building” (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 494, 551; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 136–139). It was completed in 1858 (Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 1, pp. 105–109).
538. The reference here is to the gilded spire of the Church in the Peter and Paul Fortress (see Image 130). See the entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> of July [1846], NYPL: AWP, Part II, and accompanying Note 453 for a description of the church.

539. Mr. Joseph is Joseph Samuel Ropes. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
540. This is Carl Hedenschoug, Major Whistler's Swedish draftsman. See his biography in Appendix E.
541. Saturday was 29 June 1844.
542. Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, which has an extensive section about stores, does not list a grocer on Galernaia Street.
543. This is Margaret Gordon Hirst (c. 1809 – 22 March / 3 April 1891), whose husband, Thomas Nelson Hirst (12 November 1794 – 22 May / 3 June 1863) ran a private school in St. Petersburg. See Hirst in Appendix E.
544. This is Mary Gent Hirst (bap. 22 March 1797 – 23 July / 4 August 1844), sister-in-law to Margaret Gordon Hirst. See previous Note and Hirst in Appendix E.
545. This is Rev. George Williams (4 April 1814 – 26 January 1878), who was replacing Rev. Dr. Law at the English Church for the summer. See Note 425 above and the *Dictionary of National Biography* for his biography.
546. "The normal working season for earthworks was June 1 to December 1", although there were variations depending upon weather conditions and the number of workers available (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age 1842-1855*, p. 194).
547. The Russian word for "country house" is spelled "dacha" and pronounced "dah'chuh."
548. Joseph Samuel Ropes and William Hooper Ropes's cousin from Boston was possibly Franklin Henry Hooper (bap. 7 July 1822 – 10 October 1847). He was issued passport number 1902 on 26 March 1844 (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 16). See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
549. George Henry Prince (16 October 1821 – 25 April 1900) was first cousin to William Hooper Ropes and Joseph Samuel Ropes and, like them, employed by William Ropes and Company. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
550. He could not have been William Spurr Mirrielees (b. 1828/29, bap. By Mr. Knill 24 January 1829, d. January 1895), son of Archibald Mirrielees (7 September 1797 – 11 February 1877) and his first wife, Sarah Newbould (Spurr) Mirrielees (bap. Sheffield Cathedral 5 December 1805 – late 1835), who, it is almost certain, "was with his father in England *throughout* June & July 1844"



(Harvey Pitcher, Cromer, Norfolk, to E. Harden, 3 October 1994). On 18 June 1844, Jane Muir, who married Archibald Mirrielees in London on 21 July 1844, writes: “Mr M’s son Will<sup>m</sup> is 15 years old. Rather a nice boy. To be left at home to go through a college course” (Harvey Pitcher). Pitcher suggests instead that the likely remaining choice is one of Archibald Mirrielees’s nephews: possibly William or John, his brother James’s sons; or possibly William Phillip, his brother William’s son. All three boys are known to have been in Russia (Harvey Pitcher). For more detailed information on the Mirrielees family, see Harvey Pitcher’s Russian and English editions of the history of the Muir and Mirrielees department store: *Muir i Meriliz Shotlandtsy v Rossii* [*Muir and Mirrielees: Scotsmen in Russia*] (Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii, 1993) and *Muir and Mirrielees: The Scottish Partnership That Became a Household Name in Russia*, (Cromer, UK: Swallow House Books, 1994); see also Images 268–269.

551. The Mr. Ropes referred to here seems to be William Hooper Ropes. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
552. Sir William Allan (4 October 1782 – 22 February 1850; see Image 320), Scottish portrait and history painter and President of the Scottish Royal Academy, visited the Whistlers on Saturday, 29 June 1844. The above death date is given on Allan’s testament, which is at the Scottish Record Office (SRO) (SC 70/4/9) in Edinburgh. He was brought to the Whistler dacha by William Miller, honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg. For Miller, see the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
553. See Note 462 above. By “chapel,” Anna Whistler means the Cathedral of the Lifegiving Trinity, in which the miracle-working icon of St. Sergius is displayed. The name of the saint is spelled “Sergei” and pronounced “Seergay’.” Anna Whistler rendered it as “Seergay” and “Sairgay.”
554. A “Scotch bun,” also called a “black bun,” is a “spiced plum cake with pastry crust, traditionally eaten in Scotland at Hogmanay (New Year’s Eve)” (D.A. Bender, *A Dictionary of Food and Nutrition*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], s.v. “Scotch bun”).
555. Anna Whistler was referring to 1829–1830, when she wrote to Mr. Gamble: “my memories of that my Fatherland are of a bright summer spent with friends near Edinburg in my youth without a cloud! their cottage was at Wardie nigh New Haven, I spent a

week at Stirling with friends there, & went to Dumfirmlin too” (Anna Whistler to my very dear friend, [London] Sunday, June 12, 1864, GUL: Whistler Collection, W519).

Wardie was a “suburb of Edinburgh, ly[ing] between Inverleith and Granton, 2 miles ... north of the city centre (David Munro and Bruce Gittings, Royal Scottish Geographical Society, *Scotland: An Encyclopedia of Places and Landscapes* [Glasgow: Collins, 2006], p. 475). Newhaven, “a district of northern Edinburgh ... was founded in 1500 by James IV as a royal dockyard ... photographers David Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848) made a unique record of the Newhaven fisherfolk in 1843, one of the first uses of photography in the field of social history” (Munro and Gittings, p. 356).

“Stirling[, which] became an important settlement because it is the lowest crossing place over the River Forth [was] a wool producing area, and even small ships could utilize the port from the Forth.” The Industrial Revolution largely by-passed it, but “the traditional wool weaving industry continued.” It also had a “carpet weaving industry.” By 1821, its population was about seven thousand. In 1829, when Anna Whistler visited Scotland, there was no railroad, but “in 1840 Stirling was linked up to the Caledonian rail network, [running] through southern Scotland” (“City of Stirling,” Crann Tara [website], accessed June 4, 2020 <https://cranntara.scot/tourst.htm>).

“Dunfermline was a burgh town in western Fife ... situated 4 miles ... northwest of the Forth Road and Rail bridges ... The town’s economic fortunes were revived during the 18th and 19th centuries with the development of the textile industry, producing linen, cotton, woollen and damask goods” (Munro and Gittings, *Scotland*, p. 374).

556. The Russian word for “peasant” is spelled “muzhik” and pronounced “moozhik’.” For the plural, Anna Whistler added the English plural suffix -s.
557. This painting, considered lost, has an interesting history. Sometime on or before 17/29 August 1844, Allan wrote a note to Count Aleksei Fyodorovich Orlov (1786–1861; see Image 312), in which he must have mentioned that Emperor Nicholas I, while Grand Duke, had, on a visit to an exhibition of Allan’s works in Edinburgh in 1817, spoken at length with him and “expressed his wish that if ever Allan re-visited Russia, he would wait on him” (“Visit of the Russian Prince Nicholas to Edinburgh,” *The Scots Magazine* 79 (1817): p. 74), for Orlov

responded: “He remembers you perfectly, Sir, and several works that he owes to your talent and that are to be found up to now in the Anichkov Palace” (Comte Orloff, Strelna, le 17 Aout [OS] 1844, Ms. 6294, fol. 121r, National Library of Scotland [NLS], Edinburgh). Allan clearly also spoke of his picture, which he wished to show the emperor, for Orlov further responded, “He would view your picture with pleasure, if you would bring it with you next Sunday to Peterhof at 10 am.” The proposal was being made by the emperor on the understanding that transporting the painting to Peterhof would not harm it.

On Sunday, 20 August / 1 September 1844, “at the conclusion of the liturgy His Majesty went to the Great Palace and received the report of the Minister of the Court, Prince Petr Mikhailovich Volkonskii (1776–1852), after which the latter presented Mr. Allan and his picture in the picture room” (RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 153, 1844. *Zhurnal Vysochaishego Dvora, po polovine Gosudaria Imperatora Nikolaia Pavlovicha* [Journal of the Imperial Court for the Apartments of His Majesty Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich for 1844], fols. 434 r and v; this document is also known as *Kamer-fur’erskii zhurnal* [Chamberlain’s Journal] and denoted hereafter as RGIA: *Kamer-fur’erskii zhurnal*).

One assumes that the picture Allan had with him was the partially completed painting of *Peter the Great Teaching His Subjects the Art of Shipbuilding*. The painting was finished in 1845 in London and exhibited at the Royal Academy that same year. A reviewer said of it “the visitor is mocked full-face by . . . a piece characterless, feeble and unworthy of a place of distinction” (“Fine Arts: Royal Academy,” *The Atheneum* (May 10, 1845): p. 466). The picture was then sent to St. Petersburg, and in his letter to Prince Volkonskii Allan requested the sum of £250 for it (Elizaveta Renne, “British Artists in Russia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century,” in *British Art Treasures from Russian Imperial Collections in the Hermitage*, ed. B. Allen and L. Dukelskaya [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996], p. 110). E. Renne is curator of British and Scandinavian Painting at the Hermitage.

Already in January 1846, however, when asked by the Chancellory of the Ministry of the Palace of the whereabouts of the picture, Frants Ivanovich Labenskii (1770–1849), the curator of the Hermitage, replied that “nothing is known to him of where it is now” (Renne, “British Artists,” p. 110). Continuing lack of knowledge of its location is reconfirmed in Renne’s article (Renne, p. 110).

The question has also been raised as to whether the picture ever arrived in St. Petersburg. Through their correspondence in 1971 with Larissa Dukelskaia of the Hermitage, David and Francina Irwin received information that it was “exhibited at the Royal Academy” and then “shipped to St. Petersburg, but there are no documents concerning its arrival, nor any trace of it having been hung in the Winter Palace” (David Irwin and Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900* [London: Faber and Faber, 1975], pp. 274, 436n85). There *is*, however, a document concerning its arrival, although the title of the picture is not mentioned. The document is a letter to Allan from Charles Moberly, the Russia Company’s agent at St. Petersburg, dated 26 March 1846 (C. Moberly to Sir William Allan, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1846, NLS: Ms 6294, fols. 131r and v). Moberly had received a letter from Allan, obviously about payment for the picture. He had held on to the letter because the emperor was away and expected back soon, and, when Count Orlov returned, sent it to him. Moberly wrote: “The picture was in his Majesty’s cabinet, upon the Count’s asking if any return had been sent, the E. said that he did not know what you had written to Prince Volkonsky, for whom there was a letter waiting his return” (C. Moberly to Sir William Allan, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1846, NLS: Ms 6294, fol. 131r). A friend of Moberly’s who saw Count Orlov every day had written to Moberly: “He has informed me that the Emperor would make sure to tell him that he should give his department an order to make payment to Sir Allan of the price of his picture” (C. Moberly to Sir William Allan, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1846, NLS: Ms 6294, fol. 131r). Moberly expected that Allan would be hearing about payment from the Russian Mission in London soon (C. Moberly to Sir William Allan, St. Petersburg, March 26, 1846, NLS: Ms 6294, fol. 131v). To date, it has not been possible to find a copy of a note about payment among documents from the Russian Mission in London at the Public Record Office. Count A.F. Orlov succeeded to the post of head of the Corps of Gendarmes and of the Third Section (Security Police) on the death of Benkendorf later in 1844.

558. See the biography of James Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
559. A “phaeton” is a “light, four-wheeled, open carriage, usually drawn by a pair of horses, and with one or two seats facing forward” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “phaeton”).

560. Mr. Williams's text on Sunday, 30 June 1844, was Romans 15:2: "Let every one of us please his neighbor for his good to edification."
561. On Sunday, 16 June 1844, Mr. Williams's text had been Galatians 1:10: "For do I now persuade men, or God? or do I seek to please men? for if I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ."
562. A "calash" is a "light carriage with low wheels, having a removable folding hood or top" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "calash").
563. The date of the launch (4 July) must have been only tentative. See Note 603 below.
564. Timothy Abraham Curtis, also referred to in this entry as Mr. C., came to the Whistler dacha for tea on Monday, 1 July 1844.
565. Corroborating Timothy Abraham Curtis, Maxwell wrote on 5 June:

The departure of the Empress has been postponed by a very melancholy occurrence. The young and beautiful Grand Duchess Alexandra, whose betrothal and marriage I described in my letters last winter has gone into a sudden decline and her life is now despaired of. She was ~~only~~ on the occasion of her marriage, remarkable both for health and beauty, and her loss will affect the spirits of the Imperial family very much. It is even rumored that the Emperor has been sent for and thus will be ended all the projects of foreign travel for a long while. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 5 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36)

Nicholas I had departed St. Petersburg for England on 12/24 May 1844. Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna had been examined by Dr. Martin von Mandt, the emperor's personal physician, on 15/27 May 1844, with a diagnosis of tuberculosis. The emperor had gone from England to Holland to visit his sister, Grand Duchess Anna Pavlovna (1795–1865), consort of King Willem II (1792–1849). He arrived at The Hague on 10 June, where Mandt was waiting to inform him of the serious nature of his youngest daughter's illness. The emperor left The Hague the following day for home (Oluf Lundt Bang, *Lins Minder* [*Memories of Life*], ed. Vilhelm Maar [Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, 1929], p. 245). I wish to thank Hanne

Quillévére of Victoria, British Columbia, for translating passages in Bang's autobiography pertinent to the illness and death of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna.

566. Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451) suspected that her husband was inclined to seek amusement among his social inferiors. She had been planning to foster his moral and spiritual development by reading Plutarch with him in the hope that the example of noble-minded husbands would help him (*Son innosti*, p. 160). Oluf Lundt Bang (1788–1877; see Image 485), the Danish physician who was brought in at the request of the Prince of Hesse-Kassel (see Image 435) to, hopefully, cure Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, but who corroborated Mandt's diagnosis, recorded the young couple's predicament: The governess, Miss Higginbotham, "asked me one day if I couldn't see to it that the Prince not spend the whole day reading novels aloud to his consort. I spoke to the Grand Duchess about this, and she confessed that it would be better if he had some diversions. This led to a conversation about husbands who have nothing to do, and she asked me to speak to the Emperor about it. The Emperor answered that the Grand Duchess would have to decide this together with her husband, who himself would like some freedom, but didn't dare take it because of public (in Russia?) opinion. He could scarcely go riding for an hour or so before he was blamed for having left his sick wife" (Bang, *Levs Minder*, p. 303).
567. This was the wedding of Joseph Senior Kirk and Charlotte Elizabeth Petersen, who "were married by banns at their residence Tsarscocelo, and in the presence of His Excellency Col. Todd, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of Russia, on this the twenty second day O.S. of June and the fourth day of July N.S., in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty four by me, Thomas Scales Ellerby, Minister of the British & American Chapel" (Returns of Marriages (with an Index). British and American Congregational Church at St. Petersburg. 1844-1886, RG 33/145, PRO). Joseph Senior Kirk was the Principal Manager at the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works.

The invitation to the Whistlers is not extant. The extant invitation to Andrew M. Eastwick reads as follows:

Mr. and Mrs. Petersen respectfully solicit the company of  
Mr. A.M. Eastwick at the marriage of their daughter  
Charlotte Elizabeth to Mr. Joseph S. Kirk, Engineer, at 7

o'clock in the afternoon on Thursday the 22 of June at Tsarskoe Selo, at the residence of His Excellency Colonel Todd, American Ambassador – and on Sunday the 25<sup>th</sup> at 7 o'clock in the afternoon, at their own residence – W.O. 7<sup>th</sup> Line No. 61 in the house of Babkoff. St. Petersburg the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1844. (Invitation to A.M. Eastwick to the Kirk–Petersen Wedding, *Eastwick Letters*)

The dates given are Old Style. The New Style dates were Thursday, 4 July, and Sunday, 7 July. “W.O.” means Vasilievskii Island. Anna Whistler and the children did not attend, because Major Whistler was away.

Andrew Eastwick and his son, Edward (see Images 233, 235), attended. Andrew Eastwick described the wedding in a letter to his wife, Lydia Ann (see Image 234):

At four o'clock ... we took droshkies and proceeded to town where we took the railroad cars for Tsarskoye Selo where we arrived about 6½ o'clock. The bride and groom with their attendants had taken an earlier train and were at the minister's ready to receive us. Upon entering the house we were cordially welcomed by our worthy minister, Colonel Todd, and handed into a room where the wedding party assembled. We were introduced to company and after the usual compliments and salutations the ladies again became seated and the gentlemen all remained standing conversing with one another passing the compliments of the day. The ladies were all richly dressed, plain and nothing gaudy. In a few minutes it was whispered that the parson was in the adjoining room, when the servants entered and arranged for armchairs on one side of the room when the bridesmaid and groomman handed the conspicuous two to their seats and took the chairs on each side. All was quiet and for a few minutes we stood gazing in the face of the beautiful bride and admiring the neatness of the bridegroom, when the door of the adjoining apartment opened and the gentleman with the black robe entered with a solemn step and advanced to a table in the middle of the room. The company all rose and the interesting two with their attendants advanced to the table and the ceremony gone through with and all was pronounced okay!

The groom then saluted his bride and salutations of all their families followed; we all then advanced and took the

bride's hand and wished her much joy but none of the gentlemen saluted her with a kiss. I thought this was not altogether right, for I felt as though I would like to have a smack at her. I accordingly walked quietly over to where she was seated and gave her one of the slickest kisses that she had had and told her that it was the fashion of our country for all hands to kiss the bride but I *guessed* the rest of the gentlemen were too bashful. She smiled and put up her pretty little lips and such a smack you never heard.

The wine was now brought in and we all drank the health of the bride and groom in German style, by touching our glasses together before drinking. Shortly after we got through with this, supper was announced and we proceeded to the dining room where we found a table beautifully set off. Everything was of the best, but all cold. We did not set down to the table. We stood around and were beautifully helped. Our glasses were all filled with good old Madasa [*sic*: Madeira] when we nodded and drank to each other. We had not, however, got fairly going; they were all entirely too quiet. The servants, however, soon brought in the champagne and I proposed a toast which livened them up considerably. Then another and another followed until we got on a pretty high horse and you may depend upon it; we celebrated both the wedding and the Fourth of July. The Emperor's and the President's health and the health of Mr. Eastwick and his family were drank with three cheers.

We kept it going until near eleven o'clock when we had to get ready for the last train of cars. We found we had not much time to spare but would have to be moving sharply or we should be left. Droshkies were ordered to the door where every man seemed to look out for himself. The bride and groom were the last or rather among the last to get into a carriage and the consequence was that they were too late. The train was just leaving as they reached the depot ... I was fortunate enough to be on time. The party that was left, when they found that there was no help for them quietly drove back to Colonel Todd's and kept it up nearly all night. I, however, was very glad that I got off or I should have been used up. Everything went off in fine style and all were highly gratified. (Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, St. Petersburg, entry for July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1844, in letter of July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1844, *Eastwick Letters*)



Maxwell was then out of the country, but was told about the wedding on his return. His comments contained the usual barb aimed at Colonel Todd: “The Colonel has a good heart, is very kind and hospitable, and even condescended to have the wedding of the young Mechanic who had difficulty about his marriage in the spring, celebrated at his house in Sarskoe Celo, on the 4 July, and under the auspices of the Embassy. The Champaigne flowed and the company I am told had a great deal of fun, enjoying at one and the same time, the hospitality and ridiculous conduct of his Excellency—” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).

568. It has not been possible to locate this note, which Anna Whistler received on Tuesday, July 2, 1844, and recorded on Thursday, July 4, 1844.
569. Anna Whistler omitted the word “other” here.
570. William Hickling Prescott (Salem, MA 4 May 1796 – 28 January 1859) graduated from Harvard in 1814. He had lost the sight of his left eye in an accident there and was forced to give up reading law because his right eye began to fail. After visiting his grandfather in the Azores, he returned home in 1817 and became a writer, a vocation his wealth enabled him to pursue despite his disability, because he could hire readers and research assistants. His first article appeared in 1821 in the *North American Review*. From 1829 to 1836, he worked on the *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic*, which was published in 1838 and received praise from historians worldwide. His *History of the Conquest of Mexico* was published in 1843, followed by the *History of the Conquest of Peru* in 1847. The *History of the Reign of Philip II* (1855–58) was unfinished when Prescott died. “Prescott was more interested in action than in theory. He delighted in thrilling narrative and vivid descriptions; unlike other great historians, he expounded no philosophy of history. He wrote primarily for the reader’s enjoyment, without ever thinking of himself as a serious historian” (Max J. Hertzberg, *The Reader’s Encyclopedia of American Literature* [New York: Crowell, 1962], pp. 918–919). These qualities are what made Anna Whistler say that *History of the Conquest of Mexico* was “quite like romance.”
571. The Gellibrands and Ropeses took tea with the Whistlers on Tuesday, 2 July 1844.
572. This is Maxwell’s letter of 20 June 1844, in which he speaks of Mrs. Baird (the young widow), Wheaton, Nessel’rode, Rives, Ledyard, Hamilton, Fay, George Jones, and his tours of Berlin

and Potsdam, and inquires about a Russian damsel of his acquaintance (John S. Maxwell to Major Whistler, Berlin, 20 June 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers).

573. It has not been possible to locate this letter, which Maxwell tells his mother, Agnes (Stevenson) Maxwell (see Image 54), he will “enclose ... to Major Whistler ... for his lady” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Berlin, June 23, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 37).
574. It has not been possible to identify the old German Baron in the interior.
575. The future (1814) Russian Bible Society (RBS) was inaugurated as the St. Petersburg Bible Society on 11/23 January 1813, its establishment having been approved by Alexander I in December 1812 (Judith Cohen Zacek, “The Russian Bible Society and the Russian Orthodox Church,” *Church History* 35, no. 4 (1966): p. 414). Its initial mandate “to spread the Bible only among the non-Orthodox inhabitants of the Empire” (Zacek, p. 414) was extended to include supplying Bibles to Russians as well (Zacek, p. 415). Eventually, “through the Holy Synod the [Orthodox] Church actively began to participate in the work of the Society” (Zacek, p. 415). In 1816, the RBS undertook “the first translation of the Holy Scriptures into modern Russian” (Zacek, p. 416). “The complete New Testament in modern Russian was ... published ... in 1821” (Zacek, p. 417), accompanied by the Church Slavonic text, which, however, could be understood by only a small portion of the population (p. 416). In 1822–1823 “a modern Russian New Testament without the parallel Slavonic text” appeared (Zacek, p. 417), making the edition less cumbersome in size and less heavy (thus easier for soldiers to carry with them) and cheaper (Zacek, pp. 417, 418). Within a short time, the RBS extended over all of Russia, becoming “an interdenominational union of all Christian faiths” and embracing all social classes (Zacek, p. 418).

But it “had encountered ... opposition from its very establishment” (p. 426) from individual Russians and from the Russian Orthodox Church. Eventually this opposition became political as well as ecclesiastical, and, although Alexander I refused for a long time to abolish the RBS, in 1824 he removed Prince Alexander Golitsyn as Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction and abolished the Ministry itself, an act that placed “the affairs of the Orthodox Church once again under the separate administration of an autonomous Holy Synod”

(Zacek, p. 431). Golitsyn, who had been President of the RBS since its establishment as the St. Petersburg Bible Society, resigned his post and was replaced by Metropolitan Serafim (Zacek, p. 432). The Orthodox clergy alone now had the right to engage in missionary activity and “to distribute the Scriptures which had been translated and published by the R.B.S.” (Zacek, p. 433). The Church also “called for an end to the translation of the Scriptures into modern Russian” (Zacek, p. 434). Alexander I refused (Zacek, p. 434). The RBS was identified by its enemies as being affiliated “with the now-suppressed Masons and English Methodists,” and it was said that “[the] principle of publishing Scriptures without note or comment” left the individual “to interpret Scriptures on his own,” “making him fall into heresy or indifference” (Zacek, p. 434). Arguments against the freedom to interpret the Scriptures were extended to the pernicious effect this had on the peasants, who had become disrespectful and even opposed to the Church (Zacek, p. 434). Alexander I continued to refuse to abolish the RBS (Zacek, p. 435). He died in November 1825, and his successor, Nicholas I, was not “interested in the fate of the R.B.S., whose operations by this time had all but ceased” (Zacek, p. 435). When the same arguments against the RBS were made to him, he acted and in April 1826 “commanded ... [the] President of the Russian Bible Society to suspend all operations both of the central and local societies” (Zacek, p. 436). In 1831, the emperor sanctioned the establishment of “a new Protestant Bible Society in St. Petersburg,” whose “activities were strictly limited to the Protestant population” (Zacek, p. 436). Throughout his reign, “the higher Church administration continued to oppose the further translation of Scriptures into modern Russian” (Zacek, p. 436). Such a translation was not made until the reign of his son, Alexander II (Zacek, p. 436). This information about the Bible Society in Russia must have been related to Anna Whistler by her friends now active in the distribution of religious tracts: Mary and William Clarke Gellibrand, Joseph Samuel Ropes, Mary and Thomas Ellerby (see Note 577 below). See also George Browne, *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, From Its Institution in 1804, to the Close of Its Jubilee in 1854*, 2 vols. (London: [British and Foreign Bible Society], 1859). For a biography of Prince Aleksandr Nikolaevich Golitsyn, see E.P. Karnovich, *Zamechatel'nye i zagadochnye lichnosti XVIII i XIX stoletii s 13-iu graviurami* [Remarkable and Enigmatic Personages of the 18th and 19th Centuries, with 13 Engravings], 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg : A.S. Suvorin, 1893, pp. 397–463).

576. It has not been possible to find any information about the Gellibrands' servant, Alexa, who could be a man or a woman. Aleksa, Aleksia, and Leksa are endearing forms for both Aleksandr and Aleksandra, as well as for Aleksei (Petrovskii, *Slovar' russkikh lichnykh imen*, pp. 44, 45). See Note 577 for confirmation that this servant had to be a man.
577. The *Annual Reports of the Religious Tract Society* for 1843–1849 (hereafter, *Annual Report*) parallel many of Anna Whistler's statements. Her information must have come from Religious Tract Society members such as William Clarke Gellibrand, Joseph Samuel Ropes, and Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby, some of whom sent communications to London that were quoted in the *Annual Reports*. For example, the 44th report (*Annual Report* for 1843) states that the “nobility are taking an interest in the religious welfare of their peasantry, and give to them many of the works which have been published” (p. 75). Pilgrims in the possession of tracts said they could “obtain a night's lodging and food for a tract” (p. 75). Without tracts, they had “to pay ... three times as much in money” (p. 75). Peasants who were literate read the tracts aloud to groups of other peasants in their villages (*Annual Report* for 1849, p. 77). Superior officers of sailors were “happy of the favourable change” in those of their men who “read the Scriptures, and other good books” (p. 78–79). Sometimes a group seeking tracts was so large that it “was impossible to go among them, for they would have thrown a man down”; therefore, the distributors tossed tracts to them from the windows of a house (p. 78). A similar episode with soldiers in the diaries threatened to call a halt to further distribution. Anna Whistler and her sons also pitched their tracts at some idle young men from a distance. The *Annual Report* for 1844 contains an interesting account of enquiries for tracts made by soldiers going home on furlough or being discharged from the army, “so that the word of God [was] now being borne up and down in some hundred knapsacks, to the nearest as well as to the farthest governments” (pp. 79–81).
578. Anna Whistler is referring to Wednesday, 3 July 1844, when she and Debo were reading aloud Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (see Note 570 above).
579. It is in the hundred of Blackheath that Woolwich is located and that Wellesley House, the home of the Maingay family, was to be found (*Pigot and Co.'s Royal, National and Commercial Directory and Topography of the Counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex* [London: Pigot, 1840], s.v. “Woolwich with the villages of Charlton, Plumstead,

Shooter's Hill and neighbourhoods" [hereafter, *Pigot's Directory of Kent* and the year].

580. This is probably Henrietta Maria Law (St. Petersburg 25 October / 6 November 1822 – 18 November 1892), who later married Francis Anderson. There are two entries for their marriage in the *OPRS*. Before marriage, Henrietta was a resident of the parish of South Leith (a northern suburb of Edinburgh) and Francis was a resident of the parish of St. George, Edinburgh. On 17 October 1848, they married at St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, and the record of this appears in the *OPRS* for South Leith. On 24 October 1848, they were again married by the same man, E.B. Ramsay, presumably in the church of St. George, and this entry appears in the *OPRS* for Edinburgh. E.B. Ramsay was the minister of St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh, from 1830 to 1872.
581. Anna Whistler seems to be assigning a telling name to the Andersons' poor cousin, as it has not been possible to find a character in English literature named Becky Dugude on whom it can be based.
582. This is "a dangerous modification of what, in England, is called the swinging-board, and which consists in balancing a long board across a round and stout cylinder of wood or a tree, when two persons, generally young women, ... place themselves one at each end, and by certain movements raise each other alternately, but so quickly, and so effectually, that either party is by turns thrown upwards some feet from the board, and comes down upon part of it with so much increased impetus and weight, that the elevation of each person is thereby considerably augmented with a corresponding increase of risk of mutually breaking their necks" (Granville, *St. Petersburg*, vol. 2, p. 397). Anna Whistler proposed that Deborah Delano Whistler describe the "gee joggle" (see Image 355) when she wrote to her first cousin, Catherine Julia McNeill (see Image 33), in Stonington.
583. James was influenced by his father's Swedish draftsman, Hedenschoug, to read the biography of Charles XII (1682–1718), King of Sweden, who lost the Seven Years War to Peter the Great and died in battle. It became part of his program of reading in English to his mother in order not to forget his native language. I assume he was reading an English translation of Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731). English translations had been made by, among others, Tobias Smollett (1721–1771) (Tobias Smollett, trans., *The History of Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden; and Peter the*

- Great, Emperor of Russia*, by Voltaire [London: Walker and Edwards, 1817]).
584. Transport Engineer Lt. Colonel Thomas Drury Jr. (21 September [OS] 1801 – 8 August [OS] 1893) was the son of Susannah (Walker) Drury and Thomas Drury Sr. (RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 1. Register British Factory Chapel St. Petersburg [1763–1812], no. 1883; PREC STP, no. 920).
585. “Scharchinka” is Anna Whistler’s pronunciation of the diminutive and endearing form for Aleksandr, spelled “Sashenka” and pronounced “Sah’shinkuh”; “Vaascha” is her pronunciation of the diminutive and endearing form for Vasilii (William), spelled “Vasya” and pronounced “Vah’syuh.” Alexander, about five years old, and William, about six years old, were the sons of Transport Engineer Lt. Colonel Thomas Drury Jr. and Caroline (Bajinsky) Drury (PREC STP, no. 5910; RGIA: Fond 207, op. 14, d. 42. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe i dostoinstve Korpusa Inzhenerov P. S. Podpolkovnika Drury za 1841 g. [Service and merit record of Transport Engineer Lt. Colonel Drury for 1841]).
586. John Randolph of Roanoke’ (Prince George County, VA 2 June 1773 –Philadelphia, PA 24 May 1833; see Image 282), “who was the U.S. Minister here under Jackson, who was eccentric—the Russians thought insane. thus writes home his impressions of St. Petersburg *in summer*... ‘Never have I seen so many, and such severe cases of summer disease ... I have written thus far, interrupted every ~~five~~ quarter of a minute, by innumerable *flies*, gigantic as the Empire they inhabit, which attack the face in all its vulnerable points—nose, mouth, ears, and eyes under cover of spectacles. This is the land of Pharaoh and his plagues. It is Egypt in all but fertility. The extremes of human misery and splendor here meet” (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 8, 9).
587. This is Vil’gel’m Ivanovich Truveller (Frederick William Trewheeler) and his second wife, Maria Vladimirovna (Kozliakinova, or Kozlianova) Truveller (Trewheeler). See Notes 124 and 192 above.
588. The reference is to Charlotte Adams (Sanford) Barnes (c. 1807 – 12 December 1875), wife (married in 1832) of James Barnes (4 May 1807 – 12 February 1869), USMA Class of 1829, chief engineer and superintendent of the Western (Massachusetts) Railroad, 1842–1848 (George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, from its Establishment, March 16, 1802, to the Army*

*Re-Organization of 1866–67*, 2 vols. [New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1868], vol. 1, p. 423; *Springfield Daily Republican*, December 13, 1875, p. 6 and February 13, 1869, p. 8; *New York Herald*, February 13, 1869, p. 32). The Barnes family lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, where the Whistlers had lived from 1838 to 1842. In his autobiography, the Barneses' son, John Sanford Barnes, says that Deborah (Whistler) Haden "kept up a correspondence with [his] mother" until the latter's death (John Sanford Barnes, *The Egotistigraphy of a Rolling Stone, that Gathered Moss, Herein Scraped off for the Information and Amusement of His Family*, "privately published, edition limited to this one copy, New York, January 1, 1910," p. 7, N-YHS). The whereabouts of these letters are unknown to me.

589. The Whistlers attended vespers at the Cathedral of the Lifegiving Trinity in the monastery, as Anna Whistler records seeing "a beautiful Altar peice ... a painting of the Trinity." The painting was executed by Karl Pavlovich Briullov (1799–1852; see Image 173) in 1840. The five-domed Trinity Cathedral, built by Rastrelli, was begun in 1756 and completed in 1760. The cathedral chapels were consecrated in 1761, the main church in 1763. The right chapel was consecrated in honor of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and the left in honor of St. Zaccharias and St. Elizabeth. In 1840, after the renovation of the entire cathedral, the left chapel, which had been closed for several years, was consecrated anew, this time as the Chapel of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist. The monastery's most important sacred object was kept in Trinity Cathedral in summer: the icon of St. Sergius of Radonezh, the Miracleworker. As a result, a large number of ardent pilgrims of all ages and classes would come almost every day in this season from St. Petersburg in veneration of the icon. According to legend, the icon was painted on the saint's coffin board and brought here by the monastery's founder from the Trinity-Sergius Monastery near Moscow. There is a cross on the icon with a piece of the holy relic of St. Sergius, given to the monastery by A.N. Muraviev (1792–1863), a famous traveler to holy places. The Cathedral was small – four and a half sazhen long and wide – and held only 600 people. Religious services were held in it only in summer, as it had no stoves (Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 197–198; Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1994, p. 170; Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1839, pt. 1, p. 154; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 1, pp. 54–55).

The Briullov painting was still in the church around 1889 (the date of publication of Pyliaev's book cited above). E. Atsarkina,

who says in her 1963 monograph on Briullov that the painting is mentioned in Somov's list and in the annual report of the Academy of Fine Arts for 1839–1840 by A.N. Mokritskii and V.V. Stasov, gives its location as “unknown” (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 356).

The icon-covered screen referred to is the iconostasis, which separates the nave from the sanctuary. The “gilded doors of the screen” are the Royal Doors, which “are constructed of two panels located at the center of the iconostasis, and connect the nave with the sanctuary. They are called ‘royal’ because it is believed that... Christ ... is carried through them in the form of the eucharist. The symbolic meaning of the gates, and of all the images upon them, is closely associated with the perception of the sanctuary as an image of the spiritual world. This symbolism is apparent during the liturgy. The opening of the Royal Doors signifies the opening of the Heavenly Kingdom for believers. The closing of the doors reminds them of the eviction from the Garden of Eden after the Fall” (Roderick Grierson, ed., *Gates of Mystery: The Art of Holy Russia* [Milan: Intercultura, 1993], p. 96). Only the officiating clergy may enter the sanctuary, where the liturgy is performed. The Annunciation is always depicted on the Royal Doors (the Archangel Gabriel on the left door, Mary on the right door), because it “is understood as the beginning of the Incarnation” (p. 96). Mary's acceptance “of the news of her miraculous conception” is interpreted as being “a penance for the Fall of humanity” (p. 96). She is “the new Eve,” who “redeems the Fall of the first Eve and begins our return to union with God” (p. 96). Also depicted on these Royal Doors are the four Evangelists: Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, “who brought the news of the life of Christ” (p. 98).

The “unknown tongue” of the service is Old Church Slavonic.

“Of the monks and their singing it has been said that the monks are really aristocratically pleasing to the eye and sing very well, and that the simplicity of their singing is so exquisite that it ceases to be simplicity and gives a sense of refinement” (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, p. 46).

590. Krasnyi Kabachok (little red tavern or little beautiful tavern) (pronounced “Krahs'nee kuhbahchawk’), one of the legendary spots on the Peterhof Road, its fame sung by Pushkin and Lermontov, is located at the eleventh verst, at the Krasnoe Selo Road turnoff (see Image 407). The tavern has existed since the time of Peter the Great and has long been famous for its waffles.



In winter, ice hills are constructed and enthusiasts of out-of-town excursions meet here. It was probably the first such place to cultivate gypsy choirs. On 26 December 1713 (OS), Peter the Great met Prince Romodanovskii here, and during the night of 28/29 June 1762 (OS), Catherine the Great, now *head of the guards*, who had just sworn allegiance to her, rested here on her way to Peterhof. Casanova (1725–1798) revelled here in 1765. A ukase of 16 November 1706 (OS) announced that “perpetual hereditary ownership” of Krasnyi Kabachok was granted to an interpreter named Semyon Ivanov for his many services to the state, with the condition that it could not be sold or mortgaged. On 3 December 1748 (OS), Empress Elizabeth issued a further ukase concerning this privilege. The head of the police, General Vasiliï Saltykov, had forced the children of the deceased Semyon Ivanov to sell him the tavern (1733), but a family member appealed to Empress Elizabeth, who ordered that the deed of sale be destroyed and the tavern be given to this family member with the right to sell it to whomever she wished. Krasnyi Kabachok then changed hands frequently, even being purchased in the 1780s by the Duchess of Kingston. In 1840, it was offered for rental as an inn, after being refurbished. In that decade, its fame began to decline. Its then illustrious proprietor was Louisa Grafemus Kessenikh (Cologne 1786 – St. Petersburg 30 October / 11 November 1852; buried in Volkov Lutheran Cemetery; see Image 408). The following advertisement placed by her in the newspaper *Severnaia pchela* (*The Northern Bee*) in 1846 reveals some of her amazing career: “The owner of the oldest of Russian out-of-town taverns, the woman-warrior Madame Kessenikh, who fought in the Prussian ranks (1813 and 1814) in the uniform of an Uhlan for the independence of Europe and received a decoration for it, invites you to the Krasnyi Kabachok. She settled in Russia a long time ago to be with her military comrades and serves the guests of the Krasnyi Kabachok in her winter quarters with excellent Russian bliny and German waffles. Foreigners fear Russian bliny as they would bullets, but for Madame Kessenikh bliny are blank cartridges and she regrets that she cannot introduce our national food to the Prussian forces. You simply must come visit the heroine of the famous war that replaced bivouac fires with the peaceful fire of the hearth. At Krasnyi Kabachok you will also find ice hills.” At the end of the 1850s, Krasnyi Kabachok burned down, and its name passed to another nearby inn (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 313–314; Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 126–129; Stolpianskii, *Petergovskaia pershpektivna*, pp. 21–22, 66–67;

Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaia doroga*, pp. 117–120; Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, pp. 86, 88, 89).

Kessenikh, who held dance classes in Petersburg at the German Society at Izmailov Bridge, arranged them at Krasny Kabachok as well. Dance classes were dance gatherings with an entrance fee for anyone belonging to the “noble class,” even if only seeming to belong by their dress (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, pp. 86, 89). Further details of her biography may be found in T.L. Piletskaia, “Luiza Kessenikh-zhenshchina-ulan” [“Luiza Kessenikh: Female Uhlan”], *Noyi chasovoi* [*The New Sentry*] 3, no. 2 (1995): pp. 210–217; and Vladimir Kessenikh, “Khoziaka ‘Krasnogo kabachka’” [“The Innkeeper of ‘The Little Red Tavern’”], *S.-Peterburgskaia panorama* [*Panorama of St. Petersburg*] 8 (1992): pp. 34–35.

591. Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (9/21 September 1827 – 13/25 January 1892; see Images 420, 436) was sixteen. The two “little” sons of Nicholas I were Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaevich (27 July / 8 August 1831 – 13/25 April 1891), who was twelve, and Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich (13/25 October 1832 – 5/17 December 1909), who was eleven (see Image 420) (V. Durasov, comp., *Rodoslovnaia kniga Vserossiiskogo dvorianstva* [*The Genealogical Book of All-Russian Nobility*] [St. Petersburg (“City of St. Peter”): R. Golike i A. Vil’borg, 1906], vol. 1, p. 20). Their presence “in the ranks” is confirmed in the following court journal entry: “23 June [5 July] At 5 o’clock His Majesty, the Heir Apparent, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Images 420–423, 425, 439) and Prince Alexander of Hesse rode out on horseback to the St. Petersburg exit to meet the Cadets of various military educational institutions, who had crossed through [the grounds of] the dacha ‘Alexandria’ to their Peterhof camp. With the Cadets were Grand Dukes Nikolai Nikolaevich and Mikhail Nikolaevich (see Image 420).

His Majesty and Their Highnesses, after accompanying the Cadets to the camp, went to Tsarskoe Selo” (RGIA: *Kamerfur’erskii zhurnal*).

For an enchanting description of the youngest cadets, see Richard Southwell Bourke, *St. Petersburg and Moscow: A Visit to the Court of the Czar*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), vol. 2, pp. 3–7.

592. Camp exercises for the students of military educational institutions had been suspended just before the War of 1812; they were reinstated in 1828. From then on, every year for six weeks, the students lived in tents set up between the upper garden and

the English garden at Peterhof. The village of Novaia, which had been located on this spot, was removed to a spot beyond Peterhof, in the direction of His Majesty's personal dacha, and the area that had until then been arable land was in 1832 turned into a military field. The grand dukes endured the same hardships as the other students. When the summer field exercises, maneuvers, and Imperial inspection were over, the students had to storm the Samson cascades in the presence of the Imperial family. This they did at a signal from the emperor. Drenched and knocked off their feet by the water, they made their way to the upper landing, where those first to reach it were rewarded by the empress with small prizes made of semi-precious stones (A. Geïrot, *Opisanie Petergofa* [*A Description of Peterhof*] [St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1868], pp. 48–50; Stolpianskiï, *Petergofskaia pershpektivna*, pp. 63–64, 70).

593. See Note 583 above about James's reading aloud in English to his mother in order not to lose his fluency in his native language.
594. Maxwell's letter is the one from Berlin, 20 June 1844, mentioned in Note 572, NYPL: AWP, Part I. It was being taken to Major Whistler by Major Trouvellier (see Notes 124 and 192 above).
595. Maxwell devoted much space to discussing the travails of Joseph S. Kirk, the "young American ... who has lately come out to Russia, and who is employed in the steam engine factory of our new colony at Alexandroffsky, [who] took it into his head to fall head over heels in love with a young Russian damsel. He proposed to her in real go ahead style, was of course accepted, and being a man of energy took immediate measures to bring about the consummation of his wishes" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36). There also had to be a Lutheran ceremony. Kirk discovered from the priests, however, that the wedding could not take place until he provided such documents as a baptismal certificate. Colonel Todd, Maxwell, and Abraham Gibson, the Consul, thereupon conferred to see how the difficulties could be resolved without what looked to be a six-month delay. Maxwell drolly describes how each based his remarks on his own individual romantic experiences. Nor was the effect of a possible bribe overlooked (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of June 8 in letter of June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36).

Andrew Eastwick's invitation to the wedding shows that the problem was resolved: the Lutheran ceremony took place three

days after the ceremony at Colonel Todd's residence, which had been declared American territory. Eastwick's letter to his wife also justifies Anna Whistler's misgivings that the wedding might become a drunken revel, which she deemed disrespectful to any bride (entry of July 5 in letter of Andrew Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick dated St. Petersburg, July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1844 and invitation to A.M. Eastwick to the Kirk–Petersen wedding, *Eastwick Letters*).

596. On 24 June / 6 July, the feast of the Birth of John, the honest, praiseworthy Prophet, Forerunner and Baptizer of the Lord, is celebrated (*Mesiatsoslov i Obschii sbitat Rossiiskoi imperii na 1842 g. Chast' pervaiia* [*Calendar and Complete Staff of the Russian Empire for 1842: Part I*] [St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk]). The service takes place in the church of St. Sergius and there is a procession around the monastery.
597. Isaiah 45:22: "Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth: for I am God, and there is none else."
598. See, for example, Exodus 16.
599. A small monastery burial ground evidently existed from the time the monastery was founded. In the reign of Catherine the Great, persons from distinguished and aristocratic families began to be buried here. The cemetery became the resting place of families such as Ol'denburg, Apraksin, Stroganov, Potemkin, Sheremetev, Zubov, Engel'gardt, Naryshkin, Opochinin, Golenishchev-Kutuzov, Razumovskii, Frederiks, and Stenbok-Fermor. Many of the grave monuments were considered works of art. In the nineteenth century, the cemetery became one of the most beautiful in Europe. Apparently, a list of some monuments from this destroyed cemetery may be found in the archive of the State Museum of City Sculpture in St. Petersburg. The museum itself contains salvaged cemetery monuments, but many thousands perished during the Soviet period (A.V. Kobak, "Unichtozhennye kladbishcha" ["Destroyed Cemeteries"], in *Istoricheskie kladbishcha Peterburga Spravochnik-putevoditel'* [*Historical Cemeteries of Petersburg, A Handbook and Guide*] [St. Petersburg: Chernyshev, 1993], pp. 552–555, 562). Anna Whistler would have been affected by the monument, because she had lost "two little boys" to death. I inquired personally in July 2003 of Iurii Piriutko, a specialist on the city's cemeteries and one of the authors of the aforementioned book, about the monument to the two children, but he could not identify it.

600. Anna Whistler would have written this Sunday entry on Monday, 8 July, and then a separate entry for Monday, 8 July, a practice she sometimes engaged in. Mr. G referred to in this entry is William Clarke Gellibrand; Mr. R is William Hooper Ropes; Mrs. Ropes is Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes; sister Alicia is Alicia Caroline Margaret McNeill. The little Normans cannot be identified.

The Ropeses still lived on Galernaia Street, and it is from here that everyone went to greet Aunt Alicia.

601. The *Mermaid* arrived from London in 7 ½ days on 25 June / 7 July (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 144, Wednesday, June 28 [July 10 NS], 1844).
602. This is the Russian word for “clerk,” spelled “artel’shchik” and pronounced “artel’shchik.”

The function of the artelshchik is described as follows: “It will easily be imagined that the straightforward English merchant, equally accustomed and compelled to trust his dependents in the various responsibilities of a counting-house, found but a slippery colleague in the merry, lazy, thieving Russian; at the same time the wages of the English to their inferiors being as much higher as their treatment was more humane, it became the interest of both parties to reform an evil which gave the one a bad servant, and deprived the other of a good master. A company, or *artell*, . . . has, therefore, been formed which pledges itself for the honesty of its members, or makes good the deficiencies which a dishonest member may occasion. The privileges and certainty of good employment are the inducement to enter, and there is not an English merchant house in Petersburg who does not employ one or more of these Artellschiks” (Rigby, *Baltic Letters*, vol. 1, letter 4, pp. 74–75).

603. See Note 563 above. There was no launch on Sunday, 7 July 1844, either. It finally took place on Saturday, 19/31 August. The *Andrei*, 84 guns, was launched in the New Admiralty (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 196, Sunday, 27 August [September 8 NS], 1844, p. 883). See BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fols. 6–8, for the detailed description of a similar launch in August 1847.
604. Daniel 6:16: “Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. Now the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee.” Anna Whistler’s sentence is incomplete.

605. The members of the Harrison family who arrived were Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Note 274 above); Annie Harrison, born in Philadelphia, 13/25 December 1839; and William Henry Harrison, born in Philadelphia, 11/23 December 1837 (PREC STP, no. 5558, p. 329). See Harrison in Appendix E and Image 227.
606. Mrs. Ropes in this entry for Monday [July] 8<sup>th</sup> [1844] is Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes. The book referred to is *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1843) by William Hickling Prescott. See Note 570 above.
607. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday [July] 9<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (my sister, Aunt Alicia); Sarah and Joseph Harrison Jr. and their children, Annie and Henry (the Harrisons); Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst); Ann Elizabeth (Main) Anderson (beautiful Mrs. Anderson); William Clarke and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (the Gellibrands); Mary Brennan (Mary); Charles Donald Whistler (that little one); and John Winstanley (Uncle Winstanley).
608. “A la palette de Raphael” was an art supplies store on Bol’shaia Morskaia Street (F.I. Bulgakov, *I.K. Aivazovskii i ego proizvedeniia (60 let kbudozhestvennoi slavy) [I.K. Aivazovskii and His Works (Sixty Years of Fame as an Artist)]* [St. Petersburg: A.S. Suvorin, 1901], p. 45). See also Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, 4 December NS 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370.
609. The correct expression, which means “to the dacha,” is spelled “na dachu” and pronounced “nuhdah’choo.”
610. At the Gellibrands’, they met Thomas Scales Ellerby (18 March 1810 – 11 June 1892) and his wife, Mary (Bealey) Ellerby (c. 1810 – 18 August 1885). See Ellerby in Appendix E and Images 256–257.
611. Miss McMasters’s first name is not given in the diaries nor in the *BRBC STP 1845*. The latter document lists her simply as “at Mr. Charles Wood’s, governess” (f. 39). Judging from the list of sponsors at the receiving of Charles John Wood into the Church on 14/26 July 1845, she is probably Anne Caroline McMaster (PREC STP for 1845, p. 326). This seems to be corroborated by the fact that the Woods later named a daughter Anna Caroline (29 August / 10 September 1847 – 22 May / 3 June 1850). The

- child died at the age of two years and nine months and was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery (PREC STP, no. 6068, p. 401).
612. Helen (19 October 1835 – 27 February 1919), Catherine Elizabeth (20 January 1837 – 30 October 1920) and William Nicholson (20 August 1838 – 27 July 1919), born in England, were the children of the Wood family in St. Petersburg in 1844. Their mother, Lydia (Procter) Wood (see Image 272), was expecting another child shortly. Charles John was born on 29 September / 11 October 1844, the first child of the Woods to be born in Russia (PREC STP for 1844, p. 315). I wish to thank Rev. Eric Wood of Bruton, Somerset, great-grandson of Charles John Wood, for providing me with the birth and death dates of all the Wood children. See Wood in Appendix E.
613. Although it has been “established” that James was born on 10 July (his father’s announcement when he was born), Anna Whistler continued to give 11 July as the day he was born. She received on 5 November 1877, from Kate (Prince) Livermore, a book of daily readings called *Day Unto Day* (Margaret L. Bennett, comp., *Day Unto Day* [Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1873], GUL: Whistler Collection, W174). On the days corresponding to birthdays and deaths of loved ones, she commented on the person. The reference to James’s birthday and the comment are written next to the date “July 11”: “James Abbott MacNeill Whistler’s birthday, my first born son.” Moreover, James’s poem to his mother, while dated 10 July 1844, was presented to her on the 11th.
614. This is Carl Hedenschoug, Major Whistler’s draftsman. See his biography in Appendix E.
615. James’s note to his father reads: “My Dear Father You will remember better than I do when I was born on the 4<sup>th</sup> July 1832. Aunt Alicia was with us then in Lowell and she has come here again to have some fun on my 10 Birthday. This afternoon I am to have a party of little friends, and I am so glad you have come home in good time. I have drawn a head of a Russian priest for you. John and Tom Drury have come out here to spend their vacation and I like them very much. Now my dear father as I have told you all that I can think of, I must say Goodbye. James” (James Whistler to George Washington Whistler, [Peterhof Road, 11 July 1844], GUL: Whistler Collection, W652). MacDonald says the whereabouts of the drawing of the head of a Russian priest are unknown and dates James’s note “1842,” probably on the

basis of its incorrect statement about James's birth (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 1)

John Thomas Drury (b. 2/14 August 1833) and Thomas Anthony Drury (b. 6/18 May 1836), mentioned in James's note, were the sons of William Drury (11/22 April 1800 – 30 January / 11 February 1864) and Elizabeth (P'Anson) Drury (26 May / 7 June 1800 – 22 May / 3 June 1869) (married St. Petersburg 6/18 August 1827) (PREC STP for 1833, pp. 176 and for 1836, no. 4246, p. 209). See Notes 731 and 738 below; see also Bryan P'Anson, *The History of the P'Anson Family* (London: Henry Good and Son for The Genealogical Society, 1915), pp. 43–44. GUL: Whistler Collection H1 is, I believe, the paper band that was around James's note to Deborah.

616. James copied for his mother a poem by the Irish poet, Thomas Moore (28 May 1779 – 26 February 1852), entitled “To My Mother Written in a Pocket Book, 1822” (A.D. Godley, ed., *The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore* [Oxford: Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1929], p. 535). Moore was the author of such well-known works as *Lalla Rookh* (1816), “The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls,” and “Believe Me If All Those Endearing Young Charms.” His devotion to his mother was noted by the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s.v. “Moore, Thomas [1779–1852]”) as “one of the most amiable features of his character.”
617. This was James's first letter to his mother. Her comments about it in the diary indicate that for her “filial love” was a “holy feeling,” and she prayed that it might “never desert him.” She responded with a note in which she alluded to the duty of a child and mother to one another: “Peterhoff road. July 11th. 1844. My own darling James. You know not how those lines to your Mother touched her heart this morning! So full of the holy sentiment of a child's affection and duty to her who ten years ago folded him with joy in a maternal embrace, dutiful and gentle” (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Peterhoff Road, 11 July 1844, GUL: Whistler Collection, W351). On the envelope she wrote: “For my dear James on his tenth birthday. his Mother has nothing more to enclose than her *Love*, and may the expression of his be exhibited in his life.” How intense and constant were her feelings on the subject is underscored by the fact that on 10 February 1878, when James was 43 years old and still leading a life she disapproved of, she returned his letter to him, after writing him a response of a kind that no one would like to receive, on the letter he had sent her almost thirty-four years before. It begins: “So may



it be my precious Jamie! altho during the 34 years since you copied the verses, you have as often, let flatterers & the love of Jamie usurp my place in your affections” (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Hastings, 10 February 1878, GUL: Whistler Collection, W350).

In *Day Unto Day*, under the entry for 11 July, she marked with an “X” a text by S.A. Brooke that she clearly thought appropriate to James’s life: “How magnificent a thing might life become, could we but turn away from all temptations to do our own will, and say to the tempters, were they even father or mother, — say, in the strength of Christ, “I cannot: wist ye not that I must be about my Father’s business?”<sup>3</sup> ... So perfect was the unison of his will to God’s that his feeling was not, I must, or even, I ought, but, “I delight to do thy will”; “My meat and my drink are to do my Father’s will.”<sup>4</sup> — S.A. Brooke.” [³Luke ii.49. ⁴John iv.34]” (Bennett, *Day Unto Day*).

618. Deborah Whistler Haden to James Whistler, no date, no place, written in French, GUL: Whistler Collection, H1, is a response to a note from James that she describes as “Your note ... a nice remembrance of this anniversary of your birth.” I believe it should be identified as [Peterhof Road July 11, 1844]. It has not been possible to locate the note from Aunt Alicia.
619. The birthday being celebrated at Mr. Drury’s may have been that of William Leighton Drury, his grandson, who was born on 1/13 July 1832 (PREC STP, no. 4106, p. 161). Although the family of William Leighton Drury did not come to live in the empty house on Mr. Drury’s estate until early August, several of the grandchildren were there at the time of James’s birthday.
620. 29 June / 11 July was the Feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. All places of business and all schools were closed (*Mesiatsoslov na 1842 g.*). See Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 16.
621. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday [July] 12<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Joseph Harrison Jr. of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mr. Harrison); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, wife of William Hooper Ropes (Mrs. Ropes); and Anne Caroline McMaster, the Wood children’s governess (Miss McMaster).
622. Persons mentioned in the entry for Sat [July] 13<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the beggar child, Andrea, and his mother (little Andrea and his mother); Anna Whistler’s half-

- sister Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (my sister Alice, Aunt Alicia); Joseph Samuel Ropes, William Hooper Ropes's brother (Mr. Joseph Ropes); and William Bonamy Maingay and his sister, Emma Maingay, Debo's best friend, now living in England (Mr. W Maingay, Emma).
623. A building belonging to Vorontsov was located on Malaia Morskaia Street No. 13, in the First Admiralty District, Second Ward, and his shop, selling ready-to-wear clothing, was probably here (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, p. 37).
624. By "organist" Anna Whistler meant "organ grinder." Street musicians played on St. Petersburg streets on a variety of instruments, but the largest contingent consisted of organ grinders (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, p. 90).
625. The Russian word for "laundress" is spelled "prachka" and pronounced "prah'chkuh."
626. The Russian word for "it's all right," "it's nothing," "never mind," is spelled "nichevo" and pronounced "nyeecheevaw'."
627. The cousins of Joseph Samuel Ropes were probably George Henry Prince and possibly Franklin Henry Hooper. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
628. Franklin Henry Hooper was an orphan and also had no living brothers and sisters (Charles Henry Pope and Thomas Hooper, comps., *Hooper Genealogy* [Boston: Charles H. Pope, 1908], pp. 148–149). I doubt that he is the right Hooper cousin; however, he is the only Hooper whose name appears in the passport applications recorded in 1844 before June (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2, p. 16, passport no. 1902). Perhaps Anna Whistler made a mistake when she said "his brother" had worked for Whistler in Springfield.
629. It has not been possible to locate the note from the terminally ill Mary Gent Hirst.
630. Starting about 1830, 1/13 July, the birthday of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (see Images 420, 424), was celebrated at Peterhof (see Images 400, 402) as a public holiday (before then it had been celebrated on Elagin Island; see Image 409). When 10 p.m. struck, three rockets were set off as the signal for the illumination to begin, and in an instant, as if by magic, the somber masses of trees were sprinkled with diamonds. Thousands of fires in various charming shapes sparkle everywhere, reflected in the waters and turning them to gold, and in the centre of an

enormous blazing star brightly burns the monogram of the August heroine of the festivities. Wherever you turn your gaze there are bewitching and marvelous pictures. Looking from below up at the palace, you see mountains of fiery water plunging into an abyss. On one side the pond of Marly Palace, decorated along its edge with flaming ribbons and festoons, draws your attention; on the other side the open sea sprinkled with Russian vessels, their yardarms covered with interwoven fiery garlands. The tall column of water from the Samson fountain turns into a burning column and sparks scatter in the shapes of diamonds, rubies, and sapphires. Fiery peristyles hang over the canal. Further away majestically towers a colossal shield, shining like the sun, and proudly bearing in its center the name “Aleksandra” in fiery diamonds. Orchestras from the Guards regiments play in various locales of the gardens without cease, one replacing another, and the sounds of the music fusing with the noise of the water increase the enchantment. The Imperial family, accompanied by courtiers and foreign emissaries, moves about in wagons amidst the tightly packed crowd of merry-makers. The public carouses all night, leaving the garden only at dawn (Bur’ianov, *Progulka s det’mi*, vol. 3, pp. 21–38. Pushkarev’s description of these festivities is extracted from Bur’ianov’s extremely detailed description: Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga 1842*, pp. 173–174). For further information about the festivities of this day, see Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth & Ceremony in Russian Monarchy*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995–2000), vol. 1, pp. 328–331.

631. One of the means considered beneficial in folk medicine to treat pulmonary tuberculosis was the use of animal remedies. “In the case of sheep or cows the inhalation of their breath was regarded as beneficial so that the patient was made to sleep among a flock of sheep, in a byre ... or butcher’s shop” (J.D. Rolleston, “The Folklore of Pulmonary Tuberculosis,” *Tubercule* 22 (1941): p. 57). There were “those who regarded the exhalations of cow houses as a sure remedy; no less a scientist than Joseph Priestly attributed the cure of his daughter to those fumes” (René Dubos and Jean Dubos, *The White Plague: Tuberculosis, Man, and Society* [New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987], p. 136). “This practice apparently persisted through much of the nineteenth century. In *La peau de chagrin*, Balzac speaks of a Swiss consumptive who cured himself by breathing in, extremely slowly, the ‘thick air of a cowhouse’” (Dubos and Dubos, p. 256). Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna was placed in the

- cowshed on the Imperial model farm in Tsarskoe Selo overnight, but could not endure the treatment. She was then placed in the small lodge, one of the three buildings making up the farm (see Images 458–459). See also Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 220; Bang, *Livs Minder*, p. 248.
632. As Anna Whistler did not write in her diary on Sunday, this entry was most likely written on Monday, 15 July. The “little Normans” in this entry cannot be identified.
633. Matthew 26:13: “Verily I say unto you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also be this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.” The tenor of Rev. George Williams’s sermon on charity was based on the story of the woman who anointed Christ’s head with all of a precious ointment she had, causing an outcry from his disciples, who felt it could have been sold for a large sum to help the poor. Christ answered that she had wrought a good work upon him, because she had done it for his burial; thus Mr. Williams’s exhortation to his congregation to relieve not only the material but the spiritual needs of others.
634. Persons mentioned in the entry for Wed [July] 17<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Anna Whistler’s half-sister Alicia Caroline Margaret McNeill (my sister, Aunt Alicia); Colonel Ivan Frantsevich Bouttatz, Major Whistler’s colleague and a family friend (Col Bouttatz, the Col); the terminally ill Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst); the American envoy to Russia, Colonel Charles Stewart Todd (Col Todd); Timothy Abraham Curtis, a merchant of the Liverpool firm of Bury, Curtis and Kennedy (old Mr. Curtis, Mr. C); Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (dear daughter the Grand Duchess, blooming bride); Emperor Nicholas I (the great man); Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel, husband of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (Prince of Hesse Castle); and William Miller, a merchant and suitor of Deborah Delano Whistler (Mr Miller).
635. “On his arrival in St. Petersburg, the stranger receives a *carte de séjour*, or permission of residence, in exchange for which he delivers up his passport, which is deposited in the archives of the Alien Office until his departure” (see Image 150) (Jerrmann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 75).
636. Count Aleksandr Khristoforovich Benkendorf (Benckendorff) (1783 – 23 September / 5 October 1844; see Image 308) was “Head of the Third Department of His Imperial Majesty’s Own

Chancery (Chief Director after 1839) and Chief of Gendarmes from 1826 to 1844.” In March 1841, when Nicholas I appointed a committee to study a project for a St. Petersburg–Moscow railway, he chose Benckendorff to head it. In January/February 1842, Benckendorff was made chairman of the Construction Commission, which was to direct and supervise the construction of the approved railway (the Commission was abolished later in the year, when the Department of Railways was created). Benckendorff’s home (No. 15) was located on the Fontanka River between Chain (*Tsepnoi*) Bridge and Semionov Bridge, in the Second Ward of the Liteinaia District. As one walked along the Fontanka from his house towards the Grand Neva, the Summer Garden was visible on the other side of the Fontanka (P.S. Squire, *The Third Department: The Establishment and Practices of the Political Police in the Russia of Nicholas I* [New Haven, CT: Cambridge University Press, 1968], pp. 106–131; Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 12, 15–16, 17–18, 40; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, p. 5. Nistrem’s address guide was dedicated to Benckendorff). Elizabeth Rigby executed a portrait of him and his wife.

637. The Summer Palace (see Image 148) stands on a plot adjoining Laundry (*Prachechnyi*) Bridge and is preserved as a relic of olden days. It contains several memorable things: the large clock said to have been bought by Peter the Great in Holland; the full-length portrait of Peter the Great in a cuirass and Danish uniform; various furniture purported to have been made by Peter the Great or used by him and by his daughter, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna. Built in 1711, the Summer Palace was intended as a summer residence and therefore an extensive garden was laid out around it (the present-day Summer Garden; see Image 149), in which popular festivities took place on Sundays. In 1725, a separate building with a salon for the festivities taking place in celebration of the marriage of Tsarevna Anna Petrovna (Peter’s daughter) to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein was added to the Summer Palace. In 1731, this addition was destroyed and replaced with a wooden house in which Empress Anna Ioannovna lived, and later the Duke Biron (he was arrested here in the final days of his regency). In the reign of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413), the Summer Palace was restored to its original state, as it had been in the time of Peter the Great, and remains so to this day. In winter, the palace is closed; visitors are admitted only in spring and summer.

The Summer Garden occupies the entire area between the Grand Neva, the Fontanka, the Moika and Swan (*Lebiazhi*) Canal. The Swan Canal separates it from the Tsarina's Meadow, also called the Field of Mars. The Summer Garden is about 250 sazhen long and about 100 sazhen wide. At first, it occupied the area of the present-day Garden, and all of the Tsarina's Meadow, which at that time was also planted with trees in the form of a park. The garden then also included land set aside for the Mikhail, or Engineers (*Mikhailovskii*, or *Inzhenernyi*), Castle, and for the garden that now belongs to the Mikhail Palace (the Upper Summer Garden). The first plans proposed building the Summer Garden according to the rules of French horticulture of the time, with a grotto, covered avenues, and fountains and cascades, for which a water conduit from the Ligovskii Canal was built. These plans show the following structures: the Summer Palace, near Laundry Bridge; a grotto, in which in summer there is now a confectioner's shop; a post house that was located on the spot where the Marble Palace stands and that was taken down in 1738; and the salon in which festivities took place (that is mentioned above in the information on the Summer Palace). This project was carried out. The garden had, in addition, a collection of rare birds and animals. It was decorated with lead statues depicting figures from Aesop's fables and a large number of marble statues and busts from Italy. In the reign of Catherine the Great, the Summer Garden was embellished with new structures, such as fountains, cascades, statues, ponds, artificial hills, grottos, temples, and Chinese and Egyptian gazebos, but it suffered during the storm and flood that raged on 10 September (OS) 1777. The Garden was knocked down, and many trees were broken. They were raised and propped up. The iron clips holding the branches to the trunks were still visible in 1838, when Bur'ianov's book appeared. The fountains destroyed by the storm had not been restored by that date. Particular attention must be drawn to the magnificent iron fence with granite posts, begun in 1778 and completed in 1784, which extends in front of the Garden on the Neva River side. It was built by the architect Iurii Matveevich Fel'ten (1730–1801), who was director of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. Its granite columns were cut from whole pieces, are two sazhen high with a diameter of three feet, and are placed on the same kind of pedestals six cubic feet thick. The fence has three gates decorated with gilded depictions of baskets of flowers, etc. The elegant design, quality of the materials, fine columns decorated at their summits with vases and

urns, the bright gilt of the darts and rings all make the fence unique. In recent times, the furthest-lying avenues of the Garden have been turned into paved roads for horseback riding and phaeton driving. An elegant urn of Elfdahl porphyry, the gift of the King of Sweden, was placed in 1839 on the side where the Engineers Castle stands. From the very start, the Summer Garden was intended for the public and remains so today. Fashion draws the largest crowds here from Thomas Week (*Fomina nedelia*) to Whit Monday (*Dukhov den*). On the latter holiday, there is a big celebration that in days gone by included the choosing of brides, especially by the merchant class. After that, the Summer Garden becomes the domain of people who spend the summer in the city and have no other place where they can enjoy the shade of trees. They can take advantage of the coffee house in the garden, the owner of which often hires musicians for Sunday performances. One may also enjoy the mineral waters in the Summer Garden instead of having to go to the main establishment in Novaia Derevnia, while outside the Summer Garden on the Neva in a charming two-storied moored house one may take the cure by means of steam and cold baths (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, pp. 262–266; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 221–222, 334–335; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 662–663; Agapkina, *Èntsiklopedicheskii slovar' A–Ia Slavianskaia mifologiia*, pp. 381–383).

638. On 5/17 July, the Feast of St. Sergius, there is a service in the Church of St. Sergius the Miracleworker and a religious procession around the monastery.
639. It has not been possible to ascertain who the “old admiral” is. If English, he may have been Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig (6 September 1775 [OS] – 18/30 January 1845; see Image 297) or Admiral Alexander Ogilvy (c. 1765 – 26 March / 7 April 1847 (PREC STP for 1847, p. 349; 25 March is given in *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 43).
640. “5 July [17 July]. 2:15 P.M. His Majesty arrived at the Alexandria Dacha from Tsarskoe Selo, having left there at twelve o'clock and having stopped in on route at the St. Sergius Monastery during the service for St. Sergius” (RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal*, fol. 355v).
641. The same entry for 5 July [17 July] in the *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal* (see previous Note) also describes Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna's condition of the previous day: “she spent yesterday pleasantly. Her cough was extremely moderate and expectation was easy. There were no chills or fever and only toward evening

was there any agitation. Her Highness exhibited an appetite in taking breakfast and dinner. Sitting by the window for several hours, she hardly coughed. She had a pleasant nap of three-quarters of an hour. Her sleep during the night was poor and interrupted by expectoration. Towards morning she rested more easy.”

642. The reference is to Charles Collins Parker (3 August 1823 – 28 December 1848), MD, University of Pennsylvania, 1846. He was companion to Colonel Sylvanus Thayer (see Note 645 below) during the latter’s trip through Europe. See the biographies of Colonel Sylvannus Thayer and Charles Collins Parker in Appendix E (hereafter, Thayer and Parker) and Images 318–319.
643. This is Abby Hortense (Chew) Swift (1822 – 10 April 1898), who, on 15 September 1842, married McRee Swift (15 April 1819 – 5 April 1896), son of General Joseph Gardner Swift. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
644. Thomas John Chew (28 January 1777 – 21 July 1846) and Abby Hortense (Hallam) Chew (13 September 1791 – 21 March 1874), married in September 1812, were the parents of Abby Hortense (Chew) Swift. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
645. This is Colonel Sylvanus Thayer (9 June 1785 – 7 September 1872), USMA Class of 1808; military engineer; superintendent USMA (1817–1833), while George Washington Whistler was a cadet there. Maxwell later wrote: “His old preceptor at West Point Colonel Thayer, was out here this summer and was I understand highly delighted with the golden opinion entertained by all for his former pupil” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, October 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 45). Thayer and Parker were probably staying at the misses Benson’s boarding house (H. Memminger, Seraing near Liège, June 5, 1844, Sylvanus Thayer Papers, USMA Library [hereafter, USMAL: Thayer Papers], vol. 7). See Benson, and Thayer and Parker, in Appendix E, as well as Images 318–319.
646. Col B is Colonel Ivan Frantsevich Bouttatz, Major Whistler’s colleague and friend in the Department of Transport and Public Buildings. In 1842, he traveled to America to accompany Major Whistler to Russia.
647. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday [July] 19<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Colonel Sylvanus Thayer (Col Thayer); Charles Collins Parker, medical student traveling with Thayer (Mr. Parker); William Clarke Gellibrand, English



- merchant (Mr. Gellibrand); William Hooper Ropes, merchant (Ropes); Timothy Abraham Curtis, member of the Liverpool firm of Bury, Curtis and Kennedy (Mr. Curtis); and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (the ladies).
648. In the days when sugar was not yet known in Russia, wine, beer, and vodka were sweetened only with honey; therefore, a great variety of drinks in Old Russia went by the name of “mead.” The following recipe is for cranberry mead: one kg. of honey, 2 liters of water, one liter of cranberry juice, 5 gr. of spices, 100 gr. of yeast. Pour the water into the honey; boil, removing the foam. Pour into a large bottle (or tub), add the cranberry juice and spices (cinnamon and cloves), and the yeast and allow to ferment for two days. Then close up the bottle, keep in a cold place for about three weeks, pour into bottles and cork up (Mikhailov, *Pravoslavnaia kukhnia*, p. 195).
649. This was probably Alexander Thal (St. Petersburg 5/17 November 1802 – St. Petersburg 8/20 January 1886), who was the consul general for Hanover in St. Petersburg from 1842–1860. However, James Thal (St. Petersburg 22 January / 3 February 1801 – St. Petersburg 11/23 August 1866), who had been vice consul for Hanover in St. Petersburg from 1835–1841 and was consul in Moscow from 1842–1844, is a possibility (Dr. Annette von Boetticher, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hanover, Germany, to E. Harden, 23 August 1994; Amburger Datenbank, IDs 80404, 80424).
650. Persons mentioned in the entry for Sat [July] 20<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Thomas Nelson Hirst, who ran a private school in St. Petersburg (Mr. Hirsts gate); his terminally ill sister, Mary Gent Hirst (my invalid friend, my poor suffering friend); and her Russian servant (her good Elona).
651. Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday [July] 22<sup>nd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law’s summer replacement in the English Church (Mr Williams); Anna Whistler’s half-sister Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (Aunt Alicia); the little Normans, who cannot be identified; and Alexander and William, the sons of Colonel Thomas Drury, and possibly William Leighton, the son of William Drury (the Druries).
652. The work being read aloud appears to be the anonymously published work by David Hume, *A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq; Late Lord Provost of Edinburgh*,

- in a Letter to a Friend* (London: M. Cooper, 1748). It has been pointed out that although Hume's job as tutor to the Marquess of Annandale had "the unanticipated advantage of keeping Hume out of Scotland during the Jacobite uprising of 1745," his absence "did not prevent him from later writing, with every appearance of authority, a defence of the conduct of the lord provost of Edinburgh during the rebellion" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Hume, David [1711–1776]"). I wish also to thank James L. Mitchell, curator of Rare Collections at the NLS, for his help with the identification of this work.
653. There are three notes from Willie Whistler at GUL: one undated, to his aunt, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill; one dated "Juillet 9 1845 Petersbourg" to "Mon cher frère," his brother James; and one to his father (GUL: Whistler Collection, W969).
  654. Persons mentioned in the entry for Wed [July] 24<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (sister, my sister); Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst, the dear Invalid); Thomas Nelson Hirst, her brother (to Mr. Hirsts); and Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law's summer replacement in the English Church (Mr. Williams).
  655. They had taken a third-story apartment in the house of Ritter, at No. 237 English Embankment, opposite the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. In Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, the house is numbered 13 on the English Embankment and 26 on the Galernaia Street side (pp. 3, 39).
  656. The Russian word for "oarsman" is spelled "pirosvozchii" and pronounced "pirossvaw'shchee."
  657. The name of the five-kopek coin is derived from the word for "five" and was spelled "piatak" or "piatachok" (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 53).
  658. The Whistlers' family doctor, Dr. James Rogers, also attended Mary Gent Hirst.
  659. The reference here is to Rev. James Slade (2 May 1783 – 15 May 1860), divine and author. The work referred to here is *Twenty-one Prayers Composed from the Psalms, for the Sick and Afflicted*. It was first published in 1828. Each of the twenty-one Psalms included there is accompanied by a prayer based on it. This section is followed by other forms of prayer for the sick that are partly adopted from "well known devotional writers" and partly original. The final section consists of occasional prayers, e.g., for the dying, for those in violent pain, for those of advanced age (James Slade, *Twenty-*

*One Prayers Composed from the Psalms, for the Sick and Afflicted*, 4th ed., [London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1839]).

Educated first by his father, Slade then attended Emmanuel College, Cambridge, graduating in 1804, and was ordained a priest in 1807. He was vicar in a number of places until his post as vicar of Bolton, which he held for almost forty years, and in which he became widely known. He was “[i]n advance of his time on many questions,” especially concerning “church reform and education.” He devoted much attention “to the education of the working classes ... The Bolton parish church Sunday schools became famous under his care ... In 1846 he founded the Church of England Educational Institution for boys and girls of the middle class and for evening students ... He was also the founder of the Poor Protection Society.”

His other published works included *Annotations on the Epistles* (1816), *Lessons for Sunday Schools, Selected from the Scriptures* (1823), *An Explanation of the Psalms As Read in the Liturgy of the Church* (1832), *Plain Remarks on the Four Gospels* (1818), *A Letter on Church Reform to the Bishop of London* (1830), *Plain Parochial Sermons*, 7 vols. (1835–1847), and *A System of Family Prayer* (1837) (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

660. This is Baron Eduard Andreevich de Stoeckl, junior secretary to the Russian Mission in Washington. See the biographies of Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside in Appendix E and Image 286.
661. This is Engineer General Jean-Antoine Maurice Destrem (July 1787 – 10/22 November 1855), called Moris Gugonovich by the Russians. He was director of the Department of Planning and Estimates of GUPSiPZ. His cultural accomplishments prompted Anna Whistler to describe him in this entry as “very intellectual.” See his biography in Appendix E and Image 246.
662. See Note 52 above. Jean Robert and Cecilia (Flour or Flourer) Poizat, who had been on the *Acadia* in 1843 with the Whistler family, had three children at this time. The new baby is never called by name in APS: Scaliger, nor does she appear in the 1850 Census for West Chester, Pennsylvania, when the family was living there. She is most certainly Amata Poissat, legitimate daughter of Johannes, born in France, who died of brain fever on 27 April 1850 at age six in West Chester, Pennsylvania (Death Register of Holy Trinity Church, 1810–1828 and 1849–1871, PAHRC). Mary, who seems older than Charles, had been in Philadelphia “last summer.” Because the date of this diary entry is 24 July 1844, it suggests that “last summer” means 1843. Mary,

too, does not appear in the 1850 Census mentioned above. Charles's age at this time is not known, but he is listed in the 1850 Census as nine years old. He appears in the Philadelphia directories for many years until 1882. It has not been possible to locate this letter. See Poizat in Appendix E and Image 78.

663. Persons mentioned in the entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and his wife, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Mr. G, the Gellibrands); Elona, the servant of the terminally ill Mary Gent Hirst (poor Elona); Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst); Sophia (Gordon) Hirst, Mary Gent Hirst's sister-in-law (her Sister); Thomas Nelson Hirst, Mary Gent Hirst's brother (her brother); Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law's summer replacement in the English Church (our Pastor Mr. Williams, Mr. W, our young Clergyman, our young pastor); Anna Whistler's half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (Aunt Alicia); Rev. Dr. Edward Law, chaplain of the English Church, on leave in England (Mr. Laws practise); and Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov, head of the Northern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (Col Melnikoff).
664. The superior to whom Major Whistler was immediately responsible was Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (30 November [OS] 1793 – 3 February [OS] 1869), head of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings, appointed to the post in August 1842, shortly after Whistler's arrival in Russia. See his biography in Appendix E and Image 243.
665. Little is known of Sophia Morgan (Greenock, Scotland 1808 – Merchiston, Edinburgh 13 April 1872). She was the daughter of Francis and Isabella Margery (Carmichael) Morgan. She first met Alicia McNeill in Russia in the summer of 1844, and they became close friends. Sophia Morgan was married on 30 October 1856 in Edinburgh Parish, Edinburgh, Midlothian, to John Rodger (Greenock, Scotland bap. 4 September 1796 – 26 March 1868) (IGI for Midlothian; OPRS for Renfrewshire; Will of John Rodger, Ref. SC70/1/159 1868, Edinburgh Sheriff Court). Her husband was a banker. Their house was called Fairbank. Alicia McNeill (see Image 39), who died suddenly in Linlithgow in 1863, was buried from Sophia (Morgan) Rodger's house (William Charnley to "Madam", Preston 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1863, GUL: Whistler Collection, C76; Anna Whistler to Mr. Gamble, London, 10–11 February 1864, GUL: Whistler Collection, W516; *The*

- Scotsman*, Tuesday, Sept. 22, 1863; *London Evening Standard*, April 16, 1872).
666. Dorothea Halliday (bap. 2 January 1810 – Steyning, Sussex 20 February 1880) married Francis Baird (28 February / 12 March 1802 – 13/25 March 1864; see Image 275) on 1/13 October 1828 (PREC STP, nos. 3756, 7614).
667. Miss Morgan lived in town with old Mrs. Baird, at the home of Francis and Dorothea (Halliday) Baird in the house they owned on Miasnaia Street, near the Baird works, in the Fourth Admiralty District, Third Ward (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 170, Tuesday, July 29 / August 10, 1847; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, pp. 22, 81). Francis and Dorothea Baird also had a dacha on the Peterhof Road, the location of which it has not been possible to determine.
668. Anne Elizabeth Main and Matthew Anderson were married on 13/25 July 1838 (PREC STP for 1838, p. 237). Their anniversary had been celebrated on the previous Thursday.
669. It has not been possible to locate this note from Eliza (Lamb) Maingay that her husband, William Maingay, brought to Russia, and her son, William Bonamy Maingay, delivered (see Images 258–260).
670. It has not been possible to locate these letters of Emma Maingay (see Image 265), also delivered by William Bonamy Maingay, her brother.
671. Anne Elizabeth (Main) and Matthew Anderson had one son at this time, Henry Main, born 13/25 August 1840 (RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 3 Register British Factory Chapel St. Petersburg [January 1831 – December 1846]; PREC STP for 1840, p. 266). Therefore, the Anderson boys referred to here would have included the sons of other members of the Anderson family, most likely of Frances (Simpson) and John Anderson (who owned the house), who had a son twenty years old and five sons thirteen years of age and under; and possibly of Sarah (Phillips) and Robert Anderson, who had two sons, seven and five years of age.
672. The term “Circassian beauty” refers to an exoticized image of women from Circassia, in the North Caucasus. The reputation of Circassian women as extraordinarily beautiful and spirited, while still respectful and obedient, rendered them attractive commodities in the Turkish slave trade. This “historical image of idealized feminine aesthetics” also pervaded artistic, literary, and popular culture from “its initial appearance in the novels and

theatrical plays of the seventeenth century” (Setenay Nil Doğan, “From National Humiliation to Difference: The Image of the Circassian Beauty in the Discourses of Circassian Diaspora Nationalists,” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 42 (2010): pp. 77, 82). In the 1800s, “this identification of the Circassian and Caucasian as the most perfect representatives of whiteness had taken hold of the public imagination” (Gregory Fried, “A Freakish Whiteness: The Circassian Lady and the Caucasian Fantasy,” *Mirror of Race* [2013], online journal), and the term was used extensively to market beauty products in American and Europe. In 1843, “Circassian Hair Dye, for changing light, red, or grey hair to a beautiful brown or black,” was sold in Baltimore for one dollar a bottle (“Circassian Hair Dye,” Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-pga-08523, advertisement flyer). While Anna Whistler would have ignored the association of Circassian beauty with concubines, she probably was aware of the beauty products and would have known the term from literary allusions. Known as the beautiful Mrs. Anderson, Anna Whistler’s acquaintance, Anne Elizabeth (Main) Anderson, had dark eyes, presumably dark hair, a sweetness of manner, and sang affectingly, the attributes of a Circassian maid.

673. Astrakhan’ is a city on the Volga River delta near the Caspian Sea.
674. Sunday was 28 July 1844.
675. Dr. James Rogers attended James Whistler and Mary Gent Hirst on Monday, 29 July 1844.
676. Tuesday was 30 July 1844.
677. Mr. Hirst’s house was No. 31 Fifth Line (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 25; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, p. 204).
678. Wednesday was 31 July 1844.
679. The Book of Psalms of the Old Testament consists of 150 psalms, 73 of which are indicated to be “of David.” They are “Hebrew sacred songs and poems,” the themes of which “concern ... praise to the Lord, ... personal joy and sorrow, national redemption, festivals and historical events” (Joan Comay, *Who’s Who in the Old Testament Together with the Apocrypha*, vol. 1 of *Who’s Who in the Bible*, 2 vols. [New York: Bonanza Books, 1980], p. 101).
680. An examination of the Russia Company Minute Books for several years on either side of 1844 shows no mention of a new organ for the English Church at St. Petersburg. There is

correspondence about a new organ for the English Church at Moscow that arrived there in early 1841. The Russia Company did not want to spend more than £100 for the Moscow organ. Perhaps the organ for St. Petersburg was bought by the congregation there directly, thus bypassing the Russia Company. Anna Whistler's figure of £1000 seems rather high (entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I; *Russia Company Court Minute Book 1834–1844*, CLC/B/195/Ms 11741/012; *Russia Company Court Minute Book 1844–1869*, CLC/B/195/Ms 11741/013).

681. Johann Promberger (Vienna 15 September 1810 – Vienna 1890) was the organist of the English Church in St. Petersburg. One source says that he held this position in 1841; another source says he came to Russia in 1843. He also taught the piano in St. Petersburg for more than forty years, concertized, was a composer, and constructed the musical instrument called the “melodion.” In the 1840s and 1850s, he was music critic for the *St. Petersburgische Zeitung*, writing under the pseudonym of “—mb—.” An excellent performer on both the organ and piano, he was limited as an organist by being able to play the organ only within the confines of a church. A.N. Serov relates how in a concert in 1869, Promberger had to play works for the organ by Frescobaldi, Rameau, and D. Scarlatti on the harmonium because of the lack of an organ in the concert hall. Together with G. Ernst, he was the first performer in Russia of Beethoven's “Kreutzer Sonata” (11 March 1847) (L. Roizman, *Organ v istorii russkoi muzykal'noi kul'tury* [*The Organ in the History of Russian Musical Culture*] [Moscow: Muzyka, 1979], p. 246; Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, p. 159; G.B. Bernandt and I.M. Iampol'skii, *Kto pisal o muzyke* [*Who Wrote about Music*], 4 vols. [Moscow: Soviet Composer Publishing House, 1974], vol. 2, p. 308; I.F. Petrovskaia, *Muzykal'noe obrazovanie i muzykal'nye obshchestvennye organizatsii v Peterburge 1801-1917 Èntsiiklopediia* [*Music Education and Social Music Organizations in Petersburg 1801-1917. An Encyclopedia*] [St. Petersburg: Petrovskii fond, 1999], pp. 15, 115, 298). Some of Promberger's writings in German are listed in *Who Wrote about Music*.
682. Horatio P. Southgate was born in Portland, Maine, on 5 July 1812. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1832, then attended Andover Theological Seminary. “He applied for orders” in the Episcopal Church in 1834 and was confirmed in October of that year. In July 1835, “he was ordained deacon in Trinity

Church, Boston ... and soon afterwards was appointed by the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to make an investigation of the State of Mohammedanism in Turkey and Persia." "On ... returning to the United States he was ordained bishop in St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, on October 3, 1839." "He was appointed missionary to Constantinople in 1840, and served for four years in that capacity, during which time he made a tour through Mesopotamia. The Episcopal Church having resolved henceforth to send bishops into the foreign missionary field, [he] was consecrated bishop for dominions and dependencies of the sultan of Turkey in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia ... 26 October 1844." In 1845, he returned to Constantinople until 1849. On returning to the United States, "he offered his resignation, which was accepted by the house of bishops in October 1850." "He received the degree of S.T.D. from Columbia [University] in 1845 and ... from Trinity [College] in 1846." "He was elected bishop of California in 1850 and of Ha[i]ti in 1870, but declined." "In 1851 he went to Portland, Maine, and organized St. Luke's Parish." In 1852, "he accepted the rectorship of the Church of the Advent, Boston, which he held until the close of 1858." "In the autumn of 1859 he became rector of Zion Church, New York City, ... resigning in September 1872," because of failing health. He then retired to Ravenswood, New York. He died on 12 April 1894 in Astoria, Long Island. He married in January 1839 Elizabeth Browne, who died in August 1850 and with whom he had six children. His second marriage, in December 1864, was to Sarah Elizabeth Hutchinson, with whom he had seven children and who survived him. His chief publications are: *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia*, 2 vols. (New York, 1840); *Narrative of a Visit to the Syrian (Jacobite) Church of Mesopotamia* (1844); *A Treatise on the Antiquity, Doctrine, Ministry, and Worship of the Anglican Church*, in Greek (Constantinople, 1849); *Practical Directions for the Observance of Lent* (New York, 1850); *The War: Its Origin and Its Consequences* (London: James Madden, 1855); *Parochial Sermons* (1859); and *The Cross Above the Crescent: A Romance of Constantinople* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1877). All quotations are from *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, s.v. "Southgate, Horatio." Other sources consulted are: N. Cleaveland and A.S. Packard, *History of Bowdoin College with Biographical Sketches of Its Graduates from 1806 to 1879, Inclusive* (Boston: James Ripley Osgood, 1882), pp. 436–437; *General Catalogue of Bowdoin College and the Medical School of Maine A Biographical Record of Alumni and Officers 1794–1950*,



sesquicentennial ed. (Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin College, 1950), p. 65; *New York Times*, April 13, 1894; *Obituary Record of the Graduates of Bowdoin College and the Medical School of Maine for the Year Ending 1 June 1894*, 2nd series, no. 5. (Brunswick, ME: Bowdoin College, [1894], pp. 187–188.

683. Reverend John Henry Hill (11 September 1791 – 1 July 1882) was born in New York City. He graduated from Columbia University at 16 and became a businessman. On 26 April 1821, he married Frances Maria Mulligan (see following Note). After twenty years in the business world, he entered the Protestant Episcopal Seminary in Alexandria, Virginia, and was ordained a priest in Norfolk in 1831. When in that same year his church established a foreign mission in Greece after the expulsion of the Turks, he volunteered for service and went with his wife to Athens, where they opened the first schools for boys and girls in the new Greek kingdom. The following year, the Greek government undertook the education of boys, and the Hills took upon themselves the education of girls and the training of teachers. In addition to operating a paying school called “Mrs. Hill’s Private Boarding and Day School for Children of the Higher Classes,” they also ran “The American School” in the Agora for the poor, free of charge. The quality of female education offered by the Hills caused their school to become a model for other schools in Greece, especially because they did not attempt to proselytize. Rather, “Dr. Hill never tried to disturb the religious beliefs of the Greek girls he taught, but took care most conscientiously to establish them, providing that they be taught the orthodox catechism by a worthy Greek cleric or theologian,” because he “saw that what Greece needed was simply education, and that the proselytism which aims at drawing away Greeks from their national faith, could only injure Greece, disturbing the bases of the religion of the nation ... He revered the Eastern Church, as ancient, preserving the Christian traditions of the first ages, and fitted, if anything was lacking to her, in due time, when education of her clergy and laity was more advanced, to set things in order for herself.” Mr. Hill was also for thirty years the chaplain of the British Legation. He constantly refused offers of decorations from the Greek government, but in 1881, on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of “The Girls’ School,” King George I sent him an official letter of thanks. In 1877, he became blind but continued his work with his wife’s help. His funeral was a public manifestation of sorrow, and he was accorded the honors given a grand commander (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Hill,

John Henry”; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Virginia...Nineteenth...of May, 1831* [Richmond, 1831], pp. 12; *The Churchman*, July 15, Aug. 5, 12, 26, 1882; *The Church Eclectic*, Oct. 1882, pp. 627–9; *New York Times*, July 9, 1882; *New-York Evening Post*, April 27, 1821). Letters of Rev. Hill are in the collection of the Archives of the Episcopal Church in the United States in Austin, TX (Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society: Greece, Crete, and Constantinople Records, 1828–1909, RG67-4 through 8).

John Stevenson Maxwell, in his travels after leaving Russia permanently, visited Athens (December 1844). Here, he attended church on Christmas Day and was invited to Christmas dinner by Mr. Hill, who asked him whether he “was connected with M. Hugh Maxwell ... an old [school] friend of his in New York,” because the resemblance was so strong (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Trieste, entry of Dec. 26 in letter of Dec. 16, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, letter no. 49).

684. Frances Maria Mulligan (10 July 1799 – Athens, Greece 5 August 1884), daughter of Attorney John W. Mulligan (13 April 1774 – New York 17 January 1862) of New York City and Elizabeth (Winter) Mulligan (Louisville, KY 1777 – 18 January 1840) married John Henry Hill on 26 April 1821 (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Hill, John Henry”; *New-York Evening Post*, April 27, 1821). The paying school she and her husband ran in Athens was called “Mrs. Hill’s Private Boarding and Day School for Children of the Higher Classes.” Frances (Mulligan) Hill had “the superintendence of the internal arrangements of the school,” and she “and the young ladies her helpers from America,” including her sister, Frederica Mulligan, were described as “indefatigable in their labors” ([Simeon H. Calhoun, American Bible Society (ABS) agent for Greece], “Calhoun’s Trip to Greece,” *ABS Historical Essay #15, Part III* (American Bible Society Archives, n.d.), p. D-12; Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York City*, 2nd series [New York: Greenwood, 1968], p. 279, first published in 1863 by Carleton [New York]; Don S. Armentrout and Robert Boak Slocum, eds., *An Episcopalian Dictionary of the Church; A User-Friendly Reference for Episcopalians* [New York: Church Publishing, 2000]). Frances (Mulligan) Hill took on a greater task in the school’s operation when her husband went blind five years before his death, and she continued to run the school until her own death (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Hill, John Henry”). Over one hundred letters written by Frances (Mulligan) Hill are held by the Archives of the Episcopal Church in the United States in

Austin, Texas (Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society: Greece, Crete and Constantinople Records, 1828–1909, RG67-3).

Maxwell called Mrs. Hill “a most excellent and universally beloved woman.” It turned out that she was a schoolmate of his Aunt Maria, and said she knew his mother. He reported that Mrs. Hill was brought up at Sing Sing, New York (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Trieste, entry of December 26 in letter of December 16, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, letter no. 49).

685. “They are very highly respected, and have done much for Greece, having educated many hundred young people, and this winter a young lady from their school was made lady of honour to the Queen, and is now the most admired of all at Court for her beauty and accomplishment” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Trieste, entry of Dec. 26 in letter of Dec. 16, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, letter no. 49).
686. This is Dr. James Ronaldson Handyside (29 July 1798 – 11/23 December 1872), physician to the Gellibrands and Ropeses.
687. Reverend William Henry Newman (1783 – Flatbush 10 January 1852) was ordained a deacon on 3 July 1835 by Bishop Alexander V. Griswold (1766–1843), bishop of the Eastern Diocese of the Episcopal Church in the United States. It has not been possible to ascertain when Rev. Newman was ordained to the priesthood. In 1838, he was minister at St. John’s Church, Cuyahoga Falls, Stow, Ohio; in 1839–1840, at Trinity Church, Newark, Ohio; in 1841, at Wakefield, Rhode Island (Wayne H. Kempton, Archivist–Historiographer of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, to E. Harden, 12 November 2010).

From 1841–1844, he was Rector of Christ’s Church in Westerly, Rhode Island, not far from Stonington, Connecticut. The latter did not have an Episcopal church, and the one in Westerly had not been long established. In 1833, the Rev. Erastus De Wolf preached at Westerly but “no church ... was embodied.” In 1834, the Rev. John A. Clark “was instrumental in organizing” it. “It dates from November 24, 1834. The first pastor ... was Rev. James Pratt.” In 1835, Christ’s Church was built, and in 1836 the parsonage. “[Rev.] Pratt officiated till December 26, 1839” and was succeeded by Rev. Newman (Frederic Denison, *Westerly (Rhode Island) and Its Witnesses, for Two Hundred and Fifty Years 1626–1876* [Providence, RI: J.A. & R.A. Reid, 1878], p. 198). When the Whistlers lived in Stonington in the 1830s, they used to travel by hand car to attend services in Westerly (“The early years and

boyhood of James MacNeill Whistler,” by Miss Emma W. Palmer, GUL: Whistler Collection, P44).

On 12 May 1844, Rev. Newman became rector of St. Pauls Church, Flatbush, Kings County, New York. On 27 November 1850, he became rector of the Church of the Messiah in Brooklyn, New York. He died in Flatbush on 10 January 1852 at the age of 69. His funeral took place on Wednesday, 14 January 1852, at St. Paul’s Church. He was last listed in the Episcopal Church Annual in New York in 1852 (Wayne Kempton, Archivist–Historiographer of the Episcopal Diocese of New York, 12 November 2010; *New York Times*, January 15, 1852; *The Evening Post* (New York), January 13, 1852; *New York Observer and Chronicle*, February 5, 1852; *Brooklyn Eagle*, January 12, 1852; *Inventory of the Church Archives of New York City, Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Long Island*, vol. 2, *Brooklyn and Queens* [New York: The New York City Historical Records Survey, September 1940], p. 24; enclosure from Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 23 March 2011). I wish to thank Melanie Delva, Archivist at the Vancouver School of Theology at the University of British Columbia, for initiating the North American search that resulted in this biography of Rev. William H. Newman.

688. Mr. Williams read from “The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians.” “The theme of this brief letter is God’s eternal purpose in establishing and completing the universal Church of Jesus Christ ... In developing such luminous figures of the church as the body of Christ ..., the building or temple of God ..., and the bride of Christ ..., the author suggests the glorious privilege and destiny of believers as well as their duties” (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 1417). Its famous image is that of “putting on the whole armor of God” in order to be able to resist evil.
689. State Councilor Aleksandr Petrovich Mel’nikov (c. 1798 – 10/22 May 1873), referred to also as Mr. M. in the entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday, was entrusted to administer the construction section in the Second Department and the section of the Imperial Carriage Establishment in the Office of the Imperial Stables (RGIA: Fond 472, op. 32 (323/1125), d. 925. Formuliarnyi spisok A.P. Mel’nikova Mart 1847g. [Service record of A.P. Mel’nikov March 1847], and Fond 472, op. 257/1273), d. 56. O naznachanii pensii vdove byvshego Sovetnika Pridvornoj Konniushennoj Kontory, Deistvitel’nogo Statskogo Sovetnika Mel’nikova, ne razdel’no s det’mi, po osoboim Monarshei milosti.

- 27 Iun'ia 1873g. ... 10 Augusta 1873g. [Concerning the granting of a pension to the widow of former Councilor of the Office of the Imperial Stables, Actual State Councilor Mel'nikov, indivisibly with her children by special Imperial favor. June 27, 1873 ... August 10, 1873]). See Mel'nikov in Appendix E.
690. Aleksandr Petrovich Mel'nikov was married to Nadezhda Filippova, which is how a spouse's name (first and patronymic) was recorded in a service record (see previous Note for service record file number). According to the memoirs of Baron Andrei Ivanovich Del'vig (1813–1887), a transport engineer, her name was Nadezhda Filippovna Victorova (Baron A.I. Del'vig, *Moi vospominaniia* [My Memoirs], 4 vols. [Moscow: Moskovskii Publichnyi i Rumiantsovskii muzei, 1912–1913], vol. 1, p. 40). She is referred to as Madame M in the entry for August 1<sup>st</sup> Thursday. Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov was a bachelor. See Mel'nikov in Appendix E and Image 247.
691. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday Aug 2<sup>nd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the terminally ill Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst, this dear lady, the sufferer, dear invalid, a saint); Mary Gent Hirst's sister-in-law, Margaret (Gordon) Hirst (Mrs. Hirst, this Sister); Anna Whistler's half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (my sister, Your Sister, my Sister, sister in Christ Jesus); Mary Gent Hirst's servant, Elona (good Elonas arms); and Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law's summer replacement in the English Church (Mr Williams visits).
692. Hebrews 12:6: "For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth."
693. Many years later, when she was 68 years old, Anna Whistler spoke similar words about her husband: "I often have thought that my husband went to Russia for a greater work than the St. Petersburg & Moscow Railway building, his graceful & intellectual qualities and firm religious principles made his example win many to prefer domestic culture, to frivolity or dissipation, we honored & hallowed the Lords Day" (Anna Whistler to Mr. James H. Gamble, Chelsea, November 5 and 22, 1872, GUL: Whistler Collection, W546).
694. 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." This quotation is used by Anna Whistler to deal with the idea of the reunion of glorified spirits, so important to her.

695. Matthew 25:12: “But he answered and said, Verily I say unto you, I know you not.” This quotation is taken from the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. The foolish virgins are excluded from the wedding, because they had to go buy oil for their lamps and thus were not present to welcome Christ like the other members of the bridal party. Anna Whistler believed that not making Jesus “the object of our supreme attachment” in life meant not being prepared to enter heaven at death.
696. Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday [August] 5<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Thomas Nelson Hirst and Sophia (Gordon) Hirst, brother and sister-in-law of Mary Gent Hirst (Mr. and Mrs. Hirst); the terminally ill Mary Gent Hirst’s servant (poor Elona); Thomas Scales Ellerby, pastor of the British and American Congregational Church (Mr. Ellerby); Mary (Bealey) Ellerby (his sick wife); Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law’s summer replacement in the English Church (Mr. Williams); and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, wife of William Hooper Ropes (Mrs. Ropes).
697. Abraham Priest Gibson (10 July 1791 – 30 November 1852) was the American consul general in St. Petersburg (1819–1850). See his biography in Appendix E (hereafter, Gibson) and Image 279.
698. Revel was seized from Charles XII of Sweden in 1710 by Peter the Great, who founded a naval port there. It “is situated on a small bay on the south side of the Gulf of Finland, two hundred miles west-southwest of St. Petersburg” (Sears, *Description of the Russian Empire*, p. 60).
699. I Kings 19:18: “Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kissed him.”
700. Mary Gent Hirst, age 47 years, died on 23 July /4 August 1844, and was to be buried on 27 July /8 August 1844 (PREC STP for 1844, p. 312).
701. This is Sarah (Lake) Hodgson (Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire, Wales c. 1806 – London 2 January 1875). She was the wife of John Hodgson (Newcastle upon Tyne 1 January 1790 – Margate, Kent 24 September 1855), member of a leading family in Newcastle upon Tyne and of the firm of Thomson, Bonar and Co., London and St. Petersburg. They were married by license on 14 January 1833 at the church of St. Mary Newington, Surrey, South London. They had seven surviving children: Mary Ann (St. Pancras, London 4 December 1829 – St. Pancras, London c.

- 1901), John Evan (Camberwell, Surrey 1 March 1831 – 1895), Hannah (St. Petersburg 23 February / 7 March 1835 – after 1891 Census), Sarah (St. Petersburg 11/23 July 1839 – 14 February 1919), Thomas Lawrence (13/25 December 1840 – buried 15 May 1922), Fanny (St. Petersburg 8/20 June 1842 – 1916), Jane Maria (St. Petersburg 1/13 July 1845 – 25 July 1924). Mary Ann married in London on 16 July 1851 Sir Thomas Miles Riddell (3rd Baronet of Strontian and Ardnamunchan, MP). John Evan, artist and historical painter, married Helen [?], 26 years old (1861 Census for St. Marylebone, London, 5 Hill Road), born c. 1835 in Riga, Russia. The remaining five siblings were unmarried (*Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury*, September 28, 1855; 1851–1911 censuses, IGI; *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 6, 1875; *National Probate Calendar* [UK], 1919). Anna Whistler garbled the surname twice, calling Mrs. Hodgson Hodges and Hodson.
702. Elizabeth Charlotte Hodgson, aged 7 months and 3 days, died on 23 July / 4 August 1844, and was buried on 26 July / 7 August 1844 (PREC STP for 1844, p. 312). She was born on 20 December 1843 / 1 January 1844 and baptized on 3/15 February 1844 (IGI).
703. William Hooper Ropes's ship *Czarina* had as a passenger Martha Reed Ropes (13 June 1826 – 21 August 1888), his youngest sister, who had been detained in Cronstadt (list of marriages and issue, HUBL: Ropes Papers). She had been to St. Petersburg on various occasions, beginning in 1834, but lived with William and Mary Anne (Codman) Ropes, her father and his second wife, and their children, whose home was now in Boston. Having failed to resolve his sister's predicament, William Hooper Ropes was now turning to Colonel Charles Sterwart Todd, the American envoy, for help. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
704. Persons mentioned in the entry for Wed [August] 7<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, wife of William Hooper Ropes (Mrs. Ropes); her sister-in-law, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Mrs Gellibrand); William Bonamy Maingay, brother of Deborah Whistler's close friend in England (Mr. Wm. Maingay); Kirk Boott Whistler and Charles Donald Whistler, Anna Whistler's deceased little sons (my Kirkies, little Charlies); Catherine Julia McNeill, first cousin to Deborah Whistler (Jule); Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler's sister-in-law (dear Maria); and Henry Cammann McNeill, Anna Whistler's deceased nephew (dear Henry).

705. Susannah (Walker) Drury, wife of Thomas Drury Sr., had died, aged 78 years, on 24 February / 8 March 1842, and was buried on 2/14 March 1842 (PREC STP for 1842, p. 283). Thomas Drury, widower, and Mary Little (bap. 26 July 1797 – 21 November / 3 December 1868), spinster, were married on 28 October / 9 November 1843 (RGIA: Fond 1689, Register of the Chapel of the British Factory St. Petersburg January 1831 – December 1864, op. 1, d. 3, no. 5341). The landlady was therefore a recent second wife.
706. One of the Russian words for “Thank you” is spelled “Blagodarstvuyte” (pronounced “Bluhgahdar’stvooyti”). The gardener was using the shortened form of this word, spelled “Bladaste” and pronounced “Blahdah’sti.”
707. This is the Russian word for “dear mama” or “mommy,” spelled “mamen’ka” and pronounced “mah’minkuh.”
708. It has not been possible to ascertain who this friend was.
709. The letter from Mary in America received by Anna Whistler on 7 August 1844 cannot have been from Mary Brennan, who was then at the dacha. The girls referred to here are the daughters of Maria (Cammann) and William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31): Mary Isabella (see Image 32) and Eliza. This identification seems confirmed by the fact that the family of William Gibbs McNeill, except for Mary, is reported in the girls’ letters to be off to West Point. It has not been possible to locate these letters.
710. The initials JDP bring to mind the brother of Kate Prince, John Dynely Prince Jr. (bap. Hayfield, Derby, England 6 June 1814 – Pawtucket, RI 9 March 1862), who married Mary Travers (1822 – 26 May 1874) on 29 July 1844 in Trenton, New Jersey. They had a son, also John Dynely Prince (b. New Jersey 27 May 1845; bap. Lowell, MA 5 July 1845; d. New York 20 November 1883) (M1372: Passport Applications 1795–1905, roll 181, passport no. 19164; *Boston Transcript*, November 21, 1883; IGI).
711. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday [August] 8<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the deceased Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst, dear Mistress); Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law’s summer replacement in the English Church (Mr Williams); Elona, servant to Mary Gent Hirst (poor Elona); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (My Sister); William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (Mr Gellibrands carriage); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, sister of the newly arrived Martha Reed Ropes (Mrs. Gellibrands Sister);



Colonel Charles Stewart Todd (the Cols representations); Martha Reed Ropes (young countrywoman, Miss Martha Ropes); and William Hooper Ropes, brother of Martha Reed Ropes (Mr. Ropes).

712. Mary Gent Hirst's age in the register is correctly given as 47 years (PREC STP for 1844, p. 312). Anna Whistler, however, says the figures "her age 37" were on the coffin in silver characters.
713. The English are for the most part buried in the Smolensk Lutheran, or Evangelical, Cemetery, which is called Smolensko Cemetery (from the Russian adjective "Smolenskoe") in the Parish Register of the English Church at St. Petersburg. On the basis of the recommendation made by the Commission for Building in St. Petersburg, in 1738 a new decree was issued by the Synod concerning "places where burials should take place." In this decree, the future Smolensk Cemetery (Orthodox) near Black River (*Chernaia rechka*) on Vasilievskii Island is mentioned for the first time. The ukase of 1756 brought into existence two of the most famous burial grounds of Old Petersburg, which still exist today, in the twenty-first century: the Smolensk and Volkov cemeteries. As regards the Smolensk Cemetery, the ukase of 1756 simply confirmed the already-established tradition of burial in the northwestern section of Vasilievskii Island near Chernaia rechka, between Lines 18 and 23. The wooden church here of the Smolensk Icon of the Mother of God was consecrated in the autumn of 1760. The cemetery was surrounded with a fence, and a trench for drying out the marshy site was dug from the western side. Chernaia rechka was also renamed after the Smolensk Church and called the Smolenka River. The dilapidated wooden church was rebuilt in 1772 and consecrated as the Church of St. Michael the Archangel. In 1786–1788, on the site of two almshouses built in 1762, the Smolensk Temple (*kbtram*), a stone edifice, was built. Although the Smolensk Cemetery suffered greatly during the catastrophic floods of 1777 and 1824, it continued to remain one of the important and famous cemeteries of St. Petersburg. Starting in the 1820s, pilgrimages began to be made here to the grave of Blessed Kseniia of Petersburg (canonized in 1988). Primarily inhabitants of Vasilievskii Island were buried in this cemetery, but frequently funeral processions made their way here from other parts of the city, too. Traditionally the intelligensia was buried here: university professors, academicians, artists, actors, writers. On the right bank of the Smolenka River, in the southern part of Golodai Island, there was from 1747 a cemetery for foreign inhabitants of

St. Petersburg belonging to various faiths, of which Protestants made up the largest group. A significant number of the foreigners lived on Vasilievskii Island. The founding and history of the Smolensk Lutheran Cemetery is closely connected with the oldest Lutheran Church in St. Petersburg, that of St. Catherine. The cemetery was registered with this church, subordinated to its church council and intended above all for the non-Orthodox inhabitants of Vasilievskii Island. Since German Lutherans predominated among St. Petersburg's foreign inhabitants, in the eighteenth century foreign cemeteries were most often called Lutheran or German, although Catholics (who until the mid-nineteenth century had no burial ground of their own), Anglican, Reformed, and other denominations were also buried here. This particular Lutheran cemetery acquired the name Smolensk Lutheran, or Evangelical, Cemetery after the Church of the Smolensk Icon of the Mother of God was built (1760) in the neighboring Orthodox cemetery. In 1791, an Armenian Cemetery was also established nearby (Kobak, *Istoricheskie kladbishcha Peterburga*, pp. 22, 24, 25, 286, 288, 290, 309; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 292–293; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 183–188). When Anna Whistler says their horses could not take them to the island where the Smolensk Lutheran Cemetery was located, she may have had in mind the distance, as they had to traverse Vasilievskii Island and then cross onto Golodai Island, and the fact that the road to the cemetery could be muddy.

714. There is some confusion here. William Ropes's sister, Martha Reed Ropes (13 June 1826 – 21 August 1888), is meant, and she was supposed to be on the *Czarina*, but documents show that Colonel Todd asked that Miss Sarah Louisa Ropes (19 July 1819 – 5 October 1910), arrived on the *Corea*, be permitted to land and permission was received (Records of Foreign Service Posts. Diplomatic Posts. USSR. Vol. 165. Miscellaneous Sent. Todd. 1841-1846. Major General Dubel't to Colonel Todd, 26 July 1844, RG84: Reel 35/14, NAUS). Major General Leontii Vasilievich Dubel't (1792–1862; see Image 311) was chief of staff of the Corps of Gendarmes and director of the Third Department (Security Police) of His Majesty's Own Chancery from 1839 under "Benckendorff [see Image 308] until the latter died" on 23 September / 5 October "1844 and to Benckendorff's successor Orlov (see Image 312) until both retired in 1856" (Squire, *Third Department*, p. 142). For further information on Dubel't see Squire, pp. 142–166.

715. Anna Whistler meant “Strel’na.” When one is going in the direction of Peterhof, Strel’na is next after the Trinity-Sergius Monastery and is located on the seventeenth verst of the Peterhof Road. An elevated spot on the shore was chosen by Peter the Great as a suitable place for quickly crossing the Gulf of Finland to Cronstadt. First a wooden palace was built here; then, in the teens of the eighteenth century, the construction of a stone staging palace, the closest of the Imperial palaces to St. Petersburg, was begun. The palace (see Images 398–399), its main façade facing the sea, stands on the crest of this elevation, which descends to the Lower Park in a series of three terraces. The proximity to the sea, the features of the natural relief of the shore, and the rich water resources of the area suggested great possibilities for the creation of a park with a system of canals and fountains. A system of horizontal and vertical canals and one circular canal, in the center of which stands a small island, emerges into the Gulf of Finland and also approaches the palace, making it possible to arrive at the palace by boat. A series of architects worked on the palace: Jean-Baptiste Leblond (1679–1719), N. Michetti (1675–1759), M.G. Zemtsov (1688–1743), T.N. Usov (1700–1728), A.N. Voronikhin (1759–1814), and L. Rusca (1758–1822). In 1722, Peter, who had lost interest in Strel’na, gave it and the unfinished palace to his daughter, Grand Duchess Anna Petrovna (1708–1728), as an engagement present. In the reign (1730–1740) of Anna Ioannovna (1693–1740), the palace burned down. Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (1709–1761; reigned 1740–1761; see Image 413) ordered it rebuilt according to plans by Rastrelli, but the Seven Years War interfered with its completion. It remained unfinished and in a state of neglect until 1797, when Paul I (see Image 417) gave Strel’na to his son, Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich (1779–1831), who set about having the palace restored and the park built. In the summer of 1800, he moved there, living first in the wooden palace and then in the west wing of the stone palace. In December 1803 /January 1804, the entire palace burned down again and, in 1804, was once more rebuilt. After this, the palace did not undergo changes for close to half a century. Strel’na was Konstantin Pavlovich’s favorite place in summer. After his death, it passed to his nephew, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (1827–1892; see Image 436). In 1847, a new cycle of construction was begun (by A.I. Shtakenshneider [see Image 194] and others) that greatly changed the ensemble of buildings and grounds. The wooden palace was still standing when the Whistlers were in Russia (V. Ia. Kurbatov,

*Progulki po okrestnostiam Leningrada: Strel'na i Oranienbaum* [*Walks in the Environs of Leningrad: Strel'na and Oranienbaum*]. [Leningrad: Izdanie Leningradskogo Gubernskogo Soveta Professional'nykh Soizov 1925], pp. 16–29; Stolpianskii, *Petergofskaia pershpektivna*, pp. 35–46, 69; Pyliaev, *Zabytoe prashloe* 1889, pp. 205–226). Anna Whistler does not record any visit to the two palaces, but does seem to have visited the grounds of the Orlov or the L'vov estates, which were also in Strel'na (Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaia doroga*, pp. 210–212; Iu.A. Duzhnikov, *Po Izhorskoii vozvysbennosti* [*Along the Izhora Heights*] [Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1972], p. 39).

716. The third sister was either Elizabeth Hannah Ropes (14 May 1825 – 25 November 1921; see Image 267), or the word was used to mean their sister-in-law, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes.
717. That she was Martha Ropes is corroborated as well by Maxwell, who had been abroad and did not meet her until 16 October 1844. His account of her arrival in St. Petersburg is, unlike Anna Whistler's, humorous:

Yesterday I dined at M<sup>r</sup> Gillebrands and met there among others, a Miss Ropes from Boston a sister of M<sup>rs</sup> Gillebrand. She is quite young, about 17 and one of the merriest Boston girls you ever saw. Her passport was out of rule and upon her arrival the poor little damsel was detained at Cronstadt by the police, gaurded [*sic*] by a sentinel and though she was a [*sic*] liberty to march about town in Cronstadt, she was always attended by an escort, 'armed and equipped as the law directs' - The fun of it was she took it all in good humour and while her relatives here were in a state of consternation, Miss Martha was playing heroine and with her gaurd [*sic*] of honour, visited the governor and the great folk of the harbour. It was only after a note from the Chief of the Police to the Governor had been obtained that her ladyship was relieved from her warlike attendants and permitted to come to town. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of October 17 in letter of Oct. 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 45)

See also Maxwell, *Czar*, pp. 59–60.

718. Sarah Dwight Bliss (3 June 1826 – 8 September 1896) was the daughter of the Whistlers' friends in Springfield, Massachusetts, George (16 November 1798 – 19 April 1873) and Mary Shephard (Dwight) Bliss (24 February 1801 – 12 February 1870).

719. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday [August] 10<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Maingay (Mr. Maingay); William Bonamy Maingay (his son); and Thomas Drury Sr. (my landlord).
720. On 10 August 1844, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22) turned sixty-nine years old.
721. Henry Cammann McNeill's funeral had taken place on 10 August 1840. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
722. Persons mentioned in the entry for Sunday [August] 11<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the deceased Mary Gent Hirst (dear Miss Hirst, that blessed Saint); the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (Grand Duchess Alexandrine); and the Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law's summer replacement in the English Church (Mr Williams). Although dated Sunday [August] 11<sup>th</sup>, this entry is acknowledged as having been written on Monday, 12 August in the entry for that day.
723. This is Charlotte Leon (20 April 1764 – 24 January / 5 February 1847), pensioner. See her biography in Appendix E (hereafter, Leon).
724. Anna Whistler mentions factual and anecdotal details of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna's death, funeral, and burial in a number of diary entries (see also Images 444–460). What she relates depends on what she has been told by others, as she could not understand well or read Russian. In the notes for each of her entries, I have given the information from entries in the *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal* corresponding to those same dates. Although sometimes the same details are not given in the diary entries and in the *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal* on the same day, by the time of the last note concerning these events, the reader will have all the details from the *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal* that can corroborate, correct, or enlarge upon Anna Whistler's diary entries. The material is being presented in this way in the interest of consecutive narrative and sustained emotional impact. Comments on the unsuitable behavior of Prince Friedrich of Hesse will, of course, not be found in the *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal*, but the emotional impact of its dry official entries is surprisingly moving.

The Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna died in her mother's study in the New (Alexander) Palace in Tsarskoe Selo. A separate *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal* was kept for the period from the day of her death through the day of her burial and the

departure of her husband from Russia (RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal. Zhurnal. O konchine i pogrebenii v Bozhe pochivaiushchei Velikoi Kniagini Aleksandry Nikolaevny. S 29<sup>go</sup> Iulia po 5e chis: Avgusta 1844<sup>go</sup> goda* [Journal concerning the decease and burial of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, reposing in God. From the 29th of July through the 5th of August [OS] 1844] [hereafter, RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny*).

29 [OS July/NS 10 August] Saturday. At 8 o'clock in the morning Her Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna partook of the Holy Mysteries of Christ brought from the field church by Archbishop Bazhanov. Present at this ceremony in the Study of Her Majesty, where Her Highness had been staying during her illness, were their Imperial Majesties and Prince Friedrich of Hesse, Her Highness's spouse. — while at this time Their Highnesses the Heir to the Throne and His Spouse, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, the Grand Duchess and Princess of Mecklenburg, the Duke of Leuchtenburg, Prince Alexander of Hesse and Christian of Holstein were in Her Majesty's dining room.

At 9:15 in the morning Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna was delivered of a child in this same Study of Her Majesty and the Almighty favored to bestow upon their Imperial Majesties a grandson, and upon Her Imperial Highness and Her Spouse a Son, to whom a prayer was read by Archbishop Bazhanov and the name Wilhelm given. [The word "Prematurely" is written in the margin by this paragraph.]

Soon after this the newborn baby was christened according to the rites of the Lutheran faith by Pastor Avenarius of the Lutheran Church in Tsarskoe Selo, which ceremony took place in the dining room located next to the Study.

The Sponsors were Their Imperial Majesties, the Landgraf of Hesse and His Spouse the Princess Louisa and Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Zondersburg-Glucksburg.

At 10:45 the newborn infant Prince Wilhelm passed away in this same room.

At 4:20 in the afternoon ... in the abovementioned Study Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna departed this burdensome life for eternal bliss in the Presence of

Their Imperial Majesties and Their Imperial Highnesses the Heir to the Throne and His Spouse, Grand Dukes Konstantin Nikolaevich and Mikhail Pavlovich, Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, the Grand Duchess and Princess of Mecklenburg, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince Peter Oldenburg, Friedrich the Spouse of Her Highness, Alexander of Hesse and Christian of Holstein.

Present at the dinner table of Her Majesty in the dressing room were Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna and the Grand Duchess and Princess of Mecklenburg.

His Majesty declined to hold a dinner table.

At half past seven in the evening a requiem mass was performed over the body of the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna by Archbishop Bazhanov in the presence of Their Majesties and Their Highnesses and certain persons comprising the Imperial Suite.

Then commenced the reading of the Holy Gospel in turn by archbishops and archdeacons of the Court near the body of Her Highness.

30 [OS July/NS 11 August]. Sunday

... At two o'clock in the afternoon, the body of the infant Prince Wilhelm was placed in a lead coffin by the Ladies of the Chamber of Her Highness the deceased Grand Duchess. The coffin was sealed in the presence of the Marshal of the Court Count Shuvalov and Major General Prince Suvorov, who were on duty, and it was then placed in a wooden coffin covered with gold brocaded cloth and silver tulle, after which it was carried by Count Shuvalov and Prince Suvorov into the room where the deceased Grand Duchess was lying and was placed on a table prepared for it. (RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny*, fols. 372r through 376r)

Archbishop Vasilii Borisovich Bazhanov (1800–1883) was the Imperial Confessor. The Pastor of the Lutheran Church in Tsarskoe Selo from 1823 or 1824 to 1850 was Peter Gustav Avenarius (Wuoles, Ingermanland 31 January 1794 – Wuoles, Ingermanland 15 May 1854) (Erik Amburger, *Die Pastoren der evangelischen Kirchen Russlands vom Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts bis 1937. Ein biographisches Lexikon [Pastors of the Protestant Churches of Russia from the End of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century to 1937: A Biographical Dictionary]*

- [Lüneburg, Germany: Institut Nordostdeutsches Kulturwerk–Martin-Luther-Verlag, 1998], pp. 97, 251).
725. “This World is All a Fleeting Show” is a poem by Thomas Moore (Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies and Sacred Songs* [New York and Boston: C.S. Francis, 1854], pp. 147–148). “This world is but a fleeting show” is also a line in *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, but this seems unlikely as Anna Whistler’s source.
726. This was the Hodgson family. See Notes 701 and 702 above.
727. Richard Miller (27 July 1818 – 12 January 1890) was the invalid brother of William Miller, merchant and honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg.
728. 1 Kings 21:20: “And Ahab said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? And he answered, I have found thee: because thou hast sold thyself to work evil in the sight of the Lord.”
729. 1 Corinthians 2:9: “But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him.”
730. This work seems to have been written anonymously. Subsequent works by this author are announced by the publisher only as having been written by “the author of *Scriptural Instruction for the Least and the Lowest*.” This suggests that the author may have been a woman.
731. William Leighton Drury and John Thomas Drury were the grandsons of the Whistlers’ landlord, Thomas Drury Sr. William Leighton was born on 1/13 July 1832 (PREC STP for 1832, p. 161), John Thomas on 2/14 August 1833 (PREC STP for 1833, p. 176). See Note 738 below.
732. Alice Handyside, daughter of Dr. James Ronaldson and Sophia (Fock) Handyside, was born on 3/15 December 1836 (PREC STP for 1836, p. 219).
733. Mary Handyside, daughter of Dr. James Ronaldson and Sophia (Fock) Handyside, was born on 27 April /9 May 1839 (PREC STP for 1839, p. 253). She died, age 13 years and 3 months, on 23 July /4August 1852 (PREC STP for 1852, p. 433). Mary and Alice were motherless.
734. The Whistlers’ family physician was Dr. James Rogers (1810 – 11 July 1890), physician to the British Legation. See his biography in Appendix E.



735. “31. [OS July/NS 12 August] Monday. From two o’clock in the morning until 6 o’clock in the morning Her Highness was embalmed by Doctor Ru. With him were the Imperial Doctor, Dr. Markus, and the swaddling nurse of the deceased Grand Duchess.

At ten o’clock in the morning a requiem mass was performed over the body of the Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, reposing in God, in the presence of Their Majesties and Their Highnesses, by Archbishop Bazhanov and the Archdeacon and singers, and after this the body of Her Highness was placed by the Ladies of the Chamber in a coffin covered with gold brocaded cloth and silver tulle with four tassels of the same kind in the corners.

After this began the ceremonial removal of the body of Her deceased Highness from the Study of Her Majesty to the field Church through the private garden onto the terrace and thence into the oval hall and then by way of the rooms leading toward the field Church ... the body of the deceased infant Wilhelm remained in the Study. With it was the Adjutant of Prince Friedrich of Hesse, Lindholm. After the liturgy the public was admitted for its farewell ... into the corner Study of Her Highness, where the Pastor of the Lutheran Church, Avenarius, gave a speech over the body of the deceased infant.

After this the coffin with the body of the infant Prince was carried through a dark corridor to the Emperor’s entranceway.

... After bringing the coffin with the body to the abovementioned entrance, the pastor got into a waiting parade Carriage drawn by 6 horses harnessed in tandem and received the coffin with the body handed to him by persons of the Court, and then it was accompanied by the abovementioned persons of the Court in various equipages, except for the Emperor, and was driven to the Lutheran Church in Tsarskoe Selo.

On arrival at the Church the coffin with the body was taken from the Carriage by the persons of the Court accompanying it and brought into the Church, where it was placed on a catafalque covered with mourning cloth. At this time a brief speech was made by Pastor Avenarius, after which the persons of the Court, having kissed the coffin, returned to the New Palace and thence to their places of abode” (RGIA: *Kamer-fur’erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny*, fols. 378r – 381v).

736. Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna (Louisa-Maria-Augusta, Princess of Baden) (Karlsruhe 13/24 January 1779 – Belev, Tula Province 4/16 May 1826; see Image 419) had died eighteen years before.

There had, however, been other royal deaths since then, e.g., that of Dowager Empress Maria Fyodorovna (Sofia-Dorothea-Augusta-Luisa, Princess of Württemberg) (Stettin 14/25 October 1759 – St. Petersburg 24 October /5 November 1828; see Images 415–416) and of Grand Duke Konstantin Pavlovich (Tsarskoe Selo 27 April /8 May 1779 – Vitebsk 15/27 June 1831) (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, pp. 147–149, 177–182, 210–214).

737. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday [August] 13<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, the American envoy (the Col); and Thomas Drury Sr. (Our landlord).
738. William Drury (10/22 April 1800 – 30 January/11 February 1864) (PREC STP, no. 1809; no. 7600, p. 774) was the eldest son of Susannah (Walker) and Thomas Drury Sr. He was married to Elizabeth P'Anson (b. after 22 October 1793) on 6/18 August 1827 (PREC STP, no. 3664). They had ten children: Jesse Ann, b. 22 February / 6 March 1828 (PREC STP for 1828, page reference missing); Elizabeth Sophia, b. 1829 (p. 133); William Leighton, b. 1/13 July 1832 (p. 161); John Thomas, b. 2/14 August 1833 (p. 176); Edward Alfred, b. 1834 (p. 192); Thomas Anthony, b. 1836 (p. 209); Frederick Henry, b. 1838 (p. 235); Anthony James, b. 1839 (p. 258); George Galt, b. 1841 (p. 277); Albert Charles, b. 1844 (p. 313). Elizabeth (P'Anson) Drury was the daughter of Henry P'Anson (bap. 11 April 1773) and Elizabeth (Woolloton) P'Anson (married 22 October 1793). She was the niece by marriage of Sir James Leighton (b. c. 1770 – Greenford, Middlesex 7 March 1843), court physician to Alexander I and for a time in the 1820s to Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna. It has not been possible to ascertain the name of the French governess.
739. “1 [OS August/NS 13 August] Tuesday. ... At six o'clock in the afternoon the coffin with the body of the deceased Grand Duchess was covered with a lid when Their Majesties were not present, but before that, after dining, Their Majesties spent some time by the body of Her deceased Highness ...  
 ... The coffin with the body was lifted from the catafalque and carried through the concert hall and the Corridor between the rooms of the Grand Dukes to Their entrance ... After being brought to the abovementioned entrance, the coffin with the body was placed in a waiting landau drawn by 8 horses harnessed in tandem; two personal servants also got in to support the Coffin ... on the back of the landau stood two Court footmen ...

At 7:35 in the evening the melancholy procession started from the entrance for St. Petersburg and the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul ...

At 9:30 in the evening the body of the deceased infant Prince Wilhelm was taken from the Lutheran Church in Tsarskoe Selo by the Adjutant of Prince Friedrich of Hesse, Lindholm, and brought in a Court Carriage to the Lutheran Church of [St.] Anne ... Toward 10 o'clock in the evening those who were on duty arrived at the Fortress of Sts. Peter and Paul at the summoning of the Department of Ceremonial Affairs ... in mourning ... and assembled in the house of the Commandant of the Fortress ... After the arrival of the melancholy cortege from Tsarskoe Selo at the Peter and Paul Fortress everyone passed into the Cathedral ... At 10:30 Her Majesty arrived at St. Petersburg from Tsarskoe Selo via railway ... and went by carriage to the Elagin Palace ... At 1:30 in the morning His Majesty and Prince Friedrich of Hesse arrived at the Elagin Palace by open carriage from the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul" (RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal, O konchine* ... *Aleksandry Nikolaevy*, fols. 383r – 391v).

740. Persons mentioned in the entry for Wed [August] 14<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my Sister); Colonel Ivan Frantsevich Bouttatz, Major Whistler's colleague and Whistler family friend (Col Bouttatz, Col B); and Mr. Eduard de Stoeckl, junior secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington (Mr. Stoeckl).
741. It has not been possible to locate this letter. Thomas Woodcock Winstanley (9 February 1805 – 19 July 1844) was the nephew of John Winstanley. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
742. Robert Smith (c. 1782 – 27 November 1863) was a cotton manufacturer living at Chaddock Hall in the township of Tyldesley in the Parish of Leigh. He was the brother of Esther (Smith) Ormerod, wife of Richard Ormerod, and, therefore, was uncle to Ann Ormerod, who in early 1847 married Rev. John Clarke Haden, uncle of Francis Seymour Haden. Anna Whistler had made Robert Smith's acquaintance on her first visit to England in 1829–1831 and met him again in the summer of 1847.
743. "The St. Petersburg Military Governor General, honored to receive at two o'clock in the morning today a handwritten Imperial rescript of gratitude, hastens to communicate it to the inhabitants of the Capital.

Aleksandr Aleksandrovich!

After accompanying the body of My deceased Daughter to its final dwelling place the first requirement of My heart is to entrust you with announcing to the inhabitants of the Capital how deeply and utterly We all are touched by the general sympathy shown to Us, both during the prolonged terminal illness of Our Dearest deceased Daughter, and at Her death, and finally this very night. Such manifestations of general feeling are not new to Me; until now they have been displayed on days of joyous events; but when it has pleased God to try Us with a most severe blow, what can be more comforting to Our parental hearts, when bowing before His Will, than to see so strikingly, so tenderly that Our grief is a general grief, the grief of the entire family of the people entrusted to Me by God. We thank you like a father for your filial love. In this love is Our solace, and for Me the strength to continue on My difficult way.

May these mutual feelings be a pledge, in the days ahead as well, of the good fortune of Russia.

We remain ever favorably disposed toward you

Nicholas

Elagin Island

2 August 1844 [14 August NS]

after 1 in the morning”

(RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny*, p. 371a recto). This is a printed sheet.

The military governor general of St. Petersburg in 1844 was Adjutant General and General of Infantry Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kavelin (see Image 314) (V.A. Frish and I.P. Vysotskii, *S.-Peterburgskaia stolichnaia politsiia i gradolnachal'stvo. Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk* [St. Petersburg Capital City Police and City Administration: A Brief Historical Essay] [St. Petersburg: Golike i Vil'borg, 1903], facing pp. 136, 152; Iakov Dlugolenskii, *Voenno-grazhdanskaia i politseiskaia vlast' Sankt-peterburga 1703–1917* [The Military-Civil and Police Forces of St. Petersburg, 1703–1917] [St. Petersburg: Neva, 2001], pp. 118–122).

English geologist Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792–1871; knighted 1846; see Image 192), who was received by Nicholas I not long after the funeral of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, so that he could present a copy of his

work on Russia, reported in his journal that the emperor described that night to him as follows:

On then asking after the health of the Empress, his countenance all at once changed, and taking my hand, which he warmly pressed, “Yes,” said he, “we have also had a terrible trial, but I have indeed had a test of the affection of my people which has touched my heart. As regards the death of my dear daughter” (and here the tears burst from his manly eyes), “I wished to have her buried at night, without any pomp whatsoever, accompanied by a single battalion and some followers. What was then my astonishment to see the whole population from Tsarskoe Selo to the citadel (twenty versts) forming such a dense column that my horse could hardly walk through it. The sight of this multitude on their knees praying for us, and sharing in the deep silence the anguish of my soul, truly touched my heart. Then I felt what it was to possess the love of one’s people.” (Archibald Geikie, *Life of Sir Roderick I. Murchison*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1875), vol. 2, pp. 35–36)

744. Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451) became so thin that her wedding ring kept falling off her finger, so her father gave her a very small one that stayed on. He had the pavilion she asked him for built. He helped carry her down into the garden, where she wanted to go, but she could not remain there. When she died, he tried to assuage his grief by exhibiting an unusual amount of energy rather than crying. He tried to avoid all the funeral solemnities. He did not like black or tears. He did not return to Tsarskoe Selo again and set about to change the shrubs below her room and the balcony and everything that reminded them of her illness (*Son iunosti*, pp. 165, 166).
745. The first five classes of Court servitors were required to don mourning for three months, starting from the day on which Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna died (RGIA: *Kamerfur’erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny*, fol. 377v).
746. “In the midst of life we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins are justly displeased? Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death” (*Book of Common Prayer ... in the United States*, p. 265; *Oxford Book of Common Prayer*, p. 97). This is one of

the “seven texts ... collectively known as ‘funeral sentences’ and ‘as a burial service’”; see “The Order for the Burial of the Dead” in the *Book of Common Prayer ... in the United States* (pp. 262–266) and the *Oxford Book of Common Prayer* (p. 97).

747. Olga Nikolaevna (see Images 420, 432) records the following in her memoirs: Aleksandra Nikolaevna “reported having dreamt one night of dying and said ‘My God, can it be that I won’t be able to carry the baby for the full nine months?’ adding, ‘God’s will be done’” (*Son iunosti*, pp. 163–166).
748. Sophia Higginbotham (23 July /3 August 1797 – 1/13 July 1854), daughter of John and Amelia Higginbotham (PREC STP for 1854, p. 159), was governess to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna. When Aleksandra Nikolaevna first fell ill, she expressed the wish to see her “Miss.” Miss Higginbotham, whom she called “Miss Higg,” came to her “dear child” and remained with her to the end (*Son iunosti*, pp. 163, 165). Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (see Image 192) wrote in his journal:

The Emperor was near his dear child when she made her last sign to him to approach her, when kissing her and putting his ear to her expiring voice, she said, “Papa, never forget the person to whom I owe everything.” This allusion was to Miss Higginbotham, the governess of this excellent and beautiful young princess, and no nobler trait of her character could she have left behind her. (Geikie, *Life of Murchison*, vol. 2, p. 36)

Miss Higginbotham was also held in great esteem by Nicholas I (Bang, *Livs Minder*, p. 301), which may be one of the reasons why Dr. Martin Wilhelm von Mandt, his personal physician, disliked her (Bang, p. 247). It was Mandt who correctly diagnosed that Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna had tuberculosis instead of whooping cough, the diagnosis of the emperor’s previous personal physician, Dr. Georg Rauch (1780–1864), who was hard of hearing and therefore unable to use the stethoscope. She had been treated chiefly with baths, being kept in cold temperatures, and other forms of hardening on the initiative of Miss Higginbotham (Bang, p. 244). There were many clashes between Mandt and Miss Higginbotham. Dr. Oluf Lundt Bang (see Image 485), the Danish physician who was requested by Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel, husband of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, to come to St. Petersburg and treat her, confirmed Mandt’s diagnosis. He felt that Denmark would suffer a great loss in the death of Aleksandra Nikolaevna, who was

known throughout the entire country for her goodness (Bang, p. 303). He also attributed the fact that she was equally cultured both emotionally and spiritually (“on the heart’s as well as on the spirit’s side”) to the influence of Miss Higginbotham (Bang, p. 303). Miss Higginbotham visited Bang in Copenhagen later that year. The newspaper noted on 8 October 1844 that she had arrived on 6 October and had stayed at the Hotel d’Angleterre (Bang, p. 303). Presumably she came on the French steamship *Amsterdam*, which docked in Copenhagen en route from St. Petersburg to Le Havre, and she may have journeyed on to England on the English steamship *Mermaid*, which left Copenhagen for London on Wednesday, 9 October (Bang, p. 303). Her name ceases to appear in the *Mesiatsoslov* as of 1845. On 2/14 September 1851, she and John Wilson, widower, were married by banns, according to the Rites of the Church of England by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (PREC STP, no. 6186, p. 416). Sophia (Higginbotham) Wilson died at the age of 56 years and eleven months on 1/13 July 1854 and was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery on 5/17 July 1854 (PREC STP, no. 6526, p. 473). See also O. Iu. Solodiankina, *Inostrannye guvernantki v Rossii (vtoraiia polovina XVIII – pervaiia polovina XIX vekov)* [Foreign Governesses in Russia: Second Half of the 18th – First Half of the 19th Century] [Moscow: Akademiia, 2007], pp. 345–347, 447; Martin Mandt, *Ein deutscher Arzt am Hofe Kaiser Nikolaus I. von Russland. Lebenserinnerungen von Professor Martin Mandt [A German Physician in the Court of Emperor Nicholas I of Russia: The Memoirs of Professor Martin Mandt]*, ed. Veronika Lühe, intro. Theodor Schiemann (Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1917), pp. 241–350.

749. Another anecdotal source of the story of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna’s death says: “Toward evening the Grand Duchess began to grow weak. With great difficulty she turned her head towards her parents, husband and her adored governess M-me Sophie Higgenbotten [*sic*] and said, barely audibly, ‘Goodbye, goodbye, it’s time for me to go to sleep’. With difficulty she then turned onto her other side and fell asleep forever” (V.P. Marin, “Iz dnevnika babushki. 1842–1846 g.g.” [“From My Grandmother’s Diary. 1842–1846”], *Nasha starina [Our Old Days and Ways]* 6, no. 42 [1915]: pp. 528–529). Mandt, who was also present at the death, says she said loudly and clearly: “goodbye, goodbye” or else “good night” (Mandt, *Ein deutscher Arzt*, p. 350). She is also said to have asked her governess to put

a portrait of Nicholas I into her coffin (Solodianskina, *Inostrannyie guvernantki v Rossii*, p. 347).

750. “2. [OS August/NS 14 August]. Wednesday. At 7 o’clock in the morning the public was permitted to enter the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul and all kissed the hand of Her Highness ... At 9 o’clock Metropolitan Antonii arrived at the Cathedral ... performed a funeral service and the Divine liturgy. At the conclusion of the liturgy admittance of the public was halted. At twelve o’clock Their Majesties and Their Highnesses arrived at the Cathedral ... heard a funeral service ... At the conclusion of the funeral service the persons of the Court kissed the coffin and then the tombs of the emperors: Pavel Petrovich, Aleksandr Pavlovich and of the Empresses Maria Fyodorovna and Elizaveta Alekseevna and departed for the places of their abode, after which the public was admitted... His Imperial Majesty appointed August 4 [August 16 NS] as the day for burial of the body of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna” (RGIA: *Kamer-fur’erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny, fols. 394v–399r*). Grigorii Antonovich Rafal’skii (1789–1848) was the Metropolitan of Novgorod, St. Petersburg, Estonia, and Finland from 1843 to 1848 (*Slovo pri pogrebenii pervenstvuushchego chlena Sviatshego Sinoda, Vysokopreosviashchennogo Antonia, Mitropolita Novgorodskogo, Sanktpeterburgskogo, Estlandskogo i Finskogo, i raznykh ordenov Kavaleria, proiznesennoe Preosviashchennym Innokentiem, Arkebiepiskopom Khersonskim i Tavricheskim, v Aleksandronerskoï Lavre, 1848 goda noiabria 19 dnia* [The Sermon at the Interment of the Highest-Ranking Member of the Most Holy Synod, His Eminence Antonii, Metropolitan of Novgorod, St. Petersburg, Estonia and Finland and Cavalier of Various Orders, by His Eminence Innokentii, Archbishop of Kherson and Taurida, in the Alexander Nevskii Monastery on the 19th Day of November in the Year 1848] [St. Petersburg: in the Synodal Printing House, 1848], Boris Yeltsin Presidential Library, accessed 6 August 2021, <https://www.prilib.ru/en/node/445945>; “Clerics of Novgorod and St. Petersburg,” *Saint Petersburg Encyclopaedia*, accessed 6 August 2021, <http://www.encyspb.ru/object/2804009411?lc=en>).
751. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday [August] 15<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Hooper Ropes (Mr. Ropes); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Aunt Alicia); Dorothea (Halliday) Baird (Mrs. F. Baird, Mrs. Baird, Mrs. B); Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law, wife of Rev. Dr. Edward Law, chaplain of the English Church (Mrs. Law);



- three of their four daughters in Russia, probably their unmarried daughters Henrietta Maria Law, Emily Mosley Law, and Isabella Sarah Law, the fourth, Caroline, having gone to England with her father (her three daughters); and Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law's summer replacement in the English Church (Mr. Williams, our young Pastor, our Rev<sup>d</sup> friend).
752. It has not been possible to determine the location of the dacha of Francis and Dorothea (Halliday) Baird. It is not mentioned in Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe*; Lovell, *Summerfolke*; or Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*.
753. John Halliday (c. 1765 – 6/18 September 1854) died aged 88 years and 8 months (PREC STP, no. 6549).
754. Sarah (Weddell) Halliday (24 May 1783 – 11/23 April 1846) died aged 63 years (PREC STP, no. 5594). She married John Halliday on 29 June 1810 in Edinburgh (*Carlisle Journal*, July 7, 1804).
755. “*A la russe* ... meant that each dish in a course was brought in one after another,” as opposed to “*a la français*,” where “all the dishes forming part of a course were laid out on the table at the same time. Europeans complained about [the former] because ... ‘No meat, vegetables, etc. appear on the table so you know nothing of what is to come’” (Anne Odom, *Russian Imperial Porcelain at Hillwood* [Washington, DC: Hillwood Museum and Gardens, 1999], p. 27).
756. In 1831–1833, the newly married George and Anna Whistler lived in Paterson, New Jersey. The Mrs. Dickerson mentioned here is therefore probably Sydney Maria (Stotesbury) Dickerson (Hibernia, NJ 27 December 1788 – Paterson, NJ 17 June 1853), daughter of John Dickerson of New York, captain of a Pennsylvania Regiment in the Continental Army. She was the wife of the Honorable Philemon Dickerson (Succasunna, NJ 26 June 1788 - Paterson, NJ 10 December 1862). After receiving his education in Philadelphia, Philemon Dickerson settled in Paterson, New Jersey, where he practiced law and entered politics. He served in the State Assembly in 1821–1822, was New Jersey representative in the 24th Congress, twelfth governor of New Jersey in 1836–1837, and then served again in Congress in 1839–1841. Appointed a district court judge by President Martin Van Buren, he served in this post from 1841 until his death. Dickerson “also served as a city official in Paterson,” and “was instrumental in procuring its city charter in 1851.” The Dickersons were married on 13 April 1816, in Trinity Church

Parish in New York. They had four children (IGI; Wesley L. Baker, *Dickerson & Dickinson Descendants of Philemon Dickerson of Southold, Long Island, N.Y.: also Long Island Descendants of Captain John Dickinson of Oyster Bay* [Chicago: Adams, 1978], pp. 417–419; Paul A. Stellhorn and Michael J. Birkner, *The Governors of New Jersey 1664–1974: Biographical Essays*, [Trenton, NJ: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1982], pp. 108–110).

757. The “Patriot” of Montrose arrived in Cronstadt on 30 July / 11 August 1844, a Sunday. Peter Roy, master, died on Wednesday, 2/14 August, the day after coming to St. Petersburg, and was buried on Saturday, 5/17 August 1844, by George Williams, officiating minister (PREC STP, no. 5421, p. 313). He was baptized on 7 April 1808 in Queensferry, West Lothian, Scotland, the son of Peter and Jean (Sutherland) Roy. He served for some years on the ship *Albion* prior to joining the *Patriot*, on which he made two trips as master before his death. One was on 1 April 1844 to Pernau, reporting at Hull on 8 July 1844. The second trip was from Hull to St. Petersburg on 15 July 1844. The *Patriot*, under a new master from among the crew, reported at Dundee on 21 September 1844 (Agreements and Crew Lists: Series I, Muster Rolls and Agreements 1747–1860, BT 98/404, PRO).

The *OPRS* gives the following details of the marriage of Peter Roy on 14 January 1844 at Montrose, Scotland: “Mr. Peter Roy Shipmaster, Shore and Miss Catherine Morris, Market Street were proclaimed in order to marriage and no objections offered.” His widow was Catherine Millar Morris (b. Dundee, Angus, Scotland 25 January 1810; bap. Dundee, Angus, Scotland 28 January 1810), daughter of Robert Morris and Mary (Crichton) Morris.

758. Four brothers of Dorothea (Halliday) Baird are listed in the IGI and the *OPRS*: James Rogerson Halliday (bap. 14/28 February 1812 – 15/27 February 1856), John Halliday (bap. 14 June 1816 – 1863), William Halliday (bap. 18 January 1818) and Matthew Thomas Halliday (bap. 13 April 1822 or 1823 – 1872). Dorothea and James were baptized in Scotland (Lasswade, Midlothian); their siblings (including two other sisters) in St. Petersburg (IGI; Amburger Datenbank, ID 84226).
759. It has not been possible to locate this letter written to Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40) and John Winstanley in Preston.
760. The Gillebrands are William Clarke and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Images 265–267). The Ropes are William Hooper and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes.

761. “3. [OS August/NS 15 August] Thursday ... The lid was placed on the coffin in preparation for the burial ... While the body of Her Highness was in the cathedral the lid was always placed on the coffin in the presence of Their Majesties. The coffin was open only at the final farewell ... When Their Majesties were not there and when the public was saying farewell it was open ...

4. [OS August/NS 16 August] Friday. Day of the burial of Her Highness Aleksandra Nikolaevna ... the Coffin was lifted from the catafalque ... it was carried to the place of burial prepared on the left side in front of Grand Duchesses Anna Mikhailovna and Aleksandra Mikhailovna ... the coffin was lowered into the grave on a cloth, and then Metropolitan Antonii sprinkled it with Holy water and consigned it to the earth. After this the Metropolitan gave earth to His Majesty and to the Heir to the Throne. They threw it onto the coffin with a little shovel, and after Them Their Highnesses and Their Serene Highnesses did the same and bowing to the coffin departed for the place of their abode ... Her Majesty... heard a funeral service in the Elagin Palace Church but did not attend the burial.

After the burial and before the departure for Peterhof, the members of the State Council made their goodbyes in the dining room of Elagin Place to Prince Friedrich of Hesse upon returning from the Fortress of Sts. Peter and Paul. At 12:45 [p.m.] Their Majesties and Their Highnesses departed on the steamship “Nevka” for Peterhof and on route dinner was served for 17 persons. On arriving at the harbor they drove to the dacha Alexandria ... At 8:15 Their Majesties and Their Highnesses rode to the harbor to see off Prince Friedrich of Hesse ... and Prince Christian of Holstein, who were leaving for their homeland on the steamship “Kamchatka,” to which the Heir to the Throne and Prince Alexander of Hesse accompanied Their Serene Highnesses. Adjutant ... Lindholm, having taken the body of the deceased Prince Wilhelm ... from the Lutheran Church of St. Anne, left St. Petersburg on the commercial steamship “Amsterdam” for his homeland” (RGIA: *Kamer-fur'erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny*, fols. 402v–409v). The coffin with the baby’s body was taken to the family seat at Rumpenheim and interred in the burial vault in the castle park (Andreas Dobler et al., *Die mitgift einer Zarentochter: Meisterwerke russischer Kunst des Historismus aus dem Besitz der Hessischen Hausstiftung Museum Schloss Fasenerie* [*The Dowry of a Daughter of the Czar: Masterpieces of Russian Art of Historic Importance in the Possession of the House of Hesse*]

*Foundation Museum Schloss Fasanerie*] (Eurasburg, Germany: Minerva, 1997), pp. 120, 121, plate 26b).

In 1897–1908, a new mausoleum for members of the Imperial family was added to the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul. The coffin with the remains of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna was transferred there on 23 September /6 October 1911 and reinterred on 28 September /11 October 1911 (Iu.V. Trubinov, *Velikokniazheskaia usypal'nitsa [The Mausoleum of the Grand Dukes and Duchesses]* [St. Petersburg: Chernoe i beloe RN, 1997], p. 150; V.B. Gendrikov, *Velikokniazheskaia usypal'nitsa v Petropavlovskoi kreposti [The Mausoleum of the Grand Dukes and Duchesses in the Peter and Paul Fortress]*, Arsis Publishers, 1993 (museum brochure); revisit by me to the mausoleum in July 2003.

762. Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel (see Image 445) donated a sum of money equal to the value of the precious objects in the dowry of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451) for an institution to be set up in his name and hers, to be called The Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna Institution Established by Prince Friedrich of Hesse. It was decided that the most appropriate institution would be a hospital for women with incurable chronic diseases who would not be accepted by the regular city hospitals. Ten of the fifty beds were to be set aside for pregnant women with a “serious illness.” The Aleksandra Women’s Hospital (see Image 460), located on Nadezhdin Street, was completed toward the end of 1847 and opened on 29 July / 10 August 1848, the third anniversary of her death. The architect was Aleksandr Pavlovich Briullov (1798–1877) (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 176, Friday, August 4 [August 16 NS], 1844, p. 791; N.I. Kuskov and A.N. Lapotnikov, comps., *Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk 50-tiletnego sushchestvovaniia Aleksandrinskoi zhenskoi bol'nitsy, uchrezhdennoi v pamiat' v Bozhe Pochivaishchei Velikoi Kniagini Aleksandry Nikolaevny [A Brief Historical Sketch of the First Fifty Years of the Aleksandra Women’s Hospital Established in Memory of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, Who Reposes in God]*, ed. E.V. Pavlov [St. Petersburg. V. Kirshbaum, 1899], pp. 1–9; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 2, pp. 219–220).
763. “The Prince of Hesse, who has left, ... is represented to have acted in the most shameful manner. He was drunk every day and night since his marriage, associated with grooms and horse jockies, and behaved in the most wicked and outrageous way imaginable. He took off with him every scrap of the trousseau of the bride amounting to near one million of dollars and left the jewels only upon receiving a handsome gift in gold –” (John S.

- Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).
764. Proverbs 22:1: “A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favor rather than silver and gold.”
765. Anna Whistler’s two visits were to be to Mrs. Roy and Mrs. Margaret (Gordon) Hirst, sister-in-law of the recently deceased Mary Gent Hirst. Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill wished to visit Sophia Morgan (1808–1872), who was staying with “old Mrs. Baird.”
766. As Anna Whistler says the hotel was in the Galernaia, it must be Mrs. Wilson’s boarding house. The misses Benson’s boarding house on the English Embankment was sometimes referred to as “the home of the American Sea Captains” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43). See Benson in Appendix E.
767. Psalm 23:4: “Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.”
768. It has not been possible to ascertain who this other captain from Montrose was. Catharine (Morris) Roy was one of five daughters and two sons of Robert and Mary (Crichton) Morris, all of whom were born in Dundee, Scotland. Her four sisters were Jean (b. 8 June 1797), Isabell (b. 9 December 1799), Janet (b. 27 May 1803), and Caroline (b. 4 March 1814); her brothers were Robert Jr. (b. 18 February 1802) and David Rutherford (b. 22 March 1812).
769. Hymn 188, “Few Are Thy Days,” is based on Job 14: 1, 2, 5, 6. The first stanza is: “Few are thy days, and full of wo, / O man, of woman born; / Thy doom is written, Dust thou art, / To dust thou shalt return” (*Hymns Suited to the Feasts and Fasts of the Church and Other Occasions of Worship* [Philadelphia: Protestant Episcopal Female Prayer-Book Society of Pennsylvania, 1839], pp. 218–219).
770. Peter Roy’s brothers were: George (bap. 2 March 1806) and David (bap. 5 August 1819). Like him, they were baptized in Queensferry, West Lothian, Scotland (IGI).
771. Psalm 23 of The Book of Psalms begins “The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.”
772. The nine crew members of the *Patriot*, seven of whom were from Montrose, are listed in Agreements and Crew Lists: Series I, Muster Rolls and Agreements 1747–1860, BT 98/404, PRO.

773. This reference is to Arthur Austin, *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life: A Selection from the Papers of the Late Arthur Austin* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Caddell, 1822). *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life* is a series of short tales that reveal “the humble under-plots that are carrying on in the great Drama of Life” (Austin, p. 83). The characters are wise, upstanding people, both rich and poor, of uncommon righteousness. In its tone, strong providential message, and humble acceptance, Mrs. Roy’s personal history, narrated to Anna Whistler and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, resembles these stories.
774. The Russian word for “it’s all right,” “it’s nothing,” “never mind,” is spelled “nichevo” and pronounced “nyeecheevaw’.”
775. The Russian words for “it’s not necessary” are spelled “ne nado” and pronounced “nyeenah’duh.”
776. The Russian word for the copper ten-kopeck coin is spelled “grivennik” (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 53) and pronounced “gree’veennyek.”
777. See Appendix G for an example of a landowner’s permission for a female serf to live and work in St. Petersburg in 1854.
778. Mary Brennan had been away for part of the summer, but Anna Whistler does not say where she was. The diary entry indicates that her trunk contained things from Stonington, Connecticut, that had been stored in it when they left for Russia in 1843.
779. Anna Whistler was writing on Monday, 19 August 1844 about Sunday, 18 August.  
Persons mentioned in this entry for Sunday [August] 18<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, wife of William Hooper Ropes, merchant (Mrs. Ropes); Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law’s summer replacement in the English Church (Mr Williams); Susan (Poulterer) and Joseph S. Harrison Jr., and possibly their children, Annie and Henry, who lived at Alexandrofsky (The Harrisons); William Leighton Drury and John Thomas Drury, the grandsons of Thomas Drury Sr. (the newcomers, the little Drurys); the unidentified little Norman children; Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Aunt Alicia); and Mary Brennan, the Whistlers’ servant (Marys trunk).
780. 2 Kings 5:12: “Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them, and be clean? So he turned and went away in a rage.” This is the story

in which Elisha tells Naaman how his leprosy may be cured, but Naaman at first questions the means.

781. Reverend George Williams was also replacing Rev. Thomas S. Ellerby (see Image 256) at Alexandrofsky. The latter had gone to Revel with his sick wife, Mary (Beasley) Ellerby.
782. Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday [August] 19<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Thomas Drury Sr., the Whistlers' dacha landlord, whose bathhouse Anna Whistler used (Drury's bath house); Susan (Poulterer) and Joseph S. Harrison Jr., and their children, Annie and Henry, who lived at Alexandrofsky (the Harrisons, Mr H, Annie Harrison); Fyodor, the Whistlers' dvornik (Fedor); Kirk Boott Whistler, who died at the age of four in 1842 (Kirkie); Thomas DeKay Winans, partner in the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, who also lived at Alexandrofsky (Mr Winans); and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (My Sister).
783. In 1825–1826, on the former site of some brick works on the seventh verst from St. Petersburg, on the Schlüsselburg Road, the Russian government built the Aleksandrovskaia State Iron Works. The works replaced a factory that had been founded at another spot by Charles Gascoigne and closed in 1824 as a result of damage caused by the extraordinary flood of that year. The Aleksandrofsky State Iron Works produced both steam engines and other types of metal objects, such as iron iconostases with gold and silver trim; busts, portraits and statues; parts (columns, railings) used in constructing buildings, and small objects. The State Iron Works was leased in 1844 to Harrison, Winans and Eastwick for building the engines and rolling stock of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway and became called the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (see Images 223–225) (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 214; Haywood, *The Beginnings*, p. 51; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 12; F.V. Dombrovskii, *Polnyi putevoditel' po Peterburgu i vsem ego okrestnostiam* [*Complete Guide to Petersburg and All Its Environs*] [St. Petersburg, 1896], pp. 304–315; Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, pp. 47–48). Along the Schlüsselburg Road (which begins at the Nevskii Gate), there were many other factories as well: approaching the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works one passed, e.g., the Imperial Glass Factory (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, pp. 205–208) and Binar's [*sic*] Silk Factory and his glove factory (Bur'ianov, pp. 209–211); beyond the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works were the

Imperial Porcelain Factory (Bur'ianov, pp. 216–223) and the Aleksandrovskaia Manufactory (see Image 242), which produced cotton and linen cloth and goods and playing cards (Bur'ianov, pp. 223–234). Bur'ianov's guide praised highly the dwellings of the workers at these factories. For a description of the Alexandrovskaia Manufactory, see the entry for Saturday [May] 10<sup>th</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Note 138.

784. For a description of the Eastwick home, in a building in which they lived on the first floor and the Harrisons on the second, see 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 2, 1844, and Edward Eastwick to Lydia Eastwick, Alexandroffsky, July 19, 1844, *Eastwick Letters*; John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, May 17, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 35; Eastwick in Appendix E; and Images 239–240.
785. The reference is to John Sanford Barnes (12 May 1836 – 23 November 1911), son of Charlotte Adams (Sanford) Barnes (c. 1801 – 12 December 1875) and Major General James Barnes (4 May 1807 – 12 February 1869), USMA Class of 1829, chief engineer and superintendent of the Western (Massachusetts) Railroad, 1842–1848. They were the Whistlers' friends in Springfield, Massachusetts.
786. Nicholas I did not visit the works until 4/16 March 1847 (entry for Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II).
787. The number of Americans employed at Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works was small, as was the number of Englishmen. All of them, "except four English workmen," were in supervisory positions. In addition to Joseph Senior Kirk, the principal manager, "[t]hree Americans and five Englishmen were principal or assistant foremen in the Locomotive or Truck Departments" (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 259, 260).

According to Joseph Harrison Jr., when Nicholas I visited the Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works in March 1847, the principal English foremen in the Locomotive Department were J.D. Thompson and J. Jones, while S. Orange was an assistant foreman. In the Boiler Department, the English foremen were Ashworth and Pullan. In the foundries, the principal English foreman was Langfield. The principal American foreman in the Locomotive Department was S. Harrison, while the principal



American foremen in the Truck Department were R. Wright and J. Howard (Joseph Harrison, Jr., *The Iron Worker and King Solomon*, 2nd ed. [Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1869]: appendix, p. 71).

The Americans may have seemed to Anna Whistler to be content, but although “some ... were good workers ... Many ... demanded very high salaries and would not remain because they could not adjust to life in Russia, finding it boring and alien. Harrison felt that all they wanted was the greatest amount of money in the shortest amount of time.” The Englishmen “came increasingly to be preferred,” because their salary demands were more modest (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 260–261).

788. Shakespeare did not coin the expression “all’s well that ends well,” which was first a proverb. “The earliest version known in print is in the 13th century English prose poem *The Proverb of Hendyng*.” “John Heywood was probably the first to put the proverb into the form we now use ... in *A dialogue conteinyng the number in effect of all the prouerbs in the English tongue*, 1546.” “Shakespeare was well acquainted with Heywood’s work and wrote *All’s Well That Ends Well* in 1601” (“The Meaning and Origin of the Expression: All’s Well that Ends Well,” The Phrase Finder website).
789. Joseph Senior Kirk had therefore known George William Whistler sometime in the period 1834–1837, when the latter was twelve to fifteen years old. Major Whistler was at the time superintendent of the machine shops of the Proprietors of Locks and Canals of Lowell, Massachusetts. Mr. Kirk’s wife was Charlotte (Petersen) Kirk.
790. Timothy Abraham Curtis, of the Liverpool firm of Bury, Curtis and Kennedy, was leaving on Saturday, 24 August 1844 for England.
791. Their guest was William Robertson (2 April 1819 – 17 February 1890), USMA Class of 1840. See the biography of the Robertson family in Appendix E.
792. Mr. Robertson left Russia on Saturday, 17 August 1844.
793. “Sarschinka” is Anna Whistler’s pronunciation of the diminutive and endearing form for Aleksandr, spelled “Sashenka” (pronounced “Sah’shinkuh”); “Vaascha” is her pronunciation of the diminutive and endearing form for Vasilii (William), spelled “Vasya” (pronounced “Vah’syuh”). Alexander, about five years

old, and William, about six years old, were the grandsons of Thomas Drury Sr., the Whistlers' dacha landlord.

794. Hedenschoug was born in February, so he seems not to have told the Whistlers the truth. He came from a well-to-do family in Stockholm, which he appears to have told them about. He elicited great sympathy from the Whistlers for a long time, perhaps also hiding his alcoholism. See his biography in Appendix E.
795. Because he had become so attached to Hedenschoug, James adhered to the latter's preference for Charles XII over Peter the Great. The most famous biographies of both monarchs were written by Voltaire, but James was reading aloud to Anna Whistler in English as part of a program to retain his fluency in his native language. Among the possible English translations he could have read is Smollett's.
796. Persons mentioned in the entry for Wednesday [August] 21<sup>st</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the recently arrived Martha Reed Ropes, sister of William Hooper Ropes and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Martha Ropes); and William Miller, a merchant and honorary vice-consul in St. Petersburg, and his invalid brother, Richard (the Mr Millers).
797. Peterhof (see Images 400–403) is the main Imperial estate on the southern littoral of the Gulf of Finland, the culminating point, as it were, of the entire system of the Peterhof Road. The brilliant era of Peterhof belongs to the reign of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), whose permanent summer residence it became starting in 1832. New parks were added to already existing ones, thus enclosing the town in a green ring. The town was enlarged considerably and extensive new regions came into being, populated with private homes and dachas in classic, Swiss, Gothic and other styles, that were immersed in gardens. Peasant fields and the roads in the southern part of the area were given an orderly appearance and villages built anew (Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, pp. 234, 260). Anna Whistler's selective description of Peterhof in this diary entry shows that they entered the main gates and walked through the Upper Garden at the back (south façade) of the Great Peterhof Palace. The palace is built with its front (north façade) at the edge of a natural terrace on the boundary of the Upper and Lower Gardens. This terrace towers almost sixteen meters above the Lower Garden. They then descended to the Lower Garden, with its grotto and fountains below the front of the palace, and went to the eastern part of this garden where they visited the bath house with its pool and

Monplezir (Mon Plaisir) Palace on the Gulf of Finland. The gardens were filled with beautiful objects in the form of fountains, statues, bas reliefs, urns, cascades, and the Tsarina's pavilion on an island in a pond. Anna Whistler did not record that they also visited the Hermitage (or, Other Monplezir), but other evidence in the diaries supports this.

798. As one approached Peterhof, one would pass on the Peterhof Road the estates of Znamenka, Mikhailovka, the Private Dacha and Sergievka, all belonging to members of the Imperial family.

Znamenka was located between the Peterhof Road and the Gulf of Finland, more easterly than Alexandria. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, this territory belonged to A.D. Menshikov. After passing through the hands of several magnates, it was acquired in 1755 by Field Marshal General A.G. Razumovskii. It was then that it began to take on the features of a wealthy summer residence. In the 1790s, it passed from Razumovskii to Senator I.V. Miatlev and belonged to this family until 1835. Nicholas I bought it from the Miatlevs' impoverished heirs for a million rubles and presented it to his wife, just as he had Alexandria. It belonged to her at the time of the Whistlers' stay in Russia.

Mikhailovka bordered on Znamenka on the west side. Here there were several estates, including one called "Favorite" belonging to Menshikov, which was preserved until the 1760s. In the 1830s, the three estates located here became the property of the Imperial family. It was decided to build a summer dacha here for the youngest son of Nicholas I, Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich, whence the name of the estate.

The Private Dacha is located three kilometers to the west of the Upper Garden of Peterhof. After 1727, and up until 1730, this was a seaside grange with a two-storied stone house belonging to Prince Aleksei Dolgorukii. In 1733–1736, it belonged to the famous publicist and orator, Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich. In 1741, it was presented to the future Empress Elizaveta Petrovna, and in her reign a large wooden palace was built here. This palace was dismantled in 1798–1801. In 1843, the Private Dacha was presented by Nicholas I to Grand Duke Aleksander Nikolaevich, the future Alexander II.

On its west side, the Private Dacha borders on Sergievka, named for one of the magnates who owned it. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it belonged to one of Peter the Great's courtiers, A.I. Rumiantsev, from whom it passed to his son, Field Marshal P.A. Rumiantsev-Zadunaiskii. In 1822, the Rumiantsevs

sold the grange to the Naryshkins. The Naryshkin dacha was acquired by order of Nicholas I for his daughter, Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, on the occasion of her marriage to the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and came to be called the Leuchtenberg estate. From 1839 to 1842, the architect, A.I. Shtakenshneider (see Image 194), built a palace here resembling an Italian country villa, and in 1845–1846, a small chapel (A.G. Raskin, *Petrodvorets Dvortsy-muzei, parki, fontany* [*Petrodvorets: Palace–Museums, Parks, and Fountains*] [Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1988], pp. 186–191; N.I. Nikulina, *Prigorody Leningrada Arkhitekturnyi putevoditel'* [*The Environs of Leningrad: An Architectural Guide*] [Leningrad: Stroiizdat, Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1982], pp. 67–68, 75–79. See also Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, pp. 219–282).

799. The main entrance to the Upper Garden from the Peterhof Road consists of monumental gates in the form of two ten-meter-high stone pylons. Starting at these pylons, the Upper Garden is enclosed on three sides by a massive wall of stone pillars with reliefs of lion masks alternating with wooden spears. The wall has six gates. The pylons are decorated with paired Corinthian columns. The columns support a wide, detached (*raskrepovannyi*) cornice and volute-shaped pedestals for sculptures. The massiveness of the pylons emphasizes the lightness of the tracery of the forged gates attached to them, which are simple and severe in style. Through the gates may be seen the terrace of the Upper Garden, a fifteen-hectare area in front of the south façade of the Great Peterhof Palace. These main gates were built in 1754 (N.I. Arkhipov and A.G. Raskin, *Petrodvorets [Peterhof]* [Leningrad and Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1961], pp. 153, 156. See also Raskin, *Petrodvorets Dvortsy-muzei*, p. 28; Nikulina, *Prigorody Leningrad*, p. 14).
800. Anna Whistler is referring to the Great Peterhof Palace (see Image 400). The construction of a modest stone palace on the hill, was started in 1714 by order of Peter the Great (see Image 411), under the supervision of the architect, Johann Braunstein. Ultimately, it became the centre section of the entire Great Peterhof Palace. In July 1746, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) requested the architect, Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli, to build side wings of stone onto this main structure. Rastrelli submitted a general plan for the entire palace, in which the right wing connected with the palace church and the left wing with “the building under the coat of arms.” Rastrelli’s plan also proposed remodeling the center section of the palace so that the entire façade would have a uniform look. The remodeling was

completed in 1754. Peter's monogram remained in the center section, while Elizaveta Petrovna's was placed on the wings.

The enlargement of the palace ultimately resulted in clearly defined structural masses on either side of a central structural mass and alternating in a certain rhythm. The central three-storied part of the palace is marked by an elegant high-figured roof crowned with a gilded vase with garlands of flowers and winged geniuses. This section is flanked on either side by symmetrical three-storied sections, each with a somewhat less high tent-style roof. Connected with the central part are the two basic and largest three-storied wings, which face onto the Upper Garden. In sharp contrast, next come the glassed-in arcades of single-storied galleries with balustrades. These culminate in the two-storied church building and the "building under the coat-of-arms." The church has five gilded cupolas. The "building under the coat-of-arms" has a roof in the form of a four-sided cupola of white iron with gold decorations. A three-sided, three-headed Imperial eagle weathervane, two-and-a-half feet high and weighing 16 poods, was placed on the summit of this cupola in 1751 (a pood is the equivalent of 16.38 kilograms), but whichever way it turned, it seemed double-headed. The palace is 134 sazhen long and 8 sazhen wide. The exterior was painted yellow with white trim.

The first and third floors were for the retinue, the second contained luxurious rooms where at times members of foreign Imperial families were housed (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, pp. 86–88; Raskin, *Petrodvorets Dvortsy-muzei*, p. 5. For a different account, see N.G. Sharubin, *Ocherki Petergofa i ego okrestnostei* [*Sketches of Peterhof and Its Environs*] [St. Petersburg: s.n., 1868], pp. 6–7). A description of the rooms and of many of the pictures to be found in them, including the famous Rotari (1707–1762) portrait gallery, was published by Geirot (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, pp. 88–93; see also Raskin, *Petrodvorets Dvortsy-muzei*, p. 63.) It does not seem, however, that the Whistlers ever saw the interior of the palace. In both diary entries about a visit to Peterhof (1844 and 1846), the family of Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (see Images 425–428) was in residence, which precluded visits by tourists. Nor do extant Whistler family letters contain references to any visits by them to this palace.

The last large-scale changes to the Great Peterhof Palace were being made while the Whistlers were in Russia and were concluded after their departure. In 1845–1850, according to Shtakenshneider's plans and under his direction, a third floor was being added above the eastern (garden) façade. The apartments

of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432), who was married in July 1846 to the Crown Prince of Württemberg (see Image 433), were being remodeled (I.M. Gurevich, V.V. Znamenov, and E.G. Miasoedova, *Bol'shoi Petergofskii dvorets* [*The Great Peterhof Palace*] [Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1979], p. 27; Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 93).

801. The water actually came from other sources. In 1868, Geirot explained the system. The water for the Peterhof fountains comes to Peterhof by means of two water-supply systems: an old one and a new one. The old has as its source the springs located in the villages of Elagino, Zaborod'e, Gladino, and Khabino. The new starts from the pond at the village of Levolovo; in the pond are combined the springs of the villages of Vil'puzi and Lapino. All of these villages are at a distance of approximately twenty to twenty-six versts from the Great Peterhof Palace. Halfway along the route, the two water-supply systems unite and from there on the water flows partly through a natural bed and partly through a man-made canal. At the village of Nizino (six versts from the Great Peterhof Palace) is the so-called Shinkarka sluice, by means of which in autumn and winter excess water is drawn off from Peterhof by the Strel'na River, and at that time, only the amount of water needed for replenishing the Peterhof ponds flows into them. The inhabitants of the town constantly use the water from these ponds for their own needs. In the summer, all the water from the Shinkarka sluice flows, first as a small river and then as an open canal, into the Tserkovnyi and Bab'egonskii ponds. At the latter pond, the water divides: one part of it goes to the Samson basin, which is the main reservoir of water for the fountains of the upper garden as well as for the Samson fountain and the Great Grotto. This basin is 300 sazhen long, 15 sazhen wide, and up to 3 sazhen deep. The other part of the water is directed from the Bab'egonskii pond into the ponds of the English garden and the ravine, and flows as well into the main water reservoir of the Peterhof Lapidary Works, i.e., the large reserve pond. Both systems supply water at the rate of 4,536 cubic feet per minute, or 75.6 cubic feet per second. When all the fountains are playing, the amount of water used per second amounts to 108.52 cubic feet (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, pp. 124–125; T.B. Dubiako, *Russkie reguliarnye sady i parki* [*Russian Formal Gardens and Parks*] [Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo literatury po stroitel'stvu arkhitekture i stroitel'nym materialam, 1963], pp. 144–146; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, pp. 159–164, 197). It is almost a commonplace among Russian authors of

books on Peterhof to express their pride in the fact that the Peterhof fountains could play more frequently and longer than those at Versailles.

802. Anna Whistler is referring to the Great Cascade of the Great Grotto below the Great Peterhof Palace (see Image 400). Along the sides of the grotto are two cascades in the shape of gigantic staircases, each consisting of seven steps. These steps are decorated with sixteen gilded copies of ancient statues; vases, some purely decorative and others from which fountains gush; and twenty-four bas-reliefs. The entire grotto complex contains forty-one statues and twenty-nine bas-reliefs. Its chief effect comes from all the fountains playing at the same time. For a layout of the Great Cascade, see N.V. Vernova, *Peterhof Bol'shoi Kaskad* [*Peterhof: The Great Cascade*] (St. Petersburg: Gos. muzei-zapovednik Peterhof-EGO, 1996), pp. 31, 103.
803. The Samson fountain (see Image 400) is located on the main compositional axis of the Lower and Upper Gardens. It stands in a basin in front of the Great Cascade. From the basin a canal leads down to the Gulf of Finland.

There is evidence to suggest that the Samson fountain was erected after 1725, that is, after the death of Peter the Great (see Image 411), and that either Catherine I (see Image 412) had it put up no later than 1727 (the year of her death) or that it was put up in the reign of Anna Ioannovna, since no works were carried out in the reign of her predecessor, Peter II (1727–1730). There is also evidence that it was already in place in 1735 (Geirot, *Opisanie Peterhofa*, pp. 18–19, 71).

This largest fountain at Peterhof consists of the colossal nude figure of Samson, three meters high, standing on a pedestal made to look like a cliff, and tearing apart the jaws of a lion. The beast is standing on its hind paws with the claws of its front paws sunk into Samson's left thigh. Out of the vanquished lion's mouth shoots a seventy-foot-high jet of water, three inches in diameter, its spume spilling over the statue and pedestal. The jet had previously been one hundred feet high because the main Samson reservoir had been higher than the present one, but it is said that Empress Elizaveta Petrovna ordered the jet reduced because of the dampness caused in the palace by the spray in windy weather (Sharubin, *Ocherki Peterhofa*, p. 15). Eight dolphins splash at Samson's feet, and the half-figures of four lions, representing the four corners of the earth, look out of four semicircular niches in the granite pedestal. Streams of water flow from their mouths. The victory of Samson over the lion is an allegory of the victory

- of the Russians over the Swedes, of Peter the Great over Charles XII at the Battle of Poltava on 27 June (OS) 1709, the feast day of St. Samson. Young James Whistler was interested in Peter the Great and Charles XII through Hedenschoug, his father's draftsman, but we do not know whether he was aware of the symbolism of Samson and the lion in its Russian context. He was most likely excited by the height of the Samson figure and of the jet of water. This gilded bronze group, the work of M.I. Kozlovskii (1753–1802), was installed in 1802 (Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, pp. 69–71). It replaced the original Samson group, made of gilded lead, executed by the sculptor, K. Rastrelli, in the 1730s (Sharubin, *Ocherki Petergofa*, p. 15; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 71; Vernova, *Petergof Bol'shoi Kaskad*, pp. 17–18).
804. Nymphs, tritons, and frogs on the rim of the basin shoot crisscrossing jets of water, while behind them, in front of the Great Grotto, jets flying from the mouth of a serpent coiled around the right hand of two facing gladiators interweave (see Image 400) (Kurbatov, *Petergof*, pp. 40–41, 56–57). This is probably “the *fencing* of some of the gilded figures with water” that diverted James.
805. The bath house was an indoor pool in a building with an open roof, built in the reign of Catherine the Great (see Image 414). Built first in the eastern part of the Menagerie Pond, it was rebuilt in 1774–1776 according to plans by Fel'ten, this time over the entire pond. The fountain in the pond thus came to be located in the center of the pool (Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 111), which was 50 sazhen long and 15 sazhen wide (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 80). The fountain was remodeled into a system where its freely pulsing jet was encased in a metal cylinder crowned by three interconnected gilded discs with over one hundred eighty small tubes along their edges. The discs and tubes were turned by a water wheel. When the fountain played, long sparkling jets of water like rays of sunlight flew from the discs, giving the ensemble the name “Sun” fountain. Around the fountain were four dolphins spurting jets of water from their mouths (Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvoret*, pp. 111–112). Geirot, in 1868, said the pool had retained its original appearance, despite having been repaired several times (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 80). He described it as “an elongated rectangular structure, which is decoratively painted on the outside so that this enormous structure in the middle of the garden will not seem heavy and will harmonize with its surroundings as much as possible” (Geirot,



- p. 80). It was also painted decoratively on the inside (Kurbatov, *Peterhof*, p. 80; E. Ducamp, ed., *The Summer Palaces of the Romanovs: Treasures from Tsarskoye Selo*, trans. Barbara Mellor, ill. Marc Walter (London: Thames and Hudson, 2012), p. 145; Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 42). As one entered there were several alcoves for changing.
806. The building Anna Whistler is referring to is Monplezir (Mon Plaisir), located in the eastern part of the Lower Garden (see Image 402). The name Monplezir also applies to the complex of auxiliary structures associated with this palace. Monplezir was the first palace Peter the Great (see Image 411) ordered to be built in the eventual Peterhof complex (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 8). To save time on his frequent visits to the fortifications on Kotlin Island, he usually travelled via the south shore of the Gulf of Finland. At the spot most convenient for crossing to Kotlin Island, a small landing had been constructed and nearby two buildings for stopovers. It was on the shore not far from these two buildings that he ordered the small brick staging palace, some say in Dutch style, to be built (Geirot, pp. 7–8; Kurbatov, *Peterhof*, p. 47). Its construction was begun in 1714 and completed in 1724 (Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, pp. 94, 99). It consisted of a square central building with a spacious tiered mansard roof crowned with a large carved vase. A gallery was attached to the east and west sides of this building. At the end of each gallery was a small pavilion, also with a tent roof and with a smaller vase (G.N. Goldovskii and V.V. Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir v nizhnem parke Petrodvortsia* [The Palace of Monplezir in the Lower Garden of Petrodvorets], 2nd ed. [Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1981], pp. 4, 11; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 99; Raskin, *Petrodvorets Dvortsy-muzei*, p. 129). The central building consisted of a large main hall with three rooms each on the east and west sides (Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, p. 6). With its view of the Gulf of Finland, it became the favorite summer residence of Peter the Great (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 27; Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, pp. 10–11; Sharubin, *Ocherki Petergofa*, p. 19). When he came to Peterhof, he would usually sleep at Monplezir (Sharubin, p. 19; Kurbatov, *Peterhof*, p. 55). The sea air, he said, cured him better than any medicine; the architecture reminded him of his days spent in Holland (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 27; Sharubin, *Ocherki Petergofa*, p. 8). At the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, service wings were built. These elongated, adjoining single-story buildings were connected to the palace by small stone arches. They contained a

dining room, pantries, rooms for the retinue, and the bathroom and bath of Peter the Great (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 75; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 99). Further off to the east were a bathhouse and kitchens, built in 1726 by order of Catherine I (Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, p. 10). These outlying buildings were subjected to many more changes than the palace itself. An especially large number of the changes were made in the reign of their daughter, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna. In 1748, she had Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli remodel the modest kitchens into an Assembly Hall, its walls decorated with tapestries woven at the Imperial tapestry works founded by her father (Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, p. 12). This is just one kind of change made by the daughters of Peter the Great to which Anna Whistler is alluding. Catherine the Great had the wooden terrace in front of Monplezir replaced by a marble one and the wooden balustrade along the shore replaced by one of pudozh stone (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, pp. 40, 76). Monplezir underwent major repairs several times: after the flood of 1770; in 1802, after a severe storm that had occurred in November 1801; and, for the third time, in 1825, after the famous flood of 7/19 November 1824; but it was never remodeled and changed. It was left looking as it had in the reign of Peter the Great and became a relic of his life (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, pp. 76–77; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 99).

The central part of Monplezir consists of a large main hall with a tent-shaped ceiling decorated with paintings of the four elements and with stucco moldings of allegorical figures depicting the four seasons. Apollo and four characters of the *Commedia dell'Arte* are depicted in the painted plafond. The walls are panelled with dark oak, and the floor is of black and white checkered marble (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 77; Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, p. 36; V.N. Gusarov, N.V. Vernova, and V.V. Znamenov, *Peterhof v akvareliakh Aleksandra Bennu* [*Peterhof in the Watercolours of Alexander Benois*] [St. Petersburg: Art of Russia, 1996], p. 42). The north side of the hall faces the terrace and the sea, the south side the garden. There are three rooms each on the east and west sides of the hall. On the east side in Peter's time were the Chinese (or Japanese) room, the kitchen, and the pantry. Nicholas I ordered that the pantry, a small room with windows looking out upon the seashore, be called the bedroom of Peter the Great. It already bore this designation when the Whistlers visited Monplezir and retained it until World War II. Here, the bed, bed linen, dressing gown,

slippers, and nightcap of Peter the Great were carefully preserved (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 77; Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvoret's Monplezir*, pp. 49, 53, 58–60). The kitchen had blue and white Dutch tiles on its walls, a stone-tiled floor, a huge stove with trivets, and dishes and cooking utensils from Peter's time (Goldovskii and Znamenov, pp. 44–49). The Chinese (or Japanese) cabinet was lined with black lacquered panels, to which were attached little gilded wooden shelves holding Chinese (or Japanese) porcelain (Goldovskii and Znamenov, pp. 28–36; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 93; M. Izmailov, *Monplezir, Marly i Ėrmitazh (dvoret's i pavil'ony Petra I) [Monplezir, Marly and the Hermitage: The Palace and Pavilions of Peter I]*, 3rd ed. [Moscow, Leningrad: Gos.izd-vo izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv, 1933], pp. 28–30; “Dvoret's ‘Monplezir’” [“Monplezir’ Palace”], *Khudozhestvennye sokrovishcha Rossii* 7–8 (1902): p. 206). On the west side of the hall in Peter's time were the secretary's room for his duty officer, the bedroom, and the Sea study, so called because of its view. When the Whistlers viewed these rooms, and up until World War II, the bedroom was called the study and the Sea study was called the reception room (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 77; Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvoret's Monplezir*, pp. 53, 56–58; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 92). The pavilions, galleries, Chinese (or Japanese) room, and secretary's room were located on a single axis and made up the enfilade of public or reception rooms (Arkhipov and Raskin, p. 92). The walls of almost all the rooms and of the galleries and pavilions were covered with Dutch and Flemish paintings bought at auction in Holland personally by Peter the Great and through his agents (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, pp. 13, 27, 78; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, p. 96; Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvoret's Monplezir*, pp. 20–28, 41–43, 70–87 and passim). This was the first picture gallery of its time in Russia (see following Note). The ceilings of almost all of these rooms were decorated, like that of the main hall, with an allegorical scene and sculpted plaster. On the south side of Monplezir, between the wings, was a beautiful shady garden containing some oaks and cedars planted by Peter the Great himself (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 78). It is divided by two avenues in the shape of a cross into four parterre squares. In the center of the garden is the “Sheaf” fountain, called the “Crown” fountain in the period when the Whistlers were visiting. In each of the parterre squares there is a flowerbed with a symmetrical design. The “Crown” fountain emerges from a pedestal of limestone tufa. Its central vertical jet shoots to a height of twenty

feet, and it has around it two rows of sloping fountains, one higher than the other. The water from the fountain falls into a circular basin and pours out of it from five marble spillways, and then into pipes, which empty into the sea. In the center of each square of the garden is a “Bell” fountain, each of which is a copy and is decorated with a bronze figure, representing *Apollino*, Jacopo Sansovino’s (1486–1570) *Bacchus* and Canova’s (1757–1822) *Psyche* and *Faun with Baby Goat*, all of which were cast in 1817. From the mushroom-shaped tops of the pedestals on which these four statues stand, water flows forming a glass-like cloche around the pedestal (Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, pp. 105, 108). The garden contains hidden “trick” fountains, some located in benches, that suddenly and unexpectedly turn on, wetting the unwary visitor (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 78; Arkhipov and Raskin, *Petrodvorets*, pp. 112–114). The side of the house facing the garden had windows down to the floor and struck some viewers as resembling a conservatory rather than a dwelling (Izmailov, *Monplezir*, p. 10). The side facing the sea was more interesting: red brick walls with white seams between the bricks; windows with shutters; the high, tiered roof. The terrace here was also of brick, with a stone balustrade, the landing beyond the balustrade covered in marble tiles (Izmailov, pp. 10–12, 13). The view from the terrace was of the city, the sea, Cronstadt, and the northern shore of the Gulf: “to the right, when the weather is clear, glitter the spire of the Peter and Paul Fortress and the dome of St. Isaac’s Cathedral, and on the opposite wooded Vyborg shore, in the dark oak foliage, can be seen the white country palace built by Peter I and called by him ‘The Oaks’ . . . ; to the left menacing Cronstadt with its forest of masts towers above the sea; the view of the water and the ceaseless lapping of the waves complete the feeling of enchantment” (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 76).

Monplezir, with its view of the sea, shady garden, and flower-covered parterre with magnificent fountains, was one of the favorite and most frequented spots at Peterhof. Emperor Nicholas I, out of respect for the memory of his great ancestor, would, when at Peterhof, go every morning at eight from his residence, Alexandria, to visit Monplezir, from where he would then walk to the Great Peterhof Palace to his day’s work in the study of Peter the Great (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 79; Izmailov, *Monplezir*, pp. 43–44; *Son iunosti*, p. 26). A particularly charming commentary on Monplezir is to be found in Kurbatov, *Peterhof*, pp. 46–55.

807. Monplezir housed the first major picture gallery in Russia and one of the first collections in Russia of the works of Western European artists, predominantly seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch and Flemish.

Up until 1980, the identification of the “fine pictures” at Monplezir that Anna Whistler mentions would have been almost impossible. An inventory of the collection had been made in 1728, three years after Peter the Great’s death, but it was for the most part vague in that it did not give the artists’ names or subjects of most of the pictures, which then numbered two hundred and four (Stählin, *Zapiski*, vol. 2, pp. 5–6). This was rectified somewhat by the inventory of 1746–1747, in which seventeen of the pictures now in the museum were identified (Stählin, p. 6). In 1980, however, some other very important eighteenth-century inventories were published. An article appeared entitled “Opisaniia imperatorskikh zhivopisnykh kollektzii v Peterburge i zagorodnykh dvortsakh, sostavlyennye Iakobom Shtelinym” [“Descriptions of the Imperial Picture Collections in Petersburg and in the Outlying Palaces, Compiled by Jacob Stählin”], *Muzei* 1 (1980): pp. 173–193, written by the art historian K.M. Malinovskii. (The article was extracted from Malinovskii’s forthcoming two-volume work on Stählin – *Zapiski Iakoba Shtelina ob izyashchnykh iskusstvakh v Rossii* [Jacob Stählin’s *Notes on the Fine Arts in Russia*], noted above – which appeared in 1990. Stählin’s notes are translated by Malinovskii from German, and the volumes are equipped with an introductory essay and commentary.) Malinovskii published the detailed inventories of the art collections of the Imperial palaces of St. Petersburg and its environs compiled in the eighteenth century over a period of forty years by Jacob Stählin (Memmingen, Schwabia 9 May 1709 – St. Petersburg 25 June [OS] 1785) (Stählin, *Zapiski*, vol. 1, pp. 7, 22), who came to Russia at the age of twenty six, with a university education, experience as a poet–translator, and a knowledge of ancient and modern languages, music, allegory, numismatics, and fine arts, to be a professor at the Academy of Sciences. His work in the arts began when he was put in charge of the Engraving Department of the Academy of Sciences in 1738. At this time, he made his first descriptions of Imperial art collections, including Monplezir. In 1742, he left his work at the Academy of Sciences and became tutor to the Heir to the Throne. For forty years, he designed the firework displays and illuminations for the Imperial Court, one of the original purposes for which he had been invited to Russia. His closeness to the court opened the doors for him to

St. Petersburg high society, resulting in his amazing knowledgeability about the private collections of St. Petersburg and the decor of these homes. His famous published work was *Podlinnye anekdoty o Petre Velikom* [*True Anecdotes about Peter the Great*] (Leipzig, 1785). He lived in Russia for fifty years, dividing his activities among the academic, art, and court worlds. His notes about the fine arts in Russia are considered the first experiment at creating a history of Russian art. They include information on painting, sculpture, architecture, engraving, mosaics, tapestries, fireworks and illuminations, the art of medal-making, theater, music, ballet and dance art, as well as the history of picture collecting in Russia and the description of all the important Imperial and many private art collections.

The inventories for the picture collections of Monplezir, the Hermitage, and Marly at Peterhof were compiled in 1738–1739 by Stählin and the Swiss artist George Gsell (1675–1740), who had been a broker of pictures in Amsterdam when Peter the Great (see Image 411) was buying them, and had come to Russia at his invitation (Stählin, *Zapiski*, vol. 2, pp. 5, 11). The collection of Monplezir in their inventory at that point numbered one hundred and eighty pictures (Stählin, p. 6). In most instances, partly because of Gsell's previously acquired expertise, Stählin not only gives the name of the artist but also precisely identifies the subject, and in describing the picture stresses details that make it possible to recognize the picture even today (Stählin, pp. 5, 11). The Monplezir inventory, almost exhaustive in its completeness, increased the number of identifiable pictures in Monplezir to seventy three, while work accomplished by the late 1980s in searching for the pictures catalogued by Stählin made it possible then to view more than half of the original Monplezir collection (Stählin, p. 6). Of this original collection, ten pictures are now in the collection of the palace-museums and parks of Petrodvoretz (the Russian translation equivalent of "Peterhof" used since 1944), three are displayed at the Great Peterhof Palace, one is in Marly, and nineteen are in the Hermitage (Stählin, pp. 6, 61–71). Stählin's inventory was also used extensively in preparing a new catalogue (1st ed., 1976), of the one hundred forty-seven pictures in Monplezir in the 1970s (Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvoretz Monplezir*, pp. 70–87).

We cannot say that in 1844 the Whistlers saw at Monplezir all the paintings Stählin described in 1738–1739. In August 1745, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) had ordered Lucas Pfandzelt (1716–1788) to remove some pictures from Monplezir

to Petersburg (Stählin, *Zapiski*, vol. 2, pp. 61, 62). Other pictures, which were considered impossible to repair, had been placed in storage in 1747 (Stählin, p. 63). According to the inventory of 1797, compiled by order of Paul I (see Image 417) for all the Imperial palaces, there were then one hundred seventy-three pictures in Monplezir (Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, p. 23). The flood of 1824 caused great damage to the picture gallery of Monplezir: thirty-five pictures were badly damaged and suffered as well from a poor job of restoration (Goldovskii and Znamenov, p. 23). My registered letter of inquiry addressed to Goldovskii and Znamenov concerning further inventories of Monplezir up through 1844 went unanswered. A positive note, however, is that of the thirty pictures transferred from Monplezir to the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, most were not transferred until 1882 (Goldovskii and Znamenov, p. 69). Some of Stählin's attributions and subjects have been shown to be incorrect, but this does not change what the Whistlers saw, only what they thought it was, if they were told at all. By comparing Stählin's inventory with the paintings still at Monplezir in the 1970s, we can get an idea of some of what they might have seen (in the following list, S = Stählin, *Zapiski*, and G/Z = Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*): Adam Silo (1674–1760): *Ships on a Roadstead* (G/Z, p. 81, no. 96) and *City Roadstead* (S: pp. 17, 18, 65, nos. 54, 57; G/Z: p. 82, no. 106); Willem van de Velde the Younger (1633–1707): *Ships on a Calm Roadstead* (S: pp. 28, 30, 69, no. 136; G/Z: p. 73, no. 24); Andries van der Horn (1600–1679): *Boat Landing (View of a Canal in Saardam)* (S: pp. 26, 27, 69, no. 128; G/Z: p. 73, no. 27); Jan van Huchtenburg (1647–1733): *Horse Fair in Italy with Roman Ruins* or *Horse Fair* (S: pp. 27, 68, no. 123; G/Z: p. 74, no. 35); in the manner of Roelant Savery (c. 1576–1639), but attributed today to Jan van Kessel (1626 – c. 1679): *Orpheus with Many Animals* or *Orpheus Taming the Animals* (S: pp. 25, 68, no. 123; G/Z: p. 75, no. 39); Adriaen van Salm (1660–1720): two marine paintings, one called *Amsterdam Roadstead* (S: pp. 22, 23, 67, no. 93 or 94; G/Z: p. 77, no. 60); Gillis de Winter (1656–1720): *Dutch Town or Landscape with Country Church* (S: pp. 18, 21, 67, no. 86; G/Z: p. 77, no. 55); Pieter Casteels III (1684–1749): *Vase of Flowers* (S: pp. 19, 65, no. 60; G/Z: p. 82, no. 101); Abraham Storck (c. 1635 – c. 1710): *City Wharf or Seaport with a Church on the Shore* (S: pp. 18, 20, 66, no. 71; G/Z: p. 82, no. 104); Rombout van Troyen (c. 1605–1656): 2 paintings: *The Destruction of Sodom* or *Lot Fleeing from Sodom* and *Aeneas Fleeing from Troy* (attributed today to Daniel van Heil

(1604–1662) (S: pp. 15, 63, nos. 26, 27; G/Z: p. 85, nos. 130, 131); Jan van Balen (1611–1654): *Pallas Athena and the Muses or The Nine Muses on Parnassus* (S: pp. 30, 31, 70, no. 165; G/Z: p. 85, no. 132); Richard Brakenburg (1650–1702): *Christ and His Pupils at Emmaus* or *Supper at Emmaus* (S: pp. 23, 67, no. 95; G/Z: p. 79, no. 70); Karel Breydel (1678–1733): 2 battle scenes: *Cavalry Battle* and *End of the Battle* (S: pp. 17, 65, nos. 58, 59; G/Z: p. 82, nos. 98, 99); Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722): *Vertumnus and Pomona* (S: pp. 13, 62, no. 17; G/Z: p. 87, no. 146). Outstanding works by several famous painters listed by Stählin were transferred to the Hermitage in 1882. They include Jan Steen (1626–1679): *Young Man Who Has Gotten a Servant Girl Pregnant* (known today as *The Marriage Contract*) (S: pp. 27, 30, 69, no. 133); Joos de Momper (1564–1635): *Hermitage with Hermits* (S: pp. 31, 70, no. 169); Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn (1606–1669): *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* (known today as *David and Jonathan*) (S: pp. 21, 22, 66–67, no. 85).

Stählin's inventories are in the archives of the Academy of Sciences in the Manuscript Division of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.

808. Throughout this passage, Anna Whistler seems to be discussing a visit solely to Monplezir (see Image 402), and therefore seems to refer to paintings in it executed by Peter the Great himself. Fettyplace's journal, however, makes it clear that it was the Hermitage at Peterhof (see Image 403) that was "adorned with ... many rough specimens of Paintings by the great monarch" (entry of Sunday 30th July 1848, PEM: Fettyplace Journal; Fettyplace visited Peterhof on Friday, 28 July 1848). This means that Anna Whistler and the boys visited the Hermitage as well as Monplezir. This building was intended to complement Monplezir, as its earliest name – the Small, or other Monplezir – implies. Its construction was begun in the summer of 1721, and the decoration of the interiors finished after Peter the Great's death. After some changes made to it in the 1740s and 1750s, which included covering the walls of the upper salon on the second floor with paintings hung in trellis fashion and replacing a lifting chair by a staircase at the end of the eighteenth century, no major changes were made to the Hermitage for the next two hundred years (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 422). This would have been its appearance when the Whistlers saw it.



809. Goldovskii and Znamenov, *Dvorets Monplezir*, pp. 58, 60; Raskin, *Petrodvorets Dvortsy-muzei*, p. 135; Kurbatov, *Petergof*, p. 49.
810. In the secretary's room of Monplezir there was a panel of Carrara marble carved in high relief, depicting allegorically the glory of the reign of Peter the Great (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 77; "Dvorets 'Monplezir,'" p. 191). Peter is depicted as a hero full of majesty, dressed in Roman armor, presenting an olive branch to a Russia worshipping on its knees before him. All around are the figures of abundance, trade, and the arts and sciences. The relief was executed by the German sculptor Johann Georg Österreich, in the reign of Catherine the Great, who liked to demonstrate her obeisance before the genius of Peter the Great and her own role as the continuer of his legacy (Izmailov, *Monplezir*, pp. 17–18). But Anna Whistler records that she saw an ivory carving of Catherine I and Peter the Great. According to a catalogue published in 1966, an exhibit in that year in the Gallery of Peter the Great in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg included a rectangular ivory panel with a relief depicting the coronation of Catherine I (see Image 401). At the left, Peter the Great, standing under a baldachine, places the crown on the head of Catherine I, who stands at the right. Above is the inscription "1724 Crowned in Moscow" (V.N. Vasiliev, *Pamiatniki russkoi kul'tury pervoi chetverti XVIII veka v sobranii Gosudarstvennogo ordena Lenina Ermitazha Katalog* [*Monuments of Russian Culture from the First Quarter of the Eighteenth Century in the Collection of the State Order of Lenin Hermitage Catalogue*] [Leningrad and Moscow: Sovetskii khudozhnik, 1966], p. 189). It sounds as if this is the panel Anna Whistler saw, but perhaps in another building at Peterhof. Objects connected with Peter the Great were also found in Marly Palace.
811. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday [August] 22<sup>nd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Hooper Ropes, merchant, and his wife, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (Mr. and Mrs. Ropes); John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg from July 1842 until November 1844 (Mr. Maxwell); and William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, his wife (the Gellibrands).
812. It has not been possible to locate the letter from Emma Elizabeth Maingay (see Image 263), Deborah Whistler's lifelong friend, who had recently left Russia permanently with her family to live in England.
813. Maxwell wrote to Major Whistler from Hamburg on 15 August 1844, informing him that he had received his letter from

Tchoodvoo (Chudovo [pronounced “Choo’duhvuh”]), where Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel’nikov (see Image 247) lived, dated 16/28 June. He told the Major of places he had been to and some of the people he had met. His hair had grown back in. He asked: “And how much of my present enjoyment of life do I owe to you? How am I indebted to you for kindness beyond all estimate during a long period of illness, and who can estimate the value of the many happy hours I have passed in sweet familiar intercourse with you in the strange land of Russia. When I forget you my dear Major, may my right hand forget her cunning, and I hope with (what in Bulwers novels is always printed in Capitals and ornamented with startling notes of admiration) Time!! and Experience!! to prove worthy your friendship and regard.” He urged the Major to visit Germany before returning home: “Visit your relatives ~~at~~ in Nassau, . . . let Miss Whistler hear the German opera in its magnificence and the boys the pure brogue of the Fatherland.” He had met with a young Count “attached to the person of Prince Menchikoff, who complimented you and who had seen us often together in our walks about town.” And in closing he asked the Major “to present [his] very respectful compliments to M<sup>ES</sup> and Miss Whistler, to request the boys to sharpen the fish hooks and prepare for poetry” (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, Hamburg, August 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). Major Whistler’s letter to Maxwell is not among the Maxwell Papers.

Maxwell is urging a trip to Germany because the Cammann and Rodewald families, who were connected by marriage with the family of Anna Whistler’s brother, William Gibbs McNeill, both had German origins. See Whistler . . . Fairfax in Appendix E and Images 31–33, 41.

814. Reverend Dr. Edward Law (see Image 253) had a maternal aunt, Cecilia Markham (9 February 1783 – 30 March 1865), who married, on 6 December 1808, the Rev. Robert Philip Goodenough (19 October 1775 – 20 April 1826). They had eleven children, of which seven survived childhood. Although Rev. Dr. Law was in England in the summer of 1844, it is possible that the Miss Goodenough in St. Petersburg was one of his first cousins: Cecilia (8 October 1810 – 1869), Frederica (4 December 1811 – 1875), Laura (13 April 1813 – 1862), or Louisa (24 September 1821 – 1887) (Sir Clements Markham, *Markham Memorials*, 2 vols. [London: Spottiswoode, 1913], vol. 2, pp. 50, 51–52; IGI).

815. Of the two hymns mentioned, it has not been possible to find “Thy Will Be Done.” In the case of the second hymn, it has not been possible to find the exact words: “Thou meet’st me where’er I go.” Hymn 150 (opening lines: “What secret place, what distant star, / Is like, dread Lord to thine abode?”), by Thomas H. Gill in *The Service of Song for Baptist Churches* contains in the second verse the lines: “Vain searchers! But we need not mourn; / We need not stretch our weary wings; / Thou meetest us, where’er we turn; / Thou beamest, Lord, from all bright things” (Samuel Lunt Caldwell, *The Service of Song for Baptist Churches* [New York: Sheldon, 1876], pp. 105–106, in the section called “God – His Attributes”).
816. Matthew 12:36: “But I say unto you, That every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.”
817. Miss Morgan is Sophia Morgan (1808 – 13 April 1872), daughter of Francis and Isabella (Carmichael) Morgan, who married John Rodger, a banker, and from whose home in Linlithgow Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill was buried in 1863. See Note 665 above.
818. Mrs. Baird is Dorothea (Halliday) Baird.
819. The “old lady” is Sophia (Morgan) Baird (1771 – 10/22 February 1856), widow of Charles Baird, called “old” to distinguish her from other Baird women.
820. Edward John Morgan (1812 – 14 May 1876) was “for some time ... the senior partner” in the firm of Egerton Hubbard and Company in St. Petersburg (W.E. Hubbard, “Our Grandmother’s Family – the Morgans,” in *Some Account of the Hubbard Family from Family Records, Recollections and Traditions* [Sevenoaks, UK: Printed by Joseph Salmon for private circulation, 1917], no pagination; see also *The Pall Mall Gazette*, May 15, 1876). He is also referred to in this entry as Mr. M. See the biography of the Morgan and Parland families in Appendix E (hereafter, Morgan and Parland).
821. In the southern United States, “simlin” refers to a species of summer squash having a scalloped edge (Andrew F. Smith, ed., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. “squash”).
822. Catherine Allan (d. 30 November 1855) was the eldest daughter of Sir William Allan’s brother, John. She married in Edinburgh, on 22 June 1851, Herbert Cautley Blackburn (Roisin A. Kennedy,

*The Subject Paintings of Sir William Allan (1782–1850)*, 2 vols. [MLitt thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1993], vol. 1, p. 208n96; Roisin Kennedy, Dublin, to E. Harden, 16 March 1994; *Monumental Inscriptions Pre 1855, Dean Cemetery*, no. 2111; IGI).

823. Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Rev. George Williams, Rev. Dr. Edward Law's summer replacement in the English Church, who was preaching his last sermon there (Mr Williams); Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law, wife of the incumbent chaplain of the English Church (Mrs. Law); Anna Whistler's half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (my Sister); Lydia (Proctor) Wood, wife of the English cotton-spinning factory manager, Charles Wood (Mrs Woods, Mrs Wood); and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, wife of the English merchant Willam Clarke Gellibrand (Mrs Gellibrands party, Mrs Gellibrands wing).
824. Miss Forester, a governess (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 19), also called "Miss F" in the entry for Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup>, was probably Constantia / Constance Forrester (St. Petersburg 1796 – St. Petersburg 10/22 November 1878). She was the daughter of Francis Forrester, widower, who married Mary Barts, spinster, in St. Petersburg on 31 August /11 September 1791. They had three other daughters: Catherine Margaret (b. 1793), Elizabeth (b. 1794), and Maria (b. 1801). Catherine Margaret married William Atkinson in St. Petersburg on 24 April /6 May 1829. Neither Elizabeth nor Maria seems to have married in Russia, and only Constantia/Constance died there with their maiden surname. Thus, because she seems to have made a life in Russia, she may be the Miss Forrester of Anna Whistler's diaries.
825. 2 Corinthians 3:9: "For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory."
826. Henrietta Sarah (Markham) Law (30 May 1764 – 15 August 1844) was Rev. Dr. Edward Law's mother (Sir Clements Markham, "The Printed Pedigree of the Markham Family of Morland," *Markham Memorials*, vol. 2, pp. 51, 52).
827. See Note 824 above. Whichever one of the misses Forrester is the Miss Forrester of Anna Whistler's diaries, she could have male and female cousins with a variety of surnames, if one or both of her parents had siblings; moreover, the child aged four in 1844 could have been born outside Russia. However, a search was made for children baptised in St. Petersburg who were born

around 25 August 1840 (the date being discussed in the diary entry of 26 August 1844), the date of the celebration of their birth (i.e., not necessarily their birthday). A very good candidate for the child whose birthday was being celebrated on the 25th is Henry Main Anderson, the son of Matthew Anderson and Anne Elizabeth (Main) Anderson, who was born on 13/25 August 1840. Matthew Anderson and Anne Elizabeth Main were married on 13/25 July 1838. Henry Main appears to be their first child. They also had a daughter named Minna, who was born on 2/14 November 1842 and died 9/21 April 1843. Matthew Anderson (and therefore his wife, through marriage) would seem to be a cousin of Miss Forrester, because a Matthew Anderson, the son of Matthew Anderson and Anna (Barts) Anderson, was born on 9/20 July 1798 in St. Petersburg. Matthew Anderson Sr. and Anna Barts had married in 1786. As Barts is an uncommon surname, there is strong evidence that Anna (Barts) Anderson and Mary (Barts) Forrester were sisters, because the ages at death given in their burial entries indicate that they were born in around 1762 and 1760–1761 respectively. Thus, if Matthew Anderson, the father of Henry Main Anderson, was indeed the same person as the Matthew Anderson born in 1798, he could well be a first cousin of the misses Forrester (b. 1794, 1796, and 1801), and his wife would be called a cousin to them as well. The idea that there is a connection between the Andersons and the Forresters is further supported by the fact that one of the witnesses at the marriage of Francis Forrester to Mary Barts in 1791 was a Matthew Anderson. Also, three of the witnesses at the marriage of Catherine Margaret Forrester to William Atkinson in 1829 were M. Anderson, Frances Anderson, and John Anderson.

828. On the fourth birthday of his son, Wilberforce (Turvey, Bedfordshire 20 August 1807 – Turvey, Bedfordshire 16 January 1825), Rev. Legh Richmond (see Image 189) wrote him a letter in the form of a poem, consisting of nine quatrains, in which the final four words of each quatrain are “just four years old.” It begins: “It was early this morn as I waked from my rest, / An unusual emotion sprang up in my breast: / The occasion of this, do you wish to be told? / ’Tis my little boy’s birthday – he’s just four years old.” The poem is quoted in full in *Domestic Portraiture* as an illustration of the method employed by Richmond in the early religious education of his children (*Domestic Portraiture*, pp. 162, 178, 180–181; Grimshawe, *Memoir of Richmond*, p. 536).
829. Ekateringof (see Images 405–406), named for Catherine I, wife of Peter the Great (see Images 411–412), consists of a park with

an ancient wooden palace, avenues for carriages, a music hall, gazebos, a children's playground, and eating places. Although the park was named for her, the palace itself was nevertheless unusually called the Peter I Palace (see Image 405). On the seashore there is a pavilion (the farm), which serves as the summer dacha of the military governor general of St. Petersburg. The park is open to the public in spring and summer. On 1/13 May and on Trinity Day, there is always a public celebration here. Ekateringof was established by Peter the Great (see Image 411) together with its wooden palace, which was built in the spring of 1711, to commemorate his first sea victory over the Swedes in May 1703. He presented it to his wife as a summer residence. After his death, it fell into neglect. In 1745, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) expanded the palace, but most of the new additions were destroyed, and the palace was mostly restored to its original appearance. In 1796, Ekateringof was made part of the city and included in the then newly established Fourth Admiralty District. In 1800, Emperor Paul I (see Image 417) entrusted Ekateringof to Count von der Pahlen (1745–1826), at that time governor general of St. Petersburg. In 1804, it was transferred, with all appurtenances, to the jurisdiction of Count A.S. Stroganoff (1733–1811). These measures did not help, and the palace became dilapidated, the woods were fenced in, and – because the site of the garden was marshy – swamps formed, making Ekateringof impassable in bad weather. In 1823, Count M.A. Miloradovich (1771–1825), then military governor general, submitted and received Alexander I's approval of plans for the restoration of Ekateringof. Work was begun in June 1823, and concluded in November of the same year. The most beautiful structures, the music hall and some of the pavilions, were the work of the architect, Auguste Monferrand (1786–1858), who designed the version of St. Isaac's Cathedral being built at this time (see Image 119). In a single summer, a canal was dug, roads and paths laid, the palace rebuilt, the swamps filled in, the ponds cleared, little bridges erected, more than a thousand trees planted, and a children's playground created. Gutuev Island, which lies opposite, was cleared, and the fishermen's houses on it were elevated architecturally to resemble rural buildings in the environs of Rome. Ekateringof became once again a palace to which the inhabitants of Kolomna and the Semyonov and Izmailov regiments come, generally by water, to take Sunday excursions. There are many dachas here, distinctive among them that of V.G. Zhukov (1796–1881; see Image 323). The workers from his

tobacco factory camp in the Ekateringof fields at haying time, accompanying their work with the singing for which they are famed. Moreover, villages that become populated with summer people abut on Ekateringof. On Sundays in summer, regimental music plays. Ekateringof is one of those places where smoking is permitted, although it lies within the bounds of the city. Its upkeep is maintained by the city (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1839, pt. 1, pp. 312–317; Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, pp. 312–317, 464; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 234, 664–666; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 213–215; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 311; N.I. Batorevich, *Ekateringof Istorii dvortsovo-parkovogo ansambliia* [*Ekateringof: A History of the Palace-Park Ensemble*] [St. Petersburg: Iskusstvo, 2006], pp. 106–125, 151–165, 175, 241). The artist, Karl Gampel'n (between 1796–1808 – after 1880), captured the 1/13 May public holiday in an engraving (aquatint) executed in 1825–1826 called *Ekateringof Celebration* (*Ekateringofskoe gul'ianie*) (see Image 406). Ten meters long and nine-and-a-half centimeters high, it depicts the celebration of 1824, after the park's restoration. Anna Whistler was not attracted by the first of May spectacle, but when Lydia (Procter) Wood (see Image 272) had a pied-à-terre at Ekateringof in summer for making daily trips there with her children, Anna Whistler came at least once to visit her with James and Willie. She received the invitation on Friday, 23 August 1844.

Vasilii Grigorievich Zhukov (1796–1881; see Image 323), a tobacco manufacturer, produced a cheap pipe tobacco in his St. Petersburg and Moscow factories from the 1820s to the 1850s. One of the most prestigious awards of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, the Zhukov Award, was named for him as one of their biggest philanthropists. His choir of workers, directed by him, was famous for its singing (Nikolai Leskov, *The Enchanted Wanderer and Other Stories*, trans. and ed. Richard Pervear and Larissa Volokhonsky [London: Vintage Books, 2013], 354, 568; Leo Tolstoy, *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth*, ed. and trans. Judson Rosengrant [London: Penguin Classics, 2012], pp. 253, 407; Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, pp. 152, 156, 175; “History,” on the Russian Geographical Society website).

830. Over the canal leading to the palace is a charming and light little iron bridge. At the entrance to the bridge there are gates from both sides shaped like three arches. Along the sides of the canal is an embankment separating off two clear ponds. In the middle of the ponds, out of respect for antiquity, trees planted in Peter the Great's time or before his time have been preserved. All along

the palace there is a gallery which descends to the canal from both sides. The ponds are shaded by spreading birches. From the other side of the palace, a long avenue for pedestrians stretches through the entire grove. The Peter I Palace is a two-story building of simple architecture, but nonetheless quite spacious. Near it is a gallery from which the curious can see the arrangement and decor of the rooms on the lower floor. The palace has been restored to its former appearance. Its side walls are the same as they were in Peter's time. The restoration was unusually difficult to effect. From the windows of the palace, ships can be seen sailing by, one after another, like the continuous series of scenes in a panorama. The palace is more spacious now than it was in Peter's time. The section starting at the hearth room with the two-story hall was added on by Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413). The two stories contain twenty-one rooms. On the lower floor, the decor is much as it originally was: the cupboards, chairs, and all the objects are very plain and correspond to the simple life led by Peter the Great (see Image 411). Upstairs, where no decorations remained, the rooms are decorated quite luxuriously. The palace contains many precious mementos of Peter the Great, some made by him, others gifted by him and donated by the descendants of recipients to decorate the restored palace. In every room there is an icon; the icon of the Vladimir Mother of God in front of Peter's bedroom is the same one that was here when he was alive. The palace also contains a library of Russian books relating to the history of Peter the Great. On the upper floor there are rooms filled with Chinese objects. Other rooms on this floor are decorated magnificently with furniture and hangings that once embellished the chambers of empresses Catherine I (see Image 412) and Elizaveta Petrovna (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, pp. 153–167; Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, pp. 126–131).

Bozherianov, explaining that a part of Peter the Great's possessions and curiosities of his era were transferred from the Ekateringof Palace to the Petrine Gallery of the Imperial Hermitage in the early 1850s, says that a description of all the things in the Ekateringof Palace may be found in Pushkarev's guide (I.N. Bozherianov, "Ekateringof," *Russkaia starina* 41 (March 1884): p. 629). As one of Pushkarev's guides was published in 1843, it would therefore seem possible to identify everything to which Anna Whistler refers. Actually, however, Pushkarev's description is limited to those things he thinks may be of particular interest to the visitor (Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, pp. 313–317). Far more detail about the contents of the



Ekateringof Palace rooms can be found in Bur'ianov's guide for children, which, while charming and patriotic, is also very knowledgeable (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, pp.153–167). His descriptions are too extensive to be reproduced in their entirety here. They, too, do not cover all the objects Anna Whistler selects for mention.

831. Assuming that “attempts at the arts and sciences” includes objects made by Peter the Great, only two such attempts are cited by Bur'ianov and Pushkarev. In a splendidly decorated corner room on the upper floor of the palace there is a wooden snuffbox under a glass cloche, with the inscription “From His Majesty, made by his own hand, presented to Lieutenant Joseph Botom [*sic*] of the Navy” engraved on a little brass strip. Peter made the snuffbox with a non-removable lid, the upper half of which slides open (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 157; Pushkarev, 1839, pt. 1, pp. 314–315; Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, pp. 314–31; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 236; Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, p. 128). In Peter's bedroom on the first floor there is a plain old pine bed devoid of decoration that is avowed by oldtimers to be his own handiwork (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 155; Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1839, pt. 1, pp. 313–314; Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, pp. 313–314; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 235).
832. There is some reference to Chinese embroidery in the Ekateringof Palace in the following Note, but Anna Whistler's comment in the diary text does not make clear what kind of embroidery she means.
833. There were several rooms with Chinese objects on the upper floor of the palace. At the top of the stairs, one sees a model of a Chinese galley, Chinese lanterns, and two human-sized stuffed dolls, representing subjects of the emperor, made of silk and attached to lacquered boards. On the walls were views of amusement parks with kiosks and sailing boats. In a nearby room were Chinese lacquered screens with gilt on black, with a picturesque depiction of the ceremonial departure of the Chinese emperor in his chariot, accompanied by his suite. In the same room were Chinese cupboards, chests of drawers, and bureaus with many drawers, some of them secret; these objects were as remarkable in their inner structure as in their outer appearance. Of two large pictures, one made on satin depicts flowers and birds with extraordinary liveliness, while the other, made on wood, with ivory figures pasted on and colored, represents a view of Chinese buildings in the countryside, the hunt, and a public

celebration. The decor of these rooms reaches its high point in several chairs of unusual shape, the lacquered chamois pillows of which are supported on gilded monster heads. A curtain in Chinese taste covers the door. There are also straw blinds, two fans and, finally, ten elongated satin pictures embroidered with silk and depicting multi-colored parrots and luxuriant roses, songbirds on bushes in fields, etc. One cannot help but be astonished at the freshness of the flowers, the brightness of the colors, the brilliant play of colors in the silk, and the liveliness in imitating nature. To the side is another small Chinese study. Here, there are remarkable tables with landscapes on black with gilt and marble screens with charming depictions of a Chinese wedding. The arrival of the bridegroom, the emergence of the bride-to-be from her father's house, etc. are represented on the ten panels of the screen in small pictures, below which at the bottom are fruits and flowers. In addition to the extraordinary artistry of their finish, the screens give a curious picture of Chinese customs. All these objects were probably brought from Peking during the lifetime of Peter the Great by Captain of the Life Guards Lev Izmailov, whom he sent as minister plenipotentiary to the emperor of China. Izmailov left St. Petersburg with ten thousand rubles for the purchase of various articles in Peking. One can also presume that some of the pieces of furniture were gifts in exchange for those sent to the Chinese emperor by Peter the Great. There is no specific mention, however, of a Chinese cabinet with ivory inlay (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, pp. 160-163. Pushkarev mentions only a few objects and gives no detail (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1839, pt. 1, p. 312; Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, p. 315; Batorevich mentions a large number of objects [*Ekateringof*, pp. 132-137]).

834. Bur'ianov and Pushkarev describe some of the upper-story rooms as magnificently decorated. In one, they say, the walls were covered with white velvet with bouquets of flowers depicted on it. In other rooms, Bur'ianov says, the furniture was covered with tiger velvet, satin and damask (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 164), but Pushkarev says these materials covered the walls (Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, p. 316). Anna Whistler probably meant tapestries, however. In yet another room, Bur'ianov says, the walls were decorated with tapestries by Russian artists, except for one of flowers and fruits by a foreign artist so realistic that birds could be deceived by it (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 164). Pushkarev mentions *Bathsheba Bathing* (*Kupainshebaia Virsaviia*), also called *Bathsheba at the Fountain* (*Virsaviia u fontana*), woven in

- 1727, and *Dogs in a Slaughterhouse* (*Sobaki v boine*), woven in 1755, as noteworthy (Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, p. 316). Neither tapestry is from Peter's lifetime. For all the preceding information about Ekateringof, see also Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 234–238, 664–666; Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, pp. 126–140). Batorevich deals with the tapestries on pp. 131–132.
835. An Imperial order in 1840 permitted the introduction of dachas within the non-Imperial part of Ekateringof, and the lands there started to be leased for that purpose (Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, p. 166). Mrs. Wood was renting one room in someone's "summer house."
836. The Athanasian Creed is a "profession of faith which has been widely used in Western Christendom. It expounds the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, adding a list of the most important events in the Lord's life; it includes "anathemas against those who do not believe its affirmations" (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. "Athanasian Creed").
837. Reverend Capel Molyneux was born on 2 December 1804 at Loseley mansion, Surrey, England. He was the eldest son of Ella (Young) Molyneux and John Molyneux of Gravel Hill, Salop. He entered Christ College, Cambridge University, Michaelmas 1822 and was Scholar in 1823, BA in 1826. He was "sometime in the Army." He was ordained deacon (Worcester) in 1828 and priest (Hereford) in 1829. He was canon of Trinity Church, Woolwich, 1842–1850; canon of the Lock Hospital, Harrow Road, London, 1850–1860; vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, 1860–1872 (resigned). He married, firstly, Maria Carpenter, daughter of Admiral Carpenter, in June 1831. They had five surviving children: Maria Jane (d. 10 January 1916); Caroline (d. 15 March 1927); Eliza (d. 20 March 1920); Ella (d. 15 August 1915); and Julia (d. 2 January 1927). He married, secondly, in 1870, Eugenia Grace, widow of Lt.-Col. Alexander Murray. He died on 27 December 1877, age 73, at Cannes. He was the author of *Baptismal Regeneration Opposed Both by the Word of God and the Standards of the Church of England* (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1842); as well as *Israel's Fortune; The World to Come; Gethsemane*, lectures delivered in Lent (1854); and *Broken Bread, Short Comments for Family Use* (1855). His portrait may be found in *Christian Cabinet Illustrated Almanack* (London: Office of the Christian Cabinet, 1860), pp. 30–31 and in *Illustrated News of the World* (1862) (Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 4 vols.

[London: Cass, 1892], vol. 2, p. 918; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 4, p. 436; *Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1890*, p. 436).

838. “Regeneration” refers to the “the spiritual rebirth which, according to traditional theology, is effected in the soul by Baptism” (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “regeneration”). The title of Rev. Molyneux’s book on baptismal regeneration suggests that he felt it to be “opposed both by the word of god and the standards of the Church of England.” See his biography in the previous Note.
839. Matthew 3:15: “And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.”
840. Tuesday [August] 27<sup>th</sup> was the third birthday of Charles Donald Whistler (Charlie), who had died on board the *John Bull* on the way from London to St. Petersburg in September 1843. Anna Whistler devoted this entry to her immediate family’s dead children. They included Kirk Boott Whistler, who had died at the age of four, in 1842, and whom she does not mention by name. She referred to the two of them as “*both* my darlings.” She also recalled Joseph Swift Whistler (Joe), who had died on 1 January 1840, at the age of fifteen. She mentions as well George William Whistler (George) (see Images 12–13), who was not well and had been with her and the rest of the family in the happy days on the *Acadia* from Boston to Liverpool. On that first leg of the journey to St. Petersburg, Charles Donald Whistler had celebrated his second birthday.
841. Anna Whistler omitted the word “eyes.”
842. In this entry for Wed [August] 28<sup>th</sup>, Anna Whistler describes the *activities* of Tuesday 27 August. Despite her grief, she had allowed herself to be persuaded by Deborah Whistler to accept Colonel Todd’s invitation to Tsarskoe Selo.

Persons mentioned in this entry who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Charles Stewart Todd, American envoy (Col. Todd); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Aunt Alicia, Aunt A); Pyotr, the coachman (Coacher, Péotre); Andrea, the beggar child (Andrea); Kirk Boott Whistler, who had died in 1842 (Kirkie); Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, mother of Emma Maingay, Deborah Whistler’s closest friend in St. Petersburg (Mrs. Maingay); Eliza Maingay, daughter of Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (Eliza Maingay); and Colonel Todd’s servant (Miller).

843. All verst markers are made of wood, except for those on the route from the capitol to Tsarskoe Selo and Peterhof: here they are made of stone (see Image 395). At each verst there is a beautiful obelisk-shaped pillar of natural granite with a number on it. On the road to Peterhof, one passes 26 such markers (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 2). As late as 1991, a stone verst marker could still be found in the southwest corner of the Upper Garden at Peterhof with the number "29," indicating its distance from the post office in St. Petersburg. In the nineteenth century, when the distance indicated by the verst markers began to be calculated from the city limits, the number "29" was changed to "26" (S.B. Gorbatenko, "Novye stranitsy rannei istorii Petergofa" ["New Pages in the Early History of Peterhof"], in *Nevskii Arkhiv Istoriko-kraevedcheskii sbornik* [*Nevskii Archive: A Historical-Local History Collection*] [Moscow and St. Petersburg: Atheneum Feniks, 1993], p. 155n6). See also D.A. Kiuchariants, *Antonio Rinal'di* (St. Petersburg: Stroiizdat SPb, 1994), pp. 117, 158, 159.
844. See the detail of the gable end of a log cottage in Image 355, showing the "jumping board."
845. On 15/27 August, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin is celebrated by the Orthodox Church (*Mesiatsoslov na 1842 g.*; Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 17; *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. "Assumption of the BVM"). See Image 382 of an icon celebrating this feast day.
846. "The road [to Moscow] was really excellent, and we observed in various places several handsome wells, built of granite, and ornamented with sphinxes, in the antique style" (William Rae Wilson, *Travels in Russia*, 2 vols. [London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828] vol. 2, p. 1). It has not been possible to find an image of either the classic stone fountain or the classic stone well referred to in this entry.
847. In 1792, at the end of Catherine the Great's reign, Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817) began the construction for her favorite grandson of a great palace, called the New (Alexander) Palace (see Images 388, 447). It was located in the northeast end of the New Garden and "to the east of the main entrance to the Catherine Palace," its "main façade overlooking a pond" (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 102; Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 210; Hamilton, *Art and Architecture*, p. 201; Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 299). It was essentially completed in May of 1796, the year of Catherine's death. On 12 June (OS) 1796, Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich (the future Alexander I; see Image

418) moved in (Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 210). When he became emperor five years later, he moved to the Catherine Palace (see Image 385), which he preferred. Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), however, preferred the New (Alexander) Palace. He would move to Tsarskoe Selo in early spring and stay until the end of May, when the troops went to camp near Peterhof for maneuvers. When maneuvers were over, the Court would return to Tsarskoe Selo and then move back to St. Petersburg about 24 November (Viľchkovskii, p. 211). In 1800, the palace was stuccoed and “the architectural detail was delineated in white against a yellow background” (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 301). In contrast to the Catherine Palace, the exterior of the New (Alexander) Palace is marked by a simplicity and severity of style (Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 211). There are “no window surrounds and only a drip line separating the first and second floors” (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 301). The building consists of a main façade with two perpendicular wings. Two perpendicular pavilions extend from along the main façade. A “double Corinthian colonnade” of snow-white stone unites the two pavilions and “create[s] an enclosed entrance court” (Brumfield, pp. 299, 301). The building has a dentilated cornice “surmounted by a balustrade” (Brumfield, p. 301). The colonnade also carries the entire entablature of the Corinthian order and the balustrade, which are continued above the entire building. The proportions of the colonnade are faultless. It is particularly fine when looked at from up close, from the inner courtyard. The free-standing columns are perceived then against the background of the sky and the landscape of the park. The entrances into the building are situated along the sides of the colonnade in the gable ends of the pavilions. This compositional feature marked a departure from the accent on the central axis of the building traditional to the architecture of Classicism. The palace did not have a main entrance marked by a portico and pediment, and therefore also did not have a sharply defined main façade (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 102). On the park façade at the rear there is a “projecting central pavilion with [a] dome” (Hamilton, *Art and Architecture*, p. 201). This feature, too, did not accent the central axis of the building. The palace does not dominate the park ensemble, but is part of it and unites harmoniously with the landscape, in this respect differing essentially from the Catherine Palace (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 102). While the interior of the palace underwent significant changes in the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries, the external appearance did not for more than one hundred fifty years (Petrov, pp. 102, 103). In 1817, lilac bushes were planted in front of the palace and colonnade. They spread, eventually partially hiding the palace from view (Petrov, p. 103), as can be seen in Image 388. In front of the colonnade, between the wings, there was until 1847 an open macadamized area (Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 211). In 1838, two cast-iron statues, each of a youth playing an ancient Russian game, were placed in front of the colonnade. The models for them were sculptures executed by pupils of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts and shown at the annual Academy exhibition in 1836: a youth playing “knucklebones” (*babki*) by N.S. Pimenov (1812–1864) and another playing “nail into the ring” (*svaika*) by A.V. Loganovskii (1810–1855) (for illustrations of these games, see Images 356–357) (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 102; Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 211). Although not intended for installation in front of the palace, they are said to combine successfully with the Classical colonnade (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 103). In 1843, the first electromagnetic telegraph in Russia was set up in the study of Nicholas I in the New (Alexander) Palace, connecting with the study of the director of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings, Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 211). Except for their 1846 visit to the newly built oratory in this palace, Anna Whistler does not record visiting any other part of it.

For a description of “babki” see the entry for Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> May [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Note 149. “Svaika ... consists in pitching an iron bolt, the head of which weighs sometimes a great many pounds, within the circle of an iron ring, previously fixed flat on the ground... The bolt is whirled around in the air, being held by the point for that purpose; and when it strikes the earth, such is the force with which it penetrates the ring, that it requires the united power of two men to uproot it once more. When the player misses the centre of the ring, he passes the bolt to the next player, and pays a forfeit” (Granville, *St. Petersburg*, vol. 2, p. 397).

848. The pseudo-Gothic Armory (*Arsenal*) (see Image 391) stands in the Alexander Park on the spot once occupied by a Baroque pavilion called Mon Bijou that had been designed by S.I. Chevakiniskii (1713–1770s); it was redesigned by Rastrelli for Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) and built between 1747 and 1754. Mon Bijou consisted of a central octagonal two-

tiered brick structure with a cupola and with four single-storied adjoining rooms extended from it on intersecting diagonals (Viľchkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 195; Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 241). It was considered a gem of Russian Baroque architecture. Adam Menelaws (1753–1831), remodeling it as a dwelling for Alexander I (see Image 418), modeled it on a pavilion at Shrubs Hill, a Gothic castle in England. The work was begun by him in 1819. After his death, supervision of the construction was given to Alexander A. Ton (1794–1881). The work was concluded in 1834. In the remodeling, four hexagonal, three-tiered towers were fused into one whole with the central two-storied mass that remained from Mon Bijou, each tower being joined to it by one of its six sides. The tower walls are finished off with cornices and crenelated parapets. Each of the towers is crowned with a Gothic turret. Wide window openings were cut through the walls of the central mass. The whitewashed plaster platbands and arches above the windows stand out against the brick walls, which were left unplastered as in medieval English castles (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 111; *Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 120). The windows had transoms with insets of Gothic designs. Many of the windows contained panes of old German and Swiss glass depicting Biblical stories, German and Swiss sixteenth- and seventeenth-century subjects, and armor and weapons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (F. Gille, ed., *Tsarskosel'skii muzei s sobraniiem oruzh'ia, prinadlezhashchego Gosudariu Imperatoru* [*The Tsarskoe Selo Museum and the Collection of Arms Belonging to His Majesty the Emperor*] [St. Petersburg: A. Bauman, 1860], pp. 26, 40, 62, 70–71; Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 218; Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 111). The remodeled building became a museum housing a rich collection of ancient arms and armor (see Image 392) that Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) had started in 1811, when a young Grand Duke. The collection, housed since 1817 in the Anichkov Palace in St. Petersburg (see Images 133–134), had been transferred to the Alexander Palace when he became emperor. The subsequent expansion of the collection led to the decision to house it in the pseudo-Gothic building, which, on the basis of an order issued by Nicholas I in 1834, was to be called the Armory (L. Tarasiuk, *Starinnoe ognestrel'noe oruzhie v sobranii Ėrmitazha. Evropa i severnaia Amerika* [*Old Russian Firearms in the Collection of the Hermitage: Europe and North America*] [Leningrad: Iskusstvo, Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1971], pp. 8, 9).



The names of some of the rooms differed over the years. In 1842, Pushkarev's guide noted on the first floor the Generals' Room, picture room, library, Indian Room, and Her Majesty's cloakroom and bedroom, and on the second floor the dining room, Russian or Slavonic Room, Polish Room, and Turkish Room (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, pp. 74–76). A plan of the Armory published in the 1860 catalogue describes the lower floor as consisting of a vestibule, large hall, study, empress's room, library and Russian Room, firearms room, Albanian Room and main [stone] staircase. On the upper floor were located the Hall of Knights, the Indo-Muslim Room, the Turkish Room, the Indo-Persian Room and [iron] staircase (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, plan facing title page). Prior to this, the Indo-Muslim Room had been the Russian Room (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 147a, 266). The Albanian Room did not carry this name when the Whistlers visited the Armory. It was set up after the death, in 1849, of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, who willed his collection of arms to his nephew, the Heir to the Throne, Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 86–87). The empress's room was another name for the bedroom (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. vi, ix). The dining room was the Hall of Knights (identified by descriptions of the coats-of-arms of the Russian provinces on its walls) (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, p. 131; Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 75). The blinds in the Armory were red (Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. xxxiii). Instead of the proposed marble floors, Nicholas I chose wooden parquet floors (Benois, p. xxxii). Objects were displayed in cases and cupboards in the rooms and towers as well as on the winding staircases and on the slender iron columns supporting the staircases. Groups of objects were picturesquely hung on the walls as units (*trofei*). The items exhibited were labelled (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 91–130). In 1836, rules for visitors were approved. The public was allowed entrance on Wednesdays and Sundays from ten to six, in winter until two. Distinguished guests with tickets could visit every day. A guest book was kept for recording the names of acceptable visitors and keeping out undesirables. (I checked the Hermitage Archives in July 2003 and was told that these guest books are not in their collection.) When the Court was in residence at Tsarskoe Selo, admittance to the Armory was by special order. Special officers were attached to the Armory (Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. xxxiii). They were non-commissioned Guards veterans (Vi'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 197). There were guides (entry for Wed [August] 28<sup>th</sup> [1844],

NYPL: AWPD, Part I) and guidebooks (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s del'mi*, vol. 3, p. 119). See also Rigby, *Baltic Letters*, vol. 2, letter 26, pp. 264–266.

In 1840, Charles Seyger (Russian initials: K.I.), librarian to Nicholas I, died. His replacement was Florian Gille (1801–1864), who filled the two posts of head of the palace libraries and of the Division of Antiquities at the Hermitage. He was director of the Armory for some twenty-five years. During his tenure, the collection grew from three thousand to five thousand objects (Tarasiuk, *Starinnoe ognestrel'noe oruzhie*, p. 9). In 1886, now numbering over seven thousand objects, it was transferred to the Hermitage (Tarasiuk, p. 11). It is possible, however, to have a good idea of some of the objects Anna Whistler's party saw at the Armory through publications that appeared long before the transfer. In 1840, the first catalogue of the collection in the Russian language, prepared by K.I. Seyger, was published: *Katalog redkogo, starinnogo i vostochnogo oruzh'ia, kbraniashchegosia v sobstvennom Ego Imperatorskogo Velichestva Arsenale v Tsarskom-Selo* [*Catalogue of Rare, Ancient and Eastern Arms in His Imperial Majesty's Own Armory in Tsarskoe Selo*], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Eduard Prats, 1840). It was actually an inventory of 2747 items, grouped according to twenty categories, such as “armor,” “shields,” etc. (F. Gille, comp., *Tsarskosel'skii muzei s sobraniiem oruzh'ia, prinadlezhashego Gosudariu Imperatoru* [*The Tsarskoe Selo Museum and the Collection of Arms Belonging to His Majesty the Emperor*] [St. Petersburg: A. Bauman, 1860], pp. vii–viii; N. Kondakov, comp., *Imperatorskii Ėrmitazh Ukazatel' otdeleniia srednikh vekov i epokhi Vozrozhdeniia* [*Imperial Hermitage: Guide to the Division of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*] [St. Petersburg: Imperial Hermitage, 1891], p. 9). In 1835, a serial edition of lithographs of outstanding objects in the Armory was begun. These lithographs were based on watercolor drawings executed by A.P. Rockstuhl (1798–1877) and others. It was completed and published in 1853 in French with the title *Musée du Tsarskoé-Sélo ou collection d'armes de Sa Majesté L'Empereur de toutes les Russies. Ouvrage composé de 180 planches lithographées par Asselineau d'après les dessins originaux de A. Rockstuhl, avec une Introduction historique par Flor. Gille* (St. Petersburg, 1835–1853). This edition was continued and published in 1869 by the librarian of Alexander II, E. Kaemmerer (Kondakov, *Imperatorskii Ėrmitazh Ukazatel'*, p. 9). It contained explanatory texts in Russian and French and a historical introduction on medieval arms, and appeared under the title *Tsarskosel'skii arsenal ili Sobranie oruzh'ia prinadlezhashego Ego Velichestvu Gosudariu Imperatoru Aleksandru*

*Nikolaevichu. Po risunkam Gg. Professora A.N. Rokstbulia i N.A. Bogdanova s poiasnitel'nyim tekstom sostavlennym Deist. St. Sov. E. Kemmererom zavedyvaishchim Sobstvennymi Ego Velichestva Bibliotekami i Arsenalami* [The Armory at Tsarskoe Selo or the Collection of Arms and Armor Belonging to His Imperial Majesty Aleksandr Nikolaevich. Based on Drawings by Messrs. Professor A.N. Rokstubl and N.A. Bogdanov, with an Explanatory Text by Actual Councilor of State E. Kaemmerer, Director of His Majesty's Libraries and Armories; the title is then repeated in French], edition of Messrs. A.A. Il'in and N.K. Flige, printed with His Majesty's permission (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia Pol'za, 1869) (Kondakov, *Imperatorskii Èrmitazh Ukazatel'*, pp. 9–10). In 1860, two editions, Russian and French, of a detailed room-by-room catalogue with an introduction by Gille appeared. They were called *Tsarskosel'skii muzei s sobraniiem oruzh'ia, prinallezhashego Gosudariu Imperatoru* [The Tsarskoe Selo Museum and the Collection of Arms Belonging to His Majesty the Emperor] (St. Petersburg: A. Bauman, 1860) and *Notice sur le Musée de Tsarskoé-Sélo renfermant la collection d'armes de Sa Majesté L'Empereur* (St. Petersburg, 1860) (Kondakov, *Imperatorskii Èrmitazh Ukazatel'*, p. 10). In 1891, Senior Curator N. Kondakov's catalogue to the arms and armor collection in the Hermitage – *Imperatorskii Èrmitazh Ukazatel' otdeleniia srednikh vekov i èpokhi Vozrozhdeniia* [Imperial Hermitage Guide to the Division of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance] – was published. These publications have been helpful in ascertaining and describing some of the objects that were of particular interest to the Whistlers.

Rokstul's given names were Aloisius Gustav. The Russians called him Aloizii Petrovich. His initials therefore appear sometimes as A.G. and sometimes as A.P. Why the initials A.N. appear in the abovementioned publications is not known to me.

849. The Armory had in its collection suits of German, Italian, French, Swiss, Austrian, Spanish, Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Indo-Muslim, and Persian armor. The specific reference in the diaries is to two elegant suits of Maximilian armor of German workmanship from the beginning of the sixteenth century that were worn by Nicholas I (see Images 420) and Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (see Image 420) during the medieval “carousel” which took place in Tsarskoe Selo on 23 May /4 June 1842 to celebrate the silver wedding anniversary of Nicholas I and Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna. The “carousel” set out from the Armory and proceeded to the esplanade of the Alexander Palace, where a tournament was held. Sixteen cavaliers and

sixteen ladies participated. The ladies were in medieval dress, the cavaliers in sixteenth-century armor from the Armory. The armor worn by Nicholas I and Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich was taken from the empress's room (bedroom) of the Armory. The young grand dukes were dressed as pages (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 196–197; Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. ix, 66–67, 107, 109, 133, 134–136; Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 218). For further details and differing numbers see Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, vol. 1, p. 340. Plate 1 of Kaemmerer, *Tsarskosel'skii arsenal*, illustrates the suit of armor worn by Nicholas I, Plate 5 that worn by his son. Both plates are accompanied by texts in Russian and French. A portrait of the Imperial family during the 1842 carousel was committed to canvas by Horace Vernet (1789–1863) in 1843 (see Image 420). Aleksandra Fyodorovna dominates the painting, seated on a white horse in the center. To her right is Nicholas I, and beyond him and further in the background Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich and the Duke of Leuchtenberg, her son-in-law. Behind her to her left are the grand duchesses Olga Nikolaevna and Aleksandra Nikolaevna and Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich. To her left in the foreground stand the little grand dukes, Nikolai Nikolaevich and Mikhail Nikolaevich (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. ix–x; Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, vol. 1, p. 340). An excellent discussion of the symbolism of such carousels may be found in Wortman, *Scenarios of Power*, vol. 1, p. 340.

850. It has not been possible to identify this gun in any of the books cited in Note 848, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, as they list many guns with very long barrels. According to the curator of the Hermitage Armory, Dr. Iurii Miller, it is difficult to identify this gun without a more detailed description of it (Iu. Miller, St. Petersburg, to E. Harden, 19 October 2001).
851. “There is precise information that these stuffed horses were bought in St. Petersburg in the 1830s” (Iu. Miller, St. Petersburg, to E. Harden, 19 October 2001).
852. See Image 393. The 1840 catalogue describes the saddle simply as covered with silver plates (*bliashki*) (Seyger, *Katalog redkogo oruzh'ia*, vol. 2, p. 157). It is described in the 1860 catalogue as made of silver with convex chasing (*vybuklaia chekanka*) (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, p. 137). The plate illustrating the saddle does not help clarify either statement (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, vol. 4, p. 263, plate 30). The pommel had the elegant form of what was thought to be a curving swan's neck (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*,

p. 137). In both catalogues, it is recorded that the saddle had belonged to Tipoo Sahib (1751–1799), the last Nabob of Mysore (Seyger, *Katalog redkogo oruzh'ia*, vol. 2, p. 157; Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. viii, 137). Neither catalogue records his armor or horse. The 1840 catalogue explains that the other saddle parts grouped with Tipoo Sahib's saddle do not belong to it (Seyger, *Katalog redkogo oruzh'ia*, vol. 2, pp. 157–158). The 1860 catalogue describes some armor placed near Tipoo Sahib's saddle, but says it is not his (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 136–137). His sword was located elsewhere in the Armory and is described in the 1860 catalogue (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 220–221). Later scholarship has established that the saddle was acquired for the Arsenal in 1836 in Paris from the collector F. Civilotti, as belonging to Tipoo Sahib (Iu. Miller, “Sedlo i sablia Tippu-Saiba” [“A Saddle and Sword Belonging to Tipoo Sahib”], *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* [Reports of the State Hermitage Museum] 10 [1956]: pp. 45–46). It has been suggested that the bird's head is that of the mythological bird Garuda, which appears frequently in Indian art (Miller, “Sedlo i sablia Tippu-Saiba,” p. 46). The seat of the saddle is covered in red satin with a white design (Miller, “Sedlo i sablia Tippu-Saiba,” p. 46).

853. Dr. Miller made an inquiry of the Department of Antiquities at the Hermitage. It has in its collection ancient Greek and Roman weaponry and some helmets from the Crimea, where archaeological excavations were carried on from the beginning of the nineteenth century, but no helmet from Herculaneum (Iu. Miller, St. Petersburg, to E. Harden, 19 October 2001). If we assume that Anna Whistler could have made a mistake in her attribution, we can propose that the object she saw was an ancient Greek bronze helmet, totally covered with rust, with two ear protectors, and decorations on it of consummate taste, found in a tomb in the environs of Kerch, a seaport in the Western Crimea, near ancient Panticapaeum (Seyger, *Katalog redkogo oruzh'ia*, vol. 2, p. 140, item 405).
854. See Image 394. This enormous lock was on the door of the Great Hall (Hall of Knights). It was found in 1839 in Jerusalem, in a ditch that encircled the wooden tower of David, and was obtained by the Russian consul in Jaffa, who sent it to the then minister of Finances, Count Kankrin, for presentation to Nicholas I. The lock is made of forged iron, weighs 38½ pounds, is square in shape, and is more than nine inches across. The mechanism consists of a cylinder four inches in diameter. The key, which is thirteen inches long and weighs five pounds, fits

into an opening made in the iron casing of the cylinder and at a certain distance from the orifice of the cylinder presses on six springs of the most clever construction, as a result of which the lock opens. To lock it again, one has only to remove the key and the springs return to normal position and go back into their chambers, once again uniting the opened parts. In the lower part of the lock may be seen an indentation which probably held a silver plate with a depiction of the cross of Jerusalem on it, but unfortunately the plate has been lost. The two sections comprising the head of the key also form a cross of Jerusalem. The coat-of-arms of the Jerusalem Latin Kingdom consists of a shield, on the silver of which is depicted a double gold cross, which is counter to the rule of heraldry that requires that color should not be placed on color nor metal on metal. This deviation from the accepted rule was made so that later generations should seek a valid reason as to why this incorrect coat-of-arms (*armes à enquérir*) was formed. The external appearance of the lock, together with its size and weight, prove that it was used for locking city or tower gates, while the representation of the cross of Jerusalem repeated on the lock and key may serve to indicate when it was made – probably at the end of the twelfth century, when the Crusaders still held Jerusalem. The lock has survived intact and in good working order, thanks to its thick iron walls, while the mechanism is located so deep that it could not be subject to rust. It was also preserved by the dry Jerusalem soil and the hot climate (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 129–130; Williams, *Holy City*, [pp. 504–505]); *Illustratsiia. Ezhenedel'noe izdanie vsego polez'nogo i iziashchnogo* [*Illustration: A Weekly Publication of All Things Useful and Elegant*], 2nd year, vol. 3, no. 25 [July 6, 1846] [no. 61]: pp. 390–399).

855. Both sets of equestrian accoutrements appear in Kaemmerer, *Tsarskosel'skii arsenal*, and both are cited as the gift of Sultan Mahmud II (1784–1839). The first set mentioned by Anna Whistler was presented to Nicholas I (see Image 420–423) as a token of gratitude for aid rendered in 1833, when he sent a detachment of Russian troops to Unkiar-Skelessi to stop Ibrahim Pasha, son of Mehemet Ali, who, after defeating the Turks at Nezib, was menacing Constantinople. This gift consisted of a saddlecloth, harness, pistols, holsters, and stirrups. The saddle cloth was made of dark blue cloth with a red cloth border and gold fringe. Along the border and in the corners were embroidered in thread of gold arrows, quivers, and torches intertwined with laurel leaves and decorated with large diamonds.

All the remaining pieces, except for the stirrups, were also studded with diamonds. The other set, consisting of a saddlecloth, harness, pistol holsters, and a saber, was sent to Nicholas I by Sultan Mahmud II after the conclusion of the Peace of Adrianople in 1829. The saddlecloth was made of pale lilac-colored cloth with diamonds along the border. The diamonds were placed in designs sewn with thread of gold depicting garlands of flowers and leaves tied with ribbons and bows. In the corners of the saddlecloth were military trophies also sewn with thread of gold and decorated with diamonds. The fringe on the saddlecloth was also thread of gold and decorated with brightly colored silk tassels. The saber had a Damascus steel blade 35 English inches long. The other parts of the saber and the scabbard were of gold, covered with pale lilac enamel with diamond garlands like those on the saddlecloth. The remaining pieces were made of glossy black leather and decorated with gold armatures and with many diamonds set in small panels of chased gold. The 1829 set is represented in Plate 29 of Kaemmerer, *Tsarskosel'skii arsenal*, the 1833 set in Plate 30. The detail given above is taken from the text in Kaemmerer, *Tsarskosel'skii arsenal* (facing the plates). Both sets are also described and historical detail given in the 1840 catalogue (Seyger, *Katalog redkogo oruzh'ia*, vol. 2, pp. 3–4) and the 1860 catalogue (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 201–202). Dr. Edward Maynard also drew these and enclosed the drawing in a letter to his wife in September 1845 (see Image 332). See also Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, pp. 199–207.

856. Pushkarev recorded in 1842 that the Armory had a portrait of Charles XII and plaster masks of Peter the Great (see Image 411) and Charles XII (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 74). In the 1860 catalogue, the portrait and masks are described in greater detail (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, pp. 80–81). Reference is made in the 1860 catalogue to Swedish cuirasses transferred to the Tsarskoe Selo Armory from the Narva Armory (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, p. 122), but no mention is made in these works of bejeweled swords taken from the Swedes in battles between Peter the Great and Charles XII. In response to this passage, Nils Drejholt of the Royal Armory in Stockholm pointed out that “there might be swords or sabres set with precious stones belonging to Swedish officers, but then they must have been taken as booty during the war or gifts from officer colleagues, they were never used in the field” (Nils Drejholt, Stockholm, to E. Harden, 18 January 2002). Dr. Yuri Miller said it would be rather difficult from such a description to establish which swords

- in the collection were the right ones, as the collection contains numerous swords of this type decorated with precious stones. It is possible, however, that trophies taken by Russian troops during the Northern War with Sweden did end up in the Armory at Tsarskoe Selo (Iu. Miller, St. Petersburg, to E. Harden, 19 October 2001).
857. Anna Whistler is referring to the Great Hall, or Hall of Knights, the octagonal room with a high vaulted ceiling on the second floor of the Armory (see Image 392). At the base of the vaulting, all around the hall, hung shields with the coats-of-arms of the provinces, painted by Fyodor Pavlovich Briullov (1793–1869). Here, too, were represented in natural size tableaus of a duel and a knight's initiation (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 3, p. 117; Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 75; Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, p. 131; Benois, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. xxxiii; Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, p. 112).
858. The basement floor of the Armory had rooms for servants and accommodations for housekeeping; on the lower (ground) floor were a vestibule, two reception rooms, a hall, a study, a library, and a bedroom; on the upper floor were a large hall and several adjacent studies (Gille, *Tsarskosel'skii muzei*, p. ii). The abovementioned bedroom was also referred to as the "Empress' room" and would have been at one time the sleeping quarters of Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna (see Image 419), wife of Alexander I (see Image 418). Pushkarev pointed out in 1842 that "Her Majesty's bedroom" had in it a cross given to Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) by Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (see Image 425) on 6 December (OS) 1837 (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1842, p. 75).
859. Plans for turning a part of the empress's study into an oratory were in process as early as 11/23 August 1844, less than a month after the death of her daughter (RGIA: Fond 487, op. 5, d. 1902. Po ustroistvu mole'noi komnaty v Novom Dvortse 11 Avgusta 1844g. – 20 Sentiabria 1848g. [Concerning the installation of the Oratory in the New Palace 11 August 1844 – 20 September 1848] [OS]). For a description of the completed oratory see the entry for August 12/24<sup>th</sup> Monday [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II and accompanying Note 487 and Image 452.
860. Although the work went on for more than a year, memorial services were held in the oratory on 28 July /9 August 1845, during remodeling, to commemorate the first anniversary of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna's death (RGIA: Fond



516, op. 28/1618, d. 154. *Zhurnal Kamer-Furierskoi dolzbnosti po polovine Gosudaria Imperatora Nikolaia Pavlovicha*, 1845 [*Chamberlain's Journal for the Apartments of Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich* for 1845], fol. 370v).

861. “The Bible teaches plainly, that as we die, whether converted or unconverted, whether believers or unbelievers, whether godly or ungodly, so shall we rise again when the last trumpet sounds. There is no repentance in the grave: there is no conversion after the last breath is drawn. Now is the time to believe in Christ, and to lay hold on eternal life” (John Charles Ryle, *Practical Religion: Being Plain Papers on the Daily Duties, Experience, Dangers, and Privileges of Professing Christians*, 3rd ed. [London and Ipswich: William Hunt, 1883], p. 318).
862. Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (see Image 425) would be returning from the maneuvers at Krasnoe Selo.
863. The problem of supplying water for the ponds of Tsarskoe Selo was solved in 1749 by bringing it from springs near the village of Bol'shoye Vittolovo, six kilometres northwest of Tsarskoe Selo. This water supply was later found to be insufficient and a new source was found, but at a greater distance. A conduit built between 1772 and 1787, in the reign of Catherine the Great (see Image 414), brought water from springs located in Taitsy, the estate of A.G. Demidov, sixteen kilometres from Tsarskoe Selo, and solved the water supply problem for the ponds and for drinking for a whole century (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 23; Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, pp. 14, 16).
864. There was a Chinese Village in the New (Alexander) Park, the construction of which had been undertaken in 1782 by Charles Cameron (1745–1812). It had originally been “designed by V. Neelov [1722–1782], possibly with the participation of Rinaldi” (c. 1710–1790) (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 280). While reflecting the reality of “a renewed interest in trade and political expansion in the direction of China,” “the creation of such artificial environments also signalled an ability to transform reality, a confrontation of nature and artifice characteristic of imperial estate design since the time of Peter I” (Brumfield, p. 270).

One of several Chinese bridges, the Great Chinese Bridge (*Bol'shoi Kitaiskii most*) Anna Whistler mentions, located close to the New (Alexander) Palace, was a stone bridge (see Images 389–390). The railings of this wide, flat bridge consisted of tall granite amphorae connected to one another by interwoven branches of

imitation coral, forged from wrought iron and painted red. The side walls of the bridge were faced with pink granite. There were four granite pedestals in the center portion of the bridge, two on each side, in a line with the amphorae and located above those points of the bridge where it rested on the edge of the grassy banks. On the pedestals at this time were four plaster Chinese figures dressed in national costumes of various colors and seated cross-legged. Each figure held a lantern on a pole in one hand. (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, pp. 100–101; Lemus et al., *Muzej i parki Pushkina*, p. 83; S.S. Bronshtein, *Arkhitektura goroda Pushkina [The Architecture of the Town of Pushkin]* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe arkhitekturnoe izdatel'stvo Akademii arkitektury SSSR, 1940), p. 34; *Pamiatniki arkitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, pp. 114–115).

865. Anna Whistler and Debo went to a house in Tsarskoe Selo where the employer of the governess, Miss McLean, lived. The house of Varvara Alekseevna Olenina (see Note 867 below and Image 306) was located in the Second District of the Third Ward on the corner of Kuz'minskaia and Kolpinskaia streets, numbered 173 and 174 (RGIA: Fond 485, op. 3, ed. khr. 801 Tsarskoe Selo. 2<sup>aia</sup> chast' III Kvartal General'nye plany uchastkov N 173, 174 na uglu Kolpinski i Kuz'minskoi ulits i fasady doma na nem, prinadlezhavshikh Oleninu i Stepanovu. Arkh. Nikitin N.E. 1840s, 1870s gg. [Tsarskoe Selo, Second District, Third Ward. General Plans of plots 173 and 174 on the corner of Kolpinskaia and Kuz'minskaia streets and facades of the house on it belonging to Olenin and later to Stepanov. Architect N.E. Nikitin. 1840s and 1870s]. On a plan in this file proposing changes to the house in the 1860s, there is evidence that the widowed (in 1843) V.A. Olenina became the owner in 1845.
866. Neither Miss McLean's first name nor important dates of her life appear in any of the documents I have consulted. Some additional information about Miss McLean and her life as a governess can be inferred from material in the Olenin Archive in the Rukopisnyi otdel Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki (RNB OR) [Manuscript Division of the Russian National Library], St. Petersburg. One item is a list, dated 7 February 1842, of subjects to be studied, set by the father of Miss McLean's charge when his daughter, nicknamed Aty (or Attie), was seven. They are: religion, Russian, French, German, English, geography, history, arithmetic, penmanship, drawing, music, and dancing. This is followed by a timetable showing that she had lessons every day of the week,

including Sunday, when for one hour in the morning she studied religion. The second item is a letter written by Aty to her father, when she was seven. Dated 9 June 1842 and written in good English, it mentions Miss McLean twice: “if I am good and learn well, dear Papa will you buy me a Microscope, I have been learning about Snow, and Miss McLean tells me that it is very curious to look at it through a Microscope ... Miss McLean begs to be remembered to Grand Mama and yourself.”

On a third item, which consists of verses in English, it says “Atty, aged 10 years!” In the hand of her mother, but apparently written at a much later date, it says: “To me” and “In childhood how well she wrote but later ...” The material copied here by the child is called “The Tzar and the two Shepherds.” It begins: “The Tzar has wandered from the city-gate.” The Tzar then meets two shepherds in succession. The first cannot by himself manage his “poor lean flocks,” decimated by the wolf because the shepherd’s lazy dogs sleep in the shade. The Tzar is comforted to see that there “is another sovereign, just like me.” But as he continues to wander, he meets “the loveliest flock that ever grazed” and finds their shepherd under a linden tree, playing a pipe. Though a lamb strays and the wolf appears, that shepherd’s vigilant dogs drive the wolf away. All the while, the shepherd goes on playing. The Tzar loses all patience with him and berates him for his lack of concern despite his success, but receives the answer: “Tzar! here no evil can betide my sheep / My dogs are faithful and they do not sleep.”

From these items we can infer that in August 1844 Miss McLean had been governess to Aty for at least two-and-a-half years; that somewhere in that long day of study, in addition to the subjects in the timetable set by the little girl’s father, she introduced her, and early, to the then unfeminine subject of science, and captured her interest; and that like many a British governess she attempted to give her foreign charge a political education along the way (RNB OR: Fond 542, no. 1011, Stoianovskaia (rozhd. Olenina) Al-dra Grig. Pis’ma (2) ee k ottsu, napisannye v 7-letnem vozraste, raspisanie zaniatii, i igrushechnoe izobrazhenie karety i uprazhneniia v angliiskom iazyke [Stoianovskaia (born Olenina) Al-dra Grig. Two letters to her father written at the age of seven, a timetable of lessons, a toy depiction of a carriage and exercises in the English language.]) The “toy depiction” consists of pictures of three types of carriages: one black and white, and two colored. On the back of each, it says “Made by Crichton and Feild Edinburgh,” who were

“coachmakers of Leith Walk” (Jeremy Howard, *William Allan: Artist Adventurer*, with contributions from John Morrison, Sara Stevenson and Andrzej Szczerski [Edinburgh: City of Edinburgh Museums and Galleries, 2001], p. 43).

Miss McLean was still with the family in the early 1850s, when the widowed Varvara Alekseevna was living on her Voronezh estate as well as in the city of Voronezh, and Aty was at least sixteen (N.N. Ogloblin, “Iz zapisnoi knizhki” [“From My Notebook”], *Nasha starina* 5, no. 11 (1914): p. 489).

Miss McLean was the close friend of both Mrs. Eliza (Lamb) Maingay and her daughter, Eliza Ann Maingay. The Maingay family had returned to England permanently in May 1844. See Maingay in Appendix E and Images 259, 262.

867. As Anna Whistler had just made the acquaintance of Miss McLean, she may have had in mind three other governesses. It has not been possible to determine who they were, but Miss McMaster was probably one of them.
868. Varvara Alekseevna (Olenina) Olenina (3/15 February 1802 – 15/27 September 1877; see Image 306) was the elder daughter of Aleksei Nikolaevich Olenin (28 November /9 December 1763 – 17/29 April 1843; see Image 307), from 1811 until his death director of the Imperial Public Library and from 1817 until his death president of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. Her name was pronounced “Ahlay’nyeenuh,” which Anna Whistler heard as “O Lainy.” Olenina had a weak constitution, and both she and her daughter were so short that, as she told it, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich called them “dwarfs” (Ogloblin, “Iz zapisnoi knizhki,” p. 489). They had inherited their tiny stature from Olenina’s father, whose surname had engendered the pun “O le nain” (“Oh, the dwarf?”) (Mary Stuart, *Aristocrat—Librarian in Service to the Tsar: Aleksei Nikolaevich Olenin and the Imperial Public Library*, East European Monographs, no. 211 [Boulder, CO: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 1986], p. 71).
869. The daughter was Aleksandra Grigorievna Olenina (29 August /10 September 1834 – 21 January /2 February 1899), called Aty, who at this point in August 1844 was almost ten years old. She married Nikolai Ivanovich Stoianovskii (31 December 1820 / 12 January 1821 – 20 May /1 June 1900), who became an actual privy councilor, state secretary, and member of the State Council. He also wrote a biographical essay about his wife’s grandfather, Aleksei Nikolaevich Olenin (A.A. Olenina, *Dnevnik*.

- Vospominaniia* [Diary, Memoirs] [St. Petersburg: Gumanitarnoe agentstvo – Akademicheskii pro"ekt, 1999], pp. 229, 240–241n25). The aforementioned memoirist was Anna Alekseevna Olenina (11/23 August 1808 – 15/27 December 1888), the sister of Varvara Alekseevna Olenina.
870. Henriette Wilhelmine (Bohlen) Halbach (15 September 1803 – 14 March 1870), and her daughter Alwine Halbach (6 March 1829 – 16 April 1890) were friends of Anna Whistler's from Philadelphia. They were related to her sister-in-law, Maria (Cammann) McNeill. See the biography of the Halbach family in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
871. Varvara Alekseevna Olenina's parents, upon their marriage in November 1791, were given a three-story house at 125 Fontanka in the Third Ward of the Third Admiralty District, between the Semenov and Obukhov bridges. After she herself married, the house was given to her in 1824 as a dowry (L.V. Timofeev, *V krugu družei i muž: Dom A.N. Olenina* [In the Circle of Friends and Muses: The Home of A.N. Olenin] [Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1983], pp. 10, 260). For differing information see Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 213n248.
872. On 3/15 February 1823, Varvara Alekseevna Olenina married a distant cousin, Grigorii Nikanorovich Olenin (1797 – 25 July / 6 August 1843) (see Image 306), son of Nikanor Mikhailovich Olenin and his third wife, Ekaterina Petrovna (Savel'eva) Olenina. As of 1827, he was a retired captain of the Guards General Staff. In 1830, he entered the civil service and carried out special assignments for the Ministry of Finance; in 1832, he became a member of the State Council and in 1840 achieved the fourth-highest grade in the Table of Ranks, that of actual state councilor. His resemblance to Emperor Alexander I (see Image 418) was apparently remarkable (Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 195n152). He died three months after his father-in-law. Varvara Alekseevna Olenina was thus in mourning for both her father and her husband when Anna Whistler met her, and had herself been confined to bed for seven months due to an attack of paralysis after these two deaths (Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 39).
873. An exquisite watercolor portrait of V.A. Olenina and her husband, executed by Karl Briullov in Rome in 1827 (today in the State Tret'iakov Gallery; see Image 306), does not, in my opinion, show a beautiful woman. The resemblance of her husband to Alexander I (see Image 418) can be seen in the bust of the former by Samuil Ivanovich Gal'berg (1787–1839), also executed in

- Rome in 1827 (today in the State Russian Museum) (Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 195n152, 211n243).
874. It has not been possible to ascertain who this Russian general was.
875. Varvara Alekseevna Olenina had one brother, two of whose sons could have been Colonel Todd's guest that afternoon. The eligible sons of her older brother, retired Major General Petr Alekseevich Olenin (21 December 1794 / 1 January 1795 – 22 August / 3 September 1868), were Aleksei Petrovich (26 January / 7 February 1833 – 1910) or Sergei Petrovich (b. 11/23 January 1834). His other sons were too young, as were those of her younger brother, Aleksei Alekseevich Olenin (30 May / 10 June 1798 – 25 December 1854 / 6 January 1855) (V.V. Rummel' and V.V. Golubtsov, *Rodoslovnyi sbornik russkikh dvorianskikh familii* [*Genealogies of Russian Noble Families*] [St. Petersburg: A.S. Suvorin, 1887], vol. 2, pp. 231–233; Olenina, *Dnevnik*, p. 163n9, 216n261).
876. It has not been possible to ascertain who the captain of the Horse Guards was.
877. The village of Pavlovskoe was presented at the end of 1777 by Catherine the Great (see Image 414) to her son, the Heir Apparent, Grand Duke Pavel Petrovich (1754–1801; see Image 417), and his wife, Grand Duchess Maria Fyodorovna (1759–1828; see Images 415–416). Here, in the 1780s, the Scottish architect Charles Cameron (1745–1812) built for them the Great Stone Palace, a villa in the Classical style, and was entrusted as well with creating a park, which resulted in seven individual landscape parks with temples, pavilions, sculpture, ponds, bridges, pastoral buildings, a dairy, and a farm. In 1796, when Grand Duke Pavel Petrovich became Emperor Paul I, the villa, as his official residence, was remodeled and expanded and the estate called Pavlovsk (P.E. Bukharkin, ed., *Os'mnadsatoe stoletie* [*The Eighteenth Century*], vol. 1 of *Tri veka Sankt-Peterburga Entsiklopediia* [*Three Centuries of St. Petersburg: An Encyclopedia*], 3 vols. [St. Petersburg: Filologicheskii fakul'tet Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2006], bk. 2, pp. 74–82). At the death of the Dowager empress in 1828, the estate passed to her son, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439). He agreed to permit the St. Petersburg–Tsarskoe Selo Railway to be extended into the park territory of Pavlovsk with its terminus at a pleasure garden (see Image 384). At his death in 1849, the estate passed to the second son of Nicholas I, Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (see Image 436), whose property it was until 1892 (L. Koval', *Pavlovsk. Dvoret. Park.*

*Putevoditel'* [Pavlovsk: *The Palace, The Park: A Guide*] [St. Petersburg: Art-Palas, 1998], pp. 21–28).

Anna Whistler uses the word “Pavloski,” which is the masculine nominative adjectival form “Pavlovskii” from the name of the estate, Pavlovsk. It would be clear to Russians that the expression intended was “Pavlovskii vokzal,” or “the Pavlovsk pleasure garden.” The second “v” in “Pavlovskii” is hard to hear and sometimes not pronounced.

878. Miller was Colonel Todd’s servant. It has not been possible to ascertain the name of the chasseur who replaced La Ronne.
879. It has not been possible to ascertain who the head gardener with “the supervision of the whole town” was. I believe Anna Whistler meant that the head gardener of the Imperial part of Tsarskoe Selo also supervised the landscaping of the entire town of Tsarskoe Selo.
880. The member of the Imperial family about whom this anecdote is told was Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439), the owner of Pavlovsk, and the person to whom he complained was the “pensioned officer [who] has superintendence of the grounds” (Jermann, *Pictures from St. Petersburg*, p. 218). This officer and the head gardener are not likely to be the same person (see previous Note). Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich did not suffer gladly any breaches of established behavior by his officers and was frequently the butt of jokes such as this (Vilinbakhov, Faibisovich, and Letin, *Khrabrye dela vashi*, p. 32).
881. The idea of creating a pleasure garden at Pavlovsk (see Image 384) belonged to the builder of the Tsarskoe Selo Railway, Franz von Gerstner (1796–1840). After the Tsarskoe Selo–Pavlovsk stretch was opened on 22 May (OS) 1838, he started the first musical evenings, which began as musical entertainment “by local ensembles and military bands” during dinner, and also dancing. Actual concerts were established somewhat later. In the early years, the railway administration thought the Pavlovsk Pleasure Garden could function year round. The director of the winter concerts, whose brief term lasted for part of 1839, was the Austrian violinist, choirmaster, and well-known composer of ballroom dances, Iosif Labitskii (1802–1881) “from Karlsbad in Bohemia.” A troupe of Moscow gypsies also had a successful run during the winter months, along with Labitskii. But despite their success, in January 1840 the administration of the railway took a decision to eliminate the winter performances. Overlapping with Labitskii’s tenure and appointed as the first permanent director

of summer concerts at the Pavlovsk Pleasure Garden was Jozef Hermann (see Image 201), from Vienna, who performed there for six summer seasons (1839–1844). Hermann’s successor from 1845–1848 was Johann Gungl (1828–1883). He was replaced by his uncle, Joseph Gungl (1810–1889), who gave concerts with his Berlin Symphony Orchestra in 1850–1855. From 1856 through 1865, and in 1869, the director was the famed Johann Strauss (1825–1899). While the first forty plus years were devoted to ballroom music, classical music was also performed, and a military orchestra at times vied with the concerts (N.B., “Pavlovskii vokzal” [“The Pavlovsk Pleasure Garden”], *Stolitsa i usad’ba* [*The Capital and the Country Estate*] 40–41 [September 1, 1915]; Haywood, *Beginnings*, pp. 127–128, 136, 138–139, 140, 141–142; Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn’ Peterburga*, pp. 118, 124, 140, 178; Rozanov, *Polina Viardo-Garsia*, pp. 24–62).

On 3/15 January 1844, almost all of the Pavlovsk Pleasure Garden burned down. By 13/25 May of the same year, the building was already rebuilt and reopened (Rozanov, *Polina Viardo-Garsia*, p. 37). Once again, Anna Whistler saw a freshly restored building.

882. For Hermann, see previous Note.
883. Anna Whistler wrote a second entry dated Wednesday [August] 28<sup>th</sup> that described the activities of *that* day.
- Persons mentioned in this entry who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Sarah Adams, niece of Major Whistler and his first wife (Sarah Adams); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s mother (Mother); Maria (Cammann) McNeill, sister-in-law, and Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, sister of Anna Whistler (Sisters); William Bonamy Maingay, brother of Debo Whistler’s dear friend in England, Emma Elizabeth Maingay (William Maingay, Mr. M); and William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, his wife (the Gellibrands). It has not been possible to ascertain the name of William Maingay’s coachman. In this entry, it is established that the Gellibrands’ dacha was located on the estate next to the one on which the Whistlers were living.
884. It has not been possible to locate this letter from William Gibbs McNeill to Major Whistler.
885. These houses were the Old Corner House in Stonington, Connecticut (see Image 37), and William Gibbs McNeill’s house at 67 Irving Place in New York.



886. These were Anna Whistler's Florida relatives. Charles was her brother, Charles Johnston McNeill (6 March 1802 – 2 March 1869); Sophia was Sophia Hermes (Gibbs) Couper (7 November 1812 – 20 March 1903); and Kingsley was Kingsley Beatty Gibbs (25 July 1810 – 16 October 1859). Sophia and Kingsley were Anna Whistler's first cousins, the children of her mother's sister, Isabella (Kingsley) Gibbs (13 January 1774 – 21 January 1838) and George Gibbs. Laura was Laura (Williams) Gibbs (1820–1892), the second wife of Kingsley Beatty Gibbs (married 14 January 1841). They were all apparently visiting in New York and Connecticut (Jacqueline K. Fretwell, "Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal of 1840–1843," *El Escribano: The St. Augustine Journal of History* 21 (1984): pp. 53, 61, 69, 86; Margaret Gibbs Watt, *The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand, 1337–1967* [Jacksonville, FL: Printed by the author, 1967], pp. 17, 20, 29–30, 77, 88, 100). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
887. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday [August] 29<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Catherine Julia McNeill, Deborah Whistler's first cousin (Jule); Sarah Adams, Deborah Whistler's first cousin (Sarah Adams); Emma Elizabeth Maingay, Deborah Whistler's close friend in St. Petersburg, now returned home to England (Emma); Reuben Goodale Fairbanks, an American employed in building the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway (Mr. Fairbanks, Mr. F); Pyotr, the Whistlers' coachman (our Péotre); William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, his wife (the Gellibrands, Mr. G, Mrs. G); William Hooper Ropes, merchant (Mr. Ropes) and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (Mrs. Ropes, his little wives) of the Gellibrand party.
888. "The English theologian and historian Thomas Fuller appears to be the first person to commit the notion that, 'the darkest hour is just before the dawn' to print. His religious travelogue *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine and the Confines Thereof*, 1650, contains this view: It is always darkest just before the Day dawneth. The source of the proverb isn't known. It may be Fuller himself, or he may have been recording a piece of folk wisdom. In 1858 ... Samuel Lover attributed the notion to the Irish, in *Songs and Ballads*." ("The Meaning and Origin of the Expression: The Darkest Hour," The Phrase Finder website).
889. The reference is to Mary Swift (1826–1884), daughter of Captain William Henry Swift (6 November 1800 – 7 April 1879) and Mary (Stewart) Swift (c. 1804 – November 1837). Her married name

was Ironside. She was Deborah Whistler's first cousin, as her father was the brother of Major Whistler's first wife. See Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside in Appendix E.

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).

890. Reuben Goodale Fairbanks's wife was Lucy S. Webb (b. Windham, CT 24 November 1806). They married on 11 March 1831 in Windham, Connecticut (certified copy of the Fairbanks/Webb Marriage Record, Office of the Town Clerk for the Town of Windham, Willimantic, CT). In 1844, Reuben and Lucy Fairbanks then had four children: Mary Eleanor (b. 16 June 1837); Henry Webb (b. 9 September 1840); Sarah Lucy (b. 23 September 1841); and Annie Julia (b. 29 January 1843). Mary Eleanor was 7 years old; Henry Webb was almost 4; Sarah Lucy was almost 3; and Annie Julia was 17 months old. See Fairbanks in Appendix E.
891. Attempts to ascertain whether Mr. Fairbanks's family was in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, produced negative results. The censuses were of no help, as the time period was between the 1840 and 1850 censuses. Anna Whistler frequently made mistakes in recounting details of other people's biographies. Perhaps the family went to Litchfield, New York, while Mr. Fairbanks was away, to stay with his relatives. See Fairbanks in Appendix E.
892. Anna Whistler is referring to the recent takeover of Tahiti by the French and the exile of its queen, Pomare IV (1813–1877; see Image 293). Pomare was queen from 1827 until her death. She was deposed in November 1843 by the French, who then made Tahiti their protectorate. In March 1844, Queen Pomare was taken by the British at her own request to the island of Raiatea, where she was to live in exile for almost three years. She wrote to Queen Victoria, pleading for British protection, but received a letter from Lord Palmerston, who said only that "Her Britannic Majesty ... was 'strongly interested' in the prosperity of the islands, but 'must decline entering into any engagement of the kind suggested'" (David Howarth, *Tahiti: A Paradise Lost* [London: Harvill Press, 1983], p. 213; see also Edward Dodd, *The Rape of Tahiti*, vol. 4 of *The Ring of Fire*, 5 vols. [New York: Dodd, Mead, 1983], chapters 5–15).
893. "Darbys and Joans" is a reference to devoted, long-married couples, especially of advanced years. The probable source is an

eighteenth-century song: “The Joys of Love Never Forgot: A Song” (*Gentleman’s Magazine* 5 (1735), p. 153):

Old Darby with Joan by his side,  
 You’ve often regarded with wonder;  
 He’s dropsical, she is fore-ey’d,  
 Yet they’re ever uneasy asunder.  
 Together they totter about,  
 Or sit in the sun at the door;  
 And at night when old *Darby’s* pot’s out,  
 His *Joan* will not smook a whiff more.

894. The misses Wilks were the daughters of Grafton (bap. Leeds, Yorkshire 17 December 1779 – St. Petersburg 24 May / 5 June 1830) and Elizabeth (von Kettler) Wilks (bap. St. Petersburg 30 August (OS) 1791 – St. Petersburg 28 September /10 October 1864), who were married in St. Petersburg on 28 June /10 July 1813. The daughters were: Cornelia (bap. 20 January 1815), Mary Ann (3/15 October 1819 – 30 October 1895), and Elizabeth (b. 24 April /1 May 1824). Of the three, Cornelia was born in Leeds, Yorkshire. Mary Ann Wilks married Henry Richard Cattley (27 October 1818 – 13 December 1898) on 17/29 May 1846; Cornelia Wilks married Charles Moberley, widower, Russia Company agent in St. Petersburg, on 25 September /7 October 1846 (PREC STP, nos. 2525, 5609, and 5644).
895. “Home, Sweet Home” was written by John Howard Payne (1791–1852), American actor and playwright. Originally, the song was part of the opera *Clari, the Maid of Milan* (1823), music by Sir Henry Rowley Bishop (1786–1855) (Gerald Bordman and Thomas S. Hischak, *Oxford Companion to American Theatre*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004], s.v. “*Clari, the Maid of Milan*”).
896. 1 Corinthians 1. This epistle begins with Paul’s salutation to the Corinthians and continues with his exhortation to unity.
897. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday Sept 13<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary to the American Legation (Maxwell, Mr. Maxwell, Mr. M, his young friend, his friend, his young master, their kind friend, her countryman, our young friend); Le Ronne, Maxwell’s servant (Le Rond); Deborah Delano Whistler (Sister); William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, his wife (the Gellibrands); Martha Reed Ropes, sister of Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Martha); and Ellen Harriet

(Hall) Ropes, sister-in-law of Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and Martha Reed Ropes (Mrs. Ropes, Mama).

898. “I reached the Imperial City on Wednesday - Sept 11<sup>th</sup> at 12 M. after an absence of precisely three months – less four days ... There was my friend the Major [see Images 7–8, 21] on the outskirts of the crowd, and several other well known faces to give me welcome” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).
899. Anna Whistler says “in my heart” because she did not actually go to meet the boat, but waited in their rooms at Dom Ritter. Maxwell explains:

I thought of proceeding to the Hotel de Paris, but the Major, knowing perhaps the queer things that sometimes happened there, insisted that I should not, and prevailed upon me to go to Miss Benson’s, near at hand, upon the river, and a few doors from the house he had taken for the winter. He went with me. I knew Miss Benson, as hers was the house the American Minister had occupied last winter - I engaged rooms and this done, “Come”, said the Major “Miss Whistler is waiting to see you”. I went out with him and I soon discovered this lady upon the balcony of an adjoining house. It was the house. a part of which they had hired. I entered and of course was rejoiced to find myself in the presence of so good a friend. They had I suspect come to town to meet me, for I left them when they stepped into a carriage to return home, having promised to join them in the evening. (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43)

Maxwell may have intended to say “It was the Ritter House.” There is no blank space, but there is a carat between “the” and “house.” See Benson in Appendix E.

900. “I then paid my respects to the Consul, who is in a most miserable state of health, and learned from him that Colonel Todd, had left only three days before to attend the coronation at Stockholm” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43). Abraham P. Gibson (1791–1852; see Image 279) was from 1819 to 1850 the American consul in St. Petersburg.
901. “I ... jumped into the cold water of the Neva, dressed and rode out to Dom Drury, where I found myself as happy as if I had just

- reached home. The boys were glorious - Miss Whistler as musical and as amiable as ever, and I was introduced to Miss McNeil, a maiden Sister of Mrs Whistler, who left the Highlands to winter here. I remained one day in the country and learned all that had transpired during my absence” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).
902. “As the boat came along side the pier, I discovered my old servant, standing all ready, on duty, as stiff as a poker, his moustaches curled up on both ends, and displaying in his visage no signs of joy except those that shot out of his eyes” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).
903. Anna Whistler pointed out on several occasions that Aunt Alicia was an American because she had been born in North Carolina.
904. Maxwell humorously alluded to a privilege of his post: “Holding my passport open before me, and displaying before the crowd of officials the great seal of state attached thereto, I marched freely and unimpeded upon the strand and the luggage - including the despatches; that is, a hundred real Havana’s for the Major and a dozen cambric handkerchiefs for Mrs Whistler; followed after” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).
905. Emily Mosley Law was born on 7/19 November 1827 (d. 2/14 February 1880), but there was another daughter, Isabella Sarah, born on 30 March /11 April 1830 (d. 1/13 February 1866). However, the name Emily is given in the diary as that of the youngest Law daughter (PREC STP for 1830, p. 142; *Foster’s Peerage*, p. 264). See Law in Appendix E.
906. This is a Russian command meaning “faster,” spelled “skorey” and pronounced “skahray’.” Anna Whistler adds an English suffix that gives it the meaning “urging him to go faster.” The cart is called a “lineika” (pronounced “linyey’kuh”).
907. Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes had to go to Louisa Harriet Ropes, her youngest child (b. 18 November 1843).
908. Todd had left a letter with Major Whistler for Maxwell when departing for the coronation in Stockholm: “It was his wish that I should remain for the winter in his society, that he could not give me, leave of absence, but would if I insisted receive my resignation ... Of course I must remain for two or three weeks

until his return, when I shall I think make my arrangements and leave Russia” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 15, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 42; and an unnumbered letter to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Hamburg, Aug. 31, 1844).

909. The Whistlers’ apartment was in a house “a few doors from” the misses Benson’s boarding house and was “a very fine one” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, entry of October 4 in letter of September 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43). The house was registered in the name of Mariia Ivanova Ritter, wife of a Narva merchant, Robert Vil’gel’mov Ritter. Announcement of its purchase was recorded on 24 June (OS) 1837 in a register listing city residents (Tsentral’nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Sankt Peterburga (TsGIA SPb) [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg]: Fond 781, op. 4, d. 78 Alfavit gorodskoi obyvatel’skoi knigi “R” [Alphabetical book, letter “R”, of city residents], 1820, f. fol. 34. Although dated 1820, the volume goes up to 1873. The address of the house was No.  $\frac{237}{293}$  English Embankment, First Admiralty District, First Ward. Anna Whistler clearly recorded in her first diary entry after moving in that it was called Ritter’s house and noted this fact more than once. The family lived on the third floor.

Two books by T.A. Solovieva on the history of the buildings on the English Embankment – the second (2004) a fuller version of the first (1998) – while they give much valuable information, require further research on the house in which the Whistlers lived. These books create several problems, the most important of which is the ownership of the house. Apparently, this particular building was unusual in that at times “[in] its history it was divided into two separate houses,” “then united into one again” (T.A. Solovieva, *K prichalam Angliiskoi naberezhnoi. Putevoditel’* [To the Piers of the English Embankment: A Reference Guide], Po ‘glavnoi ulitse’ Sankt-Peterburga [Along “The Main Street” of St. Petersburg] [St. Petersburg: Icarus, 1998], p. 164; this is a bilingual Russian–English edition, but the translation given here is mine). The Whistlers are said to have lived in the house on the right, but the owners from whom they rented are given as the Shakhovskoi family, members of the nobility, to whom the house belonged as of 1796 (Solovieva, *K prichalam*, p. 153). The name of Ritter is not mentioned at all in conjunction with either the right or the left house. In a phone conversation, Solovieva, in answer to my

objections, said she would research further, but I have not since heard from her; therefore, the only information about the building that can be accepted by me for the time being is the record in the “Book of City Residents” and what Anna Whistler herself writes about their home. For a discussion of house ownership in St. Petersburg, see Krasnova, *Domovladieniia Sankt-Peterburga*, pp. 212, 214, 215.

910. Persons mentioned in the entry for Sept 23<sup>d</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Thomas Drury Sr., the Whistlers’ dacha landlord, and his wife, Mary (Little) Drury (Mr. Drury, our good old landlord, the Drurys); William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, his wife (Mr G, the Gellibrands); Alexander Drury, son of Colonel Thomas Drury Jr. and Caroline (Bajinsky) Drury, and grandson of Thomas Drury Sr., the Whistlers’ dacha landlord (T’scharsinka); William Hooper Ropes, whose family were now the Whistlers’ neighbors across the hall in Ritter’s house (Mr Ropes); John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation (Mr Maxwell, this countryman of ours); Joseph Samuel Ropes, brother of William Hooper Ropes and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Mr Joseph Ropes); George Henry Prince, first cousin to Joseph Samuel Ropes, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, and William Hooper Ropes (Mr Geo Prince). The dacha neighbors were Thomas Drury Sr. on one side and William and Elizabeth (I’Anson) Drury, his son and daughter-in-law, on the other side.
911. On Tuesday, 17 September 1844, the Whistlers returned to St. Petersburg.
912. Mary T. Gellibrand to Wm. Ladd Ropes, Peterhoff road, Sept. 7/19 [1844], MHS: Ropes Papers. William Ladd Ropes was her first cousin.
913. On Tuesday, 24 September 1844, Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) left on another inspection trip with Count P.A. Kleinmikhel’ (see Image 243).
914. On Friday, 20 September 1844, the family wrote letters to be sent with the diplomatic courier.
915. Anna Whistler called her brother, William Gibbs McNeill “Mac” (see Image 31).
916. George Henry Prince noted the evening of Saturday, 21 September 1844 in his journal:

Sept. 11/23, 1844. On Saturday I dined at the house of Major Whistler, or “The Major” as we call him here among ourselves. Had a good dinner and enjoyed myself much after dinner ... Mis[s] Whistler (the graceful “Debo” - Deborah) sang and played on both piano and harp. The Major gave us some Irish songs and the little boys made sports for us. Mrs. W. seemed pleased to have her countrymen as guests and spared no trouble to have all first rate. There were three of us - M. Maxwell, Joseph (Ropes) and your humble servant. (Raymond and Prince, “Whistler,” p. 13)

917. Mr. Hedenschoug is intended, but Anna Whistler wrote only half of his initial. What looks here like an uppercase F in her cursive writing is the first half of an uppercase H.
918. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday [Sept.] 26<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Charles Donald Whistler, who had died a year earlier on the *John Bull* en route to St. Petersburg (Charlie, little one); George William Whistler, the eldest Whistler child (gentle George); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (“Aunt Alicia”); Joseph Swift Whistler, who died at the age of fifteen on 1 January 1840 (Joe); Henry Cammann McNeill, who died at the age of ten on 7 August 1840 (Henry); Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’, head of the Department of Transport and Public Buildings (Count Kleinmikhel’); Aleksandr, the Whistlers’ servant (Alexander); Fyodor, the Whistlers’ dvornik (Fedor); William Hooper Ropes, whose family lived across the hall from the Whistlers (Mr. R., Mr. Rs); George Henry Prince, Mr. Ropes’s first cousin (Geo Prince); John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation (Mr. Maxwell, Mr M); Hugh Maxwell, father of John Stevenson Maxwell (his fathers farm); William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (Mr. Gellibrand); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, wife of William Hooper Ropes (Mrs. Ropes); Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, and Lousa Harriet Ropes, daughters of Willam Hooper Ropes and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (children); Mary McNeill, daughter of William Gibbs McNeill and niece of Anna Whistler (Mary McNeill).
919. On Sunday, 22 September 1844, Anna Whistler did not go to church, because she was overcome by memories of Charles Donald’s death on the *Alexandra* a year before on 24 September.
920. “Aaglitzkie Tscierkoff” means “English Church.” The adjectival form given here was used in the seventeenth and eighteenth



centuries and appeared in the literary works of Nikolai Leskov in the nineteenth century. Anna Whistler would have learned it from her English friends, who were making an “in joke.” For a linguistic explanation, see Maks Fasmer, *Ètimologicheskii slovar’ russkogo iazyka* [*Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language*], ed. B.A. Larin, trans. and with additions by O.N. Trubachev, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (Moscow: Progress, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 60– 61. In regular Russian parlance at this time, “English Church” would have been “Angliiskaia tserkov’.”

921. 1 Thessalonians 4:13: “But I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.”
922. The message of 1 Corinthians 15 is the resurrection of the dead, with Christ’s resurrection as the pledge of our own.
923. See John 11: 1–44, also on the resurrection of the dead.
924. See Notes 139 and 140 above. On 4 November 1844, Major Whistler received his first letter from George, dated 26 April 1844, Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands. George had been in Honolulu three days when he learned of a vessel sailing for Kamchatka and took the opportunity to write and bring his family up to date on his life from the time he had left Anna Whistler at Travemünde. The *Lausanne*, in which he had sailed to the Sandwich Islands, was not going to the mouth of the Columbia River, as originally scheduled, but returning immediately to the United States. As George did not wish to arrive in the United States in winter, he planned to leave the *Lausanne* and visit the various islands, returning home on another ship the next summer (1845). He was in good spirits. His health had improved constantly from the time of his departure from New York, so much so that he considered himself quite well. He had had some hard times, however: they had “lost all their fresh provisions and vegetables soon after sailing and lived upon nothing but salt pork and beef and rice for 140 days” (Major G.W. Whistler to General Joseph Gardner Swift, St. Petersburg, entry of November 5 in letter of October 28, 1844, NYPL: Swift Papers). It has not been possible to locate the letter of young George Whistler, the contents of which Major Whistler imparts to Gen. J.G. Swift (see Image 11).
925. 1 Thessalonians 4:15–18: “<sup>15</sup> For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep.

<sup>16</sup> For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: <sup>17</sup> Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. <sup>18</sup> Wherefore comfort one another with these words.”

It has not been possible to identify the friend who sent Anna Whistler this volume concerning resurrection.

926. Sweet Louly is Louisa McNeill, daughter of William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill, who died on Ash Wednesday 1840 at the age of eight (Anna Whistler to James Whistler [no place given] Monday morning Oct 30th [1853], GUL: Whistler Collection, W439). This letter was written in 1853: i.e., in the same year as the death of William Wyatt McNeill, which occurred on 4 June 1853 and is mentioned in this letter.
927. Major Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21) and Count P.A. Kleinmikhel’ (see Image 243) had left for an inspection trip on Tuesday, 24 September 1844.
928. William Ropes and Company’s counting house had moved to its new location in the Ropeses’ apartment during the summer of 1844 (Raymond and Prince, “Whistler,” p. 11, entry of July 5/17, 1844).
929. Communicants of the Russian Orthodox Church were required to take a weekly bath.
930. The autumnal equinox occurs on 22 or 23 September. The sun crosses the equator and makes day and night of equal length everywhere on earth. “Equinox” also refers to gale-force storms that occur in this period (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “equinox”).
931. Anna Whistler is referring to Wednesday, 25 September 1844.
932. The boxes would go to Cronstadt on Friday, 27 September, and the ship would sail for New York on 28 September. The ship was the *Elsinore*, Captain Julius, who “has now on board his ship the greater part of my effects and some presents for you” (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 30, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 43).
933. Mary T. Gellibrand to Wm. Ladd Ropes [her first cousin], Peterhoff road, Sept. 7/19 [1844], MHS: Ropes Papers.
934. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday [Sept.] 27<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill,

Anna Whistler's mother (dear Mother); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Sister Alice); Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my Twin Sister Eliza); and John Stevenson Maxwell, secretary of the American Legation (Mr. Maxwell).

935. "Moscow silk," was not, strictly speaking, silk. A factory named "Moscow Silk" was opened in 1820 on the bank of the Moscow River in the former Savvinskaia patriarchal district by the Moscow merchant, Rodion Dmitrievich Vostriakov, who owned it for 35 years. It came to occupy a prominent position among textile and trimmings factories in Moscow. The Moscow Silk Factory produced calico, which is a printed cotton fabric ("Moscow silk," *Wikipedia*, accessed 16 January 2021, [https://ru.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Moscow\\_silk&oldid=111765176](https://ru.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Moscow_silk&oldid=111765176)). Anna Whistler was therefore buying high-quality, fast-printed calico cloth to send to her family in Stonington and New York.
936. "Kazan shoes" are boots of soft leather without demarcation of a sole and heel (see Image 365).
937. In explaining to his father (see Image 55) about the six packages he was sending home and hoped would "reach New York before Christmas," Maxwell pointed out that one box contained presents "from M<sup>r</sup> Ropes for M<sup>r</sup> [George] Newbold [(1780–1858)] the President of the Bank [of America]," while the "box sealed with purple ribbon [was] from M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler" and was to be sent "to M<sup>r</sup> Cammann's office [Cammann and Whitehouse] in Wall Street with word to send it to Stonington." In the event that his father should balk at suffering "any inconvenience in this matter," Maxwell urged him to do it anyway, and reminded him: "I have, in illness and in health, found friends and companions in the families of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Ropes and Whistler and for the latter I hold an affection both true and steadfast. There is nothing under heaven that is fair that Major Whistler would not do for me, and I assure you, there is nothing honourable I would not do for him" (John S. Maxwell to Mr. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Oct. 5, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 44). See also Emma W. Palmer to E.R. Pennell with copy of a note from James Whistler to his cousin, Amos Palmer, Letters Relating to Whistler, LC: P-W, box 296.

Amos Palmer (1827–1861) was the son of Anna Whistler's brother-in-law, Dr. George Edwin Palmer (1803–1868; see Image 36), and his first wife, Emma Ann (Woodbridge) Palmer (1802–

1839), and brother to Emma Woodbridge Palmer. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.

## THE ST. PETERSBURG DIARIES OF ANNA MCNEILL WHISTLER

### PART II: 1845–1848

St Petersburg. March 1845 Ash Wednesday – Old Style – <sup>1</sup>

Something occasionally has whispered me since hearing of the comfort my dear Mother takes in reading my last years journal that I ought for her sake to note down whatever interests me during my absence, to transmit to her, & altho my life yeilds little variety & therefore self & my own thoughts must oftenest be the theme I shall not fear her criticism will be harsh or that one so indulgent, will turn away from my egotism. Perhaps I may revert to a few striking events during the past Winter on another page, but today shall begin my remarking upon the delightful length of day light, which induces me to rise early & to leave my room in good time to see that my darling boys are at their scripture lessons & hymns, to attend somewhat to the preparations for breakfast, to order up the “Sumavaa”<sup>2</sup> & to ring the prayer bell for my family devotions before eight oclock when we seat ourselves at table, after the blessing Jemie gives us a verse from the psalms, Willie another & I who wish to encourage them in the practise am ready with my response, thanks to our dear friends the Nichols<sup>3</sup> for the sweet example! One to look out upon the bright sun shine these days & very clear sky might be tempted to hope a balmy spring temparature, but Winter still has his severe grasp firm as it has been these three months, the Thermometer still testifies to 22 deg Ro-<sup>4</sup> & really returning from Church this noon as we met the sharp wind I feared little Willies cheeks would be frost bitten. We find our rooms fronting the Neva penetrated by it thro the double sashes & I am at this moment wrapped in my grey Duffle Cloak<sup>5</sup> with feet upon a heated stool, with the desk dear Mr Winstanley presented me drawn to the warmest corner of my room- close by the Peach, which communicates heat to the drawing room. I try to think more of my comforts than of the extreme cold, but Oh how thankful I shall be when

the weather moderates so that Jemmies long imprisonment may end & Willie can have double enjoyment in having this dear brother with him on the skating ground, or at the ice hills. Whistler would go to Alexandrofsky after our two o'clock dinner, tho it is so terrible to meet the icy breeze, wrapped in a Shube with a seal skin cap & fur boots he looks defiance, & business admits of no holidays to him but the blessed Sabbath, when he shuts his Chancelery to all & we feel more than ever did before that it is our Heavenly Fathers next best provision to us poor mortals to the Bible. Last week was the beginning of festivities in the Square called Marcelaneetza, or butter week —<sup>6</sup> it is a sort of reconciliation to the severe fast upon which the poor Russians have entered *this*, now of course all trace of amusement has disappeared until Easter, the food of the poorer classes will now be brown bread & oil or salt for six weeks, ah how lamentable that those who ought to be their spiritual guides should not understand our Saviours words “not to appear unto men to fast.”<sup>7</sup> This morning we read the [58th] Chap of Isaiah<sup>8</sup> instead of continuing our course of the Acts of the Apostles<sup>9</sup> & afterwards as I listened to the gospel appointed for Ash Wednesday,<sup>10</sup> it struck me how exactly they accorded, in the first we are told to deal out bread to the hungry, & in the other not to lay up treasures upon earth, evidently shewing that self denial & a readiness to contribute of our abundance is the acceptable *fast* in the sight of Him who knows our besetting sin to be selfishness. Yet far be it from me to condemn restraint upon personal indulgence of our appetites at this especial season which the fathers of our church have recommended by their example, but individual conviction must make it beneficial, & it should be improved for self examination & the study of Gods word to advance us in our course heavenward, where the worst of us *hope* to arrive after the trials of this life are over, therefore I would that all who belonged to me would make this distinction between Lent & other seasons, that they would withdraw more from the world, to prevent any dissipation of thought or time, which properly observed year by year would be a source of thankfulness throughout all Eternity. These anniversaries always carry my reflections to the rest prepared for the people of God. My little darling niece Looly<sup>11</sup> has been much in my thoughts today, if memory serves me right it is five years today since her Saviour took her back to

His own bosom, & propably now her dear mothers thoughts mingle with mine – How consoling that hearts can sympathise tho Russia & America are in opposite hemispheres! Last week how favored I was by letters from Maria & Kate, but above all my own gentle Mothers was full of love, I considered these as New Years presents from home, the most acceptable I could have received! What a contrast their open winter is to ours here, Kate gathered violets in her parterre on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Jan! she gratifies me by remarking that her little fair haired Georgy<sup>12</sup> reminds every body continually of my heaven born baby Charlie! ah how thankful I am when any of those who loved that gentle one, write me of him, for he is not dead to me! he is always upon his bereaved mothers pillow & his fond tones mingled with Kirxies & all “who have gone before” sound in memory when all other voices are hushed in sleep. – But here comes my good boy Jemmie with his history in hand to read to me as he does every afternoon= previous to coursing his German with Mademoiselle<sup>13</sup> before tea= we were fearful the boys should lose their own language, in other tongues, & thus I gain a half hours enjoyment from hearing each of them read daily. May God answer my prayers for their happiness

Tuesday March 25<sup>th</sup> <sup>14</sup> Every week I feel how swiftly time flies yet can scarcely realize that it will be a fortnight tomorrow since I began what was intended as a journal But there is so little variety in my domestic life that nothing has offered worthy of record. I sent off letters to my dear mother & Kate by the last Courier, & began to write M<sup>rs</sup> Lee<sup>15</sup> of Springfield in anticipation of the next opp for Liverpool. On Wednesday Whistler left us early in the morning & took a charming sledge ride to Cronstadt with M<sup>r</sup> Ropes a distance of 29 versts on the Neva, they described it as something like old times in America, with their bells & wishing we had been with them, the road was so smooth & the weather so bright, with no wind they were sure we should have enjoyed it, but as they had gone purposely to dine with Capt Kruger<sup>16</sup> of course we had not thought of it, he is an uncommonly interesting sailor to me, for his manners are softened by his deep religious feelings, & Whistler as much as myself is glad to welcome this Englishman to our parlor circle when he can spend an evening in town. he treated them to “Sea pie” an excellent dish, from their description must be like a hodge podge from its variety of meat, vegetables & pasty stewed in a pot. Debo to beguile

the tedium of her fathers absence had invited the Misses Wilkes<sup>17</sup> to tea, & Mrs Ropes being deserted came in to join our ladies party, but it damped all our spirits that Aunt Alicia was taken ill & obliged to keep her bed, she suffered several days from a cold she had taken, I was not aware how unwell she felt when I went the same day with our dear boys in Col Todds chariot & *four* to the ice hills, they have been thronged lately as it not probable the season can last cold enough for them much longer. The Rizzleys<sup>18</sup> were there, as it was my first rencontre I was rather astonished at M<sup>r</sup> R seizing me by the hand as an old friend, but probably he was thus eager to meet me only as a countrywoman, his little boys of five & seven years old were steering themselves alone as if accustomed to the steep hills all their days. of course my James felt impatient to try his skill, but as there was a shower of snow while we remained I feared their taking additional colds, & they always find gentlemen glad to afford them protection & a kneeling place behind their sledges. I was very much mortified at witnessing the capsize of our Ambassador while he condescended to go down hill with one of the young Englishmen, it is an amusement only suited to Col Todds grand children! but he is not easily discouraged by failures in foreign languages or customs & since then has had several tumbles, for the ice hills are the rage & he has his own little sledge there & is learning to pilot himself. Last thursday evening instead of Debo going to the German Singing Society<sup>19</sup> she was taken ill as my sister had been, with chill, fever & nausea, an epidemic it seems, I dont think she has suffered as much in many years, she is not yet able to leave her room, tho this afternoon she is enjoying M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes cheerful chat. what a dear kind neighbour this little lady is to us, when she came in with her work just now I thought "she finds time for every thing" for tho kept awake last night three hours by her Loulou<sup>20</sup> who is teething, I found her gay as a lark & busy as a bee when I went to enquire after baby this morning, then she went to drive all the way to M<sup>rs</sup> Woods<sup>21</sup> thro sleet & wind (for that friend is ill) after which I heard her practising singing (my room is between her drawing room & ours & I can hear all her high notes her voice is so powerful) soon her good little husband will be returning from Change & then she will go in to cheer him at dinner & devote her evening to him, for when not engaged in his Counting house they are inseparable, she really is a pattern of a Christian,



wife & young mother & I have never known her fine temper ruffled. Last Sunday according to a previous notice D<sup>r</sup> Law preached a most admirable charity sermon for the poor funds of the British Factory, bringing before us our debt to them individually, that thro their supporting the Chapel we were all enjoying the blessed privilege of hearing the word of God in our native tongue in a strange land, & proving to us how many were the demands upon the munificence from British emigrants & poor,<sup>22</sup> my good husband said if his purse had been full he should have willingly emptied it in so right a cause. little Willie tho not at all well had gone to church purposely to give his mite, one of the large vases at the door was opened for the offerings of the congregation & as the attendance was very general I hope a handsome sum was collected. But my wish is soon to take to M<sup>rs</sup> Law a contribution for the private charities of herself & our pastor, the world knows not how many apply to them of the humblest, poorest class of British poor, they have lately taken rooms over on Vasili Ostrow to give an Asylum to some houseless, aged wanderers<sup>23</sup> & the Sacrament offerings aid in supporting them, but of course it is not sufficient. M<sup>rs</sup> Law made great efforts to establish a Hospital to which was to have been attached a poors school, she held a Bazaar at the Parsonage in the Christmas holidays for it, but the factory opposed it<sup>24</sup> & as they called D<sup>r</sup> Law twenty four years ago, he is still their servant. but he prays that God in his own good time will enlarge their views, that he may be allowed to do more for the cause of Christ in this land. Whistler described to me what a pretty neat Chapel & parsonage is the English one at Cronstadt,<sup>25</sup> (M<sup>r</sup> Williams is still preaching there)<sup>26</sup> ah how much I wish I could worship once in that sanctuary where the body of my baby Charlie was placed until it was sent to its narrow bed across the Atlantic! But now I must summon my James to read, it is nearly six oclock & I would not in sad sweet reveries of the dead, neglect my duty as a mother to the dear boys God still spares to us. As we were walking from Church on Sunday, our Ambassador overtook Whistler & I, he seemed very eager to report to us what had occupied him all the day previous, three hours he had been among the Diplomatic Corps at the Kazan Church attending the funeral of the Countess Straughanoff,<sup>27</sup> the patroness of every benevolent & charitable institution she had been & she was universally beloved, as her

death is now lamented. Then the Col told us of the English Club<sup>28</sup> dinner he had attended where he made a speech in Russ. comparing queen Victoria to the Queen of Sheba, but reversing the rule, by alluding to the Emperor Nicholas' visit (as king Solomon) to her court.<sup>29</sup> the col was quite satisfied as his fancies amused the Russians as much as English present.

Tuesday. April 1<sup>st</sup> <sup>30</sup> Having just despatched my letters by the English Courier for the Boston Steamer (to Mother Maria & M<sup>rs</sup> Lee I will record the delight I experienced last evening when my young countryman George Prince came in with his hands full of American letters<sup>31</sup> for us. We had expected them all last week, but as they were directed via Hamburg they were so delayed, that harbour being closed by ice. Whistler had stepped out I sent the Dvanic to Col Todds<sup>32</sup> but he was not there. so I could wait no longer & had read our dear Georges letter to him, & was reading Marias ere my husband came to enjoy the same glad surprise. George wrote us from Brooklyn ere we supposed he had embarked from China! & reported himself in perfect health & now our hopes are excited that he will make a Summer voyage to see us.<sup>33</sup> But how seldom in this world of trial can joy be unalloyed – if we feel for others woes as our blessed Saviours example should teach us to do – the second page of Marias letter was filled with the sad particulars of the sudden death of Debos school mate Charlotte Canda.<sup>34</sup> what a warning to us all but to the young especially! that “in the midst of life we are in death”<sup>35</sup> Whistler wept as he listened to the mournful but too true statement, for he remembered her as a child of most bright promise & knew she was the idol as the only child of her Parents. She had attained her 17<sup>th</sup> birth day on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of last Feb & having been invited to celebrate it at a friends house her father attended her thither to pass the evening taking a friend of hers in the Cab with them, at about eleven clock they bade adieu, after having probably had the usual resources of music & dancing for Charlotte was a fine performer, the driver was ordered to stop at the door of Miss L. B.....<sup>36</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Canda handed her up the steps, which while he was doing a gentleman in another carriage called out in joke “you had better mind your own fair daughter, she is worth all others put together” then drove on- When poor M<sup>r</sup> C flew back to his charge the Cab was no where to be seen, he thought as the

night was so cold they had driven home, thither he ran, but no tidings from his servant at his own door of his daughters return, drove him half distracted to the stable calling aloud her name as he went- there he found the Cab empty! by the time he had regained his house again he met a summons to proceed with his distracted wife to a hotel where he understood Charlotte was ill! in truth she had been thrown out of the Cab by the horses taking fright while the driver had left his box to endeavour to warm his hands & had been picked up by two gentlemen, her skull fractured by striking against the stone pavement, they carried the senseless sufferer into the hotel where she was recognized & her parents sent for only in time to hear her last sigh! thus in a short half hour from her fathers leaving her, (- that brief moment -) he found only the senseless body of his Charlotte, who had been the delight of his eyes, the pride of his heart. It will be long ere that bereaved mothers shriek of anguish will be forgotten by those who heard it as she exclaimed "Wherein have I failed in my duty as a mother that God has taken my child from me?" Ah it is a fearful thing to *idolize* what death must touch! to appropriate (what is only lent us to train for Heaven) to our own purposes. God had endowed this only daughter with much that might win hearts, & if her Parents led her affections to her Saviour we must trust He has taken her to lead theirs to Himself. God does not willingly afflict, we poor blind mortals cannot see His purposes of Mercy thro the clouds & darkness which surround His throne,<sup>37</sup> but if we kiss the rod He will give us also the staff to support us. However sure seem earthly promises to us, they are deceitful, this world is not our home & we must enter Heaven thro much tribulation! God called that beautiful young flower (we trust to bloom in Paradise) *early* because He knew it best. Her parents position among the rich in a gay city, had placed her in the unsafe path leading to Fashion & Folly and severe as they feel the wrench to them, she was taken from temptations & trials which might have entailed everlasting woe. Debo remarks what a dutiful, affectionate daughter Charlotte was! her parents had toiled in their school, to make her rich & accomplished - all their plans for this life were for Charlottes elevation. Where is she now? Oh may all parents profit by the lesson! Debo has lost in these two past winters two intimate associates younger than herself Fanny Peabody<sup>38</sup> & now C. C. Oh may the still small voice

continually remind her of the frail tenure of all earthly friendship, that she may strive to make Jesus the bond of union between herself & all she loves, may she exert her influence with her companions & with her brothers to lead them to Jesus. Many warnings have been sent us all within this last twelve month, those in the most elevated rank have not been exempt. Where are the two young brides of the Imperial family who previous to the Last Lent caused such festivities in St Petersburg<sup>239</sup> the fair forms of each mouldering in the dust. And it was at the funeral of the G<sup>t</sup> Admiral Gregg<sup>40</sup> the tidings of the death of the Grand Duke Michels daughter overtook him,<sup>41</sup> that very day was the anniversary of the Grand Duchess Helens<sup>42</sup> masquerade in honor of her nuptials! the news came that the young Duchess of Nassau had died on the anniversary of marriage, she had only been a few days ill. The Imperial family have appeared sincere mourners for the Emperors youngest daughter the favorite Alexandrine, until last evening I have not heard of their having been at any place of amusement, then as the annual charity concert was given for the sufferers in the Russian Army<sup>43</sup> it was indispensable. Debo wished much to attend it, but not a ticket was to be obtained. No doubt all her delight would have been changed into sorrow - if she had listened to the hundreds of instrumental & vocal performers - the tidings of Charlottes death must long ring a knell thro all our memories. And our sympathies were also asked for Mary Bedford upon the death of her fond mother.<sup>44</sup> how Mary clung to her! & now she is an orphan at 18 years of age! but we hear she is resigned to the will of God, she sorrows not as those without hope. This evening I have promised to go to the German Academy<sup>45</sup> for sacred music with Whistler & our Debo, she being one of the class, it is time for me to hear Willie & James read now, dear little fellows how glad them seem at the prospect of their brother George coming to Russia!

Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>46</sup> The weather has continued very wintry the past week, snow almost every 24 hours & 15 deg of cold except where the suns power was felt. Whistler & Debo went to Alexandrofski Sunday p-m<sup>47</sup> to their little congregation of Americans & heard an excellent sermon from M<sup>r</sup> Ellerby, but they had a snow storm to drive thro returning. And since then Debo & I have wished in vain favorable weather for making calls - until yesterday when her Russian master<sup>48</sup>

came & prevented her - I then took Jemmie to Dr Thompsons<sup>49</sup> to have two teeth filled it was not a very tedious operation & now I am thankful my dear boys mouth is in good condition. I found Mrs Harrison with my Sister on regaining our own home, the sun had not dissappeared when tea was ordered, we had quite a long table full, besides having to send it in the Chancelery to Whistler & some officers, scarcely had I finished, when our footman summoned me to the drawing room to receive Mrs De Glinkey,<sup>50</sup> she had brought her little girl according to her promise to come some day sociably, & I did not order a repetition of our repast immediately as the twilight was so pleasant for the childrens pastime & I knew she must have lately left the dining table. I am always delighted to have a chat with this lady who is so fond of my own dear native land - and she is so domestic in her feelings & so devoted to her children, it greived me to hear that her eldest boy had been ill & therefore she had not brought him - as her husband is a Russian of course, her children must belong to the Greek Church, & the unwholesome fast of Lent had quite disordered him, no milk, eggs, butter, or meat allowed, no wonder the mixture of oil in porridge, or the pickled fish had proved unsuitable for a hearty boy of five years old!<sup>51</sup> & then the fatigue of two hours standing thro prayers not intelligible at church (for seats are not admitted into the Greek church where all who do not kneel, stand. Mrs D. G herself a Lutheran dissapproves of ceremonies which cannot be explained to children & yet is obliged to submit hers to this severe regimen. she told us of her little girl - not quite as old as my Willie - taking the Sacrament of the Lord supper! When tea was handed the little creature asked so conscienciously if there was butter in the cake which we offered her! fortunately there was dried rusk<sup>52</sup> without, I involuntarily expressed to the mother my opinion of the error of these seasons of *public* fasting, & she was even plainer in her judgement against them, we agreed that excesses were never becoming the followers of the self denying Saviour, but that the system practised here, of abstaining for a certain time & then rushing into the extreme of indulgence was not upheld in the bible. when I alluded to the *acceptable* fast spoken of in the 58 chap of Isaiah,<sup>53</sup> she eagerly asked to see it, that she might enforce it in her mother=~~in~~=laws<sup>54</sup> family. Far be it from me to argue against fasting, where a feeling of humiliation in the sight of God prompts the

self convicted sinner to afflict his soul so that the indulgence of the animal part of his nature becomes (as in the afflictions wherewith we are visited for our correction by the will of our heavenly father) distasteful to him. Our blessed Saviour tells us not to exhibit our fasting, we are not to appear to *men* to fast, but in secret let it be to Him who reads the heart & tests its *sincerity*. I think Lent is wisely set apart by our church as a season for self denial in resisting the demands of the world upon our precious time & thus giving us leisure in retirement for contemplating the wonderful love of our blessed Saviour, who as at this time spent whole nights in prayer for those “who know not what they do”<sup>55</sup> & who suffered for the sins of the whole world, if we are willing to prepare for the commemoration of Earthly conquests, surely we should not excuse ourselves from yearly devoting this season peculiarly to contemplating all that He has done to conquer death for us, whom He has purchased with His own blood, & for whose immortal souls He still intercedes. He waits to be gracious to us! Good Lord make us *willing*, as Tho art able & draw us by the influences of the Holy Spirit! for we are our own enemies & cannot approach Thee as we ought! Oh that all who are bound to me as a family on earth could feel that they are but travellers bound for the heavenly Jerusalem, where some of our loved ones have been early taken to await our arrival! then the service of Christ would be chosen in preference to the vanities of the world. We delight to *speak* of that which engages our hearts, how strange then that the Saviour & His interests are so seldom subjects of conversation! We are glad to serve those we love! And there is much that we might *do* if we really had that supreme love for Christ which we all flatter ourselves we shall not be found deficient in, when called to testify by our works what place we shall occupy thro Eternity. We are not to *bury* our *Talents*<sup>56</sup> in the Earth. How little the young think of their accountability when all that they seek to accomplish is to charm away the present hour! & they persuade themselves that their suavity of manner is proof sufficient of inward joy from secret communings with God. & that it is enough to praise Him with the heart without the lips joining in it. But Oh is it thus in our home in Heaven? Angels & glorified spirits continually sing Glory to Him who has redeemed mankind, & as this world is only a school for that is it not rational to argue we should practise here what we hope to be perfected

in here after. I delight in sacred music which lifts the heart to mingle in heavenly choirs. Ah if I were Empress of these vast dominions of Russia I should cultivate a taste for sacred music in the circles of fashion by prohibiting any other during the Lent Concerts at least, then Composers would turn their gifts into this channel & the excuse would not be made, that no peices were to be found worthy the exalted subject As I am denied this enjoyment, I try to wait patiently till the holy spirit tunes the *heart*, when the *harp* will accord - knowing I deserve nothing - & finding refreshment in reading those works which lead my mind to heavenly joys. M<sup>rs</sup> Wilsons<sup>57</sup> letters in her memoirs awaken such feelings as I suppose fine musical compositions do to those who make music the feast of their fancy. When I examine myself after every day & grieve over the many evidences I have shown of a worldly strife. Oh what doubts attend me of my love to the Saviour, who sought not His own, but others good. Oh that the Holy Spirit would endow me with long suffering & great kindness! And when I contrast my idleness in the vineyard of Christ, to the labours of M<sup>rs</sup> Wilson in India I fear that the light that is in me is darkness in the sight of Him, for whom I yearn to devote my all. I feel as she does with relation to children that “they are precious gifts from the inexhaustible fountain of our Heavenly Fathers love & kindness to us” and that “we can only use the gift aright when we present it a willing sacrifice on His altar” her only prayer for her little ones was that they might be inspired with zeal & love to become missionaries to the heathen! as she was herself – for herself with regard to them- she prayed always that she might realize her responsibility in having a little immortal to train for heaven! Few as are my proofs of love to my Saviour I trust I do not deceive myself in *sincerely* desiring only spiritual gifts for my dear children, I commit their prosperity while on Earth to His providence, knowing that if they serve Him, they shall want for nothing. I am too eager now to see fruits of that love, Oh God give me faith to cast all my care upon Thee! my besetting sin is impatience Oh make me perfect thro suffering! & answer my poor prayers in thine own good time that all mine may be thine! By thy power I have been enabled to rejoice that Thou has *early* taken some of my little ones from me to dwell with Thee forever! Yet Thou knowest my heart does not separate them from those still left to cheer me, upon my pillow they are all embraced & tho

busy memory will sometimes harrow my tenderest sympathies with vivid views of past bodily sufferings, my tears are not bitter while I again fancy I hear Kirkie say "how sick I am," or my babys gentle voice as in the last hour he spoke to his fond Mother, "Charlie's most done," no more medi - sank you dear Mama" for all that is passed I am assured was in mercy. They are not lost to me! & Oh better still they are secured from suffering, their redeemed souls are where I prayed they might be: And in feeling thus & thinking of the *many* awaiting us *at home*, can it be wondered that I should yearn to see those still exposed to temptations in this world, cultivate tastes for higher enjoyments than charm the thoughtless votaries of a false system of *recreations*! This morning I have not walked as lately with my dear kind husband because he was too hurried with writing to go with me directly after breakfast & hence after my bible reading I feel into a train of reflection & have penned some of my thoughts which only my children can ever appreciate. A week has passed exactly since the last date on the other page for this [is] Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> <sup>58</sup> of April, nothing remarkable has occurred, except the thaw accompanied by delightful bright weather. Our children have left the breakfast parlor before eight oclock lately each morning to trundle their new hoops on the Quai with their Sister & Governess,<sup>59</sup> & have brought home bright red cheeks & buoyant spirits to enter the school room with & to gladden my eyes. Jemmie began his course of drawing lessons at the Academy of fine Arts<sup>60</sup>= just on the opposite side of the Neva - the building exactly fronts my bedroom window= last monday, he is entered at the 2<sup>nd</sup> room<sup>61</sup> there are two higher & he fears he shall not reach them, because the Officer<sup>62</sup> who still is to continue his private lesson at our house every Saturday is a pupil himself in the highest & Jemmie looks up to him with all the reverence *an Artist* merits & his *master* besides! he seems greatly to enjoy going to a class & stands next a youth of 16 (Caslett)<sup>63</sup> who being English notices my boy kindly. I congratulate myself for his sake that amusement & health are thus united with improvement in his leisure hours. he could not cross upon the ice on the Neva yesterday, as the barricade has already been placed to prevent sledges<sup>64</sup> so he had a longer drive by the bridge, & felt very important when he told me he had to give the Ishvostic 15 copecks silver<sup>65</sup> instead of ten! As he conns his tasks now directly after dinner (for the mornings



recitations) he was ready to pursue a beautiful tale he has lately been reading to me until tea time, but he would have put "Ewen Malcolm"<sup>66</sup> out of sight when Capt Kruger<sup>67</sup> called, if that frank sailor had not begged to hear how *Americans* read, Jemmie did not dishonor his country by any awkwardness, & gave our English friend a paragraph on Swiss scenery. My boys as well as their parents like to talk to this cheerful, excellent son of Neptune, he appears to me a sincere christian & is always heartily welcome when he comes from Cronstadt, but as he was going to the Lecture (upon his favorite poet Milton)<sup>68</sup> delivered by one of his countrymen at the Vestry room of the English church, he declined staying to tea. he & Jemmie had a good natured argument about the prospect of a war between our two countries & each came to the decision that the Oregon Territory<sup>69</sup> had best be left to the possessions of the Indians, that<sup>70</sup> that hostilities should be resorted to between people who ought to conciliate each other, as the only two nations upon earth of the same language, the same religion & habits. At the Merchants Exchange where the English part of the S<sup>t</sup>. Petersburg fraternity meet daily - War between America & England is now the exciting theme, but I trust it will prove like many of their other speculations! which it is to their interest to indulge in merely as an incentive to trade. Much as I yearn to be recalled to my native land I pray it may not be the trump of War, which will make it my husbands stern duty to take up arms against a country I so much love as England. We wrote by tuesdays Courier.<sup>71</sup> I to Eliza<sup>72</sup> & a note to poor M<sup>rs</sup> Canda. Debo to Jule & that lady. Old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon came that day to dine with us. she was cheerful & grateful as ever, Whistler was most attentive, handed her in & placed her at his right hand, she was the life of our circle & told us her 81<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of her birth day would be next Sunday!<sup>73</sup> In the afternoon Debo's fond father could not resist her invitation to promenade with her in the Nevski, as for a rarity he was not hurried by business from her side, she came back with a border of mud upon her silk dress! indeed he said he had had to ferry her across the Isaacs square<sup>74</sup> in a Sledge & wade over on foot himself! old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon laughed & threatened Debo that she should report what a termigant of a daughter we have, to compel her father to parade her thro the fashionables at such cost! The old lady was obliged to bid us good evening at 9 1/2 lest she should be locked out. I smuggled<sup>75</sup> a bottle of

fresh cream under her cloak, as she is obliged to deny herself the purchase of such luxuries. I always think most of my own mother when I can shew kindness to one who is like her, cheerful, useful & so neat & erect. M<sup>r</sup> Strokoffski<sup>76</sup> came & also Capt Klockoff<sup>77</sup> to spend the evening sans ceremonie. I hoped, agreeable as they are, that when M<sup>r</sup> Maxwells friend made his congé<sup>78</sup> at eleven, Whistlers aid would also take his leave but he chose to seat himself again. I soon stole off tho it is rather awkward doing so for my room is adjoining our Salon de compagnie, but I had the fidgets & I cannot reconcile it to my conscience to jumping into a prayerless bed - from which many never rise - it was a quarter past twelve before my head touched the pillow, & yesterday I was up at quarter to six, for between the day light at four peeping in & Debos bird on our window greeting it, and my desire to have breakfast in good time for my children to gambol in the fresh air before school time, I cannot indulge in the sluggishness, which in Russia I have yeilded too much to, the warm rooms create it, & since coming here I have had no darling little Charlie to awaken me.

Saturday afternoon 19<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>79</sup> Tomorrow will be Palm Sunday russian style.<sup>80</sup> these last three days the Gostinandvo has been filled with toys to tempt the lower classes & children, tomorrow it will still be thronged by those who do not recognise the Sabbath as “*rest.*” Aunt Alicia not having seen the spectacle went with my boys & Mademoiselle today. Willie appeared to think me exercising self denial & tried to persuade me to be of the party, he & James came back laden with gew gaws to the value of a silver ruble apeice - and pleased their mother that they had sought something for each of our good servants, my dear Jemmie has not been quite well lately; one or the other of my boys seem ever affected by the Neva water, God grant them health! it is indeed a grief to me to observe dear Debo too so feeble this spring. But I am thus constantly reminded that this is a world of care. As next week is one set apart for devotion in the Greek church the Concerts even are put a stop to & all the Italians go elsewhere to make new engagements I suppose.<sup>81</sup> I am relieved that the season is over, as my daughter will no longer be tempted into crowded rooms, to keep late hours, she has not been able to resist musical attractions, & yet is too little restored since her last illness to rise till we have finished breakfast, besides the privation it is to

me that she is not among us when we meet at family worship, I know the excitement is injurious to health. The Empress had signified her wish that a Concert should be held in the "Salle de Noblesse"<sup>82</sup> at four rubles argente a ticket the profits for Orphans under her patronage,<sup>83</sup> & of course for so good an object & to see the Imperial family in that most magnificent room in all Europe, we would not refuse, even Martha Ropes who has scarcely left her room this year has been bracing her strength for the exertion. I have always supposed it might be, expected of me that I should be able to say I had seen the Imperial family & the Hall of the Noblesse & this had caused me to reserve this *charitable* public amusement when I excluded myself from all others, so altho I would rather have staid quietly at home with Aunt Alicia & my boys, I suddenly yielded to Whistlers wish that I should go with Debo & himself, something whispered me "you know not what changes may occur to prevent another season"<sup>84</sup> & I went rather to have it over than with any anticipation of selfish gratification. The crowd was not so great as was expected, but the heat excessive, & altho the Empress & the Grand Duchess Olga were in the canopied & gilded box surrounded by ladies of the Court, I should judge from the lack of elegance in the costume of the crowd it was not the most fashionable this gay metropolis boasts of. I must confess that across this immense room I could not discern the features of the Empress & her beautiful daughter to my satisfaction, altho the general effect of their appearance was quite regal. the former entirely in white wore feathers & diamonds, the latter dressed in pale blue wore flowers in her fair hair (for at the birth of the 2<sup>nd</sup> infant son of the Héritier about six weeks since a Ukâse had been issued requiring the general mourning for the two young Grand Duche'ss to be discontinued)<sup>85</sup> I did not wonder they only lingered long enough to evince their interest in the *charity* which they had begged the public thus to contribute to, for the music was too loud to be endurable to one of weak nerves & the heat made the place like a Purgatory, the poor Empress has not been in the world since her beloved Alexandra left it, & I trust her *heart* will never return to its follies. For myself the delight I felt was that such places no longer could interest me & nothing could again tempt me into them, for tho Garcia, Rubini & Tambourini<sup>86</sup> sung solos or trios it was not to my taste, my imagination guided by my

husbands description of the splendour of the Salle de Noblesse had far exceeded what I really found it to be, he was tired as I was Debo looked fatigued & very amiably offered to leave before it was over, but we depended on M Ropes *Russ* for calling our Coach & they like to see the last as well as the first of every thing. We all wondered Martha who has lately been so subject to swooning should have had strength to get thro the crowd, & then we were all exposed to catching cold waiting out in the Street till our Hackney<sup>87</sup> could come up after all the Court equipages. the carriages having all been formed into line by the Gen d'armes who surrounded the place to keep order. How much trouble is taken to procure *good* out of evil! thought I! it is a question if every one had contributed their four rubles silver without the amusement whether the clear profits had not been greater! but men are children of a larger growth,<sup>88</sup> & few willing I fear to give of their abundance without some earthly equivalent, A reward is promised in Heaven! But I condemn not those whose opinions differ from mine. I only regret that they barter a certainty for an uncertainty. Music at home with a few dear friends to enjoy it with us, is a source of unfailing delight, & I shall wish never to out of it to seek it, unless to Church. It is a happiness to have ones mind made up as to what constitutes *enjoyment*, experience has decided me, there can be none in scenes which distract our thoughts & prevent us mingling heavenly prospects with them. I have not attempted to describe the Salle de Noblesse for it would be folly in me to attempt it, the pure white pillars not of marble but a kind of composition are many & divide the wide promenade for spectators or loungers, from the centre appropriated to dancers, which of course was filled with seats at the concert, the throne or Imperial box is gilded & in the most conspicuous situation about half way from where the musicians are placed & the entrance, ever greens are always used as decorations upon its steps, eight immense chandeliers of crystal are reflecting the most brilliant light over the company & many smaller ones at the sides & thro the corridors make every corner bright almost as sunshine. Oh how glad I was to get home at eleven o clock, I was too tired even to partake of the refreshments Aunt Alicas thoughtful attention had provided, I left Debo & her father to divide the jelly & dry rusk & thus gained time at the eleventh hour to collect my thoughts for reading & commending all I loved to the mercies

of our Heavenly Father. It was past midnight when my weary limbs were at rest.

Tuesday [April] 22<sup>nd</sup> <sup>89</sup> Such a change in the temperature since last week! quite a snow storm Sunday afternoon, yesterday scarcely any thawing even at noon. we went to prayers however, but were not tempted to walk further than to church & back. Martha Ropes spent the rest of the day with Debo, quite frolicsome, the noisy concert has made her quite rife for amusement I fear, in the evening her brother Joseph joined us at tea. I took french leave<sup>90</sup> of the circle while I read to my boys & then one of McNeills excellent lectures which he wrote especially for Passion Week upon the Sympathies & sufferings of our Saviour,<sup>91</sup> to my Sister, for I knew the young trio at the Draft table would not require me; & I have determined not to let trifles prevent our reading this week what is so appropriate. We were just at the close of the lecture upon the treachery of Judas Iscariot when Debo came to say good night, as Martha has to keep early hours, on my return to the parlor Mr Joseph & Whistler were so deep in public affairs I found they could dispense with me & gladly retired to my own snug apartment for the night. The Neva presented a strange scene this morning, hundreds of men forming a line thro its centre cutting a passage, to break the force of the ice when nature unlocks its fetters, to save both bridges from injury. Certainly the Russians are most remarkable for precautions, to save life or property. In our country it would be a serious expense to cut up a river as they are doing the Neva. but here the Emperor must be well satisfied that it gives employment to so many of his poorest subjects. We went again to prayers at Church, every seat appropriated to the ladies was occupied. some ventured to the gentlemen's side, I thank God that I felt His presence today in the midst of us! & not fatigued altho the service was long. We read the Psalms for the 9<sup>th</sup> day - & how beautiful are those Epistles taken from Isaiah<sup>92</sup> for both yesterday & today! Martha R dined with Debo, who took a drive after, with her, but complained of the bleak wind & rough Streets.

Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> May<sup>93</sup> We had a kind note from the Parsonage reminding us that it was 20<sup>th</sup> April old style the wedding day of our Pastor & that altho no invitations were ever sent out Mrs Law always received their friends that evening. Debo recalled a pleasant dance the last anniversary

& was delighted at the prospect of another. I determined not to resist this effort at sociability as I had done all their formal invitations to large parties for I felt we could not expect to receive our Pastors family under our roof if I always refused their hospitality. after shopping with Debo in the way of artificial flowers & white gloves for her I felt very much fatigued for the streets were in a most uneven state, but my kind Sister relieves me of household cares so after a warm bath I laid down with a book & thus missed seeing M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand when she called. which I regretted exceedingly as she has not been well enough to go out lately. Altho the weather was so unfavorable it was by turns snowing or drizzling we met quite a number at nine o clock, after the kind reception from our Pastor & M<sup>rs</sup> Law - who looked so bright & happy upon this their 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary,<sup>94</sup> that they might well have made all *the single* present willing to enter the list for matrimony - we took tea in the little carpetted parlor, but soon after were drawn to the large entrance room with parquet floor by the sound of music & dancing. I knew Debo was at the piano for it was one of the waltzes she often plays & she is never among the waltzers. By turns the parents of the young ladies chatted with me, & found<sup>95</sup> that some *very* few disapproved of this mazy movement as much as I do. M<sup>r</sup> Catley<sup>96</sup> remarked that the Polka was only suited to the stage! I thought it only becoming mere children! M<sup>rs</sup> F. Baird<sup>97</sup> looked well notwithstanding she was in the same quadrille with her son Charles,<sup>98</sup> for the quiet of Passion week had restored her somewhat after a long winters dissipation, she wore new diamond, her broach was so novel I could not but look at it tho I am seldom attracted by jewellery, it was in the form of lily of the valley the single leaf of enamel, the sprig of lilies upon it of large diamonds. perhaps if the English Ambassador<sup>99</sup> had not complimented her upon her good taste I should not have noticed it. M<sup>rs</sup> Law & I had a nice talk about her darling little grand children.<sup>100</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Caslett<sup>101</sup> took an opportunity of expressing a hope that we should be at her ball next week but I excused myself - Attracted by some beautiful plaister models of Thorswaldens exquisite sculpture I had a full description of the originals in the church at Copenhagen which made me wish more than ever to go there.<sup>102</sup> Soon after Whistler came in (business had detained him at home until half past ten) I took french leave, as Debo would be under his guardianship & was in my own room before

eleven, listening to a cheerful letter from Preston<sup>103</sup> which my Sister had received & felt compensated for the exertions I had made for others by an approving conscience the Searcher of hearts knoweth that my enjoyments are not in the world! I often err no doubt thro my wish to gratify my dear daughter for my judgement & experience both condemn the false system of *enjoyment*, the world offers, but I so yearn for sympathy from Debo, that I am willing when there is no glaring folly to meet her more than half way. her father could not persuade her to leave the gay throng until after supper & I was not asleep when they came home at one o'clock. I grieved that Whistler should be distressed by her selfishness, for tho he makes many sacrifices of his own inclination to attend upon this only daughter, he expects consideration in respect to his peculiar views of propriety, & *late hours* her health will not bear, however he ever evinces forbearance from reproaches & probably she was not aware how much she had dissappointed her dear father when he kissed her fondly as usual for good night, & I hope she rested better than he did, for her cheek looked pale & her eye languid, tho she persuaded herself the *excitement* would do her good. I can see our Heavenly Fathers wisdom in exiling us from our native land where Debo's intimacy with many gay circles, might tempt us to yeilding entirely to her inclination & thus health be wasted, here the evil effects of dissipation are so glaring that even she must be assured we are right in confining her to a very limited participation of gaieties *natural* to *youth*.

Saturday [May] 3<sup>rd</sup> <sup>104</sup> of course dear Debo was not able to rise to join us in the family devotions, she breakfasted in her own room at nine, her father had been called out ere then so that they did not meet till almost bed time (when he went to Mrs Gellibrands where she dined, to bring her home, Mrs Grant<sup>105</sup> spent the morning with her, they practised two hours duetts, then walked out on the quai. Mrs Ropes brought in her work & sat in my room where I had stationed myself at my work table for I am just now much interested in replenishing my husbands stock of linen, she is invariably cheerful & affectionate, I was grateful to her for bestowing so much kind attention upon me. Jemmie was taking his drawing lesson. Willie gone with Mary to see his little friend Scharschinka Drury who has been shut up with effects of measles all winter nearly & now has very sore eyes - Aunt Alicia with *willing feet*

attending my family arrangements in pantry, dairy & kitchen, so dear Ropes chat quite dissipated the sadness I might have yielded to *alone*, when last I was cutting out shirts it was four summers ago shut up in my room at Springfield, Sister Julia assisting me, dear mother then my house keeper!<sup>106</sup> Ah how much I think of her so far away! but God appoints our separation therefore I check even the rising wish that it should be otherwise. It is exactly a week since the last letters by the Boston Steamer reached us. I can scarcely define my emotions when *this feast of many letters from home*<sup>107</sup> came in late Saturday evening, after the calm of Passion week, we had every day been contemplating the love of our Saviour for us, & had after divine service on this last day of the week partaken of that holy Supper which is to shew forth His death & resurrection. Sister had just finished one of McNeiles most touching lectures<sup>108</sup> appropriate to the season, & *the world* with all its contending interests seemed to have retired, How full was my whole soul with love & thankfulness as I perused my mothers letter! it was long & satisfactory, for altho it told us darling Willie Wyatt<sup>109</sup> had been extremely ill, it pronounced him convalescent & but for it, I should very naturally have allowed my imagination to picture only Marias anxious watchings & her exhausted frame. dear Sister! it is trying to be so far from you when I might by sympathy at least mitigate your sorrows! Whistler did not get back from Alexandrofski that night till late, his letters from George & the Gen.<sup>1</sup><sup>110</sup> kept us wakeful, May the infirmity be compassionated which induced me to mingle thoughts of those dear absent ones with my prayers on Easter Sunday<sup>111</sup> at church! Why cannot I cast all my cares for *others* on God, as I do the future in temporal things for myself? I know He knows what is necessary to fit us all for *the last great change*, I experience that His chastisements are in love & in the review of my own life am so convinced of the benefit of affliction that I would not have had one stroke less if I might choose-yet I tremble for those dear ones for whom I daily pray “all things may work together to bring them near to God<sup>112</sup> & that they “may count all things as nought compared to the knowledge which is in Christ Jesus”<sup>113</sup>. Oh how small is my *practical* faith! In the afternoon of that Sunday as we had no public worship I read to my dear James & Willie from their favorite Abbots “School boy”<sup>114</sup> - how astonishing that any of the children of a larger growth even considered wise men in the



world should reject such counsel! the lesson in this little world are admirably adapted for all capacities to yeild happiness for this life which may be delightful contemplations thro out Eternity. Debo drove with M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison to the service at Alexandrofski – Whistler took M<sup>r</sup> H to Tsarskoe Selo to see Col Todd & get a peep at an American newspaper if possible, as our Ambassador never sends us such a favor - We all met at tea & partook of some of Aunt Alicias nice sweet curd & cream.<sup>115</sup> her friend old M<sup>rs</sup> Baird having provided her with Rennet,<sup>116</sup> which we could not buy here – But I linger a whole week & must skip back to last Sunday<sup>117</sup> to note down that the bridge of boats having been drawn back from the Quai in anticipation of the breaking up of the ice all the portion of our congregation belonging to Vassili Ostrow were prevented attending church, I was not well enough to go in the morning & enjoyed quiet reading at home, & was thus invigorated to listen to a most excellent discourse from D<sup>r</sup> Law in the afternoon text 2<sup>nd</sup> Epistle of St Peter 1<sup>st</sup> chap 10<sup>th</sup> verse.<sup>118</sup> What a pity so few were there to profit by it! Ah how strange that *christians* who can make leisure for every day to throng the Church during Passion Week, should yet absent themselves every Sabbath afternoon from joining in public worship. merely upon the plea of *hospitality* to friends; or *family* enjoyment, perverting the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment<sup>119</sup> to their own injury. Oh how long it is before early habits thus formed can be broken, that we can feel it a privilege to spend the Sabbath in communion with heavenly objects & that it becomes indeed a day of *rest*. God will bless our endeavours to keep it holy, even if our natural estrangement towards Him tempts us to question the benefit we shall reap from *perfect* obedience “We shall reap if we faint not.<sup>120</sup> Oh if we could but remember that we have to deal with a just & jealous God as well as a merciful & compassionate Saviour, what remorse might be spared! but human pride asserts *human* privileges & like the Israelites on their journey we continue to rebel: And thus Canaan<sup>121</sup> is lost to multitudes now as then.

Monday 5<sup>th</sup> of May I was aroused unusually early by the voices of Whistler & all the young ones in the drawing room, even Debo in her dressing gown was there to enjoy the sight of the flowing Neva, yes its dirty winter garb had been cast off in the night & tho the weather continues cold we may hope an agreable change. The ice continues

floating in great dirty flats all day & as the wind rises the chilly feeling increases. Henrietta Law<sup>122</sup> to pass the evening in practising with Debo, we enjoyed a most gorgeous sunset at eight o'clock. beautiful starlight succeeded, Whistler found us still lingering over the tea table when he returned after nine from Alexandrofski, he was very glad of a hot cup of chocolate as he said he had not suffered from cold in a drive during the winter.<sup>123</sup> We amused ourselves looking over "Letters from the Baltic"<sup>124</sup> while the music was going on. I had read Miss Rigbys work before I left Boston, but since becoming familiar with Russian scenes it is much more forcible, one of her remarks upon the baptismal ceremony in the Greek Church made me laugh they cross the eyes to express the vow not to look upon evil, the mouth to prevent the utterance of evil communication & she thinks the same charm of the † must be passed upon the nose, as Russians seem not to be annoyed as others are by the odious smells which infest every avenue to the public, their churches, Academy of fine Arts &c – By the way I may mention that our home on the English quai is directly facing that last named imposing building, the window in my room is opposite the principal ferry stair,<sup>125</sup> & if ever I am at a loss for variety I can watch the embarkation of the passengers in the ferry gondolas, tho I rather think it will only be interesting to me when Jemmy is among them, for soon as the ice is all gone he hopes to cross three times a week to take his drawing lesson at the Academy.<sup>126</sup> But the Governors boat from the fortress is always the first to cross, none dare venture till he has gone thro the ceremony of filling a glass with Neva water & on presenting it to the Emperor in the Winter Palace has a goblet of gold peices in return for the *intelligence*<sup>127</sup>

Tuesday [May] 6<sup>th</sup> <sup>128</sup> The sun rising upon my pleasant window awakes me every morning now, long before I can persuade myself to profit by his bright example, but I sprung up on the instant this morn to see the state of the Neva, looked at the watch, it was five minutes to four o'clock! the thermometer said four degrees cold & the wind was blowing so fresh down to the Gulf that all the ice along shore had disappeared during the night. Of course I took a nap after thus gratifying curiosity. The young folks took a walk upon the quai after breakfast, & came in complaining of cold, except Jemmie whose cheeks looked like damask roses. Debo & I wore our Shubes when we went in the Droszky to the

Gostinandvo, to purchase a riding habit for her, & were glad we had not sent away our furs, which we discarded long before, last Spring. M<sup>r</sup> Ropes met us quite a pro-pos in the market & made some good bargains for us I was tempted to purchase a pretty Moscow silk<sup>129</sup> to send to America, & also one or two dresses for my spring out fit, as I have only my black bombazine now in wear. On our drive returning past the Palace we saw the quai on the island completely manned, from the Fortress to the bridge, hundreds of people & from the firing of cannon we knew the governers boat was upon the voyage across the Neva, in the afternoon the river was alive with gondolas how glad the island population must be that their embargo is at an end, still carriages must wait for the replacing of the bridge, floating ice will be an impediment for a while & besides, with all their watchfulness & authority, two of the boats forming the bridge were carried down by the ice, while probably the lazy Russians dozed on their post.<sup>130</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Harrison came in while we were at dinner & repeated his wifes invitation to my Sister for her promised visit, so she agreed to return to Alexandrofski with him, she instructed Mary in all her duties to save me exertion during her absence & then made her own few preparations. dear kind Sister! how shall I feel when she is packing up to go to England! while even the prospect of this weeks absence made my heart sad, much as I hope she may enjoy the visit to our amiable young Countrywoman & her sweet children.

Wednesday [May] 7<sup>th</sup> <sup>131</sup> Such a bright day! the river gay with boats we begin to anticipate arrivals soon at Cronstadt from England. Whistler has been to Alexandrofski already today Sister freighted him with lots of love from her warm heart *to all at home*, she whispered him when none were by that she had nearly perished from cold in the night! their house has lately undergone many improvements, but taking out the double windows was rather premature, I dare say my dear Sister Alice became chilled in her evening drive for we could not persuade her to wear a fur, she said she was not made of stuff to chill, & only took my grey cloak to protect her from the muddy road. otherwise her English silk mantilla<sup>132</sup> she would consider heavy enough for May! But Oh we are not in that green isle! even there the season has been unusually long & cold. I had the favor of a peep into an American news paper of M<sup>r</sup> Harrisons the other day, date 1<sup>st</sup> March, the Norwich<sup>133</sup> had made its first trip from N

York to Albany! that was unseasonably early for Hudson navigation. I am getting impatient for letters from Brooklyn<sup>134</sup> again!

Saturday [May] 10<sup>th</sup> <sup>135</sup> Nothing new to record except my having gone in Whistlers droschky yesterday with him to Alexandrofski - from having suffered great fatigue when we went in the Winter - my only tolerably long sledge ride in Russia - I feared to venture since, but trust "now the ice is broken" I shall often be my husbands companion in his pleasant, low & easy vehicle as I cannot walk far enough to be of essential service.<sup>136</sup> I found only little Annie, Henry & their young German Governess<sup>137</sup> Mr & Mrs H having taken my sister to Gen Wilsons<sup>138</sup> about 3 versts further up the river, to explore the extensive weaving fabric, where damask is brought to such perfection a price of fifty silver rubles is often readily obtained for one table cloth & one dozen napkins. I had great satisfaction in the hour I spent with these affectionate children & practised some of my bad french upon their Governess by way of encouraging her, as she is timid & a stranger, not able to converse in English tho she comprehends it when spoken. Then there was all the new furniture to admire & the improvements in their house to approve, so the time flew while Whistler was in the works making some experiments in iron. We set out before sunset - right glad were we of our furs for the air was frosty still, how much we enjoyed our nice tea, home made bread & *home churned* butter as also bonny claba & cream<sup>139</sup> at nine o'clock - our boys were ready by the time I had finished for me to read to them as Mary had taken care they & Mr Hadenskougg should have a plentiful bread & milk supper before my return. What beautiful evenings we have now! the ruby glow of sunset continues at the horizon & the bright stars & new moon are so brilliant in the clear canopy above. Oh how I delight to feast my eyes thus after the duties of the day are over & I have quiet & leisure to reflect upon the past, how I pity any who can look unmoved upon the wonders of nature! & I am grateful that I inherit my mothers taste for such contemplations, Grandmother<sup>140</sup> & "the little ones who have gone *home* before us are fond associations with Gods own coloring in the firmament, and soon memory will bring many sweet pictures before me when the approaching season, for flowers greets me. But we must wait for May blossoms yet awhile, not a spear of grass yet! the ice has continued in sight all the week upon the

river, tho the barges continue to ply with passengers between the city & island, the bridge is often drawn to one side to let the masses from Lake Ladoga thro. how perfectly pure & white it looks in comparison to that which was walked over by thousands during the long winter upon the river & canals. And as there is no avail in being impatient I try to admire even this variety from muddy ice, to fresh & clean. One certainly does not take the lively interest in a foreign land we do in our own, where nature dictates to us when to expect singing birds & blooming violets. Poor Martha Ropes is anxious for suitable weather to see all she can in the neighbourhood of St Petersburg before her long voyage back to Boston. & we hope a brief spring for her enjoyment. she has been sitting with us this morning, working secretly at slippers to surprise Mr Gellibrand on his birth day which will be next tuesday,<sup>141</sup> while her fingers have plied thus industriously, she has been talking of the intended wedding of Dr H.<sup>142</sup> their family physician, it is to be “published” tomorrow at the English church. the long smothered attachment between him & Miss J-<sup>143</sup> has so suddenly revived that it has become the *interesting* theme in the English circle. his little girls think it will be quite a blessing for them to have a new Mama & I trust she may exercise such an influence over them that her task may be rewarded, they have been rather too little controlled, but they are reasonable & affectionate - & she gentle - scarcely double Alices age will no doubt win them, for her love to their father it is said has undermined her health & she was their own mothers favorite companion - one of the few who saw that beautiful & excellent woman in her great sufferings during the three days after her sudden attack which was ended in death about three Summers ago.<sup>144</sup>

Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> May.<sup>145</sup> Three records to make of today, have just finished a very unsatisfactory letter to my dear Sister Ktie to despatch by the Courier for England, in hopes of its meeting the Steamer for Boston by 4<sup>th</sup> of June. My life is so monotonous that I can only tell them what they know that distance only strengthens the cords of family love & that I envy even every scrawl I send home. I miscalculated about a semi monthly Steamer for April & thus brought dissatisfaction to myself instead, must be more patient & not indulge in *anticipations* in future. This is the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, Russian style, weather very cloudy & moist, but I dare say this unpropitious aspect of the clouds will not prevent the usual fête

at Catrinoff,<sup>146</sup> as the rich will go around the gardens in equipages better than if the dust of yesterday had been attended by its sunshine & the poor heed not the weather, the *holiday* they will not lose. occasionally we see fields of ice floating down the Neva from Lake Ladoga, so green fields would not be in keeping. & I am sure they never dance around a May Pole<sup>147</sup> near this city whatever the peasants may do in the south of Russia, I would go to the fête myself to see that, but in all their holiday games here there has been no exhibition of gladness of heart, one never hears a merry laugh or sees a bounding step, they swing, or ride on hobby horses with the same decorum they would enter church, & to a reflecting observer it is sad to witness that on Gods own holy day the seem most unrestrained. last Sunday afternoon we attended Mr Ellerbys preaching at Alexandrofski as the Harrisons invited us us to be present at his farewell discourse to our countrymen the Mechanics at his works.<sup>148</sup> My feelings were perhaps peculiarly solemnized by the view which had been presented of using every means for salvation, & the crowds of idle Russian peasants herded together on our ride back to town really distressed me, some sleeping, some drunken, some playing their native game with bones,<sup>149</sup> I wondered those who could speak their language should not warn them of their misapprehension of Gods commandments, *immortals* merely vegetating in their short uncertain state of probation, how can the thousands of protestants of the English here be indifferent towards the poor, good natured peasantry, whose language they are so eager to learn, to employ them for their own convenience. It is not surely enough to excuse them when all shall stand together at the judgement seat of Christ, that the Greek Church was considered *christian*. Oh when shall the true light be given to the Shepherds of this countless flock! that they may exert their power over them to make them happy for time & eternity. Today is the anniversary of Mr & Mrs Gellibrands wedding,<sup>150</sup> it is to be celebrated at Mr Ropes as usual & we have promised to join their family circle at tea with a few other friends.

June 6<sup>th</sup> *Old Style* today is & 18<sup>th</sup> our calender<sup>151</sup> – My illness interrupted for two weeks any record of family events & feelings – since then preparing sundry gifts to send my Sister Kates children by Mrs Gellibrand & Martha Ropes who embarked last week for Boston required all the effort I could muster in my debility after so much fever.

I have not felt so ill in many years as upon taking cold in a drive a damp afternoon with my dear husband to Alexandrofski, a cough I had fancied could not attack me in Russia for I had never been two years exempt from one till my residence here, but it racked me distressingly & with fever in my head my whole nervous system was deranged. Never can I forget Dr Rogers untiring attention, at first visiting me twice a day, then once & still he looks in upon us two or three times a week. What a comfort too to have the tender care of my dear husband, soon he must leave me for a fortnights absence on the rail road, but thank God it was not necessary while I was ill. My kind Sister too relieved me of all domestic anxieties & Mary anticipated all my wants. Mrs Ropes too used to bring her sewing & sit beside me, but I was not allowed to talk, so visiting my room was rather discouraged by the doctor & my watchful husband. however when I could read, my spirit was refreshed by perusing the "Memories & Remains of Murray McCheyne of Dundee"<sup>152</sup> which delightful work a young Scotsman had lent me just before & ere I had quite finished it, Capt Kruyger set me the Rev<sup>d</sup> George Williams new work on the Holy Land,<sup>153</sup> I must try to read it thro ere his return from England, for it was a farewell loan when my boys favorite called to say adieu.<sup>154</sup> & there is scarcely another copy of the work in Russia. nothing could have drawn me from the perusal of so interesting a volume but the necessity of aiding our dear Debo in getting her wardrobe ready for a contemplated visit to her Aunt Winstanley. and I have felt glad that my strength was sufficiently restored to drive as far as the Gostinandvor<sup>155</sup> to shop for her & more important yet that I could ply the needle for her notwithstanding a constant pain in my side. The weather is still very unfavorable to my getting rid of that, bleak winds continue to prevail & vegetation is at least a month behind what it was the last season. While a prisoner to my room W<sup>m</sup> Maingay arrived from Germany bringing tokens of his Mother & Sisters regard for us. I have not yet seen him as he has only called to deliver these, & has not appeared at church the two last Sundays,<sup>156</sup> when I have been there. Mr W<sup>m</sup> Millers return from Scotland<sup>157</sup> caused quite an excitement in our house about the same time for he sent so many packages, curiosity was quite rife. but Aunt Alicia soon unraveled the mystery, she had commissioned him to purchase her some tokens of her love for us all, a

beautiful suit of dark blue silk tartan for each the boys, a bible & prayer book bound in one for me, & a unique travelling case for Whistler, knife fork & spoon of steel & silver. How often this warm hearted Sister brings my dear departed father<sup>158</sup> before my minds eye! may she be blessed for all her proofs of a Mothers love to me! since my earliest recollections I look back upon her care for me, & now that religion has purified the bond of sisterly attachment, we sympathize more truly than ever. she could not have given me any thing so valuable as the complete volume which is now my companion in the solitude of my chamber & when I attend the house of God. I have resigned to darling Jemmie now the Polyglott bible<sup>159</sup> which was his sainted brother Joes & since his death had been preferred to me to any other, because of the association, may James be aided by the holy spirit to love & to value the *unpretending* looking volume! But I must not omit to record that we received also by M<sup>r</sup>. M many other tokens of friendship. his brother<sup>160</sup> wrote the kindest note to my husband offering for the acceptance of Debo & myself curious pebble brooches & a tartan scarf to the former to experiment upon – & the *bearer* managed to slip in a pretty Edinburgh reticle with the Thistle embroidered in gold upon satin tartan. Then Eliza Stevenson now M<sup>rs</sup>. Tom Smith<sup>161</sup> sent her (with the sweetest bride like effusion descriptive of all her wedded bliss! the tiniest embroidered pocket handkerchief - which had been one of the bridal presents to herself. Soon as M<sup>r</sup>. Miller ascertained that I had resumed my place at the family board, he invited himself to dine with us one Saturday, telling me in his note I need not fear he would wear out his welcome by staying all the evening for he had an engagement at 7 o'clock – however he put that off, for the weather was tempting enough to make Whistler accede to his after proposal of all taking a drive to the Alargna<sup>162</sup> one of the charming islands where the Imperial family have been since the ice dissappeared. I did not go of course, my boys brought me a bunch of butter cups the first wild flowers which have greeted my longing eyes this season. & they told me of having hailed W<sup>m</sup>. Maingay who was rowing a party in his English barge<sup>163</sup> in his sailors costume. Debo & Mademoiselle regretted I had not been there to meet the beautiful Grand Duchess Olga & Empress. but I had enjoyed a tranquil hour or two at home much more, for the trifling exertion of entertaining a guest or two was fatiguing to



me, still so weak. Mr Miller made the boys merry as crickets, gave them a lesson in a Highland dance to the quickest time Debus fingers could move over the keys. But after tea when Capt K<sup>164</sup> would have proposed more music our frank Scotsman opposed it, as out of all reason to begin again after ten. the twilight is really so deceptive no wonder the lovers of amusement encroach upon the hours when we should be at our devotions, previous to rest. I was obliged at last to steal from the drawing room to my chamber, which Mr Miller thought was hint enough that it was time to make his congé.

If I had not been too busy, until taken ill, I should have recorded the magnificent spectacle we witnessed on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May.<sup>165</sup> Capt K had succeeded in obtaining a window for us in the 4<sup>th</sup> Story of the Prince of Oldenburghs palace overlooking the Champ de Mars,<sup>166</sup> & tho it was rather humbling to our *independent* spirits to have to wander thro his stables & once stand to one side while the Emperors daughter passed from her chariot to the honored part of the palace we mounted the wearisome back stairs & found we were favored, among a distinguished few ladies & officers who had reached the desirable eminence before us. It is impossible to convey a conception of the effect of 80.000 troops with their field peices, banners &c glittering in the Sun Shine,<sup>167</sup> for the weather was propitious, altho a slight shower obliged the Empress & Grand duchesses to abandon their elegant English equipage after they had driven thro the avenues among the troops to receive their cheers. we had a perfect view of these beautiful women, the Grand duchess Olgar was dressed in sky blue, the wife of the Héritier in pink & the Empress in Lilac. the troops in their new gaudy uniforms of every hue gave the effect of a vast bed of tulip. The Emperor rode proudly among them, no one could have mistaken any other for the monarch tho the Grand Duke Michel (his brother) the Grand duke Alexander & Leighthenburg<sup>168</sup> followed close upon him. What a multitude of splendid horses were there & so exactly alike for the several batallions. As the Emperor received the shouts of the several companions as he passed him in their maneuvers methought he looked too proud for mere mortal & I wondered if he remembered the presence of the King of kings! for I thought how small was all this array in comparison to the Armies of heaven. On three sides of the square field were palaces, on the fourth

the Summer Gardens, so that the dull realities of life were completely secluded & yet I could not forget them, in my minds eye I contrasted the sheep skins of the ignorant & dirty peasantry & I knew too how many hearts were wrung to afford this army numbers for its ranks,<sup>169</sup> & while famine raged in the interior<sup>170</sup> it must be supported at an expence which would have made the poor comfortable, & what was all this for? to display the power of one man & to make his subjects tremble to disobey his slightest wish, a silver ruble was to be given to each soldier after the review,<sup>171</sup> in how short a time thus nearly 80.000 would be squandered in drunken revelry. The maneuvers detained us many hours & an elegant luncheon was sent to every apartment in the palace for its visitors, chicken salad made more refreshing by jelly of calves feet as one ingredient, the nicest cold ham I have tasted in Russia, &c, followed by ices, we scarcely needed that dinner should have been ordered at six o'clock at home. I was most delighted at the modest politeness of my little Willie that day. he attracted much notice from a Russian family which shared our window, answered them in french or russ whenever addressed & proved that he was grateful for the kindness of the ladies, by offering to put down their empty glasses & plates as he observed them in their way. darling boy! may he never become conceited or selfish! I do not like to make comparisons, for Jemmies eagerness to attain all his desires for information & his fearlessness, often make him offend us because we love him too tenaciously to be reconciled to his appearing less amiable than he is, the officers however seemed to find amusement in his remarks in french or english according as they accosted him. they were soon informed of his military ardor & that he hoped to serve his country – England – no indeed! Russia then? No, no, but America of course!) My poor boy how little you dream of the horrors of the battle field, a review is the pageant of the sad reality. but I should pray you may be clothed in the whole armor of God.<sup>172</sup>

June 28<sup>th</sup> <sup>173</sup> I have been giving dear Debo all my spare hours to put her wardrobe in order for a visit to her Aunt Winstanley, the impossibility of obtaining a berth on board the Steamer in which Mrs Busk<sup>174</sup> went, was a great vexation to her, I had never known Debo so energetic as she was in her efforts to obtain her wish to reach London. I told her all must be ordered for her good as we had taken every means

in our power, she would yet find it providential that she was delayed, still her first & last question night & morning was about Steamers for England, & her father was urged to get Col Todds aid in obtaining her passport, at last all was arranged to her satisfaction, the money pd for her berth in the Hull steamer<sup>175</sup> & Mrs Cotton<sup>176</sup> delighted to taken her under her care & she felt it long to wait till thursday of this week. her father was obliged to start for the rail road last Wednesday<sup>177</sup> & his parting words were "be a good girl & write me often from England." we looked for American letters that day by the Lubec Steamer<sup>178</sup> which was due, I wondered what Debo would do if she heard George had made up his mind to visit Russia in the course of the Summer, tho I concluded we should not have him till August as I thought he would embark in a ship from Boston to Cronstadt. I advised Whistler to leave me an envelope directed in Russ to overtake him on his route interior in case of letters, which he did. But instead of letters, came George himself the afternoon of the day his father left home for Moscow in 24 hours more Debo too would have been gone! who can say *chance* has aught to do in the events of a day. Our very hairs are all numbered,<sup>179</sup> & our Saviour never loses sight of those who put their trust in Him. my constant prayer is that He will guide each one of us & that all things shall work together for our eternal progress to His right hand. Delightful as were my emotions on welcoming my dear Son, when the excitement was over & I left to reflect upon the unexpected changes of the day - a kind of awe mingled with gratitude to God, and I wondered if we should yet see some especial purpose of our Heavenly Father in His arrangements for us this Summer - perhaps not - many would ridicule my *superstition* but tho my health is sound & my prospects of long years to come are flattering I always realize how slight is the tenure, & tho I would not say so to others, the thought has more than once occurred that dear George was sent here & Debo detained at home for a mothers blessing.<sup>180</sup> May the Holy Spirit make me willing in the day of His power to cast my whole care upon God! Debo became as eager to get rid of her ticket for a place on board the Rob Roy as she had been to obtain it, & the agent behaved most generously in returning its value. After she had read her letters which her dear brother brought & admired all the gifts sent her by her young companions she took a tete a tete stroll up the Nevski with him, and I

was left to rest on my sofa with the refreshment of my dear mothers letters, for Aunt Alicia had an engagement at Alexandrofski whither she was accompanied by Mademoiselle & Willie - and I persuaded Jemmie to attend his drawing class tho he could not bear to lose hold of brother George! he went for two hours to the Academy of Fine Arts & Mary went to ride, with M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes darling little trio of girls & two nurses,<sup>181</sup> as she usually does two or three times a week- My loved mother had picked a wild flower from the grave of my little Kirkie & Charlie, & dried it to send me, it is a precious gem to me! and those heavenly lines upon the Adoption,<sup>182</sup> soothed my spirit as strains of sacred melody. Oh, I would not have exchanged the holy communings I held in my solitude that evening for all that the *world* calls delightful! After tea George came & sat beside me talking of Stonington & Brooklyn till I could almost fancy myself there. but our bodies were tired tho our spirits were eager still for all that each could give of the past! We only wanted my dearest Whistler at home to render our happiness complete. but he had just left us for a fortnights absence! George & I determined to write him immediately & forward all his American letters - which he was bearer of - we did so the next day.<sup>183</sup> How very sudden the transition must appear to our dear George, leaving Boston as lately as the 1<sup>st</sup> day of this month & arriving at this city of Palaces upon the 25<sup>th</sup> having passed a week in England he could tell us of Aunt Winstanley who will scarcely expect Debo now. The Capt of the Rob Roy behaved very handsomely in returning the passage money & Debo went to the boat to bid adieu to her friends in high glee, M<sup>rs</sup> Cotton said how lonely she should feel without her, neither M<sup>r</sup> or M<sup>rs</sup> C have ever been further than Cronstadt from this, & with three little ones<sup>184</sup> to take care of it is a pity they are not tried sailors, she has the sad prospect of scarcely reaching England in time to receive a dying Sisters adieu & has had to leave a little infant only a month old as nursling to a Russian under her other Sister M<sup>rs</sup> Andersons roof. how various are the trials of human life! but God does not willingly afflict! & our blessed Saviour assures us He sympathises with all His children. Oh that we could lean upon His bosom in holy love & confidence!

July 8<sup>th</sup> tuesday evening.<sup>185</sup> It is so impossible for me to journalize without neglecting the claims of those around me that but for the wish

to bring an absent parent in imagination to our family group at St P I should abandon the attempt. Whistler is still upon the road I am sorry he will not reach home to greet dear George on his birth day.<sup>186</sup> I have treated James & Willie to each three silver rubles for birth day gifts to present brother George tomorrow morning & am dissappointed in my search after a bible to offer him in place of the Polyglott I gave him twelve years ago. however if I cannot procure one from England, ere he must wend his way back to our native land, I know he will prize the one I use doubly, & Aunt Alicia has generously offered to replace it with another to me. Gods word is indeed my daily food. & I pray His holy Spirit may open the hearts of all my children to its beauties

[Thursday] August 28<sup>th</sup> <sup>187</sup> After having closed a letter in answer to one received last evening from my indulgent mother, I occupy this twilight hour in recording the mercies of my heavenly Parent “not knowing what this night may bring forth”<sup>188</sup> my symptoms are of approaching illness I cast myself with entire confidence on a divine Redeemer & pray if years on earth shall be added to my term of 40 years His spirit may guide me into the paths of righteousness & that my children & beloved husband may continue united with me in striving to honor Him. When I look back upon Gods dealings with me they have indeed been such as to cause me to praise Him not only with my lips but in my life! & shall I not devote my all on earth to Him, who hath so mercifully led me for forty years thro this wilderness. If He calls me from the joys of an earthly home Oh may it be to a heavenly Canaan! My heart clings too fondly to ties here. husband, children Mother! absent brothers, sisters & a native land hold out strong inducements to make me yearn for many years! but I earnestly pray to have no will but as God wills & that Jesus may be preferred to all other ties however deserving of my best affections. Have mercy on my human weakness Oh Thou who rememberest my frame! Let me lean on thy compassionate bosom & cast my cares on Thee! Yesterday being the anniversary of the birth of my last little one, I almost hoped would have brought to my embrace the one expected this month. but every day is precious as I have duties for my hands yet to fulfil. We should strive more than we ordinarily do, not to neglect present time, “Tho in the midst of life we are in death”<sup>189</sup> All that I attempt now has that awful import. May these impressions never

leave me. I heard of the death of my friend M<sup>rs</sup> Nichols<sup>190</sup> of Lebanon last evening, rather should I say her entrance upon eternal life, may her bereaved husband be comforted with hopes of being re-united to her & their little ones<sup>191</sup> when his work in the Lords vineyard is finished & it shall be said to him “well done faithful Servant”<sup>192</sup> How often have I looked back upon the piety of that family circle at the Lebanon Parsonage with satisfaction. I only, *envy* such, on earth, & pray the habits I have endeavoured to give my children may become their choice thro the influence of Gods holy Spirit. Oh that they may value time as they ought! referring all their pursuits to Eternity! How inexcusable are those who avoid the means for improvement, I have read “James Anxious Enquirer”<sup>193</sup> again lately with startling interest, & today took up Abbotts “Religion & Happiness”<sup>194</sup> wishing all I love might see the force of his arguments as I do. But my dear husband & children understand my views as being simply those of the bible & I pray they may live separate from the world, whether I am their companion & encourager in the narrow path, or whether from the grave I speak to them. Now bodily pain makes me restless & this may be my last page! I have just been drawn to the window overlooking the court, by Dounias expressions of admiration, my nerves are weak surely, for why should I weep as I gaze on my precious Debos graceful form as she is riding thro the Archway with M<sup>r</sup> Ropes & his wifes Sister Emily Hall<sup>195</sup> they look so happy & the weather is so propitious for their enjoyment, but the *future* for that daughter presses heavily upon my heart if she should soon be left Motherless!

But let me not wish to “guide the hand of God, nor order the finger of the Almighty”<sup>196</sup> What an oppressive burden is taken off a Christians shoulders, by the privilege of leaving all consequences *while in the* path of duty, to God. The follower of Jesus need not say how shall I bear this trouble! how remove this difficulty! how get thro this deep water! Casting all care upon the All-wise-all merciful I commit myself & all who are dear to me to God. Tomorrow I may not be here! But He is from Everlasting! To Him I turn in prayer.

October 23<sup>rd</sup> <sup>197</sup> So much have I been occupied since the last page was written it has proved quite impossible for my pen to note the changes which have marked the time. How solemnized were were feelings as I completed even that, for the pains of my body made life

seem uncertain, but our Heavenly Father has indeed given a fresh spring to my earthly existence & I pray for His grace to spend it in bringing my children up in His service. At about half past one o'clock on Friday morning August 29<sup>th</sup> our little darling Russian boy was born,<sup>198</sup> his fond father & Aunt Alicia who had by turns comforted me by their presence in my chamber, waited in the nursery to see the fine healthy babe put in his Karita<sup>199</sup> by Naanooshka,<sup>200</sup> soon after which our dear Debo & George were told of the acquisition, the latter only, expressed dissatisfaction that it was not a little Sister, as to James & Willie, another little brother was just what they wanted! Willie was so captivated he would fain have attached himself to Titania's<sup>201</sup> apron string! & always thought it a great treat if he might have the glass of mother's milk which baby did not want, or a reward if allowed to see him in his Karita. Every hour testified God's goodness to me. Dr Handysides<sup>202</sup> visits seemed only to be to advise caution to keep well & to congratulate me upon having so vigorous an infant. Titania was called to Alexandrofski to fulfil her engagement to my American friend<sup>203</sup> when baby was eight days old & it has been my pleasure every morning since to bathe & dress my sweet boy. but when she was a fortnight old she was permitted to come to see him & to be present at his christening,<sup>204</sup> which took place in our drawing room in presence of all our American friends & was performed by Dr Law, (my Sister Alicia & George being Sponsors while Whistler stood proxy for our pastor the Rev<sup>d</sup> H Lee of Springfield Massachusetts who we think will not object to being God father to our little John Bouttatz. Yes we have named him in compliment to our Russian friend Col Bouttatz, for he has evinced love towards our other children & must ever be associated with those (God early recalled) Kirkie (who loved him for his gentle attention, & Charlie whom he was the last to look upon! Probably he may never see this name sake! for he is thousands of versts away, engaged in some mines on the borders of China in this vast Empire.<sup>205</sup> tho if he ever can visit us I am sure he will love the little Johnnie who is such a delight to us all. That Sunday of the christening being the 3<sup>rd</sup> after his birth I sat at the head of the dinner table – but I ought not to omit to mention all our domestics<sup>206</sup> were witnesses, & each drank his health & tasted the rich cake offered to our guests. Yohon our faithful German footman who is a Lutheran. Christina & Doonia our

laundress & house maid who are Russians & therefore of the Greek church & Marie our cook a Fin, each seemed equally interested, tho our own good Mary shed tears of emotion, for she as having been Charlies nurse & now Johnnies feels most with us. May He who was in the midst of us, Accept this little one & regenerate him by the purifying influences of His holy Spirit & may we his parents fulfil our vows to work with God & strive to keep this lamb of Christs flock from straying away from the fold! Gladly do I renounce the vanities of the world! Oh may God help me to obtain a conquest over my own sinful passions that my example may not be a stumbling block to any of those entrusted to my care. May I never forget they are not *my own*, but Christs, & to be required at my hands! Awful responsibility. The next day was one of some bustle & I avoided it by keeping to my room, for I must store up all my energies for the demand in prospect. It had suddenly been decided that we must part from our dear Debo whose health needed a change & Mary was aiding her in packing for a long absence from home, we must none of us selfishly murmur, for God had marked out our course of duty. As last June every effort she made to set out for England was frustrated, so at this time every obstacle was removed & on tuesday she embarked with her kind Aunt Alicia & her brother George on board the Rob Roy for Hull,<sup>207</sup> the agent of which had so considerately restored her passage money when he heard that our plan of sending her in June was frustrated by Georges visit to Russia I bore up against my grief at parting with three at once, not only for their example but for my dear husbands sake, & would it not have been sinful to have had rebellious wishes, when an Invisible & Heavenly Parents hand had the helm. “for without Him not a sparrow falleth”<sup>208</sup> Whistler took our boys to Cronstadt to see their Sister, Aunt & brother on board the English Steamer. So many arrangements were requisite to be completed that day in preparation of the new Tutors coming the next, that Mary with Doonia & Yohon were all busy, I only gave orders as I sat beside & attended to my baby. We required no dinner except in the kitchen! But tho I was well pleased to have had our appartments restored to perfect order & many comforts concentrated in the two rooms<sup>209</sup> to us for sleeping, I realized how desolate the circle when at nine in the evening my dear husband & boys returned & we four sat down to tea, where the table was wont to be



crowded. That night Whistler & I were still seated in earnest conversation about our darling daughter until after midnight, he had spent some sleepless ones in the prospect of this necessity for a separation from her & it became my comfort to soothe & cheer him by sympathy & by leading him to cast his care upon Him who could make all which seemed adverse work together for good to her. Mons Lamartine<sup>210</sup> was installed on the 18<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>211</sup> as Tutor to James & Willie. I rather dreaded heading my own table the first day while my husband was at Alexandrofski, as I could not converse with a German & he had I knew lived two years in the family of Gen<sup>l</sup> Chiffkin, whose lady<sup>212</sup> of course could freely do the honors, as Russ Italian & French she is equally versed in, however as there was no resource I collected all my mental powers & went out to welcome him as one of our family circle, he came forward with the utmost politeness & respect, kissed my hand, & the freedom with which my boys chatted with their tutor soon made me quite comfortable. I could comprehend – & this was enough for it is difficult to determine which is the greatest talker Jemmie or Mons Lamartine, he is about fifty years of age - yet perhaps his sallow & very thin visage makes him look so, for his black hair is not the least turned. He takes all his meals at our table, only his lodging is at the house where old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon has hers, she recommended him to us, & so grateful is he that once when she was out he took the chance of testifying his gratitude by spreading a handsome quilt upon her bed which he had purchased purposely. One excellent trait in his character is his affection for his Mother who is supported from his salary, he looks sad when he speaks of the improbability of his ever visiting home again! he seems truly pious, attends his - the Lutheran - church regularly every Sunday morning & would always join our family prayers as he has done once or twice but like most people on this continent is not fond of early rising! he only manages to catch his breakfast with us. At 12 precisely Yohon takes him a cup of Soup & each of the boys a boiled egg to the Cabinet d'étude at 1 1/2 they go out to walk, great has been the demand for patience & perseverance with the tutor until they are broke of their wild pranks in the school & on the street, he must indeed discover a vast difference between them & Russian lads who are drilled from infancy to politeness & submission

Oct 24<sup>th</sup> I have been sending off my second letter to dear Debo for this is her birth day,<sup>213</sup> we have also been favored twice with epistles from her,<sup>214</sup> she had been on a visit to Flish<sup>215</sup> with her Aunt & Uncle Winstanley & altho this season there is too much rain in England to render travelling delightful as it otherwise would be, she found the sunshine of hospitality & kindness under M<sup>r</sup> Ainsworths<sup>216</sup> roof & the day of the journey back the weather was propitious, they made the circuit of the Lakes<sup>217</sup> & Debo was charmed with the scenery – her health benefitted also by the fortnight among the mountains. She is looking forward to our dear friend Kate Prince meeting her in Preston! May He who is the hearing of prayer answer mine for the happiness of my dear daughter! cheer her during her trying separation from us & turn all that seems adverse to her wishes into cause for gratitude hereafter, May He unite our hearts perpetually in love to Jesus & grant that we may always remember in passing thro temporal scenes, the end of being that we may enjoy them only as pilgrims upon earth, referring all things to Eternity. May my dear daughter only seek friends among those who are the friends of Jesus! In England she has the advantage of hearing from our native land speedily & keeping up a regular correspondence with dear George & Julia. She will open the mysterious packet I put sealed in her trunk containing her birth day souvenir & tho trifling in comparison to last 24<sup>th</sup> of October, it will tell her mother *thinks* of her.

Saturday November 29<sup>th</sup> <sup>218</sup> Baby is exactly three months old today, his mother records with thankfulness that he has always been well, but little Johnnie does not give her hours for her pen or book, hence the wide gap again in this which must be brought up at the close of this month. How many events for gratitude to God crowd for notice. Our dear Georges letter announcing his landing in New York reached us exactly three weeks after its date! the most prompt communication yet, between the U S & Russia. During the Steamer G<sup>t</sup> Britian's<sup>219</sup> voyage thither George was exposed to great peril, once this immense ship was surrounded by breakers among Nantucket shoals, the experience he has had even since he left us ought to excite trust in an Almighty, invisible hand which led them out of their perilous situation to the haven where they would be - for Debo had acknowledged how fearfully near, death seemed on the boisterous voyage they made to England. Oh how she

would have trembled again could she have been aware how the sea raged around her dear brother! but she was spared even hearing of the uneasiness felt for the safety of the G<sup>t</sup> Britian - as this was only her 2<sup>nd</sup> trip to N York & she was 19 days accomplishing it - We have heard lately from our dear daughter how glad she was made by a letter from George - she had just returned to Preston after having spent a fortnight at Waterloo,<sup>220</sup> where she had gained so much strength from sea air that she had explored its environs on foot or Donkey without suffering fatigue. Kate Prince was still in Paris! and Aunt Alicia had remained in Liverpool. Debo missed her as a part of home, notwithstanding the fondness lavished on her by Aunt Eliza & that she is a favorite of Uncle W. They mention the death of our old friend M<sup>rs</sup> Stevenson<sup>221</sup> in London. for many years she had been tried with illness & afflictions. Oh that thro much suffering she may have entered glory! she was one who lived but to serve those around her! May it be said unto her at the day of Judgement "inasmuch as ye did it unto the least of these - ye did it unto Me"<sup>222</sup> but I have heard nothing of her death except that it was *sudden* at last. Oh may it find me prepared to meet my Judge! I have received a most happy report of the illness & death of my friend & countrywoman M<sup>rs</sup> Nichols from her husband the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Nichols<sup>223</sup> of Lebanon Connecticut - her love for the holy scriptures had been so sincere she had long carried a pocket volume even on her drives of a few miles that she might read a few chapters by the way- no doubt this truly united husband & wife held sweet counsel upon the word of God - for he says his wifes hopes were all founded upon the promises of scripture & that she found them all true. she was inspired to write devotional lines for his comfort on her bed of suffering & the only wish she had *unsatisfied* at the last hour was that he might go with her! But it is his Saviours will that he shall yet work in His vineyard & tho M<sup>r</sup> N says he shall never come out of the shade God has cast over him I am sure many that the world envy may on their death bed wish they had been as this *lonely man!*

Saturday night Dec 27<sup>th</sup> <sup>224</sup> It is almost useless in me carrying on a record of the events of this year, when once a month, a half hour only can be thus devoted. But I have still the bountiful goodness of my Heavenly Father to inspire me with a desire to note down, & the hope that as the days lengthen & darling baby is less dependent upon me I

may collect what may be pleasing to send my honoured mother. Debo's letters once a fortnight<sup>225</sup> continue regularly to cheer us, we look forward to the every other Monday as eagerly as children do to holidays. her last closed with the words "in one hour Kate Prince will be here" & her next we suppose will tell us of the treat she felt the society of that dear friend from Lowell to be, but now we imagine her to have changed the scene again as she was to spend the Christmas at Chaddock Hall<sup>226</sup> where, when I was Anna Mac I passed these holidays so delightfully that I almost fancy myself there now beside my dear Sister & kind brother Winny who have my Debo under their wing as they then had me. We have missed her much at home, the fond little brothers were right when they said it would not appear like Christmas without Sister & Aunt Alicia & Mademoiselle!" Their kind tutor has most amiably devoted the four days holidays to their benefit however. On Wednesday the birth day of the young Harrisons<sup>227</sup> was celebrated & while James & Willie were there in a party of 30 children, Mons Lamartine laden with bon bons aided Yohon in decorating a tree according to the German custom, wax tapers of every color fixed on every twig of the ever green, (which was brought from "Dom Drury" Peterhoff road<sup>228</sup> by one of the good old gentlemen peasants for Willie who was right glad to reward him with "Na Chi"<sup>229</sup> — grapes hung down from every bough, sugar roses, strawberries, raspberries & currants to be plucked & offered to the young guests, if Willie had not be disappointed that Sarsha<sup>230</sup> could not come & that the Zargoshkins<sup>231</sup> were not allowed to stay to dinner, his satisfaction would have been complete. But I must not forget the pleasant drive the boys took with me (as soon as baby's nap released me, in our New sledge, we stopped first at old M<sup>rs</sup> Leons to remind her we should dine early as she had promised to come to help me entertain the juvenile party - and to deposit a gift with her & cakes in the tutors apartments, being next hers, then we drove to M<sup>r</sup> Woods to ask for Kitty & Willy<sup>232</sup> to dine the next day as James fête. — A gift descended upon that family in the form of another daughter,<sup>233</sup> Kate was all full of joy to announce it the day after saying "now we are several girls & boys, but I hope we shall be ten or a dozen that we may play all sorts of games in a family circle by & bye" the little lady was dressed in a rose colored muslin & her cheeks became the same hue, my husband was quite charmed with her naiveté

& said aside to me the Woods were the life of the 16 who assembled around our dinner table, – but I must not skip over Christmas day, & first, let me never forget my experience of Gods mercy in permitting *us to assemble at prayers* in health! As I seated myself at breakfast table what was my surprise to find under my cup a beautiful gift from my faithful nurse Mary, a carved ivory seal for my desk with the initials of my name in silver & a type of her own fidelity in the chaste cart dog at the top. I was moved almost to tears by her humility in placing it for my acceptance & the boys were not slow to report to her after breakfast that “father said he never could find any thing so pretty” when they went to give her a large bun & to distribute one to Yohon, Hadenskougg, Dunia, Coharka, Christine & Coacher.<sup>234</sup> Willie could not in two turns bring the load from the German bakers,<sup>235</sup> without aid, & his labour of love created much mirth in the bufet. After babys bath I was soon ready to take the boys a drive in our beautiful new Sledge, we called at Mr Woods to invite his children to dinner the next day. tho our first stop had been at Madame Zagoshkins for her two little girls,<sup>236</sup> who attended by their nurse were at our house by the time my boys could get dressed to receive their guests, but these were not allowed to stay more than two hours. I am guilty of repetition I find from seizing odd moments after days intervening. For we have entered upon a New Year 1846. And never was there lovelier weather than Thursday the 1<sup>st</sup> of Jan. Our boys were to have spent it with their young countrymen the Eastwicks<sup>237</sup> upon the American Ice Hills at Alexandrofski but Jemmie had been imprudent in venturing upon the Skating ground before it was freed from snow without overshoes, also be it recorded to his disgrace he had run thro every pile of new fallen snow which had been scraped together by the sweepers on the English quai. he paid severely for his exploits by narrowly escaping Croup & he was asked if going thro the Allegahany Mountains<sup>238</sup> was preferable to the ice hills – As he poor fellow had to keep his bed the New Years day I stole Willie from the school room to go to the market with me having yet the Old Style Christmas<sup>239</sup> to prepare gifts for. how striking was the Winter scene as we went out upon the Quai. the sun shone so brightly upon the gilded spire of the Old Fortress Church on the opposite side of the frozen Neva, which is not yet soiled by the winters travel over it. We were altogether out two hours

for after shopping two we came back to get dear father to help me choose new caps for the boys. very becoming they prove, of maroon cold velvet. he selected a Polka Hat<sup>240</sup> for himself, the boys thought it put him quite in a dancing mood when he went home! Another American mail without a line from George, if he could only conceive how disappointed we feel he would not omit writing regularly. A letter from Mary Mac<sup>241</sup> informs us he is in Baltimore & Mr Winans informs us it is in his fathers works our dear Son is interested.<sup>242</sup> he should not have deputed to others this intelligence, for we look to him now for our medium of communication, since Julias<sup>243</sup> letters are directed to Debo in England, & my dear Mother is in Florida for the Winter

Monday [January] 5<sup>th</sup> Russian Christmas Eve.<sup>244</sup> Willie looked so nice when Mary completed his simple toilette & sent him by Coacher to Mr Morgans<sup>245</sup> at 6 o'clock, with many charges not to disturb ringlets or plaited frill by his furs - and seemed so full of bright anticipations of all around the green tree, the little companions he was to frolicwith till 9 o'clock that I felt more than ever sorry dear Jemie's cold still keeps him prisoner, and he so good humouredly saw Willie depart! only we disagreed about the advice he gave to fill his pockets full of bon bons - After our tea, Mons Lamartine being away, Jem & I hied to the school which was in the nicest order for our setting the plates, my apron & pocket filled with the gifts selected during my several shopping excursions of last week with my little Willie as interpreter in German. French or Russ as the various magazines<sup>246</sup> needed. We had to reserve dear fathers portion for when I might arrange the several articles in my own room as he soon followed us to the school room. We had just filled the plates eight in number when Willie returned from the party, he being the first to tear himself away from the facinating circle at Mr Morgan. which had been considerably increased by the entrance of masked ladies my innocent Will could scarcely believe Miss Emily Law was not a real Russian Nurze, tho he knew Miss L was not a Monk or Miss Isabel a Cossack<sup>247</sup> - he came home laden with spoils for it is the custom in this land to take all the bon bons one cannot eat & those who are not au fait,<sup>248</sup> have them pressed upon their pockets. The last thing attended to by our boys was hanging up their stockings & Mary acted as a liberal Santa Clause, she would not again tease them as she did New Style by

putting in a bit of string & an old end of a Sterine Candle. They were quite rich in the morning & yeilded to my proposal not to open the door of the school room until after dinner. Willie hid the gift he had for dear father by his plate before breakfast & after the blessing had been pronounced I pretended something called me to the Corridor & softly stole behind Whistler with the new Umbrella open & shaded his head, this caused the boys a merry moment & then father discovered Jemmies tobacco box, which coming from the Demidoff<sup>249</sup> is completely Russian. he declared we had all cheated him as he had supposed gifts were only provided for the servants & he had none for any of us. But the boys did not agree to that when James found his watch converted into gold by fathers forethought & Willie received a costly & instructive game called the Gallery of Versailles<sup>250</sup> Johnnie we all claim as our richest New Years gift & kisses is all we offer for his acceptance. Our Servants all were thankful to attend church as we did, Mary of course could not leave baby. Doct Laws text was "Jesus Christ the righteous" some parts of it did not satisfy me. he wore his scarlet robes & cap. altogether the effect was too high church for a simple republican.<sup>251</sup> Many more communed than usual, I remarked for the first time our friend Mr W Miller, yet very probably he has often received this sacrament without my being aware. I always now am irresistibly led to notice the Hon<sup>ble</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Bloomfield<sup>252</sup> at church, since her piety is her distinguishing grace. she is sweetly devout and I should judge her unaffected & humble minded. What a contrast to the gay, worldly, old Lady Stewart who occupied her place when we first came to St Petersburg I was pleased that only my dear husband & boys waited dinner for me, as the servants were the sooner freed from attendance, Yohon took the contents of his Christmas plate home to gladden his children, & Coacher asked to take his pie to share it with his brother, he promised to send the 3 ruble note to his wife who is a slave<sup>253</sup> in Moscow. The three women servants would kiss even Whistlers hand when the came up to the drawing room to receive their plate & dresses. As to baby the nearly devoured him with kisses. Mary had to run off with him to the nursery. she said she had never before such beautiful gifts. I felt so happy that I had succeeded in gratifying all I asked for no greater treat. Our tutor did not get his gifts till yesterday the 8<sup>th</sup> as he has been sick. Hadenskougg seemed equally delighted with his. & Even Pasha<sup>254</sup>

had a mince pie. How easy it is to create good will among those who are not pampered & selfish. I had quite depended upon a Christmas offering from my dear Debos pen & was dissappointed when the envelope contained only a hurried note from her to her father & the others directed to friends here, she has spoiled me by the regular & fond epistle once every fortnight, for tho I was glad to get a note from our dear Kate Prince - who also sent one to each of our boys,<sup>255</sup> I craved more. I had forgotten to mention that of late I have had to pay several visits to our countryman Doct Maynard,<sup>256</sup> he has almost charmed away my dread of a dentists chair by his skill & gentleness, even in the fearful operation of extracting. I did not suppose I could voluntarily have submitted to losing three teeth, as I have done at a sitting lately. This countryman of our dined with us today en famille as did M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Annie unexpectedly. We had one of my mince pies, for the first time since leaving Springfield I ventured in the kitchen to try my skill as a pastry cook, but alas want of practise caused labour without satisfaction. I wished these might meet others who at our table<sup>257</sup> tomorrow. but they are always welcome even when I am not prepared to show off my best house keeping.

Friday evening [January] 9<sup>th</sup> <sup>258</sup> My husband had engaged to take M<sup>r</sup> Curtis<sup>259</sup> & his daughter<sup>260</sup> to the Alexandrofski works but the snow was yet falling in heavy flakes as it has done this winter & they decided to wait for more favorable weather. We invited our good neighbours the Ropes to meet them at our five oclock dinner but M<sup>rs</sup> R had not a moment to spare from poor Hannahs<sup>261</sup> sick room & also her three little girls are quite ill with cold, how various are the scenes of this uncertain life. Whistler & I took our little Willy to church yesterday to attend the funeral service of our old landlord M<sup>r</sup> Drury,<sup>262</sup> he was so deeply interested he wished (as we drove back thro the Galernia, many times we might to go to the grave, he had noticed the grief of even the poor slaves who were present when their old masters coffin was moved down the aisle & said how solemn it looked to see the little grand children weeping & all the family in deep mourning. I shared my little Willies feelings & it was rather an effort for me on returning home to bustle about getting fruit &c ready for our expected dinner party. Col Todd was the first to make his appearance so we had some private chat in the



drawing room upon the Presidents Message<sup>263</sup> & the Cols own contemplated return to our native land,<sup>264</sup> before Mr Clay came, with an apology from his lady<sup>265</sup> whom he left in bed. Mr Joseph Ropes was quite an acquisition, for Mr & Mrs<sup>MS</sup> Curtis<sup>266</sup> were the only two besides. the dinner was a nice one & all passed off well to my relief. We had Codfish which is brought from Archangel<sup>267</sup> frozen & we had also American cider the gift of my kind friend Mrs Gellibrand. but it was not from Newark<sup>268</sup> I fancy. A bright moonlight night & the report of a thaw, which with such an unusual quantity of snow was not desirable. We sent the Curtis to Misses Bensons lodgings in our sledge at eleven, the others had taken leave before tea. the col having two other engagements for the evening. It is always a weight off my mind when a dinner party is over whether as an entertainer or a guest, I prefer unceremonious hospitality.

March 9<sup>th</sup> 1846.<sup>269</sup> Monday night. I should give up journalizing as it is so seldom I have an hour not demanded by some higher duty. but hope always urges me on, there may come a time when I can make weekly records at least, & if we ever return to our native land my boys may like to refer to this period of their sojourn in St Petersburg. The weather this winter has not been as it was last year. Thro Dec we had much rain & the river was unusually late in closing. January was frost unyeilding till at last we became accustomed to 20 deg of cold & upwards. truly I realized the old adage in February “as the days lengthen the cold strengthens”<sup>270</sup> and we each have suffered in turn. I have taken cold after cold, my husband also from exposure in his drives to Alexandrofsky has had repeated attacks, and once our precious baby was so ill I wept over him trembling to see him suffer, but God blessed the means used & since then he has been gaining upon our little countryman “Sweet William”<sup>271</sup> next door & does not yeild the palm for sprightliness to any of the babies of his age. The frosty weather yeilded very mal a-propos no doubt the people thought, for the thaw began with the Carnival, nevertheless the crowd thronged all the places of amusement in the Square & when we drove home that way one day - week before last - from a shopping excursion in the Nevsky the Circus riders were trying to entice the multitude to pay & enter. Jemie felt quite tempted by the 1/2 doz riders who had come out to shew their horsemanship, & wondered I could resist the invitation but I always reply to my boys that

the Spectacle for us is outside, where the holiday scene tho painful to reflective minds, certainly is peculiar to Russia, the ice hills in the centre with their sledges in active business. the gaily painted pavilions some offering swings, others boats *on wheels*. others cars on a circular rail way. then the theatres with all their tawdry signs, at a signal all are set in motion together & the poor people fancy themselves happy while they chaunt their own peculiar measures, tho the Police are surrounding them on their huge black horses to make them remember they must keep their mirth within bounds in this Imperial city. This holiday when none will work who can avoid, commences on the Lords day & is kept up thro another Sabbath immediately preceding Lent. Indeed the whole community are rife for amusement before the fast. The theatres, concerts & Operas offering three times instead of once in the day. Our boys found it so tantalizing when the Eastwicks came from Alexandrofsky to our house purposely to take them to the Cachels<sup>272</sup> that I almost feared their father would yeild, but the most *unselfish* feelings induced him to say nay. they had always been happy without these *experiments* & he would not risk their following the multitude in their chase after folly. It was kindly meant by the Eastwicks & I rejoiced on reflection that my dear boys seemed convinced by their fathers arguments, they should have had a course upon the Neva in the Laplanders sledges<sup>273</sup> drawn by Reindeer Whistler went to seek this seasonable pastime for them, but for that day the races were over, so he sent Yohon to secure for them seats at the Theatre des Enfants<sup>274</sup> for the morrow. Mary went with them. it was noon & I gladly took her post in the nursery. when my dear boys came back by 3-oclock & Willie acted all the little *poupéts* parts, sung, danced, disappeared to come again before me with fresh novelties, I felt that few could enjoy more innocent amusement than we. he so artlessly said to me when describing the scenery stage &c “Oh Mother it all looked so grand I was afraid *real* people would come out to act & then I knew we ought not to stay as you do not approve of any but *poupéts* acting” – I wished within my heart he might ever make this distinction & never have the sin recorded against him of encouraging immortal beings in thus frittering away their days in rehearsals & their nights in exhibitions! Jemie was in extacies when he told me of the beautiful dissolving views which had closed the exhibition

& they had each said to Mary as they drove thro the Square, how glad they were that father had not let them break the rules to go in that *rowdy* crowd. Even poor Dounia our Russian maid tho the boys had each presented her a half silv ruble to amuse her Sat afternoon at the Cachels had not gone, she spent her money in coffee & sugar & congratulated herself that she had not yeilded to the temptation to throw it away upon Swinging &c. Our coachman got drunk without leave or licence, but he was the only one of our household who heeded the general holiday. My dear husband who has often dieted during the winter to get rid of illness was obliged to consult doct R & it happed *luckily* as some would say, but *providentially* his setting out for an inspection of his rail=road had been delayed for he would have been as badly off as Mungo Park.<sup>275</sup> I had little sleep while he was ill for baby too was yet in a precarious state & probably anxiety for them both, aided by the closeness of our heated house affected my heat,<sup>276</sup> then the preparations for Whistlers departure exposed me to draughts for last Sunday week<sup>277</sup> which was the day succeeding, I was scarcely able to open my eyes from congestion of the brain. I immediately directed my attentive Mary to apply synapisms<sup>278</sup> to my ankles, back of my neck & throat. and took a dose of oil, by noon however I sent for the doct who approved of my course & only advised a mustard foot bath, but darling Johnies teeth caused me a sleepless night & I realized the next morning how ill I still continued. however during the week which has elapsed I have gradually recovered. letters from dear George in Balt came to divert attention from self – & others to enclose his father to meet him at Tver.<sup>279</sup> also one from Debo<sup>280</sup> to interest me. she writes of the signs of spring coming violets & crocuses opening & of her walking miles without fatigue. how great her advantages to be where her feet can press the soil! but she only is eager to fulfil her term of absence from home & be restored to us again. I cast the future upon the Lord who so gently leads her & warms hearts to love her wherever she is. thanks be to Him that her health is restored, I will not even dread bringing her back to the unwholesome atmosphere of this city founded on a bog-for He has ordered our sojourn in it. The thaw has now lasted nearly a fortnight, it would be imprudent for me to walk, I even rode the trifling distance to church last Sunday, it was Sacrament & I took dear old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon home in our sledge tho her lodging is such a step from the

church, but she must have waded ankle deep in mud to get thro their gateway. My boys too remained for me thro Communion & thus gave their mite to the poor at collection. Ah how sad it is to observe how many turn their backs upon the Lords table & satisfy their conscience by the form of attending once or twice a year! but M<sup>ES</sup> Bloomfield is never absent either from public service or communion, she looks so devout & *acts* with such sweet humility my heart warms towards her with sisterly affection. & yet in this world we must always be as strangers to each other. How much it says too for the household of the queen of England that one who was among her maids of honor should so consistently walk in the narrow path honoring God in the midst of a people who are so indifferent about keeping the 4<sup>th</sup> Commandment. My Mary always remarks upon Sir John<sup>281</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Bloomfields attendance in the afternoon when so very few go to hear the word! Doct Law does not spare the luke warm, he reproves & exhorts them to turn from the error of their ways. I was much delighted to learn by a note from M<sup>rs</sup> Law last Saturday that the two poor Englishmen who have been supported at her Hospitium<sup>282</sup> have at last collected the needful sum for their return to their families in England. poor fellows they no doubt are trudging willingly over winter roads their weary long way! while I am daily lamenting that my husband has to ride over such between this & Moscow.

Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> March.<sup>283</sup> Jemie still marks down how many deg *heat* in place of cold in the mem he keeps of the weather for his Father. Appearances certainly portend an early breaking up of icy bands, & how delighted I shall be when safe to send baby out into the open air even in a carriage! he enjoys Marys bringing him even into the drawing room submits to being wrapped up to pass the back stairs the only part of our lodgings not heated, for he likes change of scene & for these first six months of his existence has not had much variety. he certainly is very frolicsome for his age! This morn I was quite surprised at receiving another letter from Wellesly House.<sup>284</sup> I immediately replied to my dear daughters affectionate epistle to assure her of our all being quite well again. she reports herself quite a Hebe<sup>285</sup> & the kind Maingays are so urgent for us to spare her longer to them to profit by the air of Shooters Hill that I only wait her fathers acquiescence to accept M<sup>r</sup> M- invitation. Jemie voluntarily gave up going over to the Academy to draw this

afternoon that he might do something to surprise dear father, in anticipation of his coming home. No one ventured in the sledge therefore, my little effort at shopping in the Nevsky yesterday made me look most disreputable with mud plaisters on face & shube so I shall probably work up the materials purchased for my dear Mothers caps & write letters to go with them by M<sup>r</sup> J Ropes to America the rest of the week unless frost comes to purify the atmosphere. Our poor Dounia is ill today, no doubt the effect of the unwholesome diet, she observes the fast strictly. Oh how I wish I could read to her the 48 chap of Isaiah!<sup>286</sup> can it be possible the fathers of the Greek church read the bible & yet make the poor people believe they commend themselves to our Saviour by abstaining from milk, butter, eggs & meat, to substitute oil, mushrooms & *cold* fish. He who is a spirit & requires to be worshipped in spirit & in truth! Oh when will the true light shine upon the East, - whence it first dawned - Oh that the few scattered over the Earth who have it, would let it shine before men, to glorify their father in Heaven! I am continually admonishing James & Willie of their responsibility. they have been taught from the scriptures always. May God the Holy Spirit make them wise unto Salvation.<sup>287</sup>

Friday night 1/13 March.<sup>288</sup> We have had fine bright sunshine today. I sent the boys with Mary in the Sledge before their school commenced this morning as Mon L-s<sup>289</sup> passport obliged him to be late in coming. they were so sure the Ice Hills would be "first rate" I sent them to reconnoitre, the Mujic<sup>290</sup> promised impossibilities if they would give him Na Chi, & they came home in full faith of returning in the afternoon to find the hills like glass & to go down to their hearts content, but a drive I took at noon with dear old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon admonished me against consenting to any risk of their getting wet. the thaw was in full force many men at work in the Nevsky could not keep the sledging even, & we must submit to being spattered with mud until the ice is quite gone.

Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> March<sup>291</sup> a fortnight this afternoon since Whistler, Winans & Capt Klokoff left us for the inspection of the railroad. I was surprised as delightful<sup>292</sup> last evening to have my scribbling put a stop to by my husbands unexpected return home, he found the travelling better than I had anticipated for him, had not felt well, but had gone all the road to Moscow, where he attended divine Service last Sunday, he came

back upon the grand chemin<sup>293</sup> which from the expectation that the Emperor would soon travel to Moscow<sup>294</sup> was in fine order, many hundred peasants constantly labouring to keep it smooth. And here I will note what Whistler has seen in Summer, women & children weeding this turnpike lest his Imperial Majesty, or the Count K's eyes should be offended by a weed or any grass peeping out of the gravel My dear husband had not forgotten us in his fortnights absence, for each of the boys he brought a gun which Yohon is to teach them how to use, they had merited rewards for good conduct & I was delighted to see them so. Mary's gift a screw cushion<sup>295</sup> was just what she had wished for & the pretty hand bell the only thing I was not already supplied with. What a holiday it causes throughout the house when father comes home! of course much bustle too. I have been very busy in unpacking. Whistler had taken a canister of cakes to make presents at some of the officers house where he is always hospitably entertained, but the ingredient of butter condemned them & he brought them back. I sent one large loaf to the kitchen for the Fin Cook & laundress do not *substitute* or fast as they call the Lent regimen. I gave the other to Yohon to take home tomorrow to his wife & children, for Lutherans also are quite exempt from the six weeks abstinence, tho of course as in our church this is a holy season in theirs. How impressive would be the fact that all denominations of worshippers observe this portion of the year religiously if *all* were sincerely penitent in the sight of God! Jews & Christians!

[Wednesday] April 15<sup>th</sup> <sup>296</sup> How astonishing that I who have nothing to do with dissipation, should command so few convenient seasons for recording passing events in the quiet routine of my life in Russia, for I am blessed in good servants & my good Mary even relieves me of bathing baby now besides sewing for him entirely when he takes his naps. but the system of housekeeping is not upon the principle of saving time, which is the least of all things valued in the East. And this month past I have been much occupied in a sick room. My dear husband was seized by such an alarming attack a few days after his return from the road that altho all doct Rogers skill was exercised, we found nothing to remove the excruciating pain for many days warm applications yeilded relief, & my unceasing activity was demanded by night & by day to repeat the poultices often enough. how thankful I felt that he had not been

taken so very ill away from his nurse & physician, and how grateful when at last he could take nourishment & sleep! While the rumours of sickness & death were on all sides, we were spared. Oh that we might improve our prolonged existence here to the glory of God & the benefit of that part of our being which cannot die! baby was dangerously ill after his fathers convalescence & doct R was only surprised that I did not complain of fatigue from watching one sick couch then another, when I could be dispensed with my symptoms shewed a deranged system & I have feared I should suffer the debility many complain of here after the long confinement to heated rooms. My dear husband was sufficiently recovered to go *for us both* to the dinner party our friends the Gellibrands gave to the Americans.<sup>297</sup> but I was still too unwell last Wednesday, to accompany him to another, next door<sup>298</sup> where he met them, W<sup>m</sup> Maingay, the Meirrilees & several other English friends. How far it was from the thoughts of any them assembled around Mr Ropes hospitable board that the youngest & most blooming among them would this day be deposited in the tomb, yet difficult as it is to realize, we have listened this morning to the funeral address which Mr Ellerby made at the American Chapel over the coffin of this young christian, and my prayer is that the impression may be deep & lasting. It is just a week today since Emily Hall<sup>299</sup> in the bloom of health apparently sat for Mr Wright<sup>300</sup> to take her portrait, the family never put off what may be done in good time & her return to England so soon as the navigation might be free being urged by her parents & sister<sup>301</sup> at Leeds, her fond Sister here wished to secure a likeness of her favorite Emily at least. tho they were all hoping now the Neva's ice was disappearing they might remove to Pavloski early enough for her to participate in Summer scenes in Russia as she had so much enjoyed the peculiarities of its Winter pleasures. The Ice Hills she was quite a heroine there! and sledging she had compared to flying so exhilarating she found these exercises is the pure cold clear atmosphere. she likewise enjoyed exceedingly going to the Ménage<sup>302</sup> attended by her brother-in-law, who always must ride on horse back for health – last friday<sup>303</sup> they were in the quadrille of Equestrians! she the admired of the set for the ease with which she managed her steed, & he so proud of his Sister Emily! After dinner he proposed walking with her to the Gostinandvor to shew her the curious spectacle of the toy booths

& the immense crowd collected to sell & buy trifles, for the Palm-market was a novelty to her, she expressed herself pleased as was her wont where she saw their desire to delight her, but in the evening confessed she was not well upon their noticing her pale cheek & unusually quiet air, took some remedies for a cold & went early to bed. last Saturday<sup>304</sup> - the next morning - Emily was up in good time for family prayers & to make breakfast for Mr Ropes, for the baby<sup>305</sup> & little Ellen being ill, their mother was not allowed to make any exertion. When I stepped in just before our dinner time to ask after the little ones, I was struck with their kind Aunt Emilys paleness & felt it unusual with her not to take part in the friendly chat with her sister & myself, especially as we touched upon the subject of her return to England, for Mrs R was fearing in six weeks she should not be able to finish the beautiful peice of embroidery, she had all winter been trying to complete for her Mother, but during the past nine months she remarked "we have never all been well! I always have some one to nurse!" Little Ellen then wished her Mama to stop working, take her on her knee & read a story to her, upon which Aunt Emily put by her own embroidery & soon Ellen was happy with her fond arms around her neck, who then began telling of having taken little Louisa to the drawing room windows that morning to see the ice floating down (the river having been released from its Wintry fetters in the night<sup>306</sup> - and she so fondly repeated all the untutored remarks of the little two year old neice, that love & kindness was every tone, still I was pained by her strange look, & when I heard towards evening that Dr Handysides had prescribed for Miss Emily who had gone to bed I was not surprised, colds are still so prevalent & I had found the Palm market a chilly place, I doubted not she was getting the Influenza. On Sunday morning when I sent in a supply of milk from our over abundant dairy<sup>307</sup> I sent a message also enquiring how all were, & heard that Miss Emily was much better, therefore I made up my mind Mr & Mrs Ropes would go to chapel & so little serious did I consider her symptoms I should not have wondered had she gone also, for she never let trifling obstacles impede her attendance at the house of God. I had always been convinced of Emilys devotion to her Saviour, she had only a few days before been saying (happy as she felt visiting her dear Sister - she must go back to her charity & Sunday schools at home) and I have observed her in all



weathers tripping away to Chapel & when she could she has rode for the 3<sup>rd</sup> service to Alexandrofski. Knowing how sacredly the sabbath is observed by our neighbours I did not intrude, but thought Monday would be time enough! And yet I had not been without many experiences of “not knowing what a day might bring to pass”<sup>308</sup> After our early tea I was reading aloud from Legh Richmonds family portraiture<sup>309</sup> to my boys & their dear father in the drawing room, the front door is so near, we hear the voice of all who enter. A succession of quick pulls at the bell & Elizabeth Ropes<sup>310</sup> agitated tones made me spring to her side. “Oh come M<sup>rs</sup> W for Gods sake! the doct says Emily is dying! the short passage between our lodgings was passed in a moment & I was not many seconds in reaching the chamber of death, for so it proved, the idolized girl of 19 years was gently breathing her last, with her loving face turned towards that fond Sister to whom she was never again to speak in this world! M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes was kneeling on the bed beside her, gazing intensely upon that countenance which was so calm, she could not believe the cold hand she pressed was in the gripe of the king of terrors, but if the loved one were conscious the *sting* of death was not felt by her, she might have been strengthened by Angels who were invisible to mortal eyes! for she slept in death, as an infant lulled to sleep in a mothers arms. The struggle had been no doubt some hours before when poor Emily was so restless they could keep on neither blisters or sinapisms, *she had then* raised herself many times hopeless of ease & fallen back again on her pillow exhausted. but from the time I stood by her death bed all was calm, & dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes could not believe her darling Emily had ceased to breathe until she called for a candle & saw her eyes glazed! sightless, tho open! then nature could sustain her fortitude no longer, she was carried in a swoon to the next room by her afflicted husband, who felt as keenly as herself losing their favorite Emily. who have recovered from that protracted & severe illness of last Autumn, they were not prepared to give up in 30 hours from this sudden attack. “Be still and know that I am God”<sup>311</sup> was not slow to reach their wounded hearts, & tho so deeply bereaved, tho bowed to the earth in passing under this rod, they were not long in uttering “Gods will be done” Poor Hannah who had so tenderly been nursed by Miss Emily in her feeble health all winter, was so shocked by the suddenness of her death, she needed all our care &

support. Elizabeth Ropes & I got her to bed only in time to keep her from falling in a fit on the floor, her whole frame shook till we feared dissolution & her extremities we cold as Emilys! When at last she could find power to speak she said “Oh Why did not God take me! I am so miserable, so useless, such a care to every body, & she was such a blessing to all! but then she added meekly “He knew who was best prepared for His summons! Oh that I may be as ready to go as Miss Emily was” — But I must not prolong my account of last Sunday night, tho it was after twelve ere I could leave that house of mourning. Aided by my good Laundress & my excellent Mary we dressed for the last time that cherished body that no rude hands should touch it, and a sofa having been placed near the balcony in the drawing room, the double sash removed & the fire put out, doct H. Mr Merrilees & her Uncle Gellibrand bore the cold form of Emily which was extended on a board that it might be gently removed to its lonely couch. There both M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes & M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand gazed upon the loved form tho the sister could not yet weep. but on the successive days her bursting heart was relieved by floods of tears, as she could not deny herself stealing to Emilys side, until tuesday<sup>312</sup> afternoon, when after the doctors had examined into the cause of so sudden a death & decided it was inflammation of the bowels.<sup>313</sup> the body was put in its coffin (covered with pure white velvet - with plated handles & silver plate with name,& that evening carried to the Chapel. Dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes & even poor Hannah were there at the service today. Old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon went with us, but neither of these were at the grave<sup>314</sup> itself as the distance & weather rendered it imprudent. Never shall I forget what I felt as I stood looking down into that white sepulchre & saw the earth sprinkled on that snow white coffin of the young Emily! but as her dear little neices have been taught to distinguish, so must we all bear in mind it is only the body of senseless clay in that beautiful coffin. the spirit has returned to God who lent it to cheer parents & Sisters & friends, and He will speak comfort to all who turn to Him. Tho clouds & darkness surround His throne,<sup>315</sup> we know that the beams of mercy & love emanate from it. And that in all our sorrows, Jesus sympathises. What a lesson to the young to Remember their latter end<sup>316</sup> ere the days come in which they may not find repentance tho they would flatter themselves the sick bed is most suitable for making our peace with

God. But when the body is racked with pain, the intellect becomes clouded, Emily did not need to make a death bed testimony that she was one of the Saviours fold, for His service had engaged all her talents, but alas if she had given the world her heart, how could she have commanded her affections to Him who is the Lord of all. her brain was so much affected immediately that she could not converse & it was only by one remark in reply to her Sisters wish that Emily were well, & she in her place that she gave any expression which would lead one to suppose she was aware of any danger “Oh Ellen dear she said, dont wish yourself in my place! think how much more valuable is your life than mine!” I have seen M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes since the funeral, she is calm & has comfort in speaking of Emily, whose spirit she is assured is rejoicing in the presence of her Saviour, she trusts to His might to sustain her parents when the blow shall reach them. M<sup>r</sup> Ropes has written their pastor M<sup>r</sup> Hamilton<sup>317</sup> at Leeds who imparted so much religious instruction to Emily, he will comfort them by sympathy & sustain them by the promises of Gods word. I cannot cease writing of Emily Hall whom I never saw till eight months ago, without touching upon her sweet influence over her little neices next door. their parents have always been intent upon training them in the way Jesus teaches us to bring up our children even in the nurture & admonition of the Lord. the obedience & dutiful attention to their parents wishes is a sufficient reward for their perseverance. And their Aunt Emily these few months past has added greatly to their heavenly wisdom by seizing every favorable hour for cultivating their love of music, with spiritual songs & strengthening their memories with appropriate verses from the bible to their childlike confidence in a heavenly Fathers goodness & love. They have spent every day since her death at our house. Ellen who is just five years old has such a subdued tone & looks so sad, when she says “it is so very strange! the Aunt Emily who is upon the sofa in the drawing room, is not at all like the Aunt Emily who was always with us in our rooms! and then as if prompted by some invisible monitor she adds “Oh but it is not Aunt Emily! it is only her body that is upon the sofa, her soul has gone to God & she is happier in heaven, than we are on Earth”. Little darling Mary Emily sings “Around the throne of God in heaven thousands of children are”<sup>318</sup> and when I ask her who taught her that, she says in a solemn tone “Aunt

Emily but she cannot speak to me any more!” then she brightens up & adds but Aunt Emily is happier than we are! she is with Jesus & she tunes her harp & sings with the children there! Oh how pleasant that hymn sounds now that she taught me to sing!” Then she goes on in the same strain. “God wishes us all to go to heaven when we die! He says “Those that seek me *Early* shall find me”<sup>319</sup> and Jesus says “Suffer the little children to come unto me & forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of Heaven”<sup>320</sup> Oh would that all would use their opportunities as did this Young Christian! who was so unostentatiously a devoted servant to the Lord. “Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth will speak”<sup>321</sup> And how natural it is to speak of those we think most of! And how strange that the world should impose such restraint upon the theme of all others to inspire the heart eloquently to speak. “Whosoever honoreth Me before men, him will I honor before the Angels of heaven”<sup>322</sup> Oh if we realized more fully, that we are but pilgrims our stay here uncertain, we should not put off, repentance, & amendment of life.

Saturday. May 2<sup>nd</sup> <sup>323</sup> 1846 At this slow rate I shall not fill this book to *send* my dear Mother & what else could induce me to note my thoughts on passing events! except that my boys may when I am not by their side like to refer to mothers record of the past. They are in the school room now reading the Roman history in french, to Mons Lamartine, promising themselves a repetition of the pleasure of viewing the pictures at the Academy of Fine Arts at noon, which they have enjoyed almost every day this week. It is the triennial Exhibition,<sup>324</sup> we like them to become familiar with the subjects of the modern artists, & to James especially it is the greatest treat we could offer, it costs us only 10 cop silver for their crossing the Neva there & back. Entrance is free to all castes until next week. I went last Wednesday<sup>325</sup> with my dear husband for an hour, we encountered a hail storm returning & I have been confined with a cold ever since. The only April showers here are frozen, indeed the extreme cold of Winter is not so trying to the constitution as the chilling winds we have had this week. I was highly gratified however at the Academy, should like to take some of the Russian scenes so faithfully portrayed,<sup>326</sup> to shew in my native land, my James had described a boys portrait<sup>327</sup> said to be *his likeness* & altho the eyes were black & the curls darker than his, we found it so like him! his father said he should be glad to buy it, but

its frame would only correspond with the furniture of a palace, being a rich vine, the boy is taken in a white shirt with crimped frill open at the throat, it is half length & no other garment could set off the glow on the brunette complexion so finely. But I gazed with a deeper interest upon a large painting of Bruno's<sup>328</sup> "the Serpent in the wilderness"<sup>329</sup> those countenances beaming with Faith I should never tire looking at, & Oh what a gloomy contrast do those make who will not look & be saved! Almost every afternoon lately dear M<sup>ES</sup> Ropes comes in to sit with me in my room whilst her husband is on Change, she says to sit alone now, where Emily was ever at her side quite unfits her for the exertions duty to her family require, she talks continually of her to me & says since Emilys sudden death, the world has lost its charm, whatever does not lead to Gods glory or advance the interests of immortal souls she now thinks ought not to be indulged in, herself & husband repeat to each other not to delay the performance of good, "*tomorrow* we may be in another world"

Saturday evening May 9<sup>th</sup> If my writing had not been interrupted last Saturday I should have recorded that the last Boston mail had brought us more letters than we have ever received at any one time from our dear native land, what a treat! my head & my heart were both full of news & emotion. I wished in vain for leisure to answer all by last tuesdays<sup>330</sup> mail, could only finish one to my dear Sister Kate & enclose within it a note to Eliza M<sup>C</sup> N.<sup>331</sup> how beautiful the account my precious mother wrote me from Florida under date of Feb.<sup>332</sup> of the approach of spring after an unusually cold winter in that latitude "Charlies house surrounded by daily rose bushes, now in full bloom, Olianders & cape Jessamines also, multiflora woodbine & yellow jessamines covering the piazzas" all these so odoriferous how enviable to have with reach, it was no wonder I had a sweet dream of my mother after she had filled my fancy thus, it was a brief deception but it made me happy to have been near her even in a dream. I judge by this time my dear Maria must be settled in *her* new home in 13<sup>th</sup> S!<sup>333</sup> Elizas description of the new house with its pipes & warm & cold Croton water<sup>334</sup> in every story, its bath room, gas lights & speaking trumpets makes me fancy it the perfection of convenience. May our heavenly father bless the dear inmates with health to enjoy house keeping again! Eliza kindly urges me to go & spend

the summer in New York! to meet her aunt Eliza Cammann<sup>335</sup> who is visiting them from New Foundland, certainly it is a tantalizing invitation! but my temporary home is too far from theirs alas for me to avail. Debo will find it more difficult to resist returning with her cousin Mary Swift to New York for they meet in England upon Marys bridal trip as M<sup>rs</sup> Ironsides,<sup>336</sup> about this time, the Bliss<sup>337</sup> family also will be overjoyed to embrace their favorite Debo when they land at Liverpool,<sup>338</sup> they are to make the tour of Europe. I have commenced answering M<sup>rs</sup> Barnes kind letter<sup>339</sup> to be in time for next tuesdays Courier,<sup>340</sup> she has sent me a delightful report of the prosperity of Springfield, our dear little church now free from debt, our excellent pastor M<sup>r</sup> Lee more liked than ever & so attached to his flock as to decline calls of more extensive influence,<sup>341</sup> hundreds of houses have been built within the three years since we left, and one of the prettiest, a gothic parsonage which M<sup>r</sup> Lee his wife & two dear children are so happy in!<sup>342</sup> Our dear George also wrote us a most satisfactory account of his life in Baltimore,<sup>343</sup> he sent his father three news papers, the postage upon each being 4 rubles silv, mounted up so alarmingly that we shall have to prevent the repetition of such favors! Day before yesterday the weather changed, the snow which had continued up to then I hope may not return, baby has so enjoyed being taken to walk twice a day by his never wearying nurse Mary! she says he notices objects so much he all but speaks! looks in her face so smiling as he gazes at the novelties in the Boulevard,<sup>344</sup> or on the Neva as she strolls with him on the English Quai. I have felt new vigour from the walks I have had directly after breakfast with my dear husband, we cross the bridge & continue our promenade by the river on the Vasili Ostrow side up to the Custom house<sup>345</sup> & back. The birds & flowers it is supposed will soon be filling the court yard there, as the ships now just arrived at Cronstadt are transporting these favors for the public market by lighters<sup>346</sup> from that seaport to this Imperial city. Whistler during our walk pointed out where he thought the new stone = bridge<sup>347</sup> (now being erected below, ought to have been put up. to meet a fine open square near the Winter Palace, so conspicuous are the advantages of that central position it had been proposed, but the objection given was that as all the funeral processions would most probably pass over it, the burial places being on the Island opposite, it would be sad for the Imperial family to

witness, yet they must be subject to sad processions passing from the Nevski thro the Isaacs plain.<sup>348</sup> We met two funerals at one time on the wooden bridge yesterday. I hope the coming dry season may arrest the illness which fills the hospitals yet to overflowing. No doubt we shall soon be complaining of dust! which is a great annoyance whenever winters pavement is removed. I observed a little green grass today in my drive with boys & fancied the naked trees looking ready to bud, we shall soon jump into Summer! Next Wednesday will be May-day old style & all the world must hie to Catrinoff<sup>349</sup> tho there will not be a green leaf to regale the eye; But I had intended as I alluded to sickness among the poor especially to record an act of mercy & justice too in the Emperor as it was repeated to me by my old friend Mr<sup>s</sup> L. his majesty was making his annual visits among the hospitals as is his custom to inspect all the public institutions, he observed many sick, miserable objects-seated on the steps whom he learned had been refused a shelter- why? the hospital was full & fifties were disappointed daily. the Emperor was struck with the injustice to the poor that suites of fine large airy apartments were yet retained by the heads of the department, he promptly issued orders for the necessary arrangement of bed for the sick in these which had been mere audience chambers for the rich or general visiters. My old friend also told me with great satisfaction the impositions which the new Governer of the city<sup>350</sup> is redressing. he goes about disguised as a poor person to purchase meat or other commodities & whenever he finds prices exhorbitant condemns the butcher, baker or shop keeper to a suspension of business & sometimes demands a heavy fine. But my husband step demands my welcome!

Friday 8 oclock in the evening May 22<sup>nd</sup> Our tea table waits Whistlers coming & as the sun is still quite bright I may write a bit ere my boys are ready to hear me read as usual on their retiring. I get very slowly on in the delightful book a Scottish mission to the Jews<sup>351</sup> which to me is so interesting from my having read McCheynes life<sup>352</sup> last Summer, but I prefer enjoying it with my dear boys & Mary in the nursery, tho the long day-light beguiles them into cheating me of the hour I used to devote at their bed side to sacred biography or scriptural readings. We have had very cold weather until these two past days, & for want of rain dust has been in plentiful circulation when the wind rose,

my darling baby nevertheless has gathered a blooming complexion & good appetite from his airings. Mary daily takes him out ere the blustering of Boreas<sup>353</sup> can impede his enjoyment. While I gaze at him with delightful feelings, & my grateful heart is lifted to God in acknowledgement of His goodness to me undeserving as I am—. my sympathies are not withheld from a bereaved neighbour, whose little one just eight weeks older than my Johnie far exceeded him in intelligence, & who was quite as remarkable for health, the first ten months of her life none had lost an hours rest with care of her, & she had never lost a meal, her four first teeth had appeared without warning, but it was Gods will that teething should be cause of such a train of disease to remove her to a better world in less than a fortnight. Yesterday I saw the precious little body in its pure white coffin, flowers strewed around it, how unavailing its being so cherished by its fond Parents & Sister, it could be kept no longer & the lid was screwed down that they might bear it to the tomb. last Saturday at midnight the redeemed spirit had been borne to the bosom of its Saviour, & when on Monday I went with M<sup>ES</sup> Ropes to weep with dear M<sup>ES</sup> M.<sup>354</sup> we found her quite resigned, she had been attempting taking its miniature. She had been most afflicted at witnessing its sufferings, but with the Man after Gods own heart<sup>355</sup> felt after death it could not come back to her, the hope of going to where her little one is will always sooth her as she weeps her loss. In the death of an infant a mother feels “the joy of grief”<sup>356</sup> Last sunday morning the announcement of M<sup>RS</sup> M-s bereavement revived my feelings in my last trial, & my mind was deeply solemnized for attendance at Church. I was surprised to see a stranger in clerical dress follow our pastors family to their pew. Doct Law read the service & Doct Wiley<sup>357</sup> I (afterwards learned was his name) preached, a man past the prime of life with a slight scotch accent, but his very reverential manner & deep toned voice made every word impressive & his subject was fitted to raise our views to the Eternal Three in One! 17 Chapter, latter part of the 12<sup>th</sup> verse of St John.<sup>358</sup> his attitude fixed attention as he leaned forward with a small bible in his hand, if he had notes he scarcely referred to them. I am afraid I shall not hear him preach again, as it is said he is making only a flying visit to his brother Sir James W & that he feels he ought not to absent himself from his flock in Scotland. he came over by the Hull Steamer



had morning & evening worship on board & explained the scripture daily to the passengers & crew. I must not omit to record the arrival of our friend George Prince from Boston last Saturday, he returned with the same Capt. Leach - with whom he went out to his native land last August. he was accompanied by his brother,<sup>359</sup> they three with the Ropes & our friend Capt Kruyger took tea<sup>360</sup> with us on Monday last, Whistler & I received some letters from home by M<sup>r</sup> Prince, who whenever he can be spared from the Counting house comes in to regale us with anecdotes of all our relatives & friends whom he visited<sup>361</sup> in the course of his nine months absence. I was delighted with a letter he brought me from M<sup>rs</sup> Maxwell<sup>362</sup> & more still with his account of the hospitality he received from that family circle<sup>363</sup> which I am sure I shall like when we meet face to face, as I have always had such a high regard for the Son. M<sup>rs</sup> M has sent me a dress, & to my boys a bundle of Stuarts candy,<sup>364</sup> how very kind & flattering. M<sup>r</sup> Prince says we must be patient till he manages to coax them thro the Customs house. But here is the young gentleman himself. I shut up my desk to chat about America.

Saturday afternoon. May 30<sup>th</sup> <sup>365</sup> It is exactly a fortnight since Geo Princes arrival & not till today did we receive the articles he brought us from Boston. In the interim the ship has been unloaded - reloaded & sailed last thursday.<sup>366</sup> But still our books are at the Censors. Jemie wonders if they read every volume which goes there! he thinks they must be well informed on universal history. he loves play better than books & now feels so delighted with Aunt Kates gift of marbles, sent by M<sup>r</sup> Prince! that I fear *he* will read less than ever. Koritsky<sup>367</sup> is taking a sketch of baby as he is seated in his little carriage driving about the parlor.

Saturday afternoon June 20<sup>th</sup> <sup>368</sup> I forget what interrupted my finishing this page three weeks ago. but I have been too busy ever since to note down the passing event. My dear husband set out for the inspection of his rail road tuesday before last,<sup>369</sup> I have written him twice & not having heard from him shall look for his return daily. M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison & little Annie embarked for London last Wednesday in the Victory.<sup>370</sup> they lunched with us. M<sup>r</sup> H & Henry went to Cronstadt to see them off. it was a sad trial to her leaving her baby & home, but her feeble health made it her duty to go, she nearly fainted & was obliged to be supported from the quai to the boat. we hope she will come back in a few weeks a

different woman. The Ropes bade us adieu the same day to stay at M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrands datcha<sup>371</sup> 15 versts on the Peterhoff road. their carts of furniture went off between the showers, but the sun shone out in the afternoon & I took a drive to Catrinoff gardens with Mary & baby. how delightful the verdure, Summer has come suddenly & the change is like magic. We called upon old M<sup>rs</sup> Baird on our return, she was very glad to see us & invited me to stay to tea, she expects Miss Morgans Sister<sup>372</sup> from Scotland every day & is in high spirits at the prospect. M<sup>r</sup> Miller has lately arrived<sup>373</sup> & in a parcel he was the bearer of from my Sister Alicia I find a beautiful volume of Sandlands=poems, & feel my fondness for the pet of my school days, as I read his chaste & noble thoughts. M<sup>rs</sup> S— sent me this, the work of her dear Johns leisure hours in Brazil.<sup>374</sup> It is not pleasant to turn from such contemplations to the dull realities, but I have accomplished the business of house-cleaning in my husbands absence, last Saturday<sup>375</sup> I had three sets of men at work, some coloring walls, others waxing floors, other repairing peaches, myself & the boys had to eat in the nursery several days & they have been so glad to have their beds in my room I have not sent them yet back to their own, it is comfortable for the few of us left at home, to draw near together. Old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon who has been very poorly, was well enough to spend day before yesterday<sup>376</sup> with me. doct Rogers came to tea by chance & we have had M<sup>r</sup> Prince to breakfast & tea when M<sup>r</sup> Ropes could take his horse back ride to the Datcha to pass the night, for I have begged our young countryman to come with out ceremony when threatened with a solitary meal. Yesterday the Empress of all the Russias was welcomed back to S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg,<sup>377</sup> there was a grand service performed at the Kasan church at which all the Imperial family were present crimson cloth spread on the pavement for the beloved Empress to walk from her equipage to the church, crowds waited to see her features once more both at the church door & Palace.<sup>378</sup> Last night the illumination which my boys have been so eagerly expecting took place, I stationed myself beside baby to let Mary & Dounia each witness what young people like, the glare, & was so interested in writing to America while Johnie slept that ten oclock surprised me, it was half after when Mary brought Willie to undress him, but James expressed such an eager desire that I should allow him to be my escort just to take a peep up the

Nevski that I could not deny him. The effect of the lights from Vasili Ostrow was very beautiful, as we drove along the Quai & the flowers & decorations of large mansions close to ours I thought more tasteful than those in the Nevski. We had to fall into the line of carriages in the Isaacs square to enter that broadway & just then the shout from the populace (so unusual in this city) announced to us that the Empress was passing. the cloudy evening was not so favorable for seeing her face, as it was for the illumination, but no mistaking that there was her very Imperial self from the two Cossacks as footmen, as none but the Empress boasts of those proud attendants,<sup>379</sup> her guards also were in the rear. thus the Empress was going home to the Winter Palace just as we were beginning our dissipation. but there was no possibility of getting out of the line, gen d'armes stationed thro the middle of the Nevski, prevented any disorder, tho I was terrified lest the poles from the coaches should run into our backs, or that some horse might take fright, or bite us so close were their heads. Jemie laughed heartily & aloud at my timidity, he behaved like a man, with one arm he gaurded me & with the other kept the animals at a proper distance. I must confess, brilliant tho the spectacle was *my* great pleasure was derived from the conduct of my dear & manly boy.<sup>380</sup> he was not the least sleepy when we reached home at one oclock in the morning, tho I had nodded more than once. I can just recollect my pleasure when a child of ten years viewing the illumination in the city of N York when peace between my country & Gt Britian was announced<sup>381</sup> & this is the only one I have seen to compare yet with that, for usually in St Petersburg the illuminations attend every marriage & christening in the Imperial family, it is merely the name, for cups of oil on the pavement scattered at distances & even that miserable attempt is early extinguished, but on this occasion of the Empre'ss return, the initials of her own & the Emperors blazed forth with crowns, wreaths &c<sup>382</sup>

July 7<sup>th</sup> our style tho only 25<sup>th</sup> of June Russian. This is the Emperors fiftieth anniversary! & today is also the day of his daughter the Grand duchess Olgar's betrothal<sup>383</sup> to the Prince of Wurtemberg, the court are all at Peterhoff & thousands have resorted thither to see the illumination which is to be celebrated in the Imperial gardens tonight. A salute of 30 cannons will be fired here in the city, at the hour of the

exchange of the rings, the Empress passes them from the one to the other, & the Telegraph<sup>384</sup> conveys notice always, every five minutes of every incident between this city & such neighbouring residences of the Imperial family. Crowds of people have been flocking since early this morning by the Steamers to Peterhoff, yesterday on our return from M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrands Datcha where we spent a delightful day, we met equipages without number thronging thither, many of them court carriages from the scarlet liveries we knew, & some few of the Corp Diplomatique by the green feather in the cocked hat, loads of chairs, mattresses & such kinds of conveniences, besides one or two fire companies with hose, for watering the gardens. *We* wished they could have laid the dust of the Chausée, for notwithstanding all the rains - which continued every day until last Saturday<sup>385</sup> - the Peterhoff road is such a highway for troops & travellers it is seldom free from clouds of dust. Our friends the Gellibrands are charmingly situated, upon an estate<sup>386</sup> with several others, their house stands upon elevated ground far back from the road, from the front balconies the view of Gulf & of this city in the distance is fine, we saw the gilded dome of the Isaacs church glittering in the bright sunshine. My two boys found much amusement in propelling themselves on the draw bridge to & from the fancy island in the pond, then they bounded after butterflies among the wild flowers, feeling it such a treat to be free in the country! darling Johnie also was as gay as a bird & won much admiration upon his intelligence & sweetness, contrasted by Willie Ropes my baby indeed looks like the country child & that little pale faced one as though he had been shut up in town, the three little girls have much benefitted by their range at their kind Aunts who told me the only alloy to their perfect enjoyment was, there was a parting in early prospect, for M<sup>rs</sup> R<sup>387</sup> must soon take her children to England! thus it is in this world we must ever have something to sigh for. I told my boys as we seated ourselves at tea in our own home last night I thought they had not even enjoyed the commemoration of our 4<sup>th</sup> of July last Saturday as much as their country range. but they would not admit that any place in Russia was as pleasant as Alexandrofski with all the Eastwick boys to play with! then the percussion caps, fire works, cross bows & muskets, the rides on horse back &c yielded so much excitement & variety! Willie forgot how sadly he burnt his hand & came

home roaring with agony & tho to me no drive is so disagreeable as that to Alexandrofsky, thronged as the road is with beggars & drunkards, and the village has no sweet secluded spot but the little garden enclosing our countrymens home, I can imagine my boys see none of the annoyances, for they anticipate the warm welcome of youthful Americans & the kind indulgence of their parents in lending horses & grooms to secure them a safe & healthful pastime. I have so long neglected my journal that I have yet to record the introduction we have had within the past fortnight<sup>388</sup> to American clergymen,<sup>389</sup> accompanied by a young lawyer named Beach from Newark New Jersey.<sup>390</sup> knowing my friends there is has been very delightful to entertain them all.<sup>391</sup> the younger of the divines Mr Rankin<sup>392</sup> I have not yet heard preach but hope to when the return from Moscow, they have been obliged to leave behind one of their party (Rev Rob<sup>t</sup> Baird<sup>393</sup> who has been so ill from Rheumatism since arriving here, he has been secluded,<sup>394</sup> but it is a cause of thankfulness he is with kind M<sup>rs</sup> Wilson who keeps an English boarding house in the Galernia<sup>395</sup> very near us, this clergyman from having visited S<sup>t</sup> P years before is not as a stranger,<sup>396</sup> I hope to see this countryman who as advocate in the Temperance cause has had interviews with several of the crowned heads of Europe.<sup>397</sup> I felt it to be a high privilege to hear M<sup>r</sup> Brinsmade<sup>398</sup> both morning & afternoon of the sunday before last. I was in a pew with eleven Americans at the American Chapel in this city in the morning & took my boys to Alexandrofski where “an upper chamber” is consecrated at the American works, to divine worship,<sup>399</sup> it was so entirely filled that even the window sills were in requisition as seats. M<sup>r</sup> B took his text from the beautiful book of Daniel 5<sup>th</sup> chap & latter part of the 23<sup>rd</sup> verse,<sup>400</sup> I felt the subject to be well chosen. for how few of us remember to glorify the Lord our God in our several stations. the solemn, kind manner of the preacher made his solemn subject very impressive, he discoursed upon the invisible hand which had led us so far from our native land & prayed for the aid of the Holy Spirit to sustain us in shewing forth true religion in our intercourse with foreigners. I lost none of the high respect which M<sup>r</sup> B had won from me in the pulpit when he came with M<sup>r</sup> Rankin & Beach to dine in our family circle last tuesday,<sup>401</sup> the blessing he asked upon our meal was in the same strain, realizing the providence which had brought us, strangers in

a foreign land to the same board! How good for us it is to be reminded to trace every event to our Heavenly Fathers direction! I hope to be strengthened by the pious counsel of these my countrymen by going to hear them again tho I seldom desert my own church even to attend the American Chapel. unless it be to contribute my mite to a missionary collection, for in the English chapel we never hear of Missions, for our benevolent pastor doct Law is restrained by the Factory<sup>402</sup> - who maintain this branch of their countrys establishment & he has been governed by them 25 years. but as far as his own exertions extend he goes about doing good. what a deplorable loss, neither sunday school, bible class, or missionary society connected with our church here! I must think the Dissenting congregation of the American chapel true followers of Christ for they are zealous in the cause of spreading the gospel, why should we deem ourselves only, of the true faith, I shall never forsake the beautiful forms of the Episcopal, with its perfect prayer book yet I cannot be so bigotted as to think the service of other sincere christians less acceptable to the Saviour, merely because their order is not that I have been educated to like best. But now I think I ought to commence a reply to letters from my dear Debo which we received by yesterdays<sup>403</sup> mail that mine may be ready for next Sat<sup>404</sup> - Courier, she was at Blackpool, with our sweet young friend Eliza Smith,<sup>405</sup> I half hope Mrs Harrison may join them in sea bathing, but she was ill in London lodgings by the same date, the physician says it is only debility, when she can gain an appetite she will regain her strength, I shall cheer her by the pleasant reports I can send of her home & infant my God daughter as I have fulfilled my promise of going often to Alexandrofski to see the little Alicia. Debo will be interested to hear what is circulated about preparations for the approaching wedding of the G<sup>d</sup> Duchess Olga. I have happened at Francescas<sup>406</sup> to see some of the bridal paraphernalia & heard from her that on the 28<sup>th</sup> old style which will be next Friday all her outfit will be exhibited at the Palace at Peterhoff, her jewels, clothing, furniture, even to kitchen utensils—<sup>407</sup> I am afraid I shall not see it, as 30 versts is a long way to go for a peep. I lately saw at Francescas an infants wardrobe for a lady at court, from its Valenciennes christening cap, its embroidered french cambric robe lined with pink satin, to its dozen Paadooshkas<sup>408</sup> - or long wadded pillow upon which it is carried - its

pillow cases all of french worked cambric, & the one upon which it is to be carried to the font very rich & lined with pink satin. The Héritier is to be its God father as the father of the yet unborn babe is one of his aids.<sup>409</sup> The whole is to cost 3000 silver rubles, I had not the slightest wish for one article, & my Willie who was with me seemed to think the baby could not be lovelier than his little brother, who is always in simple white frocks, but the order for all this from the rich, is a benefit to the poor who must thus earn their bread & I rejoiced for the amiable Francisca, who politely asked if my little commission for M<sup>rs</sup> Eastwick could wait till after the Imperial wedding- “we are so busy for our Grand Duchess” she said. This girl is a perfect lady in her address & deportment, she has been well educated by her Aunt to whom I was recommended by dear old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon – she speaks English elegantly & therefore I must believe she is as well versed in French. Russ & German as she is familiar with all. What an advantage, I could almost envy her. We have been favored lately with many letters from the United States, bringing relief to our anxieties respecting the war with Mexico, from Gen Taylors<sup>410</sup> victories. I gladly welcomed a letter from my friend Meg Hill,<sup>411</sup> which was commenced last November & finished in May, she has the faculty of transporting me to the midst of her family circle & regales me with reports of others My former & very favorite pastor M<sup>r</sup> Lee of Springfield was in the city of N York upon the occasion of the consecration of “old mother Trinity”<sup>412</sup> And M<sup>r</sup> Ballard<sup>413</sup> of Pittsfield whose sympathy upon the death of my sainted little Kirkie has made any association of his name interesting. Oh only those so far from their native land as I am, can judge how welcome the sound of familiar names in scenes from home. My beloved mother was still in Florida, when I heard from my Sister Kate in Stonington.<sup>414</sup>

Tuesday July 2<sup>nd</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> <sup>415</sup> Several anniversaries in my own family circle the last week gave me occasions for deep but silent reflection. the public rejoicings on the occasions of the Grand Duchess Olga have demanded my participating in my childrens interest in the several spectacles. It is a week today since the Betrothal,<sup>416</sup> at Peterhoff, it is said some superstitious fear made the fair fiancée object to the ceremonies being solemnized in the chapel of the Winter Palace, the associations of her Sisters nuptials, & death following within the same year are too sad,

for this happy occasion. they do say she shed many tears at her betrothal at the thought of how soon she must be separated by it, from the Empress & all which the spring time of life has endeared to her. The affection throughout the family circle of the Emperor is well attested. Still as Olga is fond of the Prince of Wurtemberg—who is her Cousin as well as lover, it is said her Imperial parents are well satisfied to establish her thus<sup>417</sup> & if rumour whispers truly she may soon be crowned queen, as the father of her lover is talked of as being on his death bed.<sup>418</sup> Since our arrival in Russia the annual fête in honor of the Empress names day has been omitted, therefore this had a higher zest & was selected also as the wedding day of the beautiful Grand Duchess Olga.<sup>419</sup> With the exception of Mr Clay our Chargé probably no American was witness to the ceremony in the chapel except the Rev<sup>d</sup> Robt Baird, whom the Prince of Oldenburg had invited to his palace in his zeal for the Temperance cause & complimented him by providing a place for him to witness the Imperial marriage.<sup>420</sup> while we Whistlers accompanied by our new acquaintances from New York the Crufts,<sup>421</sup> with the Harrisons & Eastwick families were jostled about in the crowd. tho the thousands there were as we have always observed in Russia extremely decorous & quiet. it was computed at least 200.000 people were in the garden last night, & from the throng on board the Steam boats<sup>422</sup> from early in the morning that calculation must have been within bounds. Whistler was afraid to risk his precious cargo among them & decided to hire a carriage & four, which I grieved to have to pay 24 silver rubs for one night, however we we<sup>423</sup> thought to be fortunate to get any, as almost every vehicle had been engaged & many had pd 30 & 35 silv rubs the road was not dusty, for showers have been incessant. The G<sup>d</sup> Duchess may argue favorably from the “remarkable coincidence”<sup>424</sup> that the only two bright days we have had this month past, were last tuesday her betrothal – & yesterday. We thought last night the moonlight not too light for the illumination, so many trees, some in dense avenues covered with lamps, the green foliage contrasted beautifully with their brilliancy. I wish I could convey the faintest idea even of the magnificence of the spectacle, it was truly Imperial. it is said the Emperor has appropriated an additional 20.000 silv rubles to the cost allotted to illumination other years, & this has been the first time the upper garden<sup>425</sup> - close to the



Palace & fronting it - has been lighted, at the entrance gate from the town was a crown & under it very conspicuous O.K. for Olga & Karl, & the gate looked as if composed of diamonds. but all the rest of the upper garden had coloured lamps in the shape of fruits & flowers, bands of musicians were stationed in the groves & played alternately. The lower garden which is very extensive even to the Gulf - is descended to by a long flight of steps. the fountains rival those at Versailles, a golden Statue of Sampson which is placed where the largest body of water is played is worthy of its celebrity, the young New Yorkers of our party were glad to have their curiosity gratified by seeing the Sampson they had heard lately so much of: lines of illuminated wall looking like filagree work of gold & diamonds (for in the lower garden were no colored lamps) formed avenues extending in different directions thro, the principal one from the palace had at the end near the gulf, what looked like an immense gate of brilliants, surmounted by a blazing sun the rays of which enclosed an A for Alexandra in honor to the adored Empress. It was expected the Imperial family & court would have passed thro the illuminated avenues in open cars - similar to Irish cars<sup>426</sup> in form - as is usual on the Empress's day to gratify the *Mobility*,<sup>427</sup> who like to see them in all their magnificence but we learned that they had about 7 o'clock left the Palace with new married pair to seek the quiet of a more retired dwelling. I commended them for their feeling, & were I one of the Grand Duchess Olgas train should pray she might retain such habits & ever be indulged in them. The Imperial family left ladies & gents of the Court to represent them in the ball room & in the balconies. I saw some sign of merriment as tho the fancied the vulgar crowd hoaxed, & soon as possible we extricated ourselves for a purer atmosphere. I had shuddered to find the coarse beard of a Mujic<sup>428</sup> close to my cheek & his breath of leeks & vod-kee almost made me sick. but every variety mingled in that crowd, ladies in the most costly dresses of satin, gauze & silver, were contrasted by the odd home spun finery of Fin peasant-girls - very like our native Indians. And sheep skin coats no matter how old or greasy rubbed against gold lace in regimentals without fear, for on these occasions of fêtes the poorest subjects of the Emperor forget the shackles & revel with perfect freedom. Refreshments to suit all grades were to be obtained throughout the grounds, Mujics would meet us offering their "Harosky"<sup>429</sup> drinks &

eatables, but we killed two birds with one stone by seeking Islers<sup>430</sup> tent for tea, as Mr Eastwick had promised to meet us there with our boys, our party was rather numerous we were continually getting separated by the crowd, it reminded me of the story of Jack & his eleven brothers,<sup>431</sup> for we had each to compare notes of adventures when we met at the OK which was always our trysting if an hour kept us asunder & there we were sure always to find our faithful footman Yohon, he would make a circuit & come back for orders to the point true to Whistlers appointment. My regret is that our good Mary who merits every indulgence cannot find a suitable escort to go one of these three nights to Peterhoff. I should far rather have had her take my place in the carriage & I keep her station at home beside my darling baby, but Mrs Crufts & her Sisters<sup>432</sup> I had promised to be with, besides my boys are now too large to be tied to Marys side & she would have felt awkward unless as their attendant. James has begged me hard to let him be Marys escort tonight but 30 versts off is a great distance & we cannot trust Mary to those boats where the multitude seem to tempt God by their reckless carelessness about life. Perhaps another year Mary may go to a Peterhoff fête, even Christina & Dounia have been prudent enough to yeild to the unpropitious weather & stay at home, tho I had given them leave to go. Mary & baby were sent off early yesterday to Gellibrands datcha where they had a charming country range with Hannah<sup>433</sup> & the children of dear Mrs Ropes. we stopped there as it is half way on the road to Peterhoff & took coffee with our friends. it seemed such an age to be separated from baby since the morning, it was delightful to see the darling so happy & behaving so admirably. he was in his own nursery again by seven & when we returned from the fête at 3 oclock he had only awakened once. I nursed & put him back in his crib, ere I realized how weary of the nights dissipation I felt.

Monday 27<sup>th</sup> of July<sup>434</sup> We have had a continuance of sultry weather since this month came in, yet my dear James caught cold from the dews at the Peterhoff fête, lassitude, loss of appetite were the symptoms & such an inflamed throat, leeches were applied & consequent confinement to his room. Mons Lamartine who is always hypocondrical, chose that week to be too ill to teach tho he came to his meals & I observed no strong tests of his feeling sick, still as vacations are general

now, Whistler decided that our lazy Domini should be free & I have had my boys so entirely upon my hands as to find little leisure. Our drawing room & my chamber also upon the quai - for I have been obliged to move again to it for babys sake the noise in the yard having disturbed his slumbers - we spend our mornings in reading drawing &c, then the boys take their row under Yohons wing across the Neva to the swimming bath,<sup>435</sup> & in the cool of the afternoon a drive to the Islands or a range in the Summer gardens, or a row on the river. It is an imperious duty that I should go with them, as the season for freedom in the open air is so precious. We went last Wednesday<sup>436</sup> 15 versts in all the heat & dust, for the after recompense of spending the day at the kind Gellibrands datcha. I soon lost all traces of having passed thro the furnace when seated beside dear M<sup>rs</sup> G in her deliciously cool parlor but my boys could not bear the confinement, the boat & the drawbridge & the Island below the lawn looked too tempting. M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes beguiled them just before dinner to join us by teaching them the moves of chess, but Willie deserted & upon our being seated at table I was mortified that M<sup>rs</sup> G should wait so long in vain for him to be present at the asking a blessing upon the bounties spread. he was led in my the footman who had been sent to look for him & he looked heated as any Pyrisvostic,<sup>437</sup> from the like occupation, *rowing*. Oh my boys when will you acquire a taste for playing gentlemen! While my kind hostess & I were chatting over our coffee in the balcony we observed much excitement at the theatre of their mornings disgrace & my wild boys were again in difficulty. I took the baby & sent Mary to join the party of M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes & her children to look after James & Willie. they had broken the ropes by which the drawbridge was drawn to & from the Island & there were my brave boys prisoners. I thought it best they should remain so till time for me to return home with such unruly ones, but the good natured Dvanic was already pressed into their service and swimming to their rescue ere I could run down to offer my advice. Jemie was so drenched with perspiration from his efforts, that dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes stole him away to her room to coax him to lie down awhile & to rub him dry lest his sore throat should return to tell a tale of disobedience at home. Our Coachman had betaken himself to a rest in the woods & was not to be found when I sent at 7 oclock to order the carriage, so Mary had a cozey tea with

Hannah, and the gents reached home from the city & we were so urged to tea & strawberries that I yielded, as Mr R assured me I should not find my husband at home. And sure enough he did not get back from Alexandrofski till all but myself had gone to rest. He reported the heat overpowering in town & at the works, and we had escaped it by going to the country. Certainly if the reign of Summer was not so brief one would be wrong to stay in town. Last thursday there was a grand celebration of the Grand duchess Olgas birth day at the Alargon.<sup>438</sup> I gladly gave Mary permission to take the modest Francesca in our carriage with herself & the boys. while I staid at home to be devoted to baby. We had had many showers during the day & much dread there was that fire works would be “no go” & they proved not so fine in consequence of the damp atmosphere. Whistler had decided to stay with me, but officers came from Col K<sup>439</sup> urging him to avail of a government barge with its many oars. I had the honor of making tea for them & as all the maids had gone, Yohon played nurse after he had arranged the table for me to preside. It was one oclock when my husband return, to congratulate me that I had not been exposed to the risk of drowning from the crowd of boats upon the Little Neva,<sup>440</sup> he was heartily tired & wondered how he could have been so caught, we were both anxious till the boys & Mary arrived, she said she should never ask to go in another crowd! when for an hour they had alighted to obtain on foot a better view of the fire works than they could in the carriage, gay officers had annoyed herself & Francesca, & my innocent Mary concluded they could not be gentlemen of principle! James had protected them as well as he was able, but she had felt frightened & was so glad to get safe home! tho they had seen all the Imperial family within arms length, as they stood near the Palace, while the Emperor, Empress &c alighted from their pony chaises to enter it. the young Prince Oscar of Sweden<sup>441</sup> a handsome youth of 18 was among the court. and many other foreigners who were wedding guests. This morning while my boys were taking their walk before breakfast with Mary & baby they saw some tokens of another grand illumination to take place this week at Peterhoff, a government steamer laden with devices, lamps &c, tempted them to ask the Bootishnic,<sup>442</sup> who reported it was to be in honor of the Prince of Wurtembergs birth day!<sup>443</sup> but I will not be coaxed into countenancing any more folly, my

boys have seen enough & must be content now to take amusement by daylight. I know it cannot be safe for our immortal interests that time & mind should be so wasted that the order of nature should be so altered. turning night into day & day into night, my boys did not take their breakfast till noon on friday!<sup>444</sup> this is surely not keeping the straight & narrow way<sup>445</sup> On Saturday<sup>446</sup> as I was striving to make up for all the irregularities of last week - for I have not recorded my day spent in change of apartments, nor the guests I had to entertain at dinner & tea several times - I was at the end of the week trembling lest my letters to my dear Mother & Maria should not be finished for Sat. mail, when Dounia summoned me to the drawing room to welcome Miss McMaster<sup>447</sup> who is so deserving of attention, that I would not let her know. how mal apros pos was her visit, iced mead refreshed her, but I trust it was not so prized by her as my cordial welcome, & she soon made herself so much at home, that I gave her Sandlands poems<sup>448</sup> to read while I scribbled thro my oft before interrupted scrawls & trust they will be received before this day next month by the two dearest to me in New York. Miss Mc M talked playfully with James about his better application to study & greater perseverance in cultivating his talent for drawing & I trust her serious advice covered so charmingly by good-humour may be remembered by him, she invited us all to M<sup>r</sup> Woods datcha for next Wednesday<sup>449</sup> James & Willie always enjoy visiting her pupils & I am particularly fond of the society of the excellent governess. M<sup>r</sup> Wood called for her at 3 oclock, she had come to town to bid M<sup>rs</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Handisides<sup>450</sup> farewell, upon her embarking for a home in Scotland this day.<sup>451</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Wood being in England, Miss M rarely comes to town. But I saw her at church yesterday between Kate & Ellen,<sup>452</sup> the weather had been so excessively hot that baby confined to the house by it lost his appetite so I thought it would not be breaking the Sabbath at 7 in the evening to take Mary & the three a row up to the old Fortress,<sup>453</sup> we landed & went into the church for the double purpose of giving our oarsman time to rest & that we might visit the tombs of the Emperors of Russia the Fortress bears the date of the age of improvement in this Empire for Peter the G<sup>t</sup> was its founder. 1780. of course it is not old looking, fresh & in perfect repair. many were visiting the church as ourselves. service was over as the Greeks begin at 6 oclock sat evening.

We slipped a ten kopeck coin into the palm of the soldier, who gave us each a flower, from the fresh garlands daily strewn upon the coffin of the loved Grand Duchess Alexandra, two other coffins covered with velvet palls (as are all indeed in the church) within the railings appropriated to the present Emperors family shew that he had lost a young daughter & a son<sup>454</sup> ere the bereavement of that young bride of 18, the summer before last. Our guide lifted the velvet pall from the coffin of the late Emperor Alexander to shew us the jewelled Orders & how highly it was ornamented, as a specimen for all the others, for when we came to that of Peter the G<sup>t</sup> & Catherine the 2<sup>nd</sup> he told us it was the same. That of the G<sup>d</sup> Duke Constantine (who ought to have been Emperor by right in place of this his brother now reigning over all the Russias)<sup>455</sup> displayed two keys taken by him from Fortresses in the conquest of Poland.<sup>456</sup> I will not note all my reflections upon the vanity of earthly greatness they would occur to any one who views this world as only a state of preparation for another. *self conquests* only, are of enduring benefit, but one cannot help moralizing in contrasting the splendor of the court of Russia with the silent sepulchre of its Emperors. We enjoyed our quiet row home at sun set 9 oclock And now I have endeavoured to begin this week by redeeming the time lost the last, I arose at 6. after my toilette took "The poor mans morning portion"<sup>457</sup> & my bible to the balcony as the only quiet & cool retreat. Yohon was busy preparing breakfast in the Stolola.<sup>458</sup> waxers were cleaning the parquet of the drawing room. & Whistler dressing in ours. One of my greatest privations in Russia is a closet for private devotion. I could envy those who have a chapel attached to their dwelling. But my heavenly Father ordained my sojourning in this land where display seems most thought of & therefore no arrangement for privacy. & he reads my hearty desires & I trust will accept them, continue & enlarge them that I may avail of every opportunity for communion with my Saviour. Since breakfast & my attention to household duties my James drawing table has been next my writing desk & he hard working to finish a dog before twelve. when Koritsky<sup>459</sup> came & condemned it. Willie has been studying John Gilpin<sup>460</sup> to spout to Father who wishes to hear him speak his own language distinctly. A letter from our dearest Debo<sup>461</sup> just received, tells of her pleasant meeting with her cousin Mary Ironsides in Liverpool, &

brings us chagrin also because Kate Prince cannot come home when Debo does.

August 12/24<sup>th</sup> Monday. It is about a week now since my dear Whistler set out with Count Klienmichel<sup>462</sup> to inspect the work on his rail road & I have occupied myself so regularly about house hold affairs in the mornings & have devoted my afternoons to taking excursions with my boys to reward them for their application to study, that my journal has been quite forgotten. We went to pass Saturday & Sunday at the Gellibrand Datcha last friday afternoon<sup>463</sup> & returned home to an 8 o'clock breakfast today it is quite an era in my St Petersburg life, as I never slept from home before & ere I begin my routine of duties, I will try to record the few vanities of the past month. We have had the hottest summer ever known in Russia,<sup>464</sup> -& as in England- some violent thunder storms, I am sure we shall not soon forget the awful appearance of the sky last evening. kind Miss Funk<sup>465</sup> who now presides at the datcha (M<sup>ES</sup> G having gone to Travemunde for her health) made the tea, but she felt as we did, while the elements raged that it was as if God spoke to us & that a sensation of awe would prevent our enjoyment of the repast. how unconsciously darling little Johnie played & laughed thro it all & at last fell asleep while Mary & I sat watching the storm, looking to God for preservation & carressing our little pet to divert poor Phedocias<sup>466</sup> fears. The poor Russians are superstitious they cannot feel that security in calling upon their Saints while crossing themselves, which prayer & trust in Jesus inspires the bible christian with. It is only for our Redeemers sake we are spared to repentance. we feel as if there was but one step indeed between us and death, in a violent thunder storm! That of yesterday changed the state of the atmosphere From 24 deg heat in the shade Rom - today the thermometer is 13. I was uneasy lest James should catch cold during our drive before breakfast, but he & Willie drove M<sup>r</sup> Princes droshky by turns & the excitement kept him warm. I shall always retain a sweet impression of this Sabbath in the country however. the showers we had very early in the morning were immediately absorbed by the bright sun & the young folks took a stroll after breakfast then came in to study hymns & Collects<sup>467</sup> until eleven o'clock when our neighbours from the Parsonage,<sup>468</sup> & an English governess in a Russian family<sup>469</sup> gladly joined us in our private worship.<sup>470</sup> the prayers of our

church were selected, two beautiful hymns & a Sermons of Blunts “The Lord is my shepherd” was read by Mr Prince. The children begged to be permitted a free range thro the woods before dinner & under the care of Sarah Meeriellees & the neice of our pastors wife<sup>471</sup> we entrusted the two little Handiside girls & my boys. Miss Funk & I walked across to the next estate where Mrs Ellerby has a summer retreat, we saw her three darling little girls, the baby about the age of mine is beautiful, as they are all lately returned from a visit to England<sup>472</sup> they are pictures of health, their mother is just what a clergymans wife should be, so interested in the spread of the gospel, so good to the poor, so cheerful, & so accessible. I had a most interesting conversation with her about the state of religion in her native land & such an interesting account of a converted Jew she had seen at South port.<sup>473</sup> Of course Mr Ellerby was in town at his chapel, but to return this day to their sweet retreat for the week. We had again service in the afternoon which Mrs E attended. she had staid away to let her English nurse<sup>474</sup> have the privilege in the morning. Miss Funk & I had just returned from visiting a poor German man<sup>475</sup> in the last stage of consumption. I thought of him during the storm when his shed could not have sheltered him from the torrent of rain, his bed only a bundle of hay! Oh that God may be leading him thro illness & privation to a house not made with hands! he seemed so patient, so uncomplaining, so different from a common pauper, for when we gave him money, he discovered so much emotion & apologized as the tears ran down his face *for his necessities*, I sent my boys on our return to see him, wishing them to take a lesson in contentment by comparing their lot with his, & Miss Funk wished that fruit & jelly should go, so they could present it, as the Dvanic spoke only Russ.

It was last tuesday morning<sup>476</sup> early my husband left home, in the afternoon I told James & Willie they might go in the Omnibus<sup>477</sup> to Alexandrofsky to spend a few hours & I should follow with Mary & baby en droshky. the heat was intense, they had already gone to swim, when we arrived at Mr Eastwicks & afterwards rode on Winans ponies, as all their countrymen were off on excursions. for it was a great holiday, tho we were not the least aware of its being the fête or day for blessing the Apples<sup>478</sup> until we encountered crowds of idlers & I am grieved to add, not a few so intoxicated that their boon companions were carrying them,



or they were like swine wallowing along the road side, I wonder when I witness so much intemperance upon these church holidays, how the powers that be, can approve of them. but alas vodkee is so profitable for the revenue, they cannot yeild their gain for the cause of temperance. I wonder what report my countryman Robt Baird will make at the Temperance society meeting in London<sup>479</sup> as to Russia! he has only lately gone from this city to that. I must not omit the record of Miss Caroline Laws marriage to M<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Miller,<sup>480</sup> it took place last monday at the church 7 o'clock p.m. Willie watched the carriages from our balcony as they collected on the quai & was half tempted to run down & make a friend of the Sexton that he might witness the ceremony, but could not induce Jemie to accompany him. the next day<sup>481</sup> a huge slice of wedding cake was sent me with M<sup>r</sup> Millers card. I shall not open it till Debo comes, as she would have been brides-maid had she been here. The young couple met me the next evening<sup>482</sup> as I was leaving the Cars at Tsarskoe Selo with James & Willie, our friend Geo Prince our guide upon our expedition to the Palace. We afterwards heard that the bride & groom thus escaped attending a ball given at D<sup>o</sup>ct Laws datcha, by going quietly by themselves to listen to the music in the gardens at Pavloski. We only said how dye do to them for our time was limited from four o'clock until tea time, it is not possible to convey an idea to any one in a republican country of the neatness & order & quiet in the little town of Tsarskoe. from the depot, thro the town up to the Imperial Parks nothing seems out of place, peasants are continually sweeping, weeding, watering even the roads & in the parks even the faded leaves if within reach are carefully removed. As we had on former visits gone thro the Catherine Palace built by the consort of Peter the G<sup>t</sup> which like all her works is rich in gilding, & ornament,<sup>483</sup> we chose the other end of the grounds & alighted from our Droshkys at the gate nearest the new Palace,<sup>484</sup> which the present Emperor resides in when there, tho since the death of his daughter the bride of the Prince Hesse Castle of Denmark, summer before last, his family have only occasionally visited this once favorite retreat, the soldier told us the Emperor oftenest is there, the Empres's grief is revived by scenes where he loved daughter's life ebbed away, yet she has been twice to gaze on the beautiful Statue of Alexandra with her newborn infant in her arms. it is of pure white

marble, the figure is full length, the countenance preserves the likeness to the lovely face, we were told this “Parmetnic” or, remembrancer, was taken from that of the Princess Charlotte of Wales at Windsor. wrapped in a sheet, it looks like a blessed spirit ready to join those who walk in white around the throne of the Lamb. “Thy will be done” is the motto in Slavonin above the statue, & on each side of the richly sculptored arch are tablets with verses from the Gospel, “Blessed are they that mourn for they shall be comforted” &c. there is a pavement of black marble enclosed by a slight black railing the gate of which was locked, & the most choice exotics as if growing out of the black marble wall which supports the railing, a pale lilac lilly which grows in rich clusters, & which I never saw before, roses & other flowers in full bloom, the pots were embedded in the stone & mosses hid them completely.<sup>485</sup> I thought the motto we read under a simple portrait of the loved daughter (in a Swiss Cottage<sup>486</sup> which is in the same bower of dark ever greens as the Statue) how verified by all the care & taste bestowed by the Emperor. it is in french & thus I translate it “I know Father you are never so pleased as when you can make pleasure for Mama” the picture looked as if it had been taken when the Grand duchess was in joyous girlhood. On this spot where this cottage (furnished à la Swiss is built) she used to stand at the head of the artificial lake to feed the Swans. she continued to do so the soldier told us even the last Summer of her life until she became too ill to go out. I admired the taste which had lilies of the valley planted in circles around the evergreens on this hallowed spot, it is hid from public view so that if any of the Imperial family are there at any time none can intrude to gaze. yet when they are not there, visitors are made welcome. We found no hesitation when we reached the palace to being admitted there by the officer in waiting & were immediately taken to the Empre’ss apartments, the lamented daughter occupied those between her parents, & the space which contained the bed she died upon has been converted into a sanctum for private devotion,<sup>487</sup> it has been enclosed by a wall which is beautifully painted & on the side where stood the head of the bed is the picture painted by Bruloff, so like her in life & health, tho taken after death as representing her spirit passing upwards to the “palace above the blue sky.” she wears her imperial robes with a crown upon her head, at the back of the crown is a halo of glory. the stars are

surrounding her as she passes thro them. No wonder my Jemie should have thought this picture of Bruloffs the most interesting of all the works of art around us. A most magnificent candle stick of gold with wreaths of wrought silver vines covering. stands in front of the portrait that a perpetual light may be burning as before the picture of saints in the Greek church, & on each side of the portrait are pictures, of the Saviour, the Madona & Saints. a most splendid tiara of real diamonds encircle the head of the Virgin & child. I felt sadness as I realized the danger there was for the bereaved Empress to make an idol of the picture of her daughter, whom she fondly expects to meet on the right hand of the Eternal throne. Oh that she may search the scriptures, that she may be taught to discriminate between the true faith & the poetry of religion. Every one loved the gentle Grand duchess. for she was gentle & kind to every one & the interest in all that relates to her is universal, it pervades all ranks.<sup>488</sup>

Saturday. Aug 29<sup>th</sup> I did not forget thursday<sup>489</sup> it was the anniversary on the birth of our angel Charlie and today is that of my darling little Johnie, he completes his first year today & my heart is overflowing with thankfulness to the Giver. I can reflect upon the gentleness & intelligence of the former who was taken almost three years ago from my arms to those of his Saviour, and the sprightliness of this one who has been sent to cheer me for that loss is a delight to the whole house. he does not walk alone quite, but attempts words, “that “dond “taa-taa “Mama &c & some of the garments our more fragile Charlie wore when he was two years old, fit Johnie now.

Saturday Sept 12<sup>th</sup> My dear Whistler came home within three weeks,<sup>490</sup> he had been detained five days at a wayside village hourly waiting the Count, who travelling in a state carriage met with many obstructions, this was very trying to an Engineer, but mine is not unreasonable & was too happy to find us all well at last & to be restored to us in better health himself than when he left, to fret over lost time. he must soon leave us again to go to Hamburg to meet & bring home our darling Debo. May God bless the undertaking! We have received several reports<sup>491</sup> of her enjoyment in her trip to Scotland, present at the grand ceremony of the dedication of Sir Walter Scotts monument in the Prince’s St Gardens Edinburgh,<sup>492</sup> spent a day on Loch Lomond<sup>493</sup> with

such rapture she only wanted us all around her to make it complete. she was enjoying the society of our friend Kate Prince when she last wrote, anticipating the meeting her father & travelling home after her years absence. My trembling heart faints at the bare idea of the storms she may encounter in crossing the North Sea! for now our bright Summer has given place to Autumn & a strong westerly wind ruffles the Neva & sounds stormy. In God is my trust! what else could comfort in doubt & suspence. such as mine now, for yesterdays<sup>494</sup> mail brought us letters from our native land & the reports of my loved Sister Marias health very alarming, she was going to the Springs & how eager I feel for fresh accounts! that dear, gentle, Sister! my heart aches at the possibility of never seeing her more in this world!<sup>495</sup> Oh it is selfish, sinful in me, to wish to detain her in this world of sorrow, when God says “it is Enough.” & when so many mutually dear to us, wait to bear her to her eternal home where all tears are wiped away & joys which the heart of man cannot dream of are in store for her, thro much tribulation indeed this gentle Sister has long been preparing for Heaven & her example of submission & cheerfulness are proofs of the comfort we all may have if we thus trust in Jesus. God has removed me far from her sick couch, but distance cannot divide my heart from hers! we were wont to have but one mind & I feel the joy of grief in thinking of her! if we are not to meet again in this world, may my chief concern be to prepare to meet her around the Throne of the Redeemer. My Mother sends me the painful intelligence of my cousin A McD having been killed in a duell!<sup>496</sup> I shudder to think of a soul rushing thus into the presence of its Maker! nothing in my opinion can excuse the accepting a challenge. the *truly* courageous will brave the worlds frown & be undaunted by it. I pray that my James may never encourage notions of false honor or courage,<sup>497</sup> but that he may fear Gods frown & remember his life *is not his own*; “we are bought with a price”<sup>498</sup> & this world is only a school, the daily *accidents* as they are styled are all appointed to test our principles. “If you love Me keep my commandments”<sup>499</sup> said He who best knows the value of the immortal part of our being.

Some of my friends in Stonington have been called to mourn the loss of children this Summer. May they be comforted by their loneliness in this life assuring them they are “not lost but gone before.”<sup>500</sup> Parthinia

Babcocks lovely little girl<sup>501</sup> was removed by an illness of 24 hours. Of such, *surely* is the kingdom of Heaven<sup>502</sup> & in Gods own time the bereaved young Mother will rejoice that, one of her little ones has escaped the temptations of this uncertain state of existence. It is indeed good for us to be afflicted! I must not omit recording the speedy removal of the poor German<sup>503</sup> whom I went with Miss Funk to visit in his miserable shed the memorable sunday of the thunder storm. he died the next friday. that pious lady several times stood at his bedside comforting him with words from the book of life & had the proof that he too had searched it from his taking up & finishing many verses she commenced. she attended his funeral taking the little girls with her to his grave. I spent last Saturday<sup>504</sup> at the Gellibrand datcha again, but returned home to tea as Whistler & Jemie were not of our party to the country, they went to Alexandrofsky. Col Melnikoff having been their guest at dinner. We enjoyed the fine weather. it was indeed propitious as there was a Russian fête given by Count Cooshiloff<sup>505</sup> to his peasantry & being only a short & very shady walk we all went. the Mansion is beyond the beautiful dairy which belongs to his estate, all this property is improved & we rejoiced to see the peasants (whose labour keeps it in such high cultivation, in their holiday suits filling two long tables on the lawn, which was soon covered with basons of excellent soup. with a portion of brown & also white bread to each, huge fish pies garnished the board, and a band of music stationed near increased their enjoyment. I wish it had been a Temperance feast. but it was just the opposite, first beer was handed in buckets, & at last vodkee without water was passed about in tumblers I observed even pretty, young girls drank freely, to say nought of their mothers & grand Sires. We had gone behind the scenes to peep at the soup making out in the open air in great iron cauldrons it amused us *neat housekeepers* to watch the rough manners of the mujics who ladled out the portions, having chopped the boiled beef first on the boards, spoon it up with their palms to give each bowl its proportion of solid food. When their stomachs were filled the peasants were sounded to leave the long tables - squads of beggars were waiting to gather up the fragments that remained for they are in attendance at every public fête from the Saints day down - Music sounded at the other front of the Lordly mansion & we followed to see what next, the peasantry had already filled the

beautiful lawn at the foot of which is an artificial lake just on the margin of which were erected two very tall poles not only barked, but soaped, to be as slippery as possible at the top of each a suit of new clothes, belt, hat & all even to boots. & many were the competitors in climbing for such a prize. It was really quite exciting, my Willies attention could not be diverted even by the Juggler on the Lawn, or Punch & Judy, or the Cosmorama, how relieved we all were when the two lucky lads at last succeeded in reaching the top of the poles & bore off their prizes, they were soon dressed & went in triumph to the Balcony where the Count & Countess<sup>506</sup> were surrounded by gay ladies & officers. the peasant knelt at the Countess feet & kissed her hands. we could not hear the speeches, but saw her bend to kiss his brow. We had pointed out to us the very fair young sister of the countess<sup>507</sup> & the tall officer by her side proved to be the young Count Strogonoff, whose kindness to our boys on our voyage across the Baltic has rendered his name interesting to us. he is the betrothed of this heiress. her fathers beautiful seat<sup>508</sup> is not five minutes row off from the scene we were up. just across the little lake. Showers of sugar plums, nuts &c kept the children of the peasantry near the balcony. I watched the Count fill the tiny palms of a sweet little girl beside the Countess, from time to time. Mrs E<sup>509</sup> told me the history of the favored child, who was sent to the Countess when only a day old, it was elegantly dressed in linen cambric & rich lace, its pillow covered with white satin & the quilting lining the basket of the same. a letter elegantly written disclosed only that painful circumstances. prevented the parents acknowledging the little innocent helpless one & asked the Countess to take a mothers interest in its fate. she has adopted it & has no other. A very nice young English lady attended upon it as governess,<sup>510</sup> & already the little girl speaks English as if she had been taught in Victorias nursery. The Scotch steward & his portly dame<sup>511</sup> looked as if they shared in the profits of the estate they manage she was dressed in a gay light silk, with a lace pocket handkerchief as the insignia of work.

Saturday Sept 20<sup>th</sup> <sup>512</sup> There have been so many duties devolving upon me & so long a term has passed I forget what else I wished to add to my last day in the country. the weather became so cold and wet I could not take baby again, except one afternoons drive to see “the beautiful Mrs Anderson” as she is distinguished. my Johnie out rivalled her once

so blooming infant daughter<sup>513</sup> who is six months older than my active boy teething made her so ill that she cannot yet walk. perhaps I listened with too pleased an attention to the admiration my darling excites! Mary has availed of very bright sunshine for taking him a drive this morning with his brothers, I have ordered them back to a 3 o'clock dinner because the afternoon became damp & chilly. And the interval I shall occupy by recording as briefly as possible the changes which a fortnight has brought about in my family circle. Whistler placed our dear James & Willie as boarders at Mons Jourdon's school<sup>514</sup> Monday before last, & the next day<sup>515</sup> he himself seemed sorry to leave me with only Johnie to amuse me in my loneliness, tho of course he felt it a privilege as well as duty to go to meet our dear Debo at Hamburg. he will not know what a contest there was in my heart as I saw the Steamer bearing him away while I held baby closer than ever to me as we stood on our three-story-high balcony to gaze after dear father, yet if I wept, I also rejoiced that he was to have a three weeks reprieve from rail road duties<sup>516</sup> & a trip to Berlin on his way back with his only daughter - his day of leaving St Petersburg exactly fulfilling her years absence from us.<sup>517</sup> Our Consul Mr Gibson was most glad to have my husband's society on his route to England, we have in possession several nice pieces of furniture which were favorites of his- especially his french clock. for his health does not admit of his return to this post where he has been so highly respected twenty years. we shall miss him much, who will now forward my letters to England by the Courier<sup>?</sup> who will enable us to receive our Gallignani without the Censors clipping out all the highest seasoned bits of news?<sup>?</sup> he has never been well enough to return my husband's calls, since the introduction he offered in propria persona to Mrs & Miss W on their first becoming established in the Bobrinski Dom. but sent me his card with P.P.C.<sup>518</sup> as he has heretofore upon his leaving St P for the winter. My dear boys have almost daily exchanged billet doux with Mother since their strange absence of a week at a time from home. James reported every thing "first rate" even to brown bread & salt for breakfast & quass for dinner.<sup>519</sup> and Willie forebore to complain of home sickness, tho our friend Mr Prince reported when he went one evening to see them that poor Will looked very doleful.<sup>520</sup> Our coachman thought me no doubt very hard hearted when he drove me out for an airing one day the first

week the boys were at school & stopped before Mons Jourdon that I would not get out. James! Willie! he exclaimed thinking I could not be aware where he had chosen to take me — I ordered him to the Summer gardens which face the school,<sup>521</sup> being upon the opposite side of the Champ de Mars where all the grand reviews are held by the Emperor. there I took a solitary promenade, wishing I might be met by the pupils of Mons. Jourdon, for their daily walk in the season for it is to the Summer garden. Never shall I forget the delight mutually experienced as I welcomed my dear boys home the *first Saturday*!<sup>522</sup> Mother. Mother I heard them call as soon as the front door was opened & they were in such a glow, they looked *almost* handsome in their new round black cloth caps set to one side their cropped heads & the light school uniform of grey trowsers, black jacket<sup>523</sup> & velvet stock made them appear taller & certainly straighter. Willie was in such an excitement he went down to the court after dinner to ride about it on H. Eastwicks<sup>524</sup> new pony. James found the new suit too tight for his drawing lesson. he sacrificed vanity to comfort & was not diverted from his two hours drawing by the other boys frolic which argued well for Jemies determination to improve as he promised father would<sup>525</sup> in his absence. My dear boys told me much of their masters & class mates as they enjoyed their curd & cream & good bread & butter at tea time. then asked for a warm shower bath as a Sat nights indulgence, after which Willie shared my room or rather I & baby had taken possession of the boys former quarters, so Jemie slept in what we call “Aunt Alicias room” that our diminished circle might thus be drawn closer together, we had abandoned the front of the house that double windows might be put in. What a privilege I felt it to have my dear boys at family prayers on the Sabbath morning. I observed with pleasure too how well they behaved at church. Henry Harrison<sup>526</sup> came home with us to dinner & Mons. Lamartine also joined us then that he might see his former pupils In the afternoon I had the three boys assembled in my room, read & talked with them upon the duty to God & to their teachers & associates. I could not but remark darling Willies clinging to me, his attention to all I wished, but I did not understand the deeper tenderness which was swelling his heart as the hour for leaving home drew nigh. We spent the twilight hour in the recital of what he had suffered all *the week* from home-sickness. I could but weep with my



tender hearted Willie the first half hour, as I thus sympathised he told me all, & it was a sacred & sweet privilege to comfort him. When I at last put the question "Will you let the boys go tonight without you?" he answered still sobbing. "Oh no! it is *right* to go to school. father wishes it & I will try all I can to study to please him!" May our Almighty Father strengthen this purpose of his youthful mind! & may time accustom him to his privations in being from home. I cannot wish him ever to become indifferent to absence from it When I talked to my more manly James about his brothers claims upon him for sympathy while away from my side, I unfortunately added "you do not know what he feels" then Jemies wounded love melted him into tears as he uttered "Oh Mother you think I don't miss being away from home!" he brushed away the shower with the back of his hand as quickly as if fearing to be caught weeping. Dear boys! may they never miss me as I do them. After tea Willies grief was renewed as the moment of parting came. Mary went down with him to the Droshky & heard him say in reply to Henry Harrisons "dont cry Willie! look at me I dont mind going back to school! "Ah Henry you are not leaving your Mother!" When I had proposed to Willie that I should call some day to see them at Mons Jourdons, he had the self denial to recommend that I should not until he should be better reconciled to his new situation, he feared it would make him more home-sick "if I only look out of the windows & fancy you may, some of you be in the Summer gardens I cant stand it!"

October 6<sup>th</sup> Tuesday night. The house has almost the stillness of the grave & I may while on the watch as sick nurse write of that which has engrossed all my time & thoughts these ten days past. What a shock it will occasion to Whistler & Debo when they arrive to hear all I have gone thro, & they will see how near we have been losing our precious little Johnie. the crisis is just past & tho daily there are hours when his unfavorable symptoms prevail, yet we may hope now God will spare us the affliction of having to bury the little one who has the year past caused joy to return to our home circle. Poor Marys heart has been almost broken at the prospect of losing him. Never have I witnessed sufferings so extreme, so protracted in an infants frame. I could only pray that these might be softened. I dared not pray to have his life on earth prolonged if our Infinitely wise & compassionate Saviour designed to take him early

to his home in Heaven. I may say “tears have been my meat day & night”<sup>527</sup> yet hymns have been my solace as I paced the chamber hour after hour striving to win sleep to my darlings eye lids. Doct Rogers has visited him four times a day & some nights has staid till after twelve in hopes of his prescriptions giving ease to the little sufferer, yet he has for his own satisfaction called in a consulting physician who yet meets him here daily. A German doct who for twenty years has been presiding physician at the childrens hospital.<sup>528</sup> he explains away the mysteriousness of my baby’s attack of Dysentery, by telling us it is an epidemic in some of the neighbouring towns & has told its victims ten a day even in St Petersburg lately. he called it very properly a visitation sent from God. no doubt in mercy sent to check dependence on creature comforts. Our cup would have been too full without this check, for we are looking for the arrival of my dear husband with darling Debo tomorrow. My excited mind keeps my body from sinking under fatigue. for now tho every one is asleep in the house & neighbourhood I feel like sitting up all night, indeed mid night is past, how beautiful the moonlight is! my husband & daughter are I trust gazing in admiration upon its mild beams at Cronstadt<sup>529</sup> & lifting their souls to the Creator

[Thursday] October 15<sup>th</sup> We had only accomplished the removal of babys crib into the quiet apartment where he was born, when a summons for the Droszky, announced the arrival of my dear husband & Debo.<sup>530</sup> And where is that infants Crib now? since I occupy the silent back chamber without it, indeed the room wears an altered look, the dark curtains are taken down & a fire burns in the grate. That little one was last evening gently removed in his crib to our own room upon the quai as the coolest place, to preserve the precious clay yet a few days from corruption that we may visit & gaze upon its marble loveliness. Yes - yesterday at 3 1/2 oclock in the afternoon our babys sufferings terminated!<sup>531</sup> his redeemed spirit borne on Angels wings no doubt, returned to God who had lent him to cheer us, & taken him suddenly to warn us “Be ye also ready”<sup>532</sup> “The sinless child with mission high, to us on earth was given, to teach us that this World should be the vestibule to heaven”<sup>533</sup>

Friday [October] 16<sup>th</sup> <sup>534</sup> “The spirit indeed is willing, “but the flesh is weak”<sup>535</sup> I could write no more yesterday, Arrangements have been

made to have the funeral service at our house, altho contrary to the established rule of the English church,<sup>536</sup> indeed we have much to be thankful for, the kindness & sympathy of a few, seems very sincere, Mr Ropes has called upon our pastor to make the arrangements, has verbally invited those friends who have evinced an interest in the little sick=one, our dear boys were sent for yesterday from school & add much to our comfort, they wept bitterly at the sight of their darling Johnie still & cold in death! that little brother who had, until illness checked his joy, ever been so full of glee at the coming of James & Willie! May God of his infinite mercy grant that the solemn impressions of this death be enduring! we had family worship in this back chamber before the boys said good night, dear children! I fear at school they hurry thro their prayers in the multitude of different creeds. I felt so ill this morning. when I first awoke aching in every part of my frame. yet went to the parlor to lead the family devotions & made breakfast for the rest tho I could taste nothing. My kind physician has been both yesterday & today to visit me. Our pastor also has called today to pour the balm of consolation & to offer sympathy. dear old Mrs Leon has sent to ask after the health of our baby! I have sent to say my first visit after that to the house of God, shall be to her, it will be a motive for my going out, & doct R urges me so much to take the air, for I suppose fatigue & sorrow tells upon my countenance. Once today only have I stolen into that chamber where all that remains to us of Johnie lies, shall I ever forget the expression of that sweet face? tho so changed from what it was in healthful beauty, it is beautiful still. the deep sunken eyes cast a sad expression thro their long dark lashes, but the mouth smiles still, his dark brown curls are not long enough to shade the noble forehead which is so like Kirkies! and his snow white hands as perfectly beautiful as was that angel brothers in life & in death! \_\_\_\_ I resume my task facinating tho so heart rending while I am alone an hour after tea. Debo is reading to James & Willie in her own room, Whistler has our friend George Prince in his office. for I would record the mercies which sweetened my attendance upon my little one in his illness of eighteen days.<sup>537</sup> the remembrance of his fondness for his mother & Mary is so sweet, he would at times first extend his arms to clasp my neck, then hers by turns, and once when his favorite Mr Prince went in to look at him, he smiled,

but these intervals from pain alas were few. We thought he recognised his dear father, and perhaps he did not look upon Sister as a stranger for he had heard her name so constantly, so that she could have the privilege of aiding us in carrying him about, for his sufferings rendered it necessary we should night & day pace the chamber with him in our arms. and thankful am I that mine never wearied “As thy need so shall thy strength be”<sup>538</sup> I have fully experienced in such seasons of affliction. Our hopes were uppermost the first day or two after Whistler & Debo return and we were permitted to rejoice that they had come home. but then succeeded stronger fears our good doct Rogers & doct F<sup>539</sup> who still attended as consulting physician apprehended that the head would be attacked from our precious little sufferer lifting his arms so much. Oh how my heart sunk when the ointment for blistering<sup>540</sup> the back of the neck was ordered & I had to apply it! that sore spot never healed, after death, blood flowed from it. The thirst which the doct had so often questioned me about as a sure attendant upon the disease, at last came. Forgive me Oh my Saviour that thy thirst upon the Cross should never before have impressed my soul! Oh my God I have indeed needed thy correction! And this little one whom thou hast now taken, after have purified him thro suffering – has seemed to me as a victim for my sins. Oh God humble me! Holy Spirit keep these impressions in lively exercise, that I may ever be looking to Eternity: tho our babys restlessness in a measure abated towards the last, I could hear his teeth grind in the agonies of death! Ah why was it so hard for the “little one” of whom, Jesus said “such is the kingdom of heaven”<sup>541</sup> – these struggles with our last enemy? if not to teach us the beginning of wisdom the fear of God.<sup>542</sup> while we adore Him may we fear to offend Him for our God is a consuming fire.<sup>543</sup> but if we strive to resist sin, which is the sting of death to us under the law, death will have no terrors to the believer, in Christ, who has overcome the grave.<sup>544</sup>

Thursday evening 29<sup>th</sup> Oct.<sup>545</sup> My dear husband charged me (as he left me to go with Debo to listen to the trial of a new organ at a German church<sup>546</sup> for a few hours before tea - if I should have painful sensations on being left alone to call our good Mary to the drawing room. I am not well, nor can it be expected I should, but it is rather an indulgence sometimes to be solitary when the full heart needs relief & if tears fall

over my records they will not be checked as if those so dear to me were present. Ah what a luxury to weep over the memory of my little Johnie! I seldom encourage this selfish grief, fearing it is sinful in Gods sight, for has He not evinced love in calling that precious child from a world of sin & sorrow ere he could discern good & evil: And now I will go on from my last record. I would not leave out of this account the funeral services of my darling baby. as he died in the room where he was born, so, almost the same circle of friends assembled to join in these most solemn & touching obsequies, who had witnessed the dear little ones baptism in the same parlor fourteen months previously. Our pastor & M<sup>rs</sup> Law had seen me in another room while they were collecting, & while some who delighted in our beautiful Johnie were gazing fondly upon all that remained to us of him. My dear Whistler, George Prince & Mary had placed the dear body in the neat box which had been made by our sympathising countrymen at Alexandrofsky. poor Mary had lifted her darling from the pillow for the last time! And when told all had left the room I went to take my last lingering gaze! what a reluctance I felt to parting from the body I had so much delighted in! as I kissed the beautiful hands, they were as pliable as ever in life, so soft & dimpled! but ah the icy coldness struck to my heart. Whistler brought in our boys & dear Debo came to look for the last time at Johnie.

When I entered the circle an hour after in our drawing room where I knew the crib had been placed at the end of the large apartment just where I had offered my baby at the font, it was with difficulty I maintained composure, I dared not lift my eyes. M<sup>r</sup> Ellerby & his dear good wife who had taken so much interest in my baby while in health & sickness I knew were present. The sympathising Merriellees family too.<sup>547</sup> our kind Doct all our countrymen from Alexandrofsky of course our kind neighbour M<sup>r</sup> Ropes & George Prince, and several others dear Miss Funk had from first to last proved her belief that it is better to go to the house of mourning than the house of feasting!<sup>548</sup> When I could think that all present truly sympathized it was a melancholy gratification Our beautiful burial service how impressive! how comforting! Immediately upon its conclusion my kind husband upon whose arm I had leaned, supported me to my back chamber where Johnie was born & from whence his happy spirit had taken flight. Whistler had the

privilege of seeing the little body again, but I was spared knowing exactly when it was enclosed until the loud grief of poor Mary called me to her side to comfort & soothe her, Mr Ropes had cut the curls & sent them for her to give me, Mr Eastwick & George Prince went in the carriage of the former to bear the box to the vault of the English church, true mourners with us in our loss for they loved the little one, and it has been comforting to us that we needed no hirelings even to remove him from this home to that depository. We have obtained permission since, thro our Ambassador's interest with the authorities of the Police that when an expected ship comes to Cronstadt which is to be sent to our native land this autumn, we may have the precious box transported thither. Which of us shall go next to another world is the most solemn reflection. May God sanctify every affliction to us & Oh may this last stroke loosen our hold upon earth & each succeeding help to prepare us for heavenly joys. And oh the blissful welcome from these happy spirits who have only gone a short space before us to where we all hope to be! How much I have thought of christian friends *there* who would so differently view *my loss*. such saints as Miss Hirst & M<sup>rs</sup> Nichols, how blind & idolatrous that mother who could desire to detain a little one from the Lord of all! tho I weep let me faint not,<sup>549</sup> but press on daily towards the attainment of a blessed reunion of all I have loved whom God has taken before me to an eternal home. The day after our funeral service at home, we all attended Church morning & afternoon.<sup>550</sup> dear Debo & I attended the Lords table together. When shall I have the happiness of seeing my husband kneeling at the Altar to commemorate the death of Jesus who has so loving invited *all* who believe in Him (as I know my dear husband does with a deep veneration & love) thus to shew forth the Lords death till He come! for some wise purpose my prayers are not yet answered, I must wait my Gods appointed time & yet pray unceasingly Our darling boys had to go back to school at bed time, but we improved the evening in reading aloud & had family prayers ere nine o'clock came. Willie & I parted as usual in tears, dear Jemie may love his home as well, but he is blessed with an elasticity of spirits which rise above the thoughts which cause his younger, gentler brother to cling to his poor mother, Willie would like school if he could return to us every night, last Saturday<sup>551</sup> when they were enjoying being seated in our drawing room after, he

picked up a book which he recollected I had read aloud while he & Jemie drew last winter & said "Oh Mother those were first rate evenings! I wish they could be, over=again" Willie has kindly offered to walk with Mary to church, knowing how much she misses Johnie, he thus tries the only day he can, to be attentive to her. bless my thoughtful kind little Willie for it!<sup>552</sup>

Monday November 2<sup>nd</sup>! No ice yet, indeed today the thermometer is at 1 deg of heat. I had a short walk with my husband after breakfast, we looked for the English book-store in vain. & regret Kirton has moved from the Galernia<sup>553</sup> it was such a convenient distance for us to go. I wrote dear M<sup>rs</sup> Maingay on Sat,<sup>554</sup> as her son came to offer to bear our despatches to England, he sets out by land this evening to pass the winter at home. The Harrisons not yet arrived here tho it is more than three weeks since he wrote from Ireland.<sup>555</sup> little Alicia is therefore still under my care, I grow fond of the little one who occupies my lost ones crib. What hard struggles I endure to subdue my selfish grief! Yesterday I was struck by my bereaved friend M<sup>r</sup> Nichols extract in the last letter<sup>556</sup> received from him "Let power be given - To draw - not them to Earth, but us to Heaven."<sup>557</sup> & shall endeavour to keep this warning in view, that when memory bids painful images of my darlings sufferings pass in review, I may lift my heart in prayer to Jesus to help to keep my thoughts upon the realities of an unseen world. Why should the thrilling tones of my babys voice as I last heard them expressing the sufferings of that agonizing thirst still cause me to weep bitterly! *it is past* & he has forgotten it for the gentle Shepherd leads him to pure streams of living waters.<sup>558</sup> why am I ever seeking to recal my babys countenance in the sleep of death! the bright expression of his happy face as it was in health never forsakes his fond mothers mental gaze, and it is in a state of glorified beauty & happiness! Why do I press my lips & weep as in a stolen indulgence at sight of his little down=pillow which scented as it is from all the alleviatives used while his darling head rested on it those eighteen nights & days is more odoriferous to me than the most costly perfumes. Jesus look down in mercy upon me & put strength in me! lay not this grief as sin to my charge Oh thou compassionate & Holy One! but grant that when Thou has tried me & purified my soul thro suffering Thou mayest take me to where my little one has gone. My husband last week

invited a fellow passenger of his & Debos from Stettin who is passing a few weeks here - to dine with us en famille. Our good Doct Rogers only was invited to meet M<sup>r</sup> Bainbridge.<sup>559</sup> I was pleased with the stranger who is middle aged & rather in feeble health from having lived many years in India. this also renders his conversation interesting, I listened to his remarks about India with pleased attention as we sat round the bright fire after dinner, he could scarcely account for his feeling so much more comfortable in our drawing room than in any other in St Petersburg until its being carpetted all over & curtained according to the English mode was forced upon his conviction, for grates are used in most houses occupied by his countrymen here. he fell quite in love with my warm foot-stool & said he should look out for one like it on his return to London. he suffers from cold feet & has a horror of draughts as is the case with most persons who have lived years in India. he is a perfect gentleman so mild, so moderate in his choice of language where dissapproval must be expressed, one just fitted to make friends wherever he roams & he seems bent on visiting many nations. M<sup>r</sup> Bainbridge on finding Debos taste for music invited her to go in his carriage to hear the rehearsal of the court singings last friday morning.<sup>560</sup> she referred him to me, & as I could make no excuse for not wishing to be one of the party, I was more than repaid for the effort to gratify my dear daughter, & agreed with her I never had heard such perfect music in my life. Oh that she would be content to substitute these rehearsals of sacred sounds for the Opera! While I shut out even the sedate looking Choristers with my handkerchief to my eyes, I could almost imagine myself near the throne of God. Oh how delicious were the tears I shed as I thought of *my* little one who had loved music so fondly here! with his golden harp – for now he is an angel! As we were singing that verse of the morning hymn the second sunday I attended our church after I lost him<sup>561</sup> the same thought brought me joy in my grief tho it overpowered me & caused me to lose my voice, that he was among those who never weary in singing praise around the throne of God! How impatient I feel to be among that happy number! And my loving Saviour will not exile any who wish to go there. longer than necessary to fit them for the change. Holy Spirit quicken me to repentance & make me entirely submissive, believing, hoping, waiting,



in Jesus to whom be all the praise. And enable me in my life to exhibit my dependence in Thee Alone.

[Saturday] November 14<sup>th</sup> <sup>562</sup> Having just sent off a letter to my dear Whistler who left us a week ago to meet the Count at Moscow<sup>563</sup> - may it soon be received by my husband at Tchoodver<sup>564</sup> as he will be much interested in the news from America especially the battle at Monterey where our friend Capt Williams<sup>565</sup> of the Engineers was killed & buried by the Mexicans into whose hands he fell, with the honors of war - Georges letter<sup>566</sup> enclosed in the same envelope with mine announces that his Uncle Col Whistler & Garland<sup>567</sup> have been ordered back to the seat of war, poor Eliza - Garlands fond bride<sup>568</sup> will experience now the beginning of trials to which the wives of soldiers are peculiarly subject. This is an era in the worlds history when wars & rumours of wars verify our Saviours testimony that these must be the latter days, for our journals are filled with news of distress of nations from famine, pestilence & storms. I was almost tempted to copy the details of the providential preservation of life in the thrilling report of the Steamer G<sup>t</sup> Westerns<sup>569</sup> last voyage to the city of New York from Liverpool, because it seemed so solemn a warning of human helplessness & such a subject of praise for Gods forbearance & mercy should be handed down to future generations. Our friends the Crufts whose acquaintance we first made here last Summer, were on their return home after two years spent in Europe for health - among the 260 souls on board, & probably they were of the 60 who partook of the holy communion - it would be for the first time, but I trust not the last! Our hearts are hard by nature yet Oh it would seem such an especial evidence of the Divine goodness & love must make an enduring impression upon all who sought the Saviour on the mighty deep - for when they were ready to perish He commanded the raging waves & the storm was subdued. the Capt confessed "the hand of God was in it!" Ah in that very storm, how many bodies must have found a watery grave! how many souls have been called unprepared into the presence of their judge! while these favored ones have had years added to their term to give them opportunities to shew that they believe in the efficacy of prayers. From the Sat till the Tues. while the storm raged the account reports several religious exercises the last was one of thanksgiving & praise to God for His interposition when a watery grave

seemed inevitable, and before the favored ship entered the harbor of New York the passengers not only presented a liberal sum to the Capt. officers & crew but instituted a fund for the aid of destitute families deprived of their support by loss of husbands, fathers, or sons at sea. to be called "The G<sup>t</sup> Western fund," in commemoration of their own preservation. The G<sup>t</sup> Western brought our last dates from New York to Liverpool. But no letters from my dear family addressed to myself, tho I am thankful to learn thro one to Debo that my precious Sister Maria's health was benefitted by her sojourn at the mineral springs. This morning my dear daughter has gone to M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrands to take her german lesson with Elizabeth Ropes who is not well enough to come to our Study as usual. & as it is not yet time to prepare to welcome James & Willie from School I scribble up my family record as I would fain do each saturday. I must look back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of this month,<sup>570</sup> the anniversary of my wedding day being the most blessed of all anniversaries to me, as each year I sensibly feel a higher appreciation of the blessing God bestowed upon me in my beloved husband, but as I like not compliments on such occasions I reminded none of the family until the day was over, tho I had thought much of the changes which mark the period & had in the solitude of my own room poured out my thanks mingled with tears to the Searcher of hearts for His having crowned my lot with mercies. for even afflictions are such if viewed by the eye of Faith. My dear husband & I talked until the clock struck one, of the first period of our married life when Debo was the little one, and we acknowledged to each other that yet as the *only daughter* this dear gentle one continues the object of our deepest solicitude & tenderest care. As we are wont to kneel side by side in our chamber our silent prayers mingle for spiritual gifts for the four darling children yet spared us on earth, & it is our delight to talk at times to each other of the four whom God took early to their home in heaven where we hope all will meet at last, to part no more. Let me not omit to record my gratitude to God who has disposed my husband to seek counsel from on high, that he now never travels without his bible as his companion, and now that I must kneel without him at the footstool of mercy my solace is to commit him in prayer to One who follows him on all his journeys. The Harrisons arrived the wednesday of last week<sup>571</sup> having journeyed almost all the route from London by land.

no letters had met them from this after they set out & landing from the Stettin Steamer no friend was waiting to tell them of our loss. M<sup>rs</sup> Harrisons first question was for her infant, her next for mine! The Victory a London Steamer had met them near Cronstadt, but they had no suspicion that the remains of our little Johnie were on board, that the precious body may be sent forward from London to our hallowed enclosure in the Stonington village burial place. M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison has many times since said to me "suppose it had been my Alice instead of your Johnie!" Gods holy will be done! *I needed the chastisement & my innocent little one was taken to a heavenly home. May my soul be weaned from earthly desires that Jesus may become the supreme object. As my need so shall my strength be.*<sup>572</sup> I shrink not from suffering. for Infinite wisdom & love cannot err. yet how forcible I felt the words of Hawkes in the evening portion for the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month "And they feared as they entered into the cloud"<sup>573</sup>. how vivid is my recollection of past experience, when last winter my darling babe was very ill a few hours I trembled as death threatened! and even in his last illness how my heart sunk at a slight chill as we were putting him into a warm bath recalled the dying struggles of my dying Charlie in the bath in which that little one had given me his last look of love, & oh I shall fondly cherish that last expression of affection while reason is retained. But I record it to my Saviours glory that unworthy as I am, He has enabled me to feel it to be good to enter the cloud of affliction where His glorious presence becomes visible to the mourner who cannot bear the false glitter of this worlds joys, but whose soul then stretches its gaze to the realities of Eternity. M<sup>rs</sup> Harrisons little Alicia more than repaid me for my attention to her by her fondness of me. when her father asked where was Mama she pointed to me & said "there," indeed to let her own Mamas facinations have full effect, I had to screen myself, for the whole family spent the day of their arrival with us. they took Henry from school & when their carriage was announced before tea Alicia & all bade us adieu, a happy- unbroken family band went home together! The next time M<sup>rs</sup> H came to town she was laden with gifts for me which herself & husband had selected on their route. a beautiful Tea Caddie of petrified wood from Spâ,<sup>574</sup> an embroidered pélerine<sup>575</sup> & Brussels lace<sup>576</sup> from that emporium of fine work & a pr of Tyrolese gloves<sup>577</sup> from Prussia. also a

case of scissors from Birmingham which because most unpretending yet most useful I had nearly omitted to name. M<sup>rs</sup> Eastwicks baby was christened last tuesday,<sup>578</sup> under happier circumstances I had promised her to be present on the occasion, I lent our consecrated bowl which I & all my brothers & Sisters & some of my own children have been christened from, but I wrote a note of apology, and felt grateful that they did not urge me to overcome my selfishness. I could not have been in the festive throng after the holy rite & it might have appeared rude to leave without partaking the hospitalities which our clergyman always remains to partake of. Never can I forget the kindness of M<sup>r</sup> Eastwick towards my children, especially his last act of tenderness towards my angel Johnie in so gently removing the precious corffin with his own hand & taking it in his own carriage to the vault of the English Church & I pray God to reward him seven fold in spiritual mercies to his children. The baby was christened William, after brothers of M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> E,<sup>579</sup> M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Kirk<sup>580</sup> stood sponsors. Oh that the solemn vows may impress them!

Saturday Dec 5<sup>th</sup> My own dear husband was welcomed home by Debo & I last tuesday<sup>581</sup> to dinner. he had complained of nothing in the months absence thro his several letters<sup>582</sup> to us, but *home* sickness, his patience was tested to its utmost endurance, while waiting the movements of the great man, to whom all ranks in the Engineer department, but Whistler, bow in humiliating submission & in presence of whom they tremble, as man only ought to do to God! however the Count has always been polite towards my husband,<sup>583</sup> & now this vexatious inspection of his work is over for this season, he can annoy us no further. A short peice of the rail road 22 versts had been completed,<sup>584</sup> in the prospect of the Count coming over it from Colpener,<sup>585</sup> locomotives & trains were sent to meet them, refreshments had been prepared & taken in the cars by Winans & Harrison, but Whistler only was to profit by these attentions, the Countess<sup>586</sup> having met her lord monday evening at Tchoodver, they travelled together to the palace in this city, on the chaussé, Col Melnikoff was honored by their taking possession of his house for the night! but of course he was not invited to act the host, he sought the hospitality of another officer for himself, where also Whistler was entertained, my husband always testifies as to

the courtesies of the Russian officers, their eagerness to welcome travellers is the more praise worthy, when their circumscribed means are contrasted with their graceful hospitality, many of them have not more than \$200 salary. they are all educated as gentlemen.<sup>587</sup> While my husband was absent our dear boys had no praznicks<sup>588</sup> altho he wrote us two had been observed in the interior<sup>589</sup> & he had felt glad to fancy them enjoying themselves at home, last saturday indeed Jemie had been kept in school until night, to write a given portion of french over 25 times as a punishment<sup>590</sup> for having loitered to chat with a class-mate after their recitation was finished instead of marching back to his seat according to order. poor fellow! it was rather severe when he had looked only for rewards at the end of the week. during which he had not had one mark of disapprobation. he was too much elated by his number of good balls for perfect recitations, & forgot the *disobedience* of orders is a capital offense under military discipline. He lost his drawing lesson. & made us all unhappy at home thro his detention at school. Willie would have waited for him but that he would not permit, poor coacher & ponies must have suffered most after all, for the weather was exceeding cold, snowing & freezing, yet there they waited from 2 oclock until 5 1/2. We had tried to keep a nice dinner warm for poor Jemie, but his appetite had forsaken him altho his breakfast had been at seven & only a penny roll since. Koritzkie<sup>591</sup> had been precisely at four to give him his Saturdays treat a drawing lesson & Jemie dashed the tears in vexation from his eyes, I hope he will not forget the lesson upon obedience! his cheerfulness however was soon restored by his gentle Sisters kindness & we had our usual Sat nights reading, before the bath. When the boys left us to go to sleep at Mons Jourdon on sunday night<sup>592</sup> as usual, they were cheered by the prospect of the two praznicks<sup>593</sup> they have had this week. & were not long after their dear fathers welcome home in coming for theirs. I must not omit to record that the river was closed last Saturday night,<sup>594</sup> the season has been remarkably open & mild, usually the Neva has been travelled over by sledges a fortnight before this - and besides the ice not coming down in due season, a long stretch of a verst & half below the works of the new bridge was left quite free for ferry boats to ply across several days.<sup>595</sup> however the cold has been so intense this week it is already frozen across. appearing like an immense mirror, while the rough

masses of ice from Ladoga are piled up in striking contrast, but so soon as the police give freedom to sledges to cross to the islands roads will be levelled.<sup>596</sup> Our boys took their skates when they went to Alexandrofsky on wednesday, it was very lucky that their praznic gave them freedom for Harrison Eastwicks birth day,<sup>597</sup> he came to town to breakfast with them, & the happy trio of cronies did not loiter after it, they stopped at the Gostinandvor to provide themselves each, a pr of fur mittens & fur boots our boys were restored to us at bed time by M<sup>r</sup> Eastwick himself. he took the moonlight drive to town with them & to put an end to my thanks said he enjoyed it. We had to put off their recounting all the pleasure of their visit until breakfast, for a warm bath was ready in their own room & good Mary had a bright fire in their grate to tempt them to it. Jemie had been so much interested in the exhibition of the Magic lantern<sup>598</sup> (which M<sup>r</sup> Eastwick has lately imported from England to add to the domestic resources of his boys) displaying the planetary system & simplyfying the science of astronomy to their comprehension, he found his evenings entertainment as charming as his days freedom to range out of doors had been. they left their skates & sledge at Alexandrofsky in the hope of other holidays, & because the English ice hill club are not to offer the winters amusement to which we have always subscribed, they are the better pleased that at the American works ice hills are to be formed this season. On thursday<sup>599</sup> we had our favorite Miss MacMaster & her three interesting pupils Helen Kate & Willie Wood to meet our boys. Henry Harrison also came to dinner & was here till nine when the party broke up, for the Woods were sent for & our sledge was in waiting to take our boys back to Mons Jourdon. Even our Willie went off smiling (instead of weeping as is too often his wont upon a summons to leave home) for a day & half would so soon pass! I was rather startled to hear Henry alluding to an alarm which his parents still suffer from, in poor little Annies state of health, as I had carefully avoided mentioning the subject to our boys, in the dread it might thro childish garrulity reach dear little Annies ears, she being entirely unconcious of having had an Epiliptic fit, the first fortnight after her return home from England. it was very early in the morning when it seized her, as she was amusing her baby sister<sup>600</sup> in her own little room, the two children being surrounded by toys, when she suddenly cried out “Oh my head” fell back in

convulsions, which lasted two hours, after a long deep slumber succeeding, she awoke & only expressed surprise at finding herself in her mamas bed instead of her own. The nervous fever she had in England, may have predisposed the dear little girl for this, but the dread is a recurrence,<sup>601</sup> however as her general health has been much better since the fit may it be hoped God will avert such a trial to her parents as to witness her subject to such a dire attendant upon life!

Saturday evening Dec 19<sup>th</sup> <sup>602</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison came just as I had written thus far & waited here till Henry came from school with my boys, after dinner I let no employment interfere with their claims upon me. Last Saturday<sup>603</sup> M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Eastwick brought their nurse & baby in hopes of meeting our good doct here wishing to consult him about their little Russian Willie. & as the last day of the week is that I set aside for summing up the other six days, I am almost discouraged in the attempt to keep a diary. Debo went at 7 oclock this evening to the Parsonage to witness the marriage ceremony of her favorite Miss Henley to M<sup>r</sup> Wishaw,<sup>604</sup> having had the promise of a window upstairs from which she could look down upon the altar. Now that my boys have finished their Sat evening English reading to their dear father & I, we having enjoyed tea which our good Doct partook of with us, they have gone to their room to bathe & I am all alone in our large parlor, for father has gone to escort Sister home.

Friday Christmas day our style Dec 25<sup>th</sup> I shall have a most delightful accompaniment to my notes, while Debo, her father & one of our pastors daughters are playing piano, harp & flute. Yesterday Whistler obtained the favor for our dear boys spending *our holiday* at home, tho the schools give none, he took them to the Gostinandvor<sup>605</sup> directly after breakfast to supply them each with a pr of skates, the "English skating ground" being now ready, the weather so mild & they needing exercise so much, I advised them to call for a young Scotsman named Saunders<sup>606</sup> who is fond of the amusement & who is a favorite among us, his modest & gentlemanly deportment being very captivating & his having been trained to a proper way of thinking by a pious mother, who is alas separated from a dissolute husband. We are always glad to see young Saunders, he came with his uncle M<sup>r</sup> Miller & spent an evening by our fire side this week, Whistler delighted him by his imitation of the scotch

bag-pipes upon the flute, for we old folks were required to exert our powers of entertainment, as Debo was spending the evening at the Henleys.<sup>607</sup> Last evening by way of realizing Christmas Eve, we had a small party of young folks to meet our young people,<sup>608</sup> previous to their assembling, Whistler & I went to Kirtons English book shop<sup>609</sup> & selected a Christmas gift for Debo & the boys which I presented this morning directly after breakfast, Jemie seems quite sensible of fathers generosity & has whispered me to dissuade him from the purchase of gifts for the Russian Christmas, how happy it makes me that our plan for then, will not dissappoint our children! Oh that the Saviour who came to Earth (as on this day) & announced by the holy Angels “Peace on Earth, good will to men”<sup>610</sup> may answer my petitions for the four dear children He has yet left us, to cheer us on our pilgrimage thro this vale of tears! Oh that He may “call them early”<sup>611</sup> by his Holy Spirit, that they may honor Him in their life among men, & give them tastes & desires for the society of Saints & Angels where we are comforted in believing the *four* who have gone before us to an unseen world, have already entered upon unending happiness. Our late letters from dear George<sup>612</sup> have been rather depressing, how often we think of him so separated from the family circle, which with his domestic tastes must indeed be such a privation, but in this world of trial, we must become resigned to the arrangements of an Invisible over-ruling power, which appoints for each of us situations most favorable for the great reformation man requires to fit him for a heavenly society. What could enable me *contentedly* to spend years away from my native land, my mother, Sisters brothers & friends, even deprived of the visits of a pastor, but that I cannot doubt God will more than compensate me, by drawing me to the Saviour, who has said “whosoever loveth Mother or child better than me is not worthy of Me”<sup>613</sup> — I had kind notes from two among my small circle of friends in this city<sup>614</sup> today. & my heart was touched with gratitude that comparative strangers should give a passing interest to a mourner. I gave, with my answer to one on the Island, “Na Chi” to the messenger, the poor serf was as thankful for the grevenic<sup>615</sup> as a Yankee would have been for a dollar. Had it not been so late when I took up my pen last Saturday evening,<sup>616</sup> I should have recorded having passed an hour the morning of that day



in “the house of mourning”<sup>617</sup> it was my second call upon Miss Funk, since her sympathising visits to me in my late affliction, she had consented to pass this season under the roof of her only Sister, who had five “little=ones” under nine years of age<sup>618</sup> & was expecting a sixth. I had become interested in the mother<sup>619</sup> of my christian friend, whom I had conversed with in my first call, for tho a German lady, she spoke English, the sunday before last she gave birth to another little girl,<sup>620</sup> much suffering ensued, under which the patient evinced how sustaining is the true believers confidence in God. when pain ceased, she rapidly lost strength,<sup>621</sup> a nurse was provided for the vigorous infant, who thrives & misses not a mothers care. Previous to death M<sup>ES</sup> G conversed with her husband<sup>622</sup> upon her hopes in Christ Jesus our Lord, leading him to lay hold upon such as a staff in his affliction, she repeated the 14<sup>th</sup> chap of St John<sup>623</sup> to him, (from which the clergyman selected his text when he preached at the funeral service which we attended in the Dutch reformed church last tuesday)<sup>624</sup> I felt it good to be there, although I could not understand what he said, except occasionally the text “In my fathers house are many mansions” his countenance was so expressive & manner so earnest, Debo told me when we walked from the church how impressive the address had been, particularly to the young for she whose body was borne to the grave had been young & full of hopes for years of usefulness, the attendance was very numerous. tho the cold was intense 10 deg below zero Farenheit. How wan the poor widowers face as he passed alone, and Miss Funk how overcome with sorrow she seemed, her pastor & M<sup>ES</sup> Ellerby were among the number of English friends who were present. My good Mary who is always contented at home has been invited by M<sup>ES</sup> E to spend this evening at the Parsonage with her good Ellen, the English nurse.<sup>625</sup>

Tuesday evening [December] 29<sup>th</sup> Our dear Debo has gone to dine with the Gellibrands & as her father is inclined to read American news papers I shall scribble a while before tea. Last evening while he was gone to Alexandrofsky a solitary letter reached our Russian home by the G<sup>t</sup> Western from New York, we were too eager to wait his breaking the seal of Maxwell communication,<sup>626</sup> & Debo read it aloud to me while I made tea, it was eight pages, but as his letters always are so entertaining, we were sorry to come to its end. it was well we lingered over tea thus, for

Debos favorite Miss Grant<sup>627</sup> just at that moment arrived & soon after, my gude mon himself. the young lady seemed exceedingly amused at our having dared to make so free with the Majors property, as it was an unheard of liberty among the English for any women-kind to break the seals of the masters letters, however Whistler only looked pleased that we had taken the first reading & enjoyed the second to himself after tea, when the young ladies scampered off to the piano. I brought my desk to write at the same table beside my husband. Miss G afterwards - when we had towards eleven oclock drawn in a circle around the bright fire - remarked how charmingly we each had pursued our occupation, which a very large parlor gave us the advantage of doing without interfering with each other. she is one of those with whom we need not be ceremonious, for she comes expressly to be with Debo, & tho she says it is the greatest treat she has, to sit & listen to her playing Harp or Piano, yet her own merry voice is often ringing cheerfully in speech or laughter, & we thank her for exciting responding notes from our darling daughter, who much needs more suitable companions to her age than her old mother, or even usually cheerful father. we miss our dear boys so much from home. the house must be too quiet for her, for she seems at times solitary & melancholy, while I in my efforts to appear free from sadness for her sake, in general am really so. I must not omit to record the enjoyment we all had in the three days visit<sup>628</sup> of our boys last week, & while they were eager for amusement out of doors, skating &c, they behaved with so much gentleness & consideration in the family circle, especially James, that we have promised if Mons Jourdon does not object, they shall spend New Years evening at M<sup>l</sup>. Mirriellees<sup>629</sup> where we are all invited sociably. We had some merriment last Sat evening<sup>630</sup> from the boys practising making bows under their fathers tuition. I am glad to observe in dear Jemie a desire now to conform to his dear fathers wish in every thing, and also to listen to his mothers admonitions, how grateful she feels God only knows!

This evening Whistler has been telling me of the loss of another Steamer in Long Island Sound, the new boat on the Norwich route, it was on the same night when the G<sup>t</sup> Western was detained by the storm off Staten Island on leaving New York this last voyage. that the Atlantic was deprived of all power by an accident to her steam pipe, & the storm

continuing to increase in violence she during that night & the next dragged her anchors a distance of 22 miles & at 4 o'clock the second day was dashed upon rocks & immediately went to pieces. a Steamer & also a small vessel put out in the hope of at least saving the passengers. but the storm was such they were driven back, indeed the gallant commander Capt Dustan hauled down his flag of distress upon seeing them approach knowing their own crew must forfeit their lives for their bravery if they ventured nearer. how aggravating to all on board the ill fated Atlantic! to be so near the land as to be seen by many eager to help them, but not able! yet God in mercy gave them to see that help could only come from His own mighty power! and this those who trusted in Him sought in prayer & we will hope among the forty three bodies drowned in that storm many may be found on the right hand of God at the last day when at the voice of the Saviour the sea even shall give up her dead.<sup>631</sup> What a warning to those who trust in human intervention, in human forethought & wisdom. Some had boasted of this boat that it could brave any storm the Almighty could send! Ah if by our *words* we are to be justified, or condemned, should we not stand in awe & thus sin not. The Capt too was so great a favorite many would feel secure from the assurance of his nautical skill, he was a devoted sailor no doubt, for he never left his post thro that awful hurricane, when cold also assailed all on deck, he kept at his post cheering all by his calmness & courage. Alas, alas, for his aged mother, his widow, his helpless little ones who<sup>632</sup> dependent on his exertions, may God who disposes men to compassionate such, raise up friends to them, their first intimation of their loss, was the arrival of the dead body at his home on Staten Island.<sup>633</sup> Oh well may we pray to be delivered from sudden death! but even more earnestly should we pray for grace to live prepared to die. Oh that the living would lay these lessons to heart & redeem the time yet allotted for repentance. My heart has been softened today Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> by the sympathising letters I have received from my kind Sisters Maria & Kate,<sup>634</sup> and I have indulged in floods of tears which have relieved my full heart. Thanks be to God for all his mercies to me! Every trial has been sweetened by kindness And should I ask more than that all who have left me have gone to Jesus (called early to enter upon joys of Which the imagination of man has no conception. Ah can I compare

my griefs with those of the widows, the childless, the orphans made by war or by shipwreck! May God keep me humbled under a sense of my unworthiness, and may the only effect of sorrow upon my heart be to keep it softened by its showers, for holy impressions. When I go into the apartment, where my Johnie first breathed, where his happy spirit was also released & weep over the empty crib, may Jesus look down in pity & forgive a mothers weakness & put strength in me by the blessed promises of the gospel. forbid it that I should indulge in grief rebelliously ! I read with comfort of the triumph of faith in the death bed scene of Mrs Lorrillard<sup>635</sup> which Marias letter recounted. she was one of the very few who was a faithful steward of her masters goods. the poor of the city of New York have lost a friend & her children weep their loss of a christian mother. but what a holy association they will retain of her in prayer, her dying petition was to “Our Father which art in Heaven”<sup>636</sup> she had confidence in her Redeemers blood. “Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord” they rest from their labours & their works do follow them” Also, “Blessed are they who do His commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life.”<sup>637</sup> Rev. My friend Mrs Barnes also writes me of the happy death of another little daughter of Maj Ripley,<sup>638</sup> & promises to send her memoir written by our dear pastor M<sup>r</sup> Lee of Springfield. this dear child of only eight years had thro the renewing influences of the holy spirit been led early to seek her Saviour, may the impression of her example be sanctified to her Sister who has just left her home as the bride of a rich man of the world!<sup>639</sup> & may the example of the believing young wife be sanctified to him. many will congratulate her upon the elevation of her station in this world without considering the temptations it will draw her into to forgetfulness of the Pearl of great price.<sup>640</sup>

January 1847

Saturday 23<sup>d</sup> of our style being 11<sup>th</sup> of Russian style. It is three weeks this afternoon since our dear boys came home from school to spend the Russian Christmas & New year holidays, & now it seems not probable they shall return again to Mons Jourdons this winter.<sup>641</sup> James was drooping from close confinement at school & for two days was confined to his bed with sore throat. I came to him to nurse him at night as by day in our hospital the back chamber & his father took Willie to

our room, as his bed fellow, but our dear little Willie also was taken ill the second night & that apartment communicating with the drawing room improper for an invalid he also was brought to share this & for the benefit of the open fire place. Our boys were pronounced sufficiently well by Christmas eve Russian Style (being 5<sup>th</sup> of Jan our style) to avail of the invitation they had received from Mrs Morgan<sup>642</sup> to partake of the festivities of the season prepared for her children & their playmates. but the early hours was the strongest argument with us to consent, going at five, and returning at eight or nine, gave them as much frolic as they could derive enjoyment from for it was unalloyed by after suffering. they gradually recovered from their attack & skated with visible benefit almost daily upon the Neva. And Jemie often had crossed on the ice to the Academy of Fine arts to spend an hour or two of the early part of the day in the study of his drawing master.<sup>643</sup> Upon the Russian New Years eve Debo & her father went to pass the evening at the Morgans where “les tableaux vivants”<sup>644</sup> were the most attractive amusement, tho dancing succeeded before supper, to which last they did not remain but came home to me at 12 1/2. I had been alone, all the evening as our boys had been allowed the indulgence of accompanying the Eastwicks to their home to spend Edwards birth day<sup>645</sup> & stay all night. Alas! that dear Jemies eagerness for sports should so often bring illness upon him & cause us so much anxiety. we feared from his pale face & loss of appetite he had taken cold, tho he would not complain as long as he could keep up. Debo had invited the Wilks family to have a musical entertainment & they came the second evening after our dear boys frolic at Alexandrofsky<sup>646</sup> & tho they were allowed to sit up until ten I observed James was not in spirits & that he hovered over the fire while every one else felt our drawing room to be so warm we had to open the door of the corridor. I must not forget here to record, how very late Lizzie Ropes was in making her appearance that evening because of the stupidity of the Ishvostic who had driven Miss Scofield<sup>647</sup> & herself over to the Island where they had been invited to dine at a Russian merchants,<sup>648</sup> where Mr & Mrs G with the Mirriellees family waited an hour longing for the arrival of these damsels. the dinner in the while kept back & in consequence of the delay Elizabeth could not earlier be excused than her coming to us at near ten proved. she was quite excited and seemed

almost as ready to cry as to laugh when she recounted to us her terror during the crazy drive of that never to be forgotten hour in the dark with a strange Ishvostic, he proved to be a rude peasant from the interior (herds of them flock each winter to St Petersburg with their rough sledges & ponies to make a trifle, which very probably they have to spend in freeing themselves from the recruiting orders which are annually issued to press the poor peasantry to fill up the ranks broken by the desolating war of the Caucases.<sup>649</sup> Of course these poor fellows are ignorant of the city & especially of its environs tho the will not confess it, & thus when this one was directed to follow the sledge of Mr & Mrs Gellibrand to a certain house in a certain line on the Island it was expected the young ladies must reach there at the same time as themselves, poor Mrs G was extremely alarmed & weeping bitterly among her sympathising friends the other assembled guests. & Mr G had said many a time he would give a thousand rubles to have Lizzie brought safe to them! when she & Miss Scofield really came! the latter a stranger to the language & customs had depended entirely upon Elizabeth & it was well she could speak for the Ishvostic had driven them to places she had never been in before & seemed obstinate about enquiring the way, until Lizzie summoned courage to seize his reins & stop his exploring further. I did not understand if the general alarm had destroyed the appetites of the guests. the profusion was as usual at this Russian merchants feasts, & Mr J. Ropes seemed to have had a surfeit of rich dishes & champagne. & to be glad to *repose* while listening to the music at our quiet fire side circle. Lizzie did not stay all night with Debo as she does generally after coming for the evening. her sister could scarcely bear to lose sight of her recovered treasure, so she called for her on her way home from the late dinner party in her own sledge.

The next morning when we assembled at prayers Willie came without James, whom Mary reported to have had a very feverish & disturbed night, his symptoms of a rheumatic attack were soon confirmed, pain in the chest & left side added to our alarm for him, our good doct who always uses mild remedies as possible, ordered oil silk<sup>650</sup> to be wrapped around his ankles & feet, indeed wherever the rheumatic pains attacked him, it was like a charm, for altho he could not be touched without screaming for days after, still the aching pains were within half an hour

relieved. mustard plaisters repeated upon his chest & side whenever the pains & difficulty in breathing came on, and afterwards the oil silk applied there was as soothing as it had proved to his limbs. the fever & nervous irritability with heavy perspirations when he could sleep were weakening & distressing. Of course my post is always in the sick chamber, this back-room the scene of so many trials to me I occupy as my precious Jemies nurse.<sup>651</sup> As in the watches of the night season when my babys sufferings caused my eyes neither to slumber or wish sleep I sung hymns which at such seasons are the only welcome sounds to sooth anguish mental & bodily. poor James would ask me for them when he could not win sleep. Oh it is good for us when in health to lay up a store of Gods word in our memories, a verse of scripture becomes an acceptable prayer, when human energies are so prostrated by bodily anguish as not to be roused by the longing to cry unto God in a prayer of our own. He knowing all our weakness has mercifully provided us in the inspired language of His own book with ejaculations of prayer & praise. Even the youthful experience of my darling Jemie has proved that it is a rich treasure, & I trust Gods holy spirit may help him to make a dilligent search & that his mind may be stored with verses suited for every emergency. for the holy scriptures are good for instruction & correction, as they are for support & comfort thro the sufferings of sickness & on the bed of death. it is to this end I require my dear boys in health to commit a verse to memory & to repeat it at breakfast. "What we sow that shall we reap"<sup>652</sup> let us never weary in striving to walk in the commandments of God. realizing his hand guiding every event towards the great end of our being, even the preparing us to enter into a better & brighter existence, after this life is over, there are moments of gladness even in a sick chamber. All around me in this back room reminds me of my trial of last October. the crib occupied only by the useless basket which was wont to be in use for Johnies change of clothes, the little soft down pillow upon which his beautiful head was supported on my arm till the last! and which is still so powerfully perfumed with the musk which he used to take that it must ever be most nearly associated to the little sick bed - many might wonder at my composure in gazing on these sacred objects, but I can shed delicious tears over them in the hours of the night when none but a compassionate Saviour looks upon me "a

woman of a sorrowful spirit"<sup>653</sup> even the little chairs I touch gently, when I try to bring them into use for Johnies sake! he is only gone home a short time before me! why should I not feel it a sweet privilege to touch what he has so lately handled. even the little pillow I have brought to dear Jemie to support his knees when weariness & weakness has made it difficult to find a position of ease to his rheumatic limbs. Oh my Saviour let not my sojourn in this back room be abused by me that I venture into sinful indulgence of grief, when my soul should rejoice that Thou has secured my "little one" from further suffering, but grant that each visit here in the attendance upon a sick bed of any dear to me, may yeild me opportunities for examing where on my hopes of a hereafter rest, may lead me more to study thy will that it may become my sanctification. I count all things as nought in comparison to the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.<sup>654</sup> I have read to Jemie to divert his weariness & pain. he is beginning to recover his appetite. he sleeps better as his fever & thirst are decreasing. We keep 15 deg of heat in his room, & of course I am often enough awake to watch the fire that it never goes out.

Saturday Jan 30<sup>th</sup> Gradually has my darling patient been convalescing all the week, and this morning walked across the floor, what cause for thankfulness, that tho this attack began with such alarming symptoms it has been less protracted than any other preceding of rheumatism. he has been allowed to amuse himself - while seated in M<sup>r</sup> Maxwells great chair,<sup>655</sup> with his pencil. and I have read aloud to him, his sisters and his dear fathers visits occasionally during the day have given variety, and he has had appetite to enjoy "manna cassia<sup>656</sup> & milk" for breakfast or roast chicken & jelly for dinner. He has not taken a dose of medicine during this attack. Doct R has avoided every remedy which was not soothing. he has only had a cough mixture, or a sleeping powder the first nights which were most miserable, but great care has been required in his diet. During this fortnight of dear Jemies illness Willie has been profiting by his kind Sisters instructions in the study & by the mild, bright, weather for being upon the Neva skating in the recess. One day I walked down the quai to be a spectator of the English skating ground, & enjoyed it exceedingly it was mild bright weather, the part of the river hedged round by ever greens, is a very large oblong & kept so smooth by scraping & sweeping daily & pouring water over to freeze at night it



looks like a clear mirror. I thought our Willies skating very tolerable as he glided across the great square of the English ground upon seeing me standing watching his movements from the quai, he suddenly seated himself upon one of the benches & calling to a Mujic to unstrap his skates he was soon running towards me - to beg for fifteen copeecks silver<sup>657</sup> to buy a hockey stick. He reports daily the kindness of the gentlemen skaters in teaching him, & particularly young M<sup>r</sup> Merriellees<sup>658</sup> who condescends to play ball with him. Willie finds it difficult to persuade himself to leave such fascinating society to come home in time to be ready for our dinner at four o'clock. but he brings a famous relish for it from this fine exercise, indeed Willie has quite regained his bloom this fortnight & I feel that it would be more severe upon me to send my boys back now to school than it was when they entered, for then we were all well - and since then such a blank! besides the experiment has dissatisfied our expectations, any advantage in the way of study has been at too great a sacrifice, that of health most apparent, but I tremble also for morals. I beg their father earnestly, that they may remain at home under my care & their gentle Sisters tuition where their habits to virtue will be strengthened, & their gradual progress more sure in the end. We received letters by the Cambria which left Boston on the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month, last monday. that from our dear George<sup>659</sup> has excited an uneasiness which cannot be dissipated until the next steamer a month off yet - may bring us more cheering tidings from our dear Son. May God direct & comfort him & may the next report be that his health is restored. When I allowed Debo the perusal of my dear Mothers letter<sup>660</sup> to me she remarked as she returned it "how beautifully Grandmother expresses herself & her letters are so full of home details they are the most satisfactory we get" Yes I often think how remarkable such letters are from an old lady of seventy, for the neatness of the caligraphy is as extraordinary as the clearness of the ideas, & original beauty of the sentences. My precious Mother! may we yet enjoy years *at home* together, when it will be my delightful privilege to smooth away the cares from which I would my honoured parent might be free in the down-hill of life. Oh that I had it in my power to obey the impulses of my heart & cheer her at this distance by contributing to the comforts of my brother Charles. The letters from Irving Place<sup>661</sup> told of the "merry Christmas"

there, & my dear brother William in the midst of his family circle made their enjoyment without alloy. But what a severe winter they are having in my native land in comparison to ours in Russia thus far, and in England & even in the south of Europe the papers mention more suffering from cold than we have in this really frozen region. but this winter has been even more exempt from winds here than ever, the only day when I have suffered from cold in going out, was the day of the funeral of Miss Funks sister.<sup>662</sup> we have not had our January thaw either, the sleiding has been excellent & the skating on the Neva also, yet mild & blessed as has been this season for the poor (& there are more than usual on the list, from persons out of employment finding it impossible to obtain bread for their families, clothing the Dorcas society<sup>663</sup> has bountifully distributed. our friends the Gellibrands & Ropes being most active members - yet the moisture of the atmosphere—which has yeilded us such beautiful frostwork scenes - has not been as wholesome as the clear cold natural to Russia. our doctor has reported more ill than he has known at the beginning of any year before, for it is at the breaking up of the winter the hospitals are most full. Dear old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon is very poorly, the cold she caught in crossing to church on Christmas day has confined her ever since. her friends flock to her, & the poor still obtain admission to pour their tale of sorrow into her sympathising bosom, knowing she will leave no effort untried to interest those who can “go about to do good”<sup>664</sup> & to distribute.

Saturday morning Feb 6<sup>th</sup> 1847.<sup>665</sup> During this week I have been so incessantly attending upon my dear Jemie & Deborah as only to have been out once & that was last Monday<sup>666</sup> to see my respected & beloved old friend M<sup>rs</sup> Leon. I had sent Mary to her several days to evince the regard I felt, for doct Rogers reported her failing strength from day to day. & at 83 years “when the grasshopper proves a burden”<sup>667</sup> we could scarcely expect even her extraordinarily good constitution to be restored to aught like health. she received me with her usual affection tho it was not easy for her to assume cheerfulness, her cough distressing her & general debility pervading. I offered Marys services by night or day. but as has ever been my own dear Mother - she felt too unwilling to give trouble & has ever been as conspicuous for her neatness and love of order, she embraced me as that dear mother would have done upon my

short call being ended tho as I kissed her mouth, she said “Oh dont my dear” I suppose from the dread of infecting me with her cough. The weather had suddenly become so intensely cold (15 deg below zero Farnheit that I could not bear to keep horses or coachman waiting as long as I could have liked to stay besides my invalids at home wanted me. Willie had been seized with one of his attacks of stomach disorder on the evening before & his father had taken him again to be in his room for dear Jemie was not so quiet with me away from him at night. Debo had caught cold in a short walk she took mild as the weather still was on Saturday.<sup>668</sup> Every body rails at this atmosphere of St Petersburg, they say the swamp it is founded upon was never intended for any inhabitants but wolves & bears! certainly people of all classes but especially young girls lose what health they bring to this imperial city & soon assume the appearance of the natives of southern latitudes in my own country. Our dear daughter not feeling able to exercise under a fur shube as she would do with garments suited to a less severe climate has become very fragile, losing appetite & inclination to sleep. this slight cold has brought her to such a feeble state we have suffered great anxiety for her this whole week. I divided my time between her room & Jemies, until she became better & he alas much worse, for a blister has been applied to his chest & his nervous irritability returning I have feared to leave his bed-side. he has been almost in a sitting posture in bed that he might have freer respiration, for two nights I have watched his sleeplessness anxiously. And yet uneasy about his dear Sister being left so much alone in her nervous, low state, I felt thankful that she could leave her room yesterday & well cloaked up I brought her to Jemies where I can watch over these two of my hearts treasures during the long night, & they help to cheer each other in the day. Willie is again well enough to come to table, & amuses himself with Mary & Phedocia in the sewing room as he has no lessons this week & the cold has been too intense for anyone to skate. I am thankful to record that it has moderated during the night, my dear husband having been obliged to leave us directly after breakfast to drive to Alexandrofsky, yesterday he was out much in his open sledge & on calling upon Col Kraffts,<sup>669</sup> he stopped him ere welcoming to have his face rubbed with snow as he detected Jack Frosts finger marks on Whistlers nose & cheeks. our poor Coacher from having been kept hours

on his box suffered seriously. my humane husband does not forget man or beast & advised Nicoli to drive into a stable to shelter the ponies & warm himself, but “nichevoov” was the cheerful response of the hardy Russian, and it was not till the exposure to cold in attendance upon his master was over, that he submitted his phiz to our good natured Arnooshka<sup>670</sup> for some cooks=grease to soften its frozen condition, the cold happily for him has decreased from 16 to 1 deg Rom—I have wished much to be able to call at the parsonage of the American chapel these few days past, for the sad reports I have of Mrs Ellerbys nursery make me yearn to see her cherub Emily again. that little one so associated with my own angel Johnie, so nearly the same day of their birth, so much resembling each other in beauty & loveliness I cling to, & yet feel how selfish to wish to detain such here below who are “of the kingdom of heaven.”<sup>671</sup> little darling Emmy has been extremely ill from croup & is still. Elizabeth Ropes interrupted me just as I had written this far while they were cleaning Jemies room & I had stationed myself in the Chancellery to write that Willie might amuse himself with painting landscapes to surprise Jemie afterwards - And now it is an hour before our tea time & we are finishing our morning efforts in the drawing-room while his dear father is sitting between the two dear invalids in the far back chamber. I learnt from Elizabeth today of the death of my revered old acquaintance Mrs Leon.<sup>672</sup> her last words were to Mrs Gellibrand yesterday morning “I hope-I hope!” she gradually became weaker & in the evening when her happy spirit took its flight it was without a throe or a struggle. Doct Rogers was paying his last visit just when the summons came for her departure from this world of trial, he had feared her suffering much at the last, when he saw her yesterday morning. & it must have been a cause of thankfulness to him to witness her peaceful sleep in the arms of death. Doct Rogers was one of the dear old ladys favorites, may God reward him for all his attention to one among the many he attends without earthly compensation. during her illness of last Summer how many times she spoke to me of all his kindness, his respectful attentions, his generous & ingenious pleas for getting all her medicines for her at *his* apothecaries & then avoiding any settlement with her— at that time God was preparing her for this last sickness no doubt, as her general excellent health was then broken she was obliged to retire

more even from her small circle of friends & depend upon the consolations of religion. her dependence upon the righteousness of Christ was entire, she walked humbly with her God & “she did what she could”<sup>673</sup> in His service, being lowly in her own eyes we have full confidence that He has exalted her to the place prepared for those to whom the Judge will say “well done good & faithful servant enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.”<sup>674</sup> May my end be like hers. Never while memory lasts shall mine cease to revive the profitable hours I have spent in this dear Mrs Leons society, for her experience was valuable as was her advice to my children. how fond she was of my little Johnnie! & he of Grandma Leon! how shocked she was at my losing him & how soon she has followed him to where all who confess Him *here*, will be united in Christ Jesus. Doct Rogers who studies every case with great attention was an hour with us today examining our dear James lungs because of many unfavorable symptoms this week, I was detaining a messenger of Mrs Frank Bairds quite unconscious what the contents of the elegant note<sup>675</sup> I held in my hand or from whom, while my heart & head were both aching, as I was engaged in the interesting discussion of my dear boys symptoms, after he had left the sick chamber to question me privately. so many sleepless nights as I have had of late have contributed to make me nervous & I found it a difficult task to answer a polite note of invitation to join a party this evening rather for Debo to join the “at home” at the elegant Mrs Bairds than myself, for I excused myself from attending any, when she called the other day upon us. I had it in my power then to confer a favor upon her by lending the beautiful new foot stool which Mr Winans has lately had made for me - as a model for one to secure her against cold feet in driving about, the Bairds have been uniformly attentive to us & I really congratulated myself upon having it in my power to serve this lady who is in delicate health tho so gay & had searched in vain for a foot stove. But as to her parties I politely declined any infringement upon our quiet family=*circle*=*at homes*=truly, for Saturday night, expressing a readiness when dear Debos health should admit to meet her convenience for any other of the five evenings of the week. In this & other cities on the continent of Europe where the Lords day is scarcely reserved for sacred duties, I know my Yankee habit of shutting the business & pleasures of the world from my family circle on

Saturday evening would be deemed rather strict, yet I cannot but believe it right to do as we pray on the last day of the week, that all worldly cares may be banished from our minds that we may serve the Lord without distraction on His holy day. & surely one cannot attend a gay scene without involving all the injury of late hours (to servants included who surely ought to have their rest after six days labour. "It is written" that the day of the Crucifixion was the Preparation,<sup>676</sup> the day before the sabbath, and should Christians be careless to take advantage of this observance of Gods peculiar people! Thus it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness,<sup>677</sup> It is so usual to prepare for any fête day, that even members of Christs flock who participate in these pastimes do as others & give many thoughts & conclude arrangements beforehand, to avoid confusion, or loss of time in entering upon the recreation, even tho new schemes of pleasure succeed they are not indifferent as to the anticipated arrangements. But "the children of this world are wiser in their generation"<sup>678</sup> & alas there are few indeed of Christs flock who are as persevering in seeking eternal pleasures, as these are in their eager pursuit after evanescent joys which refresh not the votary, who still pursues them in his search after happiness. Oh that the early habits I strive to give my children may secure them from some of the evils arising from temptations to banish preparation for the sabbath from weekly arrangements. if I could perfect my plan Saturday evening should always be reverted to by us all with the most heartfelt satisfaction of all the six evenings of the week. for surely it could not even be condemned by the world that a family circle should unite in improving each other, with so many interesting memoires or histories to read aloud, after which sacred music would yeild variety & excite devotional feeling, to induce a willingness for family devotion & reading a chapter from the best of books. God would bless us, by giving us yeilding us suitable dispositions for enjoying the succeeding Sabbaths.

Monday [February] 8<sup>th</sup> As my invalids were late in rising I found it impossible to attend public worship but it was more important Mary should hear Doct Laws sermon in aid of her suffering countrymen & the poor Scotch. Our good Doct made his visit early enough to admit of his going to church which he cannot often, because of his number of sick to visit, but as a Scotsman it was a peculiar duty that he should listen to

the charity sermon & give of his abundance to the starving of Ireland & Scotland.<sup>679</sup> My Willie felt happy in nearly emptying his poors purse that he might put in his mite, & Mary received from Jemie his, to add to her own. My husband reported to us how crowded was the church & how touching the truths revealed by the pastor, on the ladys side sobs were audible & even many men wept. we have heard today of a young lady who took off her watch to put in the poors purse another in the same pew kindly offered to lend her money supposing her unprepared & that she might afterwards regret the sacrifice of her watch & trinkets, no she replied "I do not need it" & quietly yeilded it up among the offerings. the collection was about eighteen hundred siver rubles, but this would be paltry in comparison to the collection of six hundred at the Chapel from Mr Ellerbys small & not rich congregation, if it were not understood that the british merchants, who generally belong to D<sup>oct</sup> Laws church are to meet to deliberate upon measures for more extensive subscriptions. Deborah appeared so much better in the afternoon I went to church leaving Mary to aid her in taking care of dear Jemie who is only able to change from bed to the great arm chair. As I had read & prayed with him & dear Sister in the morning, so after our early tea we had a family service for his benefit in his room. I selected another of Arnolds<sup>680</sup> sermons after the reading in the bible & our devotions. And what had the multitude been interested in before the Imperial palace? yesterday was the commencement of the amusements in that great square for this is what is called the butter week, or that preceding Lent. poor deluded people! how imperious is the duty that those who have the lamp of Gods word should let their light shine to guide these darkened souls into the path of wisdom. Oh that the English who can speak in *their* tongue would venture a word too in season, instead of winking at these errors, & many alas participate in them. May God teach them better ere it be too late.

Tuesday night [February] 9<sup>th</sup> <sup>681</sup> Watching by my darling James bedside I incline to avail of the stillness of midnight for recording the mercies of Him who never wearies in His Omniscience. May His holy Spirit fill my soul with adoration ere I seek Him in prayer this night. My precious invalid had more refreshing sleep last night than since his relapse, he had suffered exceedingly the past week from blistering, & pain in his chest & side, which induced debility & restlessness. but

yesterday I took a drive with Debo - my last had been a week previous, to visit dear old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon - today at noon Whistler & I went to her funeral!<sup>682</sup> it was very respectably attended. many wept to think they should see her in this world no more! M<sup>r</sup>. & M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand her constant friends these many years past, were among the mourners. I drove after the funeral to enquire at the parsonage of the Chapel, how M<sup>rs</sup> Ellerbys darling baby did & was thankful to find her improving. On my return home Debo took some young friends a long drive in our sledge, the weather was so mild & bright, she looked quite revived by it, tho still she is feeble & pale. Willie having been a good boy at his books with Sister during the morning, also went out, & preferred walking with Mary, that he might see the amusements in the square. They met the other two little Ellerbys & their nice English nursery maid, who has so long been shut up with the sick baby she must have been glad of the walk with the elder two little girls. It is time for me to seek my pillow tho I am not inclined to sleep. how refreshing it is to me to watch the sweet slumber James has fallen into, he has not looked so natural in a long time, since this attack his sitting posture, propped by many pillows & his extreme palor has recalled his illness in Stonington<sup>683</sup> to my minds eye. with thankfulness that this has been less severe tonight it was my painful task to apply *the pomade*<sup>684</sup> upon his chest where the blister has just healed. how hard for a mother to give pain to a child! which she would wish to screen from all suffering by any endurance herself. But our heavenly Fathers ordains the trial for us both. May He bless the means for my dear boys recovery. & sanctify the discipline to us both. Never can I cease to recal with joy the spirit of cheerful submission of my darling James to his privations in this back chamber, consecrated as it has become by scenes of trial to me. Especially yesterday his uncomplaining endurance of confinement while Willie was enjoying all the spectacle of the Carnival. he was so free from envy.

Saturday evening. Feb 27<sup>th</sup> <sup>685</sup> The occasional replies to letters, or daily notes which could not without rudeness be avoided, has been the only writing I could attend to without depriving James of my participation in his enjoyments, for whether reading, or looking thro books of engravings he has so much more satisfaction from my listening to his remarks, that unless when I have engaged his interest in some of



my own reading aloud to him, he has claimed mine in the little vanity afforded him in the back room. Each evening between dinner & tea for some days I indulged him with a tale relating to a family in New York, because it combines instruction with amusement. "Hoboken" by Mr Fay<sup>686</sup> now Secretary of our legation at the court of Prussia displays principles of the highest order, & has my best wishes for doing its proportion of good in discountenancing duelling & in supporting the argument of scripture that the fear of God, & the love of immortal souls, is the course of true courage & honor. If God spares the life of my boys I trust they will never forget the lessons early instilled & that they may dare to confess themselves Christians. that they may not by acting *without* asking Gods direction in prayer upon each stirring event, bring the curse of remorse upon their souls. Never shall I cease to record with thankfulness dear Jemies un murmuring submission these six weeks of his suffering confinement, the doct does not yet consent to using his pencil, which is a great privation - but while pain lingers as it still does in his chest, my darling patient himself agrees that his favorite pastime may be injurious. he begins now to walk some about his room. tho still cannot wear jacket & trowsers, as the blistering is continued on the chest. I altered a dressing gown (which had descended from me to his sister, doing excellent service from the date of his own birth) & it fits him so nicely, he is delighted to wear it when he sits up & says it is "first rate". What a blessing is such a contented temper as his, he is so grateful for every kindness, & scarcely ever expresses a complaint. his sweet Sister - in whose visits to his chamber he delights - borrowed for him a huge volume of Hogarths engravings<sup>687</sup> - of those pictures so famous in the gallery of artistes, we place the immense book on the bed & draw Mr Maxwells great easy chair close up that dear Jemie may feast upon it without fatigue. I expressed surprise to hear him say yesterday while thus engaged, "Oh! how I wish I were well" & said to him I hoped he was not getting impatient of seclusion. "Oh no Mother! he answered cheerfully, "I was only thinking how glad I should be to shew this book of engravings to my drawing master, it is not every one who has a chance of seeing Hogarths own engravings of his originals. & then he added in his own happy way "And if I had not been ill Mother, perhaps no one would have thought of shewing them to me" his dear, kind father is now

teaching him chess while I occupy the drawing<sup>688</sup> alone, before tea. I sat by Jemie after dinner, reading him M<sup>r</sup>. Maxwells letter received by todays mail, it contained the touching account of his having attended to the interment of our precious Johnnies body. he had taken it to Stonington himself, thus adding to his friendly actions towards us.<sup>689</sup> I have looked forward thro this whole month to the treat of letters from home by the Steamer of the 1<sup>st</sup> if my Mother or Kate wrote, it was too late for the mail probably, as Whistler & Debo have many letters from New York. thus deprived of my private supply of home news, I am the more indebted to M<sup>r</sup> Maxwell for his particular mention of all at the dear corner house, all well! hospitable & kind, Doct P – he calls “a fine fellow, his wife one of the amiable & excellent kind, his children such pictures of health it did his heart good to look at them, & M<sup>rs</sup> M<sup>c</sup> N their grandmother an astonishing lady”<sup>690</sup> So now I must hope on thro another long month to see the welcome hand writing of either mother, or Sister. When my head presses my pillow this night I may visit in memory the resting place of our boys at Stonington! for night by night it is my melancholy indulgence to recal them from their narrow beds there to surround me, I think of them as they were, & *as they are!* yearning to go to them, yet trying only to wish that God may give me grace to improve my allotted term this side the grave, to be ready to follow them. I suppose I have the same desire for heavenly scenes, as my enthusiastic little Jemie has for travelling thro Italy, Egypt &c, yet when looking thro a volume of American sketches today to gratify him, I felt natural longings to visit the beautiful places of our own native land with my children, & to see again ere I bid adieu to earth, the many I love there, tho so painfully feeling this four years separation from Mother, Sisters & friends, my most forwent hope is that our hearts are united in love to our Saviour then we shall have consolation, even if death overtake us, that our meeting shall be in heavenly mansions, to part no more, forever! & ever. Ah how can any one professing to love Jesus, so love this worlds enticements as to let its follies, prevent their honoring Him supremely before all the world! “Who so loveth the world, the love of the Father is not in him”<sup>691</sup> Ah do those who indulge in worldly vanities, forget the divine admonition “to strive to enter in at the straight gate, & to keep the narrow path?”<sup>692</sup> “Be ye seperate from the world.”<sup>693</sup> Holy Spirit

quicken us in repentance unto newness of life!<sup>694</sup> My excellent friend M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand who is ever active in benevolence & christian duty has added to her routine, since the death of our respected M<sup>rs</sup> Leon, the settlement of her affairs, as the beloved old lady had outlived all her relatives M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> G seem most interested to execute her wishes, her furniture & clothing to be sold for the poor or distributed to the few of her pensioners. It was I well remember her humble yet exalted aim to do all the good in her power. "She has done what she could"<sup>695</sup> was among her favorite texts. M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrand wishes some one could write the memoires of this remarkable old lady, it would indeed be very interesting, even the few items I have become intimate with, will ever be pleasant reminiscences, because I shall always associate her own lively manner & intellectual remarks, her high regard for traits of good encountered in her extensive knowledge of the world.<sup>696</sup> she was the neice of the discoverer of Vaccination, Doct Jenner<sup>697</sup> - her maiden name having been the same, when a very young girl - she was an only child & her father a man of superior endowments had educated her with undivided attention to intellectual accomplishments - while her mother added practical instruction in the art of housewifery &c - she accompanied her Uncle to Paris & was so much in the same circle as our *Franklin*<sup>698</sup> who was then American ambassador at the court of France, that he always addressed her as his child, she could relate many anecdotes connected with the sufferings of the Royal family of Louis 16<sup>th</sup> & had been eye witness to many exciting scenes of public interest. Whether she was introduced at the court in either of her visits to the french capital I did not ascertain, but her usual deportment shewed she had been accustomed to the best society. Her husband was an officer in the British Army, she lived in the West Indies & at other stations abroad, & her travels used to remind me of those of my own Mother. Upon the death of her father, her husband & her children, her aged mother having only a limited income, & herself without independent support, she sought to make her talents useful & was recommended by a lady of her acquaintance among the English nobility, to a very distinguished Polish family<sup>699</sup> who were then seeking an English governess for their daughter Olga. M<sup>rs</sup> Leon went to their princely home in Poland where they remained awhile, but eventually came to St Petersburg to complete the

education of their children. they occupied a Palace<sup>700</sup> - which is now converted into a charitable institution, for it is forty years since the beautiful Countess gave her fêtes there - thus M<sup>rs</sup> Leon was accustomed to meet the court circle of Imperial St Petersburg for she was usually mistress of ceremonies, she was familiar with the reigns of Paul & of Alexander as of the present Emperor & abounded in anecdotes of each in turn. she never wearied of talking about the graces of mind & person of the beautiful, the charitable, the generous high-minded noble Countess. & was enthusiastic in her admiration & attachment to her own pupil Olga. but at the time this noble family must leave St P to travel, M<sup>rs</sup> Leon met with a fall, which caused a temporary lameness & prevented her accompanying them. Tho a sad dissappointment to her at the time, no doubt it will be seen in the state of rewards in a world where trials are fully comprehended – that it was wisely ordered that her prosperity should be darkened that her whole dependence might be placed on her Saviour. For her savings also thro the dishonesty of an agent were lost to her – and she had in every situation of her life managed to contribute to the comforts of her mother – As she never of course gave me any direct narrative of her chequered life, of course I cannot be sure, but I think she took a situation in the Naarishkin<sup>701</sup> family upon her recovery from the sprain which had been so serious as to confine her two years. during which period of privation she realized the comfort of having many true friends among her own Countrymen here.

In course of time she was induced to undertake the office of house keeper to M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrand – previous to his first marriage<sup>702</sup> & when he resided in Moscow – she remained five years in that capacity & from all accounts few ever manage admirably as did M<sup>rs</sup> Leon, in the drawing room & larder, —I have listened to her tell of her nice dinner & wish now I had noted down some of her receipts. After M<sup>r</sup> G brought a wife from England, she took no other situation, but aided by the English Factory here, lived respected in private lodgings, going about doing good among the poor, or visiting her few intimate friends, the usual employment when spending the day out. was making lint for the hospitals. & how neat she was about it, with the linen cut in squares, & every shred so carefully kept from the carpet. M<sup>rs</sup> Snow<sup>703</sup> kindly invited the dear old lady to remove to her home last Autumn, for the decay of

nature was visible, & her last year in the Galernia had been one of comparative seclusion from a painful disorder attacking her. How much we all miss our revered visiter!

Saturday morning March 1/13<sup>th</sup> Before our Pratchka<sup>704</sup> brings up the baskets of clothes from our fortnights wash for me to sort & put away, I may scribble awhile in my journal – as Willie recited his lessons to me previous to his going to sit for his portrait to Koritzky at the Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>705</sup> Whistler has gone again to the rail road station. expecting to meet the Count & accompany him to Colpina, tho I shall not be surprised to learn, his Highness<sup>706</sup> having again postponed his survey of the road, as he has several days in succession found an excuse, & today there being a royal christening at the winter palace his presence may be in requisition there. the infant Grand Duke of the Leughtenberg branch is named Eugene,<sup>707</sup> with the usual grand ceremony. I went last tuesday<sup>708</sup> with my Willie to witness the funeral procession of the Prince Vassiltchikoff a person of the highest rank at the Russian court – he was aged 69 years, “was Aide-camp General – President General &c of the Empire” & one in whom the Emperor had such confidence, he remarked at his death he had lost his last familiar friend.<sup>709</sup> We did not venture within the church, but our coachman selected an excellent stand for our sledge, where the suns power was not lost upon us, the weather being extremely cold we were glad not only to be in a favorable position for seeing the procession, but for a sheltered warm place. we had a fine view of the Emperor & his suite both as they passed thro the military on their way to the church & coming out. his majesty was saluted with a stunning hizza by all the troops & then silence reigned, he looked nobly in full uniform & wore no cloak, cold tho the weather was. The Metropolitan or Pope of the Greek church with all the high Clergy preceded the gorgeously decorated hearse, all of them walking in solemn procession bare-headed with their long hair flowing in the wind, the Metropolitan only, wore a jewelled crown, about twenty orders which had been worn no doubt with pride by the distinguished man whom the Emperor had delighted to honor – were carried by as many officers of rank, upon scarlet, or crimson, velvet cushions. the coffin was covered with scarlet & gold, a high canopy of gilded ornament exposing it to view. The Emperor crossed himself repeatedly as he gave a last look at

the remains of his faithful old friend, for the weather did not encourage him to follow in the procession to the Smolna Monastery,<sup>710</sup> where the burial was appointed, he therefore stationed himself at the head of the Nevski (leading to his own palace & received the salute of the cavalry as they passed after the hearse, we had an excellent view of him as he was thus motionless as a statue for about fifteen minutes, his brother the Grand Duke Michel, the Herétier, the Count Klienmichel & others of the Imperial family around him. The Emperor & suite dashed down the Nevski as soon as the procession crossed it, servants stationed there took their horses while they no doubt were glad to take to their equipages which had been in waiting, for the cold was intense. Willie & I were twice glad when we reached our home, that we had seen so grand a pageant & that it was over, for our faces were nearly frost bitten. I had never had so satisfactory a sight of the magnificent Emperor before, so close to him & for such a length of time. when I reached home, I was welcomed by dear Jemie, who has all this week gone to the drawing room for half the day, his father was keeping him company on the sofa, from having caught a severe cold some days before indeed Debo & I will not soon forget when her dear father was detained from us so many anxious hours when we had waited dinner & tea in vain, and at last midnight overtook us & we were still watching & fearing some sad accident, he reached our fire side at one o'clock, had had nothing to eat from early breakfast with us, until midnight at Mr Harrisons at Alexandrofsky, tho only a snow drift on a part of the rail road from thence to Colpina had detained them,<sup>711</sup> I hoped he might be spared another day of such exposure to cold, the poor Russians who work on the road are all serfs, badly clad & not in any way efficient, they are whipped if they run into difficulties in working the Engine which thro their ignorance they often do & no rewards are held out to them if they do better, their fare black bread & salt, yet Whistler says he never saw more cheerful fellows, tho those who understand them best – Russians themselves – say they are but ye<sup>712</sup> servants & must be watched & beaten. but Whistler thinks they must – to succeed with their road – adopt a more civilized system. I was very much astonished by a summons to our servants apartments yesterday to see poor Parsha,<sup>713</sup> when she went away with her husband last autumn to his mothers cottage 700 versts on the road to Archangel I thought we

should never see her in this world again, she was then in miserable health & he appeared to be in the prime of manhoods vigour, now she is a widow! he was ill only a week. her own health has been restored & his widowed mother is kind to her, so she is going back to live with her for a year, to pray over her husbands grave she says, & then to enter a convent, for life! poor Parsha & I mingled our tears.

Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup> On Friday last my husband took Debo & myself across the river to see the highly extolled paintings being exhibited all last week at the Academy of fine arts. the production of Russian Artists<sup>714</sup> most of them purchased by the Emperor for his palace, most beautiful they are, marine peices, one in which is pourtrayed Peter the Great standing on a rocky coast with a few trusty peasants bearing torches. the light from these thrown upon his figure & theirs is wonderful. they have fires blazing upon the rocks as if to warn the fleet in the storm, to keep of from so dangerous a shore. For this successful effort of the native Artist the Emperor has given him 4000 silver rubles.<sup>715</sup> Views of Constantinople – of Odessa upon the Black Sea – of Cronstadt & other sea ports upon which the sun gilds the water magnificently or the moonbeams play upon the waves<sup>716</sup> all delighted us in turn. I only regretted dear James could not have accompanied us. the crowd was so great we did not stay as long as we should have liked & Mr & Mrs Harrison<sup>717</sup> whom we met there accompanied us home & spent the day. Willie & Mary were just entering the Academy as we left it, our darling Will had been in Koritzkies room in the 3<sup>rd</sup> story of that building all the morning sitting for his portrait.<sup>718</sup> In the evening of Friday Debo had a musical circle. Saturday the weather continued so bright & mild I obtained the docts consent to taking James a drive, his first airing in nine weeks!<sup>719</sup> the sledging is now nearly broken up for the thaw has continued uninterrupted for a week past. Willie & I walked directly after breakfast today & made the circuit of the Gostinandva. great preparations for the Palm market which commences tomorrow<sup>720</sup> – We met several Droschkys in the Nevski, the first this season – Jemie is now taking a promenade with his Sister on the English quai. his father not yet returned from Alexandrofsky, he went there upon the rail road in attendance upon a party from the Winter palace. the Grand Duke Michel & staff, have gone to visit the American works.<sup>721</sup> during the last

fortnight Whistler has been incessantly required to be upon the peice of rail road 16 miles long been<sup>722</sup> St Petersburg & Colpina, because of the desire expressed by the Count Klienmichel to have every thing connected with it in complete order for a visit from the Emperor – first the Count went himself & was well pleased, with the fabric at Alexandrofsky as with the ease with which he travelled thither upon the rail road. such a bright array of fine Locomotives as were exhibited at the works were no every day sight, 108 in number, freshly painted & cleaned. Our countrymen expended about three thousand silver rubles in preparations for the oft deferred visit of the Emperor. however last Wednesday<sup>723</sup> they were fully compensated for all their trouble by the entire satisfaction he expressed, he was attended of course by the Count K as he is chief of the rail road department – the Héretier, the Grand duke Constantine & many of the Court, my husband was distinguished by an invitation to ride in the car with this royal cortége. the Emperor was exceedingly affable towards him, & put the question to him “could the rail road be opened to Moscow in two years more? Whistler answered in the affirmative without hesitation. The very possibility of such an event makes my heart bound homeward! & I do trust every facility will be given to the progress of the work henceforward. it is the only favor I would ask the Emperor. Winans was Engineer on the day of his majestys visit. At the works a wheel was cast in the Imperial presence, which is to bear the date &c in a suitable inscription. The Cars, the Locomotives, the shops & the hundreds of workmen appearing to the best advantage, were subjects by turns of the Emperors eulogium, when he spoke of the latter as fine fellows he added “but they will get drunk sometimes! what a pity they make beasts of themselves!” The day after his visit to the American works.<sup>724</sup> the Count held a levee, my husband having been invited, went with a supply of documents for the Count supposing (as he had previously urged despatch) they would be demanded but by the advice of his friend Col Melnikoff, put them in a corner till called for. When the Count summoned Whistler to a private audience in an inner apartment, he met him with marked kindness, kissed him on each side his face & hung an ornament, suspended by a scarlet ribbon around his neck, saying, the Emperor thus conferred upon him the order of St Anne – second class –<sup>725</sup> Whistler, as such honors are



new to republicans – felt abashed when he returned with the Count to the large circle in the outer room & was congratulated by the officers generally - even the servants as he went out of the palace congratulated him - his friends Cols Melnikoff & Crafts were promoted to the rank of Major Gen.<sup>1</sup> <sup>726</sup> Our countrymen from Alexandrofsky have brought in the magnificent diamond ring each has received from the Emperor, to exhibit to us, the three rings have been made for them purposely. for they are precisely alike & each valued at a thousand silver rubles.<sup>727</sup> I tell them they should have them converted into broaches, for their wives – tho I am sure I should feel such a jewel inappropriate to my own retired station & could not be tempted to wear such.

[Thursday] April 15<sup>th</sup> <sup>728</sup> The Influenza rages in this city at present, we have had four cases in our limited family circle, but thank God my dear husband is again so far recovered as to go out & attend to his duties, & our precious boys tho still taking cough medicine are well enough to study & to play in doors tho they must not venture into the damp atmosphere, our poor Pratchka still keeps her bed, she was so ill last Saturday as to send for her pastor who administered the Sacrament to her & her friends who wept around her bed supposing she must die. Doct Rogers has himself been a case, he says he has not any season before known this epidemic so violent or universal, not a family he attends without its victims & so suddenly are they seized, that a gentleman told him one day, where he expected to meet a large dinner party 30 excuses were sent in at the last hour. Gen.<sup>1</sup> Melnikoff had just left a friend dying with Grip when he called to ask after Whistler this morning & he tells many are daily dying from its effects, he himself had high fever & was delirious. Debo & I went in our neighbourhood yesterday to make a few visits, for all our acquaintance have some sick Sarah Merriellees<sup>729</sup> is still dangerously so. & her mother & aunt so exhausted from watching they have a Soeur de Charité to nurse the dear girl whose fever is obstinate & delirium continues. I have offered, now that my invalids need me not, to relieve the watchers around her bed — And this moment have had a note describing the accumulation of sorrows pressing upon that good family, Sarah no better. M<sup>rs</sup> M confined to her bed, two of their servants ill & two leaving their posts. also the Sœur de Charité so unwell she must go too. I wait my husbands

return to gain his consent to my aiding them by watching tonight. Debo & I ventured only to the front door this morning intending a walk, but we met our good doct, who recommended an umbrella, we turned back frightened by the shower of half snow, half rain. which drenches the streets, the ice in the Neva looks so black & spongy it must soon break up. It is needless to rail against the climate tho a Russian officer said to me today “how can any be healthy in this climate, we have six deg of heat today & had fifteen deg of cold day before yesterday”<sup>730</sup>

[Monday] May 10<sup>th</sup> We remarked to each other yesterday as we sought the shady side to walk from church the great change in the weather since the Sunday before<sup>731</sup> when we were glad to wrap our shubes around us. The ice in the Neva very unexpectedly began to yeild on tuesday & entirely broke up on Wednesday.<sup>732</sup> immediately upon its disappearance the air felt like Summer. On Friday<sup>733</sup> I ventured to take my boys out to walk how glad we all were to have their long embargo over, we walked along the quai (& were hailed by M<sup>rs</sup> Gwyer<sup>734</sup> who sat by her open window) I took my boys thro the boulevard of the Admiralty for we had heard of the Emperors daily reviews, in the space between that & the Winter palace, we pressed close to two officers who were making their way thro the crowd & obtained a good place. a gentleman decorated with many Orders was very flattering in his notice of our little, polite, Willie, who replied to his questions in french promptly tho with becoming modesty. We had as fine a view of the Emperor reviewing a regiment of [blank space left for its name]<sup>735</sup> as any one could have across so wide a space, soon we observed a lady & children upon one of the balconies of the palace kissing their hands to the emperor & then perceived a little boy of about five years of age run from the palace to the Emperor, who lifted him to kiss many times & continued to shake his little grand sons hand as he went on with the review. This the eldest born of the Héritier will be seated on the throne of all the Russias if he survives his father, who is quite young still.<sup>736</sup> The Journal last week announced the betrothal of the Grand Duke Constantine to a princess of Germany.<sup>737</sup> which country seems to be the nursery for all the crowned heads of Europe to keep up the seed of royalty. Again this spring there has been a christening at the Winter Palace chapel, another

son to, the Heritiér.<sup>738</sup> with cannonading & illumination succeeding a banquet

[Wednesday] May 19<sup>th</sup> I did not forget this anniversary of my dear husbands birthday, tho I had nothing but a kiss to offer him, never shall I forget how tenderly he returned my embrace, my heart was too full for utterance but I could pour it ought in thanks to God for giving me such a husband & pray for blessings on his path. Oh how earnestly do I pray our hearts may be united in our Saviour, then our love for each other & for our dear children will take a deeper a holier hue, then shall we be one throughout Eternity We had a circle of neighbours around our fireside last evening.<sup>739</sup> dear M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand whispered me her best wishes for many returns of this day, as she drank the majors health. When Debo & I came in from a walk today how surprised we were to find gifts from her dear father to each of us, for her a splendid work box, a musical one, with her first gold thimble, for me as beautiful a desk, as my first Russian Christmas gift was, completely filled with the finest writing materials.<sup>740</sup> but gratified as I feel by Whistlers kindness, the fact of having lost the other will make me too careful of this to enjoy it, I shall ask him to allow me to change the desk for a watch, which will be always carried about me. I must not omit to mention the neat french notes our dear boys wrote their father on his birth day<sup>741</sup> & presented with suitable gifts which I had bought as the Demidoff<sup>742</sup> to gratify their wish for something to give! We shall always remember the opening of the first 16 miles of the Moscow & Petersburg rail road to the public as it took place upon Whistlers 47<sup>th</sup> birth day.<sup>743</sup> all winter Cars have been running upon it, but only for the convenience of the rail road department.

Wednesday [May] 21<sup>st</sup> <sup>744</sup> The weather has been unseasonably cold for many days, since the passing of vast quantities of ice from Lake Ladoga. I never saw as much any season before, the winds have been unfavorable to its passing from the harbour, where quite a fleet of merchant vessels have been hemmed in, many suffering seriously, some wrecked & all dreading being run ashore. the report has been that 300 were waiting to get in to Cronstadt,<sup>745</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Prince has been most uneasy about the fate of the Zephyr. Capt Leach - in which his brother Ben is 2<sup>nd</sup> Mate.<sup>746</sup> The English Steamers arrived today, their first trip this season, & the Stettin boat brought not only our Ambassador M<sup>r</sup>.

Ingersoll,<sup>747</sup> but our Springfield neighbours the Bliss family<sup>748</sup> took us by surprise. They look & act so naturally it is quite reviving to have them come into our fire side circle

Friday [May] 23<sup>rd</sup>! This is St Nicholas day, my husband was off after a hurried breakfast (as he has been obliged several mornings this week) to be at the Depot by eight oclock – when he returned to dinner he reported that a thousand passengers had gone by the 1<sup>st</sup> train, six hundred by the next. in the next train probably as many & the three trains to return this evening, makes a good beginning. The poor who resort annually to Colpina, (on this day to be cured of diseases at the shrine of this patron Saint, so the popular tradition<sup>749</sup>)

Preston. Lancashire. England. June 26<sup>th</sup> 1847 Saturday. It is a fortnight this afternoon<sup>750</sup> since I landed with my dear boys at Hull from Hamburg & I must record this period ere I review the weeks which preceded our setting out from St Petersburg upon this Summers tour. The first day of our voyage from Hamburg had been so rough as to make all the passengers sea sick but myself & some cause there was for stopping the boat in the night & cooling the engine to examine it, which caused us uneasiness for a little, & detained us so that we did not land as early as the Capt had expected.<sup>751</sup> The custom=house=officers were so polite as to give us no trouble about our trunks, they merely opened them & took our word that we had nothing to smuggle. We were made very comfortable at the Vittoria Hotel.<sup>752</sup> having brought letters to Mr Bamford,<sup>753</sup> from Mr Ropes, his clerk was very useful to me in exchanging Russian gold into sovereigns for me & advising about our reaching York by the mail train Sunday,<sup>754</sup> as the last train had left Hull for Scarborough ere we arrived, & equally strangers in Hull as in York, I greatly preferred attending divine service at the latter place, so after a nice tea we went early to rest, & were called by six oclock as it would have been a sad disappointment to have missed the only train, any but that for the mail not running on sunday. We took tickets for the 1<sup>st</sup> class & thus comfortably travelled two hours before breakfast. admiring the verdure of the country, the hawthorn yet being in full bloom & all nature so lovely in the early sabbath morning. I felt we could not be doing wrong in going such a distance to church, for we knew no one in Hull to tell us where to go, & to attend York minster<sup>755</sup> any one would make

greater efforts than we did by an hours earlier rising. Arrived at the Station house<sup>756</sup> we left our heaviest luggage to be locked up in the office, & went to the Royal Hotel<sup>757</sup> the nearest to the Minster. "Ettridges"<sup>758</sup> is an old establishment, my sister Eliza is delighted that I selected the very house she went to when a girl she visited York. They gave us an excellent, Yorkshire breakfast,<sup>759</sup> after which we prepared for church. Never shall I forget the feelings of reverence with which I entered the Minster, the service just commenced.<sup>760</sup> the pew opener gave us one of the best pews, where we could hear every part of the beautiful service equally well, the chaunting was finer than any I ever heard in english. I was glad the prayers were not chaunted & the sermon was excellent, so that I have never enjoyed the worship of the sanctuary more. My whole soul seemed melted by the goodness of God whose arm had led us safely across the seas, tho perils had menaced us the past week & I contrasted the sabbath previous to this,<sup>761</sup> when on board the Russian steamer we had scarcely found a quiet spot to read our bibles in, & where we had seen card tables surrounded by scoffers of the Lords day. We dined early & found the young lamb & asparagus quite a treat, for when we left Russia ten days before<sup>762</sup> not any signs of vegetation presented. Associating my early favorites Kate Prince & her Sainted Sister<sup>763</sup> with the Manor at York we begged to be directed to its grounds & the head waiter, an old & most respectable looking man walked with us to the gate of what are now the grounds of the Museum, that we might see the ruins of St Marys Abbey<sup>764</sup> until church time. we became so much interested we wished we had one more day to spend there, the Manor-school house where my young friends L & K P had been educated is now a school for the Blind,<sup>765</sup> its seclusion, yet so enclosed by the extensive grounds render it a most desirable place for a seminary. the building looks like a nunery & very probably was. Oh how beautiful are the ruins of the Abbey with their drapery of Ivy in the midst of what is now a highly cultivated garden! we could scarcely persuade Jemie to leave them so eager was he to explore deeper than bare walls & fine windows. It was a showery day, yet we went again to the Minster in the afternoon. & were early enough to walk around it & see the out side of the Deans Palace.<sup>766</sup> I was sorry the weather had not admitted of my going as I had been advised by a lady who sat in the same pew with me in the morning - to

hear a Mr Treevers<sup>767</sup> in the Pavement, & the more so, I regretted not going to hear this celebrated preacher, because the 2<sup>nd</sup> service at the minster broke the spell of the 1<sup>st</sup>. A spirit of worldliness was evinced by the pew opener who was rude until I gave him a shilling & then he was cringing. I felt pained too by the crowd of idle children playing on the porch ere the doors were opened to admit us. & when in the pew, ladies rudely seized the cushions from us to *kneel at their devotions*, & made us feel as intruders in the house of God. I thanked them for the seats we were allowed to retain, ere we left their pew. dear Jemie was so fatigued we took him back to our hotel & left him on the sofa to rest, while I took Willie & Mary to “All Saints church” but we were an hour too early & thinking that we must allot time for a good nights rest in anticipation of our early start, we felt obliged to leave this very old church tho I longed to worship in it & to profit by the eloquence of its pastor We reached Scarbro<sup>768</sup> to breakfast. went in the 2<sup>nd</sup> class carriages tho Jemies pride was wounded by so doing. I was much diverted by the talk among the farmers who were our fellow travellers, and glad to hear there never was a better prospect of fine crops in England than this season. Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord for all his goodness & declare His works to their children!<sup>769</sup> I was advised by a young farmer (who was going to a cattle fair ere we reached Scarbro<sup>770</sup> – to go to the Temperance House<sup>771</sup> there. and most comfortable we were the few hours we occupied a parlor for breakfasting & a bed room for making our toilettes. When our boys were made neat I sent them to seek M<sup>rs</sup> Wilsons cottage N<sup>o</sup> 5 on the Cliff,<sup>772</sup> as in the list of visiters, in the journal, our landlord discovered M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes lodgings to be there.<sup>773</sup> My kind friend soon came back with my boys & was accompanied by her mother,<sup>774</sup> we all accompanied them immediately to their cottage on the Cliff. my first hour there was devoted to writing my dear husband as the foreign mail was to close at the end of that time & M<sup>rs</sup> R had also a letter to finish to her husband, so we sat side by side at our desks. I cannot at this distance record how our week there was spent. my boys enjoyed every thing, the weather was rather showery, but the soil soon became dry & they exercised on the beach, or upon the cliffs, walking or upon ponies, or in looking for Cornelians<sup>775</sup> or pretty pebbles or shells. the little Rope’s out of doors from morning till night, darling Willy with his attentive

Naanooshka<sup>776</sup> always the first object to be seen on the beach as I opened my window to look out. this sweet infant is ever associated with my own angel Johnie, & what a contrast his present healthful appearance, to his frail state in S.<sup>t</sup> Petersburg last year, when mine was so blooming! I rejoice for my friend that her Willie is such a picture of health. & I am assured that my darling is blooming in paradise.” but my tears always flowed as I felt my bereavement while M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes fondled her little one. I was very far from feeling well myself at Scarbro, & thankful to be allowed to stay by the fire side alone, while all went out to benefit by the sea air. I exerted myself to walk one afternoon with dear M<sup>rs</sup> Hall, we talked of her sainted Emily,<sup>777</sup> this christian mother has never lamented her own loss, or attributed it to the effects of a bad climate or any *evil chance* she feels that God had a hidden purpose of mercy in the sudden bereavement. I never saw M<sup>rs</sup> Hall’s countenance otherwise than cheerful, yet no mirth around her could excite her to laugh. love reigned in the family circle at the cottage, & we left them with regret, my heart filled with gratitude that I had been enabled to visit them & for all the kindness.

South Shore of Blackpool.<sup>778</sup> on the Lancashire coast. July 28<sup>th</sup> 1847. Wednesday. I shall begin this second day of our visit to this bathing place a review of the interval, during which I have been either too unwell to write more than my correspondence with absent dear ones required, or I have been visiting different friends who have interfered with this task. But my Sister Alicia advises me to take this opportunity for scribbling my thoughts, for she has companions in my boys & I am not quite strong enough to brave the high wind, which they say puts them in a glow as they walk upon the beach, the surf is rages. often during the last night the roaring of the waves awoke me & when I came down to breakfast this morning, Betty<sup>779</sup> expressed the fear that our good Mary had felt the sea too rough on her voyage from Ireland to Liverpool, she left Preston more than a month ago to visit her native land, & wrote of her wish to return about this time, May God bring her in safety to us! the day before she went, she was most devoted to me for I was obliged to keep my bed, the chills which had been daily creeping thro me, ended in fever, but tho some gentle doses of medicine prescribed by doctor Winstanley<sup>780</sup> in a measure relieved me, it was not till we were obliged to

summon a surgeon<sup>781</sup> to Jemie when we were on a visit at Mr Picards<sup>782</sup> in Kirby Lonsdale,<sup>783</sup> that my symptoms were deemed serious enough to warrant calomel,<sup>784</sup> for my Sister Eliza had made up her mind my ailment was mental, it was not so entirely, for ever since that time I have been gradually gaining strength & my appetite is now as good as need be. How favored have we been in a fine season! & how abundant the provision for the suffering state of this country, made by the bountiful Giver, in this fruitful season, such crops of hay as we have seen gathered in are indeed unusual & now the corn fields are as promising of plenty, while the potatoe fields are yeilding *healthy* crops, & every green vegetable is cheap in the markets. God grant that His relenting goodness may make the lively impressions it ought upon the hearts of all classes in this favored land of gospel light. Well might Mr MacGrath<sup>785</sup> say in the eloquent appeal I heard him make in the Walton church,<sup>786</sup> that a lesson had been sent Britian in the calamities of Ireland, he touched upon the day of humiliation appointed by the queen some few months back<sup>787</sup> – & besought them to continue their supplications to the King of kings & to study his word & walk in the fear of bringing down His judgements. he was pleading for the sunday & parish schools of Walton where he was once pastor<sup>788</sup> with only an open bible in his hand & his arguments were irresistable. for the study of that volume was recommended as the foundation of all education. I had heard this man of God 17 years ago! My boys attention was rivetted & they did not forget the preaching of this eloquent Irish clergyman. for some weeks afterwards when we attended Worsley church at the seat of the Earl of Ellesmere & we had as impressive a discourse, they seem pleased to discover the preacher there also was an Irish protestant,<sup>789</sup> But I must go back to the Sunday at Walton (which is only three miles from Preston) that I may not only record it as my darling Jemies 13<sup>th</sup> birth day. but dwell upon the hospitality extended to us from Mr Swainsons<sup>790</sup> family, we lunched at his house & as Mr MCG is his son in law profited by his conversation between services & went back to the family pew<sup>791</sup> to hear him preach to a full congregation of poor - in the afternoon again. We resisted an invitation to dinner for five oclock as we preferred returning home to tea. We walked thro green meadows & by the Ribble side. Aunt E had taken my boys home in her carriage, so Aunt A & I had a delightful tête



a tête upon the comforts of religion & I was not fatigued by my first long walk. my boys reported to me that they had gone to Uncle Ws pew alone in the afternoon, as Aunt E could not leave her guest M<sup>rs</sup> T Ainsworth<sup>792</sup> alone all day, & when I heard too that many had called to pay their compliments to her, I was the more thankful I had been with those who had held religious counsel all day. both M<sup>rs</sup> MacGrath & her sister in law M<sup>rs</sup> W Swainson<sup>793</sup> tho young & beautiful appear decided followers of the Lord Jesus. And so I should hope is the interesting M<sup>rs</sup> T. A of Flish<sup>794</sup> for her father was a minister of the church of Scotland<sup>795</sup> but as the wife of a Unitarian, she must not speak of the Saviour!<sup>796</sup> her health is impaired & she has known many afflictions lately in the loss of sisters by consumption & the death of one of her own beautiful little boys.<sup>797</sup> she has two left, of the ages of 5 & 3.<sup>798</sup> oh that these little ones may be trained as Christs lambs! yet it is fearful to think that the christian mother may not confess Him before men, as her Lord & her God. “Yoke not yourselves to unbelievers”<sup>799</sup> for such shall have trouble in the flesh” I must not pass over our sojourn of a week at Kirkby Lonsdale at the beginning of this month. my sister Alicia remained in Preston because the carriage would only accommodate comfortably M<sup>r</sup> W. Aunt E my boys & self. the coachmans wife<sup>800</sup> sometimes exchanged seats with me, that I might have a better view of the charming country thro which we journeyed, especially when we entered Westmoreland where the scenery becomes so diversified. Willie & Jemie rode by turns on the dickey with me. & George had much to say to us, for he is still a very important personage in the household of Uncle W. having been in his service thirty years. his wife Mary is one of the best attendants upon table I ever met with & her plate is the admiration of all the visitors at her masters table, she made herself equally useful at M<sup>r</sup> Picards, where we were welcomed to an early tea. We had set out exactly at seven oclock from Preston after a very early breakfast, & as was it was in the hottest weather we have experienced, we rested three hours at Lancaster, which gave us leisure to go into the old church<sup>801</sup> - for it happened to be open for morning prayers - & to look at the monument to the memory of L Richmonds mother in this church yard.<sup>802</sup> but I am in error, now I recollect this visit to the old church at Lancaster was on our return from Kirby Lonsdale I ought not to forget that upon our journey to Westmoreland, neither

Jemie or I were well enough to walk about Lancaster in the heat of the day, tho he wished much to persuade Aunt Eliza to allow himself & Willie to go to the court house<sup>803</sup> where he had seen a mob gather & where he understood a case was to be tried. to divert him from this fancy, she persuaded him she wished him to take her likeness,<sup>804</sup> & fell asleep while sitting for it to him! she pronounced it very satisfactory & lest it should be rubbed out (for it was in a book of Willies, she washed the page with milk & as I should have expected soiled it completely We stopped to bate the horses at a village called Hornby between Lancaster & Kirby L & had time to walk thro the beautiful grounds around the Castle of the same name,<sup>805</sup> we followed the course of the river Lune upon which Lancaster is situated all our journey. “the crook of the Lune” is famed for its beauty, & from this point the route became more & more attractive enclosed by hills & abounding in wood, rich fields of grain, or meadow land, “it was hay making season” & the air was perfumed. Kirby Lonsdale is most beautifully situated upon the Lune, embosomed in hills, tho excepting the church which is surrounded by its burying ground<sup>806</sup> & on the river bank, the town itself is not picturesque.<sup>807</sup> Mr Picards house I remarked before it was pointed out as the home of my old friend Elizabeth W<sup>808</sup> as the nicest looking in the street, central yet not public, she stood at her door to welcome us & to introduce me as the only stranger to her husband, their only child a little fellow in his fifth year,<sup>809</sup> was soon on the most intimate terms with the “little boys” as he styled Jemie & Willie. they went to the river side to fish together day by day or played horse thro the garden. & were equally sorry when the last days companionship came round. I could not tempt my boys from their gambols with little John Richard, to accompany our large party in the carriage or on foot upon the various excursions we made in the environs of Kirby. one afternoon indeed Willie went to the ornamented grounds of Casterton,<sup>810</sup> for “Lala” or Isabel Simpson<sup>811</sup> - took Johnie & we found room to squeeze his little cousins Mary & Meggie<sup>812</sup> in the carriage, as only Miss Simpson went besides my sister E & I. M<sup>ES</sup> Picard remained at home with the gents & Jemie chose to be with them. the children were far more intent upon finding wild strawberries on the sides of the elevation, than upon views, the garden was like a fairy scene, for it was the height of the season for roses. Each successive afternoon my

sister ordered the carriage to some new point over at Casterton, the village connected with the lordly manor & called by the same name is like a picture with its neat cottages covered with vines & their little flower gardens enclosing each. the schools & church of Casterton are far famed,<sup>813</sup> but the reality exceeded all the descriptions I had listened to, they are situated on very high ground, yet hills rise far above them, the grounds under cultivation are very extensive, & the variety of flowers the verdure of wood & meadow surrounding the chaste style of architecture made it indeed like fairy land. we walked around the pretty church which seems rather in a flower garden than burial ground, tho in fact the beds are infants graves - for an infant. school is connected with that for the education of the daughters of indigent clergymen- & some black marble tomb stones marked the resting places of some taken in their youth to Eternity. yet flowers bloomed gaily & roses of every variety were trained around their graves. The owner of Casterton<sup>814</sup> having understood from our surgeon<sup>815</sup> that strangers - guests of M<sup>r</sup> Picard - were admirers of his great taste & his benevolent spirit - sent thro M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker an invitation to us to ascend still higher his elevated & highly ornamented grounds, even to visit his gardens enclosing his own lordly mansion & to see his conservatories, as his roses were in perfection, we could not resist the temptation & spent the last afternoon in wandering about them & certainly were amply repaid for any exertion. I cannot enumerate the variety of roses in that parterre, but there was every shade & size from almost black, to pure white, from the tiny Scotch hundred leaf to the Cabbage, some hung in festoons, some covered bowers & every bed was luxuriant. we drove from Casterton to the other side of Kirby to call upon some ladies<sup>816</sup> who had invited us to tea, & here I found more to interest me, in the bee hives. we had scarcely returned to the town when one of the Misses Tomlinson sent a servant laden with their honied spoils, a tin case filled with virgin honey in the white comb. *for my share* I was much obliged. This same kind hearted spinster had given my Sister an engraving to send me because of its resemblance to my angel Charlie.<sup>817</sup> It was the wish of Sister Eliza that I should thank Miss T when she first called to see us, but I could not do so in general conversation, & ere I could wait to whisper it apart to the stranger, my Sister had anticipated me. I have not attempted to describe the comforts we

participated in, at Elizabeths home, but should choose if I might, for my family such a snugger, it is a stone house with three parlors & a front kitchen on the first floor. M<sup>rs</sup> Ware<sup>818</sup> the widowed Sister of Elizabeth calls one of the sitting rooms hers & furnishes it, with the sleeping room above it, which in her absence at Harrogate myself & boys occupied, these look out into the garden & therefore I was charmed had been selected for such a lover of flowers as I am. My old friends the Misses Simpson<sup>819</sup> of Edinburgh call Elizabeths house their home. “Lala” is the governess of the three little cousin Picards.<sup>820</sup> During our visit Jemie attempted the portraits of even the three nice servant maids,<sup>821</sup> & Johnie was induced to stand as a model,<sup>822</sup> by the promise of two of the largest Strawberries in his fathers garden. I never saw such fruit as that bed yeilded, M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Picard cultivate their neat garden themselves & its plentiful produce rewards their industry. We had a dessert each day of fine cherries or strawberries gathered by their own hand. cucumbers from their hot bed - excellent head lettuce, new potatoes - green peas, all of their own planting & picking. I shall always associate Elizabeth with tranquil home-scenes-& luxuriant natural scenery - for when I visited her 17 years ago she was the comfort of her widowed mother<sup>823</sup> & North Gate<sup>824</sup> was situated in Wensledale one of the loveliest valleys of Yorkshire. During our late visit at Kirby one day in alluding to her suffering sea sickness if riding in a close carriage, her husband laughed & said “Elizabeth was not formed to be a fine lady” “no no ! Richard that she was not was her smiling response she was to be your wife & she envies no one” Often have I watched her devoted fondness towards this gude mon of hers with painful interest, for I am told she has deep anxieties for his health, tho he is a picture of manly beauty in the prime of life, his lungs are not sound it is feared.<sup>825</sup> This world is not our home, even such an earthly paradise as Kirby Lonsdale is not secure from the destroyer. But if trials assail Elizabeth, her trust I know is in God. Tho little John Richard threatened to break Uncle Ws carriage or lame his horses, yet we had to leave on the friday morning<sup>826</sup> of that happy week. And right glad was Aunt Alicia to welcome us in the Preston home to tea that same night. Jemie has since, received a flattering proof that he made friends at Kirby, for the kind surgeon there M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker has written<sup>827</sup> to ask his young patient to return to make him a visit, I had

read in the countenance of both physician & Jemie a mutual love at first sight, for Mr W has no boy of his own,<sup>828</sup> & confessed to Mr Winstanley how lively an interest James excited. Many thanks for his prescriptions to us both, for he administered judiciously to my case as to James. by his recommendation I should have sought a sea side retreat immediately but an invitation to visit my friends at Chadock Hall<sup>829</sup> first induced me on Wednesday the 14<sup>th</sup> <sup>830</sup> inst to set out from Preston with my Sister Alicia & boys by the 4 oclock afternoon train, we reached the Astley station<sup>831</sup> in an hour & found a cart awaiting our luggage & old Peter<sup>832</sup> coming forward from the pony phaeton to meet us, but my adventurous boys must have surprised Miss Smiths steady old coach man, for he was scarcely off his seat ere they occupied it & had reins & whip in hand, even I accustomed as I am to their sudden movements was astounded & as the ponys head was turned towards Chadock I almost expected he would take them there without us. Old Peter laughed good humouredly & restored order. he is a great contrast to George at Preston<sup>833</sup> certainly, for he allowed the young mad caps to drive by turns, notwithstanding their having attempted it before asking permission. Cordial was the welcome awaiting our arrival at the old Hall from Mr Robt Smith, my dear friend Anne & her two sweet young neices & protégées Mary & Bessie,<sup>834</sup> whom I had not seen since they were little girls, for 17 years had elapsed since my last visit to Chadock. in that time they had lost their parents, & they reward Aunt Anne for every sacrifice she has made to devote herself to them, by contributing as they do every hour now to her comfort. Bessie the youngest looks too fragile to endure the storms of an earthly pilgrimage, those she has known have depressed her young bouyancy of spirit & she is habitually pensive, I saw many proofs of her deep piety during the week I was at Chadock, & believe Mary to be equally pious, tho her firmer health yeilds her a greater stock of cheerfulness. she would be in her sphere as a clergymans wife is some village,<sup>835</sup> for these dear girls shrink from the bustle of a town life. they go hand in hand as Aunt Annes housekeepers alternately, or in works of charity, their recreations are reading aloud to her or to each other over embroidery, or Bessies wax flower making, but I observed they began every day directly after breakfast by the study of Gods word, they regularly retired to their own room together, to read from the same bible,

& it was the last subject with the trio before retiring at night. If I had lost my full appreciation of the value of time in a four years. absence from a land of gospel light, I have been brought to reflection by the example of these conscientious young disciples. How very often I wished dear Debo had been with us that week at Chadock. The country around it tho so entirely unlike Kirby Lonsdale was as charming to me, we were favored in a continuance of fine bright weather for daily walks or drives. it is a fine farming district, & a plain so very extensive, would perhaps have wanted variety but for the shades of green, in the newly mown fields, contrasted with waving wheat, barley and oats, with their rich hawthorn hedges separating them & the quantity of wood land interspersed, the trees are many of them very large, & with the help of fancy I could imagine the ocean in the distance, for the tallest looked like a fleet in the distance. Often in our rambles we would see partridges or rabbits or pheasants, for the Earl of Ellesmere<sup>836</sup> has much game on his estate & all the neighbourhood around Chadock Hall is his property. himself & his Countess<sup>837</sup> are deservedly beloved for they are promoters of improvement in the condition of the poor<sup>838</sup> all around there, he has built a new castle at Worsley<sup>839</sup> since I first knew the neighbourhood, & the prettiest new church<sup>840</sup> within walking distance of it I ever examined. it was at evening service there my boys discovered the preacher by his earnestness & *idiom* to be Irish.<sup>841</sup> but Mary Smith had interested me so much in the rightful & youthful incumbent<sup>842</sup> that I cannot help wishing his health may be restored & that the temporary pastor may preach the word in some other parish. it is a nephew of M<sup>rs</sup> Sherwood<sup>843</sup> who was first appointed to the Earl of Ellesmeres chapel. but premonitory symptoms of consumption have driven him to the south of Europe for this year, she engaged the heart of an orphan who was in her voyage from India bereft of all her natural protectors by ship wreck,<sup>844</sup> her fathers wealth was in the English funds. may she have the open hand of Charity to secure her a heavenly interest, from all I learn of the ladies of Ellesmere she will have good examples. We had been within the pretty chapel during one of our strolls in the week & I had observed a printed notice in each pew, requesting all the congregation to unite in the devotions, the responses & if possible in singing the praises of God. And as we entered on sunday evening<sup>845</sup> just after the service commenced it

seemed one burst of praise. the seats are all free & all were filled. we had some of us driven in the pony phaeton so Anne, my Sister & I walked home with M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> & Bessie took my boys in the carriage. I was not fatigued, tho my boys had gone to their nest when we reached Chadock. for Jemie had walked both morning & afternoon to the Ellesmere Chapel 1 1/4 mile distance & I had desired they should wait to bid me good night after my experiment. The air is certainly better for me at Chadock than here at the Ocean, but my boys enjoy the bathing, & I hope it may be for their good we came hither.

Preston. September. Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> <sup>846</sup> Seated in the pleasant back chamber at my dear twin Sisters which has been occupied by my Sister Alicia & I all summer, when after our various excursions we return to this home, I determine this bright morning to endeavour to recollect as distinctly as I can the scenes thro which I have passed since my last date. Let me first record my own restoration to health, for in the search, writing & reading have been neglected. & while I regret not having been able to note down in succession the scenes we have passed thro, the many dear friends we have visited & who have visited us, I feel that it would have been wrong to have tied myself to the desk. While at the cottage at South Shore my dear Sister & Brother Winstanley came to spend a few days with us, bringing the carriage load. the boys could scarcely wait till it stopped for them to give three cheers. & how glad we all were to see our own Mary<sup>847</sup> on the dickey with George & his wife. Jemie said we had a feast day, that day for so many good things were brought to add to the good things we had provided in expectation of their coming to dinner. to hominy & fresh milk was added the luxury of cream & fresh Eggs in abundance for breakfast. the boys lamented when their indulgent Uncle & Aunt must leave us & cousin Anne Clunie<sup>848</sup> went too! Jemie wished to have gone back with them *home*. but I thought we must fulfil our fortnight.<sup>849</sup> I must not forget to mention the day we all went to dine at the rectory at Poulton.<sup>850</sup> M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> John Hull<sup>851</sup> were so kind & hospitable & their governess<sup>852</sup> entered into all the sports of the children, our boys seemed to win her admiration the weather was most propitious, so that the games were all upon the green sward under large walnut trees & as we older folks sat at the window we shared the enjoyment. How almost enviable I thought M<sup>rs</sup> Hulls lot, such a home,

so retired from bustle yet so conveniently situated for her husbands duties he need scarcely be gone an hour from her, & their large family (Lucy the eldest only the age of our Jemie)<sup>853</sup> all so bright & so dutiful & so fond! We went to see the church,<sup>854</sup> where there is an elegant monument to the memory of the father of the pastor - my kind friend old Doctor Hull<sup>855</sup> of Manchester is buried at Poulton his native town. At dinner we had very fine fruit, but the children who had been allowed the favor of coming to table, were considerably released at dessert, that they might gather theirs in the garden, where all sorts of ripe berries abounded. we afterwards joined them there.

We went often to see poor old Aunt Wilkin<sup>856</sup> at Black Pool where she resides with her daughter Priscilla, who married an honest carrier,<sup>857</sup> & takes lodgers thro the summer, for their house is finely situated on the beach. How many solitary musings I had in my strolls upon that long beach at low tide! when the dear boys were amusing themselves with bow & arrows. or on donkeys or in throwing stones as far as they could send them into the surf. But the last bathe was taken the second saturday<sup>858</sup> there & we had a fine afternoon to return bag & baggage to Preston. My Sister Eliza & kind Mr W were waiting at the Station to welcome us. & had scarcely done so, ere they were met by one of the servants telling them Sir James Wemess<sup>859</sup> was at the house. he afterwards went again with as many as could make the exertion, back to the station to see Mr & Mrs Ormerod<sup>860</sup> passing thro, for my part I was obliged to lie down on the sofa after my journey, until tea time. It is surprising how much fatigue my Sister goes thro, tho she cannot now bear the excitement of entertaining many at a time as she used to do. there is an incessant demand upon her hospitality & sympathies. each day she regularly visits an infirm old lady to cheer her in a sick chamber. Mrs Walton<sup>861</sup> would feel alarmed if she staid away without sending word that something extraordinary prevented it. this grateful old lady is continually racking her brain to think what she can find for Mrs Winstanley! & her amiable daughter Agness<sup>862</sup> delights in inventing & seconding these little surprises of her invalid mother. My sister laughs & asks the old lady if she fancies she has a *poor look*? & Mr Winstanley advises Eliza to take a basket of her arm, for seldom two days elapse without her bringing home some nice thing insisted upon. We had not



long time allotted for Preston upon our return from South Shore ere the day was fixed by my friends in Liverpool for my visit to Cambridge St.<sup>863</sup> poor Jemie had left undone much which he applied himself to accomplishing the last day. there was a sketch of Aunt Winnie<sup>864</sup> promised to Miss Clunie.<sup>865</sup> & a beautiful engraving of Miss Waltons<sup>866</sup> long waiting to be copied, he did copy the old hermit at his devotions<sup>867</sup> very correctly, tho he had only a common pencil & fools cap paper. Aunt Eliza said she should have it framed.

I set out for Liverpool with my boys only, as Aunt Alicia could not leave Preston until her cousin should to return to Scotland, & we had no time to lose. I was glad to have enjoyed the society of Cousin Anne Clunie three weeks in all. for I have always loved her & she is a true christian.

Dear Eliza & John Sandland were waiting for us at the Edge Hill station,<sup>868</sup> & soon we were driven to the snug home of their dear mother. how warm & comforting was the embrace of this friend of my youth. "Oh how like you are what your dear mother was when I first saw her!" she said to me when she had told me over & over how glad she felt to see myself & boys. I found Mrs Sandland looking so interesting fair after her severe illness, that tho so delicate in appearance she seemed to have become younger, her hair is still beautiful & her eyes looked less dejected than they had been many years ago they must be always beautiful. she was wearing blue ribbons on her blond cap – but now alas she is again in deep mourning, for within this last week both Mr Jno Grayson & his sister Bessie<sup>869</sup> have been released by death from great suffering, they died happy! speaking of their trust in an all sufficient Saviour, & dear Mrs Sandland is now at Roby<sup>870</sup> comforting her bereaved relatives – I shall ever treasure up the memories of kindnesses experienced daily at 10 Cambridge St my friends made myself & boys so much at home. John Sandland seemed to feel he could not be too condescending to Jemie & Willie & devoted himself to their amusement, even to country strolls to help them fly their kite. he had reminiscences of my making a pet of him when I was a school girl & he a "little one"<sup>871</sup> And he was so partial to my boys as to fancy them more intelligent than lads of their age are generally. he showed them the Docks. took them to the Assizes<sup>872</sup> to hear a trial & see the Judges in their big wigs – he was most amused at the greeting between a countryman of ours with them when he gratified

their wish to go on board an American ship. the mate a Massachusetts man would scarcely let them go ashore again he and Jemie were so communicative, so truly "hail fellow well met"<sup>873</sup> I availed of opportunity for hearing the greatest pulpit orator of Liverpool,<sup>874</sup> altho M<sup>rs</sup> Sandland does not frequent St Judes. it is not distant from her house. Eliza went with me to the thursday<sup>875</sup> lecture the very first evening of my arrival, I had heard the eloquence of M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup> Neill (now Doctor extolled, & perhaps it was because of such extravagant praise I was at first rather disappointed, his discourse was from the 6<sup>th</sup> of Romans.<sup>876</sup> it certainly was excellent, for Hugh McNeill is a most clear reasoner. I went again on Sunday morning,<sup>877</sup> the aisles were filled, but so many families being out of town there was not the usual difficulty of obtaining seats in pews & we faced the reverend speaker, who wins each time more & more upon his auditors. the whole service is most impressive. A lady member of the congregation—is the only female in the not numerous choir, her voice is very fine, simple tunes are selected as most easily joined in by the whole congregation. The illustrations given to his subject by M<sup>r</sup> McNeill are very beautiful, he preaches without notes. referring from time to time to the little pocket bible which he has open in his hand. as tho he is most attentive to the *written* word, which he seems to have by heart. In the evening he preached from 2<sup>nd</sup> Epistle of St Peter.<sup>878</sup> I was sorry not to have taken my Jemie to hear him, as he described the works which would be burnt up!<sup>879</sup> even every thing however important in the estimation of man - which is not to the glory of God! Oh how rivetted was the attention of the hundreds who filled aisles & pews & galleries! may it not have been in vain! On monday I went to see my friends the Blis's for the last time at the American boarding house in Duke S<sup>t</sup>.<sup>880</sup> Sarah B took charge of a pot of Ivy plants for my Sister Kate, M<sup>rs</sup> Bliss promised to deliver a parcel to my dear mother from me. I cannot say I envied them embarking in the Montezuma<sup>881</sup> that day, tho the ship is so fine, so many emigrants were to be fellow passengers. these kind friends had told me much of their Swiss tour in a first call I made them in Liverpool, they described Debo as quite a heroine & said she had been such an acquisition to their party.<sup>882</sup> but they had been obliged to give her up to our friends in London, M<sup>rs</sup> Clarke Haden<sup>883</sup> claimed the fulfilment of our daughters promise to visit her in Deans Yard

Westminster.<sup>884</sup> And the Maingays at Woolwich<sup>885</sup> must have their share. So when I first took possession of a pretty cottage over at Egremont on the Cheshire coast<sup>886</sup> to give Jemie more sea bathing, Eliza Sandland only accompanied myself & boys. Aunt Alicia & our servant Mary soon after joined us from Preston. The weather was hot in Liverpool, we realized how preferable the opposite side of the river was whenever we were attracted to the city to shop, but the crossing in the ferry steamers we found very agreeable with each its band of music. Eliza & I sometimes exerted ourselves to rise early enough to take a stroll before breakfast, her dear mother occasionally would cross over from the city to spend a long afternoon with us, she enjoyed as much as we did the walks in which the environs of Egremont abound, & while we three were enticed to wander thro pretty lanes & corn fields, John Sandland would join my boys in their juvenile sports, reporting to me, when 7 o'clock assembled us all around our frugal evening meal, that they had been boys together. I must not omit to record the friendly attentions of Mr Vallances<sup>887</sup> family to us, it was pleasant to me to meet an early friend in his sweet little wife,<sup>888</sup> & her brother George Dunscombe<sup>889</sup> being on a visit from my native land to his own, could tell me much of my own dear brothers family circle at New York. Mrs Vallance has a numerous family circle of her own now, her eldest daughter Minnie<sup>890</sup> a girl in her teens I took great interest in, because of her amiability & self devotion to her mama & the little ones. she spent an afternoon with us at the cottage Mr Edw<sup>d</sup> Maude<sup>891</sup> also was very attentive to us. I had been introduced to him when he passed thro Preston, he supped & slept at Mr Winstanleys, & is a favorite. his lodgings being near ours on the beach, he stopped sometimes to take my letters for Russia or America to the Liverpool post office, sometimes we met in crossing the ferry, & once he made leisure to take my boys fishing, And when at last the day was at last the day was appointed for my dear Debo leaving London with Emma Maingay as her companion, he politely met them at the station in L Pool & brought them to our cottage door. little Willies eagerness to see Sister was so great, he waited at the Egremont ferry & capered by her side all the way, till Jemie at our gate claimed the turn of bringing her to Mother. How happy it made us to have Debo restored to us in safety after all her perils by sea & land, but tho her countenance looked cheerful, to me she

appeared not to have regained health in her tour thro Switzerland, she was very eager to recount to me in a tête à tête on the sofa after tea her pleasant visit to the kind Hadens at Deans Yard, & as I had lost my voice by a severe cold (caught thro imprudently prolonging my enjoyment in bathing) hers sunk to a whisper, as she described to me each member of the family. I was not suspicious of any other cause than sympathy in my inability to speak above a whisper. & therefore did not trace the many symptoms of her mind being ill at ease to the true cause in the day or two succeeding her joining us at the sea side. On thursday the 26<sup>th</sup> of August however all was explained satisfactorily by letters from 62 Sloan St from an unknown member of the Haden family,<sup>892</sup> & also vouchers from his Aunt in Deans Y<sup>d</sup> never did I realize the friendship of dear Annie Ormerod so truly, I found she had acted as a tender mother to my daughter while under her protection, & she wrote that the young physician her husbands nephew who had attended herself thro several illnesses, was soliciting her influence for our consent to his union with Debo. The brief period of their acquaintance we must overlook because of the long friendship between his family & our own<sup>893</sup> - the surprise must be softened to Whistler & I became at once an Amenuensis, in copying the letters which came daily from London, those from our old friend Annie O. now M<sup>rs</sup> Clarke Haden of course being the best vouchers for all that others wrote in favor of the nephew of her husband.<sup>894</sup> Dear Debo herself arose very early to write her fond father upon this most important event of her young life.<sup>895</sup> And she chose also to acquaint her Aunt & Uncle Winstanley, a day only elapsed ere she received their blessing, but we must yet wait long ere she can receive that of her father or know whether he can comply with our united wishes for his coming to England to meet us.<sup>896</sup> Debos heart is so set upon the accomplishment of Seymours hopes for their union this autumn, her Aunt Eliza says we might as well chop her head off as propose her going back to Russia & indeed she seems to depend upon daily communications to & from Sloan S.<sup>t</sup> - for as the youthful pair had plighted their troth I could not oppose their very natural wish to write each other, tho a visit from the lover is deferred until we have the countenance of Whistler to give opriety to it. M<sup>r</sup> Hadens mother<sup>897</sup> wrote Debo at once upon learning the state of his affections, of her entire

approval. Mary Boott who is the affianced of his (only brother) Charles,<sup>898</sup> has written in the most lively strain her delight that her dear little D is to be one among them. while Rose Haden<sup>899</sup> the young & only sister of these fond brothers is only prevented by her timidity writing the favored one. Seymour has sent Debo a brief memoir in print, of his father,<sup>900</sup> which tells us he also was a physician, a man of worth & talents beyond the common lot, that he wrote many valuable treatises on medicine, & was conspicuous as a member of a musical coterié, he died young. The great talent for music among all this family of Haden, might lead to the presumption of connection at least with the celebrated composer, but that the name is spelt differently.<sup>901</sup> Our friend M<sup>rs</sup> Kirk Boott,<sup>902</sup> having always been particularly partial to Debo, will I think be well pleased that her favorite nephew Seymour is to bring the dear girl into their family circle. he no doubt has written to inform them in Boston. altho we have only to our own George disclosed his sisters prospects. until we have her fathers views as to the marriage. dear little Willie & Jemie have not the least idea that their sweet “Sis” is seeking a home in England. when they know it, they will become better reconciled to remaining at Holly Bank,<sup>903</sup> in the prospect of spending their holidays with her occasionally — And now have months elapsed since my poor journal was opened,<sup>904</sup> we did not doom our dear boys to a separation from us, for when their father joined us at Preston to give away their sister in marriage, he could not bear to part from all at once. M<sup>r</sup> Stewart expressed his regret at their removal from his school in the most flattering terms, saying that their example would have been valuable to the other boys. indeed I had observed with grateful emotions that the blessing from on high, upon our training them, had enabled Jemie especially to resist temptations among his play fellows, that he had not yeilded to their persuasions to deceive their masters & that when he had made mistakes, he still had courage to confess his fault. May God always continue to my darling James & Willie tender consciences, that they may never prevaricate. It was with fervent prayer I sought counsel from God in our important decision as to whether to leave our boys in England, or to bring them back to Russia, for I knew their fond father would not without due consideration decide, as he would make any sacrifice of selfish inclination for their future good, especially for James health. We

went to Holly Bank together the next day after Whistlers arrival at Preston (I have not described that, tho it was so exciting at the time, my spirits had been at the lowest ebb, when my Sisters went out hoping to bring me at least a letter, on their way to the office Sister Alicia discovered G W W in the large white familiar characters upon some trunks a porter was wheeling across from the rail road station,<sup>905</sup> she sprung forward to embrace them, but happily fell upon Whistler, who became as eager as my sisters to reach home for the public exhibition of feeling made him shrink from public gaze! how welcome he was to us all! the transition from a most painful state of suspense & anxiety, to joy was almost too great for me. and we thought him looking so well! & he had not experienced any of the storms, which had made me tremble for his safety. Oh how delighted he was to have Debo beside him! he was rather shocked at finding the wedding day fixed, without waiting for him, it was monday he arrived & thursday was to have been the day, he must be in London that day to deliver government despatches,<sup>906</sup> so it was put off till Saturday)<sup>907</sup> there was so much bustle in anticipation of winding up Debos affairs at Preston, that her father & I were glad to find ourselves occupying a car of the 1<sup>st</sup> class on our way to Liverpool. it was beautiful bright weather. the sail to Birkenhead was lovely & Oh how delighted our boys were to welcome us at school. we did not then think they were to return to it *only* to say farewell to Mr & Mrs Stewart,<sup>908</sup> who seemed so fond of them. we asked for them to visit Preston for some days. their carpet bag was soon put up, a new suit of clothes for each having been completed by order – Tom Clunie<sup>909</sup> had taken them to the most fashionable tailor<sup>910</sup> for a new Polka jacket<sup>911</sup> & pr of white trowsers. tho I had not let the secret out that these were for bridal array– We lunched at a confectioners in Bold St<sup>912</sup> instead of dinner & then put Willie in a Fly<sup>913</sup> with the carpet bag &c to deposit at Mrs Sandlands & wait our coming there. Jemie went shopping with father & I, each of our boys seemed happy to be at our disposal *any* way. I had to select a diamond pin for Seymour & a bracelet for Emma<sup>914</sup> as bridal gifts from Debo. It was late in the afternoon when we reached 10 Cambridge St<sup>t</sup> our kind friends there were so glad to see us! to welcome Whistler after five years separation,<sup>915</sup> John really shone as master of the house, I was only sorry my husband could spend so brief a time with him, they went

out to a stationers together, leaving us ladies to talk over the wedding, as we had not met since they had been informed of the sudden event in darling Debo's life. they entered so kindly in our feelings & mingled thankfulness at Debo's bright prospects, & our struggle in giving her up for life! they had attended to the wedding cake &c for me in Liverpool. How touching such proofs of friendship as I gazed on their own deep mourning for their dear Bessie & Mr John Grayson.<sup>916</sup> Yes two had been taken in youth, from their family circle since I had last seen them, & they had wept for the surviving mother<sup>917</sup> & the young widow & two fatherless boys. John Sandland has sent me the obituary he had written upon his cousin J G's death.<sup>918</sup> We were obliged to leave our sincere & affectionate friends directly after tea, to be in time at the station for the last train, when we reached Preston there was our good Mary & Betty<sup>919</sup> in waiting, who took all care of parcels & boys off our hands, & it was not many minutes ere<sup>920</sup> we were welcomed in Uncle Winstanley's parlor. "What did you come for you good for nothing chaps?" "We thought you wanted to see us, as much as we did you" answered Jemie with the tone of a privileged favorite. The next evening<sup>921</sup> Whistler started to travel all night to London taking Jemie with him for company. Debo had written Seymour at what hotel he would find her father the day he had appointed for their personal introduction to each other. & at 11 o'clock the young man was punctual, each had much business to finish in that day, thursday, for they were to journey back to Preston together at night, but Whistler managed to go to Sloane St to dinner supposing Seymour's mother & sister were there. so Jemie saw nothing to amuse him in that day's visit to London, for father & he were driving about from one place to another all day. The trio reached Preston at midnight, it had been as busy a day with us there, & I was still in the girls room, where I had spent the whole evening helping Debo to look thro her treasures, to see what I must pack up & what she would give away for I knew her father would not be willing to spare me from his side. I was the only one in the house who had not undressed. but not expecting our travellers till morning I was frightened by pebbles rattling against the windows of the girls room, supposing the only light had attracted a mob, for 20 factories having been shut up there were alas I knew discontented spirits enough, to raise a disturbance, & gentlemen among the manufacturerers having been late

calling upon Mr Winstanley, I fancied were still in the parlor,<sup>922</sup> I did not know how late it was really! & the girls jumped out of bed frightened by the alarm I could not avoid shewing. I went down stairs alone, trembling, for the knocking was now at the side door. I opened the dining room very softly lest the gents should be there, all was darkness, then I went to Mr Winstanleys sleeping chamber & roused him, it was really a pity to disturb the good old gentleman, but it was a droll scene when he came out in his night cap & slippers looking taller than ever in the long fur Caftan<sup>923</sup> my husband had brought him, with his spouse of lowly stature peeping out after him, for by this time Jemies ringing voice had brought me to the street door & I let the travellers in, & above stairs. the true cause of the midnight disturbance was understood, Debo had slipped a black silk dress & visite<sup>924</sup> on and was waiting in the vestibule, to catch one embrace from her lover as he should pass up to his apartment, & there was Aunt Alicia in her night dress busy lifting poor Willie from the bed Seymour must occupy, & a pretty time she had with both the boys in hers the rest of that night! The next day there was no trace of any confusion soon after breakfast, for the nice Betty & Hannah<sup>925</sup> soon ordered all the apartments & Aunt Alicia chose one to herself in the attic. I dont like to recal that day to mind. for Whistler was not well, I staid in our room all day by his bedside. Debo was shut up in the little parlor with Seymour directing bridal cards to his hundred friends, to announce that Mr & Mrs Seymour Haden would be “at home” on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November at 62 Sloane S! Ah what a pity that worldly ceremony made Debo forget her dear father that *last day* she might have been with him, but she was so delighted with her bright prospects, she could not suspect that the approaching separation was making father ill. the *business* of her wedding, was destroying all sentiment! Oh if we could have had it under our own roof we should not have had such a bustle. Yet dear, kind, Aunt Eliza took it all off our hands, & was as busy as a bee all day in preparations for the bridal dejeuner. Mr Clarke Haden arrived from Fleetwood<sup>926</sup> in the evening, as it had been arranged by the Vicars<sup>927</sup> permission that he as Seymours Uncle should perform the ceremony. he had written a most beautiful letter<sup>928</sup> previously to Whistlers arrival, over which we had all shed tears & Aunt E would have me copy it for her to preserve with the last dear Annie had written her. Whistler made the



exertion to get up for tea, that we might evince every respect towards the Rev<sup>d</sup> Uncle, but Oh it was painful the gloom which hung upon our spirits. Emma whispered me for mercys sake, to propose music, I did ask Seymour if I might have the pleasure of hearing him chaunt with the girls, but he thought his poor Uncle would associate it with the past & be over come, so we had to try to talk, but every one seemed pre-occupied, & the Vicar called upon Mr C Haden, & Seymour was summoned to the dining room to see him too. I had put up a pr of white silk gloves for each the maid servants with a half sovereign slipped in the finger as Miss W-s parting gift after prayers, & the coachman George his pair with a sovereign. My Sister selected the 12<sup>th</sup> Chap of Romans<sup>929</sup> which she read very impressively, previously having told us, that it had been a favorite of her Grandmothers.<sup>930</sup> That night every thing had been ordered so that we should be like clock work, to lose not a moment of Debos wedding day. her trunks were already packed. The 16<sup>th</sup> of Oct was one of the brightest days ever experienced in England. When I first met my Sisters they were all dressed in satins, & ready to be bonnetted. Mr Winstanley was seated in the little parlor where any one who wished coffee or tea buttered toast or dry or even an egg might go sans ceremonie & take it. Before the bride & only brides maid Emma put on their shubes to go to the carriage, the half dozen maid servants<sup>931</sup> begged to be admitted to their chamber to see & admire them. I think there were three carriages to drive us to the old Parish church. I congratulated the young ladies their dresses were quite covered by the long black satin shubes. for unluckily it was market day & Fishergate was thronged early as it was. As we encircled the altar in the nave of the old church, so gloriously shone the sun thro the eastern windows, that rainbow hues covered the Altar. we were only a family party – little Johnie Chapman<sup>932</sup> was the only spectator & he told his mama<sup>933</sup> on his return home, he had been blinded by the tears, which would come as he thought Miss Whistler was going away from them forever! affectionate little fellow! The so lately-widow'd uncle read the service most impressively, but when he put his hand upon the head of the newly wedded pair to bless them, his words almost choked him - no doubt thoughts of Annie rushed to his mind - but he recovered his self command for the rest of the day – I was annoyed by the rudeness of the crowd pressing upon us

as we attempted to get from the church to the carriage, Mr Winstanley expected it & had filled our boys pockets & his own with sixpences, but still he cried shame on the English custom<sup>934</sup> while the shower of silver diverted the rude people from us & we soon drove home The Vicar only was invited to the bridal dejeuner, it certainly was ample & elegant, on each side of the ornamented wedding cake were the beautiful bouquets which Mrs Chapman had sent to London for in the expectation that the bride & Emma (the only brides maid – would have held them. but choice & aromatic as were the flowers, they would have been inconvenient to carry, they graced the table, which had also a great display of the Winstanley plate; dear Debo was seated between her father & Seymour, looking the happiest of the happy, not thinking of how soon she was to part from the gentle & indulgent parent but full of fond anticipations of a bright future with the young protector her heart had selected. she wore her white chip bonnet<sup>935</sup> during breakfast & Emma a pretty rose colored bonnet. When the health of the young pair was proposed in champagne, poor Whistler raised his eyes to the portrait of my brother William over the mantle peice opposite where they sat, & said “let us next drink to the health of our brother, who would I am sure take a lively part in, what now engages us if he could be here”<sup>936</sup> — The passing of wedding cake thro the pure gold ring Debo was then required to condescend to.<sup>937</sup> soon after which I went with her to her room that she might change her white dress for a travelling one, which was equally becoming. While there Mrs Chapman & her daughters<sup>938</sup> came to say adieu, as they wished *me joy* it sunk like a knell upon my heart. When we went down stairs<sup>939</sup> the drawing-room our friends from the Cliff<sup>940</sup> were there, & Whistler & I had to endure all their congratulations, well meant no doubt, but surely if any had reflected upon the sacrifice we had been required to make, the most delicate & feeling attention to our feelings, had been silence. Debo bid us good bye without a tear, her eyes shone with happiness, & surely a brighter sunshine in England never shone, than that of the 16<sup>th</sup> of last Oct. Neither Whistler or I saw the old shoe thrown by Aunt Eliza after the carriage<sup>941</sup> as it whirled off from the front gate, tho I heard afterwards this omen of good luck was not omitted. We had proposed going to Fleetwood to visit the bereaved parents there. by the first train after we had parted from our darling girl, for our hearts could sympathise with

Mr & Mrs Ormerod, but Aunt Eliza insisted we must eat the wedding dinner first, she went herself in her rich puce col<sup>d</sup> <sup>942</sup> satin & new white chip bonnet to exhibit herself to old Mrs Walton<sup>943</sup> & took James to shew him off to the invalid - as the only grooms-man - Willie who was dressed exactly like him went too & took from me a large peice of wedding cake to the kind old lady. I was obliged to appear in black at dinner, as no time was allowed to change my dress after it, and I had worn mourning for my friend Annie from the day we heard of her death, until dear Debo's wedding. busy memory had reminded me of the sad solemnities in our drawing-room at St Petersburg on the 16<sup>th</sup> of last Oct! & I thought how very similar the effects to myself & dear husband the two ceremonies,<sup>944</sup> we were assured our loss of our angel baby was his happiness he had been taken to heavenly mansions & thus secured from earthly vicissitudes & sorrow. We had resigned Debo for this life also, tho for her happiness in a new home. & our hearts were heavy with grief at the distant prospect of our meeting again, for our departure for the continent could not be delayed to welcome her in London, on her return from the bridal tour in Wales - The duty Clarke Haden had come to Preston having been fulfilled, he took his place in the car for Fleetwood with us, & as we had one to ourselves, he was not restrained in uttering what was uppermost in his thoughts, he bent his head & said in a low voice to me "Do you remember when we last met at this station you said to *her* how happy you thought her, travelling with her husband? now permit me congratulate yourself & Mr W<sup>m</sup> Edward Ormerod<sup>945</sup> just then came (by the Manchester train) & took a seat with us & we were not much more than a half hour in reaching Fleetwood, where poor Mr Ormerod<sup>946</sup> & Mrs Edw<sup>d</sup> <sup>947</sup>was waiting at the station. It was distressing on first meeting dear Annie's bereaved Mother,<sup>948</sup> but she commanded her feelings wonderfully. she often sighed as tho her heart must be bursting & once laying her hand upon it whispered "oh you know not what a weight is here! but she can never come to me! I shall go to her" Whistler's tears flowed as did mine, yet we felt it more congenial to our present feelings to be at the house of mourning,<sup>949</sup> & we staid until the last train, with our kind friends, who seemed to think the more of our visit, that it was a proof we could remember them on such a day. What a busy day was the next monday<sup>950</sup> to us all! Emma was to go with us the

next day to London, Whistler asked Aunt Alicia to go with him & Jemie to Liverpool, & the two last went to Holly Bank<sup>951</sup> to bid adieu to it. I had completed packing Debos trunks for London & ours for the continent when they came back to Preston by tea time. Very early on tuesday<sup>952</sup> Whistler bade adieu to Mr Winstanley & my kind sisters, that he might spend the day in examining different stations on the route, he arranged that we should follow by the early afternoon train & meet him in Birmingham, as we did. Oh that dreadful last day in Preston, it is too sad to recal the bustle & the parting! after five months finding a home under that hospitable roof, much as I longed to be settled in my own home, it was trying to bid adieu. & it will be a grief to me till I see my dear Sisters again, that *business* curtailed my intercourse with them that last day. Mr Winstanley presented us each with plaid scarfs, even to my boys for the voyage. We reached the Euston station at midnight. Emma staid at the hotel there<sup>953</sup> with us till after breakfast, when (as she naturally was impatient to get home after a six weeks absence) we hired a carriage, the boys & I accompanied her to Shooters Hill,<sup>954</sup> the weather was bright as Oct in my native land, & we enjoyed our visit for the day to Wellesley House. we found all the family at home,<sup>955</sup> but Mr Maingay who was in town on business. how glad they all were to have Emma back again & they thought her looking so well! she was almost crazy with joy! laughing incessantly. Eliza had just returned from visiting her district of poor cottagers when we arrived, she was the picture of neatness & composure, looking so placid & with a heavenly expression on her mild, sweet face. Emma joked her sweet Sister upon a resemblance in her quaker attire to some plain good lady of their acquaintance, Eliza smiled & so did their mother, who remarked she could not resemble a better woman. “No I dont wish to look like her mama!” why not? “No *earthly* models mama” gently replied this follower of our Lord. Eliza entrusted to my care a good book for her friend Mary Touchkoff<sup>956</sup> at St P. this excellent book “The family of Bethany<sup>957</sup> was a solace to me in crossing the rough seas — she gave me also a Russian bible to bring home, to place upon the window of our vestibule where so frequently couriers are detained a half hour & where I always keep a supply of Russian tracts. After I had said good bye to Mrs Maingay she called me back to the sofa where a sprained foot detained her, to embrace me again. how much I

should have enjoyed a few days in Elizas society. My boys had gone off to the nut trees with Fred after lunch. but little Lillie<sup>958</sup> clung to her sisters. at last I could make them hear my summons back to London. Our hotel was the Waterloo, on the Thames.<sup>959</sup> it might have been amusing to watch the boats passing our windows which looked out upon the river, but the weather was so fine & we had many friends & places to visit. Jemie would have lingered a day at Westminster Abbey,<sup>960</sup> for he had taken out paper & pencil to sketch monuments, but the Sexton at last hinted prayers would soon begin, & we must come again. It was just as difficult for him to see enough of the Colliseum,<sup>961</sup> the statuary, panorama of London & the Cartoons in turn invited him to linger. I sent Mary with the boys to St Pauls<sup>962</sup> another day. but took them to call at Mrs T Smiths, St James Park<sup>963</sup> - a lovely situation, such a treat to me to spend an evening with the lovely daughter of my old friend Mrs Stevenson! I made an engagement to go with Eliza to Clapham to see Mrs Shaws family<sup>964</sup> & Oh how disappointed I was not to accomplish it, I had been *at home* under the hospitable roof of Calcutta House<sup>965</sup> five weeks 18 years ago, as Anna Mc with dear Mrs Stevenson when we first visited London, together & in the two last visits I have made to London with my children, I have tried in vain to *call even!* for the Shaws now reside at Clapham, hourleys run there, but it takes a morning to visit a friend. & our time was so precious, we could only call at Doct Bootts<sup>966</sup> the last day. how much I had to do that day! I took Willie with me to Paternoster row,<sup>967</sup> to select a book or two to *leave* on Sisters toilette as a souvenir of her birth day. then drove to Sloane St. The house keeper<sup>968</sup> was very attentive & shewed me all the apartments to be graced by her young mistress occupation. Mr Hadens study on the first floor. above it the dining room – opposite to which the drawing room looks out on a small park, Cadogan Gardens.<sup>969</sup> Above this salon is Debos boudoir, furnished with blue, its walls covered with Seymours sketches of Italy & Switzerland<sup>970</sup> –opening into it is a most commodious bath & dressing room. Above the dining room – looking out into the flower garden belonging to their house – is their bed room, with its new wardrobes & every elegance for the lady fair. it seemed a pity not to see her smiling approval of all, but the sunny days of Oct it was of more importance to her to pass among the Welsh hills, breathing a pure & healthful

atmosphere, she would have enough of London, even tho her home so abounds in comforts & elegancies. We left our hotel after a very late dinner in the evening, to sleep on board the Steamer for Hamburg,<sup>971</sup> never shall I forget the impression made on my mind by the contrast between those two extreme points of the vast metropolis the west end & the direction we took to reach the river, as we drove thro dark narrow streets of the city & saw such squalid wretchedness, it did not do to think of the luxury of the favored few at the court end. it seemed to us all we were driving thro a district of pollution & crime. And then the Thames boatmen! what a set swearing at each other, seizing our luggage & hurrying us so savagely into their boats in the darkness of the evening I almost trembled, & scarcely expected they would put us on board the Steamer without pilfering us of some of our articles of luggage, but Whistler did not dispute their unlawful demand for hire, as a lady did who went passenger in the steamer with us, by which she was put on board minus a whole peice of broad cloth<sup>972</sup> &c for servants liveries, while she was only intent upon a *fair* settlement one of the men must have sliily slipped back into the wherry this very valuable bundle, for she did not discover her loss until after she had lost all sight of them. The ladies cabin was rather confined & very crowded, so I felt thankful that I was not one of those compelled by sea-sickness to keep my narrow berth, so I each morning met my husband & dear boys at breakfast time in the saloon, and if I had not as good a relish for the meal as Jemie & Willie I had plenty of books to beguile time of tediousness, and it seemed to me such a favor to have the society of my husband, this being my first voyage of *days* with him. I was so soothed too when thinking of having parted from Debo ! by the perusal of "The family of Bethany," but I have before mention its having been recommended to me by dear Eliza Maingay. Oh how delighted we all felt in landing at Hamburg on monday;<sup>973</sup> not having spent quite three days on board the Victoria. the scenery to the city from the mouth of the Elbe is rather flat, but we gazed at the shores with villages or country seats scattered along, with pleasurable emotions, no such annoyances as passports or custom house inspection of luggage on landing at one of the principal wharfs, our boys were soon making their knowledge of German useful, & amusing themselves by putting questions to the people around us. we were soon

very comfortably domiciled at Streights Hotel<sup>974</sup> in the beautiful new square, in the centre of which is an artificial lake on miniature scale, in which at night the lights are reflected & thus the effect of the fine buildings, is heightened & extended. The custom throughout Germany I believe is to take every meal but dinner in travelling — in the same room in which the traveller passes the night, but we asked & obtained the favor to have our breakfast table set (and a nice repast too) in the *salle à manger*. there was one bright little German footman who devoted himself to us. & even prevented gentlemen smoking in the saloon while we were there at breakfast. At dinner unless we hastened from the table d'hôte immediately after dessert we must have been quite scented with segars, as they were handed regularly round to the Gents. German ladies seem to be reconciled to the custom, for we always left many ladies at table at the elbows of their cavaliers. We found Hamburg an excellent shopping place, such an abundant supply of french goods especially & as no duties is upon them, cheaper there than any where out of France. I supplied myself with dresses for the remainder of my sojourn in Russia I hope! Whistler tried to tempt me to purchase a very elegant cloak just imported from Paris, it was drab cloth<sup>975</sup> lined & trimmed with dark blue, very tempting! & Jemie thought I ought not to mind giving five pounds English for it, as father wished me to look nice! but Uncle Winstanleys gift of a beautiful tartan scarf was enough I thought in addition to my plaid cloak & other cloaks at home. Whistler supplied our boys with new shubes at Hamburg, for our voyage made it necessary they should be thoroughly guarded against cold. And a blustering time we had of in crossing the Baltic so late in the season of Oct, for it was the last boat to St P in which we embarked on Sat Oct 30<sup>th</sup>. While at Lubec we staid of course with our attentive host of the Stadt Hambourg, & Jemie paid many a visit to his gallery of pictures.<sup>976</sup> We only spent one night at that curious old town & went in the same vehicle which we had hired at Hamburg, to take us, to Travemunde. We had a continuance of bright weather & did not suffer from cold as we had feared we might. upon our reaching our steamer, we immediately deposited our luggage under care of the Steward, mine for the convenience of the voyage being arranged by the attentive German stewardess in my state room, she evinced great interest in me & tho we could not talk together she often kissed my hand

& her countenance expressed that she still retained the tender sympathy for me, which the painful circumstances of my first acquaintance with her had elicited, when she was stewardess of the *Alexandra*<sup>977</sup> There proved to be only one lady passenger beside myself this time on board the *Nicoli*.<sup>978</sup> so that there was no objection to Mary having the state room next my own, but the stewardess was ever so watchful to attend upon me that I did not tax Marys services, the boys were however glad she was well enough to be at the beck when they wanted her, there were few gentlemen passengers & each had an entire stateroom except Jamie & Willie who of course preferred occupying the same & next their fathers. I always remained as late as possible with Whistler, for he had taken cold & was really ill & felt depressed. the *gales* were all in our favor, but we had a taste of what we might have suffered had our course been in the other direction, for having run too rapidly before the wind, the Capt put about to prevent our reaching Cronstadt too early in the morning, & even I felt sick from the roughness of the motion a few hours. We were all obliged to rise very early in the morning to prepare for custom house officers. How different my feelings now, to when I had encountered their scrutiny before; how comfortable Whistler protection had rendered me all this route! what a treat to have him to travel with. the officers were exceedingly polite to him, as his passport announced him a courier from the embassy in London, they merely asked the number of articles of our luggage, ticketed each, so that when we reached the English quai at St Petersburg, our things we all passed ashore without being required to go to the Custom house. I have omitted to mention that among the companions of our voyage were two, whom we associate with occasionally as visiters at our fire side. One is a Doctor Crawford<sup>979</sup> to whom I feel much indebted for his lending me his Church Records<sup>980</sup> to read as he receives them from London, thro favor to Prince of Oldenbourg in whose family he has an appointment,-as *moral governer* to his son.<sup>981</sup> the doctor is a decidedly religious man, so true a witness of our Saviour among men, he seeks the society of all christians whether of the church of England or Dissenters, his attendance at Mr Ellerbys saturday evening prayer meetings missionary meetings &c as constant as his coming to our church on the sabbath & he is one of the few never absent from the Lords table. The other companion of our



voyage who visits us still is a Mr Konoring<sup>982</sup> a Pole, but of the Russian diplomatic corps. he has just returned from Brazil after a three years absence from this city, where his father resides.<sup>983</sup> he is a perfect gentleman, quite young & speaks English well. I discover that his mother<sup>984</sup> was a dear friend to my favorite Miss Funk. & that she was a truly pious lady. the son also seems thoughtful. How glad I was to see W<sup>m</sup> Maingay upon our first landing! & it was so attentive in him running to bring our neighbours to welcome us & so kind in M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes to make the exertion to meet us with her husband, they insisted upon our lunching & dining at their house & had Mr & M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand & Lizzie Ropes to meet us at tea.<sup>985</sup> I could not have imagined it would be so delightful to return to our St Petersburg home, but no place had seemed so comfortable & none so commodious in all my travels. Mr Prince<sup>986</sup> had had it put in such beautiful order, & it had been thoroughly painted, papered &c during the summer, even the double windows were put in & bright fires were burning in the grates, & carpet down. I felt so grateful to Mr Prince for all the trouble he had been at in superintending preparations for our welcome home! Matvie<sup>987</sup> looked neat as ever & was very much gratified by my having brought him a new blue cloth round-a-bout<sup>988</sup> from Hamburgh, & a pr of white gloves, such as had been distributed at M<sup>rs</sup> Hadens wedding. Our faithful little Cook came to take possession of the kitchen the very day of my return, & she liked the blanket shawl<sup>989</sup> I brought her from England, she had kept herself out of place all summer, that she might serve us! Our faithful Laundress<sup>990</sup> too had reserved herself for me. she came back immediately to her old duties, I had a pretty English cap for her with bordering of net & ribbons enough to trim three. And ere many days even our good cow<sup>991</sup> was restored to us in better condition than ever, from her pasturage at Alexandrofsky, Mr Eastwicks family had had her milk for the summer, for her keeping. Ere I could unpack our trunks even friends & acquaintances thronged upon me, ah how often I thought of dear Debo who had always been ready to do the honors in the drawing room! sometimes two or three sets of ladies would call at one time, for instance as I was receiving the fashionable M<sup>rs</sup> F B. the equally stylish M<sup>rs</sup> Slatta & the lovely M<sup>rs</sup> M A came & at the same time Mad Melnikoff & daughter,<sup>992</sup> I scarcely could answer all the questions about Debo & our

summers tours, especially as Mad M speaks french or Russ only. By very early rising & late taking rest I managed to get my house hold duties in operation before the sabbath came. And in due time to report our safe arrival to all across the Baltic & Atlantic. I must not omit to mention a new baby among our American colony at Alexandrofsky & soon M<sup>r</sup> Harrison invited all his compatriots to the christening of his little “Marie Olga”<sup>993</sup> Doct Law performed the solemn rite, the young Sec of our legation stood proxy for some uncle<sup>994</sup> of the little black eyed stranger, M<sup>rs</sup> Leland an Aunt lately arrived from Baltimore its god-mother.<sup>995</sup> A Russian maminka<sup>996</sup> brought the “dooshinka” or darling,<sup>997</sup> to the drawing room & waited in her peculiar costume to receive her nursling back, from its mother when the christening was ended. M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison seemed her good husbands chief source of interest & anxiety, he feared her being fatigued at the banquet which we all partook of & before it was ended, by a sign had an easy chair brought in that she might rest. As her health continued feeble she was not able to avail of invitations from M<sup>r</sup> Ropes to all the American circle to keep the Yankee thanksgiving on the last thursday of Nov at his house, neither could she be one among us at a magnificent dinner given up by M<sup>r</sup> Ingersoll our Ambassador<sup>998</sup> immediately afterd but as change of scene, quiet, & entirely relief from domestic cares, were advised by her physician I had the guest chamber of our lodgings made as comfortable & cheerful as possible & invited her to make me a visit, she brought her little Alicia to renew her claim upon her God-mother & my good Mary occupying the next room to theirs took care of both. M<sup>rs</sup> H at first could only reach the drawingroom sofa by great exertion, but her strength & spirits daily improved & ere she left us, she even rose to family-prayers & breakfast. The annual birth day party for her Henry & Annie<sup>999</sup> occured while their mother was with us, Mary went to Alexandrofsky with little Alicia & my boys to attend it, on Christmas eve *our* style, M<sup>rs</sup> H & I had a snug quiet day by ourselves, she even exerted herself to get in next door, to spend an hour with my dear good neighbour M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes, while I wrote my own dear Mother. M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand came to us to tea. Whistler & M<sup>r</sup> H arrived from A with the boys from the juvenile fête, bringing us fragments of good things, but little Alicia came not back to town. Aunty Maria kept her as a hostage, how surprised I was when my guests appeared at breakfast to

hear they must return home to a Christmas dinner. But M<sup>rs</sup> H looked as bright as the sunny day & I would not discourage her, by advising her to let Doct H<sup>1000</sup> govern her movements. I went with her happy husband to the English book store<sup>1001</sup> by stealth while she was directing Mary about her packing, to surprise her with a gift, it was indeed a *seasonable* one, a precious & elegant vol of family prayers with portions of scripture heading each & beautifully illustrated. When next I went to see her, she whispered me she had begun the New Year by using it regularly in her family circle! And since then herself & M<sup>rs</sup> Leland have become members of our holy communion! M<sup>rs</sup> Eastwick had gone up with me to the altar when I had no longer a daughter by my side, & now these two Sisters have joined us, how sacred becomes the bond in a foreign land, when those from a distant country become so united by love to the Lord Jesus! Oh may we be faithful witnesses for Him wherever His providence leads us! I was made member of a ladies committee (patronised by Lady Bloomfield of the committee patronised by Lady Bloomfield of the British Legation)<sup>1002</sup> for visiting the newly established British school<sup>1003</sup> as chiefly connected with our congregation, tho as M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrand is one of its most generous supporters M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ellerby of the chapel also are of the gentlemen & ladies committees. I should rather have been made teacher in a sabbath school at our church, but Doct Law thinks religious instruction will be connected with other courses of instruction at the British school — April 25<sup>th</sup> 1848 And now in resuming my much neglected journal,<sup>1004</sup> to give my dear mother as true a statement as I can of what occupies me while absent from her – I will briefly remark upon the success which has *not yet* crowned extraordinary efforts, for establishing this greatly needed seminary for the neglected children of English mechanics, weavers & all of that class in this city & its environs. No expense has been spared by owners of mills such as M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrand, or M<sup>r</sup> Baird who owns an enormous iron foundry &c, M<sup>r</sup> Wood to prove himself a patron of the school besides unlimited pecuniary contribution, placed his own little boy as one of the boarders, having implicit trust in M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Smith (as an English clergyman, who were sent from England) to superintend the classes, assistant teachers for modern languages, governesses, house keeper, every necessary aid, to keep in order about forty children of both sexes. Doct & M<sup>rs</sup> Law

incessant in their supervision & the committees to attend monthly to inspect accounts &c, no trouble, no earthly means spared! yet evils unforeseen have arisen, a want of unity among the directors, so that now the girls department is closed until another teacher can arrive to take Mrs Smiths place, as she is found not capable.<sup>1005</sup> I have timidly again hinted the propriety of connecting a Sunday - school with our church, why should we not among the thousand who claim membership with us find teachers, when in Mr Ellerbys little congregation of two hundred, they have a regular attendance of forty Sunday scholars. God would no doubt bless our efforts if we began by asking his aid! I am using my persuasion with the Americans at Alexandroffsky to open a Sunday school there this season, as the room in which Mr Ellerby<sup>1006</sup> preaches to them every Sunday afternoon would be ready for the school, & that devoted pastor could open it with prayer after his service. he has attended a bible class there weekly all winter. We have no religious instruction but from our pulpit & I fear youth is not so impressed by it as when it is personal, *in a class*. May the Holy Spirit teach the shepherds of Christs flock everywhere. I often sigh for some other evidences of devotion in our congregation, than the "Passion week" strict attendance at prayers in Church. During Lent theatrical performances are prohibited by law in Russia, & the Italian Opera is closed but morning concerts & tableaux vivant supply the want, & members of our church do not deny themselves these courtly substitutes for the winters dissipation. I cannot be reconciled to these inconsistencies in those who call themselves followers of Christ. Do I lack charity? I hope not, for charity means love to God & to all mankind in Christ Jesus. I have had the privilege of meeting occasionally these few weeks past a most devoted christian who has been the guest of our neighbours Mr Merriellees, & have listened to the detailed accounts of the state of religion in the south of Russia which Mr Mellville<sup>1007</sup> narrated to us, with intense interest, he has lately set out on his long journey to return to Odessa, which town has been his headquarters these last twelve years, he is a scotchman, but has acquired sufficient knowledge of many languages to communicate freely with Germans, Poles, Tartars, Turks, Armenians &c he seems most familiar with the jews & gives most cheering reports of their willingness to read the New Testament, he has often seen it used in their school, has there

heard the youth in classes reading it. but Mahometans also are eager to possess themselves of the scriptures, & to all the mingled population in all his journeyings for distribtng the bible & tracts, he *gives* to those who are too poor to buy, tho he finds ready purchasers. he would trace his wanderings on the map, tell us where were the *fire* worshippers & linger over some points of the route to describe the wonders or the luxuriance of nature, where ignorance or superstition clouded the noblest work of God. he came to St P to replenish his stock of bibles & tracts. God has given him favor in the sight of some who hold great privileges under this government, & their names are passports to gain him free access & egress on his journey, were he *called* a missionary he would be banished the country. God put it in his heart to come to this vast field of labour, he modestly asked protection as a stranger & waited for God to open the path of duty in His service, & it is marvelous the success which attends him, we will pray & hope God will impel other evangelical christians to follow his example. he says he only wants help, for the field is ripe for an abundant harvest. I often wished that my dear mother could listen to this extraordinary traveller! & thought too how much such christian friends as Mr Nichols or Mr Lee would have been interested in his recitals, he was so ready to communicate, & looked so sincere & so benevolent. When he described to me the condition of English emigrants thro out the interior of Russia, I felt grieved for them that they had abandoned all the free institutions of their native land, for uncertain pecuniary benefit, their children speaking only Russ, reading in no language! When I told him of the luxuries which in a few months has crept into the British school here, tho founded upon the most economical system only last summer! A dancing class clandestinely begun on Ash Wednesday! &c he sighed, & said how earnestly he wished schools suited to the necessities of the English at the south might be founded in this metropolis & in Moscow. he knows intimately the clergyman in Moscow<sup>1008</sup> who arrived there last summer only, yet who has already done so much to improve his flock. he has given up two rooms in the parsonage for a school, he visits his people in the most friendly manner & prays often at their houses. his wife is also a fellow labourer with him in his congregation. It is cheering to hear of such a pastor of the protestant church any where on this continent, where

temptations to lukewarmness & worldly policy, induce most to be mere preachers, deceiving themselves, they throw stumbling blocks in the way, by their own inconsistencies. We are now brought to an era of the world to make men stop & reflect, & ask themselves in what they place their trust. As my old friend Henriette Hallback<sup>1009</sup> asks me in a letter I received last Saturday from her at Frankfurt on the Maine “who would have dreamed three months ago of the revolutions which now prevail all over this continent. France a republic! Prussia with only a nominal king! the base policy of the crafty Metternich (1773–1859) no longer endurable & he obliged to flee from Austria, as Louis Philippe (1773–1850) & Guizot (1781–1874) from France. how many of Earths nobles seeking an asylum in England, the boasted soil of the free! yet Ireland is filled with British troops to quell rebellion there, & at the great meeting of the Chartists in London lately (the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month)<sup>1010</sup> there were many threatening remarks againsts the expences of the royal family, such as “what entitled the queen-dowager to receive £100.000 per ann, while the wives & children of British subjects were starving?” May God so over-rule in the councils of Europe that a better state of society be ordered. As soon as the revolutions in the south and west reached the Emperors ears, he issued the following Ukase, which was read first in all the Greek churches on the Sunday, with great effect by the priests, who made every heart throb with loyalty to their Sovereign. It was published in the journals the next day.<sup>1011</sup>

Manifeste de S. M. L' Empereur. Par la grace de Dieu. Nous, Nicolas Premier, Empereur et Autocrate de toutes les Russies. Etc-Savoir faisons:

Après les bénédictions d'une longue paix, l'Europe occidentale se trouve aujourd'hui livrée à des troubles qui menacent d'amener le renversement de toute autorité légitime, de tout ordre social.

L'émeute et l'anarchie, qui d'abord ont éclaté en France, n'ont pas tardé à franchir la frontière de l'Allemagne, et s'y répandant comme un torrent destructeur dont la fureur s'accroît à raison des concessions faites par les gouvernements, ont fini par atteindre l'Empire d'Autriche et le royaume de Prusse, *Nos alliés*. Aujourd'hui, l'audace révolutionnaire ne connaissant plus de bornes, ose même dans sa démence menacer la Russie dont Dieu Nous a confié les destinées. Qu'il n'en soit pas ainsi! A

l'exemple, de Nos Prédécesseurs fidèles à la sainte foi orthodoxe, après avoir invoqué le secours du Dieu Tout-Puissant, Nous attendrons Nos ennemis de pied ferme, de quelque côté qu'ils viennent, et sans ménager notre Personne, nous unissant plus étroitement que jamais à Notre Sainte Russie, nous défendrons l'honneur du nom Russe et l'inviolabilité de nos frontières. Nous sommes persuadé que chaque Russe, chacun de Nos fidèles sujets, répondra avec joie à l'appel de son Souverain, que notre antique devise: "Pour la foi, le Tsar, et la Patrie" Nous ouvrira aujourd'hui comme toujours le chemin de la victoire. Et alors, pénétrés d'un sentiment de pieuse reconnaissance comme Nous sommes aujourd'hui pleins d'une sainte confiance en Dieu, nous, Nous écrirons tous ensemble: *Nobiscum Deus! audite populi, et vincimini: quia nobiscum Deus!* Donnée à St Petersburg le quatorzième jour du mois de Mars, de l'an de grâce mil huit cent quarante-huit, et de notre règne le vingt-troisième.

Signé:

Nicolas.

Judging from the effect of the delivery of this to the community first at the altar of God, by its solemnizing effect upon the mind of our Matvie,<sup>1012</sup> the Empereur is recognized as the representative of God to his people here, "shall we fight against God"? they say, "no, we will spill our last drop of blood for our church & its head our Tsar." The same sunday upon which the Ukase was made to form part of the service of the day, His majesty & the Empress were seen in an elegant carriage together in the Nevski at the fashionable hour for promenade & received the adulation of the crowd. indeed some reported the Emperor out several times that sunday & in various costumes, unusually brilliant.<sup>1013</sup> In the course of the week appeared in the St Petersburg Journal another Manifeste from his majesty more expressly developing his intentions, a strict neutrality would be preserved towards other nations, unless they infringed the rights of this monarchy, closing in these terms. "La Russie ne souffrira pas que "la propagande étrangère vienne souffler chez elle le feu de la sédition, "elle est fermement décidée à ne point souffrir que l'équilibre politique et "territorial, s'il venait à être modifié, puisse l'être à son préjudice. "Jusque la, elle se maintiendra dans une stricte neutralité, spectatrice "des événements; inoffensive, mais vigilante. En un mot, elle n'attaquera "point si elle n'est pas elle-même attaquée; elle respectera

scrupuleusement “l’indépendance et l’intégrité de ses voisins, si ses voisins ont soin de respecter “son intégrité et son indépendance.

We went one day soon after this to the New Boulevard to see the Imperial family enter the chapel of the Menage, many of the court were with them altho the diplomatic corps had not been invited to attend, for our young Sec— was with us,<sup>1014</sup> but even the green feather of his chasseur could not gain us admittance within the limits marked by the police, there was the most reverential silence pervading the respectful crowd, for it was known the Empereur & Imperial family were going to worship with some regiments on that most solemn festival of the Greek Church, I think it was the Epiphany, but no it could not have been, it was in Lent, & was probably some extraordinary festival to invoke the Virgin.<sup>1015</sup> The loved Empress’s equipage was the last to enter the circle, she was attended by Pages in white uniform, indeed the Emperor & all the Grand Dukes uniforms were white with blue & gold & scarlet. There were many ladies of the court. and of course among them the young fiancée of the Grand duke Constantine, the Princess of Altenbourg.<sup>1016</sup> Had I kept my diary as I ought, I should have recorded the grand ceremony of the betrothal of this young couple early in February *old* style, I went with a party of ladies to the Winter Palace & thro the favor shewn some of the English nursery governess in the service of the Hérétier, we were admitted by tickets to the gallery of one of the great halls thro which the Imperial family passed from their several apartments to their private chapel. It was a brilliant spectacle certainly, & quite exceeds my powers of description. I had counted about sixty dames d’ honneur, as they graced the hall in velvet robes of every hue with long trains richly embroidered in gold, silver or beads, their head ornament in form of a crown sparkling with jewels from which hung veils at each side, tulle sleeves also large & flowing from the mere shoulder strap of velvet.<sup>1017</sup> these ladies attended by gentlemen of the court & military in the most gorgeous uniform seemed in gay conversation from the murmur of voices, but we know from private confession how wearisome are these ceremonies, so pompous, so heartless. At last all hurried to their places, the ladies had enough to do to spread out their trains to the best advantage, when the Emperor, Empress & all the Imperial family entered the hall from their apartments to pass thro to the Chapel. The young Princess of



Altenbourg - having been confirmed the day preceding now bears the name of the Grand duchess Alexandra - she is tall with fair complexion & well formed. her dress was tulle over white satin, with wreaths of pink roses en crêpe, in regular stripes from the bodice to the train, those who saw it near (as Young Ingersoll who told me) said there were rows of pearls between the beautiful pink roses. she wore emeralds; I had wished to gain admittance to the gallery of the chapel to witness the imposing ceremony of the Betrothal, my friend Miss T<sup>-1018</sup> had used her influence, in vain it being appropriated to the children of the Imperial family. I heard the sweet solemn chanting & judged how long the ceremony must be by the fatigue we felt in waiting, to see the royal procession pass out again.

Friday 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1848. This is the anniversary of my dear husbands birth day, the only gift I had to present him was a watch guard begun by Eliza Sandland<sup>1019</sup> for him & finished by me. he accepted it with grace, telling me he had intended to surprise me with his portrait<sup>1020</sup> today but could not get it done in time, how busy has memory been contrasting this birth day with the last when he presented dear Debo with a beautiful work box, & me with the handsomest escroiture he could find. dear girl how much I wish she could be beside her fond father this anniversary! Young Ingersoll has been calling & reminds me it is a year today since he arrived at St P, our friends the Bliss' with our ambassador.<sup>1021</sup> What a contrast in the weather! now so hot we can only venture out to walk before breakfast or after tea, & have our balcony door open to admit the breeze from the Neva, *then* the harbour was full of ice & the shore covered with snow, & we all going out in Shubes Yesterday<sup>1022</sup> was the grand review in the Champ de Mars, once seeing that is enough imposing as it is, & the heat of the weather being so excessive & so sudden, we were better off in the shady walks of the Summer Gardens, there is only a Canal between them & the Champ de Mars, so we heard the martial music (rather a treat in St P tho there is so much military) & saw the plumes waving. we returned to our own sweet cool lodging, by water as we had gone. our next door neighbours had witnessed the parade from a window at the Count Koushiloffs,<sup>1023</sup> but Mrs R-s pity for the poor soldiers in the heat almost deprived her of

enjoyment tho her own position was so delightful. Indeed the effect of these pageants are destroyed by quiet reflection!

Monday [May] 22<sup>nd</sup> 1024 I gratefully record this as one of the most favored days of my life. at least I know not when my heart has been so full of *good emotions*. We were quite ready to rise early this lovely *summer* morning after the rest of the blessed sabbath & as Whistler had to be at the portrait painters<sup>1025</sup> by eight o clock & Jemie was to go as fathers companion I had a motive to be up early that they might have a slight repast. As I looked at the thermometer 23 deg of heat I opened the window of our room to let in the pure morning breeze, the Neva looked like a mirror. When at seven o clock Whistler & I were passing thro the drawing room to assemble the family at prayers, we saw American letters upon the table & were induced to peep into one from Doctor Palmer to see the news. My Sister Kate the blessed mother of another little girl born on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April<sup>1026</sup> & both & all so well! Oh that I could always have a heart so full of thankfulness in approaching the footstool of mercy, which I have experienced this day! When Willie & Mons Biber<sup>1027</sup> had gone out to walk & I had attended to my household affairs to secure myself from interruption, I took my letters to the cool balcony & oh what a feast I had! why did my tears almost blind me as I eagerly perused one from my tender mother so full of interesting details of this Spring in her Florida home? it was from the fullness of happiness in being so loved by such a dear mother, and when before dinner my husband asked me to read to him the letters from our native land, I saw him wipe his eyes at our mothers expressions of tender attachment for us, then dear Kates letter written just previous to her confinement how affectionate its tone, & her good husbands p-S filled up the measure of my satisfaction I *thought*, but no! other favors came & I found myself as eager to devour Debos fond words, & my Sister Alicias account of her journey from Scotland, her visit to Westmoreland & to Preston. A strange & painful idea had impressed me in the unusually long silence which preceded these letters from my native land, I began to dread that our five years absence had weaned all but mother from us!

June. The first saturday of this month<sup>1028</sup> my dear James was taken ill with one of his attacks of rheumatic fever, I watched him night & day at first in the far back chamber, & then removed him to my room on the

quai, it being more quiet, his dear father delayed his trip to Moscow till Jemie was able to leave his bed & sit up in an easy chair, when he decided to take Willie as his companion in the survey of his rail road,<sup>1029</sup> the cholera having increased in Moscow he could only venture there for a few hours. at midnight on monday the 19<sup>th</sup> of this month they bade us adieu the heat then was excessive, so that I wondered at Whistler providing either himself or Willie with warm suits for the journey, but even by the next evening a change had come over our atmosphere & we had a succession of gusts, of rain & hail, indeed snow had whitened the ground for hours on the islands. Then the cholera was announced in St Petersburg as numbering its hundreds of victims daily! the papers at the same time reporting that the pestilence was increasing in the interior. Our good doctor was obliged to embark for England for his own health<sup>1030</sup> during Whistlers absence from us, his going had long since been contemplated, that he should leave Jemie convalescing was some comfort to Doct Rogers & as he had decided us to change the climate for him also, he expressed the hope that soon we should meet in London. Debilitated as I was by anxiety, & loss of rest at night, it was no wonder I should have felt more than slightly indisposed, as many were complaining around me, then the tidings of deaths among acquaintances added to the depressing influence of the strange weather. I discovered even our good, sensible, cook<sup>1031</sup> who reads her bible & fears God had imbibed the popular prejudice & was attributing the cholera to *poison*, which she said enemies (the Poles were having strewed among the vegetable shops, & even in the river, she feared to buy rice or aught else from the green grocers,<sup>1032</sup> where we had dealt for five years. I tried to lead her to a higher source, to put her trust in God, to follow our good doctors advice about diet, & humbly to rely on the Ruler over all for a blessing, & an answer to our prayers. Twice I wrote my dear husband, & from his silence argued that he was hastening home, he & dear Willie surprised us at midnight on the 28<sup>th</sup> I had just risen from my knees for my heart was too sad to let me rest, & was wiping the tears away, when I heard them listening at the door of Jemies sick chamber afraid to disturb him. How happy I felt to go out, & prepare their room for them, as Mary had long been asleep. Ivan<sup>1033</sup> soon got some water to boil in the Sumava & they made a slight repast, after which I bathed Willie, who

seemed to me fatter than ever, tho he had been terrified by rumours of cholera.

July. thursday 6<sup>th</sup> on board the Camilla,<sup>1034</sup> bound for London, lying off Copenhagen to while away time I continue at my desk after having finished my report of our voyage to my husband, until our quarantine is fulfilled & we are allowed an hour on shore, ere we proceed tonight on our voyage, I was too entirely occupied in attendance upon Jemie, & in making our arrangements for leaving home, so hurried at the last! to do more than pack my journal in my desk, to add to my notes in England in case of leisure, but I find it here, unwished for, the cholera in St P having inflicted upon us a quarantine here, the steamers always stop for coals on their way between St P & London, thus the passengers usually spend the six or seven hours pleasantly in viewing the pretty town of Copenhagen & its rural environs. James having already gained sufficient strength at sea was planning our visiting the church so celebrated for Thorswaldens statuary<sup>1035</sup> & Willie was petitioning for a peep at Tivoli gardens,<sup>1036</sup> while I had determined upon a drive to Fredricksbourg<sup>1037</sup> the capt put to shore in his long boat with his papers promising to come back for us directly, but he returned to make us feel like half crying, half laughing, as he described their taking his papers from his hands *with the tongs & smoking them*, ere they would open or read them. the doctors boat soon followed his & alas it bore the green flag a signal for quarantine. Yet prisoners tho we have been since yesterday noon, we have all been in fine spirits, and have profited by the excellent market, the agent of our English steward having brought along side fresh bread, milk & fish for breakfast, and our dessert delicious ripe strawberries & cream, besides goose berry tart & fine ripe cherries in abundance, not to mention fresh lamb. Our 4<sup>th</sup> of July we spent wretchedly enough with a strong head-wind, sending most to their berths. but today we have had a respite from our sorrows. we left Cronstadt last saturday evening, my dear husband went from St P with us, as also M<sup>r</sup> Eastwick & W<sup>m</sup> Merriellees accompanied him. Sunday<sup>1038</sup> we had rain, but the ship went on quietly & I read with comfort with my boys all day, on monday<sup>1039</sup> we were on deck occasionally, tho the wind was rather fresh, Jemie took no cold as we had furs & plaidies. we have an agreeable set of passengers. Our Ambassador & his Son, an Italian Countess & her companion going

from the cholera to her estate in England. a Danish gentlemen whom we shall leave with regret at Copenhagen this evening he has been so polite. A french gentleman is very amusing to my boys & he goes all the way to London; we have two English ladies, & expect to take in another from C this evening. M<sup>r</sup> Ingersolls french cook is among the forward passengers, & so is a Hindoo<sup>1040</sup> whose portrait Jemie is wishing to take.

Shantlin.<sup>1041</sup> Isle of Wight – its southern coast.

Saturday July 22<sup>nd</sup> This my darling Willies twelvth birth day I have spent entirely devoted to his pleasure I bathed with him in the beautiful summer sea & poor Jemie was envious that he also could not for the doctors think the bracing air here as much as he can bear, we three had a sea-side ramble & then returned to rest at our cottage until dinner-time, I plied the needle while my boys amused themselves Willie in making wax flowers & Jemie in drawing. we spend every afternoon in rambling over the hills or thro shady lanes, & now having just come in, they write their journals;<sup>1042</sup> would that my notes were not so far behind hand! I must even run back to Copenhagen for I wished my dear mother with me the brief hours enjoyment we had in our visit to its deservedly far famed church. Our chargé M<sup>r</sup> Flennigen<sup>1043</sup> brought his barge along side our steamer as soon as he knew the doctors had left the quai to liberate us, it was so roomy & he so polite that the Countess & her maid, M<sup>r</sup> Sharon the Danish gentleman<sup>1044</sup> & the doctor<sup>1045</sup> were accommodated with seats as well as us Americans, the motive of the latter for returning to the town in our party, was discovered upon our landing, for as M<sup>r</sup> Sharon was putting us in a carriage & directing the driver how to proceed to shew us the most possible in our limited time, the good old gentleman stepped up & begged most gallantly to be our valét de place,<sup>1046</sup> he proved a great acquisition, & seemed a true patriot as well as proud citizen of Copenhagen, pointing out its palaces<sup>1047</sup> (which to us were so simple in comparison to those of St P. – but the church he was most enthusiastic about, & detecting Jemies love for sculpture he became most devoted to him. We only wished for many hours instead of one to examine & admire, as the statuary exceeded all we had seen.<sup>1048</sup> The figure of our Saviour<sup>1049</sup> I like better than any attempt at similitude of Him than I ever saw before. the expression is so benign & so commanding, the arch under which it is placed - as the altar piece - is

gilded richly, the statue of white marble as is also the figure of an Angel<sup>1050</sup> in front, kneeling it holds a pure white shell & is thus the baptismal font. The ladies of the congregation worked a square carpet for the font to be placed on,<sup>1051</sup> down each side of the church are the apostles, six on each side, against the wall, full length & also of white marble, equally beautiful, we only wanted time to linger & feast our eyes, tho we tried to impose on ourselves & fancy the mellow of twilight increased the effect of our view of the church. We also saw the Sarcophagus of Thorswalden,<sup>1052</sup> in a small chapel at the side, flowers faded & dried were strewed over it, & our friend the Doctor - who had known & loved the artist personally - seemed to feel it was holy ground he was upon. as did our enthusiastic Jemie. On the outside of the church, there is also Thorswaldens work, St John preaching in the wilderness,<sup>1053</sup> every figure highly finished & in marble, so superior to the stucco images of St P.<sup>1054</sup>

But now I must change the scene to our arrival in London monday night the 10<sup>th</sup> inst.<sup>1055</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Fairbanks<sup>1056</sup> had been on the look out for us, as we ought to have been in on saturday, but the head winds & our quarantine accounted for our delay. he so kindly urged me to go home to his house, that late as it was & tho I had never seen M<sup>rs</sup> F,<sup>1057</sup> I gratefully acceded & our welcome from my countrywoman was a proof of her amiability, she insisted upon giving us tea & some slight repast & it was soon served at midnight, such is the good training of English maids & the excellent arrangement of their kitchens. The motion of our steamer still making me dizzy, I found it impossible to coax sleep; at last I was glad when four oclock struck to get up & write my own dear Whistler,<sup>1058</sup> I also wrote a note to my Sister Winstanley to announce my safe arrival in her adopted country.<sup>1059</sup> When I looked out of my dressing room window into their pretty flower garden & beyond it into Hyde Park<sup>1060</sup> I realized with gratitude to our Almighty Preserver that we were no longer tossing about upon the fathomless deep, in the confinement of a ships cabin. Our hospitable host had no idea how many hours I had been up when we at nine oclock exchanged the salutations of the morning, he had been so careful that we should not be disturbed! it was ten when a very nice & substantial breakfast assembled us around the table, I was thankful to have an appetite, for my head was dizzy & I anticipated illness such as

hung over me long after my last years arrival from sea in England. but this year I have escaped it, thro the mercy of God, who “tempers the wind to the shorn lamb”<sup>1061</sup> When I left M<sup>r</sup> Fairbank’s family to walk to Sloane St (not more than ten minutes walk from Albert Terrace) it was with a promise to his children<sup>1062</sup> soon to return with my boys to them, for I supposed Debo at a sea-side place, but only Mary went back that day & it was to have our luggage brought to M<sup>r</sup> Hadens. Seymour himself met us at his door & after heartily welcoming us, ran up stairs for our own darling Debo, who had returned from Ramsgate<sup>1063</sup> purposely to be at home on our arrival, they had been enquiring when the Camilla would be in, but it was a surprise at last, as we arrived in the night. I found my dear girl looking better than when she was a bride & happy as she was then I am sure she is even happier now.<sup>1064</sup> my own anxieties pressed less heavily upon my spirit under Seymours roof where all is so well ordered, he & Debo truly are one, their tastes the same perfect harmony & cheerfulness reigns. I only missed one comfort in their home, family worship. but as I know they each trace their Saviours love in all mercies, I trust they will have the wish put into their hearts to raise a family altar, & that their servants may be servants of the living God.<sup>1065</sup> dear Debos health may have prevented her rising regularly early & his profession interfered with the assembling all together day by day. besides his brother Charles often was obliged to breakfast & go down to the city<sup>1066</sup> ere we had left our rooms. I was much pleased with M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Charles H<sup>1067</sup> as inmates, they are soon to go to house keeping & will be very near neighbours, these fond brothers – Seymours Mother & youngest sister Rose also live in their neighbourhood.<sup>1068</sup> the Sunday I spent in Sloane St. I went to the church Seymour & Debo attend regularly, where I was edefied by a most practical & elegant sermon from their pastor M<sup>r</sup> Burgess.<sup>1069</sup> he is the successor to Blunt whose writings are now so widely circulated & admired. In the afternoon I went with my boys to Westminster Abbey, where I was pleased to observe the devotion of the crowd, we could scarcely elbow our way up to the pews, and yet could find no seat a very polite young lady insisted upon Jemie sharing hers in turn, probably she discovered his being still on the invalid list. We listened to a discourse from Revelations, from a celebrated preacher,<sup>1070</sup> it was quite opposed to the Second Advent of

Christ,<sup>1071</sup> which now so many lead their congregations to expect. As we walked home thro St James Park & the beautiful squares surrounding Buckingham Palace<sup>1072</sup> we were struck with the quiet in comparison to the week day bustle. this is as it should be among a people professing to read their bibles; no doubt in the thoroughfares of *the city* we should have been more disturbed. In the evening Debo proposed sacred music adding, "I know Mother would like it! & she begged her "mama" to lead at the piano. they could not chaunt without "Uncle Clarke"<sup>1073</sup> who was ill, but all the Hadens united their voices in sacred melodies, except Seymour who was obliged to visit his patients. I have omitted to record the day upon which Debo went with myself & boys to see my old friend, Mrs Shaw,<sup>1074</sup> at Clapham. I lamented that it was *too late* for me to see once more the venerable Grandmother of her children, Mrs Wardrobe<sup>1075</sup> was on her death bed! but dear Mrs Shaw did not assume a distressed tone in telling me how soon she must lose her excellent mother, for she knows the aged saint has long been waiting a summons from her Lord to go to "the Old Mans home". When I asked her, if her mother would remember me, to express my regrets at being *too late to pay* my respects after eighteen years since we had parted, she answered "oh she would quite recollect you, but she is too far spent to make the exertion to welcome you as she would wish" dear Mrs Shaw retains the same cheerful, lady like, deportment I was charmed with when I was her guest at Chelsea eighteen summers past & the same air of refinement in her home, only some luxuries have been added, by the industry of her young ladies she told me, elegant embroidered chairs & other gifts from her pupils, & more valuable than these because her mothers work a beautiful white lambs wool rug, which she says is displayed in summer, but carefully put away when dark days would soil it. When she proposed to my boys. that they should go out into the garden to have a feast of gooseberries & they thanked her in their happiest expression, she could tell me how it delighted her to see them such little gentlemen, she said many gratifying things gratifying to a mothers partiality & in questioning me about my number, said in her own sweet way "ah then these are the pet lambs!" I asked about her own, she has yet the *number* I had caressed as *little ones* at Calcutta House,<sup>1076</sup> her three sons<sup>1077</sup> all abroad, one had married & would soon be bringing his two motherless babes home to



her arms. I was sorry not to see Kate & Georgianna,<sup>1078</sup> they had gone out for the day on a pic-nic. Debo invited them to dinner, but they wrote of an engagement. What an encouragement M<sup>rs</sup> Shaws case is to all to do their duty in the state of life to which God has appointed them looking to Him for the reward. when I first knew her 18 years ago, she had lately been left a destitute widow of a West Indian physician<sup>1079</sup> who had from his practise in Marlow maintained her handsomely, but looking forward to long years had laid up nothing, she a fond wife, was almost in despair, her pious Mother example led her to cast her care upon God, not doubting, or wavering! & fragile tho her constitution was she opened a preparatory school for boys, her brother in India<sup>1080</sup> had influence to get pupils there for her, & her establishment was thus appropriately named Calcutta house, she has educated her own children & given them every advantage, since her two daughters have been of an age to assist in the school, she removed to Clapham & opened it for young ladies,<sup>1081</sup> they have every refinement around them. But now it is high time I begin to describe the Isle of Wight<sup>1082</sup> of which too much cannot be said in praise, we had been four days at Madeira Cottage when I dated this last fragment<sup>1083</sup> of my poor attempt at jounalizing for my dear mother. Debo could not accompany us from Sloane St, so I left Mary to attend her when she should be ready, myself & boys had the inside of a commodious rail carriage to ourselves to Gosport,<sup>1084</sup> where we embarked in a ferry steamer & were soon at Ryde<sup>1085</sup> on the Island, I should have felt interested in the town even had it been made less attractive by nature than I found it, for Cousin Anne Clunie<sup>1086</sup> had talked much to me of its scenes when she interested herself in getting my boys placed last summer in a clergymans family, it is a beautiful place from its many gardens, & hedges, green is so refreshing to a town it is hilly too, its fine pier is the fashionable promenade, but were I a sojourner there I should delight more in the rural walks at the back of the town, & its sea beach where my boys could pick up pretty shells. I hired a chaise peculiar to the Island with only curtains at the sides, it was a remarkably bright day so that we were glad not to shut out the view, every turn in our road which was quite undulating, brought variety & beauty to our gaze. Willie did not forget Legh Richmonds descriptions of Brading as we were passing it & wished to stop to look for the grave

of the “little cottager Jane.”<sup>1087</sup> We looked at one lodging house at Sandown<sup>1088</sup> en passant, tho our driver assured me I should be better suited at Shanklin<sup>1089</sup> & as Seymour had recommended our coming to this village, I resisted the fine open bay which is so attractive to sea bathers & am well pleased I was led hither, for we have even greater sources of enjoyment in the country walks, corn fields, shady lanes & flowers, Willie has copied many in wax (for dear Sis provided him with a stock in London, when Seymour gave Jemie a paint box) we have frequent showers in this hilly nook & are glad of such resources in doors. there are two very commodious hotels (Daish’s the new, & William’s the old)<sup>1090</sup> two provision shops, two butchers stalls, two shoe makers, one baker & a blacksmiths shop,<sup>1091</sup> the two last have rival ponies to hire at 2/6 for two hours, and there are two donkies at 6 pence per hour. so we have all we want, but the most interesting object to Jemie is Shanklin *Chine*, a wide chasm in the cliff where he would fain station himself to sketch the water fall, by the hour if I would let him expose himself to catching cold in so damp a shelter, pretty cottages peep out, thro shrubbery on its sides, winding paths are kept in nice order & with steps at their turns enable one to ascend to the downs above the cliff, & as all face the sea, seats there are for those who choose quietly to sit & read.<sup>1092</sup> “Tower Cottage” is at the head of the Chine,<sup>1093</sup> the house itself is so enclosed we can only see its thatch covered with vines by intruding, for upon the gates leading to it we read “no thoroughfare.” yet I have ventured to the very door, for I never lose a chance to make the impression of the beautiful on my mind; In one of our afternoon strolls (Jemie always carrying his sketch book under his arm & Willie the camp-stool in shape of a walking stick for our invalid to rest while seeking health & recreation) we discovered the *little* village church,<sup>1094</sup> it is in so retired a corner rather out of the village in the direction of the road to Luccombe,<sup>1095</sup> Bon Church<sup>1096</sup> & Ventnor,<sup>1097</sup> we meet stage coaches & jaunting cars going to these places, but never any bustle or dust. a shower often overtakes us, & then bright sunshine dries us ere we can take cold. What a healthy climate this is, never chilly yet never warm, myrtles grow to an astonishing height, fusias are very plentiful, often reaching the top of the thatch, so gaily ornamenting the cottage gardens, I am quite sure I have seen some here ten feet high! I have so wished for Kate to feast

her eyes! in this very luxuriant soil if the inhabitants only had a pastor like Oberlin<sup>1098</sup> how abundant might be their harvest, & we should not have to pay such an unreasonable price for gooseberries &c, as we do, also for shrimps lobsters & crabs, but the shell fish is remarkably fine, & our house keeper M<sup>rs</sup> Reid<sup>1099</sup> dresses crabs most temptingly. the country people bring us fresh Eggs, chickens, fresh culled vegetables &c every day, so tho we pay dear for these (luxuries to us from Russia) we have the most wholesome nourishment for our money. We get excellent milk, set it for cream for coffee, yet it is rich enough not to appear like skim milk & is our common beverage for dinner. Then, our pretty cottage faces the sea & has quite an air of seclusion from its garden enclosure & hawthorn hedge, yet it is only a step from the kitchen paling to Higgs the baker. or from Merwoods our grocers. One half of Madeira cottage when we came to it was occupied by a family consisting of parents & three youths, but they kept themselves to their own apartments, & vacated them yesterday without our having exchanged any civilities. in an hours time they were taken by a young couple, who brought an only little daughter with their servant maid,<sup>1100</sup> we had a continuance of rainy weather so that the juvenile members amused themselves within, or they had surely introduced themselves & brought us all together in the pretty flower garden which encloses our cottage in its front towards the sea. the Philipp's & ourselves had become quite social, after my boys advances by inviting little Anna Maria to play with them in our parlor, she walked with us to meet Debo, when we were led to expect her one afternoon. we had to walk back instead of returning in the travelling carriage, for Sister & Mary did not arrive till the next day (And now I ought to have changed my date for they had<sup>1101</sup> here more than a week when dear Debo came,<sup>1102</sup> I take up my journal when I have a leisure hour & thus it is irregular) How the boys had longed for their loved Sisters coming! but she had been to Bath<sup>1103</sup> with her husband to visit some of his best friends & then to refresh herself in her own sweet home after that long journey, but at last we had her to ourselves! she came laden with good things for the boys who had only wanted herself - a beautiful bow & arrows from Seymour to Willie as a birth day gift, a block drawing book with paint box purposely for sketching out of doors for Jemie & a loaf cake for both, besides many nice relishes for our

cottage table. among other things the rennet in wine<sup>1104</sup> I had written for was not forgotten, & we have had sweet curd every afternoon, milk is so excellent in this fine farming district. Now little Anna Maria could spare me from the circle in playing “pretty fair maid”<sup>1105</sup> & dance up to the boys sister when they played on the green, while we parents sat to see the innocent frolics of our children at the evening hour under the verandah, but one day about a week after Debo’s arrival there might have been a sad termination to their sports but for the providential escape which God in his mercy ordered, for “without His knowledge not even a sparrow falleth to the ground,”<sup>1106</sup> & I love to trace His care of us even in small matters. Some of our St Petersburg acquaintances having come to Shanklin for health, have attached their party to ours, right glad to find us here, that never to be forgotten afternoon, Mrs Morgan & her little Fanny<sup>1107</sup> came by invitation to pass at our cottage. I took the mama one of my favorite strolls, while Debo kindly acceded to the wish of the boys & two little girls to go with them to a beautiful large green field, where they carried her camp stool & Crochet work that she might sit & watch them shoot at a mark with Willie’s new bow & arrow. As Mrs M & I returned after our delightful walk; we saw Debo & little Anna Maria coming up the slope towards the village, we halted to meet them & soon I became alarmed by their grave expression, they both burst into tears as I addressed them, & Oh how shocked I was that Debo had been hit by the arrow so close to her eye I shuddered to perceive how narrow the escape from putting the eye out! little Anna Maria kept weeping & saying “I did not mean to hurt Mrs Haden, indeed I did not but I could not manage the strong bow” But when we all assembled at tea, the eye having been bathed in tepid water & a small plaister covered the wound, dear Debo had recovered her composure & comforted the affectionate child, all had brought home appetites to enjoy the sweet curd, raspberries, brown or white bread & butter, after which the two boys & two little girls danced on the green till their bed time. Mrs Morgans maid<sup>1108</sup> took Miss Fanny to the hotel, James & Willie bade us good night & then Mrs M regaled Debo with St Petersburg anecdotes, describing Mrs Bairds<sup>1109</sup> fancy ball & all such things which had engaged lovers of such false pleasures the past winter. What a contrast has that city presented this summer to the frivolities of the long winter, it has been desolated by the

cholera, as many as could, fled to other towns but the pestilence has pursued them to all the towns on the frontiers of Russia, my dear husband never clouds his reports<sup>1110</sup> of his own health & of the preservation of that of our faithful domestics with these fearful details, but M<sup>ES</sup> Morgans reads to me hers, I am afraid to say how many hundred funerals a day M<sup>F</sup> M<sup>1111</sup> records, as an illustration of the depressing effects of the pestilence which has caused every Russian to mourn the loss of some relative, the shops of the Gostinandvor were so deserted as to be closed, & M<sup>F</sup> M writes scarcely an Ishvostic could be obtained to drive about the city, which generally is so thronged at every corner with these drivers of droshkey in summer & sledge in winter, but all the peasantry fled from their occupations in the city, in number it is calculated one hundred & forty thousand! most of whom perished from hunger & thirst on their journey, for the people in the country shut up their wells from the superstitious belief that the water would be poisoned, & tho so hospitably inclined as to share their brown bread & salt or milk with every one who demands it, they barred their cabin doors & steeled their hearts against those who came from the infected city. Since then we have heard of the cholera diminishing in St Petersburg but raging in the interior, in Moscow it has been far worse than it was last winter, *it began there!* We have felt interested in meeting several families here whom we did not visit in St P. Willie had heard Russ spoken in the village of Shanklin by some few individuals, with surprise, I advised him to chime in, it would be like music to the ears of strangers in a foreign land, so he charmed a nurse of the child of a Baroness<sup>1112</sup> one day, who entreated him to become a visiter at their cottage & be a play fellow with the little girl, he occasionally went, the nurse who had picked up a little English, would get Willie to read tracts to her, & explain the good stories in Russ to the little girl who knows only her native tongue. Willie was surprised & pleased to see the bible in the nursery there.

August 1<sup>ST</sup> Tuesday. At the two extreme points of the little village of Shanklin are the places of worship a very small church where the Arch Deacon<sup>1113</sup> who has lived half a century at the Parsonage, preaches once on the Lords day, alternately morning & afternoon here, the other half he has service at another village, for he keeps no Curate, and thus a small dissenting Chapel<sup>1114</sup> has been built at the entrance of Shanklin, which

of course is crowded when the church is closed, & always so well attended that a subscription is being raised for enlarging it, a very zealous & eloquent young minister comes from Brading to preach once on the sabbath, & the other part of the day one of the deacons reads & prays with the people. I went to the Sunday school last sunday<sup>1115</sup> afternoon with M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips, we were sorry we had not taken Willie & Anna Maria who wished to accompany us – for M<sup>r</sup> Smith<sup>1116</sup> the minister addressed the children in a deeply impressive & interesting manner. he preached in the evening Willie went with me, there was not a vacant seat in the Chapel, he preaches without notes from the bible open in his hand, which he seems to know by heart, & prays from the abundance of the heart. The name of dissenter is merged in that of christian, when I meet with such an one as M<sup>r</sup> Smith, my mite shall be given, not to the new chapel projected, but for the purchase of a few books for their sunday school, such as “The Week”<sup>1117</sup> suitable to this community, and under Gods blessings my selection of a few volumes, may be the foundation of a library for the Sunday school which the poor children seem to need to encourage them & to make them delight in their study. I have gone several times to “The Parsonage” to see the myrtles<sup>1118</sup> which the guide books points out to the notice of the tourist as the finest in the Island, the Arch Deacon is evidently gratified to exhibit them to visiters, he came out himself to give us their history, they cover completely the south side of the parsonage, openings are cut thro them for the windows, & they are cropped annually to prevent their getting above the thatch, he put aside the branches to shew us the thickness of the trunk, he told us they must be at least a century old, that he had lived at the parsonage fifty years & they had always been as now during that time. What will the Lord say to this steward, that no trees of righteousness have sprung up,<sup>1119</sup> no young plants now nurtured, no sunday school connected with this branch of His church! the parsonage seems to be all its occupant has really to boast of, it is a charming place, not only myrtles, but fusias rhododendrums, lauristinas are of an extraordinary size & beauty there, and as a proof of the mildness of this climate, this shrubbery which flourishes only in the southern states of my native land, is never covered here. The old house keeper<sup>1120</sup> dressed in mourning & fat as the Arch deacon himself came out to take up the tale when the church dignitary

retired, commended the wisdom of her master in giving their home such an air of seclusion by the planting of a hedge of trees between it & the village, especially now since Shanklin has become such a place of resort to sea bathers. We had in truth been induced to search for the parsonage by the guide book. I fear, not *many weary & heavy laden souls*<sup>1121</sup> find it a place of refreshment!

Wednesday [August] 2<sup>nd</sup>! Yesterday the weather was so invitingly fine, the Phillips & ourselves went to Bonchurch it was a pedestrian excursion, but we took two donkeys (slinging a prog basket on one) Mrs P & her little girl rode theirs by turns, Debo & Jemie the other, for the distance there & back was fully five mile, up hill all the road thither, I did not feel that I had blistered my feet till our return, for I was too much engrossed in admiration of the beautiful scenery, the pretty village of Bonchurch, has a finer church<sup>1122</sup> than Shanklin, it probably gave name to it, & may be the corner stone to it, for the elegant cottages all look new, these two places ought not to be compared, Shanklin is so green, such rural scenery, with its rich pasturage, corn fields & fine trees & hedges, the village built on the sloping sides of the green hills which enclose it, “country down to the sea beach”<sup>1123</sup> Bonchurch<sup>1124</sup> has an equal air of quiet, but its position is bolder, the cottages are all facing the sea, but for bathers it must be fatiguing to climb the steep cliffs almost perpendicular, to their cottages which are on terraces of the cliffs, high flights of steeps are cut, we had wound our way by the coach road to the base of the cliff where there is a beautiful pond encircled by pretty walks & shaded by trees, with swans swimming about it, & pleasure boats on its sides as tho they at times were in requisition, the shops are opposite, few in number, but much more stylish than those of Shanklin. I stepped into a labourers cottage where I saw milk was sold, to buy some to moisten our bun & to beg the loan of a few chairs, that we might rest by the pretty little lake. the children would fain have shared their cake with the graceful swans, but their long walk had made them so hungry! the milk was like cream & the girls who brought & took away the chairs when at last we set out upon our return, were so pretty & so respectful! Debo went under the protection of the Donkey girl the same road we had entered the village, we mounted the flight of steps (I wish I had counted them it was such a height) thus we had a close inspection of the

different style in the cottages & their flower gardens, making such a beautiful contrast to the perpendicular cliffs which towered above them all, yielding us a fine view of the sea which we could not see when we were by the side of the lake. Our road home being down hill most of the way, we easily reached it, to our three o'clock dinner. I was rejoiced at the proof both Debo & Jemie gave of not being fatigued, by their sallying forth before tea for a stroll, Willie is never tired except when confined to his lessons two hours in the morning when he sighs for freedom to range at pleasure. so they all went, & I followed my inclination in writing dear father of their health & happiness.<sup>1125</sup>

Saturday. [August] 6<sup>th</sup> <sup>1126</sup> This morning bright sunshine enlivened us after the nights rain & wind which had battered against our casements facing the sea M<sup>r</sup> P invited Jemie to walk with him along the shore to Ventnor to search for fossils, the promise I made Willie to bathe with him reconciled him to staying behind. I will not enter into details of Mrs P-s alarm in her bath with little Anna Maria. the current was strong & she a timid bather, but I regretted she had trusted to my skill instead of that of the guide who generally assists her, I have spent the whole morning in calming her, the dreadful thought that she might have drowned her child has made her so nervous she has wept, tho the little girl soon forgot her terror in the water, in playing with Willie & looks rosy & bright as ever. Our pedestrians got back at four o'clock, just<sup>1127</sup> I had told Mary *we* should wait no longer for dinner, they had had a mule chaise part of the way returning so Jemie was not tired.

Monday [August] 8<sup>th</sup> <sup>1128</sup> The day being unusually fine M<sup>r</sup>. Phillips took the boys on a pedestrian excursions along the shore to Culver Cliffs,<sup>1129</sup> they left soon after breakfast, carrying a hammer for they were to search for fossils & they took a prog basket, we agreeing to take a carriage after our early dinner to meet them at Brading as we all desired to see the grave of "little Jane the Cottager. Our drive lay along the sea side, we admired this prettiest aspect of Sandsdown; A new, gothic, chapel<sup>1130</sup> attracted us at the entrance of Brading overling a beautiful bay of the same name, & having taken M<sup>r</sup> P & our boys into our carriage (for they were waiting for us at <sup>1131</sup> Jemie having toiled up the hill from the shore with what he supposed was a fossil tortoise) we determined to alight & have a closer examination of the prettiest chapel we had seen in



the Isle of Wight, it being enclosed by a flower garden, which as we entered proved to be a burial ground, flourishing plants too there were in all basement windows. we supposing they might be in school or lecture rooms peeped in, and were recognised by the young pastor – no other than the eloquent preacher M<sup>r</sup> Smith to whom we were in the habit of listening the half of every Lords day at the Shanklin chapel, he came out to the garden, urging us to enter his dwelling, for the basement proved to be the home of his nice young wife & two fine healthy children.<sup>1132</sup> the entrance to it was thro the chapel down a carpetted stair case, it seemed to be divided into four rooms, one a library: all looked like the abode of contentment & piety, cheerfulness beaming in the face of the young pastor as he fondled his little girl. then he took us up stairs to admire the neatly finished church & I thought how gladly I could worship there. Brading is prettily situated but more of a village than Shanklin, and lacking its shade & verdure. We gained admittance into the church where that servant of the Lord – L Richmond – had so faithfully performed the duties of Pastor – for the *old* sexton<sup>1133</sup> lingered there after vespers – & as he shewed us the church talked of the past, but spoke also in the praise of the present rector,<sup>1134</sup> whose clerical robes made us suspect he must be a Pusyite,<sup>1135</sup> for the gown without a collar & his cap made him look like a Romish priest. Some children hovering around the door offered to shew us the grave of “little Jane” which is marked by a neat stone.<sup>1136</sup> we drove up to the cottage where this lamb of the fold of Richmond had often drawn his steps<sup>1137</sup> & found it roofless tho the lower story was occupied by a poor family. We reached Shanklin in time for early tea.

Tuesday [August] 9<sup>th</sup> <sup>1138</sup> Received & answered my dear husbands letter in which he reported his having been ill<sup>1139</sup> & how desolate would have been our deserted home but for the kindness of our friends. M<sup>rs</sup> E left her infant<sup>1140</sup> for a day to sit by his bed side & M<sup>r</sup> E passed several nights in watching him.<sup>1141</sup> May God who thus provides for his comfort, reward his comforters! my dear Whistler had yeilded to the wish of M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> G<sup>1142</sup> and had gone to their datcha as soon as able to leave his bed, M<sup>r</sup> Ropes family<sup>1143</sup> always spend the summer under this Sisters hospitable roof – And M<sup>r</sup> Woods family i e governess & 7 nice children<sup>1144</sup> have gone to a cottage on the same estate, so my dear

husband is surrounded by those who will interest him. Ah if wishes would bring him to Shanklin he'd soon be among us! let me not repine that I am detained from my post. Debo & Jemie are both benefitting by my stay here, in the evenings we occupy ourselves by reading aloud in turn with working, Jemie with his sketch book & Willie trying to imitate the beautiful flowers we gather in our daily rambles – in wax work, he has taken a fancy to young M<sup>rs</sup> Charles Haden<sup>1145</sup> & purposes forming a bouquet in wax to present her on her birth day, as Sister is making a set of doileys in Crochet for the same occasion, showery weather gives us time for in door occupations. And we run for the pitchers to supply our rooms with soft water!

Wednesday [August] 10<sup>th</sup> <sup>1146</sup> In the hope that Jemie might have a chance to finish his sketch of Cooks Castle,<sup>1147</sup> where we had first gone with M<sup>r</sup>. & M<sup>rs</sup> Phillips & found the walk so enchanting we set out after an early dinner & were joined by our next door lodgers the Parlans,<sup>1148</sup> a donkey of course in attendance to prevent fatigue to Debo or Jemie. how charming again we found the varied scenery, leaving pretty Shanklin by shady lanes, crossing extensive fields of waving grain, & entering the plantations of Yarborough.<sup>1149</sup>

St Petersburg. 1848. September.

It was impossible to keep up my journal in England, but now I may from memory take a few notes. What a proof of attachment in M<sup>r</sup> Winstanley<sup>1150</sup> who tho so much more feeble in health this year proposed that he & my Sister Eliza should join us at Shanklin, as we could not visit the old home in Preston. They arrived one rainy afternoon – but there were few days without rain this summer – and I find it has been cold here as it was in England – a bright fire in the cottage parlor grate increased the warmth of our welcome, for M<sup>r</sup> Winstanley had been standing in the rain while crossing the ferry at Ryde. our simple country fare exactly suited him, the excellent milk at dinner he partook of, as wine he had long abstained from, Seymour had sent us some, with silver for the use of our guests. but my sister enjoys most the variety one meets in different situations of life & she would have been amused at our one silver fork & few spoons & would have been the merriest at expedients to help off our rural board. At our family devotions my brother Winnie always was close to me that he might hear & derive benefit & comfort.

his deafness having increased with his other bodily weaknesses. We would walk out between the showers. the beach being his favorite promenade – While shetering ourselves one day at the curiosity shop under the cliff, a most lovely looking & young lady came in with her golden haired little boy - about three years of age, to purchase some toy for him. We could not resist asking the woman of the shop who they were when they went to Lady Napiers cottage<sup>1151</sup> close by - and this proved to be the lady of the brother to the gallant – Admiral Napier who had been lost so lately at sea<sup>1152</sup> & it was he who had built the beautiful cottage facing the sea for his devotedly fond mother, whose wish was to reside as near the element connected with his profession as possible – My sister Eliza has discovered – since she left Shanklin – thro her correspondent Miss MacLean<sup>1153</sup> now residing at Bath but formerly of Scotland – that Lady N was an intimate friend of theirs at Berwick<sup>1154</sup> – had she known this we might have seen the inside of the Cottage. We availed of the first bright morning for a drive (which is said to be the most charming in England – along the south coast of the Isle as far as Black Gang Chine<sup>1155</sup> we went, passing thro the most picturesque scenery, the contrast indeed made this wild sea scene look desolate, travellers have not left it for my feeble pen to describe, the cliffs were too high & perpendicular for either my Sister & brother Winstanley to attempt descending – Jemie had flown like a sea fowl as soon as we alighted at the Inn where the horses must feed & rest. his sketch book was the clue to my finding him – seated on the red sandy beach I could just discern him & it was with difficulty I followed Willie down - down - down until within speaking distance of my young artist I saw him attempting the sketch of the water fall & cavern up the side of the precipice – Warning Jemie how brief our stay must be, Willie & I wended our way slowly up again to join Uncle & Aunt W at the curiosity shop at the top of the Ciff.<sup>1156</sup>

A lady - whom myself & boys had observed in our walks around Shanklin being a most remarkable person - dressed in mourning, beautiful tho lame of such dignified yet gentle bearing - entered the shop followed by the two footmen in black livery who always are seen drawing her chair on wheels when within walking distance of her retreat – M<sup>r</sup>. W whispered me “that is one of our nobility I’m sure.” And we afterwards

ascertained, she is the lady D<sup>1157</sup> – but she did not rivet our gaze, more than her own was fascinated by Jemies suddenly coming in, glowing with the exercise of mounting from the beach with his sketch book in hand & laughing at Aunt Elizas fears that “Jack last”<sup>1158</sup> would have been left behind - the lady gracefully accosted my boy saying “I have seen you before - last year - were you not at Cheltenham?”<sup>1159</sup> “No ma’am” said Jemie returning her smiling courtesies - then at Scarboro!<sup>1160</sup> surely it was there? Yes ma’am we were there in June last, for a week - I answered, upon which the lady expressed the hope we should meet again - but we did not remain at Madeira Cottage many days after, or she might have condescended to call & rest, to gratify the curiosity Jemie seemed to have excited – as she said at parting his was a countenance never to be forgotten – he probably reminded her of some dear lost one – and I am sure her sweet expression even en passant made my boys lift their hats the first time we met her being wheeled along the road as we took our afternoons stroll the first week we were on the Island. Our circuit enabled us to visit (the smallest church in England)<sup>1161</sup>

## NOTES

1. This entry is confusing. It probably should read: 12 March 1845 Ash Wednesday - Old Style February 28. See entry of Tuesday, March 25 (NS) in which Anna Whistler says that the next day it will be a fortnight since she took up her journal again, i.e., on 12 March. Thus “12 March 1845 Ash Wednesday” is New Style; the Old Style equivalent of March 12 would be February 28. The fact that Anna Whistler sometimes gave both Old and New Style dates for the same day suggests that she meant to put the date of 28 February after the words “Old Style,” but did not know what it was. Typically she did not go back to fill in a blank space.

It is of importance that Anna Whistler creates further confusion by identifying this entry as Ash Wednesday, and it would seem that Rev. Dr. Law (see Image 253) is also responsible for her misconception in his choice of readings for the service on 28 February / 12 March. The Orthodox Church does not have such a day as Ash Wednesday; Lent starts on a Monday. Lent in 1845 had just begun for the Orthodox Church on Monday 26 February / 10 March, and Anna Whistler makes clear in the next several entries that it is the Easter season of the Orthodox Church that she is referring to. However, there are also entries in which she is referring to Easter celebrations in both faiths. Ash Wednesday, the start of Lent for the English Church, had taken place on 24 January / 5 February, before she resumed her journal, and Western Easter Sunday was going to take place shortly on 11/23 March. I wish to thank Richard Davies of the Leeds Russian Archive for discussing with me the Orthodox and non-Orthodox (specifically Anglican) Easter season of 1845, and the subsequent Easters of 1846, 1847, and 1848 that the Whistlers were in St. Petersburg.

Persons mentioned in this entry who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s mother (Mother); John Winstanley, solicitor and husband of Anna Whistler’s half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (Mr. Winstanley); Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s sister-in-law (Maria); Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler’s sister (Kate); Charles Donald Whistler, the child who died in 1843 en route from England to St. Petersburg (baby Charlie); and Kirk Boott Whistler, who died while Major Whistler was on his way to St. Petersburg in 1842 (Kirkie).

2. The Russian word for “samovar” is spelled “samovar,” and pronounced “suhmahvar” (see Image 359).

3. This is Reverend John Cutler Nichols (17 November 1801 – 8 January 1868), minister of the First Congregational Church of Lebanon, Connecticut, from 1840 to 1854. His wife at this time was Lucy Williston Ann (Grosvenor) Nichols (29 January 1809 – 26 June 1845) (*Cemetery Inscription Book for the Lebanon Center Cemetery*, p. 58; Rev. George McLean Milne, Hebron, CT, to E. Harden, 31 March 1988).
4. Anna Whistler meant minus 22°R, the equivalent of -17.5° Fahrenheit and -27.5° Celsius.
5. Duffle (or duffel) is a “coarse woollen cloth having a thick nap or frieze,” originally made in Flanders (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “duffel”).
6. Anna Whistler is referring to Orthodox Maslenitsa, or Shrovetide, called “Butter Week” by foreigners.
7. Matthew 6:18: “That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and that thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.”
8. Anna Whistler left a blank space instead of giving the chapter number (58) from the Book of Isaiah.
9. “The book of Acts continues the narrative of Luke’s Gospel by tracing the story of the Christian movement from the resurrection of Jesus to the time when the Apostle Paul was in Rome preaching the gospel unhindered. Most of the first half of Acts is occupied with the Jerusalem Church and its relationships, while the latter half is dominated by Paul. The progress of the book is mainly geographical; from Jerusalem the word spreads to Samaria ..., the seacoast ..., Damascus ..., Antioch and Cyprus ..., Asia Minor ..., Europe ..., and finally Rome itself” (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 1319).
10. The Gospel appointed for Ash Wednesday was Matthew 6:16 (*Oxford Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 87–88). Anna Whistler states in this entry for 28 February / 12 March that Rev. Dr. Law chose to read that morning the Gospel appointed for Ash Wednesday in the Episcopalian faith. The subsequent services in the English Church suggest that he tried to choose readings from the Episcopalian Easter service appropriate as well to the Orthodox Easter season.

The chapter of Isaiah that Anna Whistler could not recall here was Chapter 58, which concerns the wrong and the right observance of fasting. Verse 6 specifically states of the right

observance: “Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry ...?” The “gospel appointed for Ash Wednesday” was Matthew 6, where right observance of fasting is also discussed. Verses 18-19 are specifically alluded to by Anna Whistler: “<sup>18</sup>: That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly; <sup>19</sup>: Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through, and steal.”

11. This is Louisa McNeill (1832 – 12 March 1840), daughter of William Gibbs and Maria (Cammann) McNeill. See Whistler...Fairfax in Appendix E and Image 31.
12. This is George Edwin Palmer, Jr. (8 May 1843 – 24 March 1909), son of Dr. George Edwin Palmer Sr. (see Image 36) and his second wife, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer. See Whistler...Fairfax in Appendix E.
13. It has not been possible to ascertain the name of Mademoiselle, their governess. She later became governess to William Henry Harrison (called Henry) (Joseph H. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, St. Petersburg, February 13th, 1848 Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*).
14. In the entry for 25 March 1845, written the day after Easter Monday in her church, Anna Whistler makes no mention of their Easter. Instead, she focuses on events taking place during Orthodox Lent. For icons of the Russian Easter feast days, see Images 378–379.

Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday March 25<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s mother (my own gentle Mother); Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler’s sister (her dear mothers, Kate); William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (Mr. Ropes, good little husband); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, wife of William Hooper Ropes (Mrs. Ropes); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Aunt Alicia); Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, American envoy to Russia (Col Todd, our Ambassador, the Col, the col); Rev. Dr. Edward Law, chaplain of the English Church and now Doctor of Divinity (Dr. Law); Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law, his wife (Mrs. Law); Lydia (Procter) Wood, wife of Charles Wood, cotton-spinning mill merchant (to Mrs. Woods).

15. This is Lydia Mason (Morton) Lee (29 June 1812 – 31 January 1903; see Image 45), wife of Rev. Henry Washington Lee (29 July

- 1815 – 26 September 1874; see Image 44), the Whistlers' pastor in Springfield, Massachusetts (memorial gravestone, Oakdale Memorial Gardens, Davenport, IA).
16. Major Whistler and William Hooper Ropes dined with Captain Kruger on Wednesday, 19 March 1845. He is Captain John Frederick Kruger (6 December 1810 – 10 June 1888), Merchant Navy, of Hull, Yorkshire. He was the son of John Frederick Kruger (b. 1772) and Elizabeth Raines (1787–1849). His parents married in Hull in 1810. His siblings were Henry Raines Kruger (1813–1874) and Mary Ann Kruger (1815–1832). Elizabeth (Raines) Kruger had a sister named Sarah Raines (1789–1861), who did not marry. John Frederick Kruger married Emily Atkinson on 29 March 1854 in Hull. Their children were Henry Raines Kruger (1857–1929), who became a vicar; John Frederick Kruger (1858–1932), who became a fruit broker's clerk; and Sarah Raines Kruger (1859–1943), who did not marry (IGI). Captain Kruger was in Russia at this time of year because his ship, *Royal William*, had been iced in at Cronstadt, obliging him to spend the winter of 1844–45 there. The muster rolls indicate that he left Hull on 24 October 1844 and returned there on 23 June 1845 (Muster Rolls 1835–51, vol. 43, no. 4, Hull Trinity House, Hull, Yorkshire). The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* announced that the opening of navigation in 1845 occurred on 25 April / 7 May (no. 90, Wednesday, April 25 [May 7 NS], 1845, p. 404).
  17. The misses Wilks were the daughters of Grafton (bap. Leeds, Yorkshire 17 December 1779 – St. Petersburg 24 May / 5 June 1830) and Elizabeth (von Kettler) Wilks (bap. St. Petersburg 30 August [OS] 1791 – St. Petersburg 28 September / 10 October 1864), who were married in St. Petersburg on 28 June / 10 July 1813. Their daughters were Cornelia (bap. 20 January 1815), Mary Ann (3/10 October 1819 – 30 October 1895), and Elizabeth (b.24 April / 6 May 1824). Of the three, Cornelia was born in Leeds, Yorkshire. Mary Ann Wilks married Henry Richard Cattley (27 October 1818 – 13 December 1898) on 17/29 May 1846; Cornelia Wilks married Charles Moberly, widower, Russia Company agent in St. Petersburg, on 25 September / 7 October 1846 (PREC STP, nos. 2525, 5609, and 5644).
  18. Richard Risley Carlisle (1814 – 25 May 1874), generally known as Professor Risley, was an acrobat who performed aerial ballets with his two sons (see Image 202) (Obituary, *New York Times*, May 27, 1874). The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* of 1845 carried announcements of the Risleys' performances, starting with the



seventh: seventh performance on March 8/20 (no. 53, Thursday, March 8, 1845: p. 236), eighth performance on March 11/23, (no. 56, Sunday, March 11, 1845: p. 252), ninth performance on March 15/27 (no. 59, Thursday, March 15, 1845: p. 266), tenth performance on March 18/30 (no. 62, Sunday, March 18, 1845: p. 280), eleventh performance on March 25/April 6 (no. 68, Sunday, March 25, 1845: p. 308), and the final performance on April 1/13 (no. 74, Sunday, April 1, 1845: p. 336). The performances of 8, 11, 15, and 18 March were held at the Aleksandrinskii Theater (located on Alexandra Square, between the Public Library and the garden of His Imperial Majesty's Own Palace, and facing the Nevskii Prospekt), while those of 25 March and 1 April were held at the Mikhailovskii Theater (located on the square of the Mikhailovskii Palace, on the corner of Inzhenernaia Street) (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 9–10, 365–367). The Risleys were billed as Mr. Richard Rizley and his two sons, John and Henry. At all performances mentioned above they presented *The Enchantress' Dream* (*Son volshebnitsy*), a scene in two parts. See Marian Hannah Winter, *The Theatre of Marvels* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1962), pp. 18, 169, 170, 198. Mr. Rizzley is also called M. R in this entry. Major Whistler told Edward Maynard (1813–1891; see Image 329), dentist and arms inventor, who came to St. Petersburg in September 1845, that Risley had only been able to get one engagement a week and that he was “an exceedingly vulgar, illiterate fellow” (Edward Maynard to Mrs. Ellen Maynard, letter no. 3, p. 5, Thursday night, October 23, 1845, St. Petersburg, in Rodney S. Hatch III, *Dr. Edward Maynard “Letters from the Land of the Tsar 1845–1846”: America’s Pioneering Dental Surgeon Turned Civil War Gun Inventor* [North Salem, NY: Iron Horse, 2010], p. 57). See the biography of Edward Maynard in Appendix E (hereafter, Maynard).

19. On Thursday, 20 March 1845, Debo was to have gone to the German Singing Society. The German Singing Society is probably the “Singakademie,” considered the pearl of St. Petersburg amateur mixed choral societies. It was under the patronage of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (see Image 440) (F. Meyer von Waldeck, “Geistiges Leben der Sanct-Petersburger Deutschen” [“The Spiritual Life of St. Petersburg’s Germans”], tran. Edgar Harden, in *Unsere Zeit: Deutsche Revue der Gegenwart* [*Our Time: German Review of the Present Time*] 2 (1881): pp. 242, 243. Its founder and director for many years was A.A. Beling (1793–1854). The chorus performed religious music of western composers. It consisted of one hundred male and female performers, and new

- members were accepted only at the recommendation of present members. They had weekly practice on Thursdays at 8 p.m. and public concerts two or three times a year. Tickets were distributed by the choral members (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, pp. 37–38, 102).
20. “Loulou” is Louisa Harriet Ropes (18 November 1843 – 1 June 1903). See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
  21. The Wood family lived on Sergievskaiia Street in the house of Chevakinskii, which was located in the Fifth Ward of the Liteinaia District (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 121). See Wood in Appendix E and Images 271–272.
  22. On Sunday, 23 March 1845, Rev. Dr. Law (see Image 253) preached a charity sermon for the poor funds of the British Factory. The British Factory in St. Petersburg, so-called from the word “‘factors’ or trading agents,” “protect[ed] local English merchant interests (sometimes against the interests of the parent ‘body’, the Russia Company in London, and British Foreign Office directives), also performing a regulatory function in the community: adjudicating business and social disputes, running the ‘English Church’ and its subsidiary institutions, managing and dispensing the Poor’s Fund, and setting charges on British ships, good and trade-related services” (Marie-Louise Karttunen, *Making a Communal World: English Merchants in Imperial St. Petersburg* [PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2004], p. 2). “Factorians were obliged to contribute to the support of the British destitute [through] the Poor’s Fund (and occasionally a percentage of their profits when extraordinary sums were required) ... These sums were based on a percentage of the duties on imports and exports each house paid the College of Commerce ..., but most of the money was actually stored in investments which could be called upon for almost any ‘unanimously agreed’ project. The sum amassed was considerable” (Karttunen, *Making a Communal World*, pp. 234–235). Having been given previous notice, the entire congregation of the English Church was called upon to contribute to the Poor’s Fund on Sunday, 23 March 1845.
  23. Persons recorded as living at the Laws’ Asylum (or Refuge) in 1845 were Mrs. Bradford, widow, with one daughter; Mrs. Gillon, widow, poor, aged, and infirm, with one son and two daughters; Grimshaw, labourer, infirm; Francis Smith, married, former gasfitter, infirm; and Mrs. Lazenby, widow, infirm (added later: d. June 1848) (*BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 6, 21, 22, 35, 52). Mrs. Gillon’s address is given as “Forstatsky (Ivanova) Dr. Law’s Refuge.”

Furshtatskaia Street is the address of the asylum. In Mr. Smith's case, "Dr. Law's Asylum" is crossed out and replaced by "V.O.," for "Vasilevskii Ostrov." This is puzzling, as Mr. Smith seems to have still been at the asylum.

24. The "incumbent ... was not to forget to whom he owed his living." "According to protocol, communications between community members ... and the Company passed through the salaried ... Company Agent in St. Petersburg [...] who at this point was Charles Moberly." Law bypassed Moberly and wrote "directly to the Company in London." He "wrote that he proposed to establish an Asylum for the British poor (a workhouse, no less) in St. Petersburg and had agreed to the purchase of suitable premises in the neighbourhood of the church for 60,000 Rs, 7,000 of which had been raised by a recent Church Bazaar (selling articles made by the women of the community), with further liberal donations and subscriptions anticipated." "Moberly apparently received an unofficial reply ... from the Secretary of the Russia Company vetoing Law's proposition," which he showed to Law. As a result, "the Dr. [gave] up his ... intention, but ... [was] still endeavouring to establish something of the same kind, upon a much smaller scale – entirely of a private character." (All quotations are from Karttunen, *Making a Communal World*, pp. 244, 245.)
25. The English Church in Cronstadt (see Image 85) was built in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In late Classical style, it was described in 1983 as having been preserved to the present day without any particular changes to its façade (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury priгородov Leningrada*, p. 570, and p. 571, plate 1).
26. Rev. George Williams replaced Rev. Richard White Blackmore (Silton, Dorset August 1791 – 28 June 1881) at Cronstadt from September 1844 to June 1845 (entry for Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I).
27. Countess Sofia Vladimirovna Stroganovna (born Princess Golitsyna 11/23 November 1775), maternal grandmother of the Whistlers' acquaintance, young Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov, died on 5/17 March 1845. Colonel Todd (see Image 278) had attended her funeral on 10/22 March. See Stroganov, Vasil'chikov, Kushelev in Appendix E and Images 299–300.
28. The English Assembly (Angliiskoe sobranie), usually called the English Club (Angliiskii klub), is located on the Moika Embankment, between Red and Blue bridges, on the corner of

Demidov Lane, in the building belonging to Demidov. It has been housed here since 1830. It is the oldest institution of its type in St. Petersburg, founded on 1 March 1770 (OS) by the English merchant Francis Gardner, for the purpose of providing the educated class of the capital with a pleasant way of passing time socially. Its members number 350 and are selected by strict ballot. They are permitted to use the rooms of the Club from ten in the morning until one in the morning and spend their time in conversing, reading all the newspapers and magazines published or received in Russia, and playing cards (commercial), chess, billiards, or bowls. The bowling pavilion, set up in the garden, is of course the most elegant and agreeable of all its kind. Commons is held on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Saturday is primarily club day, when the largest number of members and their invited guests gather. On the remaining days, dinners are served, and suppers are served daily to order. Among the members are top state civil servants, both military and civilian, persons in the diplomatic corps, nobles, and merchants. The number of Englishmen, who in the beginning comprised the majority of its members, is at present very much diminished. The club's accommodations are spacious and magnificent, the furnishings elegant, the staff excellent. Conduct in the English Club is relaxed, but respectful. Equality, coupled with respect for rank and for the dignity of a person, as well as superior and amiable conversation are the distinguishing features of this gathering. The Russian fabulist I.A. Krylov (d. November 1844; see Image 186) spent almost every evening in the Club. His bust has been placed above the spot where he usually sat. In the dining room hangs a portrait of the Club's founder (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 18–19; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 655–657; *Stoletie S. Peterburgskogo Angliiskogo sobraniia 1770–1870* [One Hundred Years of the St. Petersburg English Club 1770–1870] [St. Petersburg: V.I. Golovin, 1870].

29. In his speech at the English Club, in 1845, probably in March, Colonel Todd (see Image 278) alluded to the visit of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) to Queen Victoria (see Image 287) in the summer of 1844. See the entry for Sat [May] 31<sup>st</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWP, Part I, and accompanying Note 437.

For an explanation of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (1 Kings 10:1–13), see Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, p. 287. The young Queen Victoria (christened Alexandrina Victoria) (1819–1901) had been Queen of Great Britain and Ireland since 1837. She married Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emmanuel,

Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (Schloss Rosenau, near Coburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha 26 August 1819 – Windsor, England 14 December 1861) on 10 February 1840.

30. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday, April 1<sup>st</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (Mother); Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler's sister-in-law (Maria, Marias letter); Lydia Mason (Morton) Lee, wife of Anna Whistler's Springfield pastor (Mrs. Lee); George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes (George Prince); the Whistlers' outdoor–indoor man (Dvanic); Colonel Charles Todd, American envoy to Russia (to Col Todds); George William Whistler, Anna Whistler's step-son (George, brother George); and the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (Alexandrine).
31. It has not been possible to locate any of the letters mentioned in this entry.
32. Colonel Todd (see Image 278) was either now living in St. Petersburg again or had accommodations there that he used when he was not in Tsarskoe Selo.
33. George (see Images 12–13) had been traveling for his health's sake since late November 1844. He was now back in the United States, in Brooklyn, and planning to visit the Whistlers in Russia. The context of this letter to his father may be found in his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
34. Charlotte Canda (3 February 1828 – 3 February 1845) was the daughter of Charles (1792 – New York 27 September 1866) and Adele (d. Boulogne-sur-Mer, France 16 May 1871; buried Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, NY 20 June 1871) Canda. Her father, listed in New York City directories as a professor of drawing from at least 1824–1825, ran a young ladies boarding school at 17 Lafayette Place in New York from at least 1841–1842 until at least 1851–1852 (*Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory for the Sixty-Sixth Year of American Independence* [New York: Thomas Longworth, 1841]; *Evening Post* (New York), September 27, 1866, and May 17, 1871; *New York Times*, June 21, 1871).

Charlotte Canda was buried in Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn. The monument to her by sculptor Robert Launitz (1806–1870) “shows her in the party dress she wore” the night of her death. “The motif of seventeen years is repeated again and again in the monument's dimensions and decorations.” Her tomb

was called “The French Lady’s Grave” and used to be the most popular stop on Sunday “carriage tours of the cemetery.” Charlotte was buried in one of the cemetery’s “few plots of consecrated ground.” Two years later her fiancé, Charles Albert Jarrett (1819–1847), killed himself in despondency, thereby depriving himself of the possibility of being buried with her. His grave is “off to the right, under a marker with a coat of arms.” (All quotations are from Judy Culbertson and Tom Randall, *Permanent New Yorkers: A Biographical Guide to the Cemeteries of New York* [Chelsea, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 1987], pp. 58–59, 73, 75.) Charlotte Canda is also referred to in this entry as “C.C.”

Although Charlotte Canda and Deborah Whistler were schoolmates at Charles Canda’s school, it is not clear whether Deborah boarded there. When the family was about to leave the United States for Russia, Anna Whistler traveled to New York to pick Deborah up at a Mrs. Wittenham’s (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, Sept. 9, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 21).

35. “In the midst of life we are in death: of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins are justly displeased? Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death” (*Book of Common Prayer ... in the United States*, p. 265; *Oxford Book of Common Prayer*, p. 97). This is one of the “seven texts ... collectively known as ‘funeral sentences’ and ‘as a burial service’”; see “The Order for the Burial of the Dead” in the *Book of Common Prayer ... in the United States* (pp. 262–266) and the *Oxford Book of Common Prayer* (p. 97).
36. “Miss L.B. ...” is Miss Le Barbier, “the daughter of a friend” (“Melancholy and Fatal Accident,” *New-York Commercial Advertiser* [February 4, 1845]: p. 2; “The Accident in Broadway,” *New-York Commercial Advertiser* [February 5, 1845]: p. 2).
37. Psalms 97:1–2: “<sup>1</sup> The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad therefore. <sup>2</sup> Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne.”
38. Fanny Bourne Peabody (2 September 1825 – 28 January 1844) was born and died in Springfield, Massachusetts. She was the daughter of Rev. William Bourne Oliver Peabody (Exeter, NH 7 July 1799 – Springfield, MA 28 May 1847) and Elizabeth Amelia (White) Peabody (24 May 1799 – Springfield, MA 4 October

1843), who were married on 8 September 1824 in Salem, Massachusetts.

Fanny's father was a distinguished Unitarian minister. Rev. Peabody graduated from Harvard in 1816, returning there later for theological studies. On 12 October 1820, he was ordained as the first minister of the newly established Third Congregational Society in Springfield, Massachusetts, continuing as pastor there until his death. He was the author of several biographies, for example of Cotton Mather, and edited the *Springfield Collection of Hymns for Sacred Worship* in 1835. His "report on the birds of the commonwealth" (1839) "was a masterly piece of work." He "was the first to suggest the location of the Springfield Cemetery," established in 1841, and contributed greatly, along with Chester Harding, George Eaton, and George Bliss, "to laying out and beautifying the grounds" (Charles Well Chapin, *Sketches of the Old Inhabitants and Other Citizens of Old Springfield of the Present Century, and Its Historic Mansions of "Ye Olden Tyme"* [Springfield, MA: Springfield Printing and Binding, 1893], pp. 297–300).

At the time of her mother's death, Fanny, eighteen, was the eldest child, with four younger brothers. "[D]istinguished for her personal accomplishments and intellectual attractions ... [she] had seemed, till her mother's death, wholly absorbed in the things of this world." Because of her lack of "experience in domestic affairs, her father addressed to her a letter of advice, ... most touching and impressive which, combined with other influences, seems to have wrought a most desirable change in her character." Indeed, a family friend described Fanny as standing "transfigured before [them] for three short months." "She took her place at the head of the family," and "joined her father's church" and was very active in it. But in January 1844, she contracted scarlet fever and died "after an illness of about four days." Her father later "availed himself of the sad event to address, with great tenderness and earnestness, the youth of his congregation" (William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. 8, *Annals of the American Unitarian Pulpit; or, Commemorative Notices of Distinguished Clergymen of the Unitarian Denomination in the United States, from Its Commencement to the Close of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Five. With an Historical Introduction* [New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1865], pp. 495–496, 499). There are discrepancies in dates in the sources consulted.

39. Anna Whistler is alluding to the death of grand duchesses Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Image 434) and her first cousin, Elizaveta Mikhailovna (see Image 441). Grand Duchess

Aleksandra Nikolaevna had died on 29 July / 10 August 1844. See Images 444–460 regarding Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna's life and death.

40. Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig (Cronstadt 18/30 September 1775 – St. Petersburg 18/30 January 1845; see Image 297), died at the age of 69 years and was buried on 24 January / 5 February 1845 in the Smolensk Cemetery (PREC STP, no. 5463; *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 15, Saturday, January 20 [February 1 NS], 1845, p. 63). For more information about him, see A.L. Fullerton and Flora Yarmukhamedova, *The Family Greig in Russia* (Bernardston, MA: Bernardston Books, 2001); Anthony G. Cross, “Samuel Greig, Catherine the Great’s Scottish Admiral,” *The Mariner’s Mirror* 60, no. 3 (1974): p. 263; Edward Morton, *Travels in Russia, and a Residence at St. Petersburg and Odessa, in the Years 1827–1829; Intended to Give Some Account of Russia as It Is, and Not as It Is Represented to Be* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830), pp. 166–169; Avramii Aslanbegov, *Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig. Biograficheskii ocherk [Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig: A Biographical Essay]* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Morskogo Ministerstva, 1873); and *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Greig, Alexis Samuilovich.” He was married to Iuliia Mikhailovna Stalinskaia (27 January 1800 – 28 September 1881), with whom he had surviving children: Samuil (9 December 1827 – 9 March 1887); Iuliia (5 September 1829 – 2 March 1865), who married Shtieglits; Ivan (3 March 1831 – 15 September 1893); and Dzhenni (15 February 1835 – 16 February 1870), who married Ukhtomskii (Nikolai Mikhailovich, Grand Duke of Russia, and Vladimir Saitov, *Peterburgskii nekropol’ [Petersburg Necropolis]*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg: M.M. Stasiulevich, 1912–1913), vol. 1, p. 672; vol. 4, pp. 334, 590).
41. Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna (see Image 441), who had been married on 19/31 January 1844, died on 16/28 January 1845 (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 21, Saturday, January 27 [February 8 NS], 1845, p. 87) from complications of childbirth.

24 Jan. At 11 o’clock in the morning of this day news was received through Vice-Chancellor Count Nesselrode of the decease of Her Imperial Highness, the wife of the Duke of Nassau and the daughter of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich and Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna; while before dinner Count Bos presented himself to Their Majesties, bearing the same news from the Duke of Nassau. The decease of Her Highness occurred on the



16th of this January as the result of an unsuccessful delivery ... on this day at eleven o'clock in the morning the carrying out of the body of Admiral Greig, member of the State Council, who died on the 18th, took place at the English Church in the presence of the Heir Apparent and Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, for burial in the Smolensk Cemetery ... His Majesty issued a command ... that as a result of the decease of Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna ... the first five ranks of the Court do mourning for three months, starting this 24th day of January. (RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 154. *Zhurnal Kamer-Furierskoi dolzhnosti po polovine Gosudaria Imperatora Nikolaia Pavlovicha*, 1845 [*Chamberlain's Journal for the Apartments of Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich* for 1845], fols. 40v–41v)

See the diary of Smirnova-Rosset concerning rumors that Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna actually died from an epileptic fit (A.O. Smirnova-Rosset, *Dnevnik, Vospominaniia* [*Diary, Memoirs*], ed. S.V. Zhitomirskaia [Moscow: Nauka, 1989], pp. 5, 634).

42. This reference is to Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna (see Image 440), wife of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (married 1824; see Image 439) and mother of Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna (see Image 441).
43. According to Anna Whistler's diary, the concert took place on 31 March (NS), which was 19 March (OS). This concert, on this specific day, was an annual event. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* carried the following announcement:

In the Bol'shoi Theatre on Monday, 19 March, the day of the entrance of Russian troops into Paris in 1814, there will be a large vocal and instrumental concert given in aid of invalids. Madame Viardot-Garcia, Messrs. Rubini and Tamburini, the court singers, the musicians and singers of the guards regiments will participate.

Part I.

1. Finale from the opera "Catarina Cornaro", composer Lachner.
2. Overture from the opera "Oberon", composer Weber.
3. An aria from the "Stabat Mater" by Rossini will be sung by Mr. Tamburini.

4. The choir, a composition by Khalevi. The hymn “God Save the Tsar!”

Part II.

5. An aria from the “Stabat Mater” by Rossini will be sung by Mr. Rubini.

6. Overture from the opera “William Tell”, composer Rossini.

7. An aria from the “Stabat Mater” by Rossini will be sung by Madame Viardot-Garcia.

8. The military choir, composition by Mr. L’vov; Couplets, composition by Kavos. (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 60, Friday, March 16 [March 28 NS], 1845, p. 268)

The director was Ferdinand Haase (Silesia 2 August 1788 – St. Petersburg 18/30 October 1851), called Fyodor Bogdanovich Gaaze by the Russians. For his biography, see “Haase Ferdinand,” *Influential Military Musicians A–Z*, World Military Bands: The Heritage of Military Bands website, accessed 13 September 2013, <http://www.worldmilitarybands.com/musicians/>

The magnitude and impressiveness of the concert has been described as follows:

The concert ... is especially diverting because it consists of 800 musicians from all the Life Guard regiments, and nowhere else is it the magnificent spectacle that it is here. It is always given in the Bol’shoi Theatre. The edge of the stage is decorated with double-headed eagles and a row of various regimental shakos. At the front of the stage are the Court singers in their splendid attire; behind them the theatre orchestra; then there are the guards musicians in full parade dress arranged in the spacious amphitheatre according to instrument.

It would seem that such a multitude of instruments and voices would deafen the audience, but through the strict conducting of the experienced choirmaster Mr. Gaaze this mass of sounds produces such amazing harmony that if you did not see the multitude of musicians, you could not believe that you were hearing more than one full and harmonious orchestra.

(Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1841, p. 129)

The singers referred to are: the Spanish soprano, Michelle Fernanda Polina Viardot-García (Paris 18 July 1821 – Paris 18 May 1910; see Image 198); the tenor, Giovanni-Battista Rubini (Romano 7 April 1794 – Romano 3 March 1854; see Image 197), who retired after the 1844–1845 season; and the baritone, Antonio Tamburini (Faenza 28 March 1800 – Nice 8 November 1876; see Image 196).

The composers referred to are: Franz Paul Lachner (1803–1890), Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), Gioacchino Rossini (1792–1868), Fromental Halévy (1799–1862), Aleksei Fyodorovich L'vov (1798–1870; see Image 195), and Katterino Kavos (1775–1840).

44. Mary Eliza Bedford (b. c. 1827) was the daughter of Henrietta Ann Bedford, who died on Friday, 14 February 1845, in New York. Mrs. Bedford was the sister of Dr. Gunning S. Bedford (Baltimore 1806 – New York 5 September 1870), from whose home at 743 Broadway her funeral was held (Gertrude A. Barber, comp., *Deaths Taken from the New York Evening Post*, vol. 20, *From February 20, 1844 to April 15, 1845*, ts, 1939, p. 83, N-YHS; *New York Herald*, February 15, 1845; Roy C. Sawyer, comp., *Abstracts of Wills for New York County*, vol. 12: *New York, 1844–1847*, 1939, pp. 27–28). Her brother was a noted obstetrician and gynecologist, who helped found New York University Medical College (*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 2, p. 391). In a Bedford family genealogy, Henrietta Bedford is “said to have married and had a daughter Mary, later Mrs. Wright, who by 1873 had several children in Europe, according to a letter written by Henrietta Jane (Hackett) Barroll,” who was Henrietta Bedford’s first cousin (Lewis D. Cook, “The Gunning Bedford Family New Castle, Philadelphia, Baltimore,” *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 30, no. 1 [1977]: p. 16). Efforts to find a Bedford–Wright marriage in New York newspapers have not been successful (M. Toubas, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 4 November 2004).
45. The German Academy is probably the same as the German Singing Society (“Singakademic”) in Note 19, NYPL: AWP, Part II.
46. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday 10<sup>th</sup> April who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Thomas Scales Ellerby, pastor of the British and American Congregational Church (Mr. Ellerby); Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison, wife of Joseph Harrison Jr., of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mrs Harrison); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (my

- Sister); Charles Donald Whistler, who died on the trip from London to St. Petersburg in 1843, at the age of two (Charlie); Kirk Boott Whistler, who died in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1842, at the age of four (Kirkie).
47. Debo and her father went to Alexandrofsky on Sunday, 6 April 1845.
  48. It has not been possible to ascertain who Deborah's Russian teacher was, who came on Wednesday, 9 April 1845.
  49. Dr. Thomas Thomson (a dentist and bachelor) resided at No. 3 Gorokhovaia Street. He had an apprentice named Rowland Bunting (a bachelor). In 1845, his brother Adam Thomson (also a dentist and a bachelor), was residing with him, but returned to Scotland. William Thomson, another brother (an engineer and bachelor), was also residing with him in 1845, but moved to Baird's (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 57).
  50. This surname is probably Glinka. There is a strong possibility that Mrs. De Glinkey is Iustina-Khristina Bangeman-Geigens, wife of the senior secretary of the Russian Legation in Stockholm, Dmitrii Grigorievich Glinka (29 July/10 August 1808 – 14/26 May 1883). They had a son and a daughter. The daughter, whom she brought with her to the Whistler home, would have been Iustina, born in 1836 (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 5, pp. 273–274), the same year as Willie Whistler. The fact that Mrs. De Glinkey knew enough about America to be “so fond” of it, and that she also spoke English, support the idea that she was the wife of a diplomat. Anna Whistler and Mrs. De Glinkey had met before, possibly at Colonel Todd's.
  51. The son whom Mrs. De Glinkey, a Lutheran, could not bring with her to visit the Whistler home because he was sick from the Lenten diet required of Russian Orthodox believers, would have been Nikolai Dmitrievich Glinka (1838–1884) (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*, vol. 5, p. 274). Anna Whistler's reference to him as the “eldest boy” suggests there was more than one son. She also often used “eldest” when “elder” was required.
  52. “In Mrs. Whistler's day Rusk usually meant a light bread containing eggs and sugar” (MacDonald, *Whistler's Mother's Cook Book*, p. 116). Anna Whistler would never have attempted to dupe anyone, especially a child, into eating such food during Lent, when it was prohibited by the Orthodox Church in the Russian diet. Possibly the rusk she offered differed from the kind usually meant by not containing any prohibited ingredients.

53. See Notes 7, 8, and 10 above. Anna Whistler felt that the acceptable fast in God's sight was self-denial and a readiness to contribute of one's own abundance.
54. Mrs. De Glinkey's mother-in-law would have been Iustina Karlovna (Kiukhel'beker) Glinka (1784–1871), sister of the Decembrist, Vil'gel'm Karlovich Kiukhel'beker (1797–1846), and wife of Grigorii Andreevich Glinka (1776–1818) (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheski slovar'*, vol. 5, pp. 272, 273).
55. Luke 23:34: "Then said Jesus, Father forgive them; for they know not what they do. And they parted his raiment, and cast lots."
56. Matthew 24:14–30 recounts the parable of the talents.
57. Margaret Bayne Wilson (Greenock, Scotland 5 November 1798 – Bombay, India 19 April 1835; see Image 191) was a Scottish missionary in Bombay together with her husband, Rev. John Wilson (Lauder, Scotland 11 December 1804 – near Mahableshwar, India 1 December 1875), whom she married in 1828. Mrs. Wilson was "a pioneer of female education in India and inspirer of the first Scottish association to employ female missionaries" (Nigel M. de S. Cameron, ed., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History & Theology* [Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1993], p. 65). The memoirs of Mrs. Wilson that Anna Whistler is referring to are Rev. John Wilson's biography of and tribute to his deceased wife, which includes extracts from her letters and journals: *A Memoir of Mrs. Margaret Wilson, of the Scottish Mission, Bombay; including Extracts from Her Letters and Journals*, by the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., M.R.A.S. (Edinburgh: John Johnston; London: Whittaker & Co. and J. Nisbet & Co, 1838). (The frontispiece is an engraving of Mrs. Wilson's portrait made in 1827.) Anna Whistler's attention was focused on the final chapter, which deals with Mrs. Wilson's last days. The lines she quotes are from the last letter Mrs. Wilson "wrote with her own hand" (Wilson, *Memoir of Margaret Wilson*, p. 589). Written on 31 March 1835, twenty days before her death, it was addressed to a Mrs. Coghlan, at the christening of whose child she had been present the day before: "I should have regretted not being present when your little treasure was dedicated to God in Baptism. I always enjoy such seasons, and I feel them an additional inducement to remember both the little ones and their parents at the mercy-seat of our heavenly Father. They are gifts from His inexhaustible fountain of love and kindness to us; and we can only use the gift aright, when we present it a willing sacrifice on His altar" (Wilson, p. 589). On 8 April 1835, Mrs. Wilson dictated

a letter to her son Andrew, who had been sent to Scotland to live. This letter embodied her last wishes on her children's behalf. "I have prayed God to inspire you with zeal to become a missionary to the brethren of this land ... What I say to you I say to my beloved Johnny [a son in India] ... If your aunts accompany your beloved uncle to Canada, I wish Mary Isabella [a daughter in India] to be placed under their charge; and O let them feel their deep responsibility in having her, a little immortal, to train for heaven" (Wilson, pp. 598–599). Anna Whistler's tone in this entry resembles that of Mrs. Wilson. Anna Whistler was some four months pregnant at this time, and thoughts of her own possible death were frequently on her mind.

58. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Adele Canda, mother of the deceased seventeen-year-old Charlotte Canda (Mrs Canda, that lady); Catherine Julia McNeill, Deborah Whistler's first cousin (Jule); Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old Mrs Leon, the old lady); and Charles Donald Whistler, who died on the journey from London to St. Petersburg in 1843, at the age of two (darling little Charlie).
59. It has not been possible to ascertain who this governess was. She later became governess to William Henry Harrison, son of Joseph Harrison Jr. and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (Joseph H. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, St. Petersburg, February 13th, 1848 Sunday, *Eastwick Letters*).
60. The Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (see Images 154–157) is located on Vasilievskii Island between the Third and Fourth Lines on the Grand Neva Embankment in the Tenth, Vasilevskaiia District. It stands opposite Ritter's house on the English Embankment, the Whistlers' home. Built in 1764–1788, it is one of the first structures in Russia in the style of early Classicism. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, on the plot on which it stands were the houses of three magnates, which were donated to the Academy after its founding. These were later torn down to erect a new building planned by the architects A.F. Kokorinov (1726–1772) and J.B. Vallin de la Mothe (1729–1800). In 1788, the construction of the edifice was completed, but the façades and some rooms were unfinished. This construction was not completed until 1810. The building is in the form of a square, each side of which is sixty sazhen long. Above the four entrances are the words "Painting," "Sculpture," "Architecture," and "Upbringing (*Vospitanie*)" in bronze letters. On the Neva River

side, above the main outer doors, are the words “*To the Free Fine Arts.*” On this side, the façade is decorated with columns, a portico, and a cupola. Between the columns supporting the pediment are statues of the Farnese Hercules and Flora. In May 1832, two massive sphinxes from Thebes purchased by the Russian government were brought to St. Petersburg, and in 1834 were placed facing one another on tall granite blocks flanking the granite steps of the landing in front of the Academy building (see Image 155). The building contains a circular courtyard. A spacious marble staircase leads to the upper floors, of which the first is decorated with arches. Within the building there is a small church built in 1837 and named for St. Catherine, with an altarpiece by F.A. Bruni of *The Agony in the Garden* (1830). The building is decorated with works by the school’s academicians. On the first floor are the living quarters of Academy professors and various civil servants; on the second, the works of art; on the third, classrooms and pensioners’ (gold-medal students’) quarters. In the spacious salons of the second floor there is an extensive collection of paintings; portraits; landscapes; drawings; sculpture in plaster, marble, and bronze; statues; busts; bas reliefs; works in terra cotta; stones; medals; coins; architectural models; ancient weapons; and a rich collection of prints from Warsaw. Among the paintings noted in particular in an 1846 guide were Girardot’s *St. Francis in the Cave*, Rembrandt’s *The Angel Appearing to Hagar*, Veronese’s *Resurrection of Lazarus*, C.W.E. Dietrich’s *Tivoli Cascade*, battle scenes by Le Bourguignon, Rubens’s *Silenus and Bacchantes*, Briullov’s *The Last Day of Pompeii* (see Image 204), as well as works by Luca Giordano, Lafosse, Tintoretto, Mengs, Ugriumov, Martynov, Vorobiev, Basin, Egorov, and others (Pushkarev, *Istoricheskii ukazatel’*, pp. 211–212). The exhibits were open to the public on Sundays and holidays starting at noon. Every three years, the Academy building was the scene of a public exhibition of works by professors, students, and other artists living in St. Petersburg; in autumn each year there was an annual exhibit (Pushkarev, *Putevoditel’*, pp. 86–87, 406–408; N. Tsylov, comp., *Atlas trindatsati chastei S. Peterburga s podrobnym izobrazheniem naberezhnykh, ulits, pereulkov, kazennykh i obyvatelskikh domov* [Atlas of the Thirteen Districts of St. Petersburg, with Detailed Drawings of the Embankments, Streets, Lanes, and Government and Private Buildings] (St. Petersburg, 1844); Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 7, 328; *Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* 1975, pp. 276, 492; V.G. Lisovskii, *Akademiia Khudozhestv Istoriko-*

*iskusstvoedcheskii ocherk* [*The Academy of Fine Arts: An Art Historical Essay*], 2nd ed. (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1982), pp. 66–67].

61. James (ticket holder No. 355) began to attend his drawing class (1: “Drawing from Originals of Heads”) on 2/14 April 1845 (RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734. *Kniga o vydache biletov raznym litsam poseshchaishchim Risoval’nye klassy IAKH za 1845 g. i 1846 g.* [Book concerning the issuing of tickets to various persons attending drawing classes at the IFAFA in 1845 and 1846], fol. 18v) (see Image 159). A fuller account of James’s time at the IFAFA can be found in his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.” There were three drawing courses at the Academy. They were divided into five levels: (1) “Drawing from Originals of Heads,” (2) “Drawing from Originals of Figures,” (3) “Drawing from Plaster Casts of Heads,” (4) “Drawing from Plaster Casts of Figures,” and (5) “Life Drawing.” The word “room” refers to the auditoriums in which the three drawing courses were held. The second room would then be the auditorium in which the courses in drawing from originals (1 and 2) were held. The two higher rooms would refer to the auditorium in which the courses in drawing from plaster casts (3 and 4) were held, and the one in which the course in life drawing (5) was held. This would make sense, because Anna Whistler says that the young officer who gave James drawing lessons was in the highest room, and the Academy records show that he was in drawing course 5, the final course (Kondakov, *Iubileinyi spravochnik*, vol. 1, pp. 150, 184; 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. 7v; Kornilova, *Karl Briulllov*, p. 20; Moleva and Beliutin, *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia shkola*, p. 359). Support for my interpretation of “room” may be found in the Russian edition of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (E. Nekrasova, trans., *Iziaschnoe iskusstvo sozdavat’ sebe vragov*, by Dzheims MakNeil’ Vistler [James McNeill Whistler] [Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1970]). In her Introduction, Nekrasova loosely translated “entered at the 2nd room there are two higher” as “There are three classes there; he is in the last one” (Nekrasova, *Iziaschnoe iskusstvo*, p. 31). Nekrasova used the English text of the diaries quoted in the Pennell biography of Whistler (Pennell and Pennell, *Life of Whistler*, vol. 1, p. 17).



62. Alexander Osipovich Koritskii (1818 – 9/21 February 1866) was a lieutenant in the construction section of the Main Administration of Transport and an advanced student (fourth “age” group) at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. He began to give James drawing lessons sometime after September 1844, when Part I of the diaries was sent off to the United States. It was he who paid the fee of nine rubles on 26 March / 7 April 1845 and obtained and signed for the ticket (No. 355) admitting James as a student at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts (RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734, fol. 18v (see previous Note for document title). Inside the book it says: “Spisok poseshchaiushchim raznym Risoval’nye klassy Imp-go AKh koim vydany dlia vkhoda v onye ot Akademii bilet’y s ustanovlennoi platou, s pokazaniem: komu imenno vydany bilet’y s kotorogo vremeni i skol’ko s kogo polucheno deneg i proch. Za 1845 god” [“List of various persons attending the Drawing classes of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts to whom the Academy has issued admission tickets to these classes, for which there is a set fee. Showing: to whom the tickets were issued, the date of issue and how much money was received and from whom, etc. For 1845.”]). On fol. 18v it says that Ticket No. 355 was issued to James Whistler (Iakov Uisler), son of an American, on March 26 [OS], that the fee of nine rubles was paid, and that the ticket was signed for and received by Koritskii. James’s was the last name registered for March 1845. There was some difficulty encountered in spelling his surname in Russian. The fee of nine rubles was paid if one registered in January–April, six rubles in May–August, or three rubles in September–December. Four hundred and fifty tickets were issued for 1845 (RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735. Spisok uchennikov Akademii, koim vydany bilet’y 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. 19v). See Koritskii’s biography in Appendix E, James’s biography in “The Whistlers As They Were in the 1840s,” and Images 159–162, 167–170.
63. This is probably the surname Cazalet, a well-known British merchant family in St. Petersburg. The likely member of the family would seem to be Edward Cazalet (Brighton 9 November 1827 – Constantinople 21 April 1883), who would have been seventeen in April 1845. Edward Cazalet painted “water colours of landscapes . . . during his life” (Edward Cazalet [descendant] to E. Harden London, 6 April 1988). I did not find any Cazalet listed

in the records of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in the Russian State Historical Archives in St. Petersburg as enrolled in its courses in 1845 (Frederick Arthur Crisp, ed., *Visitation of England and Wales*, vol. 19 [printed by the author, 1917], p. 4; obituary for Edward Cazalet, *The Times* (London), April 23, 1883).

64. James went across the Neva to the Academy of Fine Arts on 4/16 April. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* of the next day, the day of his mother's diary entry, announced: "Because of the appearance of holes in the ice on the Neva, riding on the river has become dangerous. It is therefore forbidden to do so from any of the launching areas" (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 77, Thursday, April 5 [April 17 NS], 1845, p. 346).
65. The cabman, called "Ishvostic" by Anna Whistler (spelled "izvozchik" and pronounced "izvaw'shcheek"), "received from James a silver ten-kopek coin (spelled "grivennik" and pronounced "gree'vennyeek") and a silver five-kopek coin (spelled "piatachok" and pronounced "peetachawk") (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p 53).
66. James was reading "Ewen Malcolm, or The Young Highlander in the Pyrenees. A Tale of the Peninsular War," which can be found in Margaret Fraser Tytler, *Tales of Many Lands* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839), pp. 213–278.

Ewen Malcolm is the newborn son of James Malcolm, a private soldier in Wellington's army, and Effie Gordon, his wife, who has accompanied her husband on the campaign. Spain and Portugal have been freed from Napoleon. Required to return to his regiment in January 1814, James Malcolm leaves his wife and child with Basque peasants, the Valsains. Ewen's parents both die, and he is raised by the Valsains. Roman Catholics themselves, the Valsains, while making sure that Ewen is given instruction in the teachings of the Bible and goes to church on Sunday, never force him to embrace Catholicism, because his mother had a distaste for some of its forms. The hope of all three is that Ewen may one day be able to return to England. Ewen eventually becomes a guide to foreign travelers. He cannot understand or speak English, but the topics that interest him when he meets English travelers are the Duke of Wellington, returning to his own country, and "the religion of his country" (Tytler, *Tales of Many Lands*, p. 252). When the Valsains die, Ewen travels to the Valley of Luz, where he continues to work as a guide. There, he meets a party of English travelers, saves the life of one of them, Frederick Beauchamp (the hero of another of the tales in the

above-mentioned volume), and is enabled to return to England, where he becomes a companion to Lord Beauchamp. It is a tale of nobility of character, love of the country of one's forefathers, and faithfulness to their religion. No matter what their station in life, all the characters are highly moral persons. The locale of the story explains why James read a passage on Swiss scenery to Captain Kruger.

67. Captain John Frederick Kruger was "one of an old school of Wesleyans who, while devoted members and active workers of that denomination, have always maintained a very friendly and considerate bearing towards the Established Church, and are as thoroughly Conservative in politics as they are zealous members of class." He lived in his native town of Hull after he retired. "He was marine superintendent to Messrs. Brown, Atkinson, and Co., shipowners, Hull, and was one of the captains of the Crimean war transports." "He was connected with most of the philanthropic and benevolent institutions of Hull ... [and] an elder brother of the Hull Trinity House." "Though not actually wealthy, he rendered services to many local charities." He died suddenly on the morning of Sunday, 10 June 1888, in St. Paul's Church Mission-room, where he had gone "to take part in the church parade of the Hull Artillery Volunteers" (*The York Herald*, June 11, 1888 and June 16, 1888).
68. John Milton (1608–1674), English poet and polemicist, is best known for *Paradise Lost*, an epic poem that tells the story of the creation, the fall, and Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise. It was published in 1667, after the English Civil Wars had ended with the Restoration of Charles II. Milton, during the Civil Wars, argued for divorce on grounds of incompatibility, publishing without censorship, and the reformation of church and state; he also defended the execution of Charles I.
69. "The Oregon Country ... included not only the present state of Oregon, but Washington, Idaho, part of Montana, and British Columbia" (Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 2 vols. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1962], vol. 1, p. 584). In all "diplomatic negotiation[s] between the United States and Great Britain since 1815," the only point of agreement "was a temporary ... joint occupation, north of latitude 42°N, where Spanish California stopped, and south of latitude 54°40'N, where Russian Alaska ended.

“John Jacob Astor’s trading post of Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River was sold to a Canadian fur trading company, which in 1821 amalgamated with the Hudson’s Bay Company that three years later constructed Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the lower Columbia” (p. 584). The heavy immigration to this area in 1843–1845, consisting of four to five thousand people, “strained the provisional territorial organization, and convinced Congress that something must be done to provide this remote colony with government, law and land titles” (p. 589). “Secretary Calhoun opened negotiations ... in 1844 with the British minister at Washington ... to divide the territory along latitude 49°. But Aberdeen ... refused to abandon the north bank of the Columbia” (p. 589). “A decline in the Columbia river fur trade was making Fort Vancouver unprofitable, and the menacing attitude of the latest American immigrants threatened its security” (p. 589). “The company abandoned Fort Vancouver to the Americans in 1845, and erected a new post at Victoria on Vancouver Island” (p. 590). By the time of this diary entry (5/17 April), President “James K. Polk, an expansionist” (see Image 50), had delivered his inaugural address (4 March 1845), in which he had “shouted defiance at Britain” (p. 590). This is the background to the possibility of war that concerned the British and American colonies in St. Petersburg.

In December 1845, Polk “asserted that the American title to the whole of Oregon, up to lat. 54°40’, was ‘clear and unquestionable’, and asked Congress for authority to terminate the joint occupation agreement of 1818” (p. 590). But Polk’s “ambition was to annex California,” which would have meant “fighting England and Mexico at the same time” (p. 590). He therefore accepted Aberdeen’s formal proposal “to extend the international boundary along latitude 49°N to Puget Sound, thence to the ocean through Juan de Fuca Strait, leaving Vancouver Island to Canada. He submitted the British offer to his cabinet on 6 June 1846 ... and on 15 June the Oregon Treaty, describing the boundary according to Aberdeen’s offer, was ratified” (p. 590). The War with Mexico was by then some four weeks old. See “Maps.”

70. Anna Whistler meant “than.”
71. The courier left on Tuesday, 15 April 1845.
72. Which Eliza Anna Whistler wrote to cannot be determined: Eliza Winstanley, Eliza McNeill, or Eliza Van Vechten.

73. Mrs. Leon's 81st birthday took place on Sunday, 20 April 1845.
74. St. Isaac's Square extended from St. Isaac's Cathedral to Blue Bridge (*Sinii most*) in front of the Maria Palace (*Mariinskii dvorets*) (see Images 99, 120, 136). During these years, it was largely occupied by temporary structures serving as studios and warehouses for materials for the cathedral that was in the process of being built (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 264).
75. The verb "to smug" means "to smarten up (oneself or another one's appearance, etc.); to make trim or gay" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "smug, v.1"). Anna Whistler probably meant "smuggled," i.e., that she surreptitiously gave Mrs. Leon a bottle of cream. She could also have meant she smoothed Mrs. Leon's cloak so that the bottle would not show.
76. Mr. Strokoffski was the Polish friend Maxwell had brought to the Whistlers' dacha in the summer of 1844 (see the entry for Thursday [May] 29<sup>th</sup>, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and accompanying Note 421). He was a state councilor (5<sup>th</sup> grade) and therefore a Russian civil servant (John S. Maxwell to his mother, St. Petersburg, August 25, 1843, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 19).
77. Captain Petr Petrovich Klokov (b. c. 1817), Class of 1837 at the Institute of Transport Engineers, was put at the disposal of the Department of Railways by order of Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243) and assigned as aide to Major Whistler on 28 June (OS) 1844 (RGIA: Fond 207, op. 16, 1797–1867. *Osobennaia kantseliariia GUPSIPS Formul'iarnye spiski i sluzhebnye dokumenty ofitserov i chinovnikov M-va P.S. Delo 56. Tom: Kisliakovskii-Kliauzov* [Special Chancery of GUPSIPS Service records and service documents of officers and civil servants of the Ministry of Transport. File 56. Volume: Kisliakovskii-Kliauzov]. The service record for Captain Klokov for 1856, when he was handling foreign correspondence for the Department of Railways, contains the information that he was assigned to Major Whistler on 28 June (OS) 1844. See Klokov in Appendix E.
78. A "congé" is a formal farewell: "a bow ... at taking one's leave" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "congé").
79. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday afternoon 19<sup>th</sup> April who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the unidentifiable governess (Mademoiselle); Martha Reed Ropes, sister of William Hooper Ropes and Mary (Tyler) Ropes Gellibrand (Martha Ropes, Martha); William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor

across the hall (Mr. Ropes); and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Alicia).

80. Anna Whistler made little mention of the festivities of the Easter season of 1845. In that year, Western Palm Sunday occurred on 4/16 March and Western Easter Sunday on 11/23 March. Anna Whistler had taken up her pen again to begin writing Part II of her diaries on 28 February / 12 March, before Western Palm Sunday, but had devoted no lines to either Western Palm Sunday or Western Easter in her next entry of 25 March. In this entry of 7/19 April, she mentions only the Palm market preceding Russian Orthodox Palm Sunday (8/20 April) and the concerts given during the ensuing Passion Week, when the theaters and opera were closed. The Whistler family were attending the English Church (see Images 110–111) every day in celebration of important days following Western Easter. The English Church was marking the sixth Sunday after Easter, with Ascension Thursday to follow on 19 April / 1 May. Anna Whistler's mention of the 8th and 9th days probably refers to the thirty-day cycle of readings in the Episcopal Psalter, which specifies the psalms to be read on each day of the month. The family went to church every day in the morning that week. On Day 8 in the morning, Psalms 38–40 were read; on Day 9 in the morning, Psalms 44–46. In parallel with the specified psalms, readings from the Old and New Testaments are also specified for each day in the cycle. Under Old Style, Sunday 8/20 April was Day 8 of a possible monthly cycle and Monday 9/21 April was Day 9. But Anna Whistler is suggesting that Day 8 was Monday 9/21 April and Day 9 Tuesday 10/22 April. I believe she made a mistake and should have written “Day 9” and “Day 10.” It was also the start of Orthodox Passion Week, culminating in Easter Sunday on 15/27 April, and Anna Whistler concentrates in this entry on the charity concert at the Assembly Hall of the Nobility that she, her husband, and Debo attended on Friday, 6/18 April.
81. With the opera season and carnival performances ended, the artists appeared in concerts such as the benefit performance described in Note 83, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, in which they sang operatic arias, duets, and trios (Rozanov, *Polina Viardo-Garsia*, p. 52; A.A. Gozenpud, *Dom Engel'gardia* [Engelhardt's House] [St. Petersburg: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1992], pp. 212, 215). At the conclusion of the concert season, they left Russia until the next opera season.

82. The Assembly Hall of the Nobility (*Dvorianskoe sobranie*) (see Images 145–146) was opened on 6/18 December 1835 in the building belonging to Engel'gardt. Since the end of 1839, it had been located in a building built for it on the corner of Novo-Mikhailovskaia Street and Mikhailovskii Square (or Italianskaia Street). The purpose in setting it up was to create a gathering place in which the participants could find pleasure in dances, permitted games, the reading of newspapers, and other pursuits appropriate to an educated society. Members were hereditary nobles from all over the Empire. Guests at balls and masquerades and visitors on ordinary days could be non-hereditary nobility, honorary citizens, famous artists, and Russian and foreign merchants. Males under 17 years of age and females under 16 were not permitted. There were two categories of membership: permanent members, who had access to the hall at any time; and visitor members, who had access only to the six balls or masquerades held annually. Permanent members each received two tickets to the balls for the ladies in their family. The number of permanent members was reckoned to be over six hundred. Persons belonging to the social groups named above and temporarily in St. Petersburg could be visitors on ordinary days, while nobles owning their own homes in the capital, in service here and already members of other assemblies and clubs could not. The latter needed to be members. Twelve visitors were permitted each day and could retain this privilege for no longer than six months. The Assembly Hall was open daily from nine in the morning until two in the morning. On the days when there was a ball or masquerade, the public could not enter earlier than one hour before the event. The Assembly Hall was closed the last three days before Easter. The balls, which in the 1840s had been combined with masquerades, constituted the main charm that the Assembly Hall of the Nobility held for the capital. The magnificent and spacious hall illuminated by crystal chandeliers offered many conveniences for these festive occasions. The hall was encircled by columns, behind which were raised galleries accessible by a few steps. From these galleries one could watch those dancing and make one's way around the hall without crossing the dance floor. In front of the columns around the entire hall were three rows of red divans arranged like an amphitheater. Adjoining the hall were elegant rooms for the public that were opened only on these occasions. Buffets were set up here and the public took its ease in the coolness of these rooms after dancing. The Assembly Hall was also used for charity balls, private concerts, lotteries, etc. (Grech,

- Ves' Peterburg* 1851, pp. 183–185; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 650–655; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 63).
83. Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (see Images 420, 424) was the Most August Patroness of the St. Petersburg Children's Hospital (located on Bol'shaia Pod'iacheskaia Street near the Fontanka River), in aid of which the benefit concert was given with her permission. It took place on 6/18 April at 8 p.m. in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility (see Images 145–146). The foremost artists of the Italian company were to take part in it (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 74, Sunday, April 1 [April 13 NS], 1845, p. 331; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 69).  
 “6 April 8:20 P.M. Her Majesty and the lady-in-waiting Barteneva ... accompanied by Grand Dukes Konstantin, Nikolai and Mikhail Nikolaevich and Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, drove to the building of the Assembly Hall of the Nobility, where they attended a concert” (RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 154, fol. 162r [see Note 41 above for document title]).
84. Anna Whistler was pregnant and probably thinking of the possibility of her own death.
85. On 26 February / 10 March 1845, Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna (see Images 426–427), wife of the Heir Apparent, gave birth to a son, Grand Duke Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (see Image 428). On the occasion of this event, Emperor Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) announced that the order to wear mourning imposed upon the Court on the death of grand duchesses Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451) and Elizaveta Mikhailovna (see Image 441) was rescinded (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 46, Wednesday, February 28 [March 12 NS], 1845, p. 203).
86. The singers referred to are: the Spanish soprano, Michelle Fernanda Polina Viardot-García (Paris 18 July 1821 – Paris 18 May 1910; see Image 198); the tenor, Giovanni-Battista Rubini (Romano 7 April 1794 – Romano 3 March 1854; see Image 197), who retired after the 1844–1845 season; and the baritone, Antonio Tamburini (Faenza 28 March 1800 – Nice 8 November 1876; see Image 196).
87. The Whistlers were using a hired horse-drawn carriage (hackney).
88. “Men are but Children of a larger growth” is a line spoken by Dollabella in John Dryden's *All for Love; or, The World Well Lost* (1678), p. 46.



89. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday [April] 22<sup>nd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha Reed Ropes, the sister of William Hooper Ropes, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, and Joseph Samuel Ropes (Martha Ropes, Martha, Martha R.); Joseph Samuel Ropes, brother of William Hooper Ropes, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, and Martha Reed Ropes (Joseph, Mr Joseph); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my Sister). Martha Reed Ropes, Joseph Samuel Ropes, and Debo were "the young trio."
90. To take "French leave" is "to depart unnoticed or without permission" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "to take French leave").
91. This is Hugh McNeile (1795–1879), appointed Perpetual Curate of St. Jude's Church, Liverpool, in 1834. The book is entitled *Lectures on the Sympathies, Sufferings, and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ* (1843). It consists of eight lectures, the first six of which start with the words "The sufferings of Christ as They Stand Connected ..." Lecture 1 concludes "... with the Character and Conduct of Mary, the Sister of Lazarus"; lecture 2, "... with the Character and Conduct of Judas Iscariot"; lecture 3, "... with the Character and Conduct of the Apostle Peter"; lecture 4, "... with the Character and Conduct of Satan"; lecture 5, "... with the Character, Government and Glory of God the Father"; lecture 6, "... with Redemption, Faith, Salvation, and Condemnation among Men"; lecture 7, "The Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ, a Subject of Type and Prophecy"; and lecture 8, "The Resurrection of Christ a Matter of Fact, and a Theme of Glad Tidings." McNeile said in the Preface to the Third Edition that he was "maturely convinced of the great truth which pervades the following pages, viz., the reality of Christ's human feelings; and of its incalculable importance to the devotional experience, the pure worship, and the consistent practice of the Christian Church." Lecture 2, which Anna Whistler was reading to her half-sister, Alicia, proposes that in suffering disappointment in a friend we should consider that Jesus has gone before us in the experience with Judas Iscariot and take consolation from it. The interpretation given therein of Judas's motives in the betrayal is very interesting (Hugh McNeile, *Lectures on the Sympathies, Sufferings, and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ*, 3rd ed., 8 vols. [London: John Hatchard and Son; Liverpool: Arthur Newling and H. Perris, 1845], pp. 24–54). The Passion Week referred to

- in this entry is Orthodox Passion Week, but Anna Whistler is reading McNeile because it is “so appropriate.”
92. The set reading from Isaiah for the ninth day of April is Chapter 54, while for the tenth day it is Chapter 58. The psalms for the morning of the tenth day of April are 50–52.
  93. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday 2<sup>nd</sup> May who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Rev. Dr. Edward Law (our Pastor); his wife, Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law (Mrs. Law); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (my kind Sister, my Sister); and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, wife of the English merchant William Clarke Gellibrand (Mrs. Gellibrand).
  94. Reverend and Mrs. Law were married on 20 April / 2 May 1816. It was therefore their 29th anniversary. See Law in Appendix E and Image 253.
  95. Anna Whistler seems to have meant “I found.”
  96. This may be Robert Cattley (York 20 August 1787 – St. Petersburg 1859), Russia merchant, who “left York in 1802 to work in the Cattley Counting House in St. Petersburg, founded by his uncle Stephen of Camberwell.” He “continued to live in St. Petersburg, apart from visits to England, until his death.” He married on 3 June 1815 Frances Moberly (St. Petersburg 21 August / 1 September 1789 – St. Petersburg 23 August 1872), whose father, Edward, was also a Russia merchant. They had ten surviving children, whose ages at this time ranged from about fifteen to twenty-nine (*The Cattley Family Tree 1690–1990*, pp. 26–27, based on the Trees of 1839 and 1891, researched 1980–1990 by Gerald N. Coveney, LRA).
  97. This is Dorothea (Halliday) Baird (bap. 2 January 1810 – Steyning, Sussex 20 February 1880), who married Francis Baird (28 February / 12 March 1802 – 13/25 March 1864; see Image 275) on 1/13 October 1828 (PREC STP, no. 3756).
  98. This is sixteen-year-old Charles John Baird (St. Petersburg 3/15 July 1829 – Brighton 5 October 1857), son of Francis and Dorothea (Halliday) Baird (PREC STP for 1829, p. 134). He married first Eliza Halliday (b. 23 March 1806; bap. St. Petersburg 18 April 1806; d. St. Petersburg 14 January 1850) on 29 April 1847. He married secondly on 27 May 1852 Frances Percy Parland (b. Tsarskoe Selo 10 January 1811; bap. St. Petersburg 18 January 1811; d. Brighton 6 December 1887) (IGI; *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, October 16, 1857; *Brighton Gazette*, December 10, 1887; *Morning Chronicle* (London), February 5, 1850; *Russia*,

*Select Births and Baptisms, 1755–1917*, ancestry.com; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1858–1995, IGI). For Francis Baird and his father Charles Baird, see Images 274–275.

99. The Honorable John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield (1802–1879; see Image 291) had become envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Russian Court as of 3 April 1844 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Bloomfield, John Arthur Douglas”).
100. The St. Petersburg grandchildren of Mrs. Law were the children of James Richard (1806–1867; see Image 255) and Mary Eliza (Law) Cattley (1821–1859; see Image 254), who married on 9/21 October 1840: Rhoda Mary Cattley (b. 1/13 February 1844) and Alfred Cattley (b. 16/28 April 1845) (PREC STP for 1840, p. 307, and for 1854, p. 323).
101. This is Olympia (Cazalet) Cazalet (London 1788 – Brighton 31 January 1848), wife of her cousin Peter Clement Cazalet (St. Petersburg 14 November 1785; died at sea 6 July 1857; buried in Volkov Cemetery, St. Petersburg, 11 July 1859), and mother of Edward Cazalet (Brighton 9 November 1827 – Constantinople 21 April 1883). Her son seems the likeliest candidate for the young man who Anna Whistler said was James Whistler’s classmate at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. I was not able to find a Cazalet in the Academy’s register for 1845 (1841 Census for Peter Clement Cazalet; Crisp, *Visitation of England and Wales*; obituary for Edward Cazalet, *The Times* (London), April 23, 1883).
102. The original sculptures by Bertel Thorvaldsen (19 November 1770 – 24 March 1844; see Image 478), of which Anna Whistler saw plaster models at the Laws’ home, were in Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady) in Copenhagen (see Image 480). Her wish to see the original sculptures came true in the summer of 1848. See Images 481–484 of the sculptures of Christ and the Apostles, the baptismal font, and the pediment.
103. It has not been possible to ascertain who in Preston had written to Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister. The first person who comes to mind is Alicia’s biological sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley.
104. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday [May] 3<sup>rd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, wife of William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (Mrs. Gellibrand); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (Mrs. Ropes, dear Ropes chat); Alexander (Sashenka) Drury, old Mr. Drury’s grandson (Scharschinka

- Drury); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Alicia, Sister); Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler's sister-in-law (Maria's anxious watchings, dear Sister); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (dear mother, my mothers letter); Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (Mrs. Harrison); her husband, Joseph Harrison Jr. of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mr. H.); Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, American envoy extraordinary (Col Todd, our Ambassador); Sophia (Morgan) Baird (old Mrs. Baird); and Rev. Dr. Edward Law, the Whistlers' pastor (Dr. Law).
105. This is Mary Grant (b. c. 1782; d. 7/19 February 1863; buried 9/21 February 1863 in the Smolensk Cemetery) (PREC STP, no. 7476). It is not clear whether Anna Whistler meant Mrs. or Miss.
  106. Anna Whistler is alluding to the fact that in the summer of 1841 she was pregnant with the child whom they named Charles Donald and who died on the trip to Russia in 1843. In a letter to her sister, Catherine Jane McNeill, dated Stonington May 1st, 1838, Anna Whistler had said of her household: "good Julia and Thomas made fires" (McDiarmid, *Whistler's Mother*, p. 29). The letter suggests that they were servants in the Whistler home. It is possible that Sister Julia is that Julia, and that she came to Springfield to help out when Anna Whistler was pregnant. The Whistlers had moved to Springfield in 1840.
  107. The letters arrived on Saturday, 26 April 1845, on the eve of Russian Orthodox Easter. It has not been possible to locate any of them.
  108. Anna Whistler is referring to *Lectures on the Sympathies, Sufferings, and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ*, by The Rev. Hugh McNeile, M.A. I have read the third edition (London: John Hatchard and Son; Liverpool: Arthur Newling and H. Perris, 1845).
  109. This is William Wyatt McNeill (October 1833 – 4 June 1853), son of Gen. William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
  110. It has not been possible to locate these letters from George William Whistler and General Joseph G. Swift, his uncle, which must have been concerned, among other topics, with George's health and employment. See the biography of George William Whistler in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s."
  111. Russian Orthodox Easter Sunday occurred on 27 April in 1845 (see Image 379 for an icon of this feast day).

112. Romans 8:28: “And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose.”
113. Philippians 3:8: “Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Christ.”
114. Anna Whistler was reading to her sons from *The School-Boy; or, A Guide for Youth to Truth and Duty*, by John S.C. Abbott (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1839. John Stevens Cabot Abbott (Brunswick, ME 19 September 1805 – Fair Haven, CT 17 June 1877) came from a family described as “represent[ing] the best and gentlest tradition of New England Puritanism.” He graduated in the Class of 1825 from Bowdoin College, where his classmates included Hawthorne and Longfellow. “Upon graduation, he served for a year as principal of the Academy in Amherst, Mass., and then for three years pursued a theological course at Andover Seminary, engaging also in the establishment of Sunday-schools along the southern shore of Cape Cod.” His first pastorate upon graduation from Andover Seminary in 1829 was in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he was ordained on 28 January 1830 and remained until 1834. He also held pastorates in Roxbury (1835–1841), and Nantucket (1841–1843) and has been described as having a “restless energy [that] unfitted him for long-continued service in one place.” This same restless energy is cited as the cause of “his type of pulpit oratory – strongly evangelistic, little philosophical, but well-supplied with historical illustrations and aiming chiefly at practical piety.” In 1833, he began his career as an author “with the publication of *The Mother at Home, or the Principles of Maternal Duty Familiarly Illustrated*, a compilation of a series of lectures before the mothers’ association of his parish.” In 1843, several of his brothers “founded Abbott’s Institution,” a seminary for young ladies, in New York City. John S.C. Abbott joined them in December of that year, remaining involved in the school’s affairs for some “eight to ten years.” His book, *The History of Napoleon Bonaparte*, appeared in 1855; although immensely popular, “it was also the most severely censured of his writings.” His hero-worship of Napoleon “antagonized many American editors and critics.” In 1861, he returned to active ministry as pastor for five years of the Howe Street Church in New Haven, Conn., but continued his historical writing and publication. His best-known works following his life of Napoleon were *The Empire of Austria* (1859), *The Empire of Russia* (1860), *Italy*

(1860), *Civil War in America* (2 vols., 1863, 1866), *History of Napoleon III* (1868), *Romance of Spanish History* (1869), and *History of Frederick the Great* (1871). He also was a prolific writer in “American history, biography, ethics, religion, popular science, and juvenile literature.”

“To the discerning among his contemporaries it was plain that he was a florid writer, overfond of moralizing, and lacking independent authority; but to a large public who cared more for picturesque narrative than for sober interpretation the books were of absorbing interest, and undoubtedly did much to popularize the reading of history” (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Abbott, John Stevens Cabot”).

115. “Sweet-curd cheese” is a “generic term for cheeses that have no starter bacteria added, just rennet. They are processed very quickly before acid can develop. The cheeses are not really sweetened; rather, with less acid... more of the sweetness in the milk is able to come through” (“Sweet-curd cheeses,” *CooksInfo*, accessed 14 December 2020, <https://www.cooksinfo.com/sweet-curd-cheeses>). Sweet-curd is sometimes eaten with cream and fruit or berries.
116. Rennet is produced “from the stomach of an unweaned calf, containing rennin and used in curdling milk for cheese” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “rennet”).
117. Anna Whistler said she never wrote in her diary on a Sunday. She was writing Sunday’s entry, 4 May, on Monday, 5 May, but had failed to indicate this change in date, or she would have shown two Monday entries, one for Sunday and one for Monday, as she sometimes did. The one for Sunday therefore appears under the entry for Saturday, May 3, causing confusion for the reader. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* announced on Wednesday that “the Isaac Bridge was drawn back on Sunday morning” (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 90, Wednesday, April 25 [May 7 NS], 1845, p. 404).
118. 2 Peter 1:10 concerns the things which pertain to life and godliness: “Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.”
119. Exodus 20:8–11: “<sup>8</sup> Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. <sup>9</sup> Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: <sup>10</sup> But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant,

nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: <sup>11</sup> For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day, and hallowed it.”

120. Galatians 6:9: “And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.”
121. Anna Whistler is referring to the story of Moses leading the murmuring and rebelling Israelites out of bondage in Egypt to the promised land of Canaan, a wandering that lasted forty years. When the goal was finally reached, the generations that had originally set out had died. The story, which she gives as an example of the benefit that could have been reaped from unquestioning obedience, is told in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.
122. Anna Whistler omitted the word “came” in this sentence. Henrietta Law is Henrietta Maria Law (1822–1892), daughter of Rev. Dr. Edward and Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law.
123. The gist of this sentence seems to be that Major Whistler had suffered more from the cold in this drive than on any other similar occasion in winter. Perhaps Anna Whistler should have written “he had not ever suffered so from cold in a drive during the winter as he had today.”
124. The travel letters of Elizabeth Rigby (Norwich 17 November 1809 – London 2 October 1893; see Image 190) were published anonymously in 1841 as *A Residence on the Shores of the Baltic: Described in a Series of Letters*. The popularity of the book resulted in a second edition, also anonymous, with the title *Letters from the Shores of the Baltic* (1842). She wrote the letters to her mother, Anne (Palgrave) Rigby (1777–1872), during a trip undertaken in October 1838 to Reval, Estonia, to visit two sisters. She also spent some time in St. Petersburg and recorded her stay there as well in the letters. The reference to the Russian baptismal ceremony is on p. 54 of the first volume.

Rigby traveled again to Reval in 1844, this time for three months and with her youngest sister. They left London on 7 May 1844, traveling via Hamburg, Lübeck, and Travemünde, and arrived on 17 May at St. Petersburg, where they spent a fortnight. On 21 May, they dined at Rev. Law’s. He “spoke most kindly of my book,” she recorded in her journal. They departed for Reval on 30 May (Lady Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake, *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake; Edited by her Nephew, Charles Eastlake*

*Smith; with Facsim. of Her Drawings and a Portrait*, ed. Charles Eastlake Smith, 2 vols. [London: John Murray, 1895], vol. 1, pp. 129, 130, 133, 135). The Whistler family had left for their dacha on 14 May 1844, and Anna Whistler made no mention in her diaries of knowing that Rigby was in Russia.

Two of Elizabeth Rigby's sisters lived in Estonia: Maria Justina (b. St. Giles, Norwich 4 April 1808; bap. St. Giles, Norwich 8 April 1808; d. Biarritz, France 1 March 1889), who was married to Baron Robert de Rosen (Reval 20 March 1806 – Weissenstein, Russia 25 February 1887); and Gertrude (b. St. Giles, Norwich 22 February 1812; bap. St. Giles, Norwich 26 February 1812; d. Reval 14 August 1859), who was married to Baron Theophile de Rosen (b. Russia 26 March 1808 – Reval 30 June 1893), brother of Baron Robert de Rosen. Her sister, Anne (b. Framingham Earl, Norfolk 4 August 1804 – Slough, Berkshire 3 August 1869) had married at Framingham Earl, Norfolk, on 19 May 1830, Charles George de Wahl (Dorpat 28 December 1806 – Dorpat 25 May 1876). In July 1837, Anne divorced her husband, "Carl George de Wahl of Wattel, Estonia," and returned to England, where she ran a succession of girls' schools in Norwich and London. Maria Justina, when she came to England in 1848, seemed also to be separated from *her* husband, but did not divorce him. She supported herself and her children through running a dames' house in Eton (Register of Baptisms in St. Giles, Norwich; *Illustrated London News*, September 3, 1859; *Bury and Norwich Post*, August 30, 1869; Bishop's Transcripts for Norfolk; England marriages, IGI; Julie Sheldon, ed., *The Letters of Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake* [Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2009], pp. 5, 6, 23, 42n3, 43n2, 51n1, 68n2, 119n2, 120n1, 130n11, 191n1, 193n1, 196n2, 211n3, 213n2, 278n1, 302n1, 359n1, 453n1, 478n1, 505n8, 521n2, 568n1, 594n1; geni.com; *Chelmsford Chronicle*, August 6, 1869; C.J. Palmer and Stephen Tucker, eds., *Palgrave Family Memorials* [Norwich: privately printed, 1878], pp. 96–100, 112–114).

125. For a description of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts building and the principal ferry stair, see Note 60 above and Images 154–157.
126. Drawing classes were conducted in a two-hour session from five to seven p.m. Monday through Friday, but James did not attend every day (Seriakov, "Moia trudovaia zhizn'," p. 350).
127. "24 April [OS] The freeing of the Neva River from ice [see Image 349]. At eleven o'clock in the morning, on the occasion of the



freeing of the Neva River from ice, Counter Admiral Epanchin rode out from the Admiralty along the Neva in the launch of the Director of the Shipbuilding Department and was met en route by the Head of the Wharf. Stopping opposite the St. Petersburg Fortress they saluted with cannon fire from the launches which was done also from the Bastion. At this time the Commandant, General of Infantry Skobelev, rode out of the Fortress and over to the Jordan landing. On disembarking from the launches, they passed into His Majesty's Winter Palace along the main staircase, through the Small and Large Avancesal, and the Concert Hall upstairs to His Majesty. At this time the St. Petersburg Commandant was received to give his report" (RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 154, fols. 206 r & v [see Note 41 above for document title]). This entry is the equivalent of 6 May NS.

128. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday [May] 6<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (Mr. Ropes); Joseph Harrison Jr., of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mr. Harrison); Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison, his wife (wifes invitation, young Countrywoman); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my Sister, dear kind Sister); and Annie and Henry Harrison, children of Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (her sweet children).
129. "Moscow silk," was not, strictly speaking, silk. A factory named "Moscow Silk" was opened in 1820 on the bank of the Moscow River in the former Savvinskaia patriarchal district by the Moscow merchant, Rodion Dmitrievich Vostriakov, who owned it for 35 years. It came to occupy a prominent position among textile and trimmings factories in Moscow. The Moscow Silk Factory produced calico, which is a printed cotton fabric ("Moscow silk," *Wikipedia*, accessed 16 January 2021, [https://ru.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Moscow\\_shelk&ol did=111765176](https://ru.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Moscow_shelk&ol did=111765176)). Anna Whistler was therefore buying high-quality, fast-printed calico cloth to send to her family in Stonington and New York.
130. The breaking up of the ice on the Neva (see Image 349) and the restoration of navigation referred to in the diary entries of 5 and 6 May NS were discussed in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* on 25 April / 7 May:

This time the Neva has dealt mercilessly with us inhabitants of Vasilievskii Island: for more than 24 hours there was no communication between the two banks of

the river. The Isaac Bridge was drawn back on Sunday morning. Finally today the ice opposite the Fortress moved. At 11 A.M. the Commandant of the Peter and Paul Fortress crossed the Neva to the accompaniment of cannon fire and with the usual ceremony, and traffic back and forth began. Mr. Baird's Steamship "Star" made its first spring trip of the year up the river but was soon forced to return because it encountered much ice. After that, due to a strong wind an enormous amount of ice appeared that drew with it a large number of barques and rafts and a large galiote. During the night the ice ripped away the boats forming the bridge that were closest to Vasilievskii Island and which are never drawn aside and carried them down, from what we have heard, to the Maslianyi Depot. None of this, by the way, is astonishing because there have as yet been no warm days or warm rains and thus the ice has melted only slightly. It is difficult to say for certain just when the Neva did open up this year; but apparently one has to say it was from today because yesterday it had freed itself from ice only in places. This is an extremely late opening of navigation: in 127 years, the Neva has opened up later than 23 April [5 May NS] only 17 times." (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 90, Wednesday, April 25 [May 7 NS], 1845, p. 404)

131. Persons mentioned in the entry for Wednesday [May] 7<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Sister, Sister Alice); and Joseph Harrison Jr., of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (of Mr. Harrisons).
132. A "mantilla" is a lightweight shawl of silk, velvet, or lace worn by women from the 1840s to the 1880s. It hung long in the back and had long scarf ends in the front (Ghislaine Wood, Victoria and Albert Museum Research Department, London, telephone conversation with E. Harden, October 2003). "English silk would simply refer to the fabric, meaning a woven silk from London rather than a more elaborate silk from France" (Miles Lambert, curator of costume, Platt Hall, Rusholme, Manchester, to E. Harden, 12 November 2003, referencing Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, *Dictionary of English Costume*, p. 132).
133. The "Norwich," an up-and-down beam boat, was "generally ... the first boat sent out in the spring to break the way through the soft ice" on the Hudson River, because of its "stout hull and

powerful engines.” It was built in 1836 and became known “among river men ... as the ‘Ice King’” (David Lear Buckman, *Old Steamboat Days on the Hudson River: Tales and Reminiscences of the Stirring Times that Followed the Introduction of Steam Navigation* [New York: Grafton, 1907; repr., Astoria, NY: J.C. and A.L. Fawcett, 1990], pp. 26–27, p. 24 [photograph]).

134. Anna Whistler was looking forward to letters from the family of her brother, William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31); they lived in Brooklyn.
135. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday [May] 10<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Annie Harrison (Annie, these affectionate children); Henry Harrison (Henry, these affectionate children); Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison and Joseph Harrison Jr., parents of Annie and Henry (M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> H); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (my sister); Carl Hedenschoug, Major Whistler’s draftsman (M<sup>r</sup> Hadenskougg); and Martha Reed Ropes, sister of William Hooper Ropes, whose family lived across the hall (Martha Ropes).
136. This is a further allusion to Anna Whistler’s pregnancy, to which she never refers openly.
137. It has not been possible to identify the young German governess.
138. About four versts from the Imperial Porcelain Factory, on the eleventh verst along the Schlüsselburg Road, one sees a stone city and the enormous structures of the Aleksandrovskaiia Manufactory with their unusual proportions (see Image 242). Nothing can be more majestic than the exterior of this complex, which consists of magnificent buildings in the English style located on the bank of the Neva on a most pleasant site. The surroundings are picturesque and the manufactory in the midst of them is like a small English manufacturing town. On this site previously stood the dacha of Prince A.A. Viazemskii, procurator general in the reign of Catherine the Great. The manufactory was established in 1798 and from 1799 through the end of 1828 was under the patronage of Empress Maria Fyodorovna (see Images 415–416), mother of Nicholas I (see Images 420–423). By means of this institution, the empress gave asylum and ensured the future of several thousand orphans from the St. Petersburg Foundling Home, who worked here at cotton spinning, linen spinning, and weaving. Here, too, were made all of Russia’s playing cards, an enterprise bringing enormous annual profits to the manufactory, thus enabling it to be the gigantic establishment

that it was. The main entrance of the manufactory is along the extensive porch of its church, the façade of which is simple but majestic, with an azure cupola sprinkled with stars, and consists of a single arch crowned by a pediment. In the center of the arch is a door and above a semicircular window, in the depression of which are two angels supporting a cross. On the sides of the arch are two niches containing sculptures. The church, named for Alexander Nevsky, is located on the upper floor of the building; under it is a huge hall in which the children gather before dinner and spend their free time on winter evenings and in bad weather. In the semicircular end of the building there is a drafting room, while in the vaults underneath it food supplies are kept. In the drafting room there is an excellent collection of plans for all the buildings and machines of the manufactory. There is also a drawing class here for children demonstrating a talent along these lines. Space in the infirmary, the workshops, schoolrooms, and living areas has been calculated taking into consideration a healthful proportion of cubic feet of air per person; i.e. the attempt has been made to eliminate overcrowding. In two or three buildings attached to the church structure there are: on the right side the dining room, bakery, kitchen, etc; on the left, classrooms, a hall for examinations, a library, and several beautifully decorated rooms for receiving visiting members of the Imperial family. The dining room is an enormous hall divided down its entire fifty-sazhen length into two halves for boys and girls, up to two thousand of whom dine at one sitting. In each half there are two rows of tables. On the wall in a special frame is a dining timetable for the week. Excellent students are rewarded with something extra at the meal, while poor students are deprived of something. The kitchen and bakery, which are on the lower floor, are set up in excellent fashion and maintained with exemplary cleanliness. Food is sent up in cauldrons to the dining room by means of a machine. At the table children are served by invalid soldiers. The food is considered very good despite the multitudes of children and various other workers. The children are clean and nicely dressed in their identical uniforms. They stand in a decorous and reverent manner and sing a prayer before their meal. In addition to their work the children study catechism, Russian, arithmetic, drawing, and drafting. The civil servants and inspectors were themselves inmates of this establishment when children, but have completed their period of servitude. Together with other workers and guards, they number up to three thousand persons. The total number of male and

female inhabitants at the manufactory is about five thousand. In the middle of the courtyard is a five-story building (not including storage vaults) embellished with a belvedere. From it there is an extensive view of the picturesque surrounding countryside. Here there are well-situated, high, light, clean, healthy sleeping quarters for almost a thousand children. For the sake of absolute neatness, when they come across the courtyard from the workshops they must leave their footwear in one of the rooms on the lower floor and put on special shoes, which are kept in cupboards here. Water for washing is brought to all floors by means of pumps. On the south and north sides of the courtyard are buildings for cotton spinning. The first building, called the primary spinning mill, has a structure attached to it containing on the top floor machines for such processes as preparing combing cards and making loom reeds. The two middle floors contain a great number of lathes, boring mills, and other machine tools and equipment for making machines. On the storage vault level is the equipment for finishing skins used to make playing cards. In the spinning mill the cotton is cleaned, combed, taken up, and spun by machines situated in large spacious rooms. The workers, who for the most part are children (of both sexes), simply keep track of the proper working of the machines and transfer material from one place to another. Everything else works by steam. This structure has a four-story wing, part of which is occupied by various machine tools for preparing and assembling spinning and other machines. The other parts of the wing contain everything having to do with the making of playing cards. From 110,000 to 130,000 decks of cards are made here annually. Opposite this wing, inside the courtyard, there is a sixteen-hearth smithy made of inflammable materials and a small brass foundry. Lastly, there is also in the main courtyard the linen-spinning mill, located in a particularly spacious building. Here, in addition to a multitude of preparatory and spinning machines for linen and hemp, there are hand looms for sailcloth, machine looms, and machines for weaving processes like doubling and winding thread, winding spools, and preparing warps. In addition, there are one hundred more hand looms for weaving sailcloth in a special wooden structure. There is also a separate stone building, in which part of the readymade goods is stored. It too holds several looms. In a similar separate building there is a shop in which the workers deal solely with boiling and dyeing wool and which contains a spacious drying room. There is a special place for repair of machines. Near the gates of the manufactory is a building with apparatus for obtaining gas from

coal, which is then distributed by pipes to the cotton- and linen-spinning mills and other parts of this colossal works. There are many fine little houses here for the civil servants, master workers, married orphans and workmen. There is a large school for boys and girls, where the children of married orphans and workmen are taught by means of the Lancaster system. All learn reading, writing and arithmetic, and the girls receive, in addition, lessons in needlework. Architecturally, the school is remarkable in that the windows are located higher than a person is tall so that the pupils will not be distracted, while the floors slope so that the back desks are higher than the front ones. Although machines do the work, those who watch them are each assigned a slate on which the previous day's production is recorded and compared from day to day. Orphans of both sexes who receive their keep and clothing from the state have this deducted from their monthly salary. A part of their earnings is given to them while the rest is kept for them and earns interest. According to Burianov, there are instances when an orphan who has worked off the required number of years leaves the manufactory with a nestegg of up to a thousand rubles (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi po S. Peterburgu*, pt. 3, pp. 223–234). Pushkarev said that up to two million decks of cards were made annually, which is probably closer to the truth (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 609; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 228).

The director of the Aleksandrovskaia Manufactory (retired 1856) was Engineer-General Alexander Wilson (1776–1866; see Image 241). He had come to Russia at around the age of eight, when his father, James, an Edinburgh smith, responded to an 1784 recruitment call from the architect Charles Cameron, who was working for Catherine the Great (see Image 414). In 1803, having worked his way up, Alexander Wilson became assistant director at the manufactory and, at the death of its director, Charles Gascoigne, in 1806, took over as head. Under him the manufactory became a tourist stop for foreign travelers, a number of whom corroborated Burianov's statements about the exemplary working conditions of the children. The engineer Sir John Rennie said:

He possessed a calm even temper, firm, but just, and conciliating, a competent knowledge of what he undertook to perform, without possessing any considerable amount of invention ... [he] was thoroughly liked and respected, from the humblest workman under his orders up to the Emperor who was very fond of him.

Lastly, he was thoroughly honest, a rare thing in Russia in these days, where speculation was rife from the highest to the lowest; and if Wilson had followed the universal example, which he might have done with impunity, he would have made a large fortune, but after many years' service he died comparatively poor. (quoted in Bowles, "From the Banks of the Neva," pp. 68–69)

Therefore, during his term as director perhaps the orphans' nestegg of up to a thousand rubles was indeed possible.

139. "Clabber is a food produced by allowing unpasteurized milk to turn sour at a specific humidity and temperature. Over time the milk thickens or curdles into a yoghurt-like substance with a strong sour flavor" ("What is Clabber?" *My Dairy Diet*, accessed 5 January 2021, <https://dairyproducts.nutriarena.com/en/what-is-clabber-and-evaporated-milk/comparison-97-20-13>). "In rural areas of the Southern United States, it was commonly eaten for breakfast with brown sugar, nutmeg, cinnamon, or molasses added. Some people also eat it with fruit or black pepper and cream. Clabber was brought to the South by Ulster Scots who settled in the Appalachian mountains. It is still sometimes referred to as 'bonny clabber' ("Clabber," Wikipedia, accessed 5 January 2021, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clabber\\_%28food%29](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clabber_%28food%29)). The term "bonny clabber" come from the "Irish *bainne clabair*. *bainne* is milk in early Irish, and *clabair* is "a thick milk"; the first element is probably partly remodelled after "bonny," from French "bon," or good" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "bonny clabber").
140. As Anna Whistler had just mentioned having inherited her own mother's taste for contemplating nature, it would seem that by "grandmother" she means her mother Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22).
141. William Clarke Gellibrand (see Image 265) was born on 31 March. Tuesday, 13 May 1845, was the eleventh wedding anniversary of Mary Tyler (Ropes) (see Image 266) and William Clarke Gellibrand.
142. Dr. James Ronaldson Handyside, MD (c. 1796 – 11/23 December 1872), widower, and Sophia Jubb (c. 1818 – 31 October / 12 November 1886), spinster, were married in the English Church by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (see Image 253) on 10/22 May 1845 (PREC STP, no. 5500, p. 323). The doctor's surname is spelled variously Handyside, Handiside, Handysides,

- or Handisides. It is rendered in the notes to Anna Whistler's diaries as it appears in each document cited.
143. "Miss J—" is Sophia Jubb (see previous Note).
  144. Dr. Handyside's first wife and the mother of Alice and Mary, who are spoken of here and elsewhere in the diaries, was Sophia (Fock) Handyside (c. 1811 – 22 April/4 May 1842) (PREC STP, no. 5173). See the entry for Sunday [August] 11<sup>th</sup>, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and accompanying Notes 732 and 733.
  145. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday 13<sup>th</sup> May who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler's sister (Sister Klie [*sic*: Katie]); Joseph Harrison Jr. of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick and his wife, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (the Harrisons); and William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (Mr Ropes).
  146. "Catrinoff" was the English speakers' pronunciation of Ekateringof, spelled "Ekateringof" and pronounced "Yikuhtirin'guf." See the entries for Thursday [May] 29<sup>th</sup> [1844] and Monday [August] 26<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and Images 405–406.
  147. It is quite difficult to understand Anna Whistler's thinking about Maypole dancing. It is tempting to conjecture whether or not she was aware of its phallic significance. The point of her remarks here, however, seems to be that the silent, joyless masses in public spaces in St. Petersburg left a strong negative impression on her, as they did on most visitors, and that she felt that the masses would never be able to yield to the joyousness of Maypole dancing if it were a part of the Ekateringof festivities, which had to do with matchmaking. She herself would have been willing to watch Maypole dancing there, despite the joyless atmosphere she anticipated would be exuded by the surrounding crowd. Her remarks suggest that she herself had happily experienced Maypole dancing somewhere, and had evidence, perhaps from her English friends, of a more joyous May festival in "the south of Russia." For information about May Day festivities, see Dorothy Spicer, *The Book of Festivals* (New York: Women's Press, 1937), pp. 17–18, 58, 88–89.
  148. On Sunday, 11 May 1845, Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256) preached a farewell sermon at Alexandrofsky, as his poor health compelled him to return to England for a time. He had started Sunday services in the schoolroom at Harrison's house (see Images 239–240) in 1844 (*British and American Congregational*



*Church St. Petersburg, Jubilee Commemorative Volume, 1840–1890* [St. Petersburg: S. Golenischtscheff and F. Krankenhagen, 1891], pp. 26–27, 28 [hereafter, *Jubilee Commemorative Volume*].

149. “Babki” is an ancient game (some 1500 years old) of knucklebones, usually played by young people, but sometimes by adults, with two to ten players (see Image 356). In Russia, they favored knucklebones made from the joints of cows’ feet, because they are bigger and can hit their mark from a greater distance. Each player has a “shooter,” his biggest and heaviest knucklebone, often filled with lead or tin, and three to ten additional bones. A line is made in the center of an outdoor playing area, usually 30–40 meters in size for young players. The agreed-upon number of bones from each player is placed along the line in one or two rows or in a cluster, less often in a fanciful shape (e.g., a fish with open mouth) or by throwing the bones and letting them lie as they fall. There are various ways to determine who will go first: it can be by lot or by an elimination game, but usually it is by throwing one’s “shooter.” There are also variations on how one throws the “shooter” and from where. The first player goes up to where his “shooter” is lying and throws it from that spot at the bones standing on the line. If he knocks over a bone, he takes it. Each player then takes his turn. The game is over when there are no more bones on the line, but if any still remain after everyone has had his turn, the players can decide to keep playing with those bones or to each put down an additional agreed-upon number of bones. The game is usually repeated many times. The player who gets the most bones wins (L.V. Byleeva and V.M. Grigoriev, *Igry narodov SSSR* [*Games of the Peoples of the USSR*] [Moscow: Fizkul’tura i sport, 1985], pp. 37–39).
150. May 1/13 was the eleventh wedding anniversary of William Clarke and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand.
151. Persons mentioned in the entry for “June 6<sup>th</sup> *Old Style* today is & 18<sup>th</sup> our calender” who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Julia McNeill Palmer and George Edwin Palmer Jr., children of Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler’s sister (Sister Kates children); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, wife of the merchant William Clarke Gellibrand (M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand); Martha Reed Ropes, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand’s sister (Martha Ropes); Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers’ physician (D<sup>r</sup> Rogers, the doctor); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Sister, Aunt Alicia); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes); William Bonamy

Maingay, brother of Deborah Whistler's best friend, Emma Maingay (W<sup>m</sup> Maingay); Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, Emma Maingay, Eliza Anne Maingay (his Mother & Sisters); William Miller, merchant (M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Millers return, M<sup>rs</sup> M, M<sup>r</sup> Miller); and Joseph Swift Whistler, Anna Whistler's deceased step-son (brother Joes).

152. Anna Whistler was reading *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee* by the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar D.D. Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, Glasgow. It was probably the "New Edition with Appendices, Facsimiles of Writings, and Portrait" (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, [1844]). The young Scotsman who lent the book to her may have been William Saunders, William Miller's nephew, whom she knew.

Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne (Edinburgh 21 May 1813 – Dundee 25 March 1843) was educated at High School and the University of Edinburgh, which he entered in November 1827 (Andrew A. Bonar, *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee*, centenary [of his birth] ed. [Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1913], pp. 4, 5; all quotations in the following paragraph are from this edition). He studied modern languages, drew well, sang beautifully, wrote poetry, and had "considerable knowledge of music" (p. 5) In the winter of 1831, he began his divinity studies (pp. 5–6). Before entering divinity school, he had studied Hebrew and "could consult the Hebrew original of the Old Testament with as much ease as most of our ministers are able to consult the Greek of the New" (p. 29). Study of Bible criticism with a group of friends starting in their first year made him "indebted to this society for much of that discipline of mind on Jewish literature and Scripture geography which was found to be so useful in the Mission of Inquiry to the Jews in after days" (p. 30). Even before being ordained, he was sought out by several ministers as an assistant and in 1835 went to work with the Rev. John Bonar near Stirling. On 1 July 1835, he was "licensed ... to preach the Gospel" (p. 32). The people of the parish, colliers and workers in the Carron Ironworks, were not religious, and his experiences with them made him sympathetic to the Church Extension Scheme (p. 36), which "had in view as its genuine, sincere endeavour, to bring to overgrown parishes the advantage of a faithful minister, placed over such a number of souls as he could really visit" (p. 69). It is at this time that the first signs of consumption appeared in him (p. 37). In August 1836, he was chosen as pastor of St. Peter's, Dundee (p. 50) and was ordained

on 24 November of that year (p. 53). St. Peter's parish was "large and very destitute," and its "Church was built in connection with the Church Extension Scheme" (p. 54). "He sought to encourage Sabbath schools in all the districts of his parish" (p. 55). "His Sabbath day's services ... brought multitudes together, and were soon felt throughout the town" (p. 63). His voice was remarkably clear" (p. 63). He wanted to be "understood by the most illiterate in his audience" (p. 63). The communion Sabbaths, but also the common Sabbaths, drew many, who "began to journey long distances to attend St. Peter's" (p. 66). "The flocking of souls to his ministry" resulted in his being "solicited to remove" to Skirling, a small parish, and to "a country sphere" near Perth, for his health's sake, but he chose not to (p. 68). At the end of 1838, he experienced violent heart palpitations (p. 84). Advised to stop "his public work," he went home to Edinburgh (p. 84). In April 1839, he went, with his doctors' approval, on a Mission of Inquiry to Israel with three other Scottish ministers (p. 89), returning to England in November 1839 (p. 113). Their journey is recorded in Andrew A. Bonar and Robert Murray McCheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Edinburgh: William Whyte, 1842) (p. 142). Returning to Dundee, he was overwhelmed by the reception given him by the crowd attending his church (pp. 115, 116). "In the beginning of [1843] he published ... *Daily Bread*, an arrangement of Scripture, that the Bible might be read through in the course of a year" (p. 159). Returning to his parish on 1 March 1843 and "weakened by his unceasing exertions" preaching in northern Scotland, he was "more than ordinarily exposed to the typhus fever that was then prevailing in his parish, several cases of which he visited in his enfeebled state" (p. 161). He caught the disease and died on the morning of 25 March 1843 (pp. 162, 164). He was buried in the cemetery of St. Peter's Church, Dundee, on 30 March 1843 (p. 165). A memorial written by the Rev. J. Roxburgh movingly summed up his character:

Whether viewed as a son, a brother, a friend, or a pastor, often has the remark been made by those who knew him most intimately, that he was the most faultless and attractive exhibition of the true Christian which they had ever seen embodied in a living form. His great study was to be Christ-like. He was a man of remarkable singleness of heart. He lived but for one object – the glory of the Redeemer in connection with the salvation of immortal souls. Hence, he carried with him a kind of hallowing

influence into every company into which he entered, and his brethren were accustomed to feel as if all were well when their measures met with the sanction and approval of Mr. McCheyne. He was, indeed, the object of an esteem and reverence altogether singular toward so young a man, and which had their foundation in the deep and universal conviction of his perfect integrity of purpose, his unbending sincerity and truthfulness, his Christian generosity of spirit, and in the persuasion that he was a man who lived near to God, as was evident from his holy walk, his spiritual and heavenly-minded frame, and his singularly amiable and affectionate temper and disposition. (quoted in Bonar, *Memoir of Rev. McCheyne*, p. 169)

For McCheyne's publications, see Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae: The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1925), vol. 5, *Synods of Fife and of Angus and Mearns*, p. 341. Anna Whistler would have admired the fact that he was young and turned early to God and that his life was a light to others, something she wished her children's lives to be.

153. In 1845, Rev. George Williams published *The Holy City; or, Historical and Topographical Notices of Jerusalem; with some account of its antiquities and of its present condition ... with Illustrations from Sketches by the Rev. W.F. Witts* (London: John W. Parker, 1845). A second edition, published in 1849 in two volumes, was entitled *The Holy City; ... with Additions, including an Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Rev. Robert Willis*. For this work, Williams received a medal from the King of Prussia for literary merit. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, "no English writer has surpassed Williams in accurate knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Williams, George (1814-1878)").
154. With the opening of navigation, Captain John Frederick Kruger, whose ship, *Royal William*, had been iced in at Cronstadt over the winter of 1844–1845, had set out for England. He would return again on 23 June 1845. See Notes 16 and 67 above.
155. The Russian phrase for "trade rows" or "arcade of shops" (literally, "merchants' yard") is spelled "gostinyi dvor" and pronounced "gosstee'nee dvor'." Designed in 1752 by Francesco-Bartolomeo Rastrelli (1700–1771) in the Baroque style ("to replace a similar structure destroyed in the 1736 fire"), the

plan for it was revised in the early 1760s by Vallin de la Mothe (1729–1800), who “preserved the basic features of Rastrelli’s monumental plan” of “long arcades and massive porticos,” “but stripped the design of its statuary in favor of a simple detailing of the structure,” where the “classical element appeared most explicitly in the use of Doric columns to frame the entrances.” Built from 1758 to 1785, it consists of two tiers of arcades on both the exterior and interior of the building, which has the form of a trapezoid, and stands between the Nevskii Prospekt, Bol’shaia Sadovaia Street, Chernyshev Alley, and Gostinaia Street. Its external appearance had not changed by the 1850s, but had been enhanced in recent times by the presence of luxury stores rivalling some of the best stores on the Nevskii Prospekt. Here there were individual shops selling, for example, mirrors, perfume, tobacco, china, table linens, yard goods, furniture, antiques, and paintings. Inside the Gostinyi Dvor, with its arcades paralleling the exterior of the building, was a second set of shops with storerooms and warehouses and shops selling iron and brass wares. In the central courtyard was a weighing station (all material on the design of the building and all quoted material is from Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, p. 261; the rest is from Bur’ianov, *Progulka s det’mi*, vol. 2, pp. 161–163; Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, pp. 160–164; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 561–562).

156. Anna Whistler attended the Sunday service at the English Church on 8 and 15 June 1845.
157. This is William Miller, merchant and honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg. See the biography of Deborah Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
158. Anna Whistler and Alicia McNeill’s father was Dr. Daniel McNeill (c. 1756 – 7 December 1828), physician; they had different mothers. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E and Image 23.
159. A polyglot Bible is a Bible in several languages.
160. This is probably William Miller’s brother Richard, who lived in St. Petersburg.
161. Eliza Isabella Wellwood Stevenson had married Thomas Macdougall Smith at St. Pancras Church, London, on 24 September 1844 (Marriage Register of St. Pancras Church, film X30/38, Greater London Records Office and History Library

- [now the London Metropolitan Archives]; hereafter, GLRO). See Stevenson and Smith in Appendix E.
162. “Alargna” is a distortion of the pronunciation of Elagin Island, spelled “Elagin,” pronounced “Yihlah’gin.” The last syllable is pronounced like “gin” in “begin.”
  163. While generally referring to a “long and often unpowered flatbottom cargo boat often towed and pushed by other craft or means,” here “barge” refers to “relatively large and open pleasure boats used for public or private events” (*The Age of Sail*, s.v. “barge,” accessed 10 January 2021, <http://www.ageofsail.net/aostemod.asp>).
  164. Anna Whistler is referring to Captain Petr Petrovich Klovok, Major Whistler’s aide. See the entry for Thursday, 5<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> of April [1845], NYPL: AWPD, Part II and his biography in Appendix E.
  165. “2 May [OS] At 12:50 P.M. His Majesty set out for the Champ de Mars for the parade of the entire Guard Corps and the Cadets of the Military Institutions. On arrival at the Marble Palace His Majesty mounted a horse and rode past the troops, who gave him a military salute with music and the cry, ‘Hurrah!’  
     “At one o’clock Her Majesty together with the wife of the Heir Apparent, Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna and Grand Duchess Maria Maximilianovna, set out for the Champ de Mars. She rode past all the troops who gave the abovementioned military salute.  
     “After this Her Majesty and Their Highnesses rode to the home of His Highness Prince Oldenburg and watched the parade from the balcony, as did Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna.  
     “The Heir Apparent, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich and the Duke of Leuchtenberg were with the troops. Their Highnesses Grand Dukes Konstantin, Nikolai and Mikhail Nikolaevich were in their regiments.  
     “Her Majesty and Their Highnesses returned to the Winter Palace at a quarter to five.  
     “His Majesty returned at twenty-five minutes past five” (RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 154, fols. 233v – 234v [see Note 41 above for document title]).
  166. The Prince of Oldenburg (see Image 294) was Pyotr Georgievich (1812–1881), the nephew of Nicholas I, and the son of the emperor’s sister, Grand Duchess Ekaterina Pavlovna (21 May 1788 [OS] – 29 December 1818 / 10 January 1819) and Georgii

Petrovich, Prince of Oldenburg (1784 – 15/27 December 1812). He married on 11/23 April 1837 Princess Teresia-Wilhelmina-Frederica-Isabella-Charlotta, Princess of Nassau (1815–1871; see Image 295). On 24 March/5 April 1845, it had been announced in the newspaper that he had been given, along with his wife, the title of Imperial Highness by Nicholas I just as his father, Prince Georgii, had been given this title by Alexander I (see Image 418) (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 67, Saturday, March 24 [April 5 NS], 1845, p. 299; Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, pp. 299–301).

The Palace of His Imperial Highness Prince Pyotr Georgievich of Oldenburg, in which Capt. P.P. Klovok had obtained a window for the Whistlers, was located in the First Admiralty District, First Ward on the Palace Embankment, Swan Canal and Millionnaia Street, and the Field of Mars, and was among the most elegant buildings of St. Petersburg. It had been built in the reign of Catherine the Great by the President of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, I.I. Betskii (1704–1795), who had bequeathed it to his ward, a lady-in-waiting to the empress and later the wife of Admiral de Ribas. A hanging garden had been constructed on the terrace of the house. Later, the house was bought by the Prince of Oldenburg and decorated magnificently (Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 177; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, pp. 1, 33; E.A. Annenkova and Iu. P. Golikov, *Printsy Ol'denburgskie v Peterburge* [*The Princes Oldenburg in St. Petersburg*] [St. Petersburg: Rostok, 2004], pp. 266–272; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 2, pp. 100).

167. Many years later, Anna Whistler recalled the Russian reviews but was less impressed by them when she read of General Winfield Scott's reviews in Washington: "Think of general Scott's daily reviews there two hundred *thousand!* We used to feel surprised at the St. Petersburg reviews of *eighty thousand* men" (Anna Whistler to James Whistler [dictated to Aunt Kate] "The old corner house" Stonington Ct July 11/61, GUL: Whistler Collection, W506).
168. This is Maximilian-Eugene-Jozef-August-Napoleon, Duke of Leuchtenberg (Munich 20 September / 2 October 1817 – St. Petersburg 20 October / 1 November 1852; see Image 431), husband of the eldest daughter of Nicholas I and Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna, Maria Nikolaevna (Pavlovsk 6/18 August 1819 – St. Petersburg 9/21 February 1876; see Image 430). As Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna did not wish to leave Russia upon marriage (2/14 July 1839), he agreed to live in Russia. They lived in the Maria Palace (*Mariinskii dvoretz*) (see Image 136),

near St. Isaac's Cathedral (see Images 119–120) (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, pp. 195–196).

169. Military service was the most feared and heartbreaking obligation “imposed on the poll-tax population” (Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *From Serf to Russian Soldier* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 3). The period of service had been reduced from life to twenty-five years. In 1834, Nicholas I reduced it “to fifteen years for men with records of good conduct, who were put on indefinite leave for the balance of the term, with the obligation to perform six weeks work of service each year with the troops,” while “supernumerary troops, and cantonists (including Jews) ... had their term shortened to twenty years, instead of fifteen” (John Shelton Curtiss, *The Russian Army under Nicholas I, 1825–1855* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1965], p. 252). Nevertheless, conscription continued to be considered a family tragedy, because it “meant a sudden and final break from home and family with little chance of return” and “deprived peasant society of able-bodied men,” thus “bringing economic ruin to individual families” (Wirtschafter, *Serf to Soldier*, p. 4). “The local community as a whole [also] paid a heavy economic price” (Wirtschafter, p. 23): for example, it “bore the cost of outfitting and provisioning recruits for three months” (Wirtschafter, p. 23). These tragedies and burdens were preceded by inequalities and variations that occurred in the distribution of the burden of conscription in its initial stage “in the peasant village or urban community,” inequalities and variations that “depended on the condition of the population, [on] the honesty of local officials, and [in the case of] private estates, on the landlord” (Wirtschafter, p. 20). In 1838, a lottery system had been introduced, which “[r]eports from the 1840s and 1850s indicate ... [was] considered ... a success” by the government (Wirtschafter, pp. 22, 23). Nevertheless, the unassuaged fear of conscription continued to lead to running away and to self-mutilation on the part of recruits (Wirtschafter, pp. 5–8), engendering further family and community tragedies. “In most cases chance and arbitrariness ... determined the order of selection” (Wirtschafter, p. 25).

Anna Whistler, who would have learned about peasant conscription from her St. Petersburg friends and by reading travel journals, was indignant on moral grounds at the idea of the power of the autocrat and the consequent suffering of his subjects.

170. Crop failure occurred in 1845 (Wirtschafter, p. 14).



171. Curtiss, *Russian Army*, p. 254.
172. Ephesians 6:11: “Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.”
173. As Anna Whistler does not indicate the day of the week or give information to deduce it, it is not possible to say whether the date is correct; 28 June 1845 was a Saturday. Anna Whistler would not have written an entry on Sunday, 29 June, and there is no Monday, 30 June, entry to discuss events of Sunday, 29 June. The only other date possible for this entry is Friday, 27 June, as events referred to take us up through 26 June.

Persons mentioned in the entry for June 28<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Aunt Winstanley); Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, American envoy to Russia (Col Todds aid); George William Whistler, Anna Whistler’s step-son (George, my dear Son, dear brother, brother George); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Aunt Alicia); the unidentified governess (Mademoiselle); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes and her children, Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, and Louisa Harriet Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbors across the hall (M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes darling little trio of girls); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s mother (My loved Mother); Kirk Boott Whistler, who died in 1842, at the age of four (my little Kirkie); and Charles Donald Whistler, who died in 1843, at the age of two (Charlie).

174. Anna Whistler is referring to Elizabeth (Thielcke) Busk (b. c. 1812; bap. Christ Church, Southwark 25 February 1813; d. Coombe Lodge, Whitchurch, Oxfordshire 31 July 1879), who married on 11/23 October 1834 Wadsworth Dawson Busk (Friern Barnet, Middlesex 19 June 1804 – Ascot Place, near Windsor, Berkshire 14 April 1873), according to the Rites of the Church of England, Rev. R.W. Blackmore officiating (Non-Conformist Registers of Births, Marriages and Burials, RG 4, NAUK; *National Probate Calendar* (UK) 1873, 1879; transcript of the Register of Baptisms for Christ Church, Southwark, London Metropolitan Archives; PREC STP, no. 4358). Their families owned the firm of Thielcke and Busk, which had as one of its functions the clearing through customs and delivery of foreign goods (RGIA: Fond 248, op. 1, d. 8. 1842, Obschcii reestr dokladam direktora kantseliarii i stroitel’noi kommissii S-P-M zh. D. [General Register of Reports of the Director of the Chancery and the Construction Commission of the St. P.–M. Railway], no.

- 48). This was the approval by Count Kleinmikhel' of a bill they presented for 58 r. 60 k. for delivery of instruments from London to St. Petersburg.
175. Debo was planning to leave in the Hull steamer, the *Rob Roy*, on 14/26 June.
176. Julia Main (c. 1816 – 7/19 April 1858) (PREC STP, no. 6947) married William Heath Cotton (b. St. Petersburg 24 August 1805; bap. 4 October 1805; d. Hull 21 July 1864 [*Hull Packet*, August 19, 1864]) on 28 October / 9 November 1839 (PREC STP for 1839, p. 254). She was the sister of the “beautiful Mrs. Anderson,” Anne Elizabeth (Main), wife of Matthew Anderson (PREC STP, p. 237). The Cotton family lived at No. 78 Galernaia Street in 1845 in the house of Rall (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 9). This was later crossed out in the *BRBC STP 1845*, and the address given as the “corner of the 9th<sup>?</sup> Line.” For more biography of the Rall family, see G.I. Smagina, ed., *Nemtsy v Rossii Peterburgskie nemtsy Sbornik statei* [*Germans in Russia: Petersburg Germans: A Collection of Essays* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 1999)], pp. 205–211. The Cottons are referred to in this entry as Mrs. Cotton, Mr C, Mrs C.
177. Major Whistler left for a two-week inspection trip of the railroad on Wednesday, 13/25 June 1845.
178. The only steamship arriving the day of Major Whistler's departure was the *Aleksandra* from Lübeck, with thirty-one passengers (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 133, Saturday, June 16 [June 28 NS], 1845, p. 606).
179. Matthew 10:30: “But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.”
180. Anna Whistler, who was seven months pregnant, was thinking of her possible death in childbirth that summer.
181. One of the nurses was Hannah Walker Stead, spinster. In 1845, she was a nurse at the Ropeses' house but later worked for the Mirrieleeses (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 54).
182. “The Adoptionist controversy ... turns on the question whether Christ, as to his human nature, was the Son of God in essence, or only by adoption.” The Adoptionists, as they were called, “taught that Christ as to his divinity is the *true* Son of God, the Only-Begotten of the Father; but as man he is his *adopted* Son, the First-Born of Mary” (Philip Schaff, *Medieval Christianity: From Gregory I to Gregory VII, AD 590–1073*, vol. 4 of *History of the Christian*

- Church* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885], p. 513.) Anna Whistler received from her mother some "lines upon the Adoption"; it has not been possible to determine their source. For hymns about "Adoption and Assurance," see, for example, *Hymns for the Use of The Methodist Episcopal Church*, rev. ed. (New York: Carlton and Porter, [1849]), pp. 276–288.
183. Anna Whistler and George William Whistler wrote to Major Whistler on 26 June 1845.
  184. The little Cotton children were Maria Helen (b. 6/18 October 1842), Emily (b. 6/18 May 1844), and Charles Main (b. 11/23 May 1845) (PREC STP, no. 5511, pp. 294, 311, 324). The month-old child, Charles Main, was being left with Mrs. Matthew Anderson.
  185. Persons mentioned in the entry for July 8<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (an absent parent) and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Alicia).
  186. On 9 July 1845, George William Whistler celebrated his twenty-third birthday.
  187. Persons mentioned in the entry for [Thursday] August 28<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (my indulgent mother, Mother); George Washington Whistler, Anna Whistler's husband (beloved husband); George William Whistler, Deborah Delano Whistler, James Abbott Whistler, and William McNeill Whistler (children); Charles Johnston McNeill and William Gibbs McNeill, Anna Whistler's brothers (brothers); Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer and Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler's sister and sister-in-law (sisters); Charles Donald Whistler, whose birthday was 27 August (my last little one); Dunia, the Whistlers' housemaid (Dounia); and William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (Mr. Ropes).
  188. There are statements in the preceding diary entries for 1845 which, through the hindsight resulting from reading this entry, we understand as clues to Anna Whistler's condition. In this remarkable entry, we learn for the first time in plain terms that she is pregnant and in fact in labor. Viewing her labor in euphemistic Victorian language as "symptoms of approaching illness," but aware also of the very real danger that she may die in childbirth, having before her the examples of the two young grand duchesses, one of whom had died at approximately the

same time a year before; surely frightened at the prospect of undergoing this experience in a strange land and with her family doctor absent; and having received news the evening before of a friend's death, she records her thoughts and prayer that she be spared. Interrupted by a servant, who calls her to the window, she rises to look out, sees "Debos graceful form," and weeps, perhaps as much for herself as for her step-daughter. She then returns to her diary and concludes her prayer, committing herself to God and accepting whatever will be, as she always has tried to do. In quoting Proverbs 27:1 – "Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth" – she replaces "day" with "night" so that the statement becomes specific to her situation: that it is night, and she is in labor and may die.

189. Anna Whistler is quoting from "The Order for the Burial of the Dead" in *The Book of Common Prayer*, when the mourners "come to the grave, while the corpse is made ready to be laid into the earth," and the priest sings or says: "In the midst of life we are in death: of whom may we seek for succor, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeased?" (*Book of Common Prayer ... in the United States*, p. 262; *Oxford Book of Common Prayer*, p. 97).
190. Lucy Williston Ann (Grosvenor) Nichols, wife of Rev. John Cutler Nichols of Lebanon, Connecticut, had died on 26 June 1845. See the entry for St. Petersburg, March 1845 Ash Wednesday – Old Style, NYPL: AWPB, Part II, and accompanying Note 3; and Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg, Monday evening Dec 13<sup>th</sup> English Christmas day [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W375.
191. There are death records for two children of Rev. John Cutler Nichols and Lucy W.A. (Grosvenor) Nichols in Lebanon, Connecticut: Anna (c. July 1838 – 29 February 1840, age 20 months) and Abby (c. 1 July 1841 – 1 October 1841, age 3 months) (*Cemetery Inscription Book for the Lebanon Center Cemetery*, p. 58). A check of the birth records for Lebanon does not indicate any other children of this marriage.
192. This is the parable of the talents, Matthew 25:23: "His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou has been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord."
193. The book Anna Whistler had read in an earlier edition is John Angell James, *The Anxious Enquirer after Salvation, Directed and Encouraged* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1875). The

1834 preface was reprinted in the 1875 edition. The volume consists of ten chapters with titles such as “Deep Solicitude about Salvation Reasonable and Necessary,” “Religious Impressions, and the Immense Importance of Retaining and Deepening Them,” “On the Importance of Gaining Scriptural Knowledge, and Clear Views of Divine Truth,” and discussions of repentance, faith, mistakes, perplexities, cautions, and encouragements for the enquirer seeking improvement in order to attain salvation.

194. Bowdoin College Library, which holds the Jacob Abbott Collection, suggests that Anna Whistler may have had in mind *The Path of Peace; Or, A practical guide to Duty and Happiness* by John S.C. Abbott (Boston and New York, 1836) (Ian Graham, Special Collections and Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, ME, to E. Harden, 4 September 2002). For a biography of John Stevens Cabot Abbott, see the entry for Saturday [May] 3<sup>rd</sup> [1845], NYPL: AWPB, Part II, and accompanying Note 114.
195. Emily Hall (b. c. 1827 – 31 March / 12 April 1846) of Leeds was visiting her sister, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, and brother-in-law, William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbors across the hall.
196. “Guide not the hand of God, nor order the finger of the Almighty unto thy will and pleasure; but sit quiet in the soft showers of providence, and favourable distributions in this world, either to thyself or others” (Sir Thomas Browne [1605–1682], *Christian Morals*, in *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, including his Unpublished Correspondence, and a Memoir*, ed. Simon Wilkin, 4 vols. [London: H.G. Bohn, 1846], vol. 4, p. 95).
197. Persons mentioned in the entry for October 23<sup>rd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Kirk Boott Whistler, who died in 1842, at the age of four (Kirkie); Charles Donald Whistler, who died in 1843, at the age of two (Charlies); and Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon).
198. John Bouttatz Whistler, named for Colonel Ivan Bouttatz, was born 17/29 August 1845.

On 20 October 1845, Major Whistler wrote to Maxwell of the new baby. This letter is not among the Maxwell Papers at the N-YHS; however, on 18 November 1845, Maxwell answered Major Whistler, whose letter he had received on 16 November in Paris. His response is delightful in its naiveté and humorous feigned consternation:

Another boy—bless me but I never thought of that. I left so lately and now another boy, born and christened is

announced by your letter of October 20 — . . . Such events whisper doleful things in the ears of a selfish bachelor and the poor congratulations of such an one upon your happiness is offered with his sincere and earnest wishes for the continued health of your excellent lady and infant son, John Bouttatz. If in my simplicity I was a little surprised to hear of your having another jewel to charm the tedium of your Northern residence, how shall I express my astonishment to hear that your neighbours the Ropes' have another daughter. If I remember rightly the same thing occurred a day or two before I left. (John S. Maxwell to G.W. Whistler, Paris, November 18, 1845, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers)

From Maxwell's letter we can infer that James was concerned about the citizenship of this Russian baby, for Maxwell says: "He must not give himself any uneasiness with respect to the republican rights titles and privileges of his youngest brother, who however retains by our law the entire liberty of becoming a Russian subject if he thinks proper. It becomes therefore a duty for James to instil into the mind of this brother a proper appreciation of Yankee land—the superior attractions of Stonington, Springfield etc. at the earliest possible period, lest the little fellow take an invincible preference for Petersburg" (John S. Maxwell to G.W. Whistler, Paris, November 18, 1845; see also John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, Paris, Jan. 14, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). Major Whistler may also have reported on James's progress in drawing, for Maxwell responded: "I suppose James will be able to take my portrait by the time that I see him next" (John S. Maxwell to G.W. Whistler, Paris, November 18, 1845).

Either Maxwell or the Major was confused about the births of the Ropes children. The child born in 1845 (20 August) was a boy, William Hall Ropes, and the child born before him, Louisa Harriet, had been born in 1843 (18 November), not 1844 (Harriet Ropes Cabot, list of marriages and issue, PEM).

199. The Russian word for "carriage" is spelled "kareta" and pronounced "kahryeh'tuh."
200. The Russian word for "nurse, nanny" is spelled "nianiuska" and pronounced "nyah'nyooshkuh."
201. The nurse's name is spelled "Tat'iana" and pronounced "Tahtyah'nuh" (Petrovskii, *Slovar' russkikh lichnykh imen*, p. 195).

202. Dr. James Ronaldson Handyside's visits imply that Dr. James Rogers, the Whistler family physician, was absent from St. Petersburg.
203. Alicia McNeill Harrison, named for Anna Whistler's half-sister, was born on 31 August / 12 September 1845, at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works. She was the daughter of Joseph Harrison Jr. and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison. She was baptized on 3/15 November 1845. Her sponsors were George William Whistler and Alicia C. McNeill. Her brother, William Henry, and her sister, Annie, who had been born and baptized in Philadelphia, were baptized again on this date by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (PREC STP, no. 5558, p. 329).
204. John Bouttatz Whistler was baptized on 2/14 September 1845 by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (PREC STP, no. 5650, p. 328). His sponsors were Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my sister Alicia); George William Whistler, Anna Whistler's step-son (George); and Rev. Henry Washington Lee, Anna Whistler's Springfield, Massachusetts, pastor (Rev.<sup>d</sup> H Lee). There is some discrepancy in this entry in dates and pronouns. Titania is said to have gone to the Harrisons eight days (25 August / 6 September) after the birth of John Bouttatz Whistler. John Bouttatz Whistler was a fortnight old on 12 September; he was baptized on 2/14 September, when *he* was more than a fortnight old. *She* (Alicia McNeill Harrison) could not have been a fortnight old, as Anna Whistler records. *She* must be *he*. The *she* who was permitted to be present at John Bouttatz Whistler's christening must refer to Titania.
205. In his report of 12/24 December 1844 to the emperor, Count P.A. Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243) reported that Lt. Colonel Bouttatz had requested permission to retire from the service for personal reasons. His service record met the requirements for retirement in the rank then held by him with the right to continue wearing his uniform. The request by Kleinmikhel' that Bouttatz be retired with the rank of Colonel and "with uniform" was approved by Nicholas I on 28 December 1844 / 10 January 1845 (RGIA: Fond 446, 1844, op. 13, d. 4. Vsepoddanneishie doklady: 1229 [Most Devoted Reports]). As a result, it has not been possible to trace through a service record what Bouttatz was doing in late 1845 or when he had left for "the borders of China." With this mention of him he disappears from the diaries. As Anna Whistler says he was "engaged in some mines," he may have gone

- to work for the Corps of Mining Engineers. Further information about him until his death is given in his biography in Appendix E.
206. Christina, the laundress, went to work for the Harrisons after Anna Whistler and Willie left St. Petersburg in May 1849 (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Anna Whistler, Alexandroffsky, June 4/16 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). Anna Whistler inquired of Harrison about her from England (Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 19 [1849], LC: P-W, box 34). She hoped Mrs. Harrison liked Christina and sent a message that Christina's pet, Willie, was well and that Mary Brennan did not forget her (Anna Whistler to Mrs. Harrison 62 Sloane St. June 20<sup>th</sup> [1849], LC: P-W, box 34). Both of Anna Whistler's letters arrived too late. Christina had died suddenly and was buried on 5/17 June 1849 (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Anna Whistler, Alexandroffsky, June 4/16 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). Peter, the coachman, who had a brother in St. Petersburg in 1846 as well as a wife in Moscow (entry for Monday [January] 5 [1846]. Russian Christmas Eve [December 24, 1845], NYPL: AWP, Part II), became an assistant in [the Harrisons'] garden" (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Anna Whistler, Alexandroffsky Nov 21<sup>st</sup> [OS] 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). As Peter sometimes got drunk, Anna Whistler asked Harrison to "[s]ay a good word to [him] in my name to keep him straight" and to ask him whether "he reads the bible I gave him every day" (Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Fleetwood, Monday, July 15<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34). Peter was still in the Harrisons' employ in November 1849 and sometimes gave way to "his old weakness" (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Anna Whistler, Alexandroffsky Nov 21<sup>st</sup> [OS] 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). Yohon (Johann), the German footman, was a Lutheran and had a wife and children in St. Petersburg (entry for Saturday, March 14 [1846], NYPL: AWP, Part II). Of the remaining servants, we know only that Anna Whistler also inquired of Harrison about the Whistlers' "faithful Dvornic" (Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 19, 1849, LC: P-W, box 34) and Marie, their former Finnish cook, who she supposed had "gone to Finland" (Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Fleetwood, Monday, July 15<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34).
207. On Tuesday, 16 September 1845, Deborah Whistler, George Whistler, and Alicia McNeill left St. Petersburg on the *Rob Roy* for Hull.



208. Matthew 10:29–31: “<sup>29</sup> Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. <sup>30</sup> But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. <sup>31</sup> Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.”
209. A word is missing here, possibly “allotted” or “assigned.”
210. Anna Whistler records that the children’s Domini, Monsieur Lamartine (b. c. 1795), was a German and a member of the Lutheran Church. He had been tutor to the son of General Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin (see Note 212 below), who was now fifteen years old. Lamartine was replacing the Whistlers’ governess, known only as “Mademoiselle.” Anna Whistler came to think he was “always hypocondrical” and to consider him lazy (entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> of July [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). The Whistlers saw him on and off during their stay, although he was not always employed by them. In 1848, he was teaching French to Mrs. Leland, the sister of Joseph Harrison Jr. (Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. P. Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366). He lodged at 54 Galernaia in the same house as Mrs. Leon (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 34). He does not appear in the Amburger Datenbank. When Anna Whistler says she could “not converse with a German”, she means that she could not speak German; Lamartine and her sons obviously conversed in French, which she was afraid to speak but could understand.
211. This date is poorly written but must be 18 September (Thursday), as Monsieur Lamartine was installed after the excitement of the christening of John Bouttatz and the departure of Deborah Whistler, George Whistler, and Alicia McNeill for England (on 16 September) had subsided.
212. General Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin (Kamenets-Podol’sk 1803 – 3/15 November 1875; see Image 245) was educated until the age of thirteen in a Jesuit boarding school in St. Petersburg and then in the Corps of Pages. In February 1827, he was sent to the Caucasus because of the Russo–Persian War. In 1828, war with Turkey broke out. Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), who decided to participate personally in the campaign, took note of Chevkin during one of the battles and on the spot personally appointed him one of his aides-de-camp. Chevkin participated also in the campaign occasioned by the Polish uprising of 1830–1831. He was since April 1834 chief of staff of the Corps of Mining Engineers, and had studied railways in England and Western Europe. He was a member of the Construction Committee and Construction Commission for the St.

Petersburg–Moscow Railway (Haywood, *Russian Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 12, 16). He married in 1829 a former lady-in-waiting, Countess Ekaterina Fomishna Tomatis (November 1829 – 1879). They had one son, Nikolai Konstantinovich (30 August / 11 September 1830 – 1857), who served in the Uhlan regiment of the Life Guards. Monsieur Lamartine had been tutor to this son (A.V. Lobanov-Rostovskii, *Russkaia rodoslovnaia kniga* [*Russian Genealogical Book*], 2 vols. [St. Petersburg: A.S. Suvorin, 1895], vol. 2, p. 350; RGIA: Fond 1162, op. 6, d. 595. O sluzhbe ... Generala ot infanterii Chevkina. 26 Okt. 1855 g. – 9 Feb. 1876 g. [Concerning the service record ... of General of the Infantry Chevkin. Oct. 26, 1855 – Feb. 9, 1876], p. 166); S. Zhitkov, “Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin Biograficheskii ocherk 1803–1875” [Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin Biographical Essay, 1803–1875], *Russkaia starina* 19 (May 1877): pp. 1–22; N.N. Selifontov, “Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin Glavnoupravliaiushchii putiami soobshcheniia i publicnymi zdaniiami s 15-go oktiabria 1855 po 11-oe oktiabria 1862 g” [Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin: Director of Transport and Public Buildings from 15 October 1855 through 11 October 1862], *Russkaia starina* 22 (May 1878): pp. 1–38. The essay on the middle portion of Chevkin’s life slated to be published in a future issue of *Russkaia starina* was not published.

213. On 24 October 1845, Deborah Whistler celebrated her twentieth birthday.

Persons mentioned in the entry for Oct 24<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley and John Winstanley, Anna Whistler’s half-sister and her husband (Aunt and Uncle Winstanley); Katherine Prince, daughter of John Dynely Prince of Lowell, Massachusetts (Kate Prince); George William Whistler, Deborah Whistler’s brother (dear George); and Catherine Julia McNeill, Deborah Whistler’s first cousin (Julia).

214. It has not been possible to locate these letters from Deborah Whistler. See William H. Swift to General Joseph G. Swift, Washington, October 21, 1845, NYPL: Swift Papers.
215. “Flosh” was the name of the property at Cleator, in Cumberland, belonging to Thomas Ainsworth, a nephew of John Winstanley (William Macquhae Ainsworth, *A Memorial of W.M. Ainsworth: Being a Selection of his Sermons, Prayers, and Letters of Travel*, ed. James Harwood and J.E. Carpenter [London and Edinburgh: Williams

- and Norgate, 1891]). See the biography of the Ainsworth family in Appendix E (hereafter, Ainsworth and Stirling).
216. Thomas Ainsworth (bap. 29 March 1804 – 28 June 1881), flax spinner, and his wife, Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth (bap. 6 April 1808 – 28 February 1867) were living at Flosh, Cleator, Cumberland, with their sons, David (b. 1842) and John Stirling (b. 30 January 1844) (Ainsworth, *Memorial*, pp. xii, xiii, xxii; OPRS).
217. Many of the lakes of the Lake District are in Cumberland, where the Ainsworths lived: Derwentwater, Wastwater, Buttermere, Ennerdale Water, Crummockwater, and the northern reaches of Ullswater. “Cumberland is a maritime, lake, and border county ... Its length from Ravenglass to Spadeadam Waste is 64 miles, its greatest breadth 34 miles, average breadth 22 miles, and circuit about 215 miles, 75 of which are coast. The area of the county is 1,565 square miles, or 1,001,273 statute acres, of which about 300,000 are mountain and lake. ... Hills, valleys, and ridges of elevated ground occupy the centre. The mountainous district in the south-west is the most interesting to the traveller, for here are situated Saddleback, Skiddaw, and Helvellyn, and the lakes of Ulleswater [*sic*], Thirlmere, Derwentwater, and Bassenthwaite ... The mountains of Cumberland are exceedingly numerous, and many of them immense in elevation and singular in structure [with] sublime heights, ... romantic forms, ... the immensity of rocks composing them, [and] the imposing, wild, and awful majesty of their appearance ... Between these grander heights are many hills of various degrees of elevation; some of them cut through by clear and rapid torrents; others based in richly wooded, highly cultivated valleys, fertilised by quiet brooks and rivers; others dipping their precipitous and craggy sides down into the beautiful and celebrated lakes, the picturesque and varied beauties of which have so often been described in ‘stately prose and melodious verse’” (William Wheelan, *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, Comprising Their Ancient and Modern History, a General View of Their Physical Character, Trade, Commerce, Manufactures, Agricultural Condition, Statistics* [Pontefract, UK: W. Wheelan; London: Whittaker; Manchester: Galt, 1860], pp. 57–59).
218. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday November 29<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: George William Whistler, Anna Whistler’s step-son (Georges letter, George); Katherine Prince, daughter of John Dynely Prince of Lowell, Massachusetts

(Kate Prince); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Alicia); Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Eliza); and John Winstanley, Eliza Winstanley's husband (Uncle W).

219. The *Great Britain* (Capt. Hosken) left Liverpool at 4 p.m. on Saturday, 27 September 1845 (Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 22 January 2011).

In the first ten days she experienced westerly winds, strong gales and heavy sea at times, during which the ship behaved admirably. For a few hours of the 2d October the wind was N.E., and in a heavy squall the foremast was carried away.

She run short of coal, but fortunately the schooner David Coffin, of New Bedford, happened to be at Holmes' Hole ... with a cargo of coal, and at dark on Monday evening [13 October] was alongside the *Great Britain*, supplying her. (*New York Daily Herald*, Thursday, October 16, 1845, p. 1)

A first-hand report appearing in the *Manchester Guardian* was reprinted in the *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, Western Countries and South Wales Advertiser* (Bristol, England), Saturday, November 1, 1845, p. 2:

PERILOUS SITUATION OF THE GREAT BRITAIN STEAMSHIP—We have been favoured (says the *Manchester Guardian*) with the following extract from a letter written by one of the passengers of the *Great Britain* steamer, in her outward passage, dated Holmes' Hole, Mass., October 12th. The writer says—"On that day (date left blank) we made Cape Race, Newfoundland. At that time our compasses, &c., were in perfect order; on Sunday, the 12th, when we took observation, it proved we were 40 miles farther north than the distance we had run by the log, and the course we had steered should have placed us. This made the captain more alert, and it was remarked. About six o'clock this morning I came on deck. When I awoke the engines were stopped, and I heard the boatswain calling the soundings; knowing that we could not be in the soundings unless something was wrong, I dressed hurriedly, and on reaching the deck found we were close to land, with breakers all around us. No one knew where we were, nor could any one hazard more than a guess. At eight a.m. we made out a lighthouse, and then

it was proved to be Nantucket; it was now only that we knew we were on the most dangerous coast and shoals on the Atlantic (west). We fired guns and hoisted the flags for a pilot; at nine a.m. sent a boat ashore, and procured a man, who, on boarding us, said, in reply to the question "What are you?" "a farmer and a fisherman." However, he proved good at the bottom, and placed us in deep water. We then dodged about, firing guns, &c., until at eleven a.m. a pilot was placed on board; he would not take us back to the place from whence we had entered on these shoals, and declared it a wonder how we had got through this danger without harm. Several coasting ships' boats put off to us, and all asked what we wanted there. At times we only had 21 feet of water, and our vessel drew 16 to 17 feet; it was a trying time, and all agree in saying it was a most providential deliverance. At twelve a.m. Captain Hosken came below, and informed us that he could not undertake to convey the passengers to New York, unless he put into some port for a supply of coals, and he had consulted with the pilot, who had recommended Holmes' Hole as a place where many coal vessels put in, taking coals to Boston. We had only sixteen hours' coal on board (and that must be at half speed), whereas at that rate we could not make New York until two days; if we were to go at full speed, we should burn them up in a few hours. For Holmes' Hole the ship was steered, and we anchored here at four p.m. Captain Hosken went ashore, and succeeded in purchasing a cargo, which we are now taking in about three miles from the village. My opinion of the *Great Britain* is, that a finer model never was built, and her engines are good; but she is not rigged properly, and it is the fault of the directors, for Captain Hosken says he has protested against it from the commencement. It must also be accounted for why we were sent to sea with only sixteen days' coal on board, and those sixteen days we did not work full speed; in fact, I do not believe that when the *Great Britain* left Liverpool we had more than fifteen days' coal on board, provided they had been burned in quantity to keep on the steam at full. Our screw had been altered again. I would only wish that those scientific men who try these experiments were to be compelled to trust themselves to them. How we got among the Nantucket shoals Captain Hosken should answer."

The outcome of this disaster, for the steamship *Great Britain*, was reported in the *New York Daily Herald* on Friday, 17 October 1845:

STEAMSHIP *GREAT BRITAIN*—This vessel will not make another trip to this city this year. On her return to England she will be taken into dock, a false keel put to her, her power increased, and her propeller improved. She will recommence her trips in the spring, and will probably cross the Atlantic in twelve days.

220. Deborah Delano Whistler had visited the sea-bathing establishment of Crosby Waterloo, called simply Waterloo, a “new marine settlement” “five and a quarter miles from Liverpool.” It was “a village of considerable size, spread at a short distance from the low-water sands; and in front of it a long line of neat cottages, one story high, each having a shelving verandah over the ground-floor window, presents its face to the south-western horizon” (A.B. Granville, *The Spas of England, and Principal Sea-Bathing Places*, 3 vols. [London: Henry Colburn, 1841], vol. 2, *Midland Spas*, p. 15).
221. Mrs. Frances (Morton) Stevenson died on 16 October 1845. See the entry for St. Petersburg. November 28<sup>th</sup> 1843, NYPL: AWPB, Part I, and accompanying Note 48, and Stevenson and Smith in Appendix E.
222. Matthew 25:40: “And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.”
223. Reverend John Cutler Nichols remarried on 30 October 1847. His second wife was Mary Woodbridge (Hartford, CT 21 July 1814 – Old Lyme, CT 29 September 1861) (*Cemetery Inscription Book for Lebanon Center Cemetery*, p. 58). Useful information has also been obtained from the diary of Lucius W. Robinson (1817–1901), which is in the possession of Mrs. Belle Robinson of Columbia, Connecticut. I wish to thank her for her graciousness in copying out for me the references to the Rev. John C. Nichols, and to thank the Rev. George Milne of Hebron, Connecticut, for arranging for the copying. Rev. Nichols is also referred to in this entry as Mr. N.
224. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday night Dec 27<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s mother (my honoured Mother); Katherine Prince, daughter of John Dynely Prince, of Lowell,

- Massachusetts (Kate Prince, dear friend from Lowell); Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my dear Sister); John Winstanley, Eliza Winstanley's husband (brother Winny); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Alicia); the unidentified governess (Mademoiselle); Monsieur Lamartine, James and Willie's tutor (their kind tutor, tutors apartments); Charles Wood, cotton-spinning merchant, and his wife, Lydia (Procter) Wood (to Mr Woods, the little lady); the Whistler servants (Yohon, Dunia, Christine, Coacher); Carl Hedenschoug, Major Whistler's draftsman (Hadenskougg); and George William Whistler, Anna Whistler's step-son (George).
225. It has not been possible to locate any of Deborah Whistler's fortnightly letters. Kate Prince made travel notes during her trip to Europe. It would be valuable to know whether she speaks in them of Deborah Delano Whistler and how the latter came to meet Frances Seymour Haden. These small books of travel notes are held by the Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian Institute and cannot be photocopied because of their fragile state, nor are there any plans to reproduce them in the near future.
226. Chaddock Hall (see Image 467) is in Boothstown, Worsley, near Manchester. It was part of the Ellesmere estates. The family living in it were the Smiths (John Lunn, *Short History of the Township of Tyldesley* [Tyldesley, UK: Urban District Council of Tyldesley, 1953], p. 96). See also the entry for South Shore of Blackpool. on the Lancashire coast. July 28<sup>th</sup> 1847, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Notes 847–858. Anna Whistler seems to have omitted the word “holidays” after “the Christmas.”
227. The birthdays of William Henry Harrison (11/23 December) and Annie Harrison (13/25 December) were being celebrated together (PREC STP, no. 5558, p. 329) on Wednesday, 12/24 December. For a description of these birthday festivities in a different year, see Andrew Eastwick to Edward Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works, St. Petersburg December 12th/24th 1847 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*.
228. Anna Whistler is referring to Mr. Thomas Drury, their landlord on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844.
229. The Russian expression for “a tip” (literally, “for tea”) is spelled “na chai” and pronounced “nahchay’.”
230. “Sarsha” is Anna Whistler's pronunciation of the diminutive and endearing form for Aleksandr, spelled “Sasha” and pronounced

- “Sah’shuh.” Alexander, about five-and-a-half years old, was the son of Transport Engineer Lt. Colonel Thomas Drury Jr. and Caroline (Bajinsky) Drury (PREC STP, no. 5910; RGIA: Fond 207, op. 14, d. 42. Formulirnyi spisok o sluzhbe i dostoinstve Korpusa Inzhenerov P.S. Podpolkovnika Drury za 1841 g. [Service Merit Record of Transport Engineer Lt. Col. Drury for 1841]. See also the entry for Monday, July 1<sup>st</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and accompanying Note 585.
231. Varvara Nikolaevna and Sofiiia Nikolaevna were the daughters of Ekaterina Dmitrievna (Mertvago) Zagoskina (10/22 October 1807 – 6/18 May 1885). Mrs. Zagoskina, the daughter of a senator, was the widow of Engineer Colonel Nikolai Nikolaevich Zagoskin (c. 1798 – 11 October [OS] 1839) (A.A. Sivers, *Genealogicheskie razvedki* [*Genealogical Explorations*] [St. Petersburg: Glavnoe upravlenie udelov, 1913]; Lobanov-Rostovskii, *Russkaia rodoslovnaia kniga*, vol. 1, pp. 203, 205). Lobanov-Rostovskii gives the mother’s birth date as 1/13 October 1807. Mrs. Zagoskina was first cousin to Varvara Alekseevna (Olenina) Olenina, as their mothers were sisters (see the entry for Wednesday [August] 28<sup>th</sup> [1844], NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and accompanying Notes 867–872). Anna Whistler could have met Mrs. Zagoskina and her daughters through Miss McLean, governess to the daughter of Mrs. Olenina. Their father’s final service record (1839) shows that Varvara was then five years old and Sofiiia two-and-a-half. In 1845, they would have been about eleven and eight-and-a-half years old (RGIA: Fond 207, op. 16, d. 45. Formulirnye spiski i sluzhebnye dokumenty ofitserov i chinovnikov Min-stra PS [Service records and service documents of officers and civil servants of the Ministry of Transport. Vol.: Zabolotskii–Ziablovskii]). The Zagoskin family continued to socialize with the Whistlers over the years. See, for example, Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg, entry for Saturday noon Feb. 24 in letter of Feb 19<sup>th</sup> [1849] Monday eve, GUL: Whistler Collection, W383, in which Anna Whistler informs James that she and Willie will have “a frugal dinner” so that they can pay a visit to Madame Zagoskin.
232. Catherine Elizabeth Wood (“Kitty”) (20 January 1837 – 30 October 1920) and William Nicholson Wood (20 August 1838 – 27 July 1919) were invited to a children’s party held on 26 December 1845 at the Whistlers’. Kitty is the Kate referred to in the following sentence. See Wood in Appendix E.



233. Lydia Wood was born on 13/25 December 1845 and privately baptized on 9/16 February 1846 (PREC STP, no. 5581, p. 332). She died on 17 January 1922. See Wood in Appendix E.
234. Two servants are referred to here by their profession. “Coharka,” is Marie, the Finnish cook. “Coharka,” meaning “cook,” is spelled “kuharka” and pronounced “koohar’kuh.” “Coacher” is probably a combination of the English word “coachman” and the Russian equivalent, spelled “kucher” and pronounced “koo’cher.” This is Pyotr, the coachman.
235. It has not been possible to ascertain the name of the German baker from whom the Whistlers bought bread.
236. Anna Whistler was repeating her information about the Wood children and Mrs. Zagoskina’s two girls, already discussed in Notes 231 and 232, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
237. Andrew McCalla Eastwick (14 September 1810–8 February 1879) of Philadelphia was one of the three partners of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, who were building the locomotives and rolling stock at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He had arrived in Russia on 22 May 1844 with his eldest son, Edward Peers. The rest of his family, whom he went to meet in London, arrived in Russia in June 1845. The party consisted of Mrs. Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick (14 February 1815 – 15 December 1890); their five other children: Joseph Harrison, Charles James, Philip Garrett, Margaret, and Maria James; and a governess, Miss A.G. Melish. The Eastwicks and Harrisons lived in the same dwelling at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2; and RG84, C18.2, passports nos. 959, 1638, 1639, and 1640). Anna Whistler seems to be referring here to all or some of the four Eastwick boys. See Eastwick in Appendix E and Images 233–240.
238. The “Allegheny Mountains, also called Alleghenies,” are part of the vast “mountainous eastern part of the Allegheny Plateau in the Appalachian Mountains” in the eastern United States. “The Allegheny range extends south-southwestward for more than 500 miles (800 km) from north-central Pennsylvania to southwestern Virginia. Rising to Mount Davis (3,213 feet [979 m]; highest point in Pennsylvania) and Spruce Knob (4,863 feet [1,482 m]; highest point in West Virginia), the mountains ... are noted for their scenic beauty (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Allegheny Mountains,” accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www>.

- britannica.com/place/Allegheny-Mountains). Anna Whistler probably only meant that the piles of snow James had run through, being very high, could have been detrimental to his delicate health. But perhaps she was referring to an outdoor game.
239. Christmas Day, 25 December 1845 (OS), would be 7 January 1846 (NS).
240. “The use of *polka* as a commercial name developed in the 1840s due to the huge popularity of the dance in that period,” and the term was prefixed to articles of all kinds, “esp[ecially] textiles, fashion accessories, or articles of clothing, [such] as polka hat, polka pelisse” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “polka, *n.*: Compounds C2a”). The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites a quotation from Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), that refers to “the polka hats with the low crowns.”
241. “Mary Mac” was Anna Whistler’s niece, Mary Isabella McNeill, daughter of William Gibbs McNeill (see Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E and Images 31–32).
242. Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229) at Alexandrofsky informed the Whistlers that George W. Whistler (see Images 12–13) was interested in working for Ross Winans (see Image 228) in Baltimore. George’s uncle, William H. Swift, reports that he was already employed by Ross Winans by 1 December 1845. See George’s biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”
243. It has not been possible to locate the letters from Catharine Julia McNeill to Deborah Whistler in England.
244. It was 5 January 1846 (NS) and 24 December 1845 (OS). There are several problems concerning the correct dates in this entry. They seem to be resolved by reading this entry in conjunction with the one for Friday [January] 9<sup>th</sup>. This entry is dated Monday [January] 5<sup>th</sup> [1846], the Old Style equivalent of which is 24 December 1845. When we reach the statement “They were quite rich in the morning,” the reference is obviously to Christmas Day, Tuesday, 6 January 1846 (Old Style 25 December 1845), but there is no new entry. In the middle of the entry, Anna Whistler speaks of the day before as being “yesterday the 8<sup>th</sup>,” which implies she is now writing on Friday, 9 January 1846. However, internal evidence shows that she is writing on Thursday, 8 January; that Mrs. Harrison (see Image 227), Annie Harrison, and Dr. Edward Maynard (see Image 329) came to dinner on Wednesday, 7

January; and that Anna Whistler regretted that they had missed out on meeting the people who would dine at the Whistler home the next day, Thursday, 8 January 1846. The remarks about attendance at the church service are a reference to Sunday, 4 January 1846.

The entry for Friday, 9 January 1846, makes clear that on the previous day, Thursday, 8 January 1846, Major, Anna, and Willie Whistler went to the funeral of old Mr. Drury, a date that can be corroborated by the register of the English Church. They returned home to prepare for a dinner party where the guests were Colonel Todd, Mr. Clay, Joseph Samuel Ropes, and Timothy Abraham Curtis and his daughter or daughter-in-law. This dinner party is the one Anna Whistler wished her guests of January 7 – Mrs. Harrison, Annie Harrison and Dr. Edward Maynard – could have attended, because it would have been more interesting.

Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday [January] 5<sup>th</sup> Russian Christmas Eve who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Pyotr, the coachman (Coacher); the Whistler children's tutor (Mons Lamartine, our tutor); William Miller, merchant and honorary British vice-consul (our friend M<sup>r</sup> W Miller); Lady Elizabeth Margaret Stuart, wife of the former British envoy to St. Petersburg (old Lady Stewart); another of the Whistlers' male servants (Yohon); Marie, the Finnish cook, Christina, the laundress, and Dunia, the maid (three women servants); Katherine Prince, daughter of John Dynely Prince of Lowell, Massachusetts (Kate Prince); Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison, wife of Joseph Harrison Jr., of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mrs Harrison); and Annie Harrison, her daughter (Annie).

245. Willie was going to the home of Edward John and Mary Ann (Parland) Morgan, whose children were Maria Frances (1838–1907), Edward Delmar (c. 1840–1909) and Fanny Elizabeth (1841–1934). They lived at No. 31 Galernaia (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 39). See Morgan and Parland in Appendix E.
246. The Russian word for “store” is “magazin,” pronounced “muhgahzeen’.” Anna Whistler has used the English word “magazines” to represent its plural form.
247. Emily and Isabel Law were the two youngest daughters of Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Law, eighteen and fifteen years old respectively. What looks like “Miss L” could also be read as “Miss S.” It is therefore impossible to say who this person is except that a given name is intended.

248. “Au fait” means “to be well instructed, . . . thoroughly conversant with, expert or skilful in” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “au fait”).
249. The Demidov Home for the Care of Workers was located on the Moika opposite the New Holland building. It was founded in 1833 by Anatolii Nikolaevich Demidov (1812–1870) and was under the “August Patronage” of the empress. It consisted of four divisions: (1) for the care of workers; (2) for the upbringing of poor young women; (3) for the care of young female children; and (4) for the feeding of the poor. In the wing of the Home along the Moika there was a store, open every day, for the sale of needlework and for the exhibition of such articles at the end of Lent. The articles were made by women who either received work from the institution to do at home or who brought their own work to sell in the store. The work consisted of custom orders for the sewing of linens, dresses, gloves, and embroidery. The young women in the second division received an education in a few subjects, but particular attention was paid to perfecting their skills in needlework.
- A special exhibit was held annually for the sale of needlework produced by these young women, who were the pensioners of members of the Imperial family, of the founder of the Home, and of the Imperial Philanthropic Society, etc. (Bur’ianov, *Progulka s del’mi*, vol. 2, 102–107; Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1846, pp. 187–189). Handmade work, made in the men’s division, such as the tobacco box, was also available for sale at the Demidov store.
250. It has not been possible to identify a game called “Gallery of Versailles.” All queries – to children’s museums, the Louvre, and companies that produce games – have had negative responses.
251. See Anna Whistler’s Puseyite comments later, in the entry for Monday [August 8th [1848], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
252. Anna Whistler is referring to Georgiana (Liddell) Bloomfield (London 13 April 1822 – Hertford 21 May 1905; see Image 292), daughter of Thomas Henry Liddell, first Baron Ravensworth. She had been maid of honor to Queen Victoria (see Image 287) from December 1841 to July 1845. On 4 September 1845, she married the Honorable John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain to Russia (see Image 291), who “succeeded his father as second Baron Bloomfield in the peerage of Ireland [on] 15 August 1846” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Bloomfield, John Arthur Douglas”; Bloomfield, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p. 1; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1905). Her obituary in *The Times* (London) (May

- 23, 1905) stresses her religious devotion and the same aspects of her character that struck Anna Whistler.
253. “Slave” means “serf.”
254. Pasha, pronounced “Pah’shuh,” is an endearing form of two given names: Yevpraksiia and Praskoviia. The peasant versions of Yevpraksiia are Apraksiia and Yevprakseia, while for Praskoviia, they are Paraskoveia and Praskoveia (Petrovskii, *Slovar’ russkikh lichnykh imen*, pp. 104, 182–183, 340). She was sickly and left the Whistlers’ employ in the fall of 1846 to go away with her husband.
255. It has not been possible to locate these notes from Kate Prince to Anna Whistler, James, and Willie.
256. This is Dr. Edward Maynard (26 April 1813 – 4 May 1891), dental surgeon and firearms inventor. See RG84: Records of Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, Diplomatic Posts, Great Britain, C18.3: Passport Book commencing 9 August 1845, NAUS [hereafter, NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.3], p. 10, passport no. 76, issued 8 September 1845 to Edward Maynard for Hamburg and Russia; NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2; Hatch, *Dr. Edward Maynard*.
- Maynard’s letters to his wife, Ellen Sophia (Doty) Maynard (15 October 1817 – October 1863), show that he saw the Whistlers on many occasions during his stay in Russia from 21 September 1845 until 20 April 1846 (Hatch, vii, 29, 33, 38, 42, 43–44, 47, 49–52, 57–58, 74, 77, 81, 85, 86, 96–97, 100, 103–104, 118, 123). See his biography in Appendix E and Images 329–338.
257. Anna Whistler probably meant to write “I wished these might meet others who will be at our table tomorrow.”
258. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday evening [January] 9<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Timothy Abraham Curtis of the Liverpool firm of Bury, Kennedy and Curtis (Mr. Curtis); William Hooper and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbors across the hall (our good neighbours the Ropes, M<sup>ss</sup> R); Thomas Drury Sr., the Whistlers’ landlord on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844 (our old landlord Mr. Drury); Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, the American envoy to Russia (Col Todd); Joseph Samuel Ropes, brother of William Hooper Ropes (Mr. Joseph Ropes); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, wife of William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (Mrs. Gellibrand); and Elizabeth and Sarah Benson, who ran a

boardinghouse on the English Embankment (Misses Bensons lodgings).

259. A Most Devoted Report clarifies that “the Englishman Mr. Curtis is the agent for supplying cast iron parts for the bridge being built over the Neva” and that “he has just arrived in St. Petersburg” (RGIA: Fond 446, op. 14, d. 3. 1845, Vsepoddanneishie doklady Iul’-Dekabr, Obshchii obzor rabot, proizvedennykh v 1845 godu v S. Peterburge po 24-e Noiabria sego goda [Most Devoted Reports, July–December, General Survey of Works Carried Out in 1845 in St. Petersburg through the 24th of November of this Year], fol. 333).

The firm of Bury Curtis & Kennedy of the Clarence Foundry, Liverpool ... had been established c1829 by local entrepreneur Edward Bury (1794–1858) primarily as an engine works, with Scots-born millwright James Kennedy (1797–1886) as his technical manager... In 1842 Bury made him a partner. By 1844 the firm had made about 200 locomotives ... and marine engines (Kennedy’s original speciality) totalling nearly 5000 hp... Although the firm was not generally regarded as expert at bridge construction, the foundry was capable of casting about 50 tons/week with individual items weighing over 20 tons. For the Russian work a new furnace was built to increase the capacity to 150 tons/week. The bridge (with a 50 ft roadway and two 10 ft footpaths carried on 12 or 13 ribs) was estimated then to require 6929 tons of castings and 342 tons of wrought iron, excluding roadway and railings. The total ironwork was to be nearly 10,000 tons and it was to take two years to complete. Unfortunately the project ran into trouble and the British press stopped reporting it while Soviet writers draw a complete veil over the whole affair. It seems likely that Bury, Curtis & Kennedy had furnished an unduly low bid to get the contract and possibly payment was dilatory for after sending out the iron for three arches they withdrew in the first half of 1846. The firm then went downhill and ceased operations in 1850. (John G. James (1926–1988), “Russian Iron Bridges to 1850,” *Transactions of the Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technology* 54, no. 1 [1982]: p. 95)

260. Timothy Abraham Curtis married on 25 April 1809 Margaret Harriett Green (bap. 11 August 1788 – 8 June 1847). Their

daughters were Harriet Anne (c. 1812 – 3 November 1883), Emma Charlotte (Curtis) Bevan (c. 1813 – 22 July 1881), Sophia (c. 1815 – 22 March 1902), Elizabeth Ann (bap. 23 August 1821), Frances Moncton (bap. 12 May 1824 – 10 August 1850), and Annette de la Tourraine (Curtis) Raitt (c. 1829 – 5 April 1900) (*National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1881, 1884, 1900, and 1902). Curtis also had four sons, some of whom married. It is therefore possible that a daughter-in-law rather than a daughter was accompanying him, but it seems more likely that it would have been an unmarried daughter.

261. This is Hannah Walker Stead, nurse to the three daughters of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes and William Hooper Ropes: Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, and Louisa Harriet Ropes (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 54).
262. Thomas Drury, aged seventy-eight years, died on 23 December 1845 / 4 January 1846 and was buried on 27 December 1845 / 8 January 1846 (*PREC STP*, no. 5573, p. 331). He had been the Whistlers' landlord on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844.
263. Anna Whistler and Colonel Todd (see Image 278) were discussing the First Annual Message, delivered by President James K. Polk (see Image 50) on 2 December 1845. The two topics of prime interest to them in the message would have been the difficulties with Mexico over the annexation of Texas by the United States and with Great Britain over the Oregon Territory and the possibility of hostilities (Edwin Williams, *The Addresses and Messages of the Presidents of the United States, Inaugural, Annual and Special, from 1789 to 1846, Compiled from Official Sources*, 2 vols [New York: Edward Walker, 1846], vol. 2, pp. 1447–1474). See also “Maps.”
264. Colonel Todd (see Image 278) had “received his letter of recall” in late October of 1845, but had “delayed the presentation of his recall to the Russian government . . . until the Tsar’s return to St. Petersburg.” He did not take his formal leave until 27 January 1846, some two-and-a-half weeks after this evening with the Whistlers (George Irvin Oeste, *John Randolph Clay: America’s First Career Diplomat* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966], p. 260).
265. John Randolph Clay (Philadelphia, PA 29 September 1808 – London 15 August 1885; see Image 281) had married on 18 June 1845, in Venice as his second wife, a young Scotswoman named Jane Tucker MacKnight Crawford (Edinburgh 19 December 1821 – 1905). They arrived as newlyweds in St. Petersburg on 20

July 1845. Clay, who had served in Russia eight years before as secretary of legation, had come back in the same post, but knew he was to serve as chargé d'affaires until a minister was appointed to replace Colonel Todd (see Image 278). Although Todd had deposited “all the records and archives of the Legation with ... Clay” in November 1845, his delay of his departure until the end of January 1846 meant that Clay lost three months’ salary as chargé d'affaires (for which he was eventually compensated). He served in this capacity until the new minister to Russia, Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll, arrived on 19 May 1847. Although Ingersoll had written Clay in October 1846, asking him to stay on as secretary of legation, Clay received an appointment on 3 March 1847, as chargé d'affaires to Peru (agreed to on his behalf by his brother, because there was not enough time to consult him in St. Petersburg before Congress adjourned). This news reached him on 20 April 1847. On 23 May, he and his wife left St. Petersburg (Oeste, *John Randolph Clay*, pp. 249–250, 256, 257–273).

266. Anna Whistler seems uncertain here whether Mr. Curtis’s “daughter” was his daughter or daughter-in-law.
267. Arkhangel’sk (Archangel) (64°32’N 40°32’E) lies “on the Northern Dvina River, 30 miles (50 km) from the White Sea... the city extends for 10 miles along the river. Founded in 1584 ... the port reached the height of its prosperity in the 17th century but subsequently declined with the founding of St. Petersburg (1703)” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Arkhangel’sk,” accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Arkhangel'sk-Russia>). It was primarily a center for the timber and fishing industries.
268. I wish to thank Mary Thacher of the SHS for the following quotation from Governor Rudyard, writing from Elizabeth, New Jersey, in 1683: “At a town called Newark 7 or 8 miles hence, is made great quantities of Syder, exceeding anything we have from New England or Rhode Island or Long Island.”
269. In 1846, Lent in the Western churches began on 13/25 February, while in the Orthodox Church it began on 19 February / 2 March. Easter in the Western churches took place on 31 March / 12 April, in the Orthodox Church on 7/19 April.
270. The Scottish proverb is “As the day lengthens, the cold strengthens.” “It is often found that February and March are much more cold and piercing than December or January” (James Kelly, *A Complete Collection of Scottish Proverbs Explained and Made*



*Intelligible to the English Reader* [London: Rodwell and Martin, 1818], p. 32).

271. “Sweet William” is William Hall Ropes, who was born on 8/20 August 1845, a few days before John Bouttatz Whistler.
272. In the week before Orthodox Easter Sunday, swings were added to the carousels and theater booths being rebuilt in Admiralty Square. Just as Butter Week, celebrated when it was still winter, was characterized by ice hills (see Image 344), so Easter Week, part of the spring celebration, was characterized by swings (*kacheli*), a wooden ferris-wheel with four cars (see Image 346) (Nekrylova, *Russkie narodnye gorodskie prazdniki*, p. 22; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 269n65). The Russian word for swings is spelled “kacheli” and pronounced “kahchay’lee,” and is plural. Anna Whistler was using the Russian singular form with the English plural suffix -s, probably the usage of her friends.
273. During Butter Week in St. Petersburg (see Image 344), it was popular to take rides in small Finnish sledges (see Image 347), the owners of which would come from neighboring villages to the city in the several thousands. It was uncomfortable sitting in these sledges, and there was the ever-present danger of falling out when they hit ruts, but strong sensations were a necessary condition of true Butter Week fun and the Finns with their sledges had no dirt of passengers (Nekrylova, *Russkie narodnye gorodskie prazdniki*, pp. 17–18).
274. The children’s theater, probably the first in Russia, was opened in 1841. It was located on the second floor of a building on the corner of Bol’shaia Morskaia Street and Brick Lane that formerly housed the Cosmorama. The owner was a Frenchman named Lemeault (no dates found), who ordered all the equipment for the theater from Paris. Performances were in French. The newspaper *Severnaia pchela* [*The Northern Bee*] said of the puppet comedy: “the shows are intended mainly for children, although adults also are curious to have a look at the mechanical dolls.” One could see on the stage mnemonic heads, hanging freely in space on ribbons. They answered in Parisian French questions posed in French. Children also performed in this theater, taking part in *tableaux vivantes* of rhythmic movement and mime. Magicians appeared here as well. In 1848, the theater was slated to be pulled down (Broitman and Krasnova, *Bol’shaia Morskaia*, p. 52; Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 642; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, pp. 169, 303–304n124–125). Lemeault received from Paris excellent pictures for creating dioramas, georamas, and polioramas. These Greek

designations refer to the same panorama, differing only in type, lighting, and perspective.

The poliorama, or *phoenix picture*, is probably the panorama that so impressed James. It was a picture ten feet (three meters) in height and twenty feet (six meters) in length that at first appears clear and sharp to the viewer. Then suddenly it begins to grow pale, and the shapes of all the objects begin to become distorted or to disintegrate. Everything becomes covered by a kind of fog, out of which new forms begin to take shape and finally a new picture appears. For example, the picture shows a view of a castle in Switzerland in winter. Suddenly winter turns into summer and you see the same castle enveloped in greenery and finally you see the castle on fire (Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 304n125).

275. Mungo Park (10 September 1771 – 1806) studied both medicine and botany at Edinburgh University. Through Sir Joseph Banks he accepted an appointment from the African Association and set out in May 1795 to discover “the true course of the Niger,” his predecessor in that attempt having disappeared without a trace. Subjected during his African journey to robbery, imprisonment, and near-death from fever, he returned to England in December 1797, having been unable to follow the river to its mouth. In 1799, his narrative of his travels was published to great success. Accepting a proposal for a second expedition to Africa, he departed England in January 1805, for the purpose now of exploring the Niger to the sea. As his party failed to reach the Niger before the onset of the rainy season, almost all of its members died of fever. Park continued on, but in the course of 1806 reports (confirmed in 1811) were received that he and his remaining party had been killed. On the eve of his departure on this fatal trip, he had written “a remarkable letter” to the secretary of state for the colonies, saying “though all Europeans who are with me should die, and though I were myself half dead, I would still persevere; and if I could not succeed in the object of my journey, I would at least die on the Niger” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Park, Mungo”; Anderson, *Scottish Nation*, vol. 3, pp. 272–275). Anna Whistler, with some humor one hopes, was comparing the possibility of her husband falling ill with fatal consequences, while doggedly persevering in his inspection of the railroad under construction. Of prime importance here is that once again she stresses her belief that the delay in his departure, like all else in life, was providential.
276. Anna Whistler meant to write “heart.”

277. “Last Sunday week” would have been 1 March 1846. On Saturday, 28 February, Major Whistler left for a two-week inspection of the railroad. He returned home on Friday, 13 March.
278. A “sinapism” is a mustard plaster. Anna Whistler, like her husband, consulted Dr. James Rogers, physician to the British Legation.
279. Colonel Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (1798–1857; see Image 248), head of the Southern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, lived in Tver’ (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 153). The Southern Administration ran from the Kolomenets River in the Valдай District of Novgorod Province through Vishnii Volochek, Spirovo, Tver’, and Klin to Moscow.
280. It has not been possible to locate these letters from George William Whistler and Deborah Whistler.
281. The Honorable John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield (see Image 291) “succeeded his father as second Baron Bloomfield in the peerage of Ireland [on] 15 August 1846” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Bloomfield, John Arthur Douglas”). It was then that he became “Sir John.” Mary Brennan would not have known these nuances. For more information on Mrs. Bloomfield, see Note 252 above and Image 292.
282. Mrs. Law’s note was delivered on Saturday, 7 March. The two poor Englishmen at Dr. Law’s Asylum, or Refuge, in 1845 were Grimshaw, a laborer, and Francis Smith, a former gasfitter, both infirm (*BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 22, 52). See also the entry for Tuesday, March 25 [1845], NYPL: AWPDP, Part II, and accompanying Note 23.
283. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup> March who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Maingay and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, parents of Debo’s close friend, Emma Maingay (kind Maingays, M<sup>r</sup> M); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s mother (dear Mothers); Joseph Samuel Ropes, brother of William Hooper Ropes (M<sup>r</sup> J Ropes); and Dunia, the Whistlers’ maid (Dounia).
284. Wellesley House, Shooter’s Hill, Kent, was the home of the Maingay family, whom Debo was visiting (Jane Connolly, *Old Days and Ways* [London: Edward Arnold, 1912], p. 174). Wellesley House was located “in the village of Shooter’s Hill, which was part of the parish of Woolwich in the hundred of Blackheath and

- lathe of Sutton-at-Hone.” It was “chiefly to be noted as the residence of many respectable families, and the summer retreat of many opulent individuals, attracted by the salubrity of the situation and the extensive views which it commands over a wide district of the country” (*Pigot’s Directory of Kent 1840*, s.v. “Woolwich with the villages of Charlton, Plumstead, Shooter’s Hill, and neighbourhoods”).
285. Hebe was the daughter of Zeus and Hera, and the goddess of youth. She attended Hera and filled the cups of the gods (Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, p. 146).
286. Anna Whistler is referring again to Isaiah 58 and the acceptable fast in the sight of God. See the entry for St. Petersburg, March 1845 Ash Wednesday – Old Style [February 28], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
287. 2 Timothy 3:15: “And that from a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.”
288. The person mentioned in the entry for Friday night 1/13 March who has appeared earlier in the diaries is Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon). See Leon in Appendix E.
289. Anna Whistler is referring to the tutor, Monsieur Lamartine. All citizens of the Empire of both sexes undertaking any private position for hire in St. Petersburg, as well as all engaging in a trade and all foreigners arriving in the capitol, except the military, civil servants, and diplomatic personnel, had to register at the Address Bureau (*Adresnaia Èkspeditsiia*), which issued them residence permits (*adresnye bilety*) of various categories based on their calling (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg 1851*, pp. 2–3).
290. The Russian word for “peasant” is spelled “muzhik” and pronounced “moozhik’.” He had exaggerated to James and Willie in the hope of a tip. The Russian expression for “a tip” (literally, “for tea”) is spelled “na chai” and pronounced “nahchay’.”
291. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday 14<sup>th</sup> March who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Thomas DeKay Winans of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Winans); Capt. Petr Petrovich Klokov, Major Whistler’s aide (Capt. Klokov); Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’, head of the Department of Transport and Public Buildings (Count K’s); and the Whistlers’ servants Marie (Fin cook), Christina (laundress), and Johan, the footman (Yohon).

292. Anna Whistler probably meant “I was as surprised as delighted.”
293. The “grand chemin” is the Moscow Chaussée, “which was completed in 1834.” It “was 677.5 versts in length,” and went “not ... in a straight line ... but through Novgorod and through Torzhok in Tver Province.” “The St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway [would be] about 70 versts shorter.” The grand chemin “was substantially built” and had “many fine bridges ... often built of granite and [with] iron railings ornamented with the imperial coat of arms. The verst-posts were of marble and had the Tsar’s initials. There were even benches on which foot-travelers could rest.” “The posthouses were generally large, well-furnished, well-maintained and “usually kept by Germans.” “Travel over the *chaussée* could be rapid,” with a possible “average speed of travel for a passenger [amounting to] 8 to 10 miles an hour”; for the emperor, it “was reputed to be about 17 miles ... in an hour” (Haywood, *Beginnings*, pp. 24–25). It was “a hard-surface road such as those ... between St. Petersburg and Peterhof, Pavlovsk, and Gatchina” (Haywood, p. 22). For information about Nicholas I and his travel in carriages, see L.V. Vyskochkov, “Imperator ‘na pochtovykh’: Nikolai I na ulitsakh Sankt-Peterburga i dorogakh Rossii” [“The Emperor ‘Traveling by Post Horse’: Nicholas I on the Streets of St. Petersburg and on Roads”], in *Peterburgskie chteniia 97 Materialy Entsiklopedicheskoi biblioteki “Sankt-Peterburg–2003”* [Petersburg Reading 97: Materials of the Encyclopedic Library “St. Petersburg–2003”] (St. Petersburg: Russko–Baltiiskii informatsionnyi tsentr BLITs, 1997), pp. 627–629 (this is a bilingual title page). “Post horse” meant one was traveling a long distance, using government-owned horses and carrying the mail; the horses were changed at every station and available horses were given to the most important traveler.
294. Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) set out from St. Petersburg on the Moscow Road during the night preceding 7 March [19 March NS] and arrived in Moscow on 8 March [20 March NS] at 7 p.m. He returned to St. Petersburg on 16 March [28 March NS] at 3:30 p.m. (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 58, Saturday, March 12 [March 24 NS], 1846, p. 255; 60, Wednesday, March 13 [25 March NS], 1846, p. 262; and 64, Tuesday, March 19 [31 March NS], p. 283).
295. A “screw cushion” (see Image 368) was a fabric pin cushion on a turn-screw clamp of wood or metal. The clamp served to hold the pin cushion conveniently steady on a table for the person doing the pinning (“Pincushion,” Victoria and Albert Museum,

accessed 25 January 2021, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O324039/pincushion-unknown/>).

296. Persons mentioned in the entry for [Wednesday] April 15<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: John Bouttatz Whistler (baby); Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' doctor (doct Rogers, doct R); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and William Clarke Gellibrand (the Gellibrands, Uncle Gellibrand); William Bonamy Maingay, son of the Whistlers' friends, William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (W<sup>m</sup> Maingay); Archibald Mirrielees and Jane (Muir) Mirrielees, English dissenter friends of the Ropeses (the Meirrielees); William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (M<sup>r</sup> Ropes, brother-in-law, afflicted husband); Thomas Scales Ellerby, the Ropeses' and Gellibrands' pastor (M<sup>r</sup> Ellerby); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistler's neighbor across the hall (M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes, fond Sister, their mother, M<sup>rs</sup> R, her dear Sister, Ellen dear); Christina (my good laundress); Dr. James Ronaldson Handyside, the Ropeses' doctor (D<sup>r</sup> Handysides); two daughters of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, Ellen Gellibrand Ropes (little Ellen) and Mary Emily Ropes (darling Mary Emily); and Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon).
297. It has not been possible to ascertain when the Gellibrands gave a dinner party for the Americans.
298. On Wednesday, 8 April 1846, Major Whistler went to a dinner party at the Ropeses.
299. Emily Hall (b. c. 1827) died in St. Petersburg on 31 March / 12 April 1846. The funeral service was held at the British and American Chapel on 3/15 April, Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby presiding. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
300. Thomas Wright (Birmingham 2 March 1792 – London 30 March 1849; see Image 208) was “taken, when a child, to London and apprenticed to H. Meyer, the engraver.” He also “collaborated for four years with W.T. Fry, also an engraver.” He executed engraved, oil, pencil, and miniature portraits. He “exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1815–1848.” He went in 1822 to St. Petersburg at the behest of his brother-in-law, George Dawe (1781–1829), who had gone to St. Petersburg in 1819 at the invitation of Alexander I (see Image 418). Dawe had executed, according to this emperor's plan, more than 400 portraits for the Military Gallery of the Winter Palace. These portraits were then engraved by Wright and by Henry Dawe, who announced in 1822 that they were preparing “The Collected Portraits of the Military

Gallery.” The edition was to have consisted of a large number of portraits, but the published number was much smaller than had been projected. Wright next undertook to publish “Les contemporains russes,” consisting of a quarto edition of issues of twelve portraits each, but only the first issue appeared. For his works on engraving, Wright was elected a member of the Academy of Fine Arts of Stockholm and of Florence. The Imperial Academy of Fine Arts of St. Petersburg made him a candidate for academician in 1824. In 1826, he returned to England, where he engraved “The Beauties of the Court of Charles II.” He returned to St. Petersburg in 1830 to arrange the affairs of George Dawe, who had died in 1829. In 1833, after an exhibition of fifty-four engraved portraits by him, the St. Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts made him an honorary free associate. In 1836, he received the title of academician after submitting fourteen watercolor portraits. He is said to have returned to England in 1845. He died at George Street, Hanover Square, London in 1849.

Wright’s output of engraved portraits was enormous. In Russia alone he engraved eighty-six portraits and drawings, which are catalogued in D.A. Rovinskii, comp., *Podrobnii slovar’ russkikh grayvorov XVIII – XIX vv.* [*A Detailed Dictionary of Russian Engravers of the 18th – 19th Centuries*] [St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1895], pp. 550–555).

A large number of his watercolor portraits have also survived. He executed as well a number of pencil portraits. For example, in 1845 he executed a watercolor portrait of Anna Whistler that serves as the cover to this edition of the diaries (see Image 1). On 27 March / 8 April 1846, he drew the portrait of William Ropes’s sister-in-law, Emily Hall (which means he cannot have left Russia permanently in 1845). In 1845 or 1846, he executed the pencil portraits of four members of the Ropes family and of William Clarke Gellibrand. These portraits are discussed in the biographies of the Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince and Hall families in Appendix E (Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar’*; Basil S. Long, *British Miniaturists* [London: Geoffrey Bles, 1929]; Daphne Foskett, *A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters*, 2 vols. (New York: Praeger, 1972), vol. 1, p. 588). Wright sometimes signed his portraits in Russian: “Rait.”

301. Emily Hall’s parents were Harriet (Parkinson) Hall (10 February 1796 – 18 October 1870) and John Drinkrow Hall (1 February 1796 – 30 July 1865), agent to the Aire and Calder Navigation Company. Her sister was Marion Hall (25 December 1823 – 29

March 1886), who later married George Henry Prince. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.

302. The Russian word referring to an indoor horseback riding range is spelled “manezh” and pronounced “mahnyehzh’,” from the French “manège.” There were numerous state indoor riding ranges and a few private ones. The private ones listed in 1851 were Lauerbach’s in the house of Kurtz in the Novyi Pereulok and Reichenbach’s on the Chernaia Rechka Embankment at Count Stroganov’s dacha (Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, p. 344). The British equivalent of this word is “manege.” Anna Whistler was using the pronunciation of her friends in St. Petersburg, which humorously suggests “ménage à trois.” For the Horse Guards’ manège in St. Petersburg, see Image 137.
303. William Hooper Ropes and Emily Hall were in the quadrille on Friday, 10 April 1846.
304. On Saturday, 11 April 1846, Emily Hall exhibited further signs of illness.
305. The youngest Ropes child was William Hall Ropes, born on 8/20 August 1845.
306. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti*, in its home news section, dated Saturday, 30 March [April 11 NS], commented on the early opening up of the Neva (see Image 349):
 

The Neva has opened up. The Isaac Bridge was drawn back yesterday, Friday, March 29, close to noon. This opening was very early: in the course of 127 years, that is, starting from the time that observations have been made on a regular basis, the river has opened up before March 30 only 14 times. Last year the Neva became covered with ice very late, on December 1, and therefore winter lasted this year only 117 days, that is, less than 4 months—29 days less than the average time the river is covered with ice (146 days) and only 14 days more than the shortest winter (103 days) in 127 years, namely, the winter of 1821-22. Today, Saturday, communication across the river by boat has already recommenced.
307. Anna Whistler is probably referring to their cow, Bosiushka (pronounced “Baw’syooshkuh”), or Bossie.
308. Proverbs 27:1: “Boast not thyself of tomorrow; for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth.”



309. Anna Whistler was reading to her husband and sons from *Domestic Portraiture; or, The Successful Application of Religious Principle in the Education of a Family, Exemplified in the Memoirs of Three of the Deceased Children of the Rev. Legh Richmond* (1834). “This was a description of Richmond’s principles, as exemplified in his education of his family, and principally relates to his sons Wilberforce and Nugent” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Richmond, Legh [1772–1827]”).
310. Elizabeth Hannah Ropes (14 May 1825 – 25 November 1921), one of the younger daughters of William Ropes, had been taken by her sister, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, and brother-in-law, William Clarke Gellibrand, in 1834 to live with them as their own child (Wm. and Mary Anne (Codman) Ropes to his parents, St. P., 2 May NS 1834, HUBL: Ropes Papers). See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E and Images 265–267.
311. Psalms 46:10: “Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.”
312. Tuesday was 14 April 1846.
313. It is possible that Emily Hall had appendicitis, which was unrecognized then as a distinct disease. Such cases were diagnosed as “inflammation of the bowels,” and nearly all died. See Robert Hooper, *Lexicon Medicum; or, Medical Dictionary*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper, 1829), vol. 1, s.v. “peritonitis” and “enteritis”; “appendicitis” is not listed.
314. Emily Hall was presumably buried in the Smolensk Cemetery, which was reached by an arduous route.
315. Psalms 97:1–2: “<sup>1</sup> The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof. <sup>2</sup> Clouds and darkness are round about him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne.”
316. Isaiah 47:7: “And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever; so that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end of it.” This quotation is part of the “Lamentation over Babylon” (47:1–15) and is a condemnation of Babylon for “wrongly attribut[ing] her strength to herself [whereas] it came from God” (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 881).
317. Mr. Ropes wrote to Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton, LLD, DD (6 July 1794 – 18 July 1848), minister of Belgrave Independent Chapel, Leeds, which the Halls attended (Richard Vickerman Taylor, *Biographia Leodiensis: or, Biographical Sketches of the Worthies of*

*Leeds and Neighbourhood, from the Norman Conquest to the Present Time* [London: Simpkin, Marshall; Leeds: John Hamer, 1865], p. 431).

318. These are the opening lines of a children's hymn called "Around the Throne of God in Heaven." The author is Anne H. Shepherd; the composer Henry E. Matthews. It is based on Acts 2:39: "For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Its subject is the promise of salvation through Christ's death and resurrection. It is Hymn 22 in the "Supplement: Hymns for Sunday-Schools, Youth, and Children," in *Hymns for the Use of The Methodist Episcopal Church* (1849). All versions found of this hymn have the second line "Thousands of children stand," not "are," as Anna Whistler writes.
319. Proverbs 8:17: "I love them that love me; and those that seek me early shall find me."
320. Matthew 19:14: "But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."
321. Matthew 12:34: "O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."
322. Matthew 10:32: "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven."
323. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday, May 2<sup>nd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (my dear Mother); James and Willie's tutor (Mons Lamartine); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes); William Hooper Ropes, husband of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (her husband); and Emily Hall, the deceased sister of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (Emily).
324. The Triennial Exhibition consisted of the works of Academy professors, students, and other artists in St. Petersburg at the time of the exhibition. The academy was open to the general public for viewing the exhibit of art works from 15 through 25 April [27 April through 7 May NS] from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. daily (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 79, Thursday, April 11 [April 23 NS], 1846, p. 346). On 25 April / 7 May, admittance of the general public ceased, and on 26, 27, and 28 April [8, 9, and 10 May NS], the exhibit was open to pupils of both military and non-military

educational institutions, if accompanied by their officers and tutors. Beginning 29 April / 11 May, the works of art were to be returned to lenders (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 91, Thursday, April 25 [May 7 NS], 1846, p. 395). See also *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 79, Thursday, April 11 [April 23 NS], 1846, p. 346–347. The catalogue for this exhibit is entitled *Ukazatel' khudozhestvennykh proizvedenii, vystavlennykh v zalakh Imperatorskoi Akademii Khudozhestv* [*Index to the Works of Art Exhibited in the Galleries of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts*] (1846).

From 7 December 2006 to 15 February 2007, in celebration of its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the State Tre't'iakov Gallery in Moscow hosted an exhibit called “Uistler i Rossiia” (“Whistler and Russia”), in which some of the paintings that James Whistler would have seen in the 1846 Triennial Exhibition were again presented, and their meanings for the Whistlers were discussed. Unfortunately, I was unable to attend the exhibit. Catalogues in both Russian and English were produced. I was touched to read in the introductory essay by Dr. Galina Andreeva, head of Research and Projects of the State Tre't'iakov Gallery, that my interest in young Whistler in Russia, which brought us together in the late 1980s, when I was in Petersburg and Moscow researching young Whistler and Koritskii, was the impetus for her interest in young Whistler and Russia that culminated in this exhibition, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Mass Media of the Russian Federation, the Federal Agency for Culture and Cinematography, the State Tre't'iakov Gallery, and the British Council [Ministerstvo kul'tury i massovykh kommunikatsii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, Federal'noe agentstvo po kul'ture i kinematografii, Gosudarstvennaia Tre't'iakovskaia galereia, i Britanskii Sovet] (Galina Andreeva, “O proekte ‘Uistler i Rossiia’” [“Whistler and Russia Project”], in *Uistler i Rossiia* [*Whistler and Russia*], ed. Galina Andreeva and Margaret F. MacDonald [Moscow: SkanruS, 2006], p. 11. This collection was issued in both a Russian version [*Uistler i Rossiia*] and an English version [*Whistler and Russia*]; the two will be cited separately. Andreeva, who was preparing in the late 1980s a brief biographical sketch of Alexander Osipovich Koritskii for an encyclopedia of artists of the USSR, gave me a copy of it (G.B. Andreeva, “Koritskii (Karitskii) Aleksandr Osipovich,” in *Gosudarstvennaia Tre't'iakovskaia Galereia: Katalog sobraniia. Seriiia zhivopis' XVIII–XIX vekov* [*State Tre't'iakov Gallery: Catalog of the Collection: Series Painting of the Eighteenth–Nineteenth Centuries*], 3 vols. (Moscow: Krasnaia ploshchad', 2005), vol. 3, *Zhivopis' pervoi*

*poloviny XIX veka* [Painting of the First Half of the 19th Century], p. 198). As consultation of the catalogues for the 2006–2007 exhibit shows, Andreeva used the same sources as I did for Koritskii’s biography, but the portion of her essay dealing with him is geared towards the general public and substantially limits footnote references to the archival and printed sources on which it is based. Presenting details of his biography for the first time ever, her essay on Koritskii is valuable for all levels of readers of the catalogues.

325. Anna and Major Whistler attended the Triennial Exhibition on Wednesday, 29 April 1846.
326. Andreeva’s interpretation, which I agree with, is that Anna Whistler “was, perhaps, interested in genre scenes with Russian subject matter, intimate works suited to domestic interiors rather than those with pathos-laden historical content.” The exhibition catalogue includes a number of works that appear to correspond to Anna Whistler’s description, for example *Woman with a Guitar* [*Zbenshchina s gitaroi v rukakh*] by the Academician A.I. Maikov, *A Village Girl Dancing with a Kerchief in her Hand* [*Derevenskaia devushka, tantsuinshchaia s platkom v ruke*] by A.F. Chernyshev, *Soldier with a Peasant Girl* [*Soldat s krestiankoi i otsy*] and *Sheep and Domestic Animals in Front of a Hut* [*Domashnie zhivotnye pered izboiu*] by I.A. Ivanov, student of Professor M.N. Vorobiev, *Village Girl with a Basket of Mushrooms* [*Derevenskaia devushka s korzinoi gribov*] by Shchetkin [*sic*: M.I. Shchetinin], a pupil of Karl Briullov and paintings by students of Professor A.T. Markov – P.I. Podkovantsev (*Fisherman Making Nets* [*sic*: *A Fisherman Making a Net*] [*Rybak, pletushchii set*]), Kiprianov (*A Boy with a Balalaika* [not in the Russian catalogue]), Makarov (*Two Village Girls by a Stream in a Forest* [*Dve derevenskie devushki u ruch'ia v lesu*]), F.F. Strechkov (*Soldier with a Glass and Flask of Wine* [*Soldat s riumkoi i shtofom vina*])” (Galina Andreeva, “The Cradle of ‘Uncommon Genius,’” *Whistler and Russia*, pp. 65– 66; Galina Andreeva, “Kolybel’ ‘nezariadnogo talanta,’” *Uistler i Rossiia*, p. 66). There is some discrepancy between artists’ names and picture titles in the Russian-language article in *Uistler i Rossiia* and the English translation in *Whistler in Russia*. There is an error in this list in both catalogues. In the case of I.A. Ivanov, in the Russian catalogue the titles of his paintings are incorrectly given. Instead of being rendered as (1) *Soldat s krest'iankoi* and (2) *Otsy i domashnie zhivotnye pered izboiu*, they were rendered as (1) *Soldat s krest'iankoi i otsy* and (2) *Domashnie zhivotnye pered izboiu* (p. 66). In the English catalogue, the translation is faithful to the Russian errors: (1) *Soldier with a*

*Peasant Girl and Sheep* and (2) *Domestic Animals in Front of a Hut* (pp. 65–66). The actual translations should be (1) *Soldier with a Peasant Girl* and (2) *Sheep and Domestic Animals in Front of a Hut*.

327. Among the artists whose works appeared in the 1846 Triennial Exhibition was Émile-François Dessain (2 June 1808 – October 1882), a French artist then working in St. Petersburg. Dessain, a portrait, genre, and landscape painter, engraver, and lithographer, was born in Valenciennes. He was a student of Boisselier, and exhibited at the Salon de Paris from 1831 to 1844. A list of works executed by him between 1831 and 1844 may be found in Bellier de La Chavignerie and Auvray. Most biographical dictionaries indicate that he was in St. Petersburg in 1852, where he painted the entire Imperial family as well as members of the Vorontsov and Panin families. Thieme and Becker gives the years 1847 or 1852; however, as we see here, Dessain seems to have been in St. Petersburg in 1846. A calling card among the papers of Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280), who arrived in St. Petersburg in 1847, shows that Dessain was then also in St. Petersburg. Dessain's calling card announced that he lived at the apartment of Mrs. Delapré in the house belonging to Kitner at No. 10 Stable Bridge (*Koniushennyi most*) on the Moika River (Ralph McAllister Ingersoll Collection, box 35, BUHG). He died in Valenciennes in October 1882 (Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays* [*Critical and Documentary Dictionary of Painters, Sculptors, Draftsmen and Engravers of All Times and All Countries*], 14 vols. (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976), vol. 3, p. 91; Ulrich Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* [*General Dictionary of Plastic Artists from Antiquity to the Present*], 36 vols. (Leipzig, Germany: Seeman, 1907–1950), vol. 9; L. Dussieux, *Les artistes français à l'étranger* [*French Artists Abroad*], 3rd ed. (Paris and Lyon: Lecoffre Fils, 1876), pp. 571–572; E. Bellier de La Chavignerie and L. Auvray, *Dictionnaire générale des artistes de l'école française depuis l'origine des arts du dessin jusqu'à nos jours* [*General Dictionary of Artists of the French School from the Beginning of the Graphic Arts until the Present Day*], 2 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1882), vol. 1, pp. 425–426; A. Heller-Andresen, *Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler* [*Handbook for a Copperplate Engraving Collection*], 2 vols. (Leipzig, Germany: T.O. Weigel, 1870–1873), vol. 1, p. 356).

Dessain exhibited at least sixteen works at the 1846 Triennial. The entry for him in the catalogue reads:

Fourth Salon. By Mr. Dessain: *Mill on a River Bank in Moonlight* [*Mel'nitsa na beregu reki pri lunnom osveshchenii*], *The*

*Indian Chestnut Tree Planted by Peter the Great in the Ekaterinental Garden in Revel* [*Indeiskoe kashtanovoe derevo, posazhennoe Petrom Velikim v Ekaterinental'skom sadu v Revele*]. Also by him: *Odalisque* [*Odaliska*], *Night at Sea* [*Noch' na more*], six portraits [*shest' portretov*], *Woman from Bordeaux* [*Zhenshchina iz Bordo*], *Algerian Women* [*Alzhirka*], *Flock of Sheep* [*Stado ovet*] – drawn with colored crayon. Also by him: Paintings: *Cattle Being Driven into a Field* [*Vygon v pole skota*], *Interior of a Picture Gallery* [*Vnutrennost' kartinnoi galerei*], *The Artist's Studio* [*Masterskaia khudozhnika*]. (*Ukazatel' khudozhestvennykh proizvedenii* 1846, p. 18)

The words “drawn with colored crayon” in the guide seem to refer to the medium used for the first thirteen of these pictures, and the art historian N.P. Sobko (1851–1906) confirms this, stating that pictures 427–439 were executed in colored crayon, while 440–442 (the three paintings) were executed in oils (RNB OR: Fond 708 Sobko, N2. *Alfavitnyi ukazatel' k akademicheskim vystavkam 1833–1881 gg.* [Alphabetical Index to Academy Exhibits 1833–1881]).

I believe that the portrait of a boy who resembled James was one of the six pastel portraits by Dessain. It has not been possible to identify or locate any of these six pastel portraits. Sometime after 29 April 1846, when Major and Anna Whistler attended the Triennial Exhibition, and an unspecified date in 1847, Dessain undertook to execute an oval double portrait of James and Willie in pastel (see Image 27). I believe that viewing Dessain's pastel portraits was the impetus for the Whistlers' commission to him. A similar portrait by an unknown artist of James and Willie in the Jourdan school uniforms, attributed to c. 1846, which is in the Hunterian Art Gallery of the University of Glasgow, may be the copy made by Koritskiĭ and exhibited at the Academy in December 1848 (see “fotografiia s originala” [“a photograph of a portrait”], in Dr. Georgia Toutziari “Sem'ia Uistlerov v Rossii,” in Andreeva and MacDonald, *Uistler i Rossiia*).

328. Fyodor (Fidelio) Antonovich Bruni (1799–1875; see Image 183), history painter and museum administrator, was born in Moscow into the family of an Italian artist and restorer who had taken up residence in Russia. He studied at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts from 1809–1818, where his teachers were A. Ye. Yegorov (1776–1851), A.I. Ivanov (1775–1848), and V.K. Shebuev (1777–1855). He spent 1819–1836 and 1838–1841 in Italy as a pensioner of the Academy. It is here that his most famous painting, *The Brass Serpent* (*Mednyi zmi*), was executed (see following Note 329 and

Image 184). He was appointed academician in 1834, professor of history painting in 1836, and rector of the Department of Painting and Sculpture at the Academy in 1855. He participated in the decoration of the Kazan and St. Isaac's cathedrals (see Images 119–120, 126) in St. Petersburg and the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. From 1849–1864, he was the curator of the Picture Gallery of the Hermitage. He aided in the transformation of the Hermitage from a palace museum into a public museum in all aspects, including the way it was set up: structure, staff, the plan for the formation of the collection, rights and duties of its staff; arrangement of expositions, lighting and hanging of pictures; regulations for inventory and preservation, and rules for visitor access. During his curatorship, the construction of the New Hermitage was completed (see Image 113). In 1856–1859, under his direction, the inventories of all palace paintings were compiled, serving as the basic inventories of the museum until 1924. He participated in the acquisition of several great collections, including the gallery of Barbarigo, which was the source of almost all the paintings by Titian in the Hermitage, and part of the collection of the Dutch King Wilhelm II comprising chiefly fifteenth-century Dutch artists. Bruni died in St. Petersburg and was buried in the Catholic Cemetery in the Vyborg district (*Rossiiskaia muzeinaia èntsiklopediia* [*Encyclopedia of Russian Museums*], 2 vols. [Moscow: Progress–Ripol klassik, 2001], vol. 1, p. 81). He was Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii's superior at the Hermitage. Given Bruni's attempt to have inventories of all palace paintings drawn up, it is understandable that the disorderly Koritskii was in difficulties, as he was unable to perform this duty satisfactorily (see Koritskii in Appendix E and Images 167–170).

329. The translation of the Russian title (*Mednyi zmiï*) is “*The Brass Serpent*” (see Image 184). The subject of the painting is taken from Numbers 21:4–9. When Moses was leading his people through the desert, they were discouraged and frequently murmured against God and him. God therefore sent fiery serpents whose bites caused many of them to die. Those who remained alive beseeched Moses to ask God to take the serpents away. God commanded Moses to make a fiery serpent and place it on a pedestal. If a live serpent bit someone, that person had only to look at the sacred object and was healed. Moses made a brass serpent and put it up and it was as God had said.

As early as December 1824, in Rome, N.I. Turgenev (1789–1871) had seen Bruni's sketch for this painting. A letter from Bruni to the Society for Aid to Artists in St. Petersburg in early

February 1827 indicates that he hoped to conclude his studies in Rome with this large work and to return home with it. The Society tried to dissuade him from a subject that was so complex and required so many figures, but Bruni did not wish to give it up. In 1835, Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), who had recalled Bruni (see Image 183), was persuaded by the Russian ambassador in Rome to let him remain there until January 1836 to finish his picture, but by spring of 1836 it still was not finished. On arriving in St. Petersburg that summer, Bruni was appointed “professor second class in history and portrait painting” with all the perquisites of the position. In September 1838, he left Russia again for Italy. It was not until 15 April 1841 that *The Brass Serpent* was finished. Bruni sent it to Russia at the end of June. In September, it was put on exhibit at the Winter Palace and then taken to the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, where it was exhibited in the fall of 1842. Bruni was awarded the Order of St. Vladimir 4<sup>th</sup> Class, and Nicholas I bought the painting for thirty thousand paper rubles. It was thus part of the permanent collection, which Anna Whistler viewed as well.

It is a matter of debate whether Bruni’s painting is filled with “countenances beaming with Faith” and the “gloomy contrast . . . those make who will not look & be saved!” I personally see no one “beaming with Faith” and consider Anna Whistler’s interpretation wishful thinking. Academician Fyodor Grigorievich Solntsev (1801–1876) is the source of a similar doubtful view on the part of Russian’s great fabulist Ivan Andreevich Krylov (see Image 186), who, he says, almost never openly expressed an opinion about the fine arts. Krylov said that if he were married, he would never bring his wife to see Bruni’s painting, because it contains only suffering and not a single person who is not ailing and can be called righteous. Solntsev, himself a painter, agreed with Krylov. He said *The Brass Serpent* had a heavy, stifling effect. Most of the people in it were prostrated on the ground. Not a single one wins the viewer to himself. All is suffering and death. The boy in the foreground has already petrified. Moses and Aaron are in the background and resemble sorcerers. This is because Bruni borrowed the subject from Moses but failed to grasp its meaning. Solntsev felt that while the painting hung in the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, it almost served simply as a partition separating one salon from another, because it was considered to have little worth. This is where it was hanging when Anna Whistler saw it (F.G. Solntsev, “Moia zhizn’ i khudozhestvenno-arkheologicheskie trudy,



- rasskaz akademika F.G. Solntseva” [“My Life and Artistic-Archaeological Works, told by Academician F.G. Solntsev”], *Russkaia starina* 15 [March 1876]: p. 623).
330. The mail departed on Tuesday, 5 May 1846.
331. It has not been possible to locate the letter to Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, nor the note enclosed in that letter, which was for Eliza McNeill (1830–1855), daughter of Maria (Cammann) and William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31).
332. It has not been possible to locate the letter from Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), who had opted not to come to Russia but to help her son, Charles Johnston McNeill, in Florida.
333. The McNeills had been unable to keep house because of Maria (Cammann) McNeill’s chronic ill health. She and her daughters had frequently been guests in Stonington at the Palmer home (see Image 37). Now they had a new home in New York City at 67 Irving Place near 18<sup>th</sup> Street. William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) is listed in the New York Directory at this address in 1847–48, 1848–49, and 1849–50. After the death of his wife in December 1850, his address changed. Irving Place started at 14<sup>th</sup> Street and continued up to 20<sup>th</sup> Street, where it stopped at Gramercy Park. Anna Whistler was therefore in error when she wrote that the McNeills lived at 13<sup>th</sup> Street. This is understandable, however, as 3 and 8 are often confused when deciphering cursive writing.
334. The reservoir for Croton water was located on the site of the present-day NYPL (F.B. Tower, *A History of the Construction of the Croton Aqueduct* [New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1843]).
335. “Aunt Eliza” is Eliza (Dunscombe) Cammann (Bermuda 1801 – Brooklyn, NY 11 July 1861), wife of Henry J. Cammann (d. 1833), whom she married at Albany on 23 September 1831. Her husband, who died some eighteen months later, was the brother of Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler’s sister-in-law. After the death of her husband, Eliza (Dunscombe) Cammann lived in England. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
336. Mary Swift (1826–1884) was the daughter of Mary (Stewart) Swift (24 November 1801 – 18 November 1837) and Captain William Henry Swift (6 November 1800 – 7 April 1879), brother of Major Whistler’s first wife. She was therefore first cousin to Deborah Delano Whistler. She married George B. Ironside (bap. 1828), of

- New York, the son of a retired English merchant, on 24 March 1846, in Washington, DC, at St. John's Church, Rev. Mr. Pyne officiating (*Daily National Intelligencer*, March 26, 1846, p. 3, col. 5). They went "to England on 1 April by the Steamer from Boston, to return in October" 1846 (William Henry Swift, USMA 1819 CU231, Correspondence 1820–1857, Letters written to his brother, General Joseph G. Swift. Washington, 26 March 1846, USMA Library (hereafter, USMAL: W.H. Swift Papers); *Autobiography of George Bliss*, N-YHS: Bliss Papers, vol. 1, fol. 24). See the biography of the Bliss family in Appendix E (hereafter, Bliss). See also Whistler ... Fairfax; and Stoeckl, Howard, Swift, Ironside in Appendix E.
337. The Whistlers' Springfield, Massachusetts, neighbors, the Bliss family, made a tour of Europe lasting eighteen months. The members of the family were George Bliss Sr. (16 November 1793 – 19 April 1873); his wife, Mary Shepherd (Dwight) Bliss (24 February 1801 – 12 April 1870); their daughter, Sarah Dwight Bliss (3 June 1826 – 8 September 1896); and their son, George Bliss Jr. (3 May 1830 – 1 September 1897) (Aaron Tyler Bliss, comp., *Genealogy of the Bliss Family in America*, 3 vols. [Midland, MI: printed by the author, 1982], vol.1, pp. 404–405). The Blisses and the Ironsides traveled "part of the way through Great Britain" together. Mary (Swift) Ironside "had been substantially brought up by [Mrs. Bliss] and passed much of the time at [their] home, after her mother died" (*Autobiography of George Bliss*, N-YHS: Bliss Papers, vol. 1, fol. 24). Sarah Dwight Bliss married on 24 October 1849 in Springfield, Massachusetts, George Walker (1 April 1824 – 15 January 1888). See Bliss in Appendix E.
338. Major G.W. Whistler to George Bliss, Esquire, St. P., May 24 / June 5 1846, George Bliss Papers, MHS. The letter was addressed to London and was written in response to a letter from George Bliss that it has not been possible to locate.
339. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Charlotte Sanford Adams Barnes.
340. The diplomatic courier would go on Tuesday, 12 May.
341. Reverend Henry Washington Lee (Hamden, CT 29 July 1815 – Davenport, IA 26 September 1874; see Image 44) was the first rector of Christ Church in Springfield, Massachusetts, as of 30 November 1838. Although Anna Whistler speaks of his declining calls to other appointments, on 18 November 1847 his Springfield pastorate was terminated and he became rector of St. Luke's Church in Rochester, New York (*The Iowa Churchman*,

- March 1903, p. 10; *Davenport Democrat*, September 26, 28, and 29, 1874; Loren N. Horton, *The Beautiful Heritage: A History of the Diocese of Iowa, 1853–2003* [Des Moines, IO: Diocese of Iowa, 2003]; James W. Robbins, “The Founding of the Diocese of Iowa of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,” master’s thesis, Drake University, Des Moines, IA, 1950; *Journal of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Iowa, held in ... May, 1875 and also of the Special Convention held in ... December, 1874* [Davenport, IA: Globe Steam Printing, 1875], p. 12; M.F. Carpenter, “Growth and Spread,” *The Palimpsest* 34, no. 10 (October 1953): pp. 451–457).
342. Reverend Henry Washington Lee; his wife, Lydia Mason (Morton) Lee (29 June 1812 – Chicago 31 January 1903), who married on 16 April 1837 (see Images 44–45); and their first two children, Henry Morton (Springfield, MA 15 August 1840 – Berwick, Adams, PA 8 November 1905) and Caroline (4 November 1844 – 12 March 1928), who later married Eugene Lewis, were living in the parsonage at that time (*Worcester, Massachusetts City Directory* 1929; memorial gravestone, Oakdale Memorial Gardens, Davenport, IA; memorial gravestone, Elmwood Cemetery, Kansas City, MO).
343. It has not been possible to locate this letter from George William Whistler, who was working for the firm of Ross Winans in Baltimore and had become engaged to Mary Ducatel of Baltimore. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Winans in Appendix E and Images 12–13.
344. This is Admiralty Boulevard, from which Nevskii, Admiralty, and Vasilievskii prospects fan out like rays.
345. The Customs House (see Images 95–96) formed part of the architectural ensemble of the spit of Vasilievskii Island and was built according to plans by the architect Giovanni Francesco Lucchini (1755–1826) almost at the same time as the warehouses of the Stock Exchange (see Image 152–153). Its construction in 1829–1832 was made necessary by the development of the port of Petersburg in the first half of the nineteenth century, when customs facilities could no longer fit into the old houses adapted for them on the bank of the Little Neva. In its silhouette, the Customs House, designed in the forms of Russian Classicism, matches the *Kunstkamera*, which is located symmetrically with respect to the axis of the ensemble of the spit of Vasilievskii Island. Rectangular in plan, the main façade of the Customs House faces the Little Neva and is crowned by a sloping cupola

on a tall drum. The main façade is distinguished by an Ionic portico that rests against the projection of the first floor, which is treated as the ground floor and is rusticated. On the pediment crowning the portico are bronze statues of Mercury, Neptune, and Ceres (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* 1958, p. 97).

346. “Vessels drawing over eight feet of water have to discharge at Cronstadt, and send their cargoes up in lighters” (see Image 84) (Maxwell, *Czar*, p. 61).
347. “The most central and advantageous location” for building the bridge (see Images 140–142) would have been “between the Winter Palace and the Admiralty on the left bank and connecting with the eastern end of Vasilievskii Ostrov near the Bourse and Rostral Columns” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 362).

Work to replace the floating bridges across the Neva (see Image 99) with permanent ones started in the 1840s and Annunciation Bridge (see Images 140–142) was the first built (G.I. Bogdanov, “Problemy sokhraneniia mostov Sankt-Peterburga” [“Problems in the Preservation of the Bridges of St. Petersburg”], *Peterburgskie chteniia* 96 [1996]: p. 281). It was being built “from a point where the Kriukov Canal entered the [Grand] Neva on its left bank to a point on the right bank between Lines 5 and 6 near the Academy of Arts on Vasilievskii Ostrov. The left bank end of the bridge was near the Annunciation Church [see Image 131] and square of the same name” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 362), which the Whistlers lived very close to. It was completed in 1850 and opened on 21 November / 2 December 1850 by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423), who walked across it (Haywood, pp. 364–365). It was popularly called the Nicholas Bridge. “Harrison, Winans and Eastwick played a secondary but still very important role” in the construction of the bridge, “producing and installing in ... 1848–1850 the cast iron works for [it]” (Haywood, p. 360).

348. “Isaac’s plain” is a reference to Isaac Square, where St. Isaac’s Cathedral was in the process of being built (see Image 119).
349. The next Wednesday, 1/13 May, would be marked by the annual public celebration at Ekateringof.
350. Anna Whistler’s friend Charlotte Leon (Mrs. L, old friend) told her this story. As of 7/19 April 1846, the military governor general of St. Petersburg was Adjutant General and General of Infantry Matvei Evgrafovich Khrapovitskii (1784–1847), who served in this capacity until 31 March / 12 April 1847. The other

- two St. Petersburg military governors general during the Whistlers' sojourn there were Adjutant General and General of Infantry Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kavelin (1793–1850) from 2/14 December 1842 until 7/19 April 1846, and General of Infantry Dmitrii Ivanovich Shul'gin (1785–1854) from 21 April / 3 May 1847 until 20 December 1854 / 1 January 1855 (Frish and Vysotskii, *S-Peterburgskaia stolichnaia politsiia*, p. 152; their portraits face pp. 136, 138, and 142; see Images 314–316). The detailed biographies of these three men can be found in Dlugolenskii, *Voenno-grazhdanskaia i politseiskaia vlast' Sankt-Peterburga*, pp. 118–122, 122–125, and 125–128.
351. Anna Whistler was reading *Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* by Andrew A. Bonar and Robert Murray McCheyne. It was published in Edinburgh in 1842, with subsequent editions in 1844 and 1845.
  352. The biography of McCheyne that she had read in the summer of 1845 was *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray McCheyne, Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee* by the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar D.D. Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, Glasgow. It was probably the “New Edition with Appendices, Facsimiles of Writings, and Portrait” (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, [1844]). I have consulted the 1844 edition and the centenary edition of 1913.
  353. Boreas “in Greek mythology” was “the north wind, and in allegories of the Four Seasons the personification of Winter” (Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, p. 51).
  354. The baby girl died at midnight on Saturday, 16 May 1846. Her death was announced in church on 17 May. Anna Whistler visited the mother on Monday, 18 May, and saw the body on Thursday, 21 May. It has not been possible to determine the surname of this family. There is no record in the PREC STP of the birth of a female child at the end of June / beginning of July 1845 whose surname begins with M, nor of the death and burial of such a child in May 1846.
  355. 1 Samuel 13:14: “But now thy kingdom shall not continue: the Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart, and the Lord hath commanded him to be captain over his people because thou hast not kept that which the Lord commanded thee.” Saul is rejected by God for his “ritual sin” and replaced by David, who is “the man after [God’s] own heart” (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 347).

356. “The Joy of Grief” is a poem by James Montgomery (1771–1854) about grief through loss of a loved one to death. It appeared in *The Poetical Works of Rogers, Campbell, J. Montgomery, Lamb, and Kirke White* (1829). See also *Friends’ Intelligencer* 33, (1876–1877): p. 638. The expression “the joy of grief” is an “eighteenth-century commonplace” (Jack Stillinger, ed., *John Keats: Complete Poems* [Cambridge, MA; London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982], p. 418).
357. There were two Wylies in Russia at this time called Sir James. The first Sir James Wylie (Kincardine-on-Forth 1768 – St. Petersburg 11/23 February 1854), knighted in 1814, had been physician to emperors Paul I (see Image 417) and Alexander I (see Image 418). The second Sir James Wylie (bap. Dundee 7 January 1795 – St. Petersburg 9/21 October 1850) was his nephew, son of his older brother, William, a minister in Dundee. This younger Sir James Wylie (see Image 298) was physician to Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Emperor Nicholas I, and was knighted in 1843. He had a brother, John (bap. Dundee 23 January 1793 – Carluke 15 December 1873), who was ordained on 1 May 1818 and was a minister in Carluke, Scotland, from 1818 until his death in 1873; and a brother, Francis (1806 – Elgin 19 March 1873), a minister in Elgin from 1843 until his death, also in 1873. As Anna Whistler spoke of the visiting minister, who preached on 17 May, as “past the prime of life,” he would more likely have been John, who would have been at least 53 years old, rather than Francis, who would have been only 40. This seems confirmed by the fact that a John Wylie was a witness at the marriage of Henry Richard Cattley and Mary Ann Wilks on 17/29 May 1846 in the English Church, and that he only appears in an entry for Wylie on this one occasion in May 1846 (PREC STP, no. 5609; OPRS; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Wylie, Sir James (1768–1854)”; Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, vol. 3, *Synod of Glasgow & Ayr*, p. 286, and vol. 6, *Synods of Aberdeen and of Moray*, p. 392; *The Elgin Courant*, March 21, 1873; *The Scotsman*, May 2, 1890). The surname Wylie was rendered as Vilie in Russian.
358. John 17:11–12. Before going with His disciples to the Garden of Gethsemane, where Judas will betray him, Jesus prays for them, asking God the Father to keep them through his own name that they may be one, as Jesus and the Father are (Verse 11). In the 12<sup>th</sup> verse, Jesus says: “While I was with them in the world, I kept them in thy name: those that thou gavest me I have kept, and none of them is lost, but the son of perdition; that the Scripture

- might be fulfilled.” Anna Whistler says Doctor Wiley took as the text for his sermon the second half of Verse 12.
359. George Henry Prince arrived back in St. Petersburg on Saturday 16 May 1846, on the *Zephyr* (Capt. Leach [1807–1886]), along with one of his younger brothers, Benjamin Ropes Prince (14 November 1822 – December 1902), who was second mate on the *Zephyr*.
  360. In addition to the three men mentioned in Note 359, NYPL: AWPB, Part II, the guests who came for tea on Monday, 18 May 1846, included the family of William Hooper Ropes and Capt. John Frederick Kruger.
  361. Maxwell, who was traveling in Europe, had written Major Whistler that he had had a letter “from our mutual friend, George Prince. He was to sail in March or April for St. Petersburg ... He seemed to be very happy and had called upon your friends, the Princes of Springfield [*sic*: Lowell] and the Dickensons [*sic*: Dickersons] of Patersen [*sic*: Paterson] New Jersey” (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, London, March 4, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). George Prince’s letter is not among the Maxwell Papers.
  362. It has not been possible to locate the letter from Mrs. Agnes (Stevenson) Maxwell (1796–1866), also called “~~Mrs~~ M” in this entry. See Maxwell in Appendix E.
  363. Maxwell had written Major Whistler that he had had news of George Prince, who “had arrived in New York but was to visit my Father and Mother on his return from the East” (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, Paris, January 14, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers).
  364. The name Stuart epitomized candy made from pure sugar and ingredients of the highest quality. Robert Leighton Stuart (21 July 1806 – 12 December 1882) and his brother Alexander (New York 22 December 1810 – New York 23 December 1879), were the sons of Agnes (d. 8 October 1857) and Kinloch (Edinburgh 1755 – 29 January 1826) Stuart, who emigrated to America from Edinburgh in 1805. There are conflicting stories about which parent started the candy business that became so famous. One version says it was their mother who, in order to support them, made a molasses candy, which her sons sold. With the profits, she opened a small candy shop on the lower west side of New York. In 1828, her sons formed the partnership of R.L. and A. Stuart and continued in the confectionery business until 1856, but their

- chief business until the 1870s was the refining and marketing of sugar. From this enterprise they amassed great wealth and throughout their lives engaged in extensive philanthropy (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Stuart, Robert Leighton”; Matthew Hale Smith, *Twenty Years among the Bulls and Bears of Wall Street* [Hartford, CT: J.B. Burr, 1870], pp. 287–288; William M. MacBean, *Biographical Register of Saint Andrew’s Society of the State of New York*, vol. 2, 1807–1856 [New York: Printed for the Society, 1925], pp. 65–66, 124, 165).
365. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday afternoon. May 30<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the recently returned George Henry Prince, first cousin to William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (Geo Princes, M<sup>r</sup> Prince); Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler’s sister (Aunt Kate); and John Bouttatz Whistler (baby).
366. The *Zephyr* sailed on Thursday, 28 May 1846.
367. This is the first appearance in the diaries of the name of James’s Russian drawing teacher, Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii (1818 – 8–9/20–21 February 1866; see Images 167–170). There is a drawing by him (whereabouts unknown) of Willie and Johnnie Whistler, but Koritskii may have made more than one, as Anna Whistler’s words suggest a drawing of “baby” alone. In 1908, William Whistler’s second wife, Helen (Ionides) Whistler (London 15 October 1849 – Hastings 16 January 1917), wrote to Elizabeth Robbins Pennell asking “to borrow a pencil drawing of my husband about 10 years old in Russian dress with a younger brother ‘Johnnie’ in a quaint kind of go-cart, this was drawn by their drawing-master in St. Petersburg” (Helen Whistler to Elizabeth Robbins Pennell, Sept. 23, 1908, LC: P-W, box 304, W-Z, fols. 4963–4). Helen Whistler’s letter contains the last known reference to Koritskii in the extant Whistler family correspondence.
368. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday afternoon. May 30<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (M<sup>rs</sup> Harrison); her husband, Joseph Harrison Jr. of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mr H); Annie Harrison, their daughter (Annie); William Henry Harrison, their son (Henry); Sophia (Morgan) Baird (old M<sup>rs</sup> Baird); William Miller, merchant and honorary British vice-consul in St. Petersburg (Mr. Miller); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler’s half-sister (Sister Alicia); Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon);



- Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' physician (doct Rogers); George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes (M<sup>r</sup> Prince); William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (M<sup>r</sup> Ropes); and Dunia, the Whistlers' maid (Dounia).
369. Major Whistler would therefore have set out on 9 June 1846.
370. The *Victory* departed for London with 19 passengers on Wednesday, 5 June [17 June NS] (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti*, Saturday, June 8 [June 20 NS], 1846, p. 566).
371. The dacha of William Clarke Gellibrand (see Image 265) and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Image 266) was located in the vicinity of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery (see Image 397) on the estate next to old Mr. Thomas Drury's estate. The family of William Hooper Ropes spent summers there.
372. It has not been possible to ascertain which sister of Sophia Morgan (Greenock, Scotland 1808 – 13 April 1872) is intended. Sophia Morgan had become a close friend of Anna Whistler's half-sister Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (see Image 39), when they met in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1844.
373. Mr. Miller is one of several merchants identified among the twenty-five passengers who arrived on 30 May [11 June NS] on the *Victory* from London (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 121, Saturday, June 1 [June 13 NS], 1846, p. 526). He is probably William Miller, Debo's suitor at one time. See the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s."
374. John Dorlin Sandland, *The Wanderer and Other Poems, Chiefly Written during a Residence in South America* (London: Whittaker; Liverpool: Charles Davies, 1845). See Sandland in Appendix E. "Mrs. S" is Eliza Sandland, John's mother.
375. "Last Saturday" was 13 June 1846.
376. Charlotte Leon visited Anna Whistler on Thursday, 18 June 1846.
377. The empress and the Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Images 420, 424, 432) had spent some nine months in Palermo because of the empress's poor health (*Son iunosti*, pp. 170–192, covers their entire trip). They returned to Russia on 3 June [15 June NS] and went to their summer residence, Alexandria, in Peterhof (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 125, Thursday, June 6 [June 18 NS], 1846, p. 539).
378. On Friday, 7 June [19 June NS], the empress came to St. Petersburg for the first time since her return to Russia and after

hearing a service at the Kazan Cathedral (see Image 126) went to the Winter Palace (see Images 114–117) (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 129, Tuesday, June 11 [June 23 NS], 1846, p. 571).

379. “The sledge of the Empress ... is a most superb equipage: it is drawn by four magnificent horses, driven by a coachman bearded to the breast, and wearing the long blue national caftan, with a gold sash; and two richly dressed Cossacs [*sic*] standing on the footboard” (Thompson, *Life in Russia*, p. 92).
380. Anna Whistler, writing to James on his birthday years later, still referred to his “manly courtesy” on this occasion (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Sulphur Springs, Sharon, July 11 [18] 56, GUL: Whistler Collection, W469).
381. The War of 1812 was concluded on 24 December 1814, with the Treaty of Ghent. The news of the peace was received in America on 11 February 1815 and celebrated by a general illumination of New York City on 27 February 1815 (Phelps Stokes, *Manhattan Island*, pp. 1579–1580; *New York Evening Post*, February 28, March 1, and March 2, 1815). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E for a discussion of when Dr. Daniel McNeill was living in New York.
382. The newspaper description of the celebration parallels Anna Whistler’s:

The news of Her Majesty’s intention to visit the capitol quickly spread throughout the city and starting early in the morning the people gathered in a crowd before the Cathedral, burning with the desire to see the precious features of their benignant Monarch, who had so long been absent from her subjects. Huge crowds of people were waiting for the Empress before the Palace as well and demonstrated their happiness with unfeigned signs of genuine attentiveness. In the evening the entire city was lit with fire—the eloquent emblem of ardent Russian feeling. In different parts of Petersburg various forms of illumination were especially arranged for this event. Many public and private buildings were illuminated with extraordinary magnificence, but the Nevskii Prospekt and the streets adjacent to it from the Znamenskii Bridge to the Admiralty was an almost sheer wall of fire, displaying the greatest artifice and variety of form ... Before the entire length of the façade of almost every house sparkled thousands of fires in the form of arches, pyramids, palms and gigantic stars with the initials of the August Heroine of the festivities. Some houses were covered with fire

- from top to bottom – from roof to sidewalk. In some squares and on the balconies of some houses loud music sounded. The entire populace of Petersburg, given the calm, warm weather, massed in dense crowds until late at night on the Nevskii Prospekt, on Bol'shaia and Malaia Morskaia streets and on other nearby streets, engaging in this truly national celebration with reverential quiet and order. (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 129, Tuesday, June 11 [June 23 NS], 1846, p. 571; taken from *Russkii Invalid* [*Russian Invalid*])
383. Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (St. Petersburg 30 August / 11 September 1822 – Württemberg 18/30 October 1892; see Image 432) was betrothed to His Royal Highness Crown Prince Karl Friedrich Alexander of Württemberg (22 February / 6 March 1823 – 24 September / 6 October 1891; see Image 433) on the birthday of Nicholas I. They were first cousins, as Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) and the late Ekaterina Pavlovna, Queen of Württemberg (Tsarskoe Selo 10/21 May 1788 – Stuttgart 28 December 1818 / 9 January 1819), were brother and sister. See “Ceremony of the Betrothal,” *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 139, Saturday, June 22 [July 4 NS], 1846, pp. 615–18; *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 141, Tuesday, June 25 [July 7 NS], 1846, p. 627. See also *Son inosti*, pp. 176–184 about their engagement in Palermo; for dates, see Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, pp. 142, 287.
384. In addition to a telegraph line between “the Tsar’s office in the Winter Palace [and] Kleinmichel’s office in the Main Administration [of Transport and Public Buildings] ... on the Fontanka,” there was a second line “from Kleinmichel’s office to the Alexander Palace in Tsarskoe Selo” that had been “completed in 1843” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 240).
385. “Last Saturday” refers to 4 July 1846, which the Whistlers spent at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works with the Eastwicks: Andrew McCalla; his wife, Lydia; and their four sons: Edward Peers, Joseph Harrison, Charles James, and Philip Garrett (see Images 233–240).
386. The Whistlers visited the Gellibrands on 6 July 1846 at “their pleasant country place, some ten miles away, on the road to Peterhoff, ... prettily situated on a gentle rise of land, over looking, on the one side, the city, where the gilded dome of St. Isaacs is discernable, and on the other, the Gulf of Finland, with vessels moving on its waters. At the foot of this slope is an artificial lake, with an island in its center, with shrubbery and

- walks. It adjoins the elegant estate of Count——, on which is a noted Dairy” (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 56). The Count was Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev. See Stroganov, Vasil’chikov, Kushelev in Appendix E.
387. Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (their kind Aunt) told Anna Whistler that her sister-in-law, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (Mrs. R), would soon be traveling to England with her four children: Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, Louisa Harriet Ropes, and William Hall Ropes.
388. The previous diary entry was dated Saturday afternoon 20 June 1846. Sometime between 24 June and 7 July 1846, the Whistlers were introduced to the American clergymen and the young lawyer.
389. The clergymen (see their biographies) were Edward Erastus Rankin, Horatio Nelson Brinsmade, and Robert Baird. They were in Europe to attend the “great meeting in London, about the middle of August, of those who are favourable to the formation of an Evangelical Alliance” (*The Free Church Magazine* 32 [August 1846]: pp. 241–242). Certainly Baird was a delegate from the Synod of New Jersey of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, but Rankin and Brinsmade probably were as well. They had all come to Europe early: Baird to attend first the temperance convention in Stockholm in June; Brinsmade and Rankin for perhaps a once-in-a-lifetime tour (their biographies contain contradictory statements about their travels). They had joined Baird in London, and were traveling with him (Henry M. Baird, *The Life of the Rev. Robert Baird, D.D.* [New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1866], p. 222; chapters 14, 17, 19, and 26 are relevant for Russia). Rankin, who held Passport no. 860, issued by the Department of State, was issued in Great Britain on 1 June 1846 Passport no. 394, and his destination was given as Denmark and Sweden. Brinsmade was issued in Great Britain on 29 May 1846 passport no. 382, and his destination was given as Hamburg and Sweden (NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.3).
390. Henry N. Beach is listed as a law student in the 1845–46 Newark Directory, residing at the same address as James R. Beach, a New York merchant. The 1846–47 directory has them both moving to Brooklyn, New York (James Ward, Passaic County Historical Society, Paterson, NJ, to E. Harden, 20 June 1988). A passport (no. 383) was issued to him, a resident of New York, on 29 May 1846 for Hamburg and Sweden. He was vouched for by Rev. H.N. Brinsmade (NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.3). It is not

possible to say whether Henry N. Beach had come to Europe to attend the meeting in London in August 1846 that the clergymen were to attend, concerning the formation of an Evangelical Alliance. On 6 October 1847, Henry married Martha W. Crane, daughter of the late Rev. Elias W. Crane of Jamaica, Long Island (now part of Brooklyn). The ceremony took place at Dr. Potts's Church in University Place and was conducted by Rev. H.N. Brinsmade (*New York Herald*, October 7, 1847; *Newark Daily Advertiser*, October 8, 1847).

James R. Beach, who had been listed as a commission merchant, did not appear in the New York and Brooklyn directories in 1848. A death notice appeared in the *Evening Post*, December 15, 1848, for a James (no middle initial) Beach, formerly of New York, who had died in London on 20 November 1848. Henry N. Beach, although a lawyer, listed himself as a merchant until 1858. In this year he began to list himself as a lawyer and continued to do so in the New York and the Orange, New Jersey, directories through 1879. He is listed in "Gould's Lawyers Diary" for 1880 (Mariam Touba, N-YHS, to E. Harden, 24 August 2005).

391. Anna Whistler was delighted to meet them, because she and her husband had lived in Paterson, New Jersey, in the early years of their marriage, and thus had friends in common with these clergymen and perhaps with Beach. An article that only vaguely names its source says the Whistlers lived on Water Street in Paterson from 1831 to 1834 ("The McNeills and the Whistlers," *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society* 5, no. 7 (1962): p. 100). "The street was located on the northwest side of the Passaic River ... It is now known as Presidential Blvd. Strictly speaking, it was thus not in Paterson, but in Saddle River Twp., Bergen Co. Passaic Co. was not created until 1837 and Paterson Twp. lay south of the River in Essex Co." (James Ward, Passaic County Historical Society, Paterson, NJ, to E. Harden, 24 September 1991). Maxwell quotes Major Whistler as saying that his family was "then living in a house belonging to Morris, the son in law of Peter [Croy?] on the banks of the Pasaic" (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, June 2, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 36). Later research by members of the Passaic County Historical Society did not uncover any further details.
392. Edward Erastus Rankin, DD (Newark, NJ 15 May 1820 – Newark, NJ 22 July 1889) graduated from Yale in 1840 and from Union Theological Seminary in 1843. He was ordained in

Elizabethtown, New Jersey, on 23 April 1844. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Springfield, New Jersey, from 1844 to 1850. He is said to have “made an extensive tour in Europe” in 1845 and then to have “resumed his pastoral duty at Springfield.” It is not possible to say whether he went to Europe more than once, but we know for certain that he traveled in Europe in 1846. From 1850 to 1863, he was pastor of the Forty-Second Street Church in New York City. In 1863, he received a DD from Rutgers College. “He was in the service of the Christian Commission during the ... civil war.” From 1866 to 1879, he was pastor of the Congregational Church in Fairfield, Connecticut. He resigned this post because of failing health and returned to Newark, where he died ten years later.

He married in 1847. He had one daughter and five sons, one of whom was also a minister. Rankin was “spoken of as a man of fine personal appearance, having a clear, pleasant voice, which, while it was not loud, was always easily heard” (F.W. Ricord, ed., *History of Union County New Jersey* [Newark, NJ: East Jersey History Company, 1897], p. 498; Charles Ripley Gillett, comp., *Alumni Catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York 1836–1926* [New York: Association of the Alumni, 1926], p. 23; *Minutes of the Sixty-Sixth Annual Session of the Synod of New Jersey Held at Asbury Park, N.J., October 1889* [Trenton, NJ, 1889], p. 45; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, new series, vol. 13, A.D. 1890 [Philadelphia: McCalla, 1890], p. 147; State of New Jersey Certificate of Death for Edward E. Rankin). Rankin was the youngest of the three clergymen the Whistlers met. Anna Whistler did not clearly say whether she finally heard him preach.

393. Robert Baird (nr Pittsburg, PA 6 October 1798 – Yonkers, NY 15 March 1863) was the son of a soldier in George Washington’s army. He “was born on a ... farm.” At fifteen he entered the Academy of Uniontown (1813), followed by Washington College (1816–1817) and Jefferson College (BA, 1818). “Both colleges sought to encourage promising farm boys to enter the Presbyterian ministry.” Baird decided to attend Princeton Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1822. He was principal of Princeton Academy from 1822 to 1828. As his career progressed, he moved from “state missionary work” to national to French to international, developing along the way the abilities of a consummate fundraiser. The missionary zeal he brought to whatever he undertook resulted eventually in an extremely peripatetic life. His great interest in “establish[ing] ... a proper

school system in the state” of New Jersey prompted him to write an influential “series of letters on education “To the People of New Jersey.””

He was considered by “President McLean of Princeton [to have done] more than any other man ‘to direct the public attention to this subject and to induce the Legislature to pass the requisite laws for the establishment and maintenance of a system of common schools.’” His next interest was Sunday schools. In 1829, he became “general agent of the American Sunday School Union,” a post he held for five years and in the service of which he “founded thousands of schools” “all over the settled parts of the United States,” even where there were no churches. “In 1834 the French Association,” funded “by wealthy Huguenot émigrés” (Baird had married on 24 August 1824 in Philadelphia Ferminé Du Boisson of Huguenot descent), was founded in New York “to aid the Protestant Church in France.” They sent Baird to be “their agent . . . in Paris.” While there, he “attempted to begin an international temperance movement [resembling] the American Temperance Society.” It was then that he wrote *Histoire des Sociétés de Temperance des États Unis d’Amérique* [*History of the Temperance Societies of the United States of America*] (1836). Although the French Association changed, developing finally into the American and Foreign Christian Union, “he “remained in its service” until his death. He eventually “became an ardent advocate of the Evangelical Alliance for the Protestant world.” In the service of the French Association and its transformations, “he crossed the ocean nine times and travelled more than 300,000 miles.” He was the author of some nine books, written between 1832 and 1851. The two written in the period of Anna Whistler’s diaries are *Religion in the United States of America* (Glasgow and Edinburgh: Blackie and Son, 1844), written in 1843, and *Sketches of Protestantism in Italy Past and Present, Including a Notice of the Origin, History and Present State of the Waldenses* (Boston: Benjamin Perkins, 1845; 2nd ed., 1847) (*Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. “Baird, Robert”; Henry Fowler, *The American Pulpit: Sketches Biographical and Descriptive of Living American Preachers, and of the Religious Movements and Distinctive Ideas Which They Represent* [New York: J.M. Fairchild, 1856], pp. 71–88; Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*; Peter J. Wosh, “Bibles, Benevolence and Emerging Bureaucracy: The Persistence of the American Bible Society, 1816-1890” (PhD diss., New York University, 1988), pp. 136–143; Peter J. Wosh, *Spreading the Word: The Bible Business in Nineteenth-Century America* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994], pp. 84–88).

394. Baird, who had not been well prior to coming to St. Petersburg, suffered “an attack of inflammatory rheumatism” once he arrived, confining him to bed. He not only could not travel with his compatriots but had to decline important invitations from the Prince of Oldenburg, who was very interested in the temperance movement (Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*, p. 220).
395. Mrs. Wilson, a widow, kept a lodging house at No. 60 Galernaia Street. She had a son and two daughters. Her daughter, Ann Eleanor, married on 3/15 May 1845 William Roberts, a tutor, who lived at Mrs. Wilson’s. He is listed in *BRBC STP 1845* as “returned with family to England,” but this information may have been written in at a later time, as is the announcement of Mrs. Wilson’s death from cholera in 1848 (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 62; *PREC STP*, no. 5494). Murray’s *Handbook for Northern Europe* notes “with regret the decease of Mrs. Wilson” (vol. 2, p. 529).
396. Baird had been in St. Petersburg in 1837 and 1840 in his extensive travels on behalf of the international temperance movement. In 1837, he had been received by Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna and her daughters (Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*, pp. 157, 158). In 1840, he had been received by Nicholas I (Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*, pp. 194–196). For information about his 1840 sojourn, see Joseph S. Ropes to his aunt, St. Petersburg, June 24/ July 6. 1841, MHS: Ropes Papers. In St. Petersburg, Baird had lodged with the Ropeses (William H. Ropes to Hardy Ropes. Sept. 14/26. 1840; Sept. 27/Oct. 9. 1840, MHS: Ropes Papers).
397. See Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*, for the many instances of Baird’s interviews with European monarchs and their families.
398. Horatio Nelson Brinsmade (New Hartford, CT 28 December 1798 – Newark, NJ 18 January 1879) graduated from Yale in September 1822. He entered Princeton Theological Seminary that same year, remaining “nearly one year,” and then went to Hartford, where he both “studied Theology about two years” under a minister there and taught from May 1823 until December 1831 at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. He was ordained in 1828 by the Hartford North Congregational Association “as an Evangelist.” His many pastorates are too numerous to mention all of them. From February 1835 until September 1841, he was pastor of the First Congregational Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. From September 1841 until October 1853, he served as pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey. It is here that he was serving when mentioned in Anna Whistler’s diaries. From February 1854 until the end of



1860, he was pastor of the First Congregational Church in Beloit, Wisconsin, and also taught at Beloit College without remuneration. From May 1865 until April 1872, he served as “stated supply” and then as pastor of the Wickcliffe Presbyterian Church in Newark, New Jersey. He remained in this city until his death. The several months he spent in Europe in 1846 were “for the restoration of his health” and constituted the only interruption to his professional life, spent almost exclusively in the ministry. He was married three times and all his children predeceased him (E.R. Craven, *Historical Sermon Delivered on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Third Presbyterian Church* [Newark, NJ: Daily Advertiser Office, 1874], pp. 31–32; Yale University Alumni Records; Alfred Nevin, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America* [Philadelphia: Presbyterian Publishing, 1884], pp. 101–102; Joseph F. Folsom, Benedict Fitzpatrick, and Edwin P Conklin, eds., *The Municipalities of Essex County New Jersey, 1666–1924*, 4 vols. [New York: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1925], vol. 1, p. 311; Edward Howell Roberts, comp., *Biographical Catalogue of the Princeton Theological Seminary, 1815–1932* [Princeton, NJ: Trustees of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, 1933], p. 25; *Necrological Report Presented to the Alumni Association of Princeton Theological Seminary, at its Annual Meeting, April 29, 1879, by a Committee of the Association* [Philadelphia: Grant, Faires & Rodgers, 1879], pp. 19–21; State of New Jersey Certificate of Death for Horatio Nelson Brinsmade; obituary without source identification). The impression Rev. Brinsmade had on Anna Whistler seems confirmed in his necrology: “Dr. Brinsmade was one of the best of men, and one of the most faithful and useful of pastors. His preaching was always with earnestness and love. He spent and was spent in the service of Christ . . . He was faithful, affectionate, devout. The law of love was the rule of his life. He made the impress of his piety and fidelity on all who came within the reach of his influence” (*Necrological Report*, p. 21).

399. They heard Rev. Brinsmade preach at two services on Sunday, 28 June 1846. The first was at the British and American Congregational Church in St. Petersburg (see Image 125), the second at the Congregational Church at Alexandrofsky, established in 1844 by Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256) (*Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, pp. 26–27).
400. Daniel Chapter 5 concerns Belshazzar’s feast, at which Daniel, brought in to interpret the handwriting on the wall, admonishes Belshazzar, who, as ruler, has not glorified the Lord, just as his

father Nebuchadnezzar had not. The second half of Verse 23 reads: “and thou has praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the god in whose hand thy breath is, and who are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified.”

401. Reverends Rankin and Brinsmade and Mr. Beach came to dine with the Whistlers on Tuesday 30 June 1846.
402. Karttunen, *Making a Communal World*, pp. 2, 244–245; Notes 22–24, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II.
403. “Yesterday” refers to Monday, 6 July 1846. It has not been possible to locate these letters from Debo.
404. “Next Saturday” would be 11 July 1846.
405. This is Eliza Isabella Wellwood (Stevenson) Smith (Mrs. Thomas Macdougall Smith). See Stevenson and Smith in Appendix E.
406. This striking first name has appeared several times in the materials I have consulted, but it has not been possible to determine which person is the right one. The 1845 Register for the English Church in St. Petersburg contains among the names of witnesses to a marriage ceremony that of Franciska Lewis (PREC STP, no. 5518). The list of persons declaring their intention to leave St. Petersburg in May 1847 contains the name Franciska Fermeren, domiciled near Bank Bridge in the house of Tishner (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 99, Tuesday, May 6 [May 18 NS], 1847, p. 460). The lists of passengers announcing their intention in September 1847 to depart St. Petersburg contain the name Frantsiska Friderika Senner, and her daughter, Emilia, foreigners, domiciled on Voznesenskaia Street in the house of Moravits, № 34 (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 221, Sunday, September 28 [October 10 NS], 1847, p. 1008). A letter from William Whistler to James in England mentions simply “Franziska’s” (St. Petersburg, Oct. 2-3 [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W974). Franciska was probably foreign, as her name suggests, and because English seems not to have been her native language. As Anna Whistler called her “this girl,” she may not have been married. It has also not been possible to ascertain who her aunt was.
407. The exhibition of bridal paraphernalia was to take place on 28 June / 10 July 1846. The viewing usually lasted three days. Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432) said that their entire trousseau was sewn at the Fatherland School on Liteinyi Prospekt (*Son iunosti*, p. 142).

The Women's Patriotic Society (*Zhenskoe patrioticheskoe obshchestvo*) sponsored eleven schools in various districts of St. Petersburg. Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna was the head of the Liteinaia School, where her trousseau had been made. The subjects taught there were religion and sacred history, reading and writing in Russian, the elements of arithmetic, concepts of home economics, and needlework of all kinds, from ordinary to the finest sewing and embroidery. Every trimester, the girls were subjected to exams. Girls who excelled in deportment, their studies, and work experience received a monetary award when they graduated, based on whether they left after three, five, or seven years. Their needlework was sold on the Nevskii Prospekt in the house of Princess Golitsyna. Girls from various free classes of society were accepted year round on the basis of requests from their parents or benefactors. With the exception of holidays, the girls were required to come to school every day in the morning. They had dinner at the school and went home in the evening. In addition to paying for their meals, the Society supplied them with clothing and shoes paid for from their earnings. Girls were accepted from the ages of five to fourteen. They were required to undergo a physical examination to enter, and, if not vaccinated for small pox, to be vaccinated immediately. Preference was given to those who were complete orphans or lived in conditions of extreme poverty (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 477–479).

408. The Russian word for “pillow” is spelled “podushka” and pronounced “pahdoosh'kuh.” Anna Whistler added the English plural suffix –s.
409. The aide was Aleksandr Vladimirovich Adlerberg (Moscow 1/13 May 1818 – Munich 22 September / 4 October 1888). The mother-to-be was Ekaterina Nikolaevna (Poltavtseva) Adlerberg (Tambov Province 21 August / 2 September 1821 – Tsarskoe Selo 3/16 June 1910). The child, who was born on 11/23 July 1846, was Vladimir Aleksandrovich Adlerberg (d. St. Petersburg 31 July / 13 August 1919).

Aleksandr Vladimirovich Adlerberg was raised with and remained the life-long friend of the future Alexander II (see Image 425). He ended his career as minister of the Court (1870–1881), resigning from the service after the assassination of Alexander II. He became a count in 1847, when Nicholas I created his father, Vladimir Fyodorovich (1792–1884), and all his descendents counts of the Russian Empire. Vladimir Fyodorovich's relationship with Nicholas I was identical to that

of his son with Alexander II: they were lifelong friends, and Vladimir Fyodorovich preceded his son as minister of the Court (1852–1870). I wish to thank Marvin Lyons of Richmond, British Columbia, for this succinct account. Mr. Lyons is writing a history of the Corps of Pages. For a more detailed genealogy, see V.P. Stark, ed., *Dvorianskaia sem'ia Iz istorii dvorianskikh familii Rossii* [*The Noble Family From the History of the Noble Families of Russia*] [St. Petersburg: Iskusstvo-SPb, 2000], pp. 24–26, 27 and Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*.

410. This is General Zachary Taylor (24 November 1784 – 9 July 1850; see Image 51), commanding general of the U.S. Army in the War with Mexico (see “Maps”). He had become a national hero as a result of victories at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterrey, and Buena Vista. He was therefore nominated by the Whigs in 1848 as their candidate for president of the United States.
411. The Hills “had always been friends with the Cammanns,” and “it may have been through [the Cammanns] that [Margaret Hill] knew the McNeills” (Grace S. Fleming to Kate McDiarmid, [Scarsdale], July 2, 1930, roll 4604, F358, James McNeill Whistler Papers (Glasgow), Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, roll 4607, M43 [hereafter, AAA: JMcNW]). Margaret Getfield Hill (23 July 1802 – 31 July 1881) was a close friend of Anna Whistler’s. She lived in Scarsdale, New York, where Anna Whistler frequently stayed with her after the Russian sojourn. It has not been possible to locate this letter, in which she mentioned Rev. Henry Washington Lee (see Image 44), first rector of Christ Church in Springfield, Massachusetts, as having been at the consecration of the third Trinity Church in New York (see following Note).
412. The building of the third Trinity Church, on Broadway at Wall Street (see Image 49), was consecrated on Ascension Day, 21 May 1846. Trinity Church was established as the parish church of New York in 1697. The original Trinity Church building, completed on this same spot in 1698, was destroyed by “the great fire that swept through New York city on September 21, 1776.” Construction of the second church was begun in 1788, and the building was consecrated in 1790. As a result of its structure being weakened by the “weight of heavy snows in the winter of 1838–39,” it was torn down and replaced by the third and present building, which is in gothic Revival style, designed by Richard Upjohn (1802–1878). For most of the remaining nineteenth century it was the tallest building in New York and visible from a

great distance, as panoramas of the city clearly show. Anna Whistler speaks of it as “old mother Trinity,” reflecting the title “Mother of Churches” bestowed on it in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century when, as a result of New York’s growing and spreading population, it helped to fund “seventy separate parishes over a large geographical area.” It is now registered as a National Historic Landmark (“History of Trinity Parish Three Centuries of Service,” *Trinity News* 43, no. 1 (1996): pp. 8–11; Paul Spencer Byard, “Appreciating Trinity’s Church: An Anniversary View of a Landmark,” *Trinity News* 43, no. 1 (1996): pp. 12–15; “City News,” *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, Monday, June 1, 1846, p. 2; *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, Thursday, June 4, 1846, p. 1; “City News,” *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, Saturday, June 8, 1846, p. 2; Paul Goldberger, “God’s Stronghold at Mammon’s Door,” The Metro section, *New York Times*, May 14, 1996, pp. B1–B2).

413. Reverend Edward Ballard, S.T.D., S.H.S. (Hopkinton, NH 11 November 1804 – Brunswick, ME 14 November 1870) graduated from the General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church in New York in 1829 (Calvin R. Batchelder, *A History of the Eastern Diocese*, 3 vols. [Claremont, NH: Claremont Manufacturing, 1876], vol. 1, p. 486). He was ordained deacon in St. Paul’s Chapel in New York on 5 July 1828 and priest in St. Andrew’s Church in Hopkinton, New Hampshire, on 16 September 1830 (Batchelder, p. 486). On “August 16, 1829, he took charge of St. Luke’s Church, Charlestown, N.H.” (Batchelder, p. 486). He also officiated in two other churches in Drewsville and Perkinsville, Vermont (Batchelder, p. 486). He was elected rector of St. Stephen’s Church in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in October 1831 and took up his position on 7 December 1832, the day the church was consecrated (J.E.A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield (Berkshire County) Massachusetts, from the Year 1800 to the Year 1876* [Springfield, [MA]: C.W. Bryan, 1876], p. 456). While considered “an excellent preacher” (Smith, p. 456), “it was not chiefly as a pastor that [he] became endeared to the people of Pittsfield ... This was due rather to his daily walk and conversation, which won the esteem of every class, and to the gentle and benign manner which charmed all who came in contact with him” (Smith, p. 457). “He was for many years a member of the town school-committee” and worked for the Bible Society and in the temperance movement (Smith, p. 457). Nevertheless, because his ability to attract new parishioners “was not so rapid as the impatient founders of the parish craved,” he was forced to resign

(Smith, p. 457). He resigned on 20 September 1847, but “remained until February, 1848” (Kate M. Schutt, *The First Century of St. Stephen’s Parish 1830–1930* [Pittsfield, MA: s.n., 1930], p. 33). This forced resignation “excited great feeling in the parish, ... proved a lasting injury to it” and served as a precedent for similar treatment of several of his successors (Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, pp. 458–459). He then became rector of St. Michael’s Church in Marblehead, Massachusetts (Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese*, p. 486). “He resigned this parish in 1852, and became the Principal of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut ... until 1858” (Batchelder, p. 486).

In 1858, he was made rector of St. Paul’s Church in Brunswick, Maine, where “his abilities were at once recognized” (Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, p. 457). He preached here until the day before his death (Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese*, p. 486). He was awarded the AM by Dartmouth College in 1830, by Trinity College in 1845, and by Bowdoin College in 1858. He was awarded the degree of STD by Trinity College in 1865 (Batchelder, p. 487). “From 1865 to 1868, he was State Superintendent of Public Schools” (Batchelder, p. 487). “In 1859, he became a member of the Maine Historical Society” and from 1861 until his death was its Secretary (Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, p. 457; Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese*, p. 487). His ties to the faculty and students of Bowdoin College were very close.

Reverend Ballard married in 1833 Sarah L. Morris (d. 1847), daughter of General Lewis Richard Morris (2 November 1760 – 29 December 1825) of Springfield, Vermont. They had four children, two of whom survived to adulthood: Ellen (b. c. 1834) and Sarah (b. c. 1837 – 1924) (from a history of St. Paul’s published in July 1944, p. 16, mentioned in Susan Tyler, Brunswick, ME, to E. Harden, 3 August 2005; 1850 U.S. Census for Marblehead in the County of Essex State of Massachusetts enumerated on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of August 1850; 1860 U.S. Census for Brunswick in the County of Cumberland State of Maine, enumerated ... on the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June 1860). In 1849, he married Elizabeth M. Cutter (b. Maine c. 1807) of Yarmouth, Maine (Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese*, pp. 487–488).

It has not been possible to determine how Anna Whistler came to know Mr. Ballard, who, she says, responded with sympathy on learning of the death in 1842 (in Springfield, Massachusetts) of the Whistlers’ third son, Kirk Boott. Perhaps she had heard him preach somewhere.

414. Anna Whistler received a letter from her sister, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer (Sister Kate), informing her that their mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (My beloved mother) was still in Florida at the home of their brother, Charles Johnston McNeill.
415. Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday July 2<sup>nd</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: John Randolph Clay, chargé d'affaires of the American Legation in St. Petersburg (Mr Clay); Rev. Robert Baird (Rev<sup>d</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Baird); Prince Peter of Oldenburg, nephew of Emperor Nicholas I (the Prince of Oldenburg); Joseph Harrison Jr. of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, his wife, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison, and their children, William Henry, and Annie (the Harrisons... families); Andrew McCalla Eastwick of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, his wife, Lydia (James) Eastwick, and their children, Edward Peers, Joseph Harrison, Charles James, Philip Garrett, and possibly Margaret and Maria James (the Eastwick ... families); Christina, the Whistlers' laundress (Christina); Dunia, the Whistlers' maid (Dounia); Johann, the Whistlers' footman (Yohon); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (the Gellibrands datcha); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes); and Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, Louisa Harriet Ropes, and William Hall Ropes (the children of dear M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes).
416. Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432) and His Royal Highness Crown Prince Karl Friedrich Alexander of Württemberg (see Image 433) were betrothed on 30 June / 12 July 1847, at Peterhof.
417. The manifesto issued by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) made very clear that the Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432), while marrying with her parents' consent, was also following the inclination of her own heart (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 145, Saturday, June 29 [July 11 NS], 1846, p. 645). Her diary stresses her father's insistence that the choice be hers (*Son innosti*, pp. 118–119, 176).
418. King Friedrich William I of Württemberg (b. 16/27 September 1781) died on 13/25 June 1864 (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, p. 142).
419. Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna (see Image 432) was married on her mother's birthday, 1/13 July 1846; it was also her parents' wedding anniversary (*Son innosti*, p. 193). She had been betrothed on her father's fiftieth birthday (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 148,

Thursday, July 4 [July 16 NS], 1846, p. 663; taken from *Severnaia pchela*). It was rather Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna's name day that was celebrated on 11/23 July. The celebration took place on Elagin (mispronounced as Alargon), Kamennyi, and other nearby islands (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 158, Tuesday, July 16 [July 28 NS], 1846, p. 709). A twenty-page eulogy to the young couple, hailing the return of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna (see Image 424) and Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna from Palermo, the announcement of the engagement, the arrival of the bridegroom-to-be, the betrothal and wedding, the nameday of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, and her imminent departure from Russia, was published at this time: *Blagogovinoe prinoshenie vernopoddannoi, v nezabvennyi den' brakosochetaniia ee Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosudaryni Velikoi Kniazheny Ol'gi Nikolaevny s Ego Korolevskim Vysochestvom Naslednym Printsem Virtembergskim I-go Iiulia 1846 goda*. Soch. Varvary Zubovoi. (S. portretami Ikh Vysochestv.) [*A Reverential Offering by a Loyal Subject on the Unforgettable Day of the Marriage of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna to His Royal Highness, Heir to the Throne of Würtemberg on 1 July 1846*. Written by Varvara Zubova. (With portraits of Their Highnesses.) St. Petersburg, 1846].

420. Baird's confinement to his bed resulted in his being "compelled to decline invitations from the Prince of Oldenburg" (see Image 294) to stay with him (Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*, p. 220). As his health improved, he was able to accept "a renewed invitation to spend a few days with them at Peterhoff, until he might be able to pursue his journey" (Baird, p. 221). The Princess of Oldenburg (see Image 295) informed him "that the emperor and empress had expressed their pleasure that he should be present at the marriage of the grand duchess, which was to take place at noon on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July (the 13<sup>th</sup> new style) in the chapel of the palace. This was an unexpected honor, as on account of his illness he had not been presented to the emperor on this visit, and the number of Russians, as well as of foreigners who desired to see the ceremonial, far surpassed the capacity of the chapel in which it was to be performed – a room barely forty feet square" (Baird, p. 221). Baird wrote a private letter about the marriage ceremony that was later published, but his son does not say where (Baird, p. 221). He seemed most taken by "the sight of a royal family in which unblemished morality and the most tender affection evidently reigned" (Baird, p. 221), which prompted him to say of Nicholas I: "That a man who is a good father and an affectionate



husband can be at heart a Nero ... I do not believe” (Baird, p. 222).

421. Anna Whistler is referring to William Smith Cruft (17 February 1815 – 16 July 1851), co-partner in the New York merchant firm of Newbold and Cruft, and his wife, Sophia Ingram (Fitch) Cruft (10 December 1817 – no later than 1881). Passports were issued on 15 November 1844 to William Smith Cruft, twenty-nine years old (no. 2647) and Sophia I. Cruft, twenty-six years old (no. 2648), residents of New York, who were contemplating “sailing for Madeira in a few days” (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2). They went on an extensive tour of almost two years’ duration (entry for November 14, 1846, NYPL: AWPDP, Part II). Passports were issued as well in 1845 and 1846 to William Smith Cruft’s sister and brother: to Annah Pickman Cruft, twenty-three years old (no. 630) on 1 December 1845, and to James J. Cruft, nineteen years old (no. 1069) on 20 May 1846 (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2). There is no evidence that James J. Cruft (20 December 1826 – 25 August 1849) was with his brother in Russia, but Annah Pickman Cruft (3 May 1822 – 17 July 1888) was (see Note 432 below and Cruft and Fitch in Appendix E).
422. On 11/23 July 1839, despite unusually bad weather, large crowds chose to come to Peterhof by boat for a public celebration and perished in the ensuing storm (Geirot, *Opisanie Petergofa*, p. 50).
423. Anna Whistler meant “we were.”
424. This is yet another instance of Anna Whistler’s rejection of the idea of coincidence in human affairs.
425. For a discussion of the Great Peterhof Palace, the entrance gate, the upper and lower gardens, and the Samson fountain, see the entry for Wednesday [August] 21<sup>st</sup>, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, the day the Whistlers made their first visit to Peterhof in 1844, and accompanying Notes 798–804. See also Image 400.
426. This vehicle was an elegant adaptation of what is called in Russian a “lineika,” pronounced “linyey’kuh.” It was “a long, low four-wheeled double sofa, resembling an Irish car on a large scale, but with a partition between the seats” (Alexander William Kingslake, “A Summer in Russia,” *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* (July 1846): p. 285), so that the passengers rode “back to back and quite exposed” (Lefevre, *Traveling Physician*, vol. 3, p. 30). The Irish jaunting car, “commonly used as the taxi of its day” (Ulster American Folk Park, Castletown, Omagh, County Tyrone, Ireland [website], accessed 21 January 2021,

<http://vipauk.org/enter/muse/ni/i36.html>) is “a light, two-wheeled vehicle, popular in Ireland, now carrying four persons seated two on each side, either back to back (outside jaunting-car) or facing each other (inside jaunting-car), with a seat in front for the driver (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “jaunting car”).

427. Anna Whistler meant to write “Nobility.”
428. The Russian word for “peasant” is spelled “muzhik” and pronounced “moozhik’.” For the plural, Anna Whistler added the English plural suffix -s.
429. This is Anna Whistler’s pronunciation of the Russian word for “good,” spelled “khoroshii” (singular) / “khoroshie” (plural) and pronounced “hahraw’shee” / “hahraw’sheeyeh.”
430. The career of Swiss entrepreneur Ivan Ivanovich Isler (1811–1877), who had a concession at the Peterhof celebration, is as follows: The garden of the Stroganov dacha at Chernaia Rechka was open to the public starting in the 18th century. Count Stroganov’s servants sold food and drink at a modest price by taking it from his own larders. In the 1830s, on his land near the New Village (*Novaya Derevnia*), a pleasure garden was built for a mineral water establishment. Variety shows were presented; Herman’s orchestra, which had been playing at Pavlovsk, played concerts there two evenings a week. Later, the garden was completely enclosed by a high fence, rented out to an entrepreneur, and the public had to pay to enter. One of the most famous entrepreneurs from 1848 to the end of the 1850s was Isler, who had previously had a small café and restaurant in the building of the Armenian Church on the Nevskii Prospekt. In 1859, he was running another such establishment: the “Monde Brilliant.” He was considered to have a talent for attracting the public in droves. During his time at the pleasure garden, Ivan Gungl’s orchestra played there, Ivan Vasiliev’s gypsy choir began singing there, and a troupe of Arab acrobats was introduced. When the cholera appeared, Isler did all he could to divert the distressed public. Nicholas I visited the establishment, witnessed the acrobatic act, and personally thanked Isler for the pleasure he was giving the public; after his visit, he made Isler a gift of three thousand rubles. Later, Isler built an open theater there, where *tableaux vivantes* and fireworks were presented; in 1862, the French chanson was introduced; later, operettas. At the end of the 1860s, the establishment began to decline. In 1876, the pleasure garden stood empty, and in August of that year it burned down. Isler, who had ceased to be an entrepreneur by 1874, died in 1877 and

- was buried in the Smolensk Cemetery (Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 6–12; Konechnyi, *Progulki*, p. 276n29; Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn' Peterburga*, pp. 22, 36, 37, 69, 79).
431. Thomas Kirke (1656 – spring 1706), “a Justice of the Peace and Fellow of the Royal Society,” “owned a wood in the hamlet of Cookridge, a few miles north of the centre of Leeds ... called Moseley Wood,” consisting of some 120 acres. He “had the wood laid out to form [an] intricate labyrinth,” which “inspired the local legend of ‘Jack and His Eleven Brothers’ meeting at one of the ‘centres’ and then each taking one of the eleven paths out into the world to make their fortunes” (cited in “Writers in the Rafters: The Leeds Labyrinth,” Leeds Library website, accessed 12 March 2021, <https://leedsreads.net/writers-in-the-rafters/>). In the legend, Jack and his eleven brothers part company at a hub with twelve roads radiating from it and meet there again in a year to relate their adventures (*The History of Jack and His Eleven Brothers: Displaying the Various Adventures They Encountered in Their Travels, etc. etc.* [London and York: J. Kendrew, 1815]).
432. The Crufts had in their party two other female family members: Mrs. Cruft’s only sister, Mary Elizabeth Fitch (born 27 July 1827), and her sister-in-law, Annah Pickman Cruft. A passport (no. 630) was issued to Annah Pickman Cruft, twenty-three years old, on 1 December 1845 (NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2). No record of a passport issued to Mary Elizabeth Fitch has been found; however, a Miss Fitch is listed among the passengers of the Cruft party on board the *Great Western* en route to New York in September 1846 (*New-York Tribune*, October 1, 1846).
433. This is Hannah Walker Stead, nursemaid to the Ropes children (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 54).
434. Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday 27<sup>th</sup> of July who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Monsieur Lamartine, tutor to James and Willie (Mons. Lamartine, our lazy Domini); Johann, the Whistlers’ footman (Yohons wing, Yohon played, Yohon); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (M<sup>rs</sup> G, my kind hostess); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes); Mrs. Ropes’s children, Ellen Gellibrand, Mary Emily, Louisa Harriet, and William Hall (her children); Pyotr, the Whistlers’ coachman (our Coachman); William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (one of “the gents,” M<sup>r</sup> R); William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (one of “the gents”); the unidentifiable seamstress (Franceska); Martha

- (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (dear Mother, one of "the two dearest to me in New York"); Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler's sister-in-law (Maria, one of "the two dearest to me in New York"); Dunia, the Whistlers' housemaid (Dounia); Charles Wood, cotton-spinning merchant of the firm of Egerton Hubbard (M<sup>r</sup> Woods datcha, M<sup>r</sup> Wood); and Lydia (Procter) Wood, Charles Wood's wife (M<sup>rs</sup> Wood). The Gellibrands's footman and outdoor–indoor man (Dvanic) cannot be identified.
435. It has not been possible to establish to which bath Yohon took James and Willie. For Russian baths see Chistova, *Byt Pushkinskogo Peterburga*, vol. A–K, pp. 54–56.
436. The Whistlers went to the dacha of William Clarke and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Images 265–266) on Wednesday, 22 July 1846.
437. The Russian word for "oarsman" is spelled "pirosvozhchii" and pronounced "peerossvaw'shchee."
438. It was, rather, Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna's name day that was celebrated on 11/23 July. The celebration took place on Elagin (garbled as Alargon), Kamennyi, and other nearby islands (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 158, Tuesday, July 16 [July 28 NS], 1846, p. 709).
439. Colonel Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (1798–1857; see Image 248) was head of the Southern Administration of the tract of the future St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, running from the crest of the Valdai Hills to Vyshnii Volochek and thence to Tver' and Moscow (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 70). See his biography in Appendix E (hereafter, Kraft).
440. When the Neva River reaches the Alexander Nevskii Monastery (the boundary of St. Petersburg), it flows around it in the form of a semicircle and then divides into three branches: the Grand Nevka, the Little Nevka and the Little Neva. The Little Neva divides from the right bank of the Neva River at a point below the Peter and Paul Fortress and enters the Gulf of Finland to the northwest. Although the Little Neva surpasses even the Grand Neva in width, because of its shallowness it is not as suitable for navigation (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 27).
441. Prince Oscar of Sweden (Stockholm 21 January 1829 – Stockholm 8 December 1907; see Image 322) was seventeen years old.

442. This is the “budochnik”, pronounced “boo’dushnyeeek,” who was on duty at his sentry box.
443. His Royal Highness Crown Prince Karl of Württemberg (see Image 433) was born on 22 February / 6 March 1823 (Kuz’min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familiia*, p. 287).
444. Anna Whistler is referring to Friday, 24 July 1846.
445. Matthew 7:14: “Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.”
446. Saturday was 25 July 1846.
447. Miss McMaster (Miss McM, Miss M, excellent governess) was governess to the children of Charles and Lydia (Procter) Wood (see Images 271–272).
448. For John Dorlin Sandland’s poems see Sandland in Appendix E.
449. Miss McMaster (Miss McM, Miss M), the governess of the Wood children, invited Anna Whistler and her children on Saturday, 25 July, to come to the Wood dacha on Wednesday, 29 July. Mr. Wood’s dacha was located on the same estate as the Gellibrands’ dacha.
450. This is Sophia Gordon (Busch) Handyside (6/17 November 1798 – 31 October / 12 November 1886), wife of William Handyside (b. Edinburgh 25 July 1793; bap. 3 August 1793; d. Edinburgh 26 May 1850); they were married on 10/22 August 1829 in the English Church by Rev. Edward Law (PREC STP for 1829, p. 135). William Handyside, nephew of the late Charles Baird (see Image 274), went to work for his uncle in St. Petersburg in 1810 and quickly showed his ability as an engineer. Among the important commissions given to the Baird Works that he participated in were the first Russian Steamship, the *Elizabeth*, in 1815 (see Images 276–277); a sugar-refining process using bullocks’ blood; and a gasworks for lighting Baird’s Works. His most prestigious work was that associated with the French architect Auguste Monferrand: the casting and erection of reliefs for the Alexander Column and St. Isaac’s Cathedral (see Images 116, 119–120, 132). In both instances, the cast iron reliefs are famous. A member of the Institution for Civil Engineers in England since 1822, on returning there in 1846 he became more active in that organization, but retired from business.

451. On 13/25 July, the *Naslednik* left for Lübeck with seventeen passengers (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 158, Tuesday, July 16 [July 28 NS], 1846, p. 712).
452. Anna Whistler saw the governess of the Wood children, Miss McMaster, at the English Church on Sunday, 26 July. Accompanying Miss McMaster were two of the daughters of Charles and Lydia (Procter) Wood: Catherine Elizabeth Wood (Kate), nine years old, and Helen Wood, ten years old. Anna Whistler erroneously calls Helen “Ellen.” The only child of Anna Whistler’s acquaintance named Ellen was Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, who was five years old, and whose parents were communicants of the British and American Congregational Church.
453. On the evening of Sunday, 26 July, Anna Whistler took Mary Brennan, Willie, and John Bouttatz Whistler to the Peter and Paul Fortress, where they saw the sepulchres of the Imperial dead in St. Peter’s Cathedral (see Image 130). The founding of the cathedral is said to be 30 May (OS) 1714, on which day the Most Reverend Isaac of Dalmatia is celebrated and the birth of Peter the Great (see Image 411) is remembered. The cathedral was completed during the reign of Anna Ioannovna and dedicated on 28 June 1733. On 30 April 1756, lightning struck the belfry spire and the cathedral caught fire, with the cupola and iconostasis suffering the severest damage. They were restored to their original state. At this time, there were two altars: that of the apostles Peter and Paul, and that of the great martyr St. Catherine, built in 1773. The length of the cathedral along the foundations is thirty sazhen, the width fourteen. Inside, the length is twenty-seven sazhen five feet, the width eleven sazhen one foot. The interior of the altar is four sazhen three feet, its length eight sazhen two feet. The height from the floor to the vaulting is seven sazhen one foot. Within the cathedral, four columns support the cupola and two the altar. On the right side by a column is the seat of the emperor, under a velvet baldachine with the Russian coat-of-arms and crowns. Next to this seat is another for the Imperial family. The inner side of the vaulting has been made to look like marble and is decorated with cherubim. The floor is made of polished tile variegated in color. Among the treasures of the cathedral is a large censer carved of ivory ten feet high, six feet in diameter, and up to eighteen feet in circumference, made by Peter the Great.

Near the altar on the right and left side are sections enclosed by iron railings with the sepulchres of all the crowned rulers of the House of Romanov, except for Peter II, who died in Moscow

and is buried in that city. They are made of simple stone and covered with brocaded palls.

The cathedral has above its altar a large cupola and belltower, ending in a sharp spire on which there is an apple supporting an angel with a cross. Attached to it is a lightning rod. The height of the belltower from its base to the top of the cross is sixty-five sazhen; excluding the cross fifty-seven sazhen. The height of the spire together with the apple is twenty-six sazhen. The spire is covered with gilded brass sheets, while for the gilding of its upper decorations twenty-two pounds of pure gold was used. All of this was done in October 1830. Clocks with chimes were bought by Peter the Great in Amsterdam, but in 1759, Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) bought new ones to replace those ruined during a storm. Holidays were celebrated there on 29 June and 24 November.

The cathedral has a small stone house in which widows and church staff live.

Marriages were not performed in this cathedral (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 125–129). For a description in English, see Murray's *Handbook for Northern Europe*, vol. 2, pp. 478–479.

454. The English geologist Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792–1871; knighted 1846; see Image 192), then about to carry out the first of his explorations in Russia, wrote his wife that he was invited by Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) to the wedding festivities on 16/28 April 1841 of His Imperial Highness, Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (1818–1881; see Image 425), heir to the throne. While at the Court ball, Murchison had the opportunity to speak intimately with Nicholas I, who asked about his personal life and whether his wife ever traveled with him. To Murchison's reply that "the day was when you were always at my side, and sketched and worked for me," Nicholas responded: "C'est ainsi avec ma femme, mais hélas sa santé ne le permet plus, elle a eu quinze couches" ("It is the same with my wife, but alas her health will no longer permit it; she has borne fifteen children"). (Geikie, *Life of Murchison*, vol. 1, p. 320)
455. The accession of Nicholas I (see Image 420–423) took place on 14/26 December 1825; he was crowned in Moscow on 22 August / 3 September 1826. For an explanation of the events occurring between the death of his brother, Alexander I (see Image 418), and the events of 14/26 December, see Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, pp. 13, 17–47.

456. The “conquest of Poland” referred to here is the quelled Polish uprising of 1830–1831.
457. Anna Whistler is referring to Robert Hawker’s (1753–1827), *The Poor Man’s Morning Portion; Being a Selection of a Verse of Scripture with Short Observations for Every Day in the Year*. No first edition of this text appears to be extant; the second edition was published in London in 1809. This was followed by a second collection entitled *The Poor Man’s Evening Portion*; the fourth edition of this title was published in 1819. The two portions were first published together in 1842 as *The Poor Man’s Morning and Evening Portion; Being a Selection of a Verse of Scripture, with Short Observations for Every Day in the Year* (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Robert Hawker”); Robert Hawker, *The Poor Man’s Morning Portion, Being a Selection of a Verse of Scripture with Short Observations for Every Day in the Year*, 2nd ed. [London, 1809]; Robert Hawker, *The Poor Man’s Daily Portion: Being a Selection of a Verse of Scripture with Short Observations for Every Morning and Evening in the Year* [London: I.J. Chidley, 1844]; John Williams, ed., *Memoirs of the Life and Writing of the Rev. Robert Hawker, D.D., late Vicar of Charles, Plymouth* [London: printed for Ebenezer Palmer, 1831], p. 115; W.T. Loundes, *The Bibliographer’s Manual of English Literature* [London: Henry G. Bohn, 1865], pp. 1013–1014). A similar title, *The Poor Man’s Daily Portion; Being a Selection of a Verse of Scripture with Short Observations for Every Morning and Evening in the Year*, was published in 1844. Anna Whistler does not indicate which version she owned. In a letter to Major Whistler in 1847, she refers to the volume she received as a gift many years earlier: “‘The Poor Man’s Portion’ it was you who years ago led me to the study of that valuable work by bringing me a copy of it in your trunk from Philadelphia” (Anna Whistler to George Washington Whistler, Steamer “Staat Hamburg” Lubec entry for June 10th 1847 in letter of Tuesday Morning June 8th 1847 [on board] Steamer Nikolai, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353). This means that the purchase could have been made at any time after their marriage in November 1831, but not after May 1842, when Major Whistler was on his way to St. Petersburg. As *The Poor Man’s Morning Portion* was reissued singly at least in 1833, she could have owned either the single or combined version.
458. This is a distorted English rendering of the Russian word for “dining room,” spelled “stolovaia” and pronounced “stahlaw’vuhuh.”



459. Koritskii (see Images 167–170) usually came to the house on a Saturday afternoon for a 4 o'clock lesson, but the diaries show that on several occasions he came some time on a Monday. Weekly assignments set by the Academy in James's drawing level were of heads and figures, while the drawing Koritskii condemned on this occasion was of a dog. He may have set this assignment himself.
460. "The Diverting History of John Gilpin" (1782) is a comic poem, "part parody and part imitation" of the street ballad, by William Cowper (1731–1800). The humorous adventures encountered by John Gilpin during his horseback ride to meet his wife for a twentieth wedding anniversary celebration are recounted in quatrains with an abab rhyme and alternating lines of iambic tetrameter and trimeter. The poem would have been easy and fun for a child of ten to commit to memory and in this instance was part of the Whistler parents' effort to foster their sons' fluency in English in an atmosphere of speaking several foreign languages (Vincent Newey, *Cowper's Poetry: A Critical Study and Reassessment* [Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, [1982]], p. 230; John D. Baird and Charles Ryskamp, eds., *The Poems of William Cowper*, vol. 2, 1782–1785 [Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1995], pp. 295–303).
461. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Deborah Whistler, in which she spoke of seeing her first cousin, Mary (Swift) Ironsides, on her honeymoon in England. Debo also told her family that Katherine Prince of Lowell, Massachusetts, who was in England, could not come to St. Petersburg when Deborah Whistler returned there.
462. Major Whistler set out on an inspection trip with his superior, Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243), on 6/18 August.
463. Anna Whistler, the children, and Mary Brennan stayed at the dacha of William Clarke Gellibrand and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (M<sup>rs</sup> G) (see Images 265–266) from Friday, 21 August, to Monday, 24 August 1846.
464. The newspaper carried the following account of the hot summer:
- After the cold and the rain that unpleasantly marked the end of spring and the beginning of summer, almost everywhere in the provinces of the Central and Northern regions since the middle of June, and in other places even earlier clear, warm weather arrived. In June the warm

weather changed everywhere to a heat wave that has continued up to mid-August. In Arkhangelsk and Petrozavodsk the heat rose, on 10 July, to 24° Reaumur in the shade. No one will forget such a hot summer as the present one for a long time. Thank God, however, that there is no report from anywhere of drought: the intense heat has been tempered from time to time by rain, but in some places the rain has even been extremely excessive, with floods resulting. In the North the unusual heat continues everywhere almost to this moment. In the South the summer has been exactly the same as in the North and in Central Russia: in Simferopol, for example, the heat at the end of June reached 28° Reaumur. (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 210, Friday, September 6 [September 18 NS], 1846, p. 885)

465. Helene Funck (St. Petersburg August 20 (OS) 1792 – St. Petersburg December 21 (OS) 1870), who was governess at the Gellibrand home to Elizabeth Ropes, had been hired in 1839 as governess to Sarah Mirrielees. She had taken the post with grave doubts because of the possible impropriety of entering the service of the widowed Archibald Mirrielees, whose second wife, Mary (Cullen) Mirrielees, had died that year (Archibald Mirrielees to John Paterson, Reval, 31 July / 12 August 1839, LMS: Incoming Letters, vol. 3, no. 52; Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, pp. 16, 18, 28, 30). Sometime after Archibald Mirrielees's marriage in July 1844 to his third wife, Jane (Muir) Mirrielees (1810–1875), Miss Funck went back into service to the Gellibrands. She is the Mlle. Helene Funck who was a sponsor to Wilhelmine Grooten (b. 21 July 1837) (RGIA: Fond 40, op. 1. Gollandskaia reformatorskaiia tserkov', 1717–1921 gg., d. 2 Tserkovnaia kniga zapisei rozhdenii, venchanii i smertei, 1808–1883 [Dutch Reformed Church, 1717–1921. Church register of births, marriages and deaths, 1808 – 1883], fol. 66 (hereafter, RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov')). Wilhelmine Grooten's mother was Miss Funck's sister. Miss Funck's dates are taken from the Amburger Datenbank; her place of burial is Volkov Cemetery (Amburger Datenbank, ID 18879). She was the daughter of Friedrich Gustav (16/27 August 1763 – St. Petersburg 17/29 June 1812) and Bernhardine (Maschmeyer) Funck (d. 1796) (Amburger Datenbank, ID 32594). She was further described as a “retired actress” owning “empty lot No. 468 in the Vyborg District” (T'sGIA SPb: Fond 781, Alfavit gorodskoi obyvatel'skoi knigi, op. 4, d. 85. “F” 1820 [which goes up to 1872], fol. 50v, no. 415), but I am inclined to doubt the

information, given the personality of Miss Funck established from other documents.

466. Nothing is known of Feodosia's position in the Whistler household. Mary Brennan was in charge of John Bouttatz, but perhaps Feodosia assisted her. In autumn 1848, she was nursemaid at the house of a Mr. and Mme. Le Coque, who had a daughter, Olga, and who were tutors to the Eastwick children until 1849 (William Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Oct. 6<sup>th</sup> [1848], *GUL: Whistler Collection*, W975; A.M. Eastwick to Edward P. Eastwick, St. Petersburg January 14<sup>th</sup>/26<sup>th</sup> 1849 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*). Her name is spelled Pheodocia and Theodosia by the Whistlers. In Russian, this personal name is spelled "Feodosiia" and pronounced "Feyahdaw'seeyuh." (Petrovskii, *Slovar' russkikh lichnykh imen*, p. 218).
467. "Collect" is "a name given to a 'comparatively short prayer, more or less condensed in form, and aiming at a single point, or at two points closely connected with each other', one or more of which, according to the occasion and season, have been used in the public worship of the Western Church from an early date. Applied particularly to the prayer, which varies with the day, week, or octave, said before the Epistle in the Mass or Eucharistic Service, and in the Anglican service also in Morning and Evening Prayer, called for distinction the **collect of the day**" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "collect, *n.*").
468. Anna Whistler is referring to the Law family.
469. It has not been possible to ascertain who the English governess or the Russian family are.
470. This "private worship" had a congregation from two denominations, but an Episcopalian content. George Henry Prince, who was first cousin to Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and who would also have been staying at the Gellibrand dacha, was a member of the British and American Congregational Church. Anna Whistler's references to "our neighbors from the Parsonage," to "the prayers of our church," and to "the niece of our Pastor's wife" imply that she is speaking of the Laws, the English church, and Mrs. Law's niece. The Laws were spending the summer in a dacha. We know this because they later gave a ball there when their daughter Caroline married Richard Miller. It has not been possible to determine the location of the Laws' dacha.

471. Sarah Jane Mirrielees (1830–1914) was the daughter of Archibald Mirrielees (1797–1877) and his first wife, Sarah Newbould (Spurr) Mirrielees (d. 1835) (Pitcher, *Muir i Merilix*, pp. 8, 22, 24; Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, pp. 14, 15, 16, 40). It has not been possible to identify the niece of their pastor's wife, Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law. The two little girls were Mary and Alice Handiside.
472. The daughters of Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256) and Mary (Bealey) Ellerby were Lucy (b. c. 1842), Alice (b. c. 1844), and Emily (b. c. 1845) (Charles S. Romanes, *The Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk: Their Paston Connections and Descendants* [London: T. and A. Constable, 1920], p. 86; records of St. James' Cemetery, Toronto, Ontario, Canada). See Ellerby in Appendix E.
473. Southport is “a town and three chapelries in North Meols township and parish, Lancashire, [and now part of Merseyside]. The town stands on the coast, at the termini of railways from Liverpool, Preston, and Manchester.” Founded in 1792, it “came into notice, about 1830, as an attractive watering-place; grew rapidly, from that time, into a handsome town, with spacious streets and promenades” (John Marius Wilson, *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* [Edinburgh: A. Fullarton, 1870], vol. 6, p. 835). The town lies on the Irish Sea coast to the south of the Ribble estuary, about 15 miles southwest of Preston, where Anna Whistler's half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40), lived with her second husband, John Winstanley. Regretably, Anna Whistler did not give further details about the Jew converted to Christianity seen in Southport by Mary (Bealey) Ellerby.
474. This may be Eleonora Lee, identified in the *BRBC STP 1845* as “nurse, spinster,” who lived at Mr. Ellerby's (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 35).
475. It has not been possible to identify the dying German, whom Anna Whistler and Helene Funck visited on Sunday, 23 August.
476. Major Whistler left home on Tuesday, 18 August 1846.
477. The omnibus (see Image 351) was a multiseated public passenger carriage pulled by horses. It appeared in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1830. Omnibuses that traveled to the environs of St. Petersburg, such as Aleksandrovscoe, and to other cities, were called “diligences,” and began to operate in the 1820s. The lineika was also called an omnibus. See Murray's *Handbook for Northern*

*Europe*, vol. 2, pp. 391–395, about diligences, droshkies, and job carriages.

478. The “great holiday” is the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord (Preobrazhenie), which was celebrated on 6/18 August (see Image 381 for an icon of this feast day). It refers to the miraculous transformation of Jesus’s visage and raiment while he was praying on Mount Tabor. As this took place, the voice of God announced that Jesus was the Son of God. Among the people, it is also the Feast of the Blessing of the Apples, the harvest of which begins in August. Eating even ripe apples before this day was considered a sin. On this day, the people break their fast by eating apples which have been blessed in church. The feast is called “Apple Savior” (“*Iablochnyi Spas*”) or “Second Savior” (“*Vtoroi Spas*”) and is the second of the three harvest feasts. The other two holidays are the Feast of the Seven Holy Maccabean Martyrs and Their Mother Solomonia and Their Teacher Eleazar (Sem’ sviatykh muchennikov makkaveev: Avim, Antonin, Guriy, Eleazar, Evsenon, Adim i Markell, mat’ ikh Solomoniia i uchete!’ ikh Eleazar), called by the people “Honey Savior” (“*Medovyi Spas*”) or “First Savior” (“*Pervyi Spas*”) (1/13 August); and the Feast of the Savior Not Made by Human Hands (*Spas nerukotvornyi*), called by the people “Nut Savior” (“*Orekhovyi Spas*”) or “Third Savior” (“*Tret’iy Spas*”) (16/28 August) (Mikhailov, *Pravoslavnaiia kuzhnia*, pp. 141–144; Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, pp. 21–22; Polina Rozhnova, *Radonitsa Russkii narodnyi kalendar’* [*Radonitsa A Russian Folk Calendar*] [Moscow: Druzhba narodov, 1997], pp. 104, 106, 108; V. Sokolovskii, *Vremena goda Prazdniki, zhitiiia, primety, obychai, molitvoslov* [*The Seasons of the Year: Feast Days, Saints’ Lives, Distinguishing Features, Customs and Prayers*]. Rostov-na-Donu: Kniga, 1995], pp. 194–196, 200–201, 207–208). Radonitsa, or Radunitsa, was the religious custom of remembering the dead on their graves in the week after Easter.
479. There was “to be a great meeting held in London, about the middle of August, of those who are favourable to the formation of an Evangelical Alliance” (*The Free Church Magazine* 32 (August 1846): p. 241). “As soon as [Rev. Baird] had sufficiently recovered his health, he started for the south, in company with the American friends who had joined him previously to his departure from London” (Baird, *Life of Robert Baird*, p. 222). Baird traveled to Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, and Hamburg, arriving in London on 14 August 1846 (Baird, , pp. 222–226). His conversations in those cities included the subject of the temperance movement. Henry Baird’s life of his father, however, contains no material about

- temperance discussions in the chapter about the London conference on the Evangelical Alliance Movement held in August 1846 (Baird, pp. 227–235).
480. Caroline Frances Law (7/19 August 1824 – 24 November 1897) and Richard Miller (27 July 1818 – 12 January 1890) were married on 5/17 August 1846 at the English Church, R.W. Blackmore, Officiating Minister (PREC S'TP, no. 5634, p. 339).
481. The “next day” was Tuesday, 6/18 August 1846. As wedding cake was a fruit cake, the slice would last until Deborah Whistler returned home.
482. The “next evening” must refer to the evening of Wednesday, 19 August 1846, as Anna Whistler, the children, and Mary Brennan went to Alexandrofsky on Tuesday, 18 August.
483. The Catherine Palace (see Image 385) was built by order of Peter the Great. Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413), the daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I (see Images 411–412), was responsible for the transformation and expansion of the palace and its gilding and ornamentation.
484. The gates nearest the New (Alexander) Palace (see Images 388, 447) were the gates by the White Tower (Petrov, *Pushkin: Dvortsy i parki*, map between pp. 60–61).
485. Not far from the Armory path, behind a low iron picket fence, in a grove of trees, stood a marble monument to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 454–455). It was erected in 1845 and executed by the master of marble monuments, Paolo Catozzi (Pavel Ivanovich) (c. 1800 – after 1868), from a design by Andrei Ivanovich Shtakenshneider (1802–1865), Nicholas I's favorite architect. The marble statue was the work of Giovanni Vitali (Ivan Petrovich) (1794–1855), professor of sculpture at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. The statue stood in a small open marble pavilion, in front of which were several steps leading up to a platform of Serdobol granite (gray) with benches of the same granite and a parapet for flowers, its four corners decorated with urns made of dark sionite. On the pediment of the pavilion was the inscription in Old Church Slavonic: “Lord, Thy will be done.” Within the pavilion on one side wall were set down the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:3–11); on the other, Christ's words: “Come unto Me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy, and My burden is light” (Matthew 11: 29–30). These inside walls

were decorated with Byzantine ornamentation. The word “Parnetic,” which Anna Whistler uses, is the Russian word for “monument,” spelled “pamiatnik” and pronounced “pah’mitnyeeek.” The resemblance of the statue to the Grand Duchess was striking; the profile in particular was said to be identical (RGIA: Fond 485, op. 3, d. 656. Tsarskoe Selo. Aleksandrovskaia park. Plan, fasady i razrez Pamiatnika vel. kn. Aleksandre Nikolaevne. Arkh. Shtakensneider A.I. 1844 g. [Tsarskoe Selo. Alexander Park. Plan, façades and cross section of the monument to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna. Architect A.I. Shtakensneider 1844]; Stolpianskii, *Petergofskaiia pershppektiva*, p. 47; Vil’chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, p. 191; “Iz vospominanii Baronessy M.P. Frederiks” [“From the Memoirs of Baroness M.P. Frederiks”], *Istoricheskii vestnik [The Historical Harbinger]* (1898): p. 87). For a comparison with the monument to Princess Charlotte at Windsor, see Image 456, in which an angel, not Charlotte herself, holds the deceased infant.

486. Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) had the small house built near the marble monument to his daughter in 1845 (see Image 457). Built by the architect D. Ye. Yefimov, according to a drawing by Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, it consisted of two rooms with planed log walls and two open terraces with birch log pillars, and was covered with a thatched roof. It was built on the edge of the pond at the spot where Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna used to feed the tame swans in the evening. When the little wooden house for a guard was built across the road is not clear (Vil’chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, pp. 191–192; Frederiks, “Iz vospominanii,” pp. 86–87).

An inventory exists for 1860, stating that one terrace had a table and armchairs made of ash, some mats, and a spittoon. The other had a folding table made of ash, simple wooden furniture painted brown (couch, chairs, armchairs with and without cushions, footstools), and a spittoon. The first room had two curtained windows, a table, chairs, and a cupboard of ash; a tray, decanter, and drinking glass; and a portable toilet. The second room had two curtained windows, white birch furniture (couch and chairs, Voltaire chair, desk, small table, footstool), and a spittoon. There were also two cupboards in the hut (RGIA: Fond 469. op. 15, d. 405. Opis’ imushchestva domika v Tsarskosel’skom parke u pamiatnika vel. kn. Aleksandry Nikolaevny. 1860 g. [Inventory of the furnishings of the little house in the Tsarskoe Selo park near the monument to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna. 1860]). It is not possible to say

whether this is the same furniture that was there in the 1840s. After his daughter's death, Nicholas I would often come sit here in the evening in a big leather armchair which, legend has it, was one of some pieces brought here from her room (the others were a leather couch and a desk). Everything else – i.e., the garden-type furniture made of ash – Vil'chkovskii wrote in 1911, was made by the German furniture firm of Heinrich Gambs (1765–1831) in 1845. His firm supplied furniture to the Court from 1809 or 1810 until 1848 (Dm. Ivanov, “Gambsova mebel” [“Furniture by Gambs”], *Sredi kollektionerov* [*Among Collectors*] 5–6 [May–June 1922]: p. 30).

In her memoirs, Baroness Frederiks said that Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna wanted to make a surprise for her parents when she was ill and ordered a little rustic wooden house to be built on one of the small islands in the park, where she frequently spent time with her mother, for whom she intended it as a kind of remembrance of herself when she should leave her family and country with her husband. But the surprise was not ready until after her death. In the house hung a small watercolor portrait of her with her own words inscribed: “Je sais que le plus grand plaisir de papa c'est d'en faire à maman!” (Frederiks, “Iz vospominanii,” pp. 86–87; see also *Son innosti*, pp. 163–164).

487. Anna Whistler and her family visited the oratory in the New (Alexander) Palace on 7/19 August 1846 (see Images 388, 447). It, too, was built by D. Ye. Yefimov. In creating the oratory, the empress's dressing room, bedroom, dining room, and large and small studies were reorganized as to function: e.g., the dining room became the bedroom, the bedroom became the dining room, the small study became the dressing room. That area of the large study in which Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna had died was made into a separate room, which became the oratory (see Image 452). The measurements of what is referred to in archival documents as “the little room” were approximately eight arshins long, four wide, and five high. In 1845, the walls and vaulted ceiling were decorated with ornamentation on a gilded background in the spirit of that in the oratory of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (father of Peter the Great) in the Kremlin chambers. The ornamentation was based on a drawing executed by Academician Fyodor Grigorievich Solntsev (1801–1892). On the walls, interspersed with the ornamentation, were four icons: on the back wall saints Olga and Maria, and on the left wall Nicholas of Myra and Tsaritsa Aleksandra. In the center of the ceiling was depicted the God of Sabaoth. Other figures on the



ceiling were the four Evangelists; the apostles Peter and Paul; the great martyr St. Catherine; the sainted Prince Vladimir; the sainted Emperor Constantine and his wife, St. Helena; Michael the Archangel; and St. Nikolai Kochanov of Novgorod. The doors were of mahogany and the bay of gilded brass slabs. On the walls were two glass-covered cases of gilded lindenwood with columns interwoven with ornamentation. In these cases were icons belonging to the deceased Grand Duchess, including wedding icons from 1844 and others from 1825 celebrating her birth. Among the icons were several in which the Virgin is adorned with a diamond tiara. There was also a lectern of ash, a partition (*stanok*) made of walnut, and steps covered with a raspberry-colored fleecy woollen cloth like velvet (*trǐp*), all made by Gambis when the oratory was built. On the right wall hung Karl Pavlovich Briullov's (1799–1852) *St. Alexandra Ascending into Heaven* (*Sviataia Aleksandra, voznosiashechaiaasia na nebo*), executed in 1845 (see Image 453). James Whistler considered it “the most interesting of all the works of art around us,” because he probably knew Briullov, who was the mentor of his drawing teacher, Koritskii (see Koritskii in Appendix E and Images 167–170). Commissioned by the officers of the Preobrazhenskii Regiment for their regimental church, it was presented to Nicholas I and placed in the oratory. In the painting, the Grand Duchess's face is depicted as the face of the holy martyr Tsaritsa Aleksandra (Frederiks, “Iz vospominanii,” p. 86). In her monumental monograph on Briullov, Ėsfir Atsarkina says of this painting:

Briullov used an already-existing image of the Grand Duchess as his model, viewing his own work as a distinctive portrait. He intended at first to paint the figure full-length but later changed the composition. In the picture can be seen a reflection of that same inspiration that seized Briullov when he was painting the interior of St. Isaac's Cathedral. In the finish of its execution and the fineness of the drawing this work is on a level with his well-known works. The masterful rendering of the texture of the ermine-trimmed purple mantle, the gilt brocade dress and the jewels achieves the ultimate in perfection. The picture attracts the viewer as well by the loftiness of aspect, and the keen expectancy of the face and hands, qualities that are a distinguishing feature of Briullov's best female portraits. (Atsarkina, *Briullov*, pp. 198–199).

St. Alexandra's head is adorned with a diadem and an angel in the lower left corner supports her mantle as she ascends to Heaven.

The gold and silver candlestick standing in front of the painting (see Image 452) was presented by the officers of the Cuirassier Regiment. As late as 1928, an inventory made of the furnishings in the oratory indicated that it was still standing before the painting. According to Baroness Frederiks, after their daughter's death her parents never again gave a ball or held any celebration in the New (Alexander) Palace (Frederiks, "Iz vospominanii," p. 86). Information for this note has also been taken from RGIA: Fond 487, op. 5, d. 1897. O peredelke byvshego Kabineta Ee Velichestva v Novom Dvortse [Concerning the remodelling of her Majesty's Study in the New Palace]; Fond 487, op.5, d. 1902. Po ustroistvu mol'e'noi komnaty v Novom Dvortse 11 Avgusta 1844 g. – 20 Sentiabria 1848 g. [Concerning the setting up of the Oratory in the New Palace 11 August 1844 – 20 September 1848]; Fond 487, op. 5, d. 1911. O naznachennykh peredelkakh i peremenakh v razmeshchenii komnat Gosudarini Imperatritsy v Tsarskosel'skom Novom Dvortse. 3 Aprelia 1845 g. – 23 Aprelia 1846 g. [Concerning the scheduled remodelling and changes in location of the rooms of Her Imperial Majesty in the New Palace at Tsarskoe Selo 3 April 1845 – 23 April 1846]; Fond 485, op. 3, d. 626. Tsarskoe Selo. Plany 1 ètazha i bel'ètazha Aleksandrovsкого dvortsa. 1<sup>ia</sup> pol. XIX v. [Tsarskoe Selo. Plans of the ground floor and the first floor of the Alexander Palace. 1st half of the XIX century]; Atsarkina, *Briullov*, p. 198, 201, 360–361, 507; and V.I. Iakovlev, *Aleksandrovskaïi dvorets-muzei v Detskom sele. Ubranstvo (vmesto kataloga)* [*The Alexander Palace-Museum in Detskoe Selo. Furnishings (in lieu of a catalogue)*], Izdanie ob"edineniia detskosel'skikh i pavlovskogo dvortsov-muzeev [A publication of the combined palaces – museums of Detskoe Selo and Pavlovsk], 1928, pp. 166–168).

488. "I clearly saw how much she was loved when, for a couple of days, she seemed somewhat better, for there was then a great show of joy both at the castle and in St. Petersburg" (Bang, *Lins Minder*, p. 301).
489. Thursday, 27 August 846, was the birthday of Charles Donald Whistler, who had died on route to Russia. He would have been five years old. Saturday, 29 August 1846, was the first birthday of John Bouttatz Whistler.
490. Major Whistler, who had left on an inspection trip with Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (see Image 243) on 17 August, was home again by 5 September.

491. It has not been possible to locate any of these letters from Deborah Whistler, who was traveling with Katherine Prince of Lowell, Massachusetts.
492. The foundation stone of the monument in Edinburgh to Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) was laid in 1840 on Scott’s birthday, 15 August. Its completion was celebrated on 15 August 1846 (John Gibson Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 10 vols. [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin; Cambridge, MA: Riverside, 1901, vol. 10, p. 187]. A large number of British residents in St. Petersburg contributed to the erection of the monument (Contributions at St. Petersburg in aid of the fund now raised (1832) in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe for erecting a monument at Edinburgh to the memory of the late Sir Walter Scott, Edinburgh Central Library: YPR 5339).
493. “Loch Lomond [is] the largest of the Scottish lakes, lying across the southern edge of the Highlands. It forms part of the boundary between the council area of Stirling and the council area of Argyll and Bute . . . [It] extends about 24 miles (39 km), widening south in the shape of a triangle. Although its surface is only 23 feet (7 metres) above sea level, its glacially excavated floor reaches a depth of 623 feet (190 metres). It drains by the short River Leven into the River Clyde estuary at Dumbarton. The scenery ranges from rugged glaciated mountains with elevations above 3,000 feet (900 metres) in the north to softer hills and islands in the south” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Loch Lomond,” accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Loch-Lomond>).
494. The letters were received on Friday, 11 September 1846. It has not been possible to locate any of them.
495. Anna Whistler was informed by one of her correspondents of the state of health of her sister-in-law Maria (Cammann) McNeill, who was chronically ill.
496. The cousin killed in a duel was Archibald McDiarmid (15 August 1799 – 18 July 1846) (roll 4607, M43, AAA: JMcNW). Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (My Mother) informed Anna Whistler of his death.
497. Although James never dueled, he engaged in other reprehensible physical acts, based on “notions of false honor or courage,” such as knocking his brother-in-law Frances Seymour Haden through a plate glass window and beating up a black passenger on a ship’s passage from Venezuela. The battle of words with Ruskin,

resulting in Whistler's subsequent bankruptcy, could be viewed as an intellectual facet of such physical actions.

498. 1 Corinthians 6:20: "For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." Also, 1 Corinthians 7:23.
499. Jesus is speaking to his disciples at the Last Supper. John 14:15: "If ye love me, keep my commandments."
500. "Not lost but gone before" is based on 1 Thessalonians 4:14: "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him." This is the title of a song published in R.A. Smith's *Edinburgh Harmony* in 1829, said to be anonymous (*The Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical, Devoted to Literature and Religion* 24 (1864): p. 315). The final line of each of the six quatrains in the song concludes with the words "not lost – but gone before."
501. Parthenia Pardoe Babcock (London, England 12 January 1817 – Brooklyn, NY 6 February 1911; see Image 57), daughter of Benjamin Franklin and Maria (Eells) Babcock, married on 8 September 1841 William R. Babcock (Brooklyn, NY c. 1813 – 19 October 1862) (Anna Chesebrough Wildey, *Genealogy of the Descendants of William Chesebrough of Boston* [New York: T.A. Wright, 1903], pp. 212, 215, 389). Their daughter, also Parthenia (Stonington, CT 1844 – Stonington, CT 13 July 1846), is the little girl Anna Whistler refers to. Her remains were transferred to the Babcock family plot in Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York, in 1873.
502. Matthew 19:14: "But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."
503. The "poor German" died on Friday, 28 August 1846. There is no corresponding date of death in Böhm's *Wolkowo lutherischer Friedhof in St. Petersburg: Handbuch und Friedhofsführer Deutsch und Russisch* [*Volkov Lutheran Cemetery in St. Petersburg: Handbook and German and Russian Cemetery Guide*] (St. Petersburg: Russko-Baltiiskii informatsionnyi tsentr BLITS, 1998) that could identify him. The "little girls" Miss Funck took with her to the German's funeral were probably Mary and Alice Handisides.
504. Anna Whistler spent Saturday, 5 September 1846, at the dacha of William Clarke and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Images 265–266). Major Whistler and James had dinner with Colonel

- Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (see Image 247) and then went to the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225) .
505. The guests at the Gellibrands' dacha walked two versts to the estate of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (see Image 302), located on the thirteenth verst of the Peterhof Road, at the turnoff for Krasnoe Selo. The estate, called Ligovo, was acquired by the Count in 1840 and enlarged in 1844 through his purchase of the bordering dachas of the English merchant N.A. Blando and of Privy Councillor M.P. Pozin. In 1845, the estate amounted to 2,700 desiatinas of land (1 d. = 2.7 acres), consisting of farmland, meadows, woods, marsh, buildings, gardens, conservatories, and a lake. The Count ran a model farm on his property. The main focus in planting was oats, hay, and potatoes. The dairy was new; in 1845, it had not yet been completed. Surplus milk was sold in the city. The buildings were constructed of brick 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 maintenance of horses was considered to be at such a level of perfection that horse connoisseurs came there to observe the procedures used. The Ligovo peasants numbered more than three hundred ("Vzgliad na myzu Ligovo" ["A Look at Ligovo Farm"], in *Trudy Imperatorskogo vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva za 1845 god*. [*Works of the Imperial Free Economic Society for 1845*], pt. 2 [St. Petersburg: Karl Krai, 1845], pp. 58–67; see also Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, p. 151–152, 156–160).
506. The wife of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (9/21 March 1802 – 17/29 February 1855) was Countess Ekaterina Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Kusheleva (6/18 December 1811 – 1874), the third of the four daughters of Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (1778–1859) and Adelaida Petrovna (born Countess Apraksina) Vasil'chikova (d. 1851) (RGIA: Fond 1162, op. 6. d. 72. O sluzhbe Chlena Gos. Soveta Ober-Egermeistera, Generala ot Kavalerii Dmitriia Vasilievicha Vasil'chikova 1 iuilia 1846 g. – 1 dek. 1859 g. [Concerning the service record of Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov, Member of the State Council, Master of the Hunt, General of Cavalry 1 July 1846 – 1 Dec. 1859 (OS)]. This information comes from his service record for 1850. See Stroganov, Vasil'chikov, Kushelev in Appendix E and Images 302–304.

507. Tat'iana Dmitrievna Vasil'chikova (19 March 1823 – 1880; see Image 301), the youngest of the four daughters of Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov (RGIA: Fond 1162, op. 6, d. 72 [see Note 506 above for document title]), was the fiancée of Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov (see Image 299), whom Anna Whistler, James, and Willie had met on the lighter to St. Petersburg in 1843.
508. It has not been possible to determine the location of the estate of General Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov.
509. Mary (Bealey) Ellerby (M<sup>ES</sup> E) told Anna Whistler the history of the adopted girl. She was christened Maria Bogdanova, was about five years and seven months at this time, and was the only child of the childless Count & Countess Kushelev (see Images 302–303). 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 by a person or persons unknown on 6 January 1841 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 volume 9, concerning estates, be registered according to his choice for some kind of life in the taxpaying class (RGIA: Fond 1343, op. 23, d. 11265. O vnesenii gerba grafa Kusheleva [Concerning the entering [into the list] of the coat-of-arms of Count Kushelev], fols. 39 r and v). 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 himself, 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 capital and monies that were in the form of securities, except for a portion that was to go to Kushelev’s steward (RGIA: Fond 971, op. 1, d. 155. Dokumenty po razdelu imenii posle smerti gr. Gr. Gr. Kusheleva mezhdu 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. On 14 November 1856 (OS), the Minister 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 (RGIA: Fond 1343, op. 23, d. 11265, fol. 38r [see above for document title]).

510. Miss Swan, governess, is listed in the *BRBC STP 1845* as “residing at Count Koucheleffs” (fol. 55). Her given name was probably Fanny (entry of baptism in 1857 for a grandchild of R.W. McLothlin, *PREC STP*, no. 6921). There was also a Mrs. Willis, widow, governess, listed as “residing at Koucheleffs Palace Quay” (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 63). The Kushelev mansion was on the corner of Palace Square (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn’ Peterburga*, p. 49).
511. Count Kushelev’s Scottish steward was Richard Watson McLothlin (c. 1794 – 14/26 May 1861). The wife referred to here is his second wife, Mary Ann Munden, spinster (1804 – 20 October / 1 November 1860), whom he married on 17/29 July 1827 in St. Petersburg. He was said in 1845 to have already been Count Kushelev’s steward for twenty-five years. The Russians called him Zakhar Zakharovich Maklotlin. Although he successfully oversaw the entire estate, his area of expertise was horsebreeding. The already well-off McLothlins were to profit even more on Count Kushelev’s death. In his last will and testament, dated 6 April (OS) 1853, Count Kushelev said his last wish was that his heirs should give one hundred thousand silver rubles to Maklotlin, “who has served me for thirty years and whom I respect and love as a friend.” His heirs agreed to carry out his wish. In the event that Count Kushelev’s wife should die at the same time as himself, he asked his heirs to take from the capital and monies that were in the form of securities and were to go to Maria Bogdanova the sum of an additional one hundred thousand silver rubles for Maklotlin (RGIA: Fond 971, op. 1, d. 155, fols. 10 r and v [see Note 509 above for document title]). It must be said, however, that although Count Kushelev’s heirs

adhered to their uncle's wishes concerning Maklotlin, Maria Grigorievna Kusheleva, and a sum of ten thousand silver rubles he asked to be distributed to servants and to the poor, they did not offer the Countess Kusheleva a share that satisfied her. She started a suit against them in June 1855, even appealing to Alexander II, but ultimately the matter was settled within the family in February 1856 (RGIA: Fond 971, op. 1, d. 155, fols. 10 r and v [see Note 509 above for document title]). See Stroganov, Vasil'chikov, Kushelev in Appendix E.

512. Saturday was 19 September 1846. Anna Whistler or someone else corrected the date of this entry, changing it from what looks like 29 to 20. The information recorded in the entry, however, strongly supports the interpretation that she was writing it on Saturday, 26 September. If this is true, then her comment that the boys were placed in Monsieur Jourdan's school "Monday before last" is not an error, as that Monday would have been September 14. The information that she drove out to the Field of Mars their first week of school, hoping to get a glimpse of them, also makes sense, as does the information about their first Saturday at home, which was 19 September. Moreover, she says she is recording the events of the last fortnight, which if calculated from 19 September does not make sense, but if calculated from 26 September, does.

Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday Sept 20<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Abraham Priest Gibson, American consul in St. Petersburg (Our Consul Mr. Gibson); George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes (Mr Prince); Pyotr, the Whistlers' coachman (our coachman); Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (Aunt Alicias room); William Henry Harrison, son of Joseph Harrison Jr. of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Henry Harrison, Henry); and James and Willie's former tutor (Mons. Lamartine).

513. Annie Maria, daughter of Matthew and Ann Elizabeth (Main) Anderson, was born on 24 March / 5 April 1845, and baptized on 16/28 May 1845 by Rev. Dr. Edward Law (PREC STP, no. 5507).
514. I was not able to find a report on the school for 1846. In his report for the second half of 1847 on private educational institutions in St. Petersburg under his supervision, the inspector, Collegiate Councilor (sixth grade) Aleksandr Del', gave the following data about Monsieur Jean Jourdan (Ivan Zhurdan) and



his school: he was a Court Councilor (seventh grade) and Cavalier, a French citizen, a Roman Catholic, and had been issued a certificate (no. 375) on 1/13 May 1826 to establish a boarding school for boys. According to the answers given to the questions on the official form, there were no deviations from the program as proposed to the authorities when establishing the school. The subjects, all successfully taught, were Orthodox religion, Roman Catholic religion, Protestant-Lutheran religion, history, geography, mathematics, Russian, French, German, drawing, dancing, and fencing, and all the teachers were certified to teach. The annual fees for full board were 450–600 silver rubles, for half-board 350 silver rubles. The fulfillment of Christian obligations was observed; the premises were extremely respectable; cleanliness, neatness, and discipline were in general very well observed. The pupils were maintained in a manner that corresponded to the fees paid for them, and the institution had all the necessary school equipment (RGIA: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 5188. S Vedomostiami o chastnykh pansionakh i shkolakh v Sanktpeterburge za 2-uiu polovinu 1847 g. 3 Ian. 1848 – 27 Ian. 1848. [With Information about private boarding schools and private schools in St. Petersburg for the second half of 1847. 3 January 1848 – 27 January 1848 (OS)], fol. 80 r). When James and Willie attended the school there were fifty pupils (Anna Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg September 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers). It was considered a first-class boarding school, equivalent to a Russian “gimnazium” (RGIA: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 4196. Delo po donesenii Direktora Uchilishch S. -Peterburgskoi Gubernii o Sanktpeterburgskikh chastnykh pansionakh i shkolakh 3 Okt. 1826 – 18 Noiabr. 182[6] [File containing the report of the Director of Schools of St. Petersburg Province about private boarding schools and private schools in St. Petersburg 30 Oct. 1826 – 18 Nov. 182 [6], fol. 2v); see also Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 310–311).

In his *Memoirs*, the artist P.P. Sokolov, who had spent four years at Jourdan’s school, said of it: “This educational institution was considered first-class and the teachers were all highly thought of. Mons. Jourdan, his wife and both daughters, who helped him, were people with an extremely solid education and beautiful upbringing. For this reason Petersburg high society eagerly consigned their children to his care” (P.P. Sokolov, *Vospominaniia* [*Memoirs*], ed. E. Gollerbakh [Leningrad: Komitet popularizatsii khudozhestvennykh izdaniĭ, 1930], pp. 57–58).

515. According to the newspaper, Major Whistler left St. Petersburg on Tuesday, 3 September [15 September NS] 1846 for Lübeck on the *Aleksandra* (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 200, Thursday, September 5 [September 17 NS], 1846, p. 884). He therefore placed the boys at Monsieur Jourdan's school on 2/14 September, as is confirmed in a letter of Anna Whistler's of 12/24 September 1846: "he has been gone a week and two days ... they entered [the school] the day before their father left" (Anna Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept. 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers).
516. From the time of his arrival in St. Petersburg in August 1842 until he went to meet Debo in Hamburg in September 1846, Major Whistler had worked without a break (Harden, "Whistler," p. 156).
517. Deborah Whistler had departed St. Petersburg on 16 September 1845; her father left that city on 15 September 1846.
518. The initials p.p.c. on a gentleman's calling card stood for "*pour prendre congé*." The message meant that Consul Abraham Priest Gibson was announcing his departure from St. Petersburg. When Anna Whistler had arrived in St. Petersburg, he had appeared in person (*in propria persona*) to welcome her. Anna Whistler seems to have thought that Consul Gibson was leaving Russia permanently. See Gibson in Appendix E and Image 279.
519. The school's cuisine had apparently at first been French. In his *Memoirs*, the artist P.P. Sokolov, a former pupil, wrote: "I couldn't complain about life at the school; they didn't feed us badly, but for a long time I couldn't get used to French cooking with its sweet sauces and salads. Buckwheat groats, sour cabbage soup and borshch appealed to me far more than these refinements of French gastronomy" (Sokolov, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 58, 295).
520. Anna Whistler to General J. G. Swift, St. Petersburg, September 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.
521. Monsieur Jourdan's boarding school was located at this time in the house of Mrs. Afrosimova, a general's wife, at No. 8 on the Moika River in the First Ward of the First Admiralty District. It faced onto the Field of Mars. On the other side of this area for military reviews was the Summer Garden (Pushkarev, *Opisanie Sanktpeterburga* 1839, pt. 2, pp. 52, 53; Pushkarev, *Putevoditel'*, pp. 86–87). In Nistrem, the house is said to be No. 2 (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 10).

In his *Memoirs*, the artist P.P. Sokolov, a former pupil, also referred to the fact that “in their free time ... the pupils were taken en masse to the Summer Gardens, where they played and ran to their hearts’ content along the marvelous paths thick with greenery” (Sokolov, *Vospominaniia*, p. 58).

522. Their first Saturday home was 19 September 1846.
523. The grey trousers and black jackets in which James and Willie appear in the 1847 pastel by Émile François Dessain (1808–1882) are the uniform of Monsieur Jourdan’s school (see Image 27).
524. This is Joseph Harrison Eastwick (2 or 3 December 1834 – 15 February 1917), who was called Hass.
525. The word “he” was omitted after “father.”
526. William Henry Harrison, son of Joseph Harrison Jr. and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (called Henry), also attended Jourdan’s school. His parents were traveling in Europe, and he boarded there. He spent part of the Sunday of this first weekend after the opening of school at the Whistlers’ home.
527. Psalms 42:3: “My tears have been my meat day and night, while they continually say unto me, where *is* thy God?”
528. Dr. James Rogers, the family physician, called in for consultation the director and chief physician of the Nicholas Children’s Hospital in St. Petersburg, Dr. Johann Friedrich Weisse (Reval 22 February / 4 March 1792 – Reval 5/17 August 1869). He carried out his medical studies in Dorpat from 1811 to 1815. As a student, he worked in the Military Hospital in Riga, caring for the sick. In 1815, he went to Germany, France, and England for four years, for further improvement, and attended the lectures of various doctors, including Goelis, a specialist in children’s diseases. In 1820, he settled in St. Petersburg and was doctor at the prison until 1846. In 1835, he was appointed director of the newly founded Children’s Hospital. He held this post for twenty-five years and turned the Nicholas Children’s Hospital into an exemplary institution. He celebrated his fiftieth anniversary as a doctor in 1865 and retired from his practice, returning to Reval, where he died on 5/17 August 1869 of heart disease. Of note among his published works are: “Über die Diarrhoe entwöhnter Kinder und deren cur durch rohes Fleisch” [“Concerning Diarrhea in Weaned Infants and Their Cure by Means of Raw Meat”], *Journ. F. Kinderbeilk.* [*Journal of Pediatrics*] 4 [1845], and “Über die Cholera-Epidemie im Kinderhospital” [“Concerning the Cholera Epidemic in the Children’s Hospital”], *Journ. F.*

*Kinderheilk.* 14 [1848] (*Biografisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte aller Zeiten und Völker* [*Biographical Dictionary of Distinguished Doctors of All Times and Peoples*] [Berlin, Germany: Urban and Schwarzenberg, 1934], p. 885).

529. Major Whistler and Deborah returned home on the *Vladimir*, a recently built 20-passenger iron steamship (Capt. Lt. Krashennikov), which began its run between St. Petersburg and Stettin on 19/31 May 1846 (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 97, Thursday, May 2 [May 14 NS], 1846, pp. 422–423). If the sailing conditions had been favorable, they were supposed to be spending the night of 6–7 October at Cronstadt and would actually arrive in St. Petersburg on the 7th during the day.
530. According to the newspaper, Major Whistler arrived on 25 September [7 October NS] on the *Vladimir* from Stettin (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 219, Saturday, September 28 [October 10 NS], 1846, p. 966).
531. John Bouttatz Whistler, aged 13 months and 15 days, died on 2/14 October 1846 (PREC STP, no. 5650). Whistler wrote to Maxwell on 6 November 1846 of the baby's death. His letter is not among the Maxwell Papers at the N-YHS. Maxwell responded on 13 December 1846 to Whistler's announcement and apparent request concerning burial of the child's body in the United States as follows:

I need scarcely say to you how deeply grieved I am to hear of the loss of your little one. – I would not, my dear friend, renew your affliction, with whatever consolation my feeble pen, could convey to you or your inestimable lady, upon so sad an event, – nor indeed can I pretend to do so, when you have the solace derived from the Christian fortitude and resignation of M<sup>rs</sup> Whistler. – It is my wish and it shall be my care to perform the mournful duty your friendship has assigned me – I beg you to be perfectly satisfied that all shall be properly conducted. (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, December 13, 1846, N-HYS, Maxwell Papers).

Maxwell performed this “melancholy duty” around the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 1847 (John S. Maxwell, New York, 22 January 1847, to Colonel C.S. Todd, Shelbyville, Kentucky, C.S. Todd Papers, The Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky [hereafter, Filson: Todd]). The other topics touched on in Maxwell's letter of 13 December 1846, are the loss of the steamer *Atlantic* and Whistler's trip to Hamburg

- to meet Deborah and the nostalgia it awoke in Maxwell over his and Whistler's trip in 1842. He also brings to our attention the fact that he has in his possession a pencil drawing of himself by James: "James will have to take my portrait in oil colours some day, if only to compare it with the one he took with his pencil, which is now in my possession" (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, December 13, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). The whereabouts of this drawing are unknown to me.
532. Matthew 24:44: "Therefore be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh." Also Luke 12:20.
533. These lines are from "The Sinless Child," a long narrative poem by "Mrs. Seba Smith," who was Elizabeth Oakes (Prince) Smith (North Yarmouth, ME 12 August 1806 – Hollywood, NC 15 November 1893). The poem was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in March 1842. It brought her "popular and critical acclaim .... In the poem, the unworldly heroine is released from a corrupt world through death. Its publication as the title piece in a collection of her poems in 1843 established [her] reputation."
534. Persons mentioned in the entry for Friday [October] 16<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers' neighbor across the hall (M<sup>r</sup> Ropes); Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' physician (my kind physician, doct R, good doct Rogers); Rev. Dr. Edward Law, chaplain of the English Church (Our Pastor); Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old M<sup>rs</sup> Leon); Kirk Boott Whistler, deceased brother of John Bouttatz Whistler (Kirkies); and George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes (George Prince, M<sup>r</sup> Prince).
535. Matthew 25:41: "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."
536. "The Funeral Service was performed over the body (previous to its removal to America for interment)," by Rev. Dr. Edward Law on 5/17 October 1846 (PREC STP, no. 5650, p. 341). Because of the harsh climate, marriages, baptisms, and deaths were frequently performed at home (Biber, *English Church*, p. 72).
537. John Bouttatz Whistler fell ill on 27 September 1846.
538. Deuteronomy 33:25: "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be."
539. The consulting physician called in by Dr. James Rogers was Dr. Johann Friedrich Weisse. The "W" would have been pronounced

- like “V,” but Anna Whistler wrote “F.” See Note 528 above for Weisse’s biography.
540. “Blistering” refers to the practice of applying irritants “to the body in the belief that diseases could be brought out from internal organs to the surface to be dispelled. This was then carried out with a blistering plaster made of fat or wax applied to the skin” (Jen Willetts, “19th Century Medical Terms,” *Free Settler or Felon?*, accessed 19 September 2017, [http://www.jenwilletts.com/19thcentury\\_medical\\_terms.htm](http://www.jenwilletts.com/19thcentury_medical_terms.htm)). “The practice ... was performed by deliberately giving the patient a second degree burn and then draining the resulting sore” (“Blistering,” *A History of Allopathy*, accessed 29 January 2021, <http://naturalhealthperspective.com/tutorials/allopathy.html>).
541. Matthew 19:14: “But Jesus said, Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven.”
542. Psalms 111:10: “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom: a good understanding have all they that do his commandments: his praise endureth for ever.” Proverbs 9:10 opens with the identical statement, but Anna Whistler was adamant about obedience and therefore probably intended Psalms 111:10. Anna Whistler omitted “is” in her quotation.
543. Hebrews 12:29: “For our God is a consuming fire.”
544. 1 Corinthians 15:55–57: “<sup>55</sup> O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? <sup>56</sup> The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. <sup>57</sup> But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.”
545. Persons mentioned in the entry for Thursday evening 29<sup>th</sup> Oct. who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Rev. Dr. Edward Law, chaplain of the English Church (Our pastor); Mary Elizabeth (Mosley) Law, his wife (M<sup>rs</sup> Law); George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes (George Prince); Thomas Scales Ellerby, pastor of the British and American Chapel (M<sup>r</sup> Ellerby); Mary (Bealey) Ellerby (his dear good wife); Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers’ physician (our kind doct); Andrew McCalla Eastwick of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mr. Eastwick); William Hooper Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall (our kind neighbor Mr. Ropes); Helene Funck, Anna Whistler’s friend (Miss Funk); John Randolph Clay, chargé d’affaires of the American Legation (our Ambassador’s interest); the deceased Mary Gent Hirst (Miss Hirst); and the deceased

- Lucy Williston Ann (Grosvenor) Nichols, wife of their Lebanon, Connecticut, pastor, Rev. John Cutler Nichols (M<sup>rs</sup> Nichols). The phrases “all our countrymen from Alexandrofsky” and “our sympathising countrymen at Alexandrofsky” suggest that not only Andrew Eastwick, but American employees of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick were present. Some had made John Bouttatz Whistler’s coffin. The Harrisons were not present because they were traveling at this time.
546. The main German churches in St. Petersburg were the Church of St. Peter on the Nevskii Prospekt between Bol’shaia Koniushennaia and Malaia Koniushennaia streets, the Church of St. Anne between Kirochnaia and Furshtatskaia streets, and the Church of St. Catherine on Vasilievskii Island along the First Line on Bol’shoi Prospekt (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, pp. 222–223; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 241–242, 243–246, 254–255; Shul’ts, *Kbramy Sankt-Peterburga*, pp. 248–255). None of the cited sources refers to a new organ for any of these churches or, indeed, any of the other German churches of St. Petersburg in 1846. It is known that organ concerts were given in the Church of St. Peter (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn’ Peterburga*, p. 69).
547. The sympathizing family were Archibald Mirrielees (Aberdeen 7 September 1797 – London 13 February 1877) and his third wife, Jane (Muir) Mirrielees (Greenock 21 December 1810 – 3 September 1875) (see Images 268–269). Also present could have been Sarah Jane Mirrielees (b. 1830), daughter of Archibald Mirrielees and his first wife, Sarah Newbold (Spurr) Mirrielees (d. 1835). Her brother, William (b. 1828 or 1829), also the son of Archibald and Sarah Newbold (Spurr) Mirrielees, was away at university in Scotland.
548. Ecclesiastes 7:2: “It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men; and the living will lay it to his heart.”
549. Galatians 6:9: “And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not.”
550. The family attended two church services on Sunday, 6/18 October 1846.
551. “Last Saturday” was 12/24 October 1846.
552. Anna Whistler to Gen. J. G. Swift, St. Petersburg, Sept. 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers.

553. The English bookstore, or Kirton's, had moved from the house of Liprandi on Galernaia Street to the house of Bremme on the corner of New-Isaac Street next to the Horse Guard Indoor Riding Range (*Konnogvardeiskii manežh*), thus requiring the Whistlers to walk several blocks, from the First Ward of the First Admiralty District to its Third Ward (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 30; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 295).
554. On Saturday, 31 October 1846, Anna Whistler wrote a letter to Eliza (Lamb) Maingay (see Image 259), which her son, William Bonamy Maingay (see Image 260), would take to England.
555. It has not been possible to locate the letter sent from Ireland by Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226), traveling with his wife, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Image 227). They had left their baby, Alicia McNeill Harrison, with Anna Whistler, her godmother.
556. It has not been possible to locate the letter from Rev. John Cutler Nichols of Lebanon, Connecticut.
557. It has not been possible to locate the source of "Let power be given – to draw – not them to Earth but us to Heaven." I am inclined to think Rev. Nichols himself was the author.
558. Several hymns in *The Springfield Collection of Hymns for Sacred Worship* that are based on Psalm 23 contain references to "living water gently flows" (Hymn 82), "Refreshing water flows" (Hymn 83), "peaceful rivers, soft and slow" (Hymn 84), and "living waters gently pass" (Hymn 85) (William Bourne Oliver Peabody, *The Springfield Collection of Hymns for Sacred Worship* [Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles; Boston: Leonard C. Bowles, 1835]).
559. It has not been possible to identify Mr. Bainbridge, despite attempts made to locate appropriate documents at the India Office Library in London.
560. The court choir rehearsal took place on Friday, 30 October 1846. Anna Whistler probably meant to write "court singers."
561. The second Sunday after Anna Whistler lost John Bouttatz Whistler was 25 October 1846. She seems to be referring to "Awake my soul and with the sun," by Thomas Ken, when she speaks of the morning hymn.
562. Persons mentioned in the entry for [Saturday] November 14<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Maria (Cammann) McNeill, Anna Whistler's sister-in-law (Sister Maria's health); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Mrs Gellibrand); Elizabeth Hannah Ropes, sister of Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand



(Elizabeth Ropes); George William Whistler, Deborah Delano Whistler, James Abbott Whistler, and William McNeill Whistler (four darling children); Joseph Swift Whistler, Kirk Boott Whistler, Charles Donald Whistler, and John Bouttatz Whistler (four whom God took early); and Andrew McCalla Eastwick of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (Mr Eastwick).

563. This entry suggests that Major Whistler left on 26 October / 7 November 1846 to meet Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' in Moscow.
564. Chudovo was the town in which Colonel P.P. Mel'nikov (see Image 247), head of the Northern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, lived. It is pronounced “Choo'duhvuh.”
565. Captain William George Williams (South Carolina 1 January 1801 – Monterrey, Mexico 23 September 1846), USMA Class of 1824, was promoted to second lieutenant 7th Infantry on graduation day. He served on topographical duty from 24 July 1824 to 28 January 1834, surveying, among other places, the site for a fort on Pea Patch Island, Delaware River, in 1831; the site of a ship canal around the Falls of Niagara in 1835–1836; and the site of the Charleston, South Carolina, and Cincinnati, Ohio, projected railroad, 1836–1837. Promoted to captain in the Corps of Topographical Engineers on 7 July 1838, he was in charge of the construction of harbor works on Lake Erie, 1838–1843, and superintendent of survey both of the Northwestern Lakes, 1841–1846, and of the Boundary between Michigan and Wisconsin, 1845–1846. He was appointed chief topographical engineer of the Army commanded by Major-General Zachary Taylor (see Image 51) in the War with Mexico, 6 July to 21 September 1846, when he was mortally wounded in Monterrey. He died of his wounds on 23 September 1846, in a Mexican hospital. “His last message to his friends was: ‘I fell in front of the column’. His remains were recovered under the direction of a committee of the citizens of Buffalo [New York] and were buried with Military Honors on March 9, 1847.” Burial was in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, New York. The memorial also records information about his wife, America Pinckney (Peter) Williams (1803–1842), great-granddaughter of Martha (Custis) Washington (Cullum, *Biographical Register*, vol. 1, pp. 330–331; Adrian George Traas, *From the Golden Gate to Mexico City: The U.S. Army Topographical Engineers in the Mexican War, 1846–1848* [Washington, DC: Office of History, Corps of Engineers and Center of Military History,

- U.S. Army, 1993], p. 135; Memorial ID 15571201, findagrave.com).
566. It has not been possible to locate George William Whistler's letter.
567. Colonel William Whistler (Hagerstown, MD 1782 – Northwest Territories 4 December 1863), U.S. Army, was the eldest child of Major John and Ann (Bishop) Whistler and brother of Major George Washington Whistler. "Garland" was Joseph Nelson Garland Whistler (Green Bay, WI 19 October 1822 – Florida 20 April 1899), USMA Class of 1846, U.S. Army, son of Colonel William Whistler and Mary Julia (Fearson) Whistler (1787–1878). Upon graduation from West Point, J.N.G. Whistler entered the army as brevet second lieutenant and married. During the War with Mexico, he took part in the siege of Vera Cruz (*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 9, p. 48). He was made a brevet first lieutenant in August 1847 for gallantry and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, Mexico (Frances B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U.S. Army*, 2 vols. [Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903], vol. 1, p. 1026). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E and Images 34–35.
568. The wife of J.N.G. Whistler was Eliza Cobham (Hall) Whistler (16 April 1819 – 14 August 1887).
569. The steamship *Great Western* (Capt. B.R. Mathews) left Liverpool for New York at 4 p.m. on Saturday, 12 September 1846, carrying 211 persons, of whom 126 were passengers. On Saturday, 19 September, a violent storm came up, during which the extent of the destruction caused to the ship left the passengers with no hope. Around 9 p.m. on Sunday, "Rev. M. Balch, at the request of several passengers, administered the Holy Communion in the cabin, to upward of sixty persons – many of whom received it there for the first time in their lives." The storm reached its climax on Monday, the 21st, and abated around noon. On Tuesday morning, the passengers "assembled in the cabin to render an act of common prayer and thanksgiving." At the conclusion of the service, it was resolved that a suitable monetary testimonial be made "to the captain, officers, and crew" and that "The Great Western Fund" be set up "for the relief of the families of those whose heads and supporters [were] lost at sea" (*New York Evening Post*, October 1, 1846; supplement to *The Times* [London], October 19, 1846, pp. 8–9). The casualties must have occurred among the crew, as the list of "passengers arrived" was said to

- number 126, i.e., the same as the number that started out (*New York Tribune*, October 1, 1846). The Whistlers' friends, the Crufts, and members of their party are listed as: "Mr. W.S. Cruft and lady, Miss A. Cruft, Mr. J. Cruft, and Miss Fitch" (*New-York Herald*, September 30, 1846; *New York Tribune*, October 1, 1846). Anna Whistler's source of information about the *Great Western* seems to have been George William Whistler's letter.
570. On 3 November 1846, the Whistlers celebrated their fifteenth wedding anniversary. For the announcement of their marriage in 1831, see *Brooklyn Star*, November 9, 1931 (Card Index for the *Brooklyn Star*, Brooklyn Historical Society).
571. Joseph Harrison Jr. of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (the Harrisons, M<sup>rs</sup> H) (see Images 226–227) arrived on Wednesday, 4 November 1846. They spent the day with their children, William Henry and Alicia McNeill, at the Whistler home.
572. Deuteronomy 33:25: "Thy shoes shall be iron and brass; and as thy days, so shall thy strength be."
573. Hawker's *The Poor Man's Evening Portion* for 7 November centered on the last nine words of Luke 9:34, which in its entirety says: "While he thus spake, there came a cloud, and overshadowed them: and they feared as they entered into the cloud." The reference is to the Transfiguration of Christ, when the voice of God comes "out of the cloud, saying, This is my beloved Son: hear him" (Luke 9:35). Anna Whistler's interpretation is based on Hawker's contemplations on the passage. For her, the symbolism of the passage is that Christ "has enabled me to feel it to be good to enter the cloud of affliction where His glorious presence becomes visible to the mourner who cannot bear the false glitter of this worlds joys." She is referring to an unidentified edition of Hawker's *Evening Portion*. The fourth edition was published in 1819. It was published together with *The Poor Man's Morning Portion* in 1842. See Note 457 above.
574. The town of Spâ, "a watering-place in the province of Liège, Belgium, celebrated for the curative properties of its mineral springs," has given its name to the term "spa" as "a town, locality, or resort possessing a mineral spring or springs; a watering-place of this kind" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "spa").
575. "A collar-cum-wrap, the popular pelerine, was worn by women of all ages in the early 1840s ... It was usually an elbow-length cape modified from the wider, more elaborate capes of the 1830s.

While pelerines were often cut of dress material to match cottons or silks, the dressier types [such as the one Mrs. Harrison bought for Anna Whistler] were either of lace, net or cotton lawn – plain or decorated with either tambour, chain stitch, tape or muslin appliqué, or white work embroidery (broderie d'Anglaise) – and were edged with either piping, a bias-cut self-frill, or lace ... The cut was either straight at the hem, rounded or pointed in back and front. The pelerine sometimes had long tabs or points, which were worn either tied at front, lapped and pinned, or tucked under the belt." In the 1840s, it was sometimes called a "bertha" (Joan L. Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer: Ordinary Americans and Fashion, 1840–1900* [Kent, OH; London, UK: Kent State University Press, 1995], pp. 13, 546; for an example of a fine embroidered pelerine see p. 55 and Image 366).

576. "Brussels lace" is a "costly kind of pillow-lace made in Brussels and its neighbourhood, noted for the thickness and evenness of its texture, and the delicate accuracy of its forms" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "Brussels lace").
577. Tyrol gloves are outdoor gloves made of boiled wool and act as a mid- or stand-alone layer. They are warm and wind-resistant. Quick-drying, they may be washed on the hand and pulled into shape (Mrs. Johnstone, "October Fashions," *The Woman's World*, ed. Oscar Wilde, 3 vols. [London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne: Cassell, 1888–1890], vol. 1, p. 568).
578. William (see Image 238), son of Andrew McCalla Eastwick and Lydia Anne (James) Eastwick, 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).
579. The brothers of Mr. and Mrs. Eastwick were William Smith Eastwick and William James.
580. The sponsors for William Eastwick were Joseph Senior Kirk, principal foreman at the Aleksandrofsky Head Mechanical Works, and his wife, Charlotte (Petersen) Kirk.
581. Major Whistler returned from the inspection of the railroad on 19 November / 1 December 1846.
582. It has not been possible to locate these letters written by Major Whistler.
583. "Count Kleinmikhel, the Minister of Public Works, is the sum totem of everything. He raised himself from nothing and is the most zealous perhaps among Ministers, but the kind of zeal is

- rather questionable ... With Russians he is very severe, but self-respect prevents him being so with foreigners. Major Whistler handles him well, and a contractor said that the Major rides him” (entry of 21 March 1844 in Raymond and Prince, “Whistler,” pp. 10–11).
584. Harrison, Winans and Eastwick built “in the early spring of 1845 ... a single-track branch 1.5 miles long from the Alexandrovsk Factory to a point on the main line 3.2 miles from the St. Petersburg passenger station.” It “was completed in early December.” “In the spring and summer of 1846 the first 3.2 miles of mainline track from the St. Petersburg passenger station to the branch to Aleksandrovsk were laid ... Mel’nikov was ordered to complete as soon as possible track laying for an additional 12.8 miles to Kolpino ... [and] Harrison and Winans undertook to lay the tracks ... The line between St. Petersburg and Kolpino, with the branch to Aleksandrovsk, a total of 17.5 miles, was the only track laid by the American locomotive builders, who did it ... to have some track on which to test their locomotives and rolling stock and to give experience to the locomotive drivers whom they were contractually obligated to train ... Work proceeded well, and by December track had been laid along the main line to Kolpino, with 9 miles of the originally planned double track and 7 miles along which only one track had been laid with ballast. This section of the railway was used for experimental traffic through the winter of 1846–1847.” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 238–239). Haywood points out that Anna Whistler was referring specifically to this line in her entry of 5 December 1846 (Haywood, p. 254).
585. “Colpener” is Kolpino, pronounced “Kawl’peenuh,” which “was a small town on the Izhora River and ... the site of the Izhora Factories of the Admiralty” (Haywood, pp. 172, 277).
586. Countess Kleopatra Petrovna (Khorvat) Kleinmikhel’ (b. Il’inskaia) (d. 1865) and her husband (see Image 243) were expected to come by train from Kolpino. Instead, she met him at Chudovo (called Tchoodver in this entry) by coach on Monday, 18/30 November 1846. They took over Colonel Mel’nikov’s house for the night, while he and Major Whistler, who stayed with him when in Chudovo, were put up by another officer. The Kleinmikhels traveled by coach on the Moscow Chauseé from Chudovo to St. Petersburg the next day. Their house was located on the Fontanka at Obukhov Bridge (Petrovskaia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn’ Peterburga*, p. 46). See Kleinmikhel’ in Appendix E.

587. “The Institute of Transport Engineers, which was formally opened on November 1 [OS], 1810, ... gradually grew in size and breadth of curriculum and became an exclusive militarized institution, the administration and faculty of which were military officers and the student body of which was admitted by competitive examination and was drawn increasingly from the ranks of the nobility” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 127). “On January 19 [OS], 1844, Nicholas I ordered that admission be restricted to young men of noble rank. However, the Institute was not a preserve of the higher aristocracy, which was not attracted by an engineering career, but rather of the middle and lower gentry, like Mel’nikov. Anna M. Whistler did remark that her husband’s Russian engineering colleagues were courteous, hospitable, and ‘all educated as gentlemen’” (Haywood, p. 128).
588. The Russian word for “holiday” is spelled “prazdnik” and pronounced “prah’znyeek.” Anna Whistler has added the English plural suffix -s.
589. During the period in which Major Whistler was away (from 26 October / 7 November to 19 November / 1 December), the official holidays were 8/20 November, the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel; 14/26 November, the feast day of Philip the Apostle; and 16/28 November, the feast day of St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist. He had written to his family that two unspecified official holidays had been celebrated in the interior, but his children had not had any official holiday at Monsieur Jourdan’s (*Mesiatsoslov na 1844 g.*, p. xi and unnumbered page for November).
590. James was kept at school as a punishment on 16/28 November 1846.
591. Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, James’s drawing teacher (see Images 167–170), had come as usual on Saturday to give James a lesson from 4 to 6 o’clock.
592. They went back to school on Sunday, 17/29 November 1846.
593. Two further legal holidays (Old Style) in November, when all offices and schools were closed, were 19 November, commemorating the death of Alexander I (see Image 418), and 20 November, celebrating the accession of Emperor Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) to the throne (although the day of accession was considered to be 19 November). The New Style

equivalents would be 1 and 2 December (*Mesiatsoslov na 1842 g.*, p. xi).

594. The river closed on Saturday, 16/28 November 1846.
595. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* carried the following announcement about the patchiness of the freezing:

The Neva this year is an unusual sight. On Saturday ice appeared once again and the bridges were drawn aside. On Monday the ice had stopped almost to the piers of the permanent bridge that is being built, but [the area] below the bridge was completely free. Today at the Smol'nyi Monastery passage across the Neva is along planks. Opposite the Fifth Line of Vasilievskii Island they are chopping through the ice to put down the Isaac Bridge, while further on opposite the Eleventh Line they are ferrying people across in skiffs and jolly boats, as they do in Summer. (no. 264, Wednesday, November 20 [2 December NS], 1846, p. 1158)

See also *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 253, Wednesday, November 6 [November 18 NS], 1846, p. 1106; no. 246, Sunday, November 10 [November 22 NS], 1846, p. 1122; and no. 261, Saturday, November 16 [November 28 NS], 1846, p. 1144.

596. *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 266, Wednesday, November 23 [December 5 NS], 1846, p. 1168; no. 268, Tuesday, November 26 [December 8 NS], 1846, p. 1175; no. 271, Friday, November 29 [December 11 NS], 1846, p. 1183; no. 274 Tuesday, December 3 [December 15 NS], 1846, p. 1197; and no. 284, Sunday, December 15 [December 27 NS], 1846, p. 1242.
597. Joseph Harrison Eastwick's (3 December 1834 – 15 February 1917) birthday was celebrated on Wednesday, 20 November / 2 December 1846.
598. Seventeenth-century engravings depict showmen at fairs using the magic lantern to project frightening “ghosts and monsters.” The apparatus was simple: “an oil lamp inside a box with a metal reflector that reflected the light through a painted slide. The image from the slide was focused onto a white wall or screen. By the 19th century with the development of photography, lantern lenses and slides were improved and became a standard teaching aid. Due to the popularity of the lantern shows small tinplate versions were made for children” (*Schools Information: Victorian Playthings* [London: London Toy & Model Museum, n.d.], brochure). The magic lantern for the child consisted

of a tin box, with a funnel on the top ... and a door on one side of it. This funnel, by being bent, ... serves the double purpose of letting out the smoke, and keeping in the light. In the middle of the bottom of the box is placed a movable tin lamp ... which must have two or three good lights, at the height of the center of the polished tin reflector ... In the front of the box, opposite the reflector, is fixed a tin tube ... in which there slides another tube ... The sliding tube has, at its outer extremity, a convex lens of about two inches diameter; the [fixed] tube also has a convex lens fixed in it ... of three inches diameter. The focus of the smaller of these lenses may be about five inches. Between the [fixed] tube ... and the lamp, there must be a slit or opening ... to admit of the passage of glass sliders, [which one could paint oneself], mounted in paper or wooden frames, ... upon which sliders it is that the miniature figures are painted, which are intended to be shown upon the wall. The distinctness of the enlarged figures depends not only upon the goodness of the magnifying glass, but upon the clearness of the light yielded by the lamp ... It may be purchased ready made of any optician ... The lamp being lighted, and the room darkened, place the machine on the table, at some distance from the white wall or suspended sheet, and introduce into the slit ... one of the sliders ... with the figures inverted. If the movable tube ... be then pushed in or drawn out, till the proper focus be obtained, the figures on the slider will be reflected on the wall, in their distinct colors and proportions, with the appearance of life itself and of any size, from six inches to seven feet, according to the distance of the lantern from the wall. Movements of the figures are easily made by painting the subject on two glasses, and passing the same through the groove. (William Clarke, *Boys Own Book: A Complete Encyclopedia of All Athletic, Scientific, Recreative, Outdoor and Indoor Exercises and Diversions*, 5th rev. ed. [New York: Leavitt and Allen Brothers, [1870], pp. 116–119)

599. On the evening of Thursday, 21 November / 3 December 1846, the Whistler boys had to return to attend school Friday, 4 December, and half of Saturday. During this day, Miss MacMaster, governess to the Wood children, came with three of them – Helen Wood, Catherine Elizabeth Wood, and William Nicholson Wood – to meet James and Willie. William Henry



- Harrison, who also attended Monsieur Jourdan's school, came to dinner.
600. Henry and Annie Harrison's baby sister was Alicia McNeill Harrison.
  601. Continuing instances of Annie Harrison's epilepsy are mentioned in her father's letters of 1847 and 1849 (Joseph Harrison Jr. to Anna Whistler, Alexandroffsky, November 21 (OS), 1847 and August 29, 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1).
  602. On Saturday, 19 December 1846, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Image 227) came to the Whistler home and waited for her son, Henry, who attended Monsieur Jourdan's school with James and Willie.
  603. On Saturday, 12 December 1846, Andrew McCalla Eastwick (see Image 233), of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, and Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick (see Image 234) came to the Whistler home with their baby, William Eastwick (see Image 238), hoping to meet Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' family physician (our good doct), who had attended John Bouttatz Whistler during his last illness. It has not been possible to identify the Eastwick baby's nurse.
  604. The marriage of Harriet Henley (6 August 1824 – Cheltenham 20 March 1856; see Image 273) and William Whishaw (of Archangel) (10 February 1820 – Ettington, Warwickshire 6 June 1882) took place on 7/19 December 1846, at the English Church (PREC STP, no. 5676, p. 343). Deborah Whistler would have appreciated in Harriet (Henley) Whishaw that she was very witty, extremely musical, a great reader, and had "a very happy temperament" (James Whishaw, *A History of the Whishaw Family*, ed. M.S. Leigh [London: Methuen, 1935], p. 163, 165, 166, 174–175).
  605. The Russian phrase for "trade rows" or "arcade of shops" (literally, "merchants' yard") is spelled "gostinyi dvor" and pronounced "gosstee'nee dvor'." The building stands between the Nevskii Prospekt, Bol'shaia Sadovaia Street, Chernyshev Alley, and Gostinnaia Street. Its external appearance had not changed by the 1850s but had been enhanced in recent times by the presence of luxury stores rivaling some of the best stores on the Nevskii Prospekt. It is here that James and Willie bought ice skates. See Note 259, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, for a fuller description of this establishment.
  606. William Saunders (b. 7 January 1830; bap. 9 June 1830) was the son of Catherine (Miller) Saunders (c. 1802 – Kensington,

London 29 June 1882) and John Saunders (Ratcliff, Middlesex 1799 – Wanstead, Essex 5 June 1865), a “hoop bender” (cooper). His parents were married in South Leith, Midlothian, on 9 August 1825. John Saunders is listed in the 1851 Census for Wanstead, Essex, as cooper and stockholder, born in Ratcliff, Middlesex, living at 16 Snaresbrook, in a hamlet near Wanstead, with a cook and housemaid. His estate amounted to under £40,000. William Saunders was not named as one of the executors of the will proved in July 1865; he was, however, named as an executor in the will proved in double probate in March 1866. The estate of Catherine (Miller) Saunders amounted to about £1800. In St. Petersburg, William Saunders lived in the home of his uncle, William Miller, hemp and herring merchant, at 31 Galernaia Street (*BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 37, 55; SoG; OPRS; IGI for London, England; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1865, 1866, 1882; *Manchester Times*, July 8, 1882; Baptisms in St. Anne, Limehouse, 1830; 1851 Census for Wanstead, Essex; 1851 Census for Leith, Midlothian; Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage*, 47th ed. [London: Harrison and Sons, 1885], p. 921). For further information about William Saunders’s uncle, William Miller, see the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.”

607. Deborah Whistler had most likely gone in the week before Christmas (New Style) to No. 76 Galernaia, the home of John Henley (7 February 1767 – 1 July 1855) and Anastasia (Whishaw) Henley (9 December 1783 – 17 February 1875). They were the parents of Harriet (Henley) Whishaw, at whose marriage Deborah had been present on 7/19 December (Whishaw, *History*, p. 149; *BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 25).
608. “[Elizabeth] went to Mrs. Whistler’s last evening to spend Christmas Eve, though they had only 4 young ladies as they are in affliction on account of the death of their beautiful baby” (Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand to Wm. L. Ropes [her cousin], St. P., 25th Dec. NS 1846, MHS: Ropes Papers).
609. Kirton’s English bookshop was located in the house of Bremme on the corner of New-Isaac Street, next to the Horse Guard Indoor Riding Range (see Image 137), in the Third Ward of the First Admiralty District (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, vol. 1, p. 30; Grech, *Ves’ Peterburg* 1851, p. 295).
610. Luke 2:14: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.”

611. Luke 18:15–16: “<sup>15</sup> And they brought unto him also infants, that he would touch them: but when his disciples saw it, they rebuked them. <sup>16</sup> But Jesus called them unto him and said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.” See Hymn 87 (“The gentle Saviour calls Our children to his breast”) for the Baptism of Infants in *Book of Common Prayer ... in the United States*, pp. 161–162, and Hymn 258 (“Jesus, kind, inviting Lord”) for Baptism in *Hymns for the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, p. 157. The “four dear children He has yet left us” were George William Whistler, Deborah Delano Whistler, James Abbott Whistler, and William McNeill Whistler. The “four children who have gone before us” were Joseph Swift Whistler, Kirk Boott Whistler, Charles Donald Whistler, and John Bouttatz Whistler.
612. It has not been possible to locate these letters of George William Whistler. Reasons for his depression may have been that he could not yet marry his fiancée, Mary Ducatel, and that he had hoped to work for Harrison and Winans and achieve a partnership, but had received a veto from his father. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E and Images 12–13.
613. Matthew 10:37: “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.”
614. It has not been possible to locate any notes of sympathy at the death of John Bouttatz Whistler written by St. Petersburg friends of Anna Whistler.
615. “Grivennik,” pronounced “gree’vennyeek,” was the name of the ten-kopek coin that the messenger received as a tip (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 53; Chistova, *Byt Pushkinskogo Peterburga*, p. 197).
616. Anna Whistler is referring to her entry of Saturday, 19 December.
617. Ecclesiastes 7:2: “It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men; and the living will lay it to his heart.”
618. Anna Whistler is referring to the sister of Helene Funck. Wilhelmine Elisabeth (Funck) Grooten (b. St. Petersburg 18/30 September 1807) was married on 12/24 August 1836 (Amburger Datenbank, ID 18877). She had six children between 1837 and 1846. Friedrick, born in 1838, died in 1841. The five “under nine years of age” were Wilhelmine (b. 1837), Sophie (b. 1840),

Alexander (b. 1842), Caroline (b. 1844), and Theodor (b. 1845) (RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov', fols. 66r, 66v, 67r, 69r, 69v, 193v). Jannie Swint of Interlibrary Loan Services, Simon Fraser University, provided a translation of Dutch comments in the registers.

619. This word should be "sister."
620. The child, born on 30 November / 12 December 1846, was given the name Hedwig Elisabeth (RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov', fol. 70v). Her birth date in the diaries (Sunday, 13 December) does not correspond to that in the church register.
621. Mrs. Grootten died on 5/17 December 1846, at the age of thirty-nine, of complications resulting from childbirth (RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov', fol. 194v).
622. The occupation of her husband, Heinrich Grootten (St. Petersburg 21 April / 3 May 1801 – St. Petersburg 24 April / 6 May 1860[?]), is given in 1838 as merchant and in 1846 as sugar manufacturer (RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov', fols. 66v, 70v; Amburger Datenbank, IDs 20925, 18877).
623. Chapter 14 of St. John constitutes part of the farewell discourse of Jesus to his apostles before going to the Garden of Gethsemane and to his death, a discourse in which he alludes to his resurrection. In addition to the words "In my father's house are many mansions," other well-known lines in this chapter are: "I go to prepare a place for you," "I am the way, the truth and the life," and "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you." Some of the text of Mrs. Grootten's pastor's speech at her funeral was taken from John 14.

The pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church (see Image 128) from 1842 to 1867 and in 1872–1873 was Willem Leonard Welter (Heiloo, Holland 13 December 1816 – Hees [Huize De Koepel bij Nijmegen], Holland 13 February 1900). He completed his theology studies at Utrecht in 1834 and was called to St. Petersburg on 21 June 1842. He married on 26 May 1848 Thalia Hermanna Bonifacia Preuyt (Meppel, Holland 3 June 1825 – St. Petersburg 6 October 1850) ("Biografische gegevens van de predikanten bij de Hollandse Hervormde Kerk in Sint-Petersburg, 1817–1927" ["Biographical Data of the Pastors at the Dutch Reformed Church in Saint Petersburg, 1817–1927"], *De Hollandse Hervormde Kerk in Sint-Petersburg 1713–1927* [The Dutch Reformed Church in Saint Petersburg 1713–1927], accessed 27 May 2021, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/>

retroboeken/hollandse\_hervormdekerk\_petersburg/#page=0&accessor=toc&view=imagePane).

624. The funeral service for Mrs. Grooten was held on 10/22 December 1846, in the Dutch Reformed Church (see Image 128), located on the Nevskii Prospekt near the Police Bridge (RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov', fol. 194v; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 475; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 264–265). She was buried in Volkov Cemetery, located at the city limits beyond Iamskaia. The cemetery is divided into Orthodox, Old Believer and other-denominational grounds (Grech, p. 78). Her name is not in Böhm, *Wolkovo Lutherischer Friedhof*.

Because of the sympathy felt by Peter the Great for Holland, the Dutch played an outstanding role in the early history of St. Petersburg. On the whole, they were masters of seafaring, marine officers, merchants, doctors, and builders. Beginning in 1708, they worshipped in the Lutheran church in the courtyard of Cornelius Cruys (1655–1727) and had their own pastor as of 1717. In November 1719, the Dutch bought the house in the Admiralty district belonging to Pierre Pusi and set up a church and school in it. On 6 April 1733, they acquired a one-story house on the corner of the Nevskii Prospekt and the Moika River that had previously belonged to the architect Jean-Baptiste Le Blond (1679–1719) and transferred their church to it. In 1736, this building burned down; it was not replaced until some five years later. In 1797, I. Kreber proposed building a magnificent cathedral, but his project was not acted upon. Another project offered in 1830 by R. Rigel also failed to be realized, because the architect refused to make required changes. It was not until 15 July 1831 that the building of a new cathedral with a façade decorated with a four-column portico, proposed by the Frenchman Paul Jacot (1798–1860), was begun.

Round in plan and holding four hundred people, the church occupied the second floor and was decorated with paired Corinthian columns. On the pediment above them was the Latin inscription: *Deo et servatori sacrum* (To God and Those Who Serve the Sacred), and in the tympanum the figures of two angels. Above the flat roof of the building rose a gently sloping cupola on top of which was a cross. The façades of the side wings of the church building with the semicircular tops of the first-floor windows formed an unbroken arcade in which shops and apartments were found. The interior was illuminated by a silver chandelier. The stucco work was by F. Balin, the murals by Vasiliev, and the organ by Master Friedrich. On 14 January 1834,

the Prince of Orange and his son (the future Dutch kings Wilhelm II and Wilhelm III) were present at the consecration of the church.

Starting in the nineteenth century, the service was held in Dutch only in summer, after navigation commenced; in the remaining months of the year, it was in German, as the small congregation (of about 300) had become strongly Germanized (Shul'ts, *Khramy Sankt-Peterburga*, p. 260; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 264–265).

625. Ellen, the English nurse at the Ellerbys, is the abovementioned Eleonora Lee (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 35).
626. On 4 November 1846, Maxwell wrote an eight-page letter to Major Whistler from Nyack, New York, where the Maxwells' country home, Roslyn, was located (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, Nyack, Rockland County, New York, November 4, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). In it, he mentioned having earlier written another letter to Whistler from Nyack, but did not say when he had written it. The letter of 4 November is the only extant Maxwell letter from Nyack at the N-YHS. Anna Whistler says nothing in her diary of the contents of this letter, received on 28 December 1846. This seems strange, because it contained a description of a visit made by Maxwell to Stonington, Connecticut, an event one would expect Anna Whistler to select for mention. The letter discusses at length local elections (Maxwell almost ran for Congress), politics in general, Colonel Todd, General Talmadge, the synonymy of Whistler's name with that of Russia, and Maxwell's wish to sell his letters to *Harper's*.
627. This is Eleanor Wylie Grant (c. 1813 – 4/17 October 1901), also called Miss G in this entry.
628. Major Whistler had asked for James and Willie to be allowed to come home on 24 December to celebrate New-Style Christmas. They went back to Monsieur Jourdan's on Sunday, 27 December.
629. The Mirriellees family (Archibald and Jane [Muir] Mirriellees, and his daughter Sarah; see Images 268–269) lived at 78 Galernaia (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 37).
630. Anna Whistler is referring to Saturday, 26 December 1846.
631. Revelation 20:13: "And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works."

632. Anna Whistler omitted the word “were.”
633. The steamer *Atlantic* left New London, Connecticut, between 9 and 10 o’clock on the night of Wednesday, 25 November 1846. About half an hour later, she was struck by a very heavy sea. After losing her works, she began to drift towards Fisher’s Island. She was buffeted by the gale all of Thursday and was wrecked on the rocks at Fisher’s Island on Friday morning at 4 o’clock. There were 100–115 passengers on board. The steamer was equipped with “over a thousand life-preservers,” which they donned, some wearing two and some three, or the loss of life would have been greater. The *Mohegan* attempted to go to her rescue, but the captain of the *Atlantic*, Isaac Kip Dustan (b. April 1808; bap. Sutton on the Forest, Yorkshire 20 November 1814; d. 28 November 1846) ordered that the distress flag be hauled down, because he saw that the “efforts would be ineffectual.” The courageous Captain Dustan was one of those who lost his life. He left a wife and five young children, who received the news of his death when his body was brought to his home (in Tompkinsville, Staten Island). His funeral was from his home on Sunday, 29 November 1846, at one o’clock (“Loss of the *Atlantic*,” *New York Evening Post*, November 28, 1846) and burial was in the Moravian Cemetery (J.J. Clute, *Annals of Staten Island From its Discovery to the Present Time* [New York: Charles Vogt, 1877], pp. 371–378). His widow was Phoebe Ann (Simonson) Dustan (12 August 1809 – 27 April 1893), whom he married at the North Chapel, Staten Island, on Sunday, 21 April 1833 (*New York Spectator*, April 25, 1833). The five young children were Charlotte Eleanor (1846–1906), Louisa Morgan, Mary Matilda, Nannie, and Charles W. Dustan (24 October 1834 – 13 July 1892) (Staten Island Historical Records). His mother was Sarah Dustan (1771 – 1862) (Moravian Cemetery; Staten Island: Plot records). See also John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, Dec. 13, 1846, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers. The tragedy of this shipwreck was used as an argument to stress the need for “a land route entire,” “a railroad from Boston to New York” (*American Railroad Journal, and General Advertiser for Railroads, Canals, Steamboats, Machinery and Mines*, Saturday, December 5, 1846, p. 777).
634. It has not been possible to locate these letters, which Anna Whistler received from Maria (Cammann) McNeill, her sister-in-law, and Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, her sister, on Wednesday, 30 December 1846.

635. Anna Margaretta (Kunze) Lorillard (16 August 1791 – 23 November 1846), daughter of the late Rev. John C. and Margaretta (Muhlenberg) Kunze, and widow of Jacob Lorillard (22 May 1774 – 20 September 1838), New York merchant, whom she married on 12 October 1809, died at the age of fifty-six on Monday, 23 November 1846, in Manhattanville, New York (Gertrude A. Barber, comp., *Deaths Taken from the New York Evening Post*, vol. 23, *From October 31, 1846 to August 3, 1847*, ts, 1940, p. 9, N-YHS; Henrietta Meier Oakley & John C. Schwab, *The Muhlenberg Album* [New Haven: Tuttle Press, 1910], no pagination). Her portrait, by an unidentified artist (see Image 53), was presented to the N-YHS by her grandson, H. Schuyler Cammann, in 1945 (*Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society*, 2 vols. [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974], vol. 1, p. 487). There is no obituary for Mrs. Lorillard in the New York newspapers. As Dr. George P. Cammann, MD, Maria (Cammann) McNeill's brother, was married to Anna Catharine Lorillard, daughter of Anna Margaretta and Jacob Lorillard, the account Maria (Cammann) McNeill sent to Anna Whistler may have come from him and/or his wife. See Whistler ... Farifax in Appendix E.
636. Mrs. Lorillard's dying words were to recite "The Lord's Prayer."
637. Revelation 14:13: "And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them." Revelation 22:14: "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city."
638. The child who died was Emma Ripley (26 May 1838 – 21 August 1846), daughter of Major James Wolfe and Sarah (Denny) Ripley, of Springfield, Massachusetts. The other "little daughter" who had died was Isabella Ripley (3 February 1836 – 6 February 1844). Major Ripley, USMA Class of 1814, was the commandant and superintendent of the Springfield Armory, Massachusetts (Thomas J. Wallace, "Portrait of An Ordnance Office," p. 1, Springfield Public Library Local History Room). It has not been possible to locate this letter from Charlotte (Sanford) Adams Barnes nor the memoir by Rev. Henry Washington Lee.
639. On 10 December 1846 in Springfield, Massachusetts, Adeline Denny Ripley (21 June 1825 – 8 April 1902) married, as his second wife, Robert Chamblett Hooper (8 April 1805 – 26



November 1869), a wealthy Boston merchant (Pope and Hooper, *Hooper Genealogy*, p. 150). Anna Whistler's remarks may have been based on the fact that Adeline Ripley was some twenty years younger than her husband. Reverend Henry Washington Lee (see Image 44), Anna Whistler's friend and former pastor, performed the ceremony (*The Daily Republican* (Springfield, MA), Saturday, December 12, 1846, p. 3).

640. Matthew 13:45–46: “<sup>45</sup> Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchantman, seeking goodly pearls: <sup>46</sup> Who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had and bought it.” This has been interpreted as “Some ... dedicate themselves to God's kingdom because, being able to judge the value of other claims being made on them, they value it more” (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 1189).
641. The Old-Style Christmas holidays, which began on 21 December 1846 / 2 January 1847, marked the end of James and Willie's studies at Monsieur Jourdan's school. The school moved later in 1847 from its prestigious location near the Summer Garden to the house belonging to Pel', No. 47 Panteleimonov Street, in the First Ward of the Liteinaia District. It lost many students in the second half of 1847. The figure of fifty pupils that Anna Whistler spoke of when her sons entered in September 1846 fell to thirty. While not giving all the reasons why this had happened, the inspector attributed the considerable decrease compared to the first half of the year as partly due to the school's relocation, but stressed the praiseworthy set-up of the school and the owner's diligence and care (RGIA: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 5188, fol. 80r (see Note 514 above for document title); Anna Whistler to Gen. J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, September 24, 1846, NYPL: Swift Papers).
642. On Christmas Eve, 24 December 1846 / 5 January 1847, James and Willie went to the home of Edward John and Mary Ann (Parland) Morgan, whose children were Maria Frances, Edward Delmar, and Fanny Elizabeth. They lived at 31 Galernaia Street. It was to this same home that Deborah and Major Whistler went a few days later to a party on Russian New Year's Eve (see this same entry, for Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> of our style being 11<sup>th</sup> of Russian style). See also Morgan and Parland in Appendix E.
643. While at Monsieur Jourdan's school, James had not attended the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. In fact, he was not registered in a drawing course at the Academy in 1846 or 1847. One assumes that now he was going over to the Academy to draw under Koritskii's tutelage; however, Koritskii recorded in his diary on

- 30 December 1846 / 11 January 1847 that he “was painting a portrait of the American” (“Ja pisał portret s Amerikantsa”) (GRM OR: Koritskii, *Zapisi*, fol. 22v). James could also have been sitting for his portrait, as there is a period of twelve days between Koritskii’s entry and Anna Whistler’s (11–23 January [NS], 1847), during which James often went to the Academy. See the biography of James Whistler in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s” and Koritskii in Appendix E.
644. The French term “tableaux vivants” (singular “tableau vivant,” but also sometimes written “tableaux vivant”) means “living pictures.” A tableau vivant is “a silent and motionless person or group of people posed and attired to represent a well-known character, event, or work of art” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “tableau vivant”). “The genre peaked in popularity between 1830 and 1920. During a performance of tableaux vivant, a cast of characters represented scenes from literature, art, history, or everyday life on a stage. ... In Victorian England, people used tableaux vivant as a parlor game to amuse guests and engage them in a deeper appreciation of art” (Shannon Murphy, “Tableaux Vivant: History and Practice,” *Art Museum Teaching*, 6 December 2012, accessed 1 February 2021, <https://artmuseumteaching.com/2012/12/06/tableaux-vivant-history-and-practice/>).
645. Edward Peers Eastwick (12 January 1833–1926; see Image 235) was the eldest Eastwick child. His Old Style birthday was 31 December.
646. This could be 14 or 15 January (NS) 1847.
647. Sarah B. Schofield (1817–1891), niece of the Rev. T.S. Ellerby’s wife, Mary (Bealey) Ellerby, came to Russia to be a governess to their daughters, Lucy, Alice, and Emily, in the 1840s. She is also mentioned by her future husband as being there in July 1848 (Romanes, *Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk*, p. 86) and by Joseph Harrison Jr. in 1849 (J. Harrison Jr to Anna M. Whistler, June 22 (OS) 1849, Alexandroffsky, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). See Ellerby in Appendix E and Image 257.
648. The extended Ropes family – “Mama, Papa, Auntys – Uncle G” – went over to Vasilevskii Island “to [an] annual feast at Maligins ... to eat bleenies” (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg. Feb 19<sup>th</sup> Monday eve [1849], GUL: Whistler Collection, W383). Bliny (pronounced “blee’nee”) were pancakes eaten only during Shrovetide. The extended Ropes family were:

William Hooper Ropes (Papa); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes (Mama); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (Mrs. G) (see Images 266–267); William Clarke Gellibrand (Uncle G, Mr G) (see Image 265); Joseph Samuel Ropes (Mr. J. Ropes); and Elizabeth Hannah Ropes (Lizzie) (see Image 267). Mrs. Gellibrand and Elizabeth Hannah Ropes were also “Auntys.” The merchant’s name was Malygin. His house was No. 25 in the Fourth Ward of the Vasilievskaiia District, between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Lines (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, vol. 1, p. 217). To the already-plural Russian word “bliny,” Anna Whistler added the English plural -s.

649. “Although Russia had incorporated the Caucasus into its empire, its writ and authority did not run throughout all this territory. In particular, two areas proved difficult to control: Circassia and Dagestan. Two campaigns secured eastern Circassia and another, in 1862, secured western Circassia ... In Dagestan ... successive leaders ... of the Muslim Imamate ... preached a holy war against foreigners, secular rulers and landowners ... This insurrection encouraged Avars, Chechens, and Azeris to fight the Russians too. Russian campaigns against Imam Shamil (1797–1871), who had become a legendary leader [1834–1859] of Caucasian resistance to Russian hegemony, cost them 12,000 casualties between 1840 and 1845” (Ian Barnes, *Restless Empire: A Historical Atlas of Russia* [Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015], p. 81). For a discussion of serfs in the army, see Wirtschafter, *Serf to Soldier*. For a discussion of the war in the Caucasus, see Curtiss, *Russian Army*, pp. 152–175). For a discussion of the length of military service for various classes, see both Wirtschafter and Curtis.
650. “Oil-silk,” also called “oiled silk,” is silk treated with oil to make it water-tight (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “oil-silk”).
651. Major George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, January 18, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers; Major George W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 8/20 1847.
652. Galatians 6:7: “Be not deceived; God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.”
653. 1 Samuel 1:15: “And Hannah answered and said, No, my Lord, I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit; I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but have poured out my soul before the Lord.”
654. Philippians 3:8: “Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ my Lord: for whom I

have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ.”

655. When John Stevenson Maxwell was seriously ill in 1844, he was given the armchair by Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, the American envoy, who jokingly told him to keep it for the future Mrs. Maxwell. But when Maxwell was leaving Russia, he gave it to the Whistlers (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, 11 May 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 34).
656. These are the Russian words for “semolina meal,” spelled “mannaia kasha” and pronounced “mahn’nuhyuh kah’shuh.” It resembles cream of wheat. James’s diet was prescribed by Dr. James Rogers.
657. The fifteen-kopek coin was called “piataltynnyi” (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 54; Chistova, *Byt Pushkinskogo Peterburga*, p. 197).
658. It is not possible to say whether “young Mr Merrielees” is William Spurr Mirrielees (b. St Petersburg December 1828), son of Archibald (Aberdeen 7 September 1797 – London 13 February 1877) and Sarah (Spurr) Mirrielees, or one of the nephews of Archibald Mirrielees: i.e., William or John, the sons of James Mirrielees; or William Philip, the son of William Mirrielees. For more detailed information about the Mirrielees family, see “Piety and Profit: Archibald Mirrielees (1797–1877),” in Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, pp 1–57, and Pitcher, *Muir i Meriliz*, pp. 10–46.
659. It has not been possible to locate this letter, received from George William Whistler on Monday, 25 January 1847.
660. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (see Image 22), who was visiting her son, Charles Johnston McNeill, in Florida. Anna Whistler regretted that she herself could not contribute to Charles’s comforts. It is not clear whether she meant financial aid. Some years after her mother’s death, she attempted to arrange a loan for him. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E. Extant letters written by Martha (Kingsley) McNeill may be found in USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers (letter dated 1814) and NYPL: Swift Papers (letters dated 1827, 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1838). See Appendix I for the letter of 12 January 1852 (some three months before her death) from Pomfret, written jointly with Anna Whistler to Catherine (McNeill) Palmer in Stonington, which clearly shows in its style and expressions, how great her moral and religious influence on Anna Whistler was. They sound alike.

661. William Gibbs (see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill lived at 67 Irving Place in New York.
662. Helene Funck's sister was Wilhelmine Elizabeth (Funck) Grooten. She had died of complications resulting from childbirth. Anna Whistler had attended her funeral on 10/22 December 1846 at the Dutch Reformed Church (see Image 128).
663. The Dorcas Society, taking its name from the woman in Acts 9:36–41 who spent her life making clothes for the poor, distributed clothes to the poor. Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, William Clarke Gellibrand, William Hooper Ropes, and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes were active members.
664. This quotation and several that follow are taken from Mark 14:3–8, the parable of the woman who poured a box of precious ointment over Jesus's head, causing some present to murmur against the wastefulness of her action; the ointment could have been sold and the money given to the poor. Mark 14:6–7: “<sup>6</sup> And Jesus said, Let her alone; why trouble ye her? She hath wrought a good work on me. <sup>7</sup> For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always.” Anna Whistler cites Charlotte Leon as an example of a woman attempting to do good to the poor.
665. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday morning Feb 6<sup>th</sup> 1847 who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Charlotte Leon, pensioner (old friend M<sup>rs</sup> Leon, revered old acquaintance, Grandma Leon); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (my own dear Mother); Pheodocia, their servant (Phedocia); Mary (Bealey) Ellerby (M<sup>rs</sup> Ellerby); Emily Ellerby (cherub Emily, darling Emmy); Elizabeth Hannah Ropes (Elizabeth Ropes, Elizabeth); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand); Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' physician (Doct Rogers); and Thomas DeKay Winans of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick (M<sup>r</sup> Winans). The Whistlers' coachman was named Pyotr, but in this entry is called Nikolai (Nicoli).
666. The visit on 20 January / 1 February 1847 was the last time Anna Whistler saw Charlotte Leon alive.
667. Ecclesiastes 12:5: “Also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail: because man goeth to his long home and the mourners go about the streets.”

668. Anna Whistler was talking about Saturday, 30 January 1847.
669. On Friday, 5 February 1847, Major Whistler visited Colonel Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (see Image 248), head of the Southern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.
670. This endearing form of the name “Anna” is spelled “Annushka” and pronounced “Ahn’nooshkuh” (Petrovskii, *Slovar’ russkikh lichnykh imen*, p. 51). She seems to have been part of the kitchen staff.
671. Luke 18:16: “But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not: for of such is the kingdom of God.”
672. Charlotte (Jenner) Leon, aged 83, died on 24 January / 5 February 1847 (PREC STP, no. 5690, p. 347). She gave her birthday as April 20th, so she was actually 82 years old (entry of April 10 [1845], NYPL: AWP, Part II). See Leon in Appendix E.
673. Mark 14:8: “She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.”
674. Matthew 25:20–21: “<sup>20</sup> And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more. <sup>21</sup> His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy lord.”
675. It has not been possible to locate the note from Dorothea (Halliday) Baird (Mrs Frank Baird) inviting Debo to a party on Saturday evening, 6 February.
676. There are many references in the Gospels to the day of preparation (Friday) for the Jewish Sabbath (Saturday): Matthew 27:26; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; and John 19:14, 31, and 42. The Crucifixion of Jesus took place on the day of preparation.
677. Matthew 3:15: “And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.”
678. Luke 16:8: “And the Lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely: for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.”
679. The collection taken up on 7 February 1847 was for the starving victims of the Great Irish Famine (see Image 203), resulting from

the failure of the potato crop due to a blight caused by the fungus, *Phytophthora infestans*. The first potato failure occurred in 1845. It was succeeded by a second in late 1846, when the crop was almost totally destroyed. “Conditions in Ireland had been widely reported by 1847 and significant relief was raised throughout the world” by private organizations to supplement the inadequate aid from the government (Stephen J. Campbell, *The Great Irish Famine: Words and Images from the Famine Museum, Strokestown Park, County Roscommon* [Strokestown Park, Ireland: Famine Museum, 1994], pp. 21, 22, 24, 35, 45).

The sermon reference to “the poor Scotch” concerned the Highland Potato Famine. “In 1846, the same blight that affected the Irish crops also caused the failure of potato crops in Scotland ... The potato famine in Scotland may not be as well known as the situation in Ireland as relief programmes were perhaps better organized and more effective in the Highlands and Islands. Crop failures in Scotland continued into the 1850s, and famine relief programmes became semi-permanent operations. While the mortality rate was less than other Scottish famines in the 1690s, and 1780, the Highland potato famine eventually caused over 1.7 million people to leave Scotland during the period 1846–1852” (James Mitchell, NLS, to E. Harden, 21 March 2011).

The collection taken up in the English Church on 7 February 1847 received notice in *The Morning Chronicle* (London), as follows:

The Committee of the British Association for Relief of Extreme Distress in the Remote Districts in Ireland and Scotland ... acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Mr. Gladstone, informing them that he had paid into the Bank of England the sum of £424.9s.6d., ... transmitted from St. Petersburg, being the amount of a collection made by British subjects in the Chapel of the British Factory on Sunday, 26<sup>th</sup> January O.S. (7<sup>th</sup> February), after a sermon preached by the Rev. Edward Law, chaplain, to be applied in conformity with the directions contained in her Majesty’s letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. (*The Morning Chronicle* (London), Saturday, February 27, 1847).

Included in the abovementioned notice in *The Morning Chronicle* (London) was the statement:

The Committee of the British Association for Relief of Extreme Distress in the Remote Districts in Ireland and Scotland acknowledge to have received with much

pleasure, through the hands of Wm. Gladstone, Esq., for the relief of the suffering poor in those countries, the sum of ONE THOUSAND POUNDS, being part of a public subscription made in the city of St. Petersburg.

Anna Whistler was distressed by the fact that the rich congregation of the English Church (see Images 110–111), which had raised 1800 silver roubles, or £424.9s.6, had not done enough compared to the congregation of the British and American Chapel (see Image 125), of which Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256) was pastor; that “small and not rich congregation” had raised 600 silver roubles. She was placated by the idea that the British merchants, who generally belonged to the English Church, were to make a further contribution.

Dr. James Rogers (our good Doct), who was the physician of the British Legation, made an earlier visit than usual to James in order to attend the service at the English Church and make his offering to the relief fund.

680. There are two possibilities as to the identity of Mr. Arnold. One is Thomas Arnold (13 June 1795 – 12 June 1842), the head master of Rugby and father of the poet and critic, Matthew Arnold (24 December 1822 – 15 April 1888). In addition to his historical works on Rome, his edition of Thucydides, and his lectures on the study of modern history, given at Oxford, he wrote several religious works: “a collection of sermons in three volumes” (published between 1829 and 1834), *Christian Life* (1841), and two further volumes of sermons, edited and published posthumously by his widow in 1842 and 1845 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s/v. “Arnold, Thomas [1795–1842]”). The other possibility is Thomas Kerchever Arnold (1800 – 9 March 1853), a “writer of educational works and theologian.” In addition to Greek and Latin grammars and composition books, he “superintended the publication of English, French, German, Italian and Hebrew grammars.” As a theological writer, he published a series of periodicals that were each shortlived, a volume of sermons in 1845, and *Short Helps to Daily Devotion* in 1847 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Arnold, Thomas Kerchever”).
681. In 1847, Orthodox Lent began on 3/15 February, while Western Lent began two days later, on Ash Wednesday, 5/17 February. Easter Sunday occurred on 24 March / 4 April for both the Western and Orthodox churches. James Whistler was very ill for a nine-week period, and Anna Whistler mentions only his lack of



envy when Willie went off to the Carnival festivities. See Images 378–379 for icons representing these feast days.

Persons mentioned in the entry for Tuesday night [February] 9<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant, and his wife, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (M<sup>r</sup>. and M<sup>rs</sup>. Gellibrand); Emily Ellerby, youngest daughter of Mary (Bealey) Ellerby (M<sup>rs</sup>. Ellerbys darling baby); Lucy and Alice Ellerby (other two little Ellerbys, elder two little girls); and Eleanora Lee, nursemaid to the Ellerby girls (their nice English nursery maid).

682. Charlotte (Jenner) Leon was buried on 27 January / 8 February 1847 in the Smolensk Cemetery (PREC STP, no. 5690, p. 347). Anna Whistler records the funeral at midnight or later, but she means 8 February. See Leon in Appendix E.
683. Anna Whistler is recalling James's similar attack in the summer of 1843 (entry for S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg, November 28<sup>th</sup> 1843, NYPL: AWP, Part I).
684. "Blistering" refers to the practice of applying irritants "to the body in the belief that diseases could be brought out from internal organs to the surface to be dispelled. This was then carried out with a blistering plaster made of fat or wax applied to the skin" (Jen Willetts, "19th Century Medical Terms," *Free Settler or Felon?*, accessed 19 September 2017, [http://www.jenwilletts.com/19thcentury\\_medical\\_terms.htm](http://www.jenwilletts.com/19thcentury_medical_terms.htm)). "The practice ... was performed by deliberately giving the patient a second degree burn and then draining the resulting sore" ("Blistering," *A History of Allopathy*, accessed 29 January 2021, <http://naturalhealthperspective.com/tutorials/allopathy.html>). See similar treatment given to John Bouttatz Whistler, referred to in the entry for Friday [October] 16<sup>th</sup>, NYPL: AWP, Part II, and accompanying Note 540.
685. Persons mentioned in the entry for Saturday evening, Feb 27<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: John Stevenson Maxwell, former secretary to the American Legation in St. Petersburg, when Charles Stewart Todd was envoy (M<sup>r</sup>. Maxwell); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (my Mother, M<sup>rs</sup>. McNeill); Catherine (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler's sister (Kate, Sister, his wife); Dr. George Edwin Palmer, Anna Whistler's brother-in-law (Dr. P.); Emma (Boardman) Palmer, Julia McNeill Palmer, and George Edwin Palmer Jr. (his children); Joseph Swift Whistler, Kirk Boott Whistler, Charles Donald

Whistler, John Bouttatz Whistler, the deceased Whistler children (our boys at Stonington); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand, M<sup>rs</sup> G); her husband, William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (M<sup>r</sup> G, M<sup>r</sup> Gellibrand); and Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' physician (the doct).

686. Theodore Sedgwick Fay (b. New York 10 February 1807; d. Berlin 24 November 1898; buried Berlin) was a lawyer, newspaperman, author, and diplomat. He “was admitted to the bar in 1828,” but became an editor of the *New York Mirror* in the same year, where he continued “a series of light essays ... begun by his father.” In 1833, he married Laura Gardenier (New York 16 April 1807 – Bern, Switzerland 31 August 1855) of New York and spent three years traveling abroad with her and “sending home sketches of travel and miscellaneous matter to be published in the [New York] *Mirror*.” His first novel was *Norman Leslie: A Tale of the Present Times* (1835), about an actual murder case. It became a best seller until attacked in December of that year by Edgar Allan Poe. He wrote three other novels: *Sydney Clifton* (1839), *The Countess Ida* (1840), and *Hoboken, A Romance* (1843). The latter two had as their subject the exposure of “the evils of dueling.” He wanted to create social change through his novels, as his father before him had wanted to in advocating “the abolition of imprisonment for debt” (*The Reader's Encyclopedia of American Literature*, p. 330). Eventually, the Fays returned permanently to Europe, where he held various diplomatic posts: first a minor one in London, followed by secretary of legation in Berlin from 1837 to 1853, and minister to Switzerland from 1853 to 1861. Laura (Gardenier) Fay died in 1855, while Fay was minister to Switzerland; his second wife, whom he married in 1861, was Elisabeth Anne Leutwein.

Fay continued writing until well over the age of eighty. He wrote a narrative poem entitled *Ulric, or The Voices* (1851) about “a German captain of horse who became a disciple of Martin Luther.” He also wrote schoolbooks on geography (1867 and 1873), slavery in America (1865 and 1872), and “a popular political history of Germany” in English (1889) (*Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 6, pp. 305–306; Memorial IDs 147351773 and 198358566, findagrave.com).

687. It is possible that “Hogarth's works engraved by himself 153 plates,” ordered by Joseph Harrison Jr. on 12/24 March 1847, was identical to the volume James had been looking at. Harrison may even have seen the book or a catalogue the day before, when

he and his wife accompanied the Whistlers home after the Aivazovskii exhibit and spent the day there. Harrison had previously placed a large book order with John Petherum, 94 High Holborn St., London, but on 12/24 March 1847 wrote to R.G. Fairbanks, London agent for Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, telling him the enclosed list was “from Henry C. Bohn’s catalogue for 1846.” He wanted two copies of the Hogarth work (Joseph Harrison Jr. to R.G. Fairbanks, Alexandrofsky, March 12/24, 1847, with an invoice of Books, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1).

688. Anna Whistler omitted the word “room.”

689. Maxwell wrote to Major Whistler:

I hasten to inform you of my return from Stonington, whither I went, with the remains of your infant son. Upon the arrival of the ship Switzerland, by which M<sup>r</sup> Fairbanks [Reuben Goodale Fairbanks] had shipped the box containing his body, M<sup>r</sup> Cruft, of the firm of Newbold and Cruft, immediately applied to M<sup>r</sup> Lawrence, the Collector, for a permit to receive it, without examination. This was given and as soon as possible thereafter, I prepared to proceed to Stonington. I saw General McNeill [William Gibbs McNeill] and a day was appointed for the journey. The General was to write to your son at Baltimore [George William Whistler] to come on, to accompany us and he was also to write to D<sup>r</sup> Palmer [George Edwin Palmer], informing him of the object and time of our intended visit— According to the agreement, I went on board the steamboat at four o’clock in the afternoon, ~~with~~ of Teusday [*sic*] last, the 19<sup>th</sup>, taking with me the remains and expecting to meet the General — He was not on board however, and I proceeded alone to Stonington. Early on the morning of Wednesday, I reached D<sup>r</sup> Palmers, and was received by him, as he had been informed by the letter of the General [Joseph G. Swift], of the intended visit— I found him, and M<sup>rs</sup> Palmer [Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer], and M<sup>rs</sup> McNeill [Martha (Kingsley) McNeill] and all in good health — During the morning we deposited the body of the poor child, beside the graves of his departed brothers, in the burial ground upon the premises adjoining the estate of the late M<sup>r</sup> Phelps — and I need scarcely add that all was conducted — ~~with~~ as you would

have wished ... The evening of the same day – at nine o'clock, I returned in the steamer and reached the city at five o'clock yesterday morning. I went up to see General McNeill– and M<sup>rs</sup> McNeill [Maria (Cammann) McNeill] informed me in his absence, that he had been *very very* much disappointed in not reaching the boat in time. The hours of leaving of the different lines for Boston, had recently been changed, he had confused one with the other, and when he reached the ~~place of~~ wharf of the steamer, she had already gone ... Your son did not come on, in consequence of having a cold and his friends, thought it was improper for him to expose himself at this season, without being perfectly well– So my dear friend, I have now informed you of all the particulars attending the fulfilment of the duty, that your friendship confided to me. (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, January 22, 1847, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers).

690. Maxwell wrote Major Whistler that after the burial of John Bouttatz Whistler, “I passed the remainder of the day in the very agreeable society of D<sup>r</sup> Palmer and the family. The Doctor is a fine fellow– M<sup>rs</sup> Palmer a most amiable lady, and M<sup>rs</sup> McNeill an extraordinary person, for her age. She is willing to visit you at St Petersburg, and I have no doubt if she thought you would return a year or two hence, that she would go to Russia and accompany you to this country. The Doctor has several fine ... stout children ... Tell Willie and James, that I often thought while at Stonington of the stories they often recounted of their sports and companions while living there. The very place seemed familiar on this account and I expected every minute to see Jacky McNeil [Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill, Anna Whistler’s nephew] come in and act a part” (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, January 22, 1847, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers).
691. 1 John 2:15: “Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.”
692. Luke 13:24: “Strive to enter in at the strait gate, for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in and shall not be able.”
693. 2 Corinthians 6:17: “Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.”

694. Romans 6:4: “Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.”
695. Mark 14:8: “She hath done what she could: she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.”
696. This is a faulty sentence that I cannot make right.
697. Dr. Edward Jenner (17 May 1749 – 26 January 1823; see Image 193) was the discoverer of vaccination.
698. Benjamin Franklin (17 January 1706 – 17 April 1790) was an American printer, philosopher, writer, scientist, inventor, and statesman.
699. Charlotte Leon is referring to the family of Count Stanislaw Szczęśny [Felix] Potocki (1752 – 15 March 1805; see Image 324), who married, as his third wife, Zofia (born Glavani) (1760–1822; see Image 325), in her first marriage, Witt.
700. Stanislaw Potocki, son of the deceased Countess Zofia Potocka (see Image 325), had a house on the English Embankment in the 1820s (Petrovskaiia, *Kontsertnaia zhizn’ Peterburga*, p. 69; Smirnova-Rosset, *Dnevnik*, pp. 117–118).
701. See Leon in Appendix E for an explanation of which member of the Naryshkin family may be intended here.
702. On 27 December 1825, William Clarke Gellibrand (see Image 265) married in England Elizabeth Parkinson (b. 20 June 1794). Mrs. Gellibrand died in St. Petersburg on 5 February 1833. She was the maternal aunt of Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, Emily Hall, and Marian Hall. At the time of Mr. Gellibrand’s marriage, Charlotte Leon would have been sixty-one years old.
703. Mrs. Leon, who had been living at 54 Galernaia, moved to the home of Mrs. Mary (Dillow) Snow, a widow, living in the house of Kuprianov at 20 Karavannaia Street, in the First Ward of the Third Admiralty District. Karavannaia is perpendicular to the Nevskii Prospekt, meeting it near His Majesty’s Own Personal Palace (*BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 134, 154; Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, vol. 1, p. 62).
704. The Russian word for “laundress” is spelled “prachka” and pronounced “prah’chkuh.”
705. Koritskii himself had recorded earlier, on 30 December 1846 / 11 January 1847, in notes he was keeping on the life and works of Karl P. Briullov (see Image 173), that he “was painting a

portrait of the American,” but did not specify who the American was (GRM OR: Koritskii, *Zapisi*, fol. 22v). I believe it was James, and now it was Willie’s turn. We know that Willie sat to Koritskii at least twice: on 1/13 March and 7/19 March 1847 (see entry dated Wednesday March 23<sup>rd</sup>, NYPL: AWP, Part II). The whereabouts of both of these portraits are unknown.

706. Anna Whistler is probably referring to Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439), who had been postponing his inspection of the railroad with Major Whistler and Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (the Count) (see Image 243).
707. Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna (Pavlovsk 6/18 August 1819 – St. Petersburg 9/21 February 1876; see Image 430), wife of His Highness Duke Maximilian-Eugene-Joseph-August-Napoleon of Leuchtenberg (Munich 20 September / 2 October 1817 – St. Petersburg 20 October / 1 November 1852; see Image 431), gave birth to a son, Evgenii Maksimilianovich, on 27 January / 8 February 1847 (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 25, Friday, January 31 [February 12 NS], 1846, p. 117). He was christened on 1/13 March (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 46, Thursday, February 27 [March 11 NS], 1847, p. 211, and no. 51, Wednesday, March 5 [March 17 NS], 1847, p. 255). His death date is 18/31 August 1901. See Kuz’min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, pp. 193–194, 195–196, 206. Anna Whistler meant to write “to be named.”
708. Anna Whistler and Willie witnessed the funeral procession of Prince Vasil’chikov on Tuesday, 25 February / 9 March 1847. From her vantage point she had the opportunity to see up close Emperor Nicholas I (The Emperor); his brother, Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (Michel); Crown Prince Aleksandr Nikolaevich (the Herétier); and Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel’ (Count Klienmichel). See Images 420–423, 439, 425, 243.
709. Prince Illarion Vasilievich Vasil’chikov (b. 1776; see Image 310) died on 21 February / 5 March 1847 after a long illness; he was seventy or seventy-one years old. He was buried on 25 February / 9 March. His obituary in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* on the day of his funeral contained the following:

His deeds, excellent qualities and feelings were highly valued by Emperor Nikolai Pavlovich, as they had once been by His August Predecessor. More precious to the Prince than the public expressions and decorations with which he was honored and elevated was the unwavering confidence in him on the part of the Monarch, which

accompanied him to the grave. The sympathy and attention of His Majesty in the final days of his earthly life mitigated [his] sufferings ... Over his grave, to the tears of his bereaved family will be added wholeheartedly the tears of the great family of the nation, the Father of whom not very long ago said: “Monarchs should thank heaven for such people!” (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 44, Tuesday, February 25 [March 9 NS], 1847, p. 203, taken from *Severnaia pchela*); see also *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 43, Sunday, February 23 [March 7 NS], 1847, p. 195, and Stroganov, Vasil’chikov, and Kushelev in Appendix E.

710. The Smol’nyi Institute for the Education of Young Noblewomen (see Image 147) was founded by Catherine the Great (see Image 414) in 1764 and “modelled after Mme de Maintenon’s seminary at St Cyr” (Hamilton, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 180, 190). The boarding school was first housed in the Resurrection Newmaiden Convent, “an establishment for orphan girls,” which had been designed by Rastrelli (1700–1771) for Empress Elizaveta Petrovna (see Image 413) (Hamilton, pp. 180, 190). The more usual name for this Convent was the Smol’nyi Convent, from the Russian word for “tar” (*smola*), because of its proximity to the area where tar had been stored for the navy in the time of Peter the Great. The future building for the school (1806–1808), built next to the Smol’nyi Convent, was designed by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817), who considered it his masterpiece (Brumfield, *History of Russian Architecture*, pp. 250–253, 271, 292, 295–296, 319; Shvidkovskii, *St. Petersburg*, pp. 65–66, 71, 100, 102, 103; Antonov and Kobak, *Sviatyni Sankt-Peterburga*, vol. 3, pp. 183–188). It was located on the corner of Voskresenskaia Naberezhnaia Street and Orlovskaiia Street on the Grand Neva in the Rozhdestvenskaia District, Fourth Ward (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar’*, pp. 103, 104). For a detailed description of the pupils’ activities, chiefly in the time of Catherine the Great, see Pyliaev, *Zabytoe proshloe* 1889, pp. 46–55; for the 1830s, see Bur’ianov, *Progulka s det’mi*, vol. 2, pp. 324–331.
711. The trip on the railroad referred to here took place “some days before” 25 February / 9 March 1847, the day of Prince Vasil’chikov’s funeral (see Image 310). Haywood does not refer to this trip in *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, but describes the railway line on pages 238–239. Major Whistler had eaten at midnight at the home of Joseph Harrison Jr. at Alexandrofsky.

712. See Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 122n62, 131–133, 141–145, 257, 258–260, 397–403. See also George Washington Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, 26 April 1845, 19 December 1845; 18 January 1847; 5 December 1848; and 31 January / 12 February 1849, NYPL: Swift Papers.

By saying “ye servants,” which means “the servants,” in the sense of “*only* servants,” Anna Whistler is suggesting a derogatory attitude on the part of the masters and railroad administrators towards the serfs.

713. This is Anna Whistler’s slightly incorrect pronunciation of the endearing form of the servant’s name, which should read “Parasha,” pronounced “Pahrah’shuh.” This endearing form represents two given names: Yevpraksiia and Praskoviia. The peasant versions of Yevpraksiia are Apraksiia and Yevprakseia, while for Praskoviia, they are Paraskoveia and Praskoveia (Petrovskii, *Slovar’ russkikh lichnykh imen*, pp. 104, 182–183, 339–340).
714. Wednesday was 24 March. Major and Anna Whistler and Debo attended on 7/19 March. The exhibit, which ran from 26 February through 8 March [10 March through 20 March NS], consisted of works by a single artist, Academician Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (see Image 178), famous for his marine paintings. As “many admirers of the fine arts, who had not had the opportunity of visiting Aivazovskii’s studio ... had long been making known their wish to see his works again[,] His Imperial Highness [Maksimilian Leuchtenberg], President of the Academy of Fine Arts, had, with the Emperor’s ... permission, ordered that several rooms in the Academy be set aside for an exhibit of Aivazovskii’s paintings” (*Sanktpeterburgskie ведомosti* 44, Tuesday, February 25 [March 9 NS], 1847, p. 203). For documents concerning the proposal, permission for and announcement of the exhibit, see RGIA: Fond 789, op. 1, d. 3224. Delo o vystavke v Akademii kartin Akademika Aivazovskogo dlia pokazaniia publike [Concerning the exhibit in the Academy of paintings by Academician Aivazovskii for the purpose of showing them to the public].

Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (Gaivazovskii) (1817 – 1900) was born in Feodosia in the Crimea, where he received his primary education at the Armenian parish school. The discovery of his talent for drawing resulted in his being taken by a benefactor to Simferopol, where he studied in the local high school from 1830 to 1833. Here his talent was discovered to be



extraordinary. One of his drawings was submitted to S. Tonci in St. Petersburg and, in August 1833, Aivazovskii arrived to enrol at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts as a pensioner of the Cabinet of His Imperial Majesty. His talent, accompanied by an equally extraordinary capacity for hard work, resulted in a prodigious artistic productivity, which he himself later assessed at six thousand works, not including watercolors and drawings. He was assigned to the landscape-painting class of Professor M.N. Vorobiev (1789–1855). In 1835, he was appointed assistant to the French marinist, P. Tanneur (1795–1878), who was in the Imperial court service. Aivazovskii received the small silver medal and was put forward by A.N. Olenin (see Image 307), president of the Academy, to paint his first independent work: *A View of the Sea in the Environs of St. Petersburg (Vid na vzmor'e v okrestnostiakh Peterburga)*, for which in 1836 he received the small gold medal. He achieved great acclaim in 1836 for five of his paintings presented at the Academy's autumn exhibition. He came into conflict, however, with the authorities when Tanneur, accused by public opinion of jealousy, complained to Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) that Aivazovskii had shown five paintings instead of one without Tanneur's knowledge. The intercession of Professor A.I. Sauerwied (1783–1844), head of the battle-scene painting class, assuaged the anger of the emperor, who had ordered that Aivazovskii's paintings be taken down. In April 1837, Aivazovskii was assigned to the Baltic Fleet and in summer of that year took part in the fleet's maneuvers in the Gulf of Finland. Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (see Image 436), second son of Nicholas I, and admiral of the fleet, remained his patron for many years. In September 1837, Aivazovskii received the large gold medal for three marine paintings shown at the Academy exhibition, making him eligible to be sent abroad to study. In 1838, six of his paintings were acquired by Imperial decree for the Academy. The Council of the Academy then decided to send him to Feodosia to devote himself to marine painting. In 1839, he took part in naval campaigns, where his friendship with several fleet commanders aided the development of the sea battle theme in his works. In 1839 as well, the Academy awarded him the title of artist fourteenth class. In July 1830, he was sent to Europe to study for four years. His exhibitions in major cities of Europe were greeted enthusiastically. His painting *Chaos (Khaos)*, executed in 1841, was acquired by Pope Gregory XVI (today it is in a monastery on the island of San Lazzaro in Venice). In 1842, in Naples, he met J.M.W. Turner (1775–1851), who expressed his enchantment

with Aivazovskii's *Bay of Naples on a Moonlit Night* (*Neapolitanskii zaliv v lunnuiu noch'*) in a poem to him. In June–July 1844, Aivazovskii returned to St. Petersburg for a year, where he was elected an academician, appointed the official artist of the Main Naval Staff Headquarters, and received an Imperial commission to execute six paintings of ports and fortresses on the Baltic coast. In 1845, he accompanied Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich on an expedition under the command of Admiral F.P. Litke (1797–1882) to Turkey, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Greek archipelago. In 1845–1846, he took part in the maneuvers of the Black Sea Fleet. In 1846, in Feodosia, he executed two paintings and arranged a celebration of his tenth anniversary as an artist. In the summer of 1846, he was present at the maneuvers of the Baltic Fleet and executed paintings on episodes from the history of the Russian fleet. In February–March 1847, an exhibition was held in the Academy of the paintings exhibited in Feodosia, augmented by seven of his paintings lent from the Imperial collection. After this exhibition he was appointed professor at the Academy. In 1848, he executed a series of paintings depicting sea battles and arranged an acclaimed first Moscow exhibition. Nicholas I was unable to persuade him to live in St. Petersburg, and as of the autumn of 1848 Aivazovskii made his home in Feodosia. For the next fifty years, he had more than fifty solo exhibitions in St. Petersburg and many abroad, including in the United States, which he visited in 1892–1893. He died in Feodosia in 1900. (Although a number of sources were consulted, Aivazovskii's biography in this note is based on G.N. Goldovskii, "Aivazovskii," in Bukharkin, *Os'mnadsatoe stoletie*, bk. 1, pp. 28–30).

715. One of the seven paintings by Aivazovskii (see Image 178) lent from the Imperial collection was *Peter I at Krasnaia Gorka*, the painting referred to by Anna Whistler (see Image 179). The full title of this large painting (223 cm x 335 cm) is *Peter I at Krasnaia Gorka Lighting a Bonfire on the Shore as a Beacon to his Foundering Ships* (*Petr I pri Krasnoi gorke, razhigaiushchii kostyor dlia podachi signala gibnushchim svoim sudam*). Executed in 1846, its subject was the 31st of August (OS) 1714, when the Baltic Fleet encountered a heavy storm in the Gulf of Finland. On that night, when his ships were threatened with destruction, Peter the Great went ashore in a ship's boat and ordered a bonfire to be lit as a beacon for them. The painting depicts the terrifying storm, dark clouds and flashes of lightning illuminating the foundering ships. Peter the Great is in the foreground, standing on the rocky shore, facing the ships

(N.S. Barsamov, *Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii 1817–1900* [Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1962], pp. 67, 180, 195; N.S. Barsamov, *Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii 1817–1900* [Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1983], pp. 19, 20). See also G.N. Gol'dovskii, *Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii: zhivopis', risunki, akvareli iz muzeev Sankt-Peterburga* [*Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii: Paintings, Drawings, and Watercolors from St. Petersburg Museums*] [St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei, 2000], pp. 5, 45, and plate 17). His back is to the bonfire. With his left hand he makes a staying gesture to the people around the bonfire. One holds brushwood to place on the bonfire, another holds a lit torch aloft, a third awaits the signal to light his torch. Today the painting may be seen in the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg; for a review of the exhibit see Barsamov, *Aivazovskii* 1983, p. 20.

716. Aivazovskii (see Image 178) executed twenty-seven paintings during 1846, many of which were influenced by his recent trip to Constantinople and travel by sea along the shores of Asia Minor and the Greek Archipelago (Barsamov, *Aivazovskii* 1962, p. 65). In 1846, he also fulfilled commissions for views of Sevastopol, Feodosia, Kerch, and Odessa, and a series of battle paintings (sea battles at Reval, Vyborg, and Krasnaia Gorka, and two variants of the battle at Chesmé), *The Loss of the Frigate “Ingermanland”* (*Gibel' fregata “Ingermanlanda”*), and the abovementioned *Peter I at Krasnaia Gorka Lighting a Bonfire on the Shore As a Beacon to His Foundering Ships*. This was the first large group of paintings by Aivazovskii having as their subject the history of the fleet (Barsamov, *Aivazovskii* 1962, pp. 65, 66–67).

Aivazovskii executed two paintings of Constantinople in 1846: *Constantinople (Konstantinopl')* and *View of Constantinople by Moonlight (Vid Konstantinopolia pri lunnom osveshchenii)* (see Images 181–182). Also executed in 1846 were *View of Odessa (Vid Odessy)* (see Image 180), *The Port of Cronstadt (Kronshtadtskii port)*, *The Port of the City of Revel' (Port goroda Revelia)*, and *The Port of Helsingfors (Gel'singforskii port)* (Gol'dovskii, “Aivazovskii,” pp. 44, 58, and plates 14, 15, and 20; Bulgakov, *Aivazovskii*, p. 41). They are probably among the paintings Anna Whistler was referring to.

717. In her 1993 PhD thesis, Caroline S.H. Nutty proposes that it was largely due to the influence of the Whistlers that Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226) became interested in art. The Aivazovskii exhibit was “the first documentation of Harrison actually attending an art exhibition, and it occurred in Russia in the company of the Whistlers” (Caroline S.H. Nutty, “Joseph Harrison, Jr. (1810–1874): Philadelphia Art Collector,” 2 vols.

- [PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1993], vol. 1, pp. 145–146). He and his wife, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Image 227), spent this day at the Whistlers' home.
718. The sitting on Friday, 7/19 March, was Willie's second sitting for his portrait. The first sitting had been on 1/13 March. Classrooms and pensioners' (gold-medal students') quarters were on the third floor of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. Koritskii (see Images 167–170) was not a gold-medal student, but was closely associated with Karl P. Briullov (see Image 173), academician, mentor, and family friend.
719. James had not been out of the house for nine weeks. He was permitted by Dr. James Rogers to take a drive on 8/20 March, the day the exhibit closed. There is nothing to suggest that he went to see it then.
720. The Palm Market in 1847 commenced on Thursday, 13/25 March. Russian Orthodox Easter occurred on Sunday, 23 March / 4 April. Anna Whistler made no further comments about Easter 1847. See Images 378–379 for icons representing these feast days.
721. Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439) visited the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225) on Tuesday, 11/23 March 1847.
722. Anna Whistler apparently meant to write “between.”
723. Nicholas I (see Images 420–423) visited the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225) on 4/16 March 1847, which was a Tuesday. See Major G.W. Whistler to General J.G. Swift, St. Petersburg, April 8/20, 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers; J. Harrison Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, March 7/20 [sic] 1847, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 51–54; and Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 276–277. The emperor was accompanied by Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' (Count K), Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (the Herétier), and Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (Grand Duke Constantine), as well as unnamed members of the Court (see Images 243, 425, 436). Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229) was the engineer on the train. While relying partly on Anna Whistler's diaries, Haywood pointed out that although she wrote that “the Héretier,” Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich, was present at Aleksandrofsky, Harrison later wrote “that at the time he was in the Caucasus and inspected the factory only later” (Haywood, p. 283n86).

724. The day after the emperor's visit to the American works was 5/17 March.
725. The letters conferring the award and Major Whistler's response are to be found in RGIA: Fond 207, op. 5, d. 346. O nagrazhdenii lits uchastvuiushchikh v postroenii S-P-M. zh. d. 4 marta 1847 g. – 21 marta 1847g. [Concerning the awards made to persons participating in the building of the St. P.-M. r.r. 4 March 1847 – 21 March 1847] (16 March – 2 April NS)].

Major Whistler wrote on 11 March (OS) 1847, to Count Kleinmikhel': "of this high mark of His Majesty the Emperors approbation, I shall ever feel proud, and for the very flattering light in which it has pleased Your Excellency to represent my services, and the very kind manner in which you yourself presented me with the insignia of the order, and communicated to me His Majestys approbation, I shall ever feel most grateful, and I pray Your Excellency to receive my most respectful and sincere acknowledgments" (RGIA: Fond 207, op. 5, d. 346, fols. 19 r and v). On the Russian translation of the letter, Kleinmikhel' wrote in Russian: "Have read it with pleasure" (RGIA: Fond 207, op. 5, d. 346, fol. 20r).

The Order of St. Anne (see Image 252) was founded in 1735 by Duke Karl-Friedrich of Holstein-Gottorp in honor of his recently deceased wife, Anna Petrovna, Peter the Great's daughter. It came to be part of the system of Russian orders in 1797 on the day Paul I (see Image 417) was crowned emperor. The motto of the order was "To Those Who Love Justice, Piety and Faith," and the order was awarded for "great deeds in civil service and labors for the public benefit." The Order of St. Anne (2nd class) was a red enameled four-armed cross with a gold border and azure ornamentation between the arms of the cross. In a central medallion was "a painted image of St. Anne in a landscape." The second-class order was worn around the neck on a red ribbon with a yellow stripe running down each side of it but leaving a red edge. As of 1829, an Imperial crown was added to the first and second class of the order and "was attached to the upper arm of the cross" (Nancy Eickel, ed., *Moscow: Treasures and Traditions* [Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service; Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1990], pp. 141, 258; Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, pp. 136–137; V.A. Durov, *Russkie i sovetskie boerye nagrody* [*Russian and Soviet Military Awards*] [Moscow: Istoricheskii muzei, Vneshtorgizdat, 1990], pp. 5, 36–39). A snippet of the

- scarlet and yellow ribbon without the cross is in GUL: Whistler Collection, W662.
726. Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (see Image 247), head of the Northern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, and Colonel Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (see Image 248), head of the Southern Administration, were promoted to the rank of major general (RGIA: Fond 446, op. 6, d. 2. Vysochaishie prikazy ianv. 9, 1847 – dek. 6, 1847 [Highest Orders Jan. 9, 1847 – Dec. 6, 1847]).
727. Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226), Thomas DeKay Winans (see Image 229), and Andrew Eastwick (see Image 233) each received a diamond ring from the emperor. The value was equivalent to \$750 US, and it was possible to receive cash instead (Joseph Harrison Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandrofsky, March 18/30, 1847, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Joseph Harrison Jr. to sister, Martha, Alexandroffsky, April 4/16, 1847). The letters conferring the awards and the responses of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick are to be found in the same file as those concerning Major Whistler's Order of St. Anne (2nd class) (RGIA: Fond 207, op. 5, d. 346[see Note 725 above for document title]).
728. Persons mentioned in the entry for [Thursday] April 15<sup>th</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: the Whistlers' laundress (Pratchka); Dr. James Rogers, the Whistlers' physician (Doct Rogers, our good doct); and General Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (gen.<sup>l</sup> Melnikoff).
729. Sarah Jane Mirrielees's (b. 1830) mother (M<sup>ES</sup> M) was her step-mother, Jane (Muir) Mirrielees, as of 21 July 1844 her father, Archibald Mirrielees's (Aberdeen 7 September 1797 – London 13 February 1877), third wife (Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, pp. 18, 19–29). Her aunt was her step-mother's sister, Mary Muir (1815 – buried 24 August 1896), who had come to Russia in the spring of 1846 (Pitcher, pp. 18, 19–29, 31, 33–34; H. Pitcher, Cromer, Norfolk, to E. Harden, 11 July 2000). Sarah Jane Mirrielees's biological mother was Archibald Mirrielees's first wife, Sarah Newbold (Spurr) Mirrielees (d. 1835). They were married in Sheffield, England, on 14 February 1828 (Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, pp. 14, 16).
730. The lack of stability of the local climate has almost become proverbial for determining the lack of character of the people. Sudden changes in the atmospheric temperature in Petersburg are so varied and rapid that it is impossible to guarantee in the

morning what the weather will be like in the afternoon. The distinguishing feature of the climate consists in a gradual periodic movement of the average temperature of the months (Pushkarev, *Nikolaevskii Peterburg*, p. 35).

731. The Sunday before was 20 April / 2 May 1847.
732. Tuesday and Wednesday were 22 April / 4 May and 23 April / 5 May 1847.
733. Anna Whistler, James, and Willie saw Nicholas I reviewing a regiment on Friday, 25 April / 7 May 1847.
734. Mary (Grant) Gwyer (c. 1811 – 25 November / 7 December 1894) was the wife of Samuel Keate Gwyer (c. 1808 – St. Petersburg 27 November 1879 ), whom she had married on 27 January / 8 February 1842 (PREC STP, nos. 5139, 500). They lived on the English Embankment (*BRBC STP 1845*, fol. 21; the house number is not given).
735. Anna Whistler left a blank here for the name of the regiment.
736. The lady was Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna (Maximiliana-Wilhelmina-Augusta-Sofia-Maria) (Darmstadt 27 July / 8 August 1824 – St. Petersburg 22 May / 3 June 1880; see Images 426–427), Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt, the wife of Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (Moscow 17/29 April 1818 – St. Petersburg 1/13 March 1881; see Image 425), with their children, Grand Duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich (Tsarskoe Selo 8/20 September 1843 – Nice 12/24 April 1865; see Image 429) and Grand Duchess Aleksandra Aleksandrovna (Tsarskoe Selo 18/30 August 1842 – St. Petersburg 16/28 June 1849). Grand Duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich died in Nice of cerebrosppinal meningitis (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, p. 266). His brother, Grand Duke Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (St. Petersburg 26 February / 10 March 1845 – Livadia 20 October / 1 November 1894), became Alexander III (Kuz'min, p. 82).
737. On 11/23 April 1847, His Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich (St. Petersburg 9/21 September 1827 – Pavlovsk 13/25 January 1892) and Her Highness Princess Alexandra-Frederica-Henrietta-Antoinna-Marianna of Saxe-Altenburg (Altenburg 26 June / 8 July 1830 – St. Petersburg 23 June / 6 July 1911) were betrothed (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 88, Tuesday, April 22 [May 4 NS], 1847, p. 409). She received the name of Aleksandra Iosifovna (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, pp. 94, 170). See Images 436–438.

738. On 10/22 April 1847 in St. Petersburg, Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna (see Images 426–427) gave birth to a son, who was given the name Vladimir (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 80, Saturday, April 12 [April 24 NS], 1847, p. 365). Vladimir Aleksandrovich was christened on 30 April / 12 May (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 94, Tuesday, April 29 [May 11 NS], 1847, p. 433, and no. 95, Wednesday, April 30 [May 12 NS], 1847, p. 437). He died in St. Petersburg on 4/17 February 1909 (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, p. 120).
739. On Tuesday, 18 May 1847, neighbors came to the Whistler home to celebrate Major Whistler's 47th birthday. Only Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Image 266) is identified.
740. Anna Whistler, writing to James on his forty-second birthday, mentioned these gifts and "the established custom ... of presenting ... gifts" to others on one's birthday (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Talbot House [Hastings], 11 July 1876, GUL: Whistler Collection, W552).
741. It has not been possible to locate the notes that James and Willie wrote to their father on his birthday.
742. The Demidov Home for the Care of Workers was located on the Moika opposite the New Holland building. It was founded in 1833 by Anatolii Nikolaevich Demidov (1812–1870) and was under the "August Patronage" of the empress. It consisted of four divisions: (1) for the care of workers; (2) for the upbringing of poor young women; (3) for the care of young female children; and (4) for the feeding of the poor. In the wing of the Home along the Moika there was a store, open every day, for the sale of needlework and for the exhibition of such articles at the end of Lent. The articles were made by women who either received work from the institution to do at home or who brought their own work to sell in the store. The work consisted of custom orders for the sewing of linens, dresses, gloves, and embroidery. The young women in the second division received an education in a few subjects, but particular attention was paid to perfecting their skills in needlework.

A special exhibit was held annually for the sale of needlework produced by these young women, who were the pensioners of members of the Imperial family, of the founder of the Home, and of the Imperial Philanthropic Society, etc. (Bur'ianov, *Progulka s det'mi*, vol. 2, 102–107; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1846, pp. 187–189). Handmade work, made in the men's division, was also available for sale at the Demidov store.



Anna Whistler wrote that she bought the gift “as” instead of “at” Demidov’s.

743. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* carried the announcement that on 5 May (17 May NS) at 10 a.m. the locomotive of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway pulled several cars to the village of Kolpino (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 101, Thursday, May 8 [May 20 NS], 1847, p. 465). The formal opening took place on 7/19 – 9/21 May (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 337).
744. Anna Whistler seems to have written two entries for Wednesday, 19 May: the previous one for the birthday of her husband and this one, the day of arrival of the Ingersolls and the Bliss family (see her entry a year later for Friday the 19th of May 1848). The second entry is erroneously dated 21 May. See Bliss in Appendix E.
745. “Monday – May 17th 1848 [*sic*: 1847] I could hardly believe my senses when I came on deck this morning! ... The land in the far distance, covered with snow: fields of ice about us, ploughing our way through ... I never before felt such pinching cold! and yet this is the 17th of May! ... We fell in with several ships, all more or less; ice bound ... Thursday [*sic*: Tuesday] May 18th. At about 3 o'clock this morning, our steamer came to a stop! – we were some 40 miles from Cronstadt, and the ice floes permitted us to go ‘thus far and no further’. Some two hundred sailing vessels, and the steamers keep us company! the cold is more intense than yesterday, and remaining on deck is out of the question. At noon a steamer from Cronstadt to Stettin is in sight, and is forcing its way towards us thro’ the ice pack. We ‘fired up’, and started breaking the paddles of the side wheels, but reaching Cronstadt in the evening” (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 1, 2, 3). See also *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 102, Friday, May 9 [May 21 NS], 1847, p. 469.
746. The reference is to Benjamin Ropes Prince (1822–1902). See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E and Image 270.
747. The American envoy, Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll (New Haven, CT 8 February 1789 – New Haven, CT 26 August 1872), and his son, Colin Macrae Ingersoll (New Haven, CT 11 March 1819 – New Haven, CT 13 September 1903; see Image 280), who was his private secretary ad interim attached to the Legation, arrived in St. Petersburg on Wednesday, 19 May 1847, as did the Bliss family (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols 4–5, 8). Anna Whistler’s entry of May 23rd, in which the date is wrong, breaks off in mid-sentence, and the next entry was written in Preston, so

she did not have time to record that on Thursday 15/27 May they entertained the Ingersolls, who met at their home “most of the American Colony ... the Ropes’ of Boston, and Mr. Gillebrand ... who married Miss Ropes” (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 16). See Bliss in Appendix E.

748. The *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* carried the following announcement of the departure of the Bliss family: “George Bliss and wife Mary, son George and daughter Sarah; accompanying them a courier, Antonio Saliba, foreigner.” Their domicile was in the First Admiralty District, Fourth Ward, No. 240–41 (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 103, Saturday, May 10 [May 22 NS], 1847, p. 476). This means they were staying at the misses Benson’s boarding house at 240–241 English Embankment. As they were not staying long in St. Petersburg, they placed the first of the three required departure announcements soon after they arrived. The other two appeared in *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 104, Sunday, May 11 [May 23 NS], 1847, p. 480 and no. 106, Thursday, May 15 [May 27 NS], 1847. See also BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fols. 7–8; *Autobiography of George Bliss*, pt. 1, N-YHS: Bliss Papers, fols. 33, 38–41; and Bliss in Appendix E.
749. The date is Friday, 21 May, St. Nicholas Day (9 May OS), an official holiday. The feast day was dedicated to the Springtime Nicholas (*Nikola Vesnii*), the protector of seamen, fishermen, commerce, and agriculture (Fedosiuk, *Chto neponiatno u klassikov*, p. 21). He was also considered an intercessor for the peasants, who believed that if you asked St. Nicholas for something he would tell the Savior (Rozhnova, *Radonitsa*, pp. 73–4, 171). The celebration Anna Whistler mentions was an annual pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Nicholas. After a Mass, there was a procession with the miracle-working icon from the church where it was kept (see Image 410) “to and from a chapel slightly over three miles away, where, it was said, the holy image had first appeared” (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 277). The opening of the sixteen-mile section of railway from St. Petersburg to Kolpino “was set to coincide with this religious festival” (Haywood, p. 277). After the procession, the local fair was declared open (“Poezdka po novoi zheleznoi doroge. Pis'mo k redaktoru” [“A Ride on the New Railway. Letter to the Editor”], *Illustratsiia [Illustration]* (June 1847): pp. 345–347). The depot that Major Whistler had to be at by 8 a.m. several mornings that week was a temporary station built next to the permanent building, which “was still under construction.” The opening of the St.

Petersburg–Kolpino section took place on 7–9 / 19–21 May 1847:

For first-class passengers there was the Imperial car and for second-class the three recently completed passenger cars. In each of these cars 42 benches for 84 passengers were installed. For third-class passengers, 24 flat cars were used, each having 26 benches for 78 passengers, thus providing a total capacity (excluding first class) for 2,124 passengers. The first passenger train from St. Petersburg arrived at Kolpino about 10 a.m. on May 5, with the fares being 75, 50 and 25 kopecks for the three classes. The railway was not officially opened until May 7. The day of greatest traffic was ... May 9, which was a cloudy day with the morning temperature slightly below freezing. Nevertheless large crowds gathered at the St. Petersburg terminal. ... Three trains were dispatched, taking about 45 minutes to make the journey, a start-to-stop average of about 21 m.p.h. (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, pp. 277–278).

This section of the railway was “the only part ... opened to the public for another three years” (Haywood, p. 278), and the only completed part Major Whistler lived to see.

750. Anna Whistler and her sons landed at Hull on 12 June 1847. The three announcements of the departure from St. Petersburg of “Anna Whistler, wife of an Engineer, with two sons, James and William, and a servant, Mary Brennar [*sic*: Brennan], foreigners resident at 237 English Embankment,” appeared in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 108, Saturday, May 17 [May 29], 1847, p. 478; 110, Tuesday, May 20 [June 1], 1847, p. 508; and 112, Thursday, May 22 [June 3], 1847, p. 518.
751. Anna Whistler’s letters to her husband, written on 8 June 1847 on board the steamer *Nikolai* and on 10 June 1847 at the Hotel “Stadt Hamburg” in Lübeck, give greater detail about their life on board the ship and their stay in Lübeck. The letters are particularly interesting for the expression in them of Anna Whistler’s deep love for her husband and her analysis of her own character and that of James (Anna Whistler to George W. Whistler, Tuesday morning June 8<sup>th</sup> 1847 Steamer Nicolai; “Staat Hamburg” Lubec June 10<sup>th</sup> 1847, GUL: Whistler Collection, W353).
752. The Vittoria Hotel stood at the corner of Nelson and Queen streets, facing the River Humber. It was named for Wellington’s

victory at Vittoria, news of which was received in Hull on the day in 1803 that the hotel was ready for opening (*Port of Hull Monthly Trade Review* 13, no. 6 [June 1917]: p. 15).

753. Although the Hull directories and burgess rolls contain no reference to William Ropes or to the firm of William Ropes, the directories of 1846 and 1848 list two Bamfords: (1) “Bamford Charles, wine and spirit merchant, 76, Lowgate; h. 3 George street”; and (2) “—— [Bamford] Charles, jun., hide & bark merchant, 32, High street; h., *Cottingham Hall*” (F. White and Co., *General Directory of Kingston-Upon-Hull, and the City of York, Sheffield, UK*: F. White, 1846; William Stephenson, ed., *Stephenson’s Directory of Kingston-Upon-Hull and Its Environs* (Hull: W. Stephenson, 1848). Mr. Ropes’s letters were more likely to the second Bamford, who sent his clerk to assist Anna Whistler.
754. They took the train to York on Sunday, 13 June 1847.
755. A description of York Cathedral (see Image 461), or York Minster, as it was called after it was rebuilt following the fire of 20 May 1840, is given in *The Stranger’s Guide Through the City of York, Describing the Magnificent Cathedral, the Parish Churches, St. Mary’s Abbey, the Yorkshire Museum, and Every Object of Interest in the City, Together with an Historical Account from the Earliest Times* (York, England: Blyth and Moore, [c. 1846], pp. 18–28. On Wednesday, 20 May 1840, “the whole of the nave” burned down (*Stranger’s Guide* 1846, p. 29). It had been fully reconstructed by the time Anna Whistler, James, and Willie saw it.

[The west front of the Cathedral consists] of two uniform steeples, 196 feet in height, connected by a lofty gable, surmounted by an open battlement ... In the centre division is the grand entrance into the church, by two spacious doors, separated by a stone mullion, and over these is a splendid window ... The whole front is 124 feet in breadth ... Above the centre door sits a figure of the founder, William de Melton, bearing a model of a church on his hand; the tracery of the arch represents the story of Adam and Eve in paradise ... In the South tower hang a peal of twelve bells ... In the North tower is suspended a stupendous bell, “The Great St. Peter,” ... cast on the 18th of January, 1845, ... the largest ever cast in this country ... The usual place of entrance, and the oldest part of the minster, is the South Transept, a fine specimen of early English architecture ... the Lantern Tower separates the Transepts; it is lighted by eight windows of stained

glass, ... the roof, rising to a height of 186 feet from the floor, is beautifully adorned with tracery ... The North Transept though of a later date, differs little in style from the South. At the end is a window of exquisite beauty ... the painted glass represents embroidery ... In one corner of this Transept is the entrance to the Chapter House ... an octagon of 63 feet in diameter, the height to the middle knot of the roof is 67 ft. 10 inches, without the interruption of a single pillar, being entirely dependent for support on a pin geometrically placed in the centre. The outside, however, is strengthened by eight buttresses ... Below the windows are 44 stalls for the canons who composed the chapter ... Here you have figures of men and beasts in the most antic postures; ... the Great Western Aisle or Nave, is the most spacious of any church in Europe, except St. Peter's, at Rome ... It is divided into three aisles, the pillars forming eight equal arches; the foliage in the capitals exhibit a great variety of design, no one capital having the same foliage around ... an open gallery runs on both sides of the nave, intended for spectators to view the grand ceremonies of the Romish church ... The view of the interior of this stupendous pile is inconceivably magnificent ... Upward, the eye is dazzled with the immensity of space; in front, is a vista of 524 feet in length, and at the extremity the noble east window ... The West window is ... a perfect specimen of the leaf tracery that marks the style of the 14th century ... But the glory of the whole is *the Great East Window* ... 75 ft. high, and 30 feet 9 inches broad ... Each pane of glass is nearly a yard square; the figures are in general from 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 4 inches high, the heads beautifully drawn. A stone gallery runs across dividing the window into two parts. The view from this elevation is inconceivably grand; the whole interior of the church, a vista of more than 500 feet is before you, with the beautiful west window at the termination ... The approaches to the minster have latterly been much improved by the removal of a number of old houses which stood so near the church as to preclude all view of the building. (*Stranger's Guide* 1846, pp. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28)

756. The "Station of the York and North Midlands Railway Company [was] a handsome building" occupying "the site of a monastery of mendicant friars, founded by Henry III," and "anciently called

Les Toftes or Kinge's Toftes" (*Stranger's Guide* 1846, p. 45). At this time, the location was called "Toft Green."

757. The Royal Hotel was at the corner of Museum and Blake Streets, more or less opposite the present site of the North Yorkshire County Library (*Slater's Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire* (Manchester, UK: Isaac Slater, 1849), p. 557).
758. The Royal Hotel was often known as Etridge's Royal Hotel or Etridge's Hotel, from the name of its proprietor, Thomas Etridge (*Slater's Directory of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire*, p. 557).
759. A Yorkshire farmer's breakfast is described in Joan Poulson, *Yorkshire Cookery* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1979), p. 20, but there is no literature in the local studies collection of the York Library about what comprised Etridge's Yorkshire breakfast.
760. It is not possible to determine who conducted the services on 13 June 1847, the day of Anna Whistler's visit, nor what the scheme of service was, as there is a gap in the service registers between 1837 and 1872. The earliest order of service in the York Minster Archives is 1861, and the earliest scheme of service 1881 (Peter Young, York Minster Archives, to E. Harden, 16 May 2001).
761. The previous Sabbath was Sunday, 6 June 1847.
762. Anna Whistler seems to mean that they left Russia ten days before the Sabbath spent in York (13 June).
763. Kate Prince, who had come to America in 1827 from England at the age of seven with her parents and only sister, Leslie (bap. Manchester 1812), had been taken back by her father, John Dynely Prince to attend the Manor School in York in 1833, when she was thirteen. She returned to Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1836, perhaps because Leslie Prince, who was in England in 1836, died in Liverpool on 25 May. Her body was sent home for burial (M. Humberston, supervising librarian, Genealogy and Local History Library, Connecticut Valley Historical Museum, Springfield, MA, to E. Harden, 20 May 2002; *Vital Records of Lowell Massachusetts to the End of the year 1849*, vol. 4: *Deaths* [Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1930], p. 245; *The Liverpool Chronicle*, Saturday, May 28, 1836; Kate (Prince) Livermore to Elizabeth R. Pennell, September 5, 1906, LC: P-W, box 292, fol. 2898v). It has not been possible to ascertain where she was buried. A local historian says she cannot have been buried in Lowell Cemetery, which did not open until 1841; nor is she listed as reburied there (Catherine Goodwin, Chelmsford, MA, to E. Harden, 15 September 2002). However,

the *Vital Records of Lowell, MA* cite “G.R.5” as her place of burial. For information on the Manor School see following Note.

764. St. Mary’s Abbey (see Image 462) was a monastery founded in the time of Edward the Confessor for a small community of Benedictine monks, and dedicated to St. Olave. The dedication was changed to St. Mary by William II, who granted large tracts of land and great privileges to the fraternity, which subsequently became one of the most extensive and powerful monastic establishments in the kingdom. After being “totally destroyed by fire in 1137,” and lying “in ruins for about 140 years,” it “was rebuilt on a scale of grandeur and extent unequalled in that age,” its “buildings ... inclosing an area of nearly three quarters of a mile. The church was ... equal in size to most cathedrals ... Excavations indicate that the choir and nave were of equal proportions, having eight windows on each ... The principal ruin is a part of [this] church ... and is situate near the church-yard of St. Olave; it consists of eight light gothic window arches, with carved capitals, but the tracery and the greater part of the mullions are decayed; a small part of each end of the church also remains” (*Stranger’s Guide* 1846, p. 31).

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society, founded in 1822, finding that the collection of its small museum had outgrown the building in which it was housed, “obtained a grant of three acres of the abbey ground on which to erect a building for a Museum, and for the formation of a botanic garden.” “The Society later purchased about six acres that included the abovementioned ruins, thus preserving them from further dilapidation. The Yorkshire Museum opened on 2 February 1830 and housed not only geological, mineral and zoological collections, but “a variety of fragments of beautiful sculpture from the adjoining ruins.” The “highly cultivated garden” Anna Whistler refers to, in the midst of which the ruins were located, was the museum’s gardens. “The grounds [were] entered through Museum-street, through a handsome gateway of the Doric order” and were easily accessible from their hotel on the corner of Museum and Blake Streets (*Stranger’s Guide* 1846, pp. 34, 35).

After the dissolution of monasteries, Henry VIII “ordered a palace to be built out of [the] ruins [of St. Mary’s Abbey], as a residence for the lord president of the north,” to be called “the King’s Manor.” “James I ... ordered it to be enlarged, and converted into a regal palace,” which he “and succeeding sovereigns” used, although it continued to serve as the lord president’s residence. It served also as “the residence of the

[city's] military governors," as a Catholic chapel in the reign of James II, and as the King's Mint. The "site of St. Mary's abbey, including the *Manor*," was granted to a series of lessees, starting at the end of the seventeenth century. Beginning with its lease by Tancred Robinson, Esq., "the greater part of the palace [was] rented from the family, for several successive generations, by the ancestors of Mrs. and Miss Tate," who, in 1818, were the occupiers and were running "the well known and highly respectable boarding-school for young ladies, ... long ... patronised by some of the principal families in York, and it's [*sic*] county." "Between 1822 and 1825, the school was "conducted by Mrs. and Miss Roddam" (William Hargrove, *History and Description of the Ancient City of York*, 2 vols. [York, UK: W. Alexander, 1818], vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 576, 577, 578, 579; *The Stranger's Guide Through the City of York and its Cathedral* [York, UK: Bellerby's New Circulating Library, 1825], p. 104).

765. "The Manor house is entered by an arched gateway near Bootham bar, through a spacious court, leading to an inner court, in which are the principal buildings, lately converted into a School for the Blind" (*Stranger's Guide* 1846, pp. 32–33). This school was established in 1833 as a memorial to William Wilberforce, who was "for 28 years representative in parliament for the County of York" (*Stranger's Guide* 1846, p. 33). The Manor house and contiguous grounds were leased for ninety-nine years to establish the school for the blind and the first two pupils were taken in on 6 October 1835. In 1846, there were about seventy pupils of both sexes (*Stranger's Guide* 1846, p. 33). The boarding school for young ladies seems, however, to have existed alongside the School for the Blind for at least the first ten years of the latter's life, i.e., until about the mid-1840s: a pamphlet about the School for the Blind, dated 1883, states that the "ladies' boarding school ... was in existence and in good repute until within the last forty years" (*Stranger's Guide* 1846, p. 33).
766. The Deanery that stood in 1847 was completed in 1830. It stood on the north side of the Minster and had a conservatory built up against the Minster Library. It was described in 1978 reminiscences of the late 1920s as a "large, solid, square, 3-storied, symmetrical, mock-gothic pile ... in grey stone with an imposing porch and high carved chimneys" (Bernard Barr, lecture, York Minster Library, 1983, ts, p. 19).
767. This is Rev. Canon George Trevor, DD (1809 – Marton-in-Cleveland 8 June 1888), rector of All Saints Pavement York,



1847–1868; Magdalen Hall, BA 1846, MA 1847; DD Hartford College, US 1847; honorary MA 1880, honorary DD Durham 1886; Chaplain E.I.C.S. 1836–1846; Canon and Prebendary of York 1847; rector of Burton St. Peter 1868–1871; rector of Beeford, Yorkshire, 1871 until his death (*Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 1438; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Trevor, George”). Anna Whistler went later in the day with Willie and Mary Brennan to hear Rev. Canon Trevor at All Saints Church but was unable to remain for the service because it was to take place an hour later than she had anticipated.

768. Scarborough (see Image 463) was called in 1841 by Dr. Granville, author of *The Spas of England*, the “Queen [of] English sea-bathing places” and “a bay of Naples on the north-east coast of England.” It was a marine spa, “combin[ing] the advantages of mineral springs with those of a convenient and luxurious sea-bathing shore.”

As described by Granville, Scarborough had only since the late 1820s been making improvements in its offerings. Granville made reference to the “New Spa,” “which, like a turreted castle, is strongly seated on a sea wall nigh the shore, at the foot of [a] high bank covered with green, beneath Olive Mount.” Inside were “two mineral springs,” which “were formerly very insufficiently protected by a mean-looking building, from the inroads of the sea.” “Between this spot, and another equally high ground opposite, beyond which stand the two springs ... [is] a chasm four hundred feet wide ... with a depth of nearly eighty feet.” Cliff Bridge has been built across the chasm, “resting upon light iron arches, and supported by three square stone insulated piers seventy feet high; ... a lofty, open, iron railing serves as a protecting parapet along each of its sides.” “On the broad sands of [the] shore [below,] the Scarborough races are held,” when the tide recedes; and the bridge, from which the public can watch the races, has been called “the grandest *stand* of any race-ground in the world.” “In a small, sunken court of the castellated [Gothic] building, surrounded by stone walls, are the lion-mouthed spouts, known as the ‘North and South Wells or Spas’. [They are] placed at some little distance from each other, from which the mineral water is continually pouring.”

If one stands with one’s back “turned to the sea and its sweeping bays, ... the eye [is directed] to the toll-gate ... at the furthest extremity of the bridge [, where] the circular platform of ‘the Cliff’ expands. backed by its oblong square, formed of neat dwelling-houses.” On the left, one sees “the long side and square

tower of Christchurch," a recently constructed building. Also visible is "the beginning of a projected grand crescent," begun in 1833, which, when completed, "will mask an unsightly range of stables erected on the same ridge." The Crescent was completed in 1857, but not according to the plan originally projected.

"Descending towards the sloping ravine at the bottom of which runs the road that passes under the bridge, to reach the Strand, the ridge ... terminates in a green knoll," where the Scarborough Museum, "a rotunda of Roman-Doric structure," is located. It is constructed of Hackness Stone, considered both beautiful and valuable because "in the quarry it is very soft, easily chiselled, and readily fashioned into architectural decoration; but ... soon becomes hard [and durable] on exposure to the air." The museum belongs to the Scarborough Philosophical Society. Built "for the display of British geological specimens ... the principal room, ... thirty-five feet high, and lighted from an aperture in the dome, ... contains sloping shelves, in which are displayed fossil specimens, such as corals; recent shells, and birds and animals." "[Every] part of the museum can be seen at once," because of this arrangement.

If one's "eye now returns to the centre of the Cliff Bridge, ... to the right or north side," one sees "[a] bold line of cliffs ... emerg[ing] from within the opening of Scarborough harbour, and ... project[ing] into the sea." The summit of this line of cliffs "rises higher the farther it stands out, until upon its loftiest point, ... more than three hundred feet above the highest tide, it exhibits the once famed, but now ruinous castle, within the surrounding walls of which lie concealed nineteen acres of smiling green land." One will see the parish "church of St. Mary, with its square tower ... farther inland, add[ing] to the effect of this picture by its contrast with the remains of the embattled walls of the castle; beyond which, the outline, gradually descending to the horizon, terminates at some distance with the piers of Scarborough harbour."

"Here [will be found] the many and heavy clusters of red brick dwellings of the humbler classes, which are thickly huddled together right and left of the opening of the harbour, spread some way inland, and form the primitive and old town of Scarborough."

Granville then goes on to praise the cold and warm baths; the strand with its walkers and equestrians in the early morning; the bathing-machines "on their broad wheels"; the outstanding fish to be had for dinner; the lack of dancing, sociability, and theater,

but the availability of inland and water excursions, and angling. The *Gazette* shows a predominance of farmer aristocracy “from the East and West ridings” until August, replaced at that point by “those of a superior class.” Also lauded is the availability of jet, quarried at Whitby and cut into ornaments in Scarborough.

Finally, Granville praises the climate of Scarborough. Despite “its exposure on the east coast, . . . winds in an easterly direction” do not last longer here than in other areas. Scarborough is sheltered by hills that make “the winters remarkably mild,” and it is “open to the whole day’s sun” (Granville, *Spas of England*, vol. 1, *Northern Spas*, pp. 150, 157, 158–159, 160, 162, 175, 176–177, 179–181, 183–192).

In 1841, the population of Scarborough was about 9500; in 1851, about 12,000 (Arthur Rowntree, ed., *The History of Scarborough* [London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1931], p. 281). “Houses were built on the east side of St. Nicholas Cliff in the [eighteen] forties with gardens on the undercliff” (Rowntree, p. 286–287); this is where Mrs. Ropes and Anna Whistler and their children were staying. “The earliest recorded display of fireworks took place [there] in 1844” (Rowntree, p. 275). See also Jack Binns, *The History of Scarborough: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (Pickering, Yorkshire: Blackthorn, 2001), pp. iii, 234–235, 366–369.

769. Psalms 107:8: “Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!”
770. For Scarborough, see Note 768 above .
771. This is probably a reference to Andrew’s Temperance Hotel, 22 Newborough Street, Scarborough.
772. In the 1851 Census for Scarborough, the Wilsons, who owned 5 Cliff Terrace Cottages, appear as follows: “4 St. Nicholas Cliff—William Wilson (44, born Limehouse in London, a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, London, 22 years a General Practitioner), his wife Elizabeth (49?, Lodging House Keeper, born at East Ayton, near Scarborough) and their children, William Henry (16), Elizabeth Jane (13) and Walter (12), together with William’s mother, Philadelphia Alice (71) and sister-in-law, Mary Taylor (55, widow).”
773. *The Scarborough Gazette and List of Visitors*, which appeared weekly, confirms the stay in Scarborough of Mrs. Ropes and family of St. Petersburg in the issues of 5, 12, 19, and 26 June 1847, at 5 Cliff Terrace Cottages, owned by Mr. Wilson. Mrs. Ropes is Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes, the Whistlers’ neighbor across the hall in St.

Petersburg. With her were her four children: Ellen Gellibrand Ropes, Mary Emily Ropes, Louisa Harriet Ropes, and William Hall Ropes. It was not possible to find printed confirmation in the *Gazette* of Anna Whistler's stay of one week. Her diary, however, confirms that she moved after a few hours from the Temperance Hotel to the Cliff Terrace Cottages and in a letter to his father James mentions "M<sup>rs</sup> Rope's cottage ... where we passed last week so delightfully!" (James Whistler to Major Whistler, Preston, Monday, June 21, 1847, GUL: Whistler Collection, W654).

774. Mrs. Ropes's mother was Harriet (Parkinson) Hall of Leeds. See Ropes, Gellibrand, Prince, Hall in Appendix E.
775. Cornelians, or carnelians, are a variety of chalcedony, a semi-transparent quartz, that has a clear deep-red, flesh-red, or reddish-white color. It polishes well, and is much used for seals because it is hard and tough.
776. This is William Hall Ropes. The Russian word for "nurse" is spelled "nianiushka" and pronounced "nyah'nyooshkuh."
777. The death of Emily Hall in 1846 is dealt with at length earlier in the entry for [Wednesday] April 15<sup>th</sup>.
778. Blackpool has a long stretch of coastline that is roughly divided into three areas: the North, Central, and South shores. Anna Whistler, James, Willie, and Mary Brennan had come from Yorkshire to Lancashire to stay in Preston with Anna Whistler's half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley and her husband, John Winstanley, for the summer. Accompanied by Anna Whistler's other half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, who shared a room at the Winstanley home with her, Anna Whistler, James, and Willie traveled to Blackpool without either Mary Brennan, who had gone to Ireland, or Eliza and John Winstanley.
779. According to the 1851 Census for Preston, Eliza and John Winstanley had a housemaid, unmarried, forty-two years old, named Elizabeth Chapman, born in Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland.
780. This is John Winstanley's brother, William Winstanley, MD, (6 December 1772 – 15 May 1852) of West Cliff, Preston. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E and Image 473.
781. Thomas Harper Whitaker, surgeon, of Beck Head, was summoned, as will become clear later in the text (Mannex, *History*,

*Topography, and Directory of Westmorland, and of the Hundreds of Lonsdale and Amounderness in Lancashire, Together with a Descriptive and Geological View of the Whole of the Lake District* [Beverley, UK: W.B. Johnson, 1851], p. 359; *Kendal Mercury Almanac* [no publication information] for 1860 and 1861).

782. This is Richard Stuart Picard (bap. 16 January 1807 – 26 November 1887) of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, husband of John Winstanley's niece, Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
783. Kirkby Lonsdale (see Image 70) was a small market town on the west bank of the Lune River in the district of Cumbria (formerly Westmorland), about fifteen miles North-Northeast of Lancaster. It "had a charter for a market and fair as early as the year 1227" (Mannex, *Westmorland*, p. 348).
784. Calomel (mercurous chloride or protochloride of mercury) was used as a purgative.
785. Reverend Henry Walter McGrath (Dublin 1803 – Torquay 27 July 1884) was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he received his BA (1825) and MA (1830). He became deacon in 1829. He was PC of Walton-le-Dale from 1832 to 1837, and at the time of Anna Whistler's diaries was rector of St. Ann's, Manchester (August 1837 – 1852). He was rector of St. Paul's, Kersal Moor, from May 1852 to 1865. He was "hon. canon of Manchester 1858 to his death." He lived in Torquay from about 1878 until his death. He was the author of "The Sacraments, practically rejected by unitarians" in *Unitarianism Confuted* (1839) (Boase, *Modern English Biography*, vol. 2, p. 606).
786. The Parish Church of Walton-le-Dale was St. Leonard's.
787. March 25, 1847, had been appointed by Queen Victoria as a Day of Humiliation for the famine in Ireland (see Image 203). "The appointing of public fasts in cases of extraordinary danger was a custom coeval with the first institutions of society; it prevailed amongst the Israelites during those cruel wars and persecutions recorded in the Old Testament ... It had pleased the rulers of our nation to appoint this day to be kept as a solemn fast – a day of penitence and humiliation, for one of the severest visitations which could befall a people" ("The Fast Day in the Metropolis," *The Times* [London], Thursday, March 25, 1847).
788. Reverend McGrath is listed as pastor of St. Leonard's in 1832, but "the list is somewhat incomplete ... regarding dates when the duties of the officiating clergy terminated" (Frank Coupe, *Walton-*

- le-Dale: A History of the Village* [Preston, UK: Guardian, 1954], pp. 68, 69). His successor is listed as pastor in 1837 (Coupe, p. 69).
789. See Note 841 below for Henry Francis Beasley.
790. They had lunch on Sunday, 11 July, James's thirteenth birthday, at Cooper Hill (see Image 464), the home in Walton-le-Dale of Charles Swainson (6 July 1780 – 27 April 1866) and his wife, Catherine (Bradshaw) Warbrick Swainson (c. 1782 – between 1847 and 1851), who had married in 1802 (Hope F. Healy, *An Historical Narrative of a Swainson Family From the West Yorkshire and Lancashire Counties of England 1513 to the 1880's* [Decorah, IA: Anundsen, 1993], pp. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107); IGI for Lancashire; *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, April 28, 1866; printed registers of Walton-le-Dale). Charles Swainson was a partner in one of the largest cotton mills in Preston: Swainson, Birley and Co. (see Image 470) (Hope Koontz, "The Swainson and Birley Cotton Manufacturers of Preston from 1790," *The Manchester Genealogist* 28, no. 1 (1992): pp. 13–18; David Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 2nd ed. [Lancaster, UK: Carnegie, 2009], pp. 200, 207). Cooper Hill is discussed in Coupe, *Walton-le-Dale*, p. 170. It is possible that Charles Swainson was already a widower at this time (Healy, *Swainson Family*, p. 105).
791. A letter addressed to Mrs. L. Yates, secretary in the parish office of St. John's Church in Preston, with questions about John and Eliza Winstanley as communicants, including identification of their pew number, and asking for the location of the church's archives, went unanswered.
792. Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth (bap. 6 April 1808 – 28 February 1867) was the wife of Thomas Ainsworth (bap. 27 March 1804 – 28 June 1881), nephew of John Winstanley (Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. xii). She is also mentioned in Eliza Winstanley's diary in Appendix D. See Ainsworth and Stirling in Appendix E.
793. Frances Jane (Swainson) McGrath (Yorkshire 20 February 1816 – 12 December 1886) was the wife of Rev. Henry Walter McGrath (IGI for Yorkshire). Mary (Woodville) Swainson (Liverpool 1 October 1811 – Sherwood near Torquay, Devon 31 May 1878) was the wife of Frances Jane (Swainson) McGrath's brother, William Bradshaw Swainson (c. 1809 – 24 September 1862), master cotton spinner; they married on 23 April 1836 (1841 and 1851 censuses for Walton-le-Dale; IGI; Marriage Register of St. John, Great Stanmore, Middlesex, GLRO; Healy, *Swainson Family*, p. 105).

794. Around the time of his marriage (1837) to Mary Laurie Stirling, Thomas Ainsworth “purchased the mills at Cleator, in Cumberland, [and] the property at the Flosh” (Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. xiii).
795. Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth was the eldest daughter of Rev. John Stirling, DD, of Craigie, Ayrshire (Ainsworth, p. xii).
796. Unitarianism is a “type of Christian thought and religious observance which rejects the doctrines of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ in favour of the unipersonality of God” (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “Unitarianism”).
797. As the will of Rev. John Stirling lists the names of all of his children except for Laura Margaret (bap. 1822) and Annabella Fullarton (bap. 1824), it is plausible to assume that they are the dead sisters Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth was referring to. The child who had died was Thomas Hatton Ainsworth (d. 1847).
798. Mrs. Ainsworth’s other two children at this time were David Ainsworth (1842 – 21 March 1906) and John Stirling Ainsworth (30 January 1844 – 24 May 1923) (Ainsworth, *Memorial*, p. xxii).
799. 2 Corinthians 6:14: “Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?”
800. According to the 1851 Census for Preston, Eliza and John Winstanley had a coachman named George Parkinson, fifty-four years old, married, born in Leyland, Lancashire. Although the 1851 Census lists Mary Parkinson, married, sixty-four years old, born in Rufford, Lancashire, as a servant to the head of household, under “Occupation” she is listed as “Wife” to George Parkinson. They are the George and Mary referred to later in this entry.
801. The old church is St. Mary’s Priory Church, Lancaster, on the north side of Castle Hill (Mannex, *Preston*, pp. 482–483). Anna Whistler does not mention the Castle, from which the hill takes its name and which at the time continued to be a prison (Mannex, pp. 480–482).
802. The monument in the church yard bears the inscription: “Catherine, widow of Henry Richmond, M.D., formerly of Liverpool and late of Bath, and daughter of John Atherton of Walton Hall, Esq., died 30 Jan. 1819, aged 84. Soli Deo Gloria what though affliction here would heave a sigh, that one so loved

- and so revered should die.” The tombstones were re-arranged in 1972 (K.H. Docton, *Tombstones and Memorials in the Churchyard of St. Mary’s Priory Church* [Lancaster, UK: printed by the author, 1973], p. 39; Grimshawe, *Memoir of Richmond*, pp. 398–438). The inscription differs slightly in Grimshawe.
803. The court house referred to is the Crown Court of Lancaster Castle, of which it has been said that “there is no court in the kingdom in which more persons have been sentenced to death” (L. Crook, *Complete History and Illustrated Guide of Lancaster Castle* [Lancaster, UK: Shires, 1936], pp. 9–12; T.A.J. Waddington, *Waddington’s Guide to Lancaster Castle* [York, UK: printed by the author, c. 1902], pp. 24–25; Mannex, *Westmorland*, p. 482).
804. See MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 16, p. 11.
805. Hornby Castle, a mansion with distinctive crenellated walls and towers, is situated on the summit of a hill above the river Wenning (see Image 465); “the original baronial mansion is said to have been erected soon after the [Norman] Conquest.” It “stands on the site of a Roman villa.” Both Thomas Grey and Mrs. Radcliffe have described the view from the castle (Mannex, *Westmorland*, p. 531).
806. The church referred to is St. Mary’s Church (see Image 462). In 1851, it was described as standing “in a spacious burial ground near the verge of a steep bank that rises from the river Lune, and is here ascended by a flight of forty-six steps, with eleven broad landings ... and is supposed to have been erected soon after the Norman Conquest” (Mannex, p. 348).
807. Kirkby Lonsdale (see Image 70) was described in 1851 as follows: “Most of the houses in the town have been rebuilt within the last sixty years, and are designed with good taste; and the streets are clean and well paved. The walks in the vicinity of this town are truly delightful, and the fine hanging gardens and luxuriant plantations by which it is surrounded, contrast well with the white walls and blue roofs of the houses, throwing over the whole scene a pleasing and cheerful aspect” (Mannex, p. 348).
808. Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard (19 March 1800 – 4 June 1875) was the wife of Richard Stuart Picard and niece of John Winstanley. Anna Whistler had known Elizabeth Winstanley before her marriage (1835) to Richard Stuart Picard. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.



809. The child was John Richard Picard (b. 6 December 1842; bap. 10 December 1842; d. 7 October 1933). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
810. Anna Whistler means Casterton Hall in Casterton township, on the opposite side of the River Lune, one mile NNE of Kirkby Lonsdale. "The stately mansion of W.W. C. Wilson, Esq. and the Rev. W.C. Wilson, M.A. ... stands upon an eminence, and is surrounded by fine plantations" (Mannex, *Westmorland*, p. 351). The place she is writing of is made even clearer when she speaks later in this entry of "ornamented grounds."
811. Isabella Simpson (bap. 14 August 1814 – 12 August 1889), called "Lala," a Scotswoman of independent means, is listed, like her sister Jane Simpson, in the 1841 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale as residing in the household of Richard Picard. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
812. Mary Jane Picard (bap. 15 May 1838 – 8 September 1892) and Margaret Stuart Picard (bap. 27 April 1841 – 10 May 1883), were the daughters of Richard Stuart Picard's brother, Thomas Picard (bap. 18 April 1808 – 17 September 1846) and Mary (McDonald) Picard (c. 1812 – 21 August 1850). They also lived in Kirkby Lonsdale, on New Road. Mary Jane Picard's married name was Carey; Margaret Stuart Picard's married name was Wray. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
813. The famous schools of Casterton included the Servants' School, the Clergy Daughters' School, the Preparatory Clergy Daughters' School, and a National School. The Servants' School, established in 1820 at Tunstall by Rev. William Carus-Wilson, MA (1791–1859) and permanently established in 1838 at Casterton, educated poor girls to be servants and teachers. In 1823, Mr. Carus-Wilson also established at Cowan Bridge near Tunstall the Clergy Daughters' School, for the education at low cost of the daughters of poor clergy, most of whom, "on leaving the school, are provided for as governesses in respectable families." The school was later transferred to Casterton. The Preparatory Clergy Daughters' School was established in 1837, chiefly for the education of orphan children, who later entered the Clergy Daughters' School. A National School was established about 1841.

Of these schools, the Clergy Daughters' School achieved the greatest fame. Charlotte Brontë and her sisters Maria, Elizabeth, and Emily were enrolled there in 1824, the year it opened. In 1825, Maria and Elizabeth were sent home ill and died shortly

thereafter: Maria of consumption, Elizabeth of typhoid fever. The school sent Charlotte and Emily away. Charlotte Brontë wrote disparagingly of these early days of the school and of Mr. Carus-Wilson in *Jane Eyre* (1847), where the Clergy Daughters' School became the Lowood School, Mr. Carus-Wilson became Mr. Brocklehurst, her sister Maria became Helen Burns, and Kirkby Lonsdale became Lowton. This detraction brought forth the defense of the school by other former pupils, resulting in a public controversy (Mannex, *Westmorland*, p. 353; H. Carus-Wilson, ed., *Genealogical Memoirs of the Carus-Wilson Family* [Hove, UK: Emery and Son, 1899], pp. 38–39; Winifred Gérin, *Charlotte Brontë: The Evolution of Genius* [Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1968], pp. 1–16).

When Anna Whistler wrote that Casterton's schools were far-famed, she was not alluding to *Jane Eyre*, which had not yet been published. It appeared several months later, on 16 October 1847, the wedding day of her step-daughter, Deborah Delano Whistler, and Francis Seymour Haden.

The church which Anna Whistler speaks of is the Casterton Church, built in 1833 by William Wilson Carus-Wilson (1822–1883), son of Rev. William Carus-Wilson.

814. The owner of Casterton Hall was Rev. William Carus-Wilson, MA. See Carus-Wilson, *Memoirs*, pp. 38–43.
815. Their surgeon was Dr. Thomas Harper Whitaker (c. 1812 – 14 November 1873) of Beck Head in Kirkby Lonsdale (Mannex, *Westmorland*, p. 348; Edward Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes: Being the Heraldry, Epitaphs, and other Inscriptions, in the Thirty-two Ancient Parish Churches and Churchyards of that County*, 2 vols. [Kendal, UK: T. Wilson, 1889], vol. 2, p. 114). His name is given a few lines later in this entry.
816. The misses Mary (c. 1799 – 22 April 1880), Anne (c. 1806 – 2 November 1888), and Elizabeth (c. 1809 – 23 November 1889) Tomlinson were living with their brothers, Anthony Battersby Tomlinson (c. 1797 – 14 November 1865) and William Tomlinson (25 January 1815 – 12 March 1874) in Biggins House, a mansion one mile west of Kirkby Lonsdale. All are listed in the 1851 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale as landed proprietors. They were a very wealthy family. Anthony Tomlinson left effects under £30,000 at his death; William, effects under £25,000; Mary, a personal estate under £45,000; Anne, a personal estate of almost £73,000; and Elizabeth, a personal estate of almost £223,000 (1851 Census: 0107/2441, fol. 488, p. 11; Mannex, *Westmorland*,

- pp. 351, 357; R.S. Boumphrey and C. Roy Hudleston, *An Armorial for Westmorland and Lonsdale* [Gateshead, UK: Northumberland Press for Lake District Museum Trust and Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 1975], p. 298); *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1866, 1874, 1880, and 1889; Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, vol. 2, pp. 111–112).
817. Miss Tomlinson must have seen a portrait of Charles Donald Whistler in the possession of Eliza Winstanley, or the latter saw the engraving in the possession of Miss Tomlinson and remarked on its resemblance to the child. It is clear from the text that the engraving had been sent to Anna Whistler by Eliza Winstanley some time before Anna Whistler and Miss Tomlinson ever met.
818. This is Margaret (Winstanley) Ware (b. 12 April 1801; bap. 17 April 1801; d. 16 April 1877), widow of William Ware, Esq. (c. 1793 – before 15 June 1843), a banker, whom she married on 7 April 1828, at Bolton Castle cum Redmire. They had a son, William Ryder Ware (31 March 1830 – buried 1 October 1834).
819. The Simpson sisters were Jane and Isabella. See Note 811 above.
820. Isabella Simpson was called “Lala.” She was governess to John Richard Picard and his first cousins, Mary Jane Picard and Margaret Stuart Picard. See Notes 809 and 812 above.
821. The 1841 Census for Richard Picard of Wilsons Yard, Kirkby Lonsdale, lists only one domestic servant: Eleanor Wilson, age eighteen. The 1851 Census for the Picard household at 120 Beck Head, Kirkby Lonsdale, lists Elizabeth Richardson, age nineteen, unmarried, cook, and Anne Anderson, fifteen, unmarried, housemaid. It is not possible to say whether these three girls, who would have been about twenty-four, fifteen, and eleven in 1847, are “the three nice servant maids” Anna Whistler is speaking of. See MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 15, p. 11.
822. The portrait of John Richard Picard is discussed in MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 14, p. 11.
823. Betty (Ryder) Winstanley (27 November 1770 – 29 March 1843) was the widow of Woodcock Winstanley (30 August 1768 – 10 October 1828).
824. North Gate seems to have been the name of the house belonging to Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard’s mother and father (see previous Note) in Aysgarth, Wensleydale (Michael C. Fitter, *The Wrays of Wensleydale* [printed by the author, 1984], p. 86).

825. Richard Stuart Picard lived to be eighty and outlived his wife by twelve years.
826. This was probably Friday, 9 July 1847, in the first full week of July.
827. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Thomas Harper Whitaker to James Whistler.
828. Thomas Harper Whitaker was married to Hannah (Atkinson) Whitaker (Kirkby Lonsdale 26 May 1827 – Kirkby Lonsdale 5 May 1886). There is no indication in the censuses for 1851 to 1871 that they had any children. See also Bellasis, *Westmorland Church Notes*, vol. 2, p. 114.
829. Chaddock Hall (see Image 467) was situated in the township of Tyldesley in the Parish of Leigh.
830. Anna Whistler is referring to Wednesday, 14 July 1847.
831. Astley Station was on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway line and was the nearest station to Chaddock Hall at that time, about 2 ½ miles away.
832. “Old Peter” was probably Peter Edge, male servant, aged seventy, whose residence was Chadwick Lane in Tyldesley (1841 Census for Tyldesley with Shackerley).
833. George Parkinson was coachman to Eliza and John Winstanley.
834. Robert Smith (1781 – 27 November 1863) was a local cotton mill owner. Anne Smith (1798 – 21 December 1881) was his sister. Mary Smith (bap. 31 January 1820 – 28 March 1896) and Betsey Smith (bap. 17 February 1823 – 8 April 1899) were the nieces of Robert and Anne Smith and the daughters of Richard (bap. 6 October 1785) and Elizabeth (Allen) Smith, who married in 1819. Betsy Smith’s married name was Morley.
835. Although Anna Whistler thought Mary, with her good health and cheerfulness, would make a good clergyman’s wife, it is the fragile Bessie who married and whose husband was a clergyman.  
Anna Whistler meant to write “in some village” in this sentence.
836. Lord Francis Egerton (1 January 1800 – 18 February 1857; see Image 468) was the first Earl of Ellesmere. In 1803, the third Duke of Bridgewater, builder of the first commercially successful English canal, died a bachelor, leaving his property in trust to his nephew, Baron Gower, later Marquis of Stafford and Duke of Sutherland. On the latter’s death, the income from the trust was

to go to his second son, Francis Leveson-Gower, on condition that he take his grand-uncle's family name, Egerton. In 1837, Lord Francis Egerton came to live on the estate in Worsley (H.T. Milliken, *Changing Scene: Two Hundred Years of Church and Parish Life in Worsley*, 3rd rev. ed. [Worsley, UK: printed by the author, 1985], p. 6; *Burke's Peerage*, 1869, p. 410).

837. Harriet Catherine Egerton (1800 – 17 April 1866), 1st Countess of Ellesmere, was the daughter of Charles Greville, Esq. (2 November 1762 – 26 August 1832) and Lady Charlotte Cavendish Bentinck Greville (3 October 1775 – 28 July 1862), daughter of the third Duke of Portland (*Debrett's Peerage; Gentleman's Magazine* 63, pt. 1, p. 372; IGI; *The Times* [London], September 1832; *Burke's Peerage*, 1869, p. 410).
838. Lord Francis Egerton (see Image 468), on coming to Worsley to live, set about “improving the living standards of the people of the district,” building first “a day school at Worsley ... then a temporary church, St. George's chapel, in ... the mining district of Walkden. The Worsley school, later known as St. Mark's School, ... was completed in 1838.” Three more schools were built “in the next four years,” as well as “a recreation center for miners in Walkden” (Milliken, *Changing Scene*, p. 7). In 1844, he established a Reading Room and Library in Worsley (Milliken, p. 8).

Lady Egerton, on arriving in Worsley, “immediately asked the Bridgewater Trustees to take the married women out of the [coal] pits and to employ no other females or young boys. She organized for the girls, as they were released, to attend the Juvenile School where they could learn to read, write and do accounts, while the wife of the headmaster taught them domestic work so that they could find jobs in service and eventually make better wives and mothers.” She founded the Walkden Church Visiting Society, “which annually distributed useful articles of bedding and clothing and whose members paid monthly visits to every cottage” (information from C. Elsie Mullineux, Worsley local historian).

839. When Anna Whistler came to visit her half-sisters in 1829, the mansion at Worsley was the Brick Hall. It had been erected by the Duke of Bridgewater when he turned the Old Hall into offices for his various business undertakings. In 1837, when Lord Francis Egerton came to Worsley, he lived at the Brick Hall, but was making plans for the construction of a new building, which received the name of Worsley New Hall (Milliken, *Changing Scene*,

- p. 7). It was a Gothic-style mansion, designed by the architect Edward Blore (1787–1879). Construction took place in 1840–1846.
840. The foundation stone of the new church, St. Mark's, was laid on 14 July 1844. St. Mark's was designed by George Gilbert Scott (later Sir) (1811–1878) and is considered one of his finest churches. It was consecrated on 2 July 1846, and in that same week "Lord Francis Egerton was raised to the Peerage, taking the title of Earl of Ellesmere" (Milliken, pp. 8–9). From 1846 to 1850, St. Marks was a chapelry of the parish of St. Mary Eccles.
841. The Irish preacher was Henry Francis Beasley (Dublin 1807 – 1879), temporarily replacing the incumbent, Charles Cameron, who was ill. The 1847 baptism register for St. Mark's, Worsley, shows that Charles Cameron's name appears until 5 April 1847, while after this date, up to December 1847, H.F. Beasley's name appears as officiating minister. The burial registers show that Beasley conducted most of the burials in 1847. However, the burial records between 1846 and 1850, the year in which St. Vincent Beechey was appointed vicar, show that between Cameron and Beasley four other ministers also conducted burials, and that between Beasley and the arrival of St. Vincent Beechey, there were two or three other ministers. It does not seem that Cameron returned to the post at any time (Rev. Michael Ainsworth, St. Mark's Worsley, to E. Harden, 9 March 2000, 19 July 2001).
- Beasley entered Trinity College, Dublin, on 1 November 1824, at seventeen years of age and received a BA in 1829 and an MA in November 1832 (*Alumni Dublinenses: A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin (1593–1860)*, ed. George Dames Burtchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir, new ed. [Dublin, Ireland: A. Thom, 1935], p. 52). He was appointed assistant curate in the Church of Great Budworth on 28 November 1840 and ordained deacon on 13 December of that year (Ordination Papers, Cheshire County Council Archives and Local Studies, EDA 5/173). He is recorded in the *Clergy List for 1847* [London: C. Cox, 1847] [hereafter, *Clergy List* and the year] as curate of Wilmslow, near Macclesfield, Cheshire, working under W. Brownlow, the Wilmslow incumbent.
842. Charles Cameron (c. 1807 – 1 December 1861), "the rightful and youthful incumbent," was the son of Lucy Lyttleton (Butt) (29 April 1781 – 7 September 1858) and Rev. Charles Richard

Cameron (May 1779 – 10 January 1865), who were married on 12 June 1806. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford (BA 1831, MA 1834). From 1840 to 1844, he was the incumbent of St. James Dudley. In July 1846, he was put in charge of St. Mark's Church, Worsley, and is variously described in the burial registers (the only registers of that period retained at the church) as "Perpetual Curate" and "Incumbent." He conducted burials from July 1846 until early April 1847. Because his health showed signs of being undermined by consumption, he was sent to the south of Europe to recover. "The pattern [of the burials he conducted] suggests that from the start Cameron needed or used the assistance of others (up to his last entry, he did 20 out of 75 funerals ...), fell ill in 1847, recovered enough to do a stint of duty in mid-1848 (and one funeral in October) but nothing thereafter" (Rev. Michael Ainsworth, St. Mark's Worsley, to E. Harden, 19 July 2001). We know little of the period after 1848, except that he married on 24 April 1851 Marcia Sarah Elizabeth Burrell (c. 1824 – 22 October 1889), with whom he had at least five children. From 1853 to 1856, he was the incumbent of the donative of Oxhey, Watford, Hertfordshire, and perpetual curate of Christ Church Longlane, Trusley, Derbyshire from 1860 until his death the following year. He died during divine service in Heckingham Church, Lincolnshire. He authored *The Tyranny of Popery by an Eye Witness as Seen in Italy* (1853) and edited *The Infallible Way to Contentment* (1849) and *The British Workman* (1855–62), as well as writing a life of his mother, published in the year of his death (Boase, *Modern English Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 522, 524; Rev. Michael Ainsworth, St. Mark's Worsley, to E. Harden, 9 March 2000, 19 July 2001; IGI; 1861 Census). The life of his mother is entitled *The Life of Mrs. Cameron; Partly an Autobiography, and from Her Private Journals, Etc.*, Edited by her Eldest Son (London: Darton, 1861). The second edition, published by his brother, is *The Life of Mrs. Cameron*, revised and edited by Rev. George Thomas Cameron M.A. (London: Houston and Sons, 1873). Mrs. Cameron, like her famous sister, Mrs. Sherwood, wrote children's literature.

843. Charles Cameron's aunt was the famous author of children's literature, Mary Martha (Butt) Sherwood (Stanford, Worcestershire 6 May 1775 – Twickenham 20 September 1851), elder daughter and second child of Rev. George (Lichfield 26 December 1741 – no earlier than 29 September 1795) and Martha (Sherwood) Butt (c. 1751 – 20 March 1817). Her father, rector of Stanford and Clifton-on-Teme, was appointed in 1784 "one of

the Chaplains in Ordinary to his Majesty George the Third” (Sophia Kelly, ed., *The Life of Mrs. Sherwood, Chiefly Autobiographical, with Extracts from Mr. Sherwood’s Journal during his Imprisonment in France & Residence in India* [London: Darton, 1857], p. 43). She was brought up by remarkable parents who were too simple and good to understand “life as it really is” (Kelly, p. 116). Concerning her childhood, she said her “early impressions were most beautiful as regarded natural things, and classical as regarded intellectual things” (Kelly, p. 17). She was taught Latin by her mother, who learned the language specifically to teach it to her. She also learned Greek and had access to several important libraries belonging to her father and to neighbors. In 1788, her father was further presented with the Vicarage of Kidderminster, and the family moved from their idyllic country life to the city. Eventually they were able to return to Stanford. After her father’s death, the family moved to Bridgenorth. Here, Mary and Lucy Butt took up “Sunday School work on the lines laid down by Hannah More” (M. Nancy Cutt, *Mrs. Sherwood and her Books for Children* [London: Oxford University Press, 1974], p. 2). It was always “a matter of course” and “a matter of instinct” to her that she was to be a writer (Kelly, *Life of Mrs. Sherwood*, p. 118). At nineteen, her career was launched, when she published, anonymously and against her will, by subscription, *The Traditions*, the proceeds from which were used to benefit a family friend in financial straits. In 1803, she married her first cousin, Henry Sherwood (c. 1776 – 6 December 1849), of the 53rd Foot Regiment, then serving in England. In April 1805, they departed with the regiment for India, leaving their first child, born in 1804, with Mrs. Sherwood’s mother. “During [the] ... five-month voyage,” Mrs. Sherwood’s “well-developed Evangelical urge crystallized” (Cutt, *Mrs. Sherwood*, p. 2), and by the time she arrived in India “she had ... decided that her appointed work lay in the religious education of the young and of the heathen” (Cutt, p. 3). Her Evangelical doctrine of this period is characterized as “unyielding” (Cutt, p. 4), and her writing of an “intensity that sets it above most of the work of the more tranquil days” after their return home (Cutt, p. 4). On returning from India in 1816, with five children of their own and two adopted orphans to raise, they settled in Wick. Mrs. Sherwood opened “a small select boarding-school for girls” (Cutt, p. 4), which she ran from 1818 to 1830.

On giving up the school, she toured the Continent with her family, returning to England in 1832 and devoting herself “to novel writing and story-telling” almost until her death (Cutt, p. 4).



They lived first in Worcester. In this period, Mrs. Sherwood lost a brother and two daughters, but her son, a clergyman, married and lived near the Sherwoods, while her youngest daughter married and lived with the Sherwoods. In 1849, her son-in-law and husband died, and she and her widowed daughter moved to Twickenham, where Mrs. Sherwood died in 1851. Mrs. Sherwood produced over a period of some fifty years more than four hundred works, including “books, tales, tracts, texts, magazines, articles in periodicals, chapbooks, and Sunday school rewards” (Cutt, p. ix). The theories of Evangelical doctrine “diffused by [her] writings,” while not originated by her, “dominated education for half a century; and governed missionary activity abroad” (Cutt, p. ix). When Anna Whistler wrote of Mrs. Sherwood, the latter was famous and rich, and her career was chiefly behind her; she would live only some four years more. There is no indication in the diaries that Anna Whistler had read Mrs. Sherwood’s works growing up, but according to her step-niece, Emma Palmer, Emma, James and Willie read them on Sundays when other books were forbidden (McDiarmid, *Whistler’s Mother*, p. 155).

The works consulted to prepare this biography of Mrs. Sherwood are: Kelly, *The Life of Mrs. Sherwood*; F.J. Harvey Darton, ed., *The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (1775 – 1851) from the Diaries of Captain and Mrs. Sherwood* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1910); Cutt, *Mrs. Sherwood*; and Naomi Royce Smith, *The State of Mind of Mrs. Sherwood* (London: Macmillan, 1946).

844. Because Mrs. Sherwood is mentioned in the previous sentence, “she” in the next sentence may seem to refer to her. This identification is supported by the fact that Mrs. Sherwood cared for orphaned girls. Her first two children born in India died in infancy. She then began to accept into her care orphaned white girls. They were either the daughters of widowed British soldiers or they had lost both parents. A number of these girls were then adopted by British families. The Sherwoods themselves adopted two girls: Sally Pownal and Mary Parsons, who returned with them permanently to England in 1816, later marrying and settling near them. But neither Mrs. Sherwood’s biography by her daughter, Sophia Kelly, nor the biography by Darton, mentions a wealthy orphan girl shipwrecked on her way home from India and taken in by Mrs. Sherwood. It therefore makes more sense to interpret “she” as a reference to Lady Ellesmere. It then becomes plausible that the wealthy orphan is living in Worsley, and that the ladies of the Ellesmere family will serve as good examples of

charity to her (Kelly, *Life of Mrs. Sherwood*, pp. 311, 325–326, 330, 376, 409, 432, 468, 469–470, 488, 494, 496, 504, 514, 545, 550, 551; Darton, *Mrs. Sherwood*, pp. 438, 460). It has not been possible to identify the shipwrecked wealthy orphan.

845. It has not been possible to determine the date of this Sunday.
846. The date should read “September. Saturday 11<sup>th</sup>.”
847. Mary Brennan, who had been visiting her family in Ireland, came to join Anna Whistler, James, and Willie at South Shore, Blackpool. She arrived from Preston with Anna Whistler’s half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, and her husband, John Winstanley. Mary Brennan rode on the dicky with George Parkinson, the Winstanleys’ coachman, and his wife, Mary Parkinson, the Winstanleys’ servant (see Note 779 above). The Winstanleys are referred to throughout this entry (Sister and Brother Winstanley, Uncle & Aunt, Sister Eliza & kind M<sup>r</sup> W, Sister, M<sup>rs</sup> Winstanley, Eliza, Aunt Winnie, Aunt Eliza, M<sup>r</sup> Winstanley).
848. Anne Clunie (10 June 1793 – 18 May 1882) was Eliza Winstanley’s first cousin, the daughter of Alicia (Clunie) McNeill’s brother, John Clunie, and not related to Anna Whistler. She appears in the diaries and for many years in Anna Whistler’s correspondence. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
849. As July 28 was their second day at Blackpool, their fortnight lasted from 27 July to 9 August 1847.
850. Poulton is a village on the outskirts of Blackpool in the more rural area of the Fylde coast and is part of the neighboring district of Wyre.
851. Reverend John Hull (1803 – 8 March 1887) was vicar of St. Chad’s Church in Poulton from 1835 to 1864. His wife was Lucy (Brooke) Hull (1812 or 1813 – 6 September 1899). Reverend Hull was the nephew of John Winstanley. See Winstanley... Cragg in Appendix E and Image 73.
852. According to the 1851 Census for Poulton, the governess at the Vicarage was Alice Rebecca Bell, unmarried, possibly twenty years of age, born in Richmond, county of York (HO 107/2269, fol. 601, p. 18).
853. According to the 1851 Census for Poulton, there were four children at the Vicarage who could have been present in 1847: Lucy Jane, sixteen; Sarah Winstanley, thirteen; Robert Bevon, seven; and Frances Mary, five; all “scholars (at home)” (HO

- 107/2269, fol. 601, p. 18). John and Charles William, who were listed respectively as two years old and two months old in the 1841 Census, do not appear in the 1851 Census (HO 107/497, bk. 6, fol. 22). Sarah Winstanley Hull, not Lucy Jane Hull, was James's age.
854. St. Chad's Church was the parish church of Poulton.
855. This is Dr. John Hull, MD (30 September 1764; d. London 17 March 1843; buried Poulton 22 March 1843; see Image 73), husband of John Winstanley's sister Sarah (1765–1842).
856. Aunt Marion Anne (Clunie) Wilkin(s) (bap. 20 August 1771) was the sister of Alicia (Clunie) McNeill, mother of Eliza Winstanley (see Image 40) and Alicia McNeill (see Image 39). She was the widow of William Wilkin(s) (bap. 4 October 1806), whom she had married on 19 April 1805. She was also the sister of Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs (24 July 1762 – 9 November 1844) of Edinburgh, whom Eliza Winstanley visited in the summer of 1843 (Eliza Winstanley's diary, Appendix D; IGI; Will of Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs, probated 26 November 1844).
857. This is Priscilla Eliza (Wilkin) Cragg (b. 1817 or 1818; bap. 6 February 1824; d. 17 September 1861), wife of William Cragg (c. 1812 – 13 July 1898), carrier and lodging house keeper (1851 Census for Blackpool, HO 107/2269, fol. 457, p. 4/5), who was first cousin to Eliza Winstanley and Alicia McNeill. See details of the will of John Winstanley in Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E. The Craggs were married on 25 August 1844. Their daughter, Mary Anne Isabella Cragg, was baptized on 10 December 1844.
858. The second Saturday at Blackpool was 7 August 1847.
859. This seems to be Sir James Wemyss (30 April 1796 – 1849), sixth Baronet of Bogie and eighth Baronet of Wemyss (1822–1849), "a writer to His Majesty's Signet, in Edinburgh." He was unmarried and without issue (Sir John Wemyss-Kessler, *The House of Wemyss: A Thousand Year History* [Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1996], p. 126).
860. Richard (c. 1775 – 31 December 1861) and Esther (Smith) (bap. 18 November 1777 – 4 July 1863) Ormerod were the parents of Ann (Ormerod) Haden (c. 1802 – 24 September 1847), wife of the Rev. John Clarke Haden (1805 – 29 October 1869), uncle of Deborah Delano Whistler's future husband, Francis Seymour Haden (16 September 1818 – 1 June 1910). The Ormerods lived in Fleetwood. In 1848, their address was 11 Upper Queen's

Terrace (*Slater's Directory 1848*, p. 193). Esther (Smith) Ormerod was the sister of the Smith family of Chaddock Hall (see 1871 Census for Worsley, Boothtown).

861. Ann (Critchley) Walton (bap. 23 January 1772 – 11 October 1848), referred to as “M<sup>rs</sup> Walton” and “old lady” in this entry, was the daughter of Agnes (Nickson) Critchley (1748–1828) and Henry Critchley (c. 1739–1791), a chapman. Agnes (Nickson) Critchley was the daughter of a surgeon, Richard Nickson (1713–1775) and his wife, Ann (1724–1792), who were married at Leyland in 1746. Agnes (Nickson) Critchley’s “maternal grandfather, Roger Mawdesley (d. 1765) had been an innkeeper.” “Agnes herself was landlady of the Stag Inn (now the Roebuck), which stands beside Leyland Cross.” In 1770, Agnes married Henry Critchley at Leyland. “She was among the local innkeepers who played a key role in the establishment of the Fox Lane hand weavers’ step-houses by funding the ‘Union Street’ building society (1793–1808).” The Critchleys “had a large family,” some seven children. Ann Critchley (bap. 23 January 1772 – 11 October 1848), their eldest child, married on 12 July 1806 at Preston John Walton (1761 – 24 November 1843), a “gentleman of Preston,” who seems to have also had interests in the weaving trade.

The 1841 Census for Preston shows that John Walton, eighty years old, and Ann Walton, seventy years old, and their daughter, Agnes, thirty years old, lived in Friargate, along with two female servants. All three Waltons were of “Independent Means” (IGI; 1841 Census for Preston, HO 107/499/4; Dr. David Hunt, curator, South Ribble Museum, Leyland, Lancashire, to E. Harden, 15 July 2011 (enclosing a research paper for South Ribble Borough Council, including a genealogy of Ann Critchley, by William E. Waring) and 27 January 2012; *The Preston Guardian*, October 14, 1848; *Liverpool Mercury*, December 1, 1843).

862. Agnes Walton (bap. St. John’s Preston 12 June 1807 – Wellfield 14 November 1886), the daughter of Ann (Critchley) and John Walton (see previous Note), was of “Independent Means.” She married in Leyland on 25 August 1859 Samuel Ryley (bap. St. John’s Preston 1792). She “established the Riley Alms Houses in Fox Lane, Leyland,” which “came to be administered by Osbaldeston’s Charity.” She bequeathed to this charity an oil portrait of her father, John, another of her grandmother, Agnes (Nickson) Critchley, and a colored sketch of herself (see Image 469). At her death, she was Agnes of Edstaston, Salop. Her personal estate amounted to c. £10,000 (Dr. David Hunt, curator,

- South Ribble Museum, Leyland, Lancashire, to E. Harden, 15 July 2011 (enclosing a research paper for South Ribble Borough Council, including a genealogy of Ann Critchley, by William E. Waring); IGI; 1841 Census for Friargate, Preston; 1851 Census for Leyland; 1861 Census for Edstaston for Ryley family (RG 9/1886); 1871 Census for Edstaston for Ryley family (RG 10/2792); 1881 Census for Edstaston for Ryley family (RG 11/2667); *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1886).
863. Anna Whistler, James, and Willie were going to visit the Sandlands, who lived at 10 Cambridge Street in Liverpool. In this entry, Mrs. Eliza Sandland is referred to as “M<sup>rs</sup> Sandland”; her daughter, Eliza Sandland, is referred to as “Eliza” and “Eliza Sandland”; and her son, John Dorlin Sandland, is referred to as “John Sandland.”
864. “Aunt Winnie” is Eliza Winstanley, whose husband was known to the Whistler children as “Uncle Winny.” The whereabouts of the sketch of her are unknown (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 17, p. 11).
865. This is “Cousin Anne Clunie,” mentioned in the next paragraph of the diaries.
866. The whereabouts of the copy of the engraving of Miss Waltons are unknown (MacDonald, no. 18, p. 11).
867. The subject of the engraving of Miss Waltons that James copied seems to be the “old hermit at his devotions.”
868. Edge Hill Station (see Image 61) was on the main railway line out of Liverpool.
869. John Dorlin Grayson (bap. 31 March 1807 – 1 September 1847) and his sister, Elizabeth Grayson (bap. 26 April 1821 – 8 September 1847), the children of Charles Grayson and Betsey H. Sandland’s sister, Hannah (Dorlin) Grayson, died of cancer within a week of each other.
870. Roby was a small township in the suburbs of Liverpool dating from the sixteenth century. It began as an agricultural township and became an industrial one particularly with the development of the Liverpool–Manchester Railway in 1830 (Alan King, *Huyton and Roby: A History of Two Townships* [Liverpool, UK: Department of Leisure Services, Metropolitan Borough of Knowsley, Libraries Division, 1984], pp. 3, 31, 32, 39, 42, 44, 54).
871. See John Sandland’s letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in June 1874, which is referred to in Sandland in Appendix E. In the letter, he

speaks of himself as a “toddling child” walking with the teenaged Anna Whistler, when his family lived in the United States. It has not been possible to find a June 1874 issue confirming the date. The only article about Whistler published in June 1874 in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is a review entitled “Exhibition of Mr. Whistler’s Paintings and Drawings” (June 13, 1874, p. 11).

872. John Dorlin Sandland took James and Willie to the Sessions House in Rumford Street to hear a trial. The Assizes, or law courts, were held here until 1851. They were going to be housed in the Neo-Classical St. George’s Hall on Lime Street, opposite Lime Street Railway Station in the center of Liverpool. “The foundation stone ... was laid in 1838 to commemorate the coronation of Queen Victoria, but the actual building of the hall did not start until 1842” (“History of the Hall: Liverpool,” BBC website, accessed 13 February 2021, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/culture/2002/08/st\\_georges/history.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/culture/2002/08/st_georges/history.shtml)). “The Law Courts and holding cells were opened in 1851” (“St. George’s Hall, Liverpool,” Lancaster Past website, accessed 13 February 2021, <https://lancashirepast.com/2017/08/01/st-georges-hall-liverpool/>). St. George’s Hall, opened completely to the public “in 1854 as a grand hub for music festivals and the Civil and Crown courts,” was “one of the finest examples of neoclassical architecture in the world” (“St. George’s Hall,” Visit Liverpool website, accessed 13 February 2021, <https://www.visitliverpool.com/things-to-do/st-georges-hall-p8033>).
873. “Hail fellow well met” is an expression indicating that the participants are “on a most intimate footing” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “hail-fellow”).
874. Hugh McNeile (1795–1879) was appointed perpetual curate of St. Jude’s Church, Liverpool in 1834. He received the BA from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1815; MA in 1821; and DD in 1847. In 1820, he was ordained to the curacy of Stranorlar in Donegal. He was presented to the rectory of Albury in Surrey in 1822, by Henry Drummond, MP, inclining at first toward the tenets of Edward Irving, as did Drummond. He drew large congregations through his eloquence, preaching frequently at St. Clement Danes Church in London. He received a canony in Chester Cathedral in 1845. In 1866 he was made dean of Ripon. He held strong evangelical views and opposed the church of Rome vigorously (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “McNeile, Hugh”).

875. Using the departure date of the *Montezuma* (see Note 881 below), we can determine that the date of Dr. Hugh McNeile's lecture was Thursday, 12 August 1847. Anna Whistler attended with Mrs. Sandland's daughter Eliza.
876. Romans 6 concerns the moral consequences of faith: "the wages of sin is death," while those who have faith in Christ are dead to sin but alive to God (see *New Oxford Annotated Bible*, p. 1367).
877. On Sunday morning, 15 August 1847, Anna Whistler went a second time to hear Dr. McNeile preach.
878. On the evening of 15 August, Anna Whistler heard Dr. McNeile a third time. In his Second Epistle, Peter speaks of the necessity of steadfastly adhering to the "things that pertain unto life and godliness" as opposed to earthly things, which will be destroyed when the end of the world comes.
879. What James was guilty of in his mother's eyes is not clear.
880. The famous American Boarding House, where Anna Whistler visited the Bliss family on Monday, 16 August 1847, was located at 133–135 Duke Street in Liverpool. Its proprietress was Mrs. Mary Blodget (Mrs. Samuel Chase Blodget). It seemed particularly to attract American sea captains and American consuls. Among the latter, the most famous was Nathaniel Hawthorne, appointed in 1853 (James O'Donald Mays, *Mr. Hawthorne Goes to England*, [Ringwood, UK: New Forest Leaves, 1983], pp. 55, 56, 58, 62, 64, 147–154, 191).
881. Anna Whistler says the Blisses left Liverpool on the *Montezuma* on the Monday that she visited them for the last time, which was 16 August; however, the only sailing of the *Montezuma* from Liverpool during August and the early part of September 1847 in *Lloyd's List* was given as 17 August. The Master was Lowber (*Lloyd's List*, London, Wednesday, 18 August 1847). The ship probably left at midnight or shortly thereafter.
882. The diaries do not at all indicate that, when the Blisses left St. Petersburg after a brief stay, Deborah went with them. Nor do the diaries explain that she joined them so suddenly on their Swiss trip because she was recovering from an unhappy love affair with a Russian army officer (N-YHS: Bliss Papers, vol. 1, fol. 39). See the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s."
883. Anna Whistler's friend, Annie Ormerod, had married Rev. John Clarke Haden on 20 January 1847. Reverend John Clarke Haden

(Derby 6 May 1805 – Nightingales, Buckinghamshire 29 October 1869) was the son of Dr. Thomas Haden (22 September 1761 – 1840), a Derby physician. He received the BA from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1827 and the MA in 1830. He became deacon in 1828 and priest in 1829. He was minor canon of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London from 1834 to 1849 and rector of Hutton in Essex from 1839 to 1869. He was also precentor and minor canon of Westminster Abbey from 1846 to 1869. He was priest-in-ordinary to William IV from 1834 to 1837 and to Queen Victoria (see Image 287) from 1837 to 1869. “By his ability and energy were organized the special Sunday evening services established in the nave of the Abbey under Dean Trench A.D. 1858.” A curious incident reported in his obituary is that once he was shot at by someone in St. Paul’s Cathedral during a weekday service, but escaped unharmed. He is buried at Chalfont St. Giles in Buckinghamshire. The Bible quotation on the plain stone memorial tablet to him, on the wall of the north cloister of Westminster Abbey, near the door into the nave, reads: “I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the House of the Lord” (Psalms 122:1).

He had married on 20 January 1847 Anna Whistler’s friend, Ann Ormerod (c. 1802 – 24 September 1847), daughter of Richard Ormerod (1775 –1861) and Esther (Smith) Ormerod of Chaddock Hall (bap. 1777 – 1863). By the time of the marriage of Deborah Delano Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden on 16 October 1847, Ann Ormerod had died. He married, on 14 August 1850, as his second wife, Sarah Mair (15 September 1815 –1898), of Nightingales, Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire (John Crockford, *Crockford’s Clerical Directory for 1860* [London: Crockford’s Clerical Journal and Directory Offices, 1860] [hereafter, *Crockford’s Clerical Dictionary* and the year], p. 257; “John Clarke Haden, priest/minister,” Westminster Abbey website, accessed 13 February 2021, <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/john-clarke-haden>; Memorial ID 34716050, [findagrave.com](https://www.findagrave.com); *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 3, p. 185; *The Times* [London], November 4, 1869; *Illustrated London News*, November 13, 1869).

884. John Clarke Haden and Ann (Ormerod) Haden lived at 4 Dean’s Yard, Westminster, London S.W.
885. The Maingay home was Wellesley House in Shooters’ Hill, Woolwich, “a village in Kent, on the south bank of the Thames, eight miles from London by land, and ten following the course of the river. Here, in the reign of Henry VIII., a dockyard for the



construction of vessels of the royal navy was established; and ever since, the place has been distinguished as an arsenal for naval and military stores. From the river a view is obtained of the dockyard and arsenal, now greatly improved. The ground, for nearly a mile in length, is bounded by a stone quay, and surrounded on the land side with various storehouses and workshops. Among these is included a laboratory for the preparation of cartridges, bombs, grenades, and shot. Adjoining are barracks for artillery and marines, military hospitals, etc; on the upper part of Woolwich Common is situated a royal military academy for the education of young gentlemen designed for the army. Strangers are not admitted to the dockyard and arsenal without an order from an officer of the Board of Ordnance (*Chambers's Information* 1842: p. 211). See Maingay in Appendix E.

886. Egremont is a community within the town of Wallasey in the north-eastern part of the Wirral Peninsula. The town sits on the western bank of the River Mersey, about 2 km from its mouth at the Irish Sea, and lies about 10–35 m above sea level. It is historically part of Cheshire, and is bordered by the communities of New Brighton to the north, Liscard to the west, and Seacombe to the south. It was considered part of the Liscard township until the 1820s. Egremont is named for the Cumberland birthplace of a Captain Askew, who built a house in the area in the early 1830s. The Egremont ferry, built in 1827, was the longest pier on Merseyside until 1946 (“Egremont,” *History of the Wirral Peninsula* website, accessed 14 February 2021, <http://www.wirralhistory.uk/egremont.html>). “In days past Egremont and the surrounding area was a place of peaceful green fields, leafy lanes, farm buildings and cottages ... As time went on a large number of houses were built and the district became mainly residential. The beach around the ferry became popular for families” (Noël E. Smith, *Almost an Island: The Story of Wallasey* [printed by the author, 1990], p. 72).
887. Anna Whistler is referring to William Vallance (Newton Abbott, Devon c. 1797 – Liverpool 23 April 1863). The William Vallance family lived at 1 or 2 West Derby Street, Liverpool (1841 and 1851 censuses for West Derby, 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. See the biographies of the Dunscombe and Vallance families in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.

888. On 24 July 1830, William Vallance married Margaret McGill Dunscombe (St. John's, NL c. 1807 – buried West Derby, Lancashire 18 July 1851) in St. John's, Newfoundland. They were living in Liverpool, Lancashire, when Anna Whistler visited them. She speaks of Margaret McGill (Dunscombe) Vallance as “an early friend.” This is probably because her sister, Eliza (Dunscombe) Cammann, was the sister-in-law of Anna Whistler's sister-in-law Maria (Cammann) McNeill, through whom Anna Whistler could have met her. See their biographies in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
889. George Hoyles Dunscombe (St. John's, NL 30 August 1817 – Florida 21 March 1871) would have been able to have news of William Gibbs McNeill and Maria (Cammann) McNeill, as the latter's brother, Henry J. Cammann, had been the husband of Eliza (Dunscombe) Cammann, George Hoyle Dunscombe's sister. See their biography in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
890. William and Margaret (Dunscombe) Vallance had at this time about six children. The first, Mary Eliza Dunscombe Vallance (b. St. John's, NL 16 May 1831), was their only daughter “in her teens” in 1847 and is therefore most likely the “eldest daughter Minnie” referred to by Anna Whistler. The younger children whom Minnie helped care for could have included George Dunscombe (born Devon July 1838), Christopher Bridge (b. West Derby 23 July 1841), Margaret Jane (b. Liverpool, October 1842), and Frederick Julian (b. Liverpool October 1843) (1841, 1851, and 1861 censuses for Liverpool; Ancestry Family Tree; Gertrude Crosbie, comp., *Births, Deaths, Marriages in Newfoundland Archives, 1825–1850 and 1860–1865*, Maritime History Archives, Memorial University, St. John's, NL).
891. Anna Whistler maintained her relationship with the helpful Mr. Maude at least into the 1860s. Writing to Deborah (Whistler) Haden in 1863 from Richmond, Virginia, she asked her to try to get Mr. Maude to find out “whether the Trenholm house connected with Charleston SC would forward letters [Deborah] might enclose ... for her at Ch[arleston]” (Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, Richmond, Virginia, 4 August 1863, GUL: Whistler Collections, W515). “The firm of Fraser, Trenholm and Co. of Liverpool was the financial clearing house for Confederate agents abroad” (Toutziari, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 654, 655). Anna Whistler may be wrong in calling Mr. Maude Edward. The 1851 Census for Liverpool, Parish of Everton, lists an Edwin Maude not an Edward.

892. He was Francis Seymour Haden (16 September 1818 – 1 June 1910; see Image 20), physician, future husband of Deborah Delano Whistler and nephew of Rev. John Clarke Haden and Ann (Ormerod) Haden. He lived at 62 Sloane St. in London.
893. Kirk Boott (see Image 43), the founder of Lowell, Massachusetts, was married to Anne Haden (1788–1869). His wife was one of twin daughters of a Derby physician, Dr. Thomas Haden (22 September 1761-1840), and aunt to Francis Seymour Haden (John L. Hobbs, “The Boott and Haden Families and the Founding of Lowell,” *Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Journal* 66 (1946): pp. 64, 66). The Whistlers and Bootts were close friends, as Kirk Boott had been instrumental in bringing George Washington Whistler to Lowell to begin “the manufacture of locomotives” (Hobbs, p. 65). The closeness of their friendship is attested to by the fact that Anna and George Whistler’s third son was the namesake of Kirk Boott. Thus, the long friendship between the Boott and Whistler families in Lowell was a point in favor of the marriage of Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden, despite their brief acquaintance.
894. It has not been possible to locate either the originals of these letters or the copies sent by Anna Whistler to her husband. The Joseph Swift Papers at the NYPL contain Major Whistler’s response to his wife’s announcement of Francis Seymour Haden’s proposal (Major George W. Whistler to Anna Whistler, Moscow Sep<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers).
895. It has not been possible to locate the letter written by Deborah Whistler to her father.
896. Major Whistler wanted Deborah to come back to St. Petersburg for the winter, but finally left the decision in Anna Whistler’s hands (Major George W. Whistler to Anna Whistler, Moscow Sep<sup>r</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> 1847, NYPL: Swift Papers). He asked for and received permission from Nicholas I for five weeks’ leave to go to England, giving as his reason not his daughter’s marriage but his sons’ illness, which might require them to be left in England (RGIA: Fond 219, op. 1, d. 11. Ob otpuske Uistlera za granitsu i o ego smerti [Concerning leave granted to Whistler to go abroad and concerning his death]). The seventeen documents in the RGIA file concern Major Whistler’s four requests for leave to travel abroad, all connected with family matters. Documents 8 through 13 concern his trip to England in 1847. Although he went both for Deborah’s wedding and because James and Willie

- might not return to St. Petersburg, he did not mention the wedding as a reason.
897. Frances Seymour Haden's mother was Emma (Harrison) Haden (1794–1881).
  898. Mary Love Boott (c. 1820 – 6 December 1897), daughter of Dr. Francis (see Image 80) and Mary (Hardcastle) Boott (brother and sister-in-law of Kirk Boott of Lowell, Massachusetts), was engaged to Charles Sydenham Haden (29 September 1822 – 1898), brother of Francis Seymour Haden. They were married on 19 January 1848.
  899. Francis Seymour Haden's sister was Rosamund Haden (16 November 1820 – 19 February 1912). Her married name was Horsley. She was not the only sister; there were also Jane Haden (bap. 6 March 1817) and Emma (Haden) Bergeron (b. 2 November 1819; bap. 6 December 1822; d. 28 July 1858), who married on 4 June 1840 Charles Bergeron. It is possible that Jane died in infancy, as there are no other records for her (*National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1858; IGI).
  900. Francis Seymour Haden's father was Charles Thomas Haden, MD (2 October 1786 – 11 January 1824). I have not seen his memoir in print.
  901. Anna Whistler apparently pronounced the surname of Austrian composer Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) the same way as the surname Haden.
  902. This is Anne (Haden) Boott (1788–1869), of Lowell, Massachusetts.
  903. The 1849 Directory for Liverpool lists the following: “Stewart, William, Boarding school, Holly Bank, 23 Canning Street, Birkenhead.” Birkenhead was a market-town situated on the Cheshire side of the River Mersey, opposite Liverpool, about 3 miles from the sea. As of 1801, there were only 110 inhabitants and in 1821 only 236. In 1844, the building of its docks was begun (“Birkenhead, Cheshire,” UK Genealogy Archives website, accessed 14 February 2021, <https://ukga.org/index.php?pageid=913>; Smith, *Story of Wallasey*, p. 72; 1851 Census for Birkenhead). Anna Whistler had apparently proposed to her husband that they leave James and Willie at Holly Bank, expecting to return to St. Petersburg with Debo.
  904. The undated continuation of this lengthy entry indicates that it was written some time after the beginning of 1848. It continues

the account of preparations for Debo's marriage; the wedding; the return of Major and Anna Whistler, James, Willie, and Mary Brennan to St. Petersburg; and their life there. Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison's announcement to Anna Whistler that she had started the New Year by using a volume of family prayers Anna Whistler had presented her with at Christmas 1847 helps date the entry as having been written after New Year's Day 1848.

905. Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (see Image 40) and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (see Image 39) went to see whether Major Whistler had arrived on the train. For a brief summary of the "development of the railway system in and around Preston," see Hunt, *History of Preston*, pp. 197–198, 336n16.
906. Major Whistler was carrying government dispatches from the U.S. Legation in St. Petersburg to the U.S. Legation in London. This entitled him to receive a courier's passport and to have his transportation costs paid (AVPRI: Fond MID Kants., [Fond Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chancery], 1847, op. 469, d. 39 (États-Unis/Mr. Ingersoll/Mr. Clay/, St. P. 18/30 September 1847, Ingersoll to Nesselrode).
907. Major Whistler arrived on Monday, 11 October. The wedding was to have taken place on Thursday, 14 October, but was changed to Saturday, 16 October.
908. Anna Whistler is referring to William Stewart (b. Manchester c. 1801), professor of Classics and Modern Languages, fifty-five years old, and his wife, Jean (b. Manchester c. 1807), forty-four years old (1851 Census for Birkenhead).
909. Thomas Mein Clunie (1827 – 1 April 1898) was a corn merchant in Liverpool. He was a nephew of "Cousin Anne Clunie" (1861, 1871, and 1881 censuses for Liverpool; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1898; *1859 Gore's Directory of Liverpool and Its Environs* [Liverpool: Mawdsley, 1859]). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
910. It has not been possible to ascertain who the tailor was.
911. "The initial impetus [for "polka" fashions] came from the dance itself, which was the subject of a real craze all over Europe (coinciding with a revival of interest in dancing in general). It is said to have originated in Prague in about 1837, spreading to Vienna, St. Petersburg ... and Paris, and arriving in England in 1844 ... The connection with James Knox Polk (see Image 50) arose because the dance also arrived in the USA in 1844, just as

he had become President, the coincidence apparently causing much amusement, as well as fueling the popularity of the dance there. ... printed records of such crazes are fairly ephemeral” (N.A. Marshall, curator of Dress and Nursery Collections, Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, London, to E. Harden, 10 August 1995). “Polkomania” took over Petersburg society in 1844 (Petrovskaiia, *Kontsertnaia zbirn’ Peterburga*, p. 87).

The polka jacket as worn by boys seems to have been a short mantle or jacket, made of cashmere or velvet lined with silk, having loose sleeves that were not full-length. It was worn over a blouse or tunic, the sleeves of which were therefore partly visible. The jacket was fastened at the front with hooks and eyes, which were concealed by buttons, bows or buckles (*Gazette of Fashion*, plates and descriptions from issues between 1849 and 1854, supplied by Miles Lambert, Curator of Costume, Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, Rusholme, Manchester).

912. The only confectioner in Bold Street included in *McCorquodale’s Liverpool Directory* for 1848 is G. Adolphus Eve of 100 Bold Street.
913. A “Fly” is a carriage for hire.
914. Emma Elizabeth Maingay (6 February 1826 – 27 December 1904), Deborah Whistler’s closest friend in St. Petersburg, was the only bridesmaid at her wedding. They remained lifelong friends. See Maingay in Appendix E.
915. Major Whistler had last seen the Sandlands in 1842 when on route to St. Petersburg to take up his appointment as consulting engineer of the proposed St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.
916. The Sandlands were in mourning for Elizabeth Grayson (bap. 26 April 1821 – 8 September 1847) and John Dorlin Grayson (bap. 31 March 1807 – 1 September 1847), niece and nephew of Betsey (Dorlin) Sandland.
917. The surviving mother was Hannah (Dorlin) Grayson. The young widow was Jane Grayson, listed in the 1851 Census as age forty-three. The two fatherless boys were George Enoch Grayson and Henry H. Grayson, listed in the 1851 Census as ages seventeen and sixteen respectively. There were three younger daughters as well.
918. The obituary of John Grayson is not in the Whistler Papers.
919. Mary Brennan was waiting for the Whistlers along with a Winstanley housemaid, Elizabeth Chapman, unmarried, forty-two years old (1851 Census for Preston).

920. Anna Whistler omitted the word “we.”
921. Major Whistler and James traveled to London on the evening of 13 October; Major Whistler had to deliver dispatches on 14 October. They traveled back to Preston on 14 October, arriving in the early hours of 15 October.
922. The following information, taken from Hunt, *History of Preston*, serves as a background for the economic situation in Preston that led Anna Whistler to think the noise outside John Winstanley’s house was connected with the discontent among the cotton mill workers. Apparently, some of the cotton masters, or cotton Lords, of Preston, had been to see John Winstanley, probably on legal matters. “Throughout much of the nineteenth century the cotton industry was the main driving force of economic growth in Preston” (p. 199). “[D]irectly related to the growth of textiles,” the population of Preston increased “from 11,887 people in 1801 to 69,361 in 1851” (p. 183). In the 1830s and 1840s the expansion reached “40 per cent per decade” (p. 183). “In the 1840s alone, accommodation for an additional 18,500 people had to be found,” and “grossly inadequate housing was hastily thrown up ... [for] the mill workers” (p. 183). Living conditions were horrendous (pp. 183–185). “Preston’s ... mill wages were generally among the lowest in the county, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century. Since the ... rates of pay in neighbouring towns reflected the various local conditions it was generally believed that an advance in wages paid in Preston would push up the rates in the rest of the industry. Accordingly, Preston became a great battleground, with both sides receiving aid and support from the adjacent towns ... In the first half of the ... century control of the ... industry lay very much in the hands of the cotton masters and their families” (p. 204). “By 1836 the town had 42 mills employing perhaps one fifth of its population. The 1830s and ‘40s were perhaps the industry’s most significant period of expansion in Preston ... perhaps best exemplified by the erection of Swainson and Birley’s ‘Big Factory’ ..., while in 1845 William Ainsworth announced the construction of ‘the largest power-loom weaving shed in the world’” (p. 199). But the late 1830s and early 1840s were also a period of economic depression (p. 199). It was very severe in 1842 (p. 214). Two attempts by the Chartists to present their Charter petition to ameliorate the situation (in 1839 and 1842) were “thrown out by Parliament” (p. 214). There were strikes and riots. “Preston became ... *the* classic mill town” (p. 182). “Charles Dickens used contemporary accounts of the town during the Great Lockout

- [1853–4] as the background for ... *Hard Times*. His description of ‘Coketown’ is thus loosely based on Preston” (p. 223). Anna Whistler did not give an opinion of the unrest. She was entertained by the Swainsons and met members of the Ainsworth family at the Winstanleys’ home (see Images 470–473).
923. The kaftan was a man’s floor-length outer garment with long sleeves, of Oriental origin. In the nineteenth century, it was worn by merchants and peasants, the garment of the former differing from that of the latter in the quality of the cloth used and a few details of construction (R.M. Kirsanova, *Kostium v russkoi khudozhestvennoi kul’ture 18 – pervoi poloviny 20 vv. (Opyt ènsiklopedii)* [*Dress in Russian Artistic Culture of the 18<sup>th</sup> – First Half of the Twentieth Century (An Attempt at an Encyclopedia)*], ed. T.G. Morozova and V.D. Siniukov [Moscow: Nauchnoe izdatel’stvo Bol’shaia rossiiskaia ènsiklopediia, 1995], pp. 122–123.) John Winstanley’s kaftan was made of fur or lined with it.
924. “Visite” is the “generic name for a loose outdoor covering ranging from a pelerine, mantle or cloak, to a caped overcoat in the 1880’s” (Cunnington, Cunnington, and Beard, *Dictionary of English Costume*, p. 230).
925. Elizabeth Chapman was housemaid and Hannah Smith cook in the Winstanley household (1851 Census for Preston).
926. The Reverend John Clarke Haden, uncle of Francis Seymour Haden, had come from the home of his late wife’s parents. Ann (Ormerod) Haden, his wife of only a few months, had died on 24 September 1847.
927. The vicar (1840–1877) of St. John the Divine Parish Church in Preston, where Deborah Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden were to be married, was Rev. John Owen Parr (8 August 1798 – 12 February 1877). He graduated from Brasenose College, Oxford, BA 1818, MA 1830. Before being “instituted to Preston” (16 April 1840), he held positions as curate of Henley-on-Thames and vicar of Durnford in Wiltshire. “In 1844 he was appointed Rural Dean, and in 1853 nominated Honorary Canon of Manchester ... [he] held several public offices in Preston and was identified with many public movements” (Henry Fishwick, *The History of the Parish of Preston in Amounderness in the County of Lancaster* [Rochdale, UK: James Clegg, The Aldine Press; London: Elliott Stock, 1900], pp. 191–192). The church is “located high on the Church Street / Fishergate ridge ... [and] occupies one of the oldest sites in the town” (Hunt, *History of Preston*, p. 31). The church as the Whistlers knew it no longer exists; in 1854–1855 it



was almost completely torn down and rebuilt (Thomas R. Flintoff, *Preston Church and Chapels* [[Preston]: Carnegie Press, 1985], p. 4).

928. It has not been possible to locate this letter.
929. Romans 12 concerns “the consecrated life” of the Christian, dedicated to “the law of love,” “overcoming evil with good” and leaving justice to be meted out by God (*New Oxford Annotated Bible*, pp. 1374–1375).
930. After the death of their mother, Alice (Clunie) McNeill, Eliza and Alicia McNeill went from Wilmington, North Carolina, to live in Scotland with their maternal grandmother, Isabel (Finlay) Clunie. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E and Images 39–40.
931. The 1841 Census for Preston lists a female servant named Sarah Tweedale, age twenty-five, in the home of John and Eliza Winstanley. The 1851 Census lists Mary Parkinson, Elizabeth Chapman, and Hannah Smith as female servants in the home of John and Elizabeth Winstanley. Mary and Elizabeth were sixty-four and forty-two years old, respectively. Hannah, the cook, was twenty-five. From this information, it is not possible to identify the young maids who wished to see Debo in her wedding dress.
932. There was no child in the family of James Chapman of Railway House, Preston, named John. Johnnie Chapman could have been “either James or Alfred who was later known as ‘Jack’ to [James] Whistler” (Robin Spencer to E. Harden, 10 November 1991).
933. His mother was Eliza (Hatton) Chapman (1805 – 18 February 1850) (Certified Copy of an Entry of Death for Eliza Chapman, Sub-district of Preston, County of Lancaster, GRO). See Chapman in Appendix E.
934. The “wedding scramble,” or “poor oot,” was a tradition in Britain (mainly Scotland) in which a “shower of silver ... was thrown to the crowd as the bride and bridegroom drove away.” Although in 1840 it was thought by some to be “a custom no longer in use,” there are records of its practice well into the twentieth century (“Poor oot, n.,” Scottish Language Centre website, accessed 15 February 2021, <https://www.scotlandscotland.com/articles/view/id/4538>). “Presumably this originally symbolised the new husband sharing his ‘good fortune’ and demonstrating his happiness” (“Poor oot,” Ich Scotland website, accessed 15 February 2021, <http://ichscotland.org/wiki/poor-oot>).

935. “Chip” refers to “wood (or woody fibre) split into thin strips for making hats and bonnets” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “chip, n. 4.a.”)
936. Major Whistler had written to William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) in 1842 of the reverence accorded the portrait by the Winstanleys: “As to the portrait, (which by the by I consider very bad) it is spoken to every morning” (George W. Whistler to Wm. G. McNeill, Adelphi Terrace London, Aug 15th 1842, NYPL: Swift Papers). As Major Whistler had taken a dislike to Francis Seymour Haden in the few days of their acquaintance, he would not toast him. Nor did he ever again write to Deborah until he was dying, because he felt “he could never mention her husband” (Anna Whistler to Deborah Haden, London In my own room 8 Bolton Row Saturday morning Dec. 14 [1867], GUL: Whistler Collection, W535). The whereabouts of this portrait are unknown to me.
937. One of the superstitions connected with weddings was that tiny crumbs of wedding cake would be passed through the bride’s wedding ring and given to the guests. They would place the crumbs under their pillows that night and dream of their future spouses (Simon R. Charsley, *Wedding Cakes and Cultural History* [London: Routledge, 1992], pp. 108, 109). The subject is depicted in an oil painting by John Everett Millais (1829–1896) called *The Bridesmaid* (1851), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Marcia Werner, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting and Nineteenth-Century Realism* [Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005], pp. 150–151).
938. Eliza (Hatton) Chapman’s daughters were Emily, age nineteen; Rose, age seventeen; and Eliza, age sixteen.
939. The word “to” was omitted after “stairs.”
940. They were members of the family of John Winstanley’s brother, William, a physician and justice of the peace. After the death of his wife, Elizabeth (Hardman) Winstanley, in 1845, Dr. William Winstanley “built ‘a very handsome house’ at West Cliff, Preston, fronting the river Ribble, where he lived 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” (Eliza Winstanley to Kate Palmer, Preston, 2 January 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W1080); Robin Spencer, “Whistler’s Early Relations with Britain and the Significance of Industry and Commerce for his Art: Part I.” *The Burlington*

*Magazine* 136, no. 1093 [1994]: p. 217). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E and Image 473.

941. This tradition dates back to “the ancient Hebrews, Egyptians and Assyrians”:
- When striking a bargain, in this case a marriage, sandals were traded as a symbol of the change of authority over the daughter from father to husband. The bride’s father would give the groom one of his daughter’s old shoes. Her future husband would then tap her on the head, accepting his new authority and responsibility over her. Guests in Tudor times would throw old shoes at the newly wed couple. It was supposed to bring good luck and assure fertility in the marriage if they or the carriage they were riding in was hit. (“Rice and Shoe Throwing: How it Started,” Live Life website, accessed 15 February 2021, <https://www.livelifeguide.com/rice-and-shoe-throwing-how-it-all-started/>)
942. Puce is a dark purple brown or brownish purple colour.
943. Eliza Winstanley, James, and Willie went to show themselves to Ann (Critchley) Walton (see Note 861 above).
944. The word “of” was omitted after “husband.” The two ceremonies occurring a year apart were the memorial service in the Whistlers’ home for John Bouttatz Whistler on 16 October 1846, and the wedding of Deborah Delano Whistler on 16 October 1847.
945. Edward Ormerod (c. 1811 – 27 February 1899) was listed in the 1881 Census as gentleman, seventy years of age, born in Manchester, Lancashire.
946. Mr. Richard Ormerod (c. 1775 – 31 December 1861) was the father of the recently deceased Ann (Ormerod) Haden.
947. Mrs. Edward Ormerod was Harriet (Ibbetson) Ormerod (c. 1820 – 17 April 1850). She and Edward Ormerod were married on 4 May 1841. He married on 21 September 1854, as his second wife, Frances Ballantyne Dykes (6 October 1814 – 31 January 1894).
948. The bereaved mother of Ann (Ormerod) Haden was Esther (Smith) Ormerod (bap. 18 November 1777 – 4 July 1863) of the Smith family of Chaddock Hall.
949. Ecclesiastes 7:2: “It is better to go to the house of mourning, than to go to the house of feasting: for that is the end of all men; and the living will lay it to his heart.”

950. The Monday after the wedding was 18 October 1847.
951. Aunt Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (see Image 39) and James went to say goodbye again to Mr. William Stewart and his wife, Jean, who ran a boarding school in Birkenhead called Holly Bank.
952. Tuesday was 19 October 1847.
953. The hotel at Euston Station was the Euston Hotel.
954. The Whistlers took Emma Maingay home to Shooter's Hill on Wednesday, 20 October 1847. "Woolwich is a market town and parish in the hundred of Blackheath and lathe of Sutton-at-Hone, 8 miles SE from London – situated on elevated ground, rising gently from the south bank of the Thames ... Shooter's Hill in this parish, is chiefly to be noted as the the residence of many respectable families, and the summer retreat of many opulent individuals, attracted by the salubrity of the situation and the extensive views which it commands over a wide district of the county" (*Pigot's Directory of Kent 1840*). The Maingays' home was called Wellesley House.
955. For the Maingay family members, see Maingay in Appendix E and Images 258–264.
956. This may be Maria Pavlovna Tuchkova (25 March 1821 [OS] – 11 April 1858 [OS]), a lady-in-waiting to Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna. She was the daughter of Pavel Alekseevich Tuchkov (1775 – 24 January 1858 [OS]) and Aleksandra Petrovna (Nekliudova) Tuchkova (30 June 1798 [OS] – 24 June 1869 [OS]). Anna Whistler's correspondence shows that she actually visited the sick Miss Tuchkov in late 1848, and her conversation with Miss Tuchkov's mother suggests that the Maingays might have invited Miss Tuchkov to visit them in England (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. P. Oct 3<sup>rd</sup> 1848 Tuesday, GUL: Whistler Collecction: W363).
957. L. Bonnet, *The Family of Bethany; or Meditations on the Eleventh Chapter of the Gospel According to St. John*, 10th ed. (London: James Nisbet, 1844).
958. Frederick and Emily (Lillie) Maingay were now twelve and thirteen years old.
959. It has not been possible to locate a Waterloo Hotel on the Thames in the 1840s.
960. "Nearly opposite the houses of Parliament stands Westminster Abbey [see Image 475], open to inspection on the north and east, but much crowded upon by paltry dwelling-houses on the west.

... Here a monastic institution was founded on the introduction of Christianity into Britain. Under Edward the Confessor, an abbey was raised upon the site of the ruined monastic building. The ground plan, as usual, bore the form of the cross; ... It [became] the place for the inauguration of the English monarchs, and William the Conqueror was crowned here ... in 1066. Henry III. enlarged the abbey, and the building continued in the state in which he left it until Henry VII. added a chapel, built in the florid Gothic style, ... the most splendid structure of the age, ... it was enjoined that the remains of royalty alone should be interred within its walls. During the reign of Henry VIII., the abbey was considerably defaced, but on the surrender of its revenues, Henry raised Westminster to the dignity of a city, and its abbey was constituted a cathedral. It was, however, afterwards reunited to London in 1550. Westminster Abbey, during the reign of William and Mary, was thoroughly repaired, and the towers added at the western entrance, under the direction of the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren. ...

The length of the abbey is 416 feet; breadth at the transept, 203 feet; nave, 102 feet; height of the west towers, 225 feet. The exterior measurement, including Henry VII.'s Chapel, is 530 feet.

On entering at the great western door between the towers, the magnificence of the abbey at once strikes the beholder with reverential awe: nearly the whole of the interior appears in grand masses of towering Gothic columns of grey marble, connecting the pavement with the roof, and separating the nave from the side aisles. A screen divides the nave from the choir, which is surmounted by a noble organ, while beyond, the eye soars amid graceful columns, tracery, and decorated windows, to the summit of the eastern arch that overlooks the adjacent chapels. The walls on either side display a great profusion of sepulchral monuments ...

Above the line of tombs there are chambers and galleries, once occupied by nuns. ... The northern window is richly ornamented with stained glass, representing the Holy Scriptures surrounded by a band of cherubim, in the centre; on the sides, the Saviour, the Evangelists, and Apostles, appear in recumbent attitudes. From this window proceeds a calm ray of light, very advantageous to the display of the beautiful sculpture on which it falls. There are numerous tombs and monuments of noble persons, exquisitely imagined and executed, in emblematical groups or in faithful portraiture ...

The Chapel of Edward the Confessor is at the eastern end of the choir, and contains the shrine of St. Edward ... Here also is the coronation-chair, under which is placed the celebrated stone brought from Scone in Scotland by Edward I., in 1297. The Chapel of Henry VII. is also at the eastern end of Westminster Abbey; and among the ashes of many whose brows were decorated with diadems, are those of Mary and Elizabeth. The ascent to this splendid piece of Gothic art, which has been extolled as the wonder of the world, is by steps of black marble beneath a stately portico. The entrance gates display workmanship of extraordinary richness in brass. The effect produced on entering this chapel is solemn and elevating: the lofty ceiling is wrought in stone into an astonishing variety of figures and devices; the stalls are of oak, having the deep tone of age, with Gothic canopies, all elaborately carved. Here are installed the knights of the most honourable the Order of the Bath ... The pavement is composed of black and white marble, beneath which is the royal vault. The magnificent tomb of Henry VII. and Elizabeth his queen, stands in the body of this chapel in a curious chantry of cast brass, most admirably executed, and interspersed with effigies, armorial bearings, and devices, alluding to the union of the red and white roses.

Westminster Abbey is a collegiate church, with a dean and chapter, who possess a considerable authority over the adjoining district. The abbey may be considered as subdivided into nine chapels; but in the present day divine service is performed only in a space enclosed with wood, near the eastern extremity of the building. It takes place daily at ten in the morning and three in the afternoon, though sometimes none are present but the officials. The public worship of the parish is conducted in the adjacent church of St. Margaret.

The abbey is usually entered by a side door at Poet's corner, which is nearly opposite the House of Lords. Here strangers will find admittance daily, and be conducted through the building on payment of certain fees" (*Chambers's Information* 1842, p. 217).

961. The Colosseum is located at "the south end of [Regent's] Park," where it "stands conspicuous, with its immense Doric portico and circular roof, rising from a polygon of sixteen faces, occupying an area of 400 feet. The main design of this large structure is to exhibit a kind of panoramic view of London, and this is accomplished with surprising fidelity and effect. The representation is exhibited as seen from the top of St. Paul's, and to gain this imaginary height, the visitor mounts a central tower"

(*Chambers's Information* 1842, p. 219). "By the aid of machinery that carries a moveable room through the centre of the building, the visiter is raised to a level with the summit of the panorama, and thus spared the trouble of mounting the staircase" (Edward Mogg, *Mogg's New Picture of London; or, Strangers' Guide to the British Metropolis*, 11th ed. [London: printed by the author, 1848], p. 194). The building, "commenced in 1824, and completed in 1827," is made of "brick, faced with cement, tinted to imitate stone. The interior is judiciously disposed into a saloon, where works of art are exhibited ... The gardens surrounding the Colosseum comprise conservatories, waterfalls, fountains, a Swiss cottage, a marine cave and grotto, all of beautiful construction" (Mogg, p. 194). By April 1845, "the Grand Panorama of the Metropolis [had] been almost entirely repainted" (*The Illustrated London News*, April 26 and May 3, 1845).

962. "St. Paul's Church, the most prominent object in London, and whose lofty dome towers in majesty over the mean rows of brick houses which environ it, stands in the centre of an enclosed churchyard of limited dimensions, at the head of Ludgate Hill Street. A church was planted here four hundred years before the Norman Conquest, and under various shapes and extensions, it remained till destroyed by the great fire in London, in 1666. An entirely new edifice was then erected in its stead, the important work being committed to Sir Christopher Wren. It is built in the form of a Greek cross, and measures 514 feet in length, 286 in breadth, and 370 in height, to the topmost pinnacle. Outwardly, the walls, which have a dark sooty appearance, except where bleached with the rains, exhibit a double range of windows. There are three porticoes at as many entrances, on the north, west, and south. That on the west is the principal, with twelve lofty Corinthian pillars below, and the angles above crowned with handsome bell towers, the size of ordinary church towers or steeples. But this entrance, which fronts the street called Ludgate Hill, is apparently disused, and the common entrance is by the north portico and flight of steps. On entering, the impression produced by the vastness of the internal space is very great ... The only objects designed to please in detail are the statues and sepulchral monuments ranged along the sides of the aisles. The revenues of St. Paul's are considerable, and support several prebendaries and other functionaries, the institution being a collegiate church. Prayers are read every morning and afternoon. Through some fine open screenwork, a view is obtained of the place where the usual services are performed, and which is highly

decorated with dark oaken carved work ... [One] may mount by means of stairs and ladders to the top of the cupola; ... the extensive view ... comprehends the whole of London, with the country beyond its outskirts, and the Thames rolling placidly in its winding course through the dense mass of houses ... The clock-work and great bell ... always attract the notice of visitors. The pendulum measures fourteen feet in length, while the mass at its extremity is one hundredweight. The great bell, which is only rung when a member of the royal family dies, is placed in the southern turret above the western portico, and weighs four and a half tons, and is ten feet in diameter. The fine deep tones of this mighty bell, on which the hours are struck, sweep solemnly in a quiet evening across the metropolis, and are heard distinctly ... several miles distant. In the immediate vicinity of St. Paul's, the town has a retired cloistered appearance, the names of the very streets and lanes giving token of their former connexion with the religious structure and its clerical attendants. The enclosed churchyard is surrounded by a street, not of the broadest dimensions, closely hemmed in with houses, now chiefly dedicated to trade, the lower storeys being, as usual, shops. An open arched passage on the south side of the churchyard leads to Doctors' Commons, or the offices connected with the ecclesiastical courts. St. Paul's is open each week day from 9 to 11, and from 3 to 4 ; and on Sunday from 10 to 12, and from 3 to 5. An authorized tariff of fees is exhibited at the door (*Chambers's Information* 1842, p. 214–215).

963. "The Parks, which form one of the most beautiful features of the metropolis, are situated chiefly in a series from the back of Whitehall Street, in a westerly and northerly direction, and are thus blended with the fashionable end of the town. The most ancient of these open grounds is *St. James's Park*, so called from St. James's Palace, which partly bounds it on the north. Originally these grounds were a marshy waste, which was drained and otherwise improved by Henry VIII., who also took down an ancient hospital dedicated to St. James, and built on its site the palace now called St. James's. Charles II. improved the grounds by planting the avenues of lime-trees on the north and south sides of the park, and forming the Mall, which was a hollowed, smooth, graveled space, half a mile long, skirted with a wooden border, for playing at balls. The southern avenue was appropriated to aviaries: hence it derived the appellation Birdcage Walk. The centre of the park was occupied by canals and ponds for aquatic birds. William III. threw the park open to the public for their



recreation. It is nearly a mile and a half in circumference, and the avenues form delightful shady promenades. In the centre is a fine piece of water, interspersed with islands, and covered with swans and various water-fowl. On each side are spacious lawns, dotted with lofty trees and flowering shrubs. The lawns are separated from the avenues by iron railings, and at each entrance is a keeper's lodge. There are seven or eight entrances to the park, the king's guard doing duty at each, day and night. At the east side of St. James's Park is a large graveled space called the Parade, on which, about ten o'clock every morning, the body-guards required for the day are mustered – about seven or eight hundred men; and here the regimental bands perform every morning between ten and eleven o'clock ... north from the parade, is a broad flight of steps, giving entrance to the park from Waterloo Place, constructed by order of William IV.; these steps are surmounted by a lofty column, commemorative of the late Duke of York, which occupies the spot where lately stood Carlton Palace, the favourite residence of George IV. while Prince Regent. The buildings near this, which overlook the park, are lofty and elegant. Farther along the Mall, or avenue, is St. James's Palace, an inelegant brick structure, having its front toward Pall-Mall ... This palace is used only occasionally by the queen, the principal royal residence being now *Buckingham Palace* [see Image 476]" (*Chambers's Information* 1842, p. 218).

Anna Whistler's friend, Eliza Isabella Wellwood (Stevenson) Smith, and her husband, Thomas Macdougall Smith, lived near St. James's Park, at 1 Chapel (or Duke) Place, Delahay (or Duke) Street, Westminster. Delahay Street and Duke Street were connected; Delahay became Duke at the bend in the road. There was a chapel in Duke Street called Duke Street Chapel that was just past the bend in the road. Chapel Place was probably adjacent to the Duke Street Chapel. Delahay Street was occupied predominantly by engineers, including T.M. Smith, and Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806 –1859) lived on Duke Street. These streets no longer exist. See Stevenson and Smith in Appendix E.

964. Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw (bap. 22 July 1792 – 7 March 1875); her daughters, Catherine Maccallum Shaw (bap. 13 July 1820 – 18 March 1888) and Georgina Shaw (bap. 25 October 1821 – 10 May 1902); and her mother, Catharine (Fraser) Wardrop (1768 – 4 March 1850) were living at Park House, Clapham, Surrey (Registers of the parish church of Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, Buckinghamshire Record Office, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; Certified Copy of an Entry of Death for

- Georgina Shaw and for Catherine Wardrop, GRO; OPRJ). The widowed Mrs. Shaw and her daughters ran a series of schools. See the biographies of the Shaw and Wardrop families in Appendix E (hereafter, Shaw and Wardrop) and Images 486, 488. Anna Whistler made an engagement to go with Eliza Isabella Wellwood (Stevenson) Smith to visit Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw, but was unable to do so because of time constraints.
965. Anna Whistler is referring to 1829, when she visited Georgina Shaw with Frances (Morton) Stevenson (bap. 27 April 1783 – 16 October 1845). *Pigot and Co.'s National London and Provincial Commerical Directory for 1832-3-4* (London: J. Pigot, 1832; hereafter, *Pigot's London Directory* and the year) lists under “Academies-Gents” a boarding and day preparatory school at Cadogan Terrace, Sloane Street, run by Georgina Shaw. The name “Calcutta House” does not appear, but it is clear from subsequent biographical information given by Anna Whistler that this was the name of the school.
966. This was Dr. Francis Boott, MD (see Image 80), brother of the Whistlers’ friend, Kirk Boott (see Image 43), of Lowell, Massachusetts.
967. “Paternoster Row is a continuation of Cheapside, but is not used as a thoroughfare, though it communicates by transverse alleys or courts with the Churchyard, and, at its western extremity, by means of another cross alley, called Ave-Maria Lane, leads into Ludgate Hill ... ‘[T]he Row’, as it is familiarly termed, is a dull street, hardly wide enough to permit two carriages to pass each other, with a narrow pavement for a single rank and file on each side, and a gutter in the middle. The houses are tall and somber in their aspect, and the shops below have a dead look, in comparison with those in the more animated streets. From a very remote period, this alley has been the seat of booksellers and publishers, who, till the present day, continue in such numbers as to leave little room for other tradesmen” (*Chambers’s Information* 1842, p. 215). Although Anna Whistler does not identify what type of book she was buying for Debo’s birthday, No. 56 Paternoster Row was the location of the Religious Tract Society.
968. It has not been possible to determine the name of Deborah and Seymour Haden’s housekeeper in 1847; perhaps she did not live in. In the 1851 Census for 62 Sloane Street, Chelsea, in addition to the Hadens and their two children (a daughter, Annie Harriet, age two; and a son, Francis Seymour, age one), there are the Cook, age twenty-four, named Anne Grub (?); the Housemaid,

age twenty-five, named Mary Glen (?); the Nurse, age twenty-two, named Mary Jordan; and the Errand Boy, age thirteen or eighteen, named George Day. No housekeeper is mentioned. In the 1841 Census, no Haden is listed as living at 62 Sloane Street.

969. In the 1840s, there was a Cadogan Literary and Scientific Institution on Cadogan-Gardens, Sloane Street. In April 1842, a meeting was held there for examining a group of pupils who had “been instructed in English history by means of the Polish mnemonic method” used in “public schools in Paris.” In September 1846, a “To Let” notice appeared in the *London Daily News* announcing the availability of an unfurnished house, “facing the middle of the Cadogan-Gardens,” that would be “very eligible for a ladies’ school, and permanent lady boarders.” A meeting “in aid of the Ladies’ Society for Promoting the Improvement of the Children of Negroes and People of Colour in the British West Indies” was held here on 21 March 1848 (*Kentish Mercury* [London], April 16, 1842; *London Daily News*, September 16, 1846; *Morning Chronicle* (London), March 22, 1848). There is no Cadogan Gardens listed in the 1841 and 1851 censuses.
970. Haden made a trip to Italy and Switzerland in spring–summer of 1844, during which he produced four Italian sketchbooks and journals (GUL: Whistler Collection, Whistler NB 15–18). The journey recorded “begins at Paris on February 27, 1844, and breaks off after August 21, 1844, in Geneva” (Richard S. Schneiderman, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints of Sir Francis Seymour Haden* [London: Robin Garton, 1983], p. 31n21). “These sheets were not removed from the sketchbook, so would not answer the question of what was on the wall [of Debo’s boudoir]” (K. Lochnan, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, to E. Harden, 19 July 2005).

“[O]nly a small number of works out of the total production of this trip has been preserved” (Schneiderman, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 21) (see Images 213–222). Seven are in the British Museum: “*Near Rome*” (c. 1844); “*Portrait of the Marquise de Belluno, sketching at Velletri*” (“13? June 1844”); “*Rome from near the Ponte Molle*” (“15th. May. 1844”), with a “sketch of the Castel S. Angelo etc.” on the reverse of the one of the two leaves; “*View at Tivoli*” (“17 April 1844”); “*Baths of Caracalla, Rome*” (1844); “*Portrait of Duval le Camus*” (“Roma 9. April 1844”); “*Maecenas’ Villa at Tivoli*” (“April 17th 1844”) (Richard S. Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: A Reassessment of His Etchings and Water Colors,” master’s thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1973, list of plates, nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7; A.V. Griffiths, London, to E. Harden, 27

August 1997). Two are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: “*Houses on the Tiber*” (c. 1844); “*Pisa*” (c. 1844) (Schneiderman, list of plates, nos. 10, 11; Heather Lemonedes, New York, to E. Harden, 5 September 1997). One is in the Albright-Knox Gallery of Art: “*The Colosseum*” (1843–1844) (Schneiderman, list of plates, no. 5; Schneiderman, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 21, 22, 43, 45, 47; Paul McLaughlin, Buffalo, NY, to E. Harden, 10 March 2006). One is in the NYPL: *Tomb of Porsenna* “called that of Horatii/Albano June/xiii 1844” (Nancy Finlay, New York, to E. Harden, 28 August 1997). In Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: Reassessment,” this watercolor is called “*Landscape with Classical Ruins*” (list of plates, no. 12). One is in the Victoria and Albert Museum: “*Castle of Savelli. From the Inn at Albano*” (8 June 1844) (Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: Reassessment,” list of plates, no. 9; Charles Newton, London, to E. Harden, 28 September 2005). One is in the Cincinnati Art Museum: “*Neapolitan Palace of Joanna Secunda*” (c. 1844) (Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: Reassessment,” list of plates, no. 8; Kristin Spangenberg, Cincinnati, to E. Harden, 22 September 2005). There is also a drawing of “*A Small Street in Amalfi*” (1843–1844), the present whereabouts of which are unknown (Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: Reassessment,” p. 95; Schneiderman, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 47). In 1985, two drawings entitled “*Town of Naples & Palace, Naples*,” and “*Cicero’s Bath Room*,” on a single sheet of paper “inscribed by Haden and dated 1843,” were offered in the exhibition catalogue of Haden’s work produced by “Garton & Cooke in association with Th. Laurentius” (p. 3). I have no information about whether they were sold or to whom.

Schneiderman records that Haden was in Italy in 1843 (see Naples sketches above) and later in life dated some of his drawings of Italy 1843 (Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: Reassessment,” p. 22). He further records that Haden was in Italy in 1845, as the Harrington collection catalogue lists four pencil sketches of Italy dated that year: *Vicenze* (18 August 1845), *Mavano* (c. 1845), *Liona* (c. 1845), and *Venice* (20 August 1845) (Schneiderman, p. 27). Schneiderman also mentions a drawing of Naples dated 1 July 1845 (Schneiderman, p. 26), the whereabouts of which are unknown (Schneiderman, p. 27). Any sketches of Switzerland from the 1844 trip do not seem to have survived. Haden probably made further sketches of Switzerland during his trip there in the summer of 1847, but, except for *Summit of Cader Idris* (Wales, 1847), no art work by Haden survives

from the years 1845 to 1848 (Schneiderman, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 22). For a discussion of the Italian sketches see Schneiderman, “Sir Frances Seymour Haden: Reassessment,” pp. 22–31, 95–96. For a discussion of “the significance of Haden’s [1844] trip and its wider implications,” see Schneiderman, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 20–22, 31.

971. They sailed for Hamburg on the *Victoria* on 23 October 1847.
972. “Broad cloth” is a “fine, plain-wove, dressed, double width, black cloth, used chiefly for men’s garments” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “broadcloth”).
973. The Whistlers landed in Hamburg on Monday, 25 October 1847.
974. In 1847, the Whistlers were staying in the now completely rebuilt and remodeled Streit’s Hotel “in the beautiful new square” (see Image 82). Anna Whistler’s delighted comments about the appearance of the square confirm that it had not yet been completed when she was in Hamburg in 1843 (see the entry for St Petersburg. November 28<sup>th</sup> 1843, NYPL: AWP, Part I, and accompanying Note 55).
975. Initially “synonymous with *drap* cloth” (derived from “Drap-de-Berry,” “a kind of woollen cloth, coming from Berry in France”), the term “drab cloth” was “applied to a hempen, linen, or woollen cloth of the natural undyed colour, whence attributive in *drap* or *drab colour*, i.e. the colour of this cloth” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “drab, n.2”).
976. The Hotel “Stadt Hamburg” in Lübeck was located at Klingenberg 1. The host of the hotel, whom Anna Whistler referred to as Mr. Flukes, was Georg Theodor Pflüg (Celle 1793 – Lübeck 1876) (Otto Wiehmann, *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck*, to E. Harden, 21 July 1994). Pflüg owned a collection of paintings that the Whistlers viewed on several occasions. James referred to “a very fine head by a Spanish master” in the collection in a letter to his father (James Whistler to Major G.W. Whistler, [Preston], Monday, June 21, [18]47 & July 3, GUL: Whistler Collection, W654). The collection was sold in 1874. There is a brochure listing the works, their buyers, and the price paid for each painting: *Verzeichniss der Gemälde – Sammlung von Georg Theodor Pflüg senior zu Lübeck 1874*, Gedruckt bei H.G. Rahtgens [*Catalogue of the Collection of Paintings of Georg Theodor Pflüg Senior of Lübeck 1874*, printed by H.G. Rahtgens].

977. Anna Whistler is referring to the death of Charles Donald Whistler on board the *Alexandra* in 1843.
978. The Russian steamers *Nikolai* and *Alexandra* plied the route between Travemünde and Cronstadt.
979. Dr. Adair Crawford (London 19 October 1790 – London 13 June 1879) was graduated MD in 1820 from Edinburgh University. The medical graduates card file at Edinburgh University Library has a card for him, with a biographical note, which says: “LRCP London 1833. Assistant Physician London Fever Hospital. Visited St. Petersburg 1848 and became Member of Imperial College of Physicians there. Practised later again in London. Published various contributions.” As he was “[n]ot in Edinburgh list,” it was conjectured that he was “possibly same as James Crawford M.D. Ed. 1820, with thesis *De Ictero* [Concerning Jaundice]” (Jo Currie, Edinburgh, to E. Harden, 22 November 1993). The *National Probate Calendar* (UK) for 1880 shows, however, that he was “John, otherwise Adair,” Crawford. He did not stay long in St. Petersburg, leaving sometime in the summer of 1848. In that same year, he published his *Observations on the Asiatic Cholera, during a Residence in St. Petersburg in 1848, and on Its Prevention and Cure; with an Account of the Sanitary Regulations Proposed to Be Adopted against the Spreading of the Disease in This Country*, Metropolitan Sanitary Commission (London: W. Clowes and Son for Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1848). The Introduction is dated “August 31, 1848,” and gives his address as “3, St. James’ Street, Pall Mall” (see also the *London and Provincial Medical Directory, 1851* [London: John Churchill, 1851][hereafter, *London and Provincial Medical Directory* and the year], pp. 26, 60). The publication was only twenty-four pages long, as his chief object was “to urge upon the attention of the public” that “cholera is almost invariably preceded by premonitory symptoms of derangement in the function of the digestive organs,” chiefly by diarrhea. If proper remedies are used “to check these premonitory symptoms on their first appearance . . . , the progress of the disease is generally arrested, and the development of its dangerous and unmanageable symptoms prevented.” He left it for physicians resident in St. Petersburg to undertake a “full account of the course of the epidemic” there, and praised them for the “indefatigable zeal and courage” they displayed at great personal peril (Crawford, Introduction, *Asiatic Cholera*, p. 3). He was also the author of “Inflammation of the Brain,” and the article “Inflammation” in *The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine* (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1833–1835, pp. 700–815)

- (*London and Provincial Medical Directory 1851*, p. 60). At the time of his death, he was living at 18 Montague Street at Russell Square (*London and Provincial Medical Directory 1880*, p. 1303). His personal estate was under one thousand pounds (*National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1879). See also Dr. Williams's Library, Birth Certificate; 1851 Census for St. Johns, Hampstead; 1871 Census for St. James, Plumstead; *London and Provincial Medical Directory 1865*, p. 75).
980. *The Record* was published from 1828 to 1848 in London. Its principles were "those of what are called the Low Church or Evangelical ... division of the Establishment; ... Its pervading character is religious; and the evangelical sentiment which it strenuously supports finds free and piquant expression in its columns. At the same time it affords as much of general news as, there can be no doubt, satisfies persons of strong religious feelings" (*Newspaper Press Directory, 1851* [London: Mitchell, 1851]).
981. The sons of Prince Pyotr Georgievich (1812–1881) and Princess Teresia-Vil'gel'mina (1815–1871) Oldenburg to whom Dr. Adair Crawford could have been appointed moral tutor were Nikolai Petrovich (St. Petersburg 27 April 1840 – Geneva 8 January 1886) or Aleksandr Petrovich (St. Petersburg 25 May 1844 – Biarritz 6 September 1932) (see Images 294–296) (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, pp. 291, 297).
982. Collegiate Secretary (10th grade) Karl Vladimirovich Knorring (1823–1871) was junior secretary of the Russian Embassy in Brazil (*Mesiatsoslov na 1844 g.*, p. 121). See BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fols. 90–91 about meeting him at the Whistlers' home on 21 January 1848. As a Baltic German his name was Karl Gotthard von Knorring.
983. Young Knorring's father was Adjutant General (1838) Vladimir Karlovich Knorring (18 February 1786 – 2 January 1864 [OS]), aide-de-camp to the emperor, general of cavalry (1841), and commander of the reserve corps of the Horse Guard. As a Baltic German his name was Karl Pontus Woldemar von Knorring. In 1843, while Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich (see Image 439) was abroad, V.K. Knorring was commander of the entire guard corps (Serene Vitale, *Pushkin's Button*, trans. Ann Goldstein and Jon Rothshild [New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999], p. 340).
984. Young Knorring's mother was Luisa Andreevna (Severina) Knorring (7 September 1796 – St. Petersburg 20 October 1843). She married Vladimir Karlovich Knorring on 24 February 1815

- (OS). Korf pointed out the difference in the social status of Knorring's parents. His mother was the daughter of a man in commerce, and when her husband married her he could not yet foresee that he would have his present career (Korf, *Dnevnik God 1843-i*, pp. 245, 328, 469). She was a close friend of Anna Whistler's friend Helene Funck. As a Baltic German her name was Luise Henriette Severin von Knorring.
985. On their return from England to St. Petersburg, the Whistlers received a welcome from William Bonamy Maingay (W<sup>m</sup> Maingay) (see Image 260); Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes and William Hooper Ropes, their neighbors across the hall (M<sup>rs</sup> Ropes, her husband); Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and William Clarke Gellibrand, English merchant (M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Gellibrand); and their adopted daughter, Elizabeth Hannah Ropes (Lizzie Ropes) (see Images 265–267).
986. George Henry Prince had the Whistlers' apartment put in order while they were in England.
987. This servant was named Matvey (Matthew), pronounced "Mahtvyey'."
988. A "roundabout" was a "snug, fitted jacket worn by boys in the 1840s through 1860s, buttoned at front and cut off at or slightly below the waist" (Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, p. 547).
989. Marie the cook returned to their employ and was presented with a blanket shawl, which is "a shawl made of blanketing or heavy woolen cloth" (*Merriam Webster Online*, s.v. "blanket shawl," accessed 20 March 2021, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/blanket%20shawl>; see also Patricia Hunt-Hurst, ed., *Clothing and Fashion: American Fashion from Head to Toe*, vol. 2, *The Federal Era through the 19th Century* [Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2016], p. 204).
990. Christine the laundress also returned to their employ and received an English cap. "Caps of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century [were] loosely divided into three basic styles: the lace cap, the draped cap, and the mob cap. The lace cap and draped cap are fairly self-explanatory ... The mob cap is a large soft hat which covers all of the hair and is typically bordered by a broad ruffle or decorative frill. ... The simple mob caps of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century [were] worn mainly by female servants" (Mimi Matthews, *Fashionable Caps for 19th Century Matrons both Young and Old*, 30 August 2015, accessed 20 March 2021, <https://www.mimimatthews.com/2015/08/30/fashionable->



caps-for-19th-century-matrons-both-young-and-old/). What Anna Whistler presented Christine with was not, however, simple, but abundantly beribboned and meant for dressing up rather than work; indeed, it was above Christine's station. Anna Whistler is surprising here in her frivolity.

991. The cow was named Bosiushka, the Russian diminutive and endearing form of "Bossie," pronounced "Baw'syooshkuh." She had been left with the family of Andrew McCalla and Lydia Anne (James) Eastwick (see Eastwick in Appendix E and Images 233–234).
992. Mrs. Francis Baird (Dorothea); Mrs. Joseph Statter (Eleanor); Mrs. Matthew Anderson (Ann Elizabeth); Madam Nadezhda Filipovna Mel'nikova, wife of Aleksandr Petrovich Mel'nikov, and one of their daughters (Kleopatra, age seven; Aleksandra, age ten; or Olga, age seventeen), called on Anna Whistler. Mrs. Statter and Mrs. Anderson were related by marriage, as Mrs. Statter's maiden name was Anderson. Madam Mel'nikova and her daughter were the sister-in-law and niece of Colonel Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (see Mel'nikov in Appendix E and Image 247).
993. Marie Olga, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison (see Images 226–227), was born on 5/17 September 1847 and baptized on 1/13 December 1847 (PREC STP, p. 359). She was named for the two surviving daughters of Nicholas I (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, 10/22 October 1847, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1). Rev. Dr. Edward Law performed the ceremony.
994. Colin McCrae Ingersoll (see Image 280) stood proxy for Thomas Poulterer (27 June 1832 – 10 August 1890) (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 67).
995. Mrs. Maria Isabella Hewett, Joseph Harrison Jr.'s youngest sister (b. c. 1825), married in October 1846 and recently widowed, is given as godmother in the Parish Register of the English Church. However, her surname was Leland (PREC STP, p. 359). Her husband, Theodore Leland, 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 (Joseph Harrison, Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, March 7/20 [*sic*: 7/19], 1847, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1; Joseph Harrison Jr. to R.G. Fairbanks, Alexandroffsky, April 14/26, 1846 [*sic*: 1847]; Joseph

Harrison Jr. to W.S. Nightingale, Alexandroffsky, June 18/30, 1847; Joseph Harrison Jr. to Stephen Poulterer, Alexandroffsky, August 9/21, 1847). Mrs. Leland had arrived in Russia on Sunday, 3/15 August 1847 (Edward Eastwick to Charles James, Alexandroffsky, August 19th 1847 Thursday, *Eastwick Letters*). Later in this entry she is called “Aunty Maria.”

996. The Russian word for “wet nurse” is spelled “mamen’ka” and pronounced “mah’minkuh” (see Image 363, showing a wet nurse in her costume).
997. The Russian word for “little darling” is spelled “dushen’ka” and pronounced “doo’shinkuh.”
998. Both William Hooper Ropes and Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll gave a Thanksgiving dinner party. For the description of a previous Thanksgiving dinner at the home of William Hooper Ropes, see John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, St. Petersburg, January 1, 1844, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 27. The flavor of the dinner and of one of the guests invited by Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll was recorded by Colin M. Ingersoll:

*November 25th.* Thanksgiving day, at home! and we have had the “American Colony” to dine at the Legation—a handsome dinner, table beautifully set, and our French cook beat all previous efforts in the *cuisine*. The pea nuts which my good mother sent in a box, with canned oyster, to us, was a feature on the occasion—they are never seen here, and while we had no ‘cider and pumpkin pie’—we had some choice Tokay from Prince Metternichs cellar—a present—the only trouble about it being, according to one of our good hearted guests, that ‘the wine glasses were too small! While at table, letters from the U.S. were brought in, nearly every body getting a letter. (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 2, fol. 57)

His mother was Margaret Catherine Eleanor (Van den Heuvel) Ingersoll (c. 1788 – 23 December 1878). The French cook was Madame Françoise Dumée.

999. As Henry was born on 23 December and Annie on 25 December, a joint birthday party was held for them on 24 December.
1000. Doctor James Ronaldson Handyside was attending Mrs. Harrison.
1001. The English book store, or Kirton’s, had moved from the house of Liprandi on Galernaia Street to the house of Bremme on the

corner of New-Isaac Street next to the Horse Guard Indoor Riding Range (*Konnogvardeiskii manežh*), thus requiring the Whistlers to walk several blocks, from the First Ward of the First Admiralty District to its Third Ward (Nistrem, *Adres-Kalendar'*, vol. 1, p. 30; Grech, *Ves' Peterburg* 1851, p. 295).

1002. Anna Whistler is referring to Georgiana, Lady Bloomfield (London 13 April 1822 – Hertford 21 May 1905; see Image 292), daughter of Thomas Henry Liddell, first Baron Ravensworth. She had been maid of honor to Queen Victoria (see Image 287) from December 1841 to July 1845. On 4 September 1845, she married the Honorable John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield (see Image 291), envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain to Russia. He “succeeded his father as second Baron Bloomfield in the peerage of Ireland [on] 15 August 1846” (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Bloomfield, John Arthur Douglas”; Bloomfield, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, p. 1). See also the entry for Monday [January] 5<sup>th</sup> [1846] Russian Christmas Eve and accompanying Note 252.
1003. Through the efforts of Lord Bloomfield (see Image 291), Imperial permission was granted to establish an English school under his patronage in St. Petersburg exclusively for the young children, both male and female, of English citizens in that city. A house belonging to Pets on the Fifth Line of Vasilievskii Island was rented for this purpose, and the school opened on 6/18 November 1847. The director was the Rev. Elijah Smith (11 March 1800 – 10 October 1870) and the supervisor Rev. Dr. Edward Law. The subjects taught were: religion; reading, writing, and grammar of the English, German, and Russian languages; arithmetic; geography; history; penmanship; and private lessons in Latin, French, music, and needlework. The teachers were Rev. Smith, E. Smith, Mr. Breitfuss, Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Knirsh. The forty-six pupils, all of them boarders, consisted of thirty-one boys and fifteen girls. The annual fee was 131 silver rubles. If two or more students were from the same family, their fee was reduced (TsGIA SPb: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 5109. Ob otkrytii v S.-Peterburge shkoly dlia detei Anglichan. 11 Noiabria 1847 g. – 19 Dek. 1851 g. [Concerning the opening of a school in St. Petersburg for the children of Englishmen 11 November 1847 – 19 December 1851, fols. 1–3). A list of all forty-six pupils’ names and their fathers’ trades can be found in this file (fols. 4r and v). See the biography of Elijah Smith in Appendix E. Because William Clarke Gellibrand (see Image 265), communicant of the

British and American Congregational Church, was a generous supporter of the school, the pastor of that church, Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256), and his wife, Mary (Bealey) Ellerby, were made members of the gentlemen's and ladies' committees.

1004. Anna Whistler resumed writing her diary on Tuesday, 25 April 1848. A very important event that had occurred in February 1848 and is omitted because of this gap was the publication of Maxwell's book *The Czar, His Court and People*. In his last extant letter to Major Whistler among his papers at the N-YHS, written on 11 February 1848, Maxwell said:

It will be out and for sale in a few days and I would send you a copy if I supposed there was any chance of its reaching you. However, it would appear, a very poor affair to you, conversant as you are by your long residence, with the Russian people. I have been as fair as possible in my remarks. There is no extenuation - naught set down in malice- I wrote the manuscript originally for the amusement of my leisure hours and the information of my friends—and now I have been induced to let it go to the public—You will see at least that I have been fair – and as just as any opportunities of judging would permit—Don't be too severe— (John S. Maxwell to George Washington Whistler, New York, February 11, 1848, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers)

The second important event that had occurred was the Easter season. In 1848, Orthodox Lent began on 23 February / 6 March and Western Lent two days later, on Ash Wednesday, 25 February / 8 March. Easter Sunday took place for both groups on 11/23 April.

In her opening entry of 25 April, two days after Easter Sunday, Anna Whistler limits herself to lamenting the lack of devotion in the congregation of her church, whose members attend only in Passion week, but otherwise prefer secular festivities.

1005. After Rev. Elijah and Mrs. Smith arrived from London, the school opened and the number of pupils rose to eighty. In addition to William Clarke Gellibrand, other generous donors, such as Francis Baird (see Image 275), the foundry owner, and Charles Wood (see Image 271) of the Petrovsky Cotton-Spinning and Weaving Mill, contributed large sums to support the school. Charles Wood also placed his son, William Nicholson Wood, in

the school as a boarder. The Smiths, however, were found to be poorly prepared to carry out their duties as teachers. On 6 February 1848, Rev. Smith tendered his and his wife's resignation to the school's Committee. It was accepted on condition that they remain in their posts until 26 June 1848. As their replacements, the Committee invited a male and female teacher from England who were fully qualified and had presented excellent testimonials of their ability. All of this information was communicated to Privy Councilor Mikhail Nikolaevich Musin-Pushkin (1795–1862), head of the St. Petersburg Educational District, in a letter from Rev. Dr. Edward Law (see Image 253) and James Cattley (see Image 255), secretary of the British School, dated [no later than 5] April 1848 (TsGIA SPb: Fond 139, op. 1, d. 5109. Ob otkrytii v S.-Peterburge shkoly dlia detei Anglichan, 1847–1851, fol. 6r).

1006. It is known that Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby (see Image 256) gave an annual sermon at Alexandrofsky to the young (*Jubilee Commemorative Volume*, pp. 26–27). The room in which he preached was located in the garret of the house in which the Harrisons and Eastwicks lived (see Images 239–240).
1007. Mr. Archibald Mirrielees's (1797–1877; see Image 268) guest was John Melville (15 August 1802 –19 August 1886), Scottish colporteur and evangelist, 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 c. 1875 (James Urry, "John Melville and the Mennonites: A British Evangelist in South Russia, 1837 – c. 1875," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 54 (1980): p. 305; IGI). See the biography of John Melville in Appendix E and Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg, Oct. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1848. Tuesday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W363). Listening to him, Anna Whistler felt that Rev. John Cutler Nichols (M<sup>r</sup> Nichols) and Rev. Henry Washington Lee (M<sup>r</sup> Lee) would have enjoyed his stories, as would have her mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill (my dear Mother).
1008. "The clergyman in Moscow" was Christopher Grenside (Great Massingham, Norfolk 4 July 1818 – Beckenham, Kent 23 April 1885), son of Rev. Christopher Grenside and Mary (Bent) Grenside. He was a Cambridge University alumnus: "Adm. pens. at Peterhouse, Apr. 27, 1837. Matric. Michs. 1837; B.A. 1841; M.A. 1855. Ord deacon, 1842; priest, 1843. British Chaplain at Archangel, 1843–7; at Moscow, 1847 –53. C. of Rochford, Essex, 1854 –7. C. of St Mark's Lyncombe, Somerset, 1858–60. C. of St John-the-Evangelist, Charlotte Street, London, 1861 –2. C. of

- Sheffield, Yorks, 1863. V. of Old Malton, 1864 –70. R. of Thorpe-Bassett, New Malton, 1870 –81. Lived latterly at Thorpe-Bassett. Died Apr. 23, 1855, at Norfolk House, Beckenham” (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 3, p. 144). He married on 3 August 1843 Fanny Bottomley (Enfield, Middlesex c. 1820 – Bromley, Kent 1 June 1896) in St. Andrews, Enfield, Middlesex. They were the parents of William Christopher Grenside (d. 16 July 1908), Frederick Ralph Grenside (b. Arkhangel’sk 1845), Henry Nicholas Grenside (Moscow c. 1852 – Westminster, London 4 December 1908), and George Alexander Grenside (Pentonville, London 1854 – Malton, Yorkshire 1924) (Thomas Alfred Walker, *Admissions to Peterhouse or S. Peter’s College in the University of Cambridge: A Biographical Register* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912], p. 458; *Clergy List for 1885*; *Crockford’s Clerical Directory 1860*; 1881 Census; *The Guardian* [Manchester], April 29, 1885; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1896; Amburger, *Die Pastoren*, p. 182).
1009. On Saturday, 22 April 1848, Anna Whistler received a letter from “Henriet Hallback,” an old friend, who was writing her from Frankfort am Main. 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). Bohl Bohlen was a gin merchant and the Dutch consul in Philadelphia. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
1010. “Chartism [was] the first sustained, inclusive working-class movement in modern English history” and “referred to the People’s Charter, an electoral bill of rights which, delivered to an unresponsive ... Parliament in the form of a petition in 1839, 1842, and 1848, demanded ... [in] a six-point program ... universal manhood suffrage, the secret ballot, payment for members of Parliament, abolition of the property qualification for members, equal electoral districts, and annual elections” (Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1973], pp. 89–90). The unsuccessful presentation of the Chartists’ third petition to Parliament, on 10 April 1848, accompanied by a huge demonstration in London, took place in this period of revolutions across Europe. See “What happened on 10 April 1848?”, *The Illustrated London News*, April 15, 1848.

I assume that the quote from Henriette Halbach's letter ends with the words "were starving?"

1011. The Proclamation was read in all the Russian Orthodox churches on Sunday, 14/26 March and published the following day, Monday, 15/27 March. For the Proclamation, see M.D. Filin, ed., *Russkii mir v litsakh Imperator Nikolai Pervyi. Nikolaevskaia èpokha. Slovo russkogo tsaria. Apologiia rytsaria. Nezabvennyi* [The Russian World through Personages series, *Emperor Nicholas I. The Epoch of Nicholas I. The Word of the Russian Tsar. The Apologia of a Knight. Unforgettable*] (Moscow: Russkii mir, 2002), p. 272. For an English translation of the Proclamation, see Lincoln, *Nicholas I*, p. 287; for the year 1848, see Lincoln, pp. 269–290. The Russian-language manifestos about the revolutions taking place in Western Europe were translated and published in the French language newspaper, *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* (the equivalent of *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti*), from which Anna Whistler copied them.
1012. Anna Whistler is showing the people's reaction to the manifesto of Nicholas I by recording what the Whistlers' servant, Matvei (pronounced "Mahtvyey"), said.
1013. BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 58.
1014. Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280) records in his journal only that on 24 March (NS) he "witnessed a fine military exercise ... in the 'military ménage', where, recognized by Grand Duke Aleksandr he was "given an 'assigned place'" (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 50). Anna Whistler seems to be referring to some time after 27 March.
1015. March 25 (NS) was the feast day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Mother of God (Blagoveshchenie). It "commemorates the announcement of the Incarnation by the angel Gabriel to the [Blessed Virgin Mary] and the conception of Christ in her womb (Lk. 1:26–35)" (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. "annunciation of the BVM"). All offices and schools were closed (*Mesiatsoslov na 1842 g.*). It occurred during Lent, and Western Easter in 1848 occurred on 23 April. The feast day of the Epiphany was celebrated on 2/14 February. See Images 376, 379 for icons depicting the Annunciation and Easter Sunday.
1016. Princess Alexandra-Frederica-Henrietta-Antoinna-Marianna of Saxe-Altenburg (Altenburg 26 June / 8 July 1830 – St. Petersburg 23 June / 6 July 1911; see Images 437–438) was confirmed in the Russian Orthodox faith on 5/17 February 1848, and received the name of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna. The betrothal

- took place on 6/18 February 1848 (Kuz'min, *Rossiiskaia imperatorskaia familia*, p. 94). Anna Whistler, James, and Willie were in England at the time of the wedding (30 August / 11 September 1848). Colin Ingersoll (see Image 280) described in his journal the confirmation and betrothal ceremonies and gave details of the Grand Duchess's dress, which he also described personally to Anna Whistler (BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fols. 21–25). See also *Son inosti*, pp. 110–111, 117–118, 127–134).
1017. See Image 372, showing the dresses of a group of ladies-in-waiting.
1018. “Miss T–” is probably Maria Pavlovna Tuchkova (25 March 1821 [OS] – 11 April 1858 [OS]), a lady-in-waiting to Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna. She was the daughter of Pavel Alekseevich Tuchkov (1775 – 25 January 1858 [OS]) and Aleksandra Petrovna (Nekliudova) Tuchkova (30 June 1798 [OS] – 24 June 1869 [OS]). Anna Whistler knew her through Eliza Maingay, who had asked Anna Whistler to take a copy of Bonnet's *The Family of Bethany* to a “Miss Tuchkov” when the Whistlers brought Emma Maingay back to Shooter's Hill after Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden's wedding (see the entry for Preston, September, Saturday 10th [1847], AWPD: Part II). Anna Whistler would have asked Miss Tuchkov to help her get a ticket to the gallery of the chapel, because of the latter's influence. However, when Miss Tuchkov could not fulfill her request, Anna Whistler went to the gallery of the great hall with a group of women using tickets obtained through the favor shown some of the English nursery governesses in the employ of the Heir to the Throne.
1019. On this birthday, Anna Whistler presented her husband with a watch guard jointly made by Eliza Sandland, daughter of Betsy Hewitt (Dorlin) Sandland of Liverpool, and herself.
1020. The portrait would seem to have been close to completion, and Major Whistler returned to the portrait painter's for an 8 a.m. appointment on 22 May. No further mention of the portrait is made in the diaries. It has not been possible to establish with certainty who the portrait painter was, but I would like to suggest that it may have been Karl Friedrich Eugen Biber (1823–1876), the brother of Mr. Biber, James and Willie's tutor. When Major Whistler died, Mr. Biber, no longer in their employ, sent a letter of condolence to Anna Whistler, in which “he spoke of the great affliction of his brother at the loss of his first patron” (William



- Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg 10th May 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W978). This may mean that Mr. Biber's brother was an artist (as well as a teacher of French) and had received his first commission from Major Whistler. When Major Whistler was dying, he bequeathed a portrait of himself to Colonel Pavel Mel'nikov and, as no other portrait of him executed in Russia is extant or mentioned in any of the archival materials I have consulted, it was probably this portrait. It has not been possible to locate Mr. Biber's letter.
1021. Colin McCrae Ingersoll (see Image 280) had arrived in St. Petersburg with his father, Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll (the ambassador) on 19 May 1847, Major Whistler's birthday. The George Bliss family of Springfield, Massachusetts (the Bliss') were passengers on the same ship (entry for Wednesday [May 21st [1847], NYPL: AWPD: Part I, and accompanying Notes 747 and 748; BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fol. 83). Ingersoll pointed out that 19 May was also the only day in the year that the prisoners in the Peter and Paul Fortress could receive visitors.
1022. "Yesterday" was Thursday, 18 May 1848.
1023. Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev's palace (see Images 302, 151) was located on the Palace Embankment (Petrovskaiia, *Kontsertnaia z'bizn' Peterburga*, p. 49). Members of the Ropes family (our next door neighbors) watched the review from there. They knew Count Kushelev because they spent every summer at the dacha of William Hooper Ropes's sister, Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Image 266), and her husband, William Clarke Gellibrand (see Image 265), near Count Kushelev's model farm on the Peterhof Road.
1024. Persons mentioned in the entry for Monday [May] 22<sup>nd</sup> who have appeared earlier in the diaries are: Dr. George Edwin Palmer, Anna Whistler's brother-in-law (Doctor Palmer, her good husbands p-S); Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer, Anna Whistler's sister (My Sister Kate, the blessed mother, dear Kates letter); Monsieur Biber, James and Willie's tutor (Mons Biber); Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother (my tender mother, a dear mother): Deborah (Whistler) Haden (Debos fond words); and Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, Anna Whistler's half-sister (my Sister Alicas account).
1025. See Note 1020 above concerning Karl Friedrich Eugen Biber.
1026. The new daughter of Dr. George Edwin Palmer (Doctor Palmer, good husband) and Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer (My Sister

Kate the blessed mother, dear Kates letter) was Anna Whistler Palmer (7 April 1848 – 28 May 1928). Her married name was Stanton. It has not been possible to locate any of the letters mentioned here.

1027. Willie had gone for a walk with his and James's tutor, Monsieur Biber.
1028. The first Saturday of June 1848 was 3 June.
1029. A.I. Shtukenberg (see Image 250), who was at this time in charge of Section V of the Southern Administration (Haywood, *Russia Enters the Railway Age*, p. 311), recalls in his memoirs that Major Whistler visited him for the last time in Pen'kovo in 1848, accompanied by his little son (Shtukenberg, *Memuary*, vol. 2, fol. 516). For more information about Shtukenberg, see Koritskii in Appendix E. Major Whistler and Willie returned home on 28 June.
1030. The three announcements of Dr. James Rogers's departure appeared in *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti*: no. 124, Saturday, June 5 [June 17 NS], 1848, p. 500; no. 126, Tuesday, June 8 [June 20 NS], 1848, p. 509; and no. 128, Thursday, June 10 [June 22 NS], 1848, p. 518. He therefore left some time after 10/22 June, returning on 1/13 November (Anna Whistler to James Whistler, St. Petersburg Wednesday, November 14, 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W366). He encouraged the Ingersolls to leave as well. See also BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 3, fols. 84, 88–91 on the cholera epidemic, peasant superstition, and killing of doctors.
1031. The Whistlers' cook was named Marie. She was Finnish.
1032. It has not been possible to identify the Whistlers' greengrocer.
1033. It has not been possible to ascertain who Ivan, the servant, was. His name appears here for the first time.
1034. The *Camilla* (Capt. Alfred Brownless) departed for London on 19 June / 1 July 1848 with 29 passengers. Among those listed were "the wife of Engineer-Major Whistler and family" (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 142, Sunday, June 27 [July 9 NS], 1848, p. 574). Major Whistler, together with Andrew McCalla Eastwick and William Mirrielees, accompanied Anna Whistler, James, Willie, and Mary Brennan to Cronstadt. Archibald Mirrieless had a son named William, but he also had two nephews named William. All three boys are known to have been in Russia. It is not clear which William is meant here.

1035. The church so famous for its sculptures by Bertel Thorvaldsen (see Image 478) was Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady) (see Images 480–484), which Anna Whistler called “Frow Kurkin” (Anna Whistler, aboard the S.S. “City of Aberdeen,” to James, 22 September 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W360). Up until the hour spent in Copenhagen, Anna Whistler had seen only reproductions of these sculptures, in May 1845 at the home of the Law family.

Bertel Thorvaldsen (Copenhagen 19 November 1770 – Copenhagen 24 March 1844) was the son of an immigrant from Iceland, whose profession was carver in wood of ships’ decorations, and a mother who “was the daughter of a parish clerk near Lemvig in Jutland.” He was admitted at the age of eleven to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, where he demonstrated outstanding talent. He studied sculpture there until 1793. On completion of his education at the Academy, he was awarded a stipend for further study in Italy, which he did not take up for some four years. He left for Rome on 30 August 1796 and arrived there on 8 March 1797 to study for three years. He remained instead for forty, achieving great success, wealth, and fame as a Neo-Classical sculptor. He lived in Rome from 1797 until 1838, but made a trip to Copenhagen in 1819, at which time he received the commission to create the massive statues of Christ and the Twelve Apostles and baptismal font for Copenhagen’s cathedral, Vor Frue Kirke.

Thorvaldsen’s brilliant career began with his sculpture from classical mythology (1803) of Jason and the Golden Fleece that “attracted the attention of the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova.” Among his other famous sculptures are the “Alexander Frieze of 1812 in the Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, modeled ... in anticipation of a visit by Napoleon”; the marble monument (1823–1831) for the tomb of Pope Pius VII in St. Peter’s Cathedral in Rome; the carving in natural rock of a dying lion (1819), located in a small park in Lucerne, Switzerland, “commemorat[ing] the hundreds of Swiss Guards ... massacred in 1792 during the French Revolution”; the bronze equestrian statue (1817–1832) in Warsaw of Józef Poniatowski (1763–1813), a Polish revolutionary, who became a marshal of France; and the marble sculpture of the Three Graces and Cupid (1821) in Copenhagen. Thorvaldsen created in all more than five hundred and fifty sculptures, sculptural reliefs, and portrait busts. He did not return permanently to Denmark until 1838, where he was granted “freedom of the city.”

The desire of the citizens of Copenhagen to build in honor of Thorvaldsen a museum (see Image 479) to house his “original models of the sculptures he created for numerous European countries” and for his native land, as well as his “drawings and sketches for sculptures and reliefs ... and his extensive collection of [contemporary] paintings, and art works and [artifacts] from Greek, Roman and Egyptian antiquity” received the cooperation of the artist, who had donated his art collection “to the Danish people in 1830” and declared his wish also to be buried in the museum.

Although the commission to design the museum was given to the architect Michael Gottlieb Bindsbøll (1800–1856), ultimately the old Royal Coach House, located near Christiansborg Palace in the center of Copenhagen, was renovated for the purpose. It is two stories high and has a basement consisting of small rooms, each containing a single piece of sculpture; the Christ Hall and entrance hall were new.

The museum was in the process of construction from 1839 to 1848. Unfortunately, Thorvaldsen suffered a heart attack while attending a performance in the Royal Danish Theater on the evening of 23 March 1844 and died. As the museum was unfinished, his coffin was placed in a chapel in Vor Frue Kirke. On 6 September 1848, it was transferred to the burial chamber in the courtyard of the Thorvaldsen Museum, a few days before the museum’s official opening on 18 September 1848. His works can be found in major international museums such as the Louvre in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (“Thorvaldsen Museum-Copenhagen, Denmark,” Official Local Tourism Attractions on Waymarking.com, accessed 13 April 2021, [https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMJ3QM\\_Thorvaldsen\\_Museum\\_Copenhagen\\_Denmark](https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMJ3QM_Thorvaldsen_Museum_Copenhagen_Denmark); *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Bertel Thorvaldsen,” accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Bertel-Thorvaldsen>; Dyeke Helsted, O. Andrup, and Povl Eller, “Bertel Thorvaldsen,” *Danske Biografiske Leksikon [Danish Biographical Dictionary]*, accessed 11 April 2021, [https://biografiskeleksikon.lex.dk/Bertel\\_Thorvaldsen](https://biografiskeleksikon.lex.dk/Bertel_Thorvaldsen), translated into English by Jutta Kitching, Vancouver, BC). It was during their one-hour visit to Vor Frue Kirke that Anna Whistler, James, and Willie saw Thorvaldsen’s temporary resting place.

The history of the locations of the bronze equestrian statue of Józef Poniatowski is too complicated to be reproduced here.

For Robert Baird's meeting with Thorvaldsen at the latter's studio and his subsequent viewing of Thorvaldsen's sculptures in Vor Frue Kirke, see Robert Baird, *Visit to Northern Europe: or Sketches Descriptive, Historical, Political and Moral, of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, and the Free Cities of Hamburg and Lübeck*, 2 vols. (New York: John S. Taylor, 1841), vol. 1, pp. 219–223, 229–230, 232–238.

1036. Tivoli Gardens, opened in 1843, was only some five years old when the Whistlers made their brief stop in Copenhagen. A fifteen-acre plot, it stood “on the previously reserved fortified zone outside the western gate of Copenhagen, where the city’s distillers used to graze their cattle in summer” (Bent Rying, *Denmark: History*, vol. 2 of *Danish in the South and North*, 2 vols. [Copenhagen: Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1988], p. 260). It was founded by Georg Carstensen (31 August 1812 – 4 January 1857), son of a diplomat, who was raised largely in the Middle East, although “his schooling took place in Denmark.” After extensive travel, he “returned to live permanently to Copenhagen in 1839,” where his work in publishing two periodicals taught him “how to arrange popular entertainment.” In 1841, King Christian VIII granted him “permission to establish and run” a pleasure garden that he initially called “Tivoli and Vauxhall,” after the Jardin de Tivoli in Paris (itself named after the town of Tivoli in Italy) and Vauxhall Gardens in London; by the time the gardens opened, the name had been reduced simply to “Tivoli.” Construction began in May 1843, and the gardens opened on 15 August of that year. “The season lasted until 11 October, at the end of which Tivoli had seen 174,609 guests” (“The Beginning,” and “The Founder,” Tivoli website, accessed 3 March 2016, <http://www.tivoli.dk/en/om/historie/tivolis+grundlaegger/>). “Tivoli was from the very start in 1843, a great success with a variety of attractions: restaurants, concerts, flower gardens, and many amusements [*sic*] rides. In the evening the park was illuminated and at closing hours fireworks lit up the gardens and parts of the city.” The garden had a lake, and a fountain beside which was a concert hall for theater performances and “human exhibitions” of “exotic and tropical” individuals portraying “everyday life in India” (“Tivoli–Copenhagen,” Copenhagen Portal website, accessed 18 February 2021, <https://www.copenhagenedk.com/CPH-Map/CPH-Tivoli.asp>).

1037. Frederiksborg, located some 40 km north of Copenhagen, is the site of Frederiksborg Castle built in the reign (1588–1648) of Christian IV (1577–1648). It “is built of red brick, in the Gothic style, on three little islands in a small lake, which are connected by bridges. The chief wing so completely covers the island on which it is built, that it seems to rise immediately from the water, ... The village of Hilleröd surrounds the castle lake on three sides, and on the fourth it is bounded by pleasant walks and gardens laid out on the sloping banks of the lake.” The Royal Castle contains an extensive collection of portraits that were described in 1849 as being “interesting in an historical point of view, and not as works of art.” “The gardens ... are laid out in the French style.” The description in Murray’s *Handbook for Northern Europe* stresses the “lovely walks around Frederiksborg, whence the castle is seen to great advantage,” and the beauty of the Royal Forest (Murray’s *Handbook for Northern Europe*, vol. 1, pp. 86, 87).  
 “The old building was demolished in 1599 and the Flemish-born architect Hans van Steenwinckel the Elder [c. 1550–1601] was charged with planning the new building. After his death in 1601, his sons Hans [1587–1639] and Lorenz [d. 1619] completed the assignment. The main four-storey building with its three wings was completed around 1610 but work continued on the Chapel until 1618” (“Frederiksborg Castle,” *Wikipedia*, accessed 13 April 2021). The erroneous rendering of the surname as “Heenwinkel” in Murray’s *Handbook for Northern Europe* and biographical dictionaries, such as Thieme and Becker, *Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (p. 519), have hindered identifying him.
1038. Sunday was 2 July 1848.
1039. Monday was 3 July 1848.
1040. According to the list of aliens submitted by Alfred Brownless, master of the steamer *Camilla*, twelve aliens arrived at London on his ship from St. Petersburg and Copenhagen on 11 July 1848: the Countess de Berg, lady, and her maid, Miss Antoinette Zuerer, both of St. Petersburg; Monsieur Schanlan, apothecary, Madam Francoise Dume, servant, and S. Munier, hatter, all from France; Mr. G. Schirning, Danish government officer, Mrs. F. Wallich, lady, D.F. Oster, government officer, and Lieutenant E. Lauritzen, all of Copenhagen; Franz Potemsky, servant, and Hein Nebendahl, traveler, both of Russia; and Hindus Kissan Das Bairage, traveler, from Bengal (Lists of Immigrants July 1848, HO 3/48, PRO). Apparently, Americans were not considered aliens by British immigration. As the Countess de Berg was the only

foreign countess on board, it is probably she and Miss Zuerer that Anna Whistler intended when she spoke of the “Italian Countess and her companion.” Either Mr. Schanlan or S. Munier was the Frenchman who was “very amusing” to James and Willie. Madame Françoise Dume (or Dumée), the Ingersoll family cook, is the French cook referred to (AVPRI: Fond MID, Kants. [Fond Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chancery], 1848, op. 469, d. 60/Etats Unis, Ralph I. Ingersoll to Nesselrode St. P., 18/30 June 1848, fol. 11). For further information about her, see BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal, pt. 1, fol. 60. “Hein Nebendahl” is most likely Johann Heinrich Nebendahl, a merchant of the Second Guild, residing in St. Petersburg (Amburger Datenbank, ID 74471). Hindus Kissan Das Bairage was the “Hindoo whose portrait Jemie is wishing to take.” The Hindus would, of course, be of interest to Whistler specialists because of the possibility that James drew his portrait and gave it to him, but attempts to further identify him have not been successful. No consulted native speaker of German could propose a meaning for “Das Bairage.”

The passenger lists in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* were selective. In announcing the departure of the *Camilla*, the newspaper gave the following information: “wife of Adjutant-General Berg and family; American Ambassador Ingerson [Ralph I. Ingersoll]; Secretary of the same embassy Inkrol [Colin M. Ingersoll]” and the Whistlers (*Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti* 142, Sunday, June 27 [July 9 NS], 1848, p. 574).

1041. Shanklin (which Anna Whistler recorded as “Shantlin”) is “a parish in the East Medina liberty, Isle of Wight, 8 miles south-east of Newport, and 9 miles from Ryde, on the coast” (see Image 490) (*Kelly’s Directory 1847*, p. 1265).
1042. The whereabouts of these journals are unknown to me and to all Whistler specialists I have consulted.
1043. Robert Patterson Flenniken (near Carmichael, Greene County, PA March 1802 – San Francisco 11 October 1878), a lawyer by profession, was appointed from Pennsylvania as U.S. chargé d’affaires to Denmark on 11 January 1847. He left the office on 15 September 1849 (“List of U.S. Consular Offices By Post, 1789-1939” and “Appointment Records, Lists and Record Cards,” NAUS; *Judges of the United States*, 2nd ed. [Washington, DC: Bicentennial Committee of the Judicial Conference of the United States, 1983], p. 166).
1044. Danish archivists inform me that “Sharon” is not a Danish surname; however, despite Anna Whistler’s lack of punctuation

in this sentence, she seems to mean that he is “the Danish gentleman.” He may have been a foreigner with Danish citizenship. In any case, both he and the doctor, a “proud citizen of Copenhagen,” disembarked there. On her way back to Russia in September 1848, when she once again visited Copenhagen, Anna Whistler wrote James that she had not seen either Mr. Sharon or the doctor, which seems to indicate that both lived there (Anna Whistler, aboard the S.S. “City of Aberdeen,” to James, 22 September 1848, GUL: Whistler Collection, W360). It has not been possible to identify Mr. Sharon. The city residents’ book of St. Petersburg for the letter “Sh,” which lists property owners, gives the name of a foreign merchant, Nikolai Petrov Sharon. It also gives the names of the heirs of a deceased councilor and nobleman in the Polish service, Nikolai, and his deceased wife, Iustina Sharon. However, as Mr. Sharon’s first name is not given in Anna Whistler’s diary, it is impossible to know whether she met the foreign merchant, one of the sons or grandsons who were the heirs of Nicholas and Iustina Sharon, or someone else named Sharon (TsGIA SPb: Fond 781, op. 4, d. 82. *Alfavit gorodskoi obyvatel’skoi knigi 1820g.* “Sh” [Alphabetical listing of city residents’ book for 1820, “Sh”], fols. 10r, 36v). The volume goes beyond 1820. For an explanation of why the city residents’ book came into being, see George E. Munro, “Compiling and Maintaining St. Petersburg’s ‘Book of City Inhabitants’: The ‘Real’ City Inhabitants,” in *St. Petersburg 1703 – 1825*, ed. Anthony Cross (Basingstoke, UK; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 80–98. This book should be consulted as well for its many other excellent articles on the administrative organization of St. Petersburg.

1045. Described later in this entry as having personally known and loved Thorvaldsen, the doctor is, I assume, Oluf Lundt Bang (1788–1877; see Image 485), the obstetrician who had come to Russia for a consultation concerning the illness of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (see Images 434, 444, 451) in 1844 (Bang, *Livs Minder*, pp. 296–305). He was also a poet and at his death left a manuscript of his autobiography in verse, *Livs Minder (Memories of Life)*, in which he reminisces about his friendship with Thorvaldsen (V. Meisen, “Ole Bang – læge” [“Ole Bang – Doctor”], in *Danske Biografiske Leksikon*, accessed 11 April 2021, [https://biografiskeleksikon.lex.dk/Ole\\_Bang\\_-\\_l%C3%A6ge](https://biografiskeleksikon.lex.dk/Ole_Bang_-_l%C3%A6ge), translated into English by Catrin Norrby, Vancouver, BC). He also published his reminiscences of his trip to Russia to attend Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (Oluf



Lundt Bang, *Zarskoje-Selo mindeblade fra Rusland, Juni 1844* [*Tsarskoe Selo: Reminiscences of Russia, June 1844*] [Copenhagen: Luno, [1844]]. These memorial poems about her and her son are considered “beautiful and successful,” while much of his production was considered mediocre because of the ease with which he could “improvise rhyme upon rhyme” (Bang, *Livs Minder*, pp. 326).

1046. A valét-de-place, also called “a lacquy-de-place,” is a hired guide for the traveler. *Murray’s Handbook for Northern Europe* describes him generally as “of dubious moral character” and recommends that the traveler seek him out at Mrs. Wilson’s boarding house, which has the best ones. His usual per diem charge was one-and-a-half silver rubles. He would obtain tickets of admission to all sights requiring it. “The landlord of the inn has generally a permanent ticket” (*Murray’s Handbook for Northern Europe*, vol. 2, 408).
1047. The palaces which the doctor might have pointed out to Anna Whistler and her children were Amalienborg, where the Danish royal family lived, Christiansborg, and perhaps Rosenborg.
1048. Renowned Danish sculptor, Bertel Thorvaldsen (19 November 1770 – 24 March 1844; see Image 478) was commissioned in 1820 to execute a number of statues for Vor Frue Kirke (the Church of Our Lady) (see Images 480–484): for the interior, statues of Christ, the twelve apostles, and various reliefs; and for the pediment above the main entrance a group sculpture of John the Baptist preaching in the desert. He worked on this project almost until his death. He began in 1821 with sketch models of Christ, Peter, and Paul. In a few years, he had plaster models of all the figures, including the Baptismal Angel. In subsequent years, he transferred the statues for the interior of the church into marble and the pediment figures into terra cotta. By the mid-1830s, all the marble statues except for the apostles Thaddeus and Andrew were completed. In 1841, he made new sketch models of these two apostles, which were not, however, completed in marble until after his death (Dyveke Helsted, Eva Hanschen, and Bjarne Jørnaes, *Thorvaldsen*, trans. Ann and Janus Paludan [Copenhagen: Thorvaldsen Museum, 1990], pp. 6–8).
1049. “The figure of Christ [see Image 481] is Thorvaldsen’s only world-famous statue ... It differs from traditional, ecclesiastical representations of Christ by portraying neither the crucified Christ nor Christ in Judgment; Thorvaldsen has shown his Christ on earth among mankind. The print of the nails and the wound

in his side are there, but are shown with extreme restraint as recognition symbols.

There are many legends about the special expression and the position of the arms on this statue; some have spoken about a divine intervention in the creation, others, on the contrary, of the arms of the clay model sinking overnight. It is easy to forget – in such oversimplified theories – the very real battle that Thorvaldsen had with the proportions of this giant figure in relation both to its final site and to its function. That Thorvaldsen had in fact owned a painting which probably served as model for the figure of Christ (Peter Cornelius: *the Five Wise and the Five Foolish Virgins*, 1816, now in the Düsseldorf Museum of Art) does not change the fact that the figure is a sculptural success.

It has been pointed out that the strongly compelling effect of the statue is due to the contrasting signals coming from the stylized reserve of the face on the one hand and the bodily warmth of the arms on the other; the welcoming gesture of the arms on the one hand and – on the other – the fact that the figure, resting on the back foot, gives the impression that it is withdrawing” (Helsted, Hanschen, and Jørnaes, p. 89).

1050. Thorvaldsen executed a baptismal font in Rome that he presented in 1827 to Iceland. The font for Vor Frue Kirke that he worked on in that same year (see Image 482) is a version of the Angel of the Annunciation. It contains features of the Iceland font. “Instead of the lily [the angel] offers the shell with which the Christ on the font for Iceland is being baptized while the wreath of flowers which rests on top of the [Iceland font] is here used to crown the head of the angel” (Helsted, Hanschen, and Jørnaes, p. 90).
1051. The image of Thorvaldsen’s baptismal font (see Image 482) also shows the carpet. “The colours [of the carpet] are black, beige, red and olive-green.” “It was made by the ladies of the congregation” and has a “pattern [of] round medallions with geometric ornaments.” The manner of making it is called “stramaj med korssting” (carpet embroidered in cross-stitch). “A similar carpet was made ... to be placed on the floor in front of the altar (not the antependium).” “The carpet is no longer under the font, [having been] removed before 1977.” It is “in the museum of the church,” but has been “put away in a way that makes it impossible to make ... a photo of it” (Susanne Torgard, Copenhagen, to E. Harden, undated letter postmarked 2 May 2005).

1052. Thorvaldsen, who died on 24 March 1844, was interred in a small chapel in Vor Frue Kirke. His coffin was transferred to the newly completed Thorvaldsen Museum on 6 September 1848. It was placed in “a sunken burial chamber . . . built under the centre of the courtyard, decorated with white lilies on a blue ground.” On 18 September 1848, “the museum was opened to the public” (Helsted, Hanschen, and Jørnaes, *Thorvaldsen*, p. 112).
1053. The terra cotta figure on the pediment was of St. John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness (see Image 484).
1054. Plaster did not withstand the climate of St. Petersburg well. It became “stained and cracked with the humidity and frosts of autumn and peel[ed] off with the storms and severe cold of winter . . . before spring-time the statues in stucco upon the Winter Palace, and in the niches of the imperial and noble dwellings, [had] lost their heads or arms or some other member, and certainly present[ed] a most woful [sic] and ludicrous appearance” (Maxwell, *Czar*, p. 75).
1055. The Whistler party arrived in London on Monday, 10 July 1848, late at night. They should have arrived on Saturday, July 8.
1056. Reuben Goodale Fairbanks, who was living at Albert Terrace, had left Russia some time before October 1846 and had become Harrison, Winans and Eastwick’s agent in London. When the remains of John Bouttatz Whistler were being sent home in October 1846, Fairbanks was responsible for shipping them from London to New York (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler, New York, Monday, December 13, 1846; New York, January 22, 1847, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). He was joined in London at an undetermined date by his wife and children. See Fairbanks in Appendix E.
1057. This is Lucy Lee (Webb) Fairbanks (24 November 1806 – March 1870), who married Reuben G. Fairbanks on 11 March 1831, in Windham, Connecticut (Fairbanks, *Genealogy*, pp. 225, 841; Barbara Pittman, assistant town clerk of Windham, CT, to E. Harden, 23 March 2005; 1860 U.S. Federal Census for 6th Ward Brooklyn City, County of Kings, State of New York, 16 June 1860; 1870 U.S. Federal Census for Fordham Town of West Farm, County of Westchester, State of New York, 11 July 1870). After her husband left Russia, she and their children joined him in London.
1058. It has not been possible to locate Anna Whistler’s letter to Major Whistler, written during the night of 11 July 1848.

1059. Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, unlike Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, is never referred to by Anna Whistler as an American. The 1851 Census for Preston, Lancashire, records that she was born in North America and was a British subject. There is a possibility that she was born in the Bahama Islands. She was raised in Scotland and moved to Preston when she married her second husband, John Winstanley. It is not clear whether Anna Whistler speaks of England as Eliza Winstanley's "adopted country" simply because she moved there after marrying an Englishman. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E and Image 40.
1060. "Hyde Park is part of the ancient manor of Hida, which belonged to the monastery of St. Peter, at Westminster, till Henry VIII. appropriated it differently. Its extent is about 400 acres, part of which is considerably elevated. The whole is intersected with noble roads, lawns with luxuriant trees, planted singly or in groups, presenting beautiful examples of diversified prospects. At the south-east corner, the entrance from Piccadilly, on an elevated pedestal, stands a colossal and dark statue of Achilles, cast from the cannon taken at Salamanca and Waterloo, weighing thirty tons, and 'erected to the Duke of Wellington and his companions in arms, by their countrywomen'.
- The long sheet of water called the Serpentine River enriches the scenery of Hyde Park. At its western extremity is a stone bridge of five large and two smaller arches, erected in 1826, giving access to the gardens of Kensington Palace. On the level space of Hyde Park, troops of the line are occasionally reviewed. The great road through the Park to Kensington is denominated Rotten Row, and is a fashionable resort for equestrians wherein to show off their high-bred horses. Other roads display countless elegant equipages of the nobility, gentry and others; while the footpaths, which are railed off from the roads, are crowded with the well-dressed inhabitants of London, enjoying the salubrity of the air and the gaiety of the scene, more particularly between two and five on a Sunday afternoon. There are five entrances open from early morning till nine at night. No stage or hackney coaches are permitted within the gates of Hyde Park" (*Chambers's Information* 1842, p. 218).
1061. The saying "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb" appears in Laurence Sterne's (1713–1768) *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), where it is applied to his character Maria. It first appeared in George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs* (1640) as "To a close shorne sheepe, God gives wind by measure." It comes from an earlier

French proverb, “À brebis tondue Dieu mesure le vent,” and means that God metes out to each person only as much suffering as that person can bear (Jennifer Speakes, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs Online*, s.v. “God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb,” accessed 13 April 2021).

1062. The Fairbankses had lost three sons to death and had one son and four daughters at this time (R.G. Fairbanks to A.M Eastwick, 1 Crookside Lane, London, June 2, 1848 Friday, *Eastwick Letters*). They were: Mary (b. 1837), Henry (b. 1840), Sarah (b. 1841), Annie (b. 1843), and Helen (b. 1847). In 1848, Mary would have been about eleven years old, Henry about seven years old, Sarah about six years old, Annie about five years old, and Helen about seven months old. Their years of birth and ages have been calculated using data from the 1860 U.S. Federal Census for the First District 6th Ward of Brooklyn City in Kings County, New York, and the 1870 U.S. Federal Census for Fordham, Town of West Farm, in Westchester County, New York.

The name Margaret appears in the 1860 Census at the end of the list, after that of the youngest Fairbanks child, instead of chronologically. It is possible, therefore, that she was actually a servant, but there is no indication that she was and ditto marks indicate that she is Fairbanks. See Fairbanks in Appendix E

1063. “Ramsgate, a sea port, market town, and parish in the Cinque port, liberty of Sandwich, of which it is a member; is delightfully situate in a small vale, having the sea on the east and south sides of it, ... 74 miles E. b S. from London: by the South-Eastern Railway it is 97 miles to London ... In 1841, the parish is stated to contain ... a population of 10,909 souls. ... This formerly obscure village, built in the form of a cross, ... has become one of the most celebrated watering places, and a favourite resort for the fashionable circles of the day. It is delightfully situated on the declivity of a hill, commanding a beautiful prospect of the English channel, and the streets are well paved and lighted with gas. ... The facilities for sea-bathing at Ramsgate are superior to most other watering places on this coast” (Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Kent*, 2 vols. [Sheffield, UK: G. Ridge, 1847], vol. 2, p. 190).
1064. Deborah (Whistler) Haden, wife of Francis Seymour Haden, MD, was five months pregnant.
1065. Daniel 6:20: “And when he came to the den, he cried with a lamentable voice unto Daniel: and the king spake and said to

Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?"

Daniel 6:26: "I make a decree, That in every dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is the living God, and steadfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the end."

1066. "According to Daria Haden and William H. Carey of Boston, Charles Sydenham Haden was a clerk in a silk shop in St Paul's Courtyard in 1845" (Spencer, "Whistler's Early Relations with Britain," p. 214). In 1848, he "got a very good place at Ellis and Evrrington's, one of the first houses in the city" (*Travel Journals of Rose Horsley 1848*, MS. Eng.e 2197, Archive of the Horsley Family, Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts, Weston Library, University of Oxford). In 1854, Rosamund Haden married the artist John Callcott Horsley (1817–1903).
1067. Charles Sydenham Haden (29 September 1822 – 1898) and Mary Love (Boott) Haden (c. 1820 – 6 December 1897) were married on 19 January 1849 by Rev. John Clarke Haden, uncle of the former, who had also married Deborah (Whistler) Haden and Francis Seymour Haden on 16 October 1847. See the biography of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s."
1068. Frances Seymour Haden's mother, Emma (Harrison) Haden (1794–1881), and his sister Rosamund Haden (1820–1912), are listed in the 1851 Census for Chelsea as lodgers at 60 Sidney Street (HO 107/1473, PRO).
1069. This reference is to Holy Trinity Church, Sloane Street, Chelsea (see Image 477), where Anna Whistler attended the service on 16 July. It was consecrated in 1830. The first vicar (1832–1836) was Rev. Henry Blunt. He was succeeded by Rev. Richard Burgess (Sowerby, Yorkshire 4 December 1796 – Brighton 12 April 1881). "A convert from Roman Catholicism," Burgess "was ordained deacon in 1820, and priest in 1823." He entered "St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1824 ... and graduated Bachelor of Divinity in 1835." "In 1828 ... he was chaplain to the English residents in Geneva." "In 1831 he became chaplain to a Church of England congregation in Rome." "In 1836 [he] was presented ... to the rectory of Upper Chelsea ... He took a particular interest in the church's contribution to national education." "From 1850 until his death he held the prebendal stall of Tottenham in St. Paul's Cathedral." He "was honorary secretary

to the London Diocesan Board of Education and to the Foreign Aid Society.” “Having lectured to early meetings of the Institute of British Architects, founded in 1834, he was made an honorary member of the Institute and became corresponding member of the Pontifical Archaeological Academy at Rome.” “In December 1869 Gladstone, on behalf of the crown, presented him to the rectory of Horningsheath with Ickworth.” His writings include: *A Description of the Circus on the Via Appia near Rome* (1828), *The Topography and Antiquities of Rome* (2 vols., 1831), *Lectures on the Insufficiency of Unrevealed Religion, and on the Succeeding Influence of Christianity* (1832), *Greece and the Levant* (1835), *Sermons for the Times* (1851), and *A City for the Pope; or, The Solution of the Roman Question* (1860) (Baillie, *British Biographical Archive, Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Burgess, Richard”).

1070. The “celebrated preacher” whom Anna Whistler heard at Westminster Abbey on the afternoon of 16 July 1848 would seem to be Rev. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth (30 October 1807 – 20 March 1885), who preached at both the morning and the evening services. He was the nephew of the poet, William Wordsworth (1770–1850). Four clergymen were in Westminster Abbey that day and two officiated (*Brighton Gazette*, July 20, 1848).
1071. The minister Anna Whistler heard opposed the idea of the Second Coming of Christ, but we do not know whether it was “speculation on the time and manner of the Coming” that roused his opposition (*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. “Parousia”).
1072. “The palace of her Majesty in St. James Park [see Image 476] [was] built in the reign of King George IV., on the site of Buckingham House by John Nash, and completed in the reign of William IV., but never inhabited by that sovereign ... When the grant was given by Parliament it was intended only to repair and enlarge old Buckingham House; and therefore the old site, height, and dimensions were retained. This led to the erection of a clumsy building, and was a mere juggle on the part of the king and his architect – knowing as they did that Parliament would never have granted the funds for an entirely new Palace. On her Majesty’s [Queen Victoria’s] accession several alterations were affected ... and new buildings added to the south. The alterations were made by Mr. Blore, and her Majesty entered into her new Palace on the 13th day of July, 1837 ... In the spring of 1846 Sir Robert Peel informed the Lords of the Treasury that her Majesty had been for some time subjected to great inconvenience ‘from the insufficient

accommodation' afforded by the Palace ... the private apartments in the north wing 'were not calculated originally for a married sovereign – the head of a family;' that the Nursery department was confined 'to a few rooms in the attics of the same wing;' and that the basement story of the wing was used by the Lord Chamberlain's department for 'store-rooms and work-shops;' that there was a constant noise and a continual smell of oil and glue; ... [and] 'the kitchen again is a nuisance to the Palace.' Mr. Blore's estimate amounted to £150,000 ... the nuisance complained of was so great that the work was commenced forthwith ... When her Majesty is in town the [marble] arch is surmounted by a standard of silk. The metal gates [were] designed and executed by Samuel Parker and [are] of exquisite workmanship ... The pictures ... were principally collected by George IV. The Dutch and Flemish pictures of which the collection chiefly consists are hung together. They are almost without exception first-rate works. The portraits are in the State Rooms adjoining." Artists represented include: Dürer, Mabuse, Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, Cuyp, De Hooghe, Metz, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Sir William Allan (Peter Cunningham, *Hand-Book of London, Past and Present*, ed. Michael Robbins [East Ardsley, UK: EP Publishing, 1978], pp. 86–87, reprinted from the second edition, published in 1850 by John Murray). The 2016 BBC television production *Victoria* gives a visual presentation of the problems of Buckingham Palace in the 1840s.

1073. "Uncle Clarke" was Rev. John Clarke Haden, who had presided over the marriage of his nephew, Francis Seymour Haden, MD, (see Image 20) and Deborah Delano Whistler (see Images 17–19, 21) on 16 October 1847, in Preston, Lancashire.
1074. The friend whom Anna Whistler, James, Willie, and Debo visited was Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw (bap. 22 July 1792 – 7 March 1875). See Shaw and Wardrop in Appendix E and Image 486.
1075. Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw's mother was Catharine (Fraser) Wardrop (1768 – 4 March 1850; see Image 488), widow of William Wardrop (20 March 1769 – 14 November 1802), secretary to the Bank of Scotland (intermittently from 1792 to 1807) (Certified Copy of an Entry of Death for Catharine Wardrop, GRO; Alan Cameron, archivist at the Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh, to E. Harden, 8 March 1994, enclosing details from salary sheets for William Wardrop [1/275/1]). Anna Whistler had



met Georgina Shaw (see Image 486) through the Stevenson family eighteen years earlier.

1076. Anna Whistler is referring to 1829. *Pigot's London Directory 1832-3-4* lists under "Academies – gents." a boarding and day preparatory school at Cadogan Terrace, Sloane Street, run by Georgina Shaw. The name "Calcutta House" does not appear, but, as Anna Whistler indicates in this entry, that was the name of the school.
1077. All five of Mrs. Shaw's children had survived into adulthood. Her three sons were John Shaw (bap. 14 August 1815), William Wardrop Shaw (bap. 13 July 1820 – 9 September 1895), and Alexander Wardrop Shaw (bap. 19 June 1823 – 1 August 1858) (Index to the registers of the parish church of Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, Buckinghamshire Record Office, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire). As William Wardrop Shaw was not married until 1852, he cannot be the widowed son returning home with two motherless children whom Anna Whistler refers to. His brother, John, had married his second wife in 1841. The son who was coming home to Georgina Shaw must therefore have been Alexander Wardrop Shaw.
1078. Mrs. Shaw's two daughters were Catherine Maccallum Shaw (bap. 13 July 1820 – 18 March 1888) and Georgina Shaw (bap. 25 October 1821 – 10 May 1902).
1079. John Shaw (1792 – on or before 16 October 1823; see Image 487), a surgeon and apothecary, is listed in *Pigot's London Directory 1832-3-4* as living in High-Street, Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire. He was buried on 16 October 1823, aged thirty-one years (entry from Bishop's Transcripts for Gt. Marlow 1823, D/A/T/129, Buckinghamshire Record Office, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire). His personal effects amounted to £1,500 (Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Prob 11/1677, 1823 Nov. 650, PRO). Georgina Shaw was left with five children, the youngest of whom had been baptized in June 1823.
1080. Mrs. Shaw's brother in India was Alexander Wardrop (Falkirk 5 December 1794 – Calcutta 6 June 1832).
1081. The 1851 Census for Georgina Shaw's household in Loats Road, Clapham, shows that it was a school for girls, of which she was the "school mistress," while her two daughters were teachers.
1082. "The Isle of Wight is situated in the English Channel, at a short distance from the main-land of Hampshire, of which county it has commonly been reckoned a part. The channel, which divides it from the grand line of our southern coast, varies in width from

two to six miles, and bears the appellation of the Solent Sea ... In circumference, [it] may be about seventy-five miles ... Its extreme length, from east to west, ... is about twenty-three miles; its greatest breadth, from north to south ... rather exceeds thirteen miles (*Barber's Picturesque Guide to the Isle of Wight*, new ed. [London: Henry G. Bohn, 1850], p. 1, first published in 1834 as *Barber's Picturesque Illustrations of the Isle of Wight* by Simpkin and Marshall [London]). It is called the "Garden of England." "The climate is well known to be ... pure, mild, and salubrious ... Its softness and warmth, as compared with that of England in general, are provided by the luxuriant growth, in the open air, of the myrtle, geranium, and other trees and shrubs, which commonly flourish, so exposed, only in more southern latitudes. Evergreens of great size and beauty, over which the winters pass without appearing to affect their foliage or vigour, also constitute a prominent feature of the island. In every point of view, the Isle of Wight may be recommended as a fit place of residence, during the whole year, to invalids" (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 3).

1083. As this entry is dated July 22 [1848], they would seem to have arrived on July 19.
1084. Gosport is "a seaport and fortified town in the Portsdown division of Hampshire ... situated within the parish of Alverstoke, and on the western side of Portsmouth Harbour, near its entrance, 73 miles south-by-west from London." As described in 1838, it was "a market-town of importance, and in time of war ... a place of great activity." "About the beginning of the [nineteenth] century it was strengthened by a line of bastions." "The Royal Clarence Yard, within the lines, contains the brewery, victualling department, etc., from which the Royal Navy are supplied." "There are several distilleries, and an extensive iron foundry, where chain cables and anchors are made." "Near the extremity of the point of land which forms the west side of Portsmouth Harbour is situated the Royal Hospital of Haslar, founded at the suggestion of the earl of Sandwich, and erected between ... 1750 and 1762." The hospital "is intended exclusively for ... sick and wounded seamen" and contains "accommodations for more than 2,000 patients." "The population of Gosport with Alverstoke [which] was 12,637 in 1831," had increased greatly as a result of the transfer of the victualling department from Portsmouth. "Anglesea, about two miles from Gosport, on Stoke's Bay, is a new and fashionable watering-place" (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, *Market Towns of Hampshire in the Early 19th Century* [Boston: Little,

- Brown, 1853], vol. 11, p. 231–232, reprinted by Old Town Books and Maps, 2008).
1085. “Ryde is most commonly the point of debarkation for visitors to the Isle of Wight ... the pier ... extends 1740 feet into the sea, and ... affords a charming marine parade and *observatory*” (*Barber’s Picturesque Guide*, pp. 8, 9; *Market Towns of Hampshire*, pp. 35–36).
1086. “Cousin Anne Clunie” (10 June 1793 – 18 May 1882) was Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley’s first cousin, the daughter of Alicia (Clunie) McNeill’s brother, John Clunie, and not related to Anna Whistler. She appears not only in the diaries but for many years in Anna Whistler’s correspondence. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
1087. “The Young Cottager” is the story of twelve-year-old Jane S—— of Brading, who attended Bible classes held by the young Rev. Legh Richmond in the first curacy to which he was ordained. Never absent from instruction but always silent, she seems unremarkable even to him, until her withdrawal from the classes because of consumption and the subsequent private conversations with him in her home as she lies dying reveal a depth of Christianity he has not encountered before in a child. He administers Communion to her at her request. On her deathbed, she pleads with her parents and brother to lead a Christian life and then dies embracing Rev. Richmond. Published first as one of his three “Annals of the Poor” “for the benefit of the poor,” it appeared in 1815 in the collection *Annals of the Poor. Containing The Dairyman’s Daughter (with considerable additions), The Negro Servant, and The Young Cottager*. By the Reverend Legh Richmond, A.M., Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire; and Chaplain to His Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent and Strathern (New Haven, [CT]: Whiting and Tiffany, 1815), pp. 190–288. In this publication, “The Young Cottager” was presented “in the form of a connected and finished story ... in an edition more particularly calculated for the higher and middle classes of society,” for “families in general and to young people in particular,” with the “hope that these Christian memorials of persons in humble life, may awaken or cherish a spirit of holy emulation amongst those who move in the superior ranks, to ‘follow them as they followed Christ’” (Richmond, p. 6). They visited Jane’s grave (see Image 492) another day.
1088. “On leaving Brading [see Image 489], the fine bay of Sandown opens to the view. This beautiful bay, where the blue waters roll at times with magical enchantment, is bounded in the east by the

white cliffs of Culver, and in the west, by the dark and mountainous point of Dunnose ... the fort built by Henry VIII. ... commands the entrance of the bay ... during the American war it was attacked by privateers, but without success" (*The Isle of Wight Visitors' Book; Containing an Account of Its Watering Places, with a Minute Description of the Principal Tours in the Island*, 6th ed. [Portsea, UK: Samuel Horsey, 1843], p. 58). "The tourist will be amply repaid by a visit to this beautiful spot, which, strange to say, the public conveyances usually avoid" (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 31).

1089. "Shanklin village is much sheltered by the semi-circular form of the lofty downs which nearly inclose it on two sides, while at the same time it possesses sufficient elevation to enjoy a fine view of Sandown Bay, and the ocean beyond ... Altogether, the spot is as sequestered and rural, as though it were placed many miles inland, instead of being in the immediate vicinity of the grandest coast scenery, and close to [Shanklin Chine]" (see Image 490) (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, pp. 63–64).
1090. Daish's hotel and posting house was "on the top of the hill" and "with its cottage front, parterres, &c. resemble[d] the rustic seat of a private gentleman, rather than a house of public character"; Williams's Shanklin hotel and posting house was located "in the village street" (*Kelly's Directory 1847*, p. 1265; *Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 64).
1091. The two provisional shops were William Merwood, grocer and draper, and William and John Saunders, grocers. The two butchers were Henry Cooper, and Joseph Hollis. The two shoe makers were William Chessell and James Warder. There were two bakers: James Hayden and William Higgs. The blacksmith was George Harris (*Kelly's Directory 1847*, p. 1265). Anna Whistler says that there was one baker, and her later comments suggest that Higgs was that baker.
1092. About halfway between Shanklin's two hotels was the road leading to Shanklin Chine (see Image 490), the best-known chine on the Isle of Wight, chine meaning "any considerable chasm in the cliffs of the Island" (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, pp. 64). Legh Richmond has given an account of his visit to Shanklin Chine in *The Young Cottager*.

In a widely sweeping curve of a beautiful bay, there is a kind of chasm, or opening in one of the lofty cliffs which bound it. This produces a very romantic and striking effect. The steep descending sides of this opening in the

cliff are covered with trees, bushes, wild flowers, fern, wormwood, and many other herbs, here and there contrasted with bold masses of rock or brown earth.

In the higher part of one of these declivities, two or three picturesque cottages are fixed, and seem half suspended in the air.

From the upper extremity of this great fissure, or opening in the cliff, a small stream of water enters by a cascade, and flows through the bottom, winding in a varied course of about a quarter of a mile in length; and then runs into the sea, across a smooth expanse of firm hard sand, at the lower extremity of the chasm. At this point, the sides of the woody banks are very lofty, and, to a spectator from the bottom, exhibit a mixture of the grand and beautiful not often exceeded. ...

I walked up by a steep pathway, that winded through the trees and shrubs on the side of one of the precipices. At every step, the extent of prospect enlarged, and acquired a new and varying character by being seen through the trees on each side. Climbing up a kind of rude, inartificial set of stone stairs in the bank, I passed by the singularly-situated cottages which I had viewed from beneath, ... [and] arrived at the top of the precipice. ... From this point the abyss, occasioned by the great fissure in the cliff, appeared grand and interesting. Trees hung over it on each side, projecting not only their branches, but many of their roots in wild and fantastic forms. (Richmond, *Annals of the Poor*, 1815, pp. 237–238, 245, 246)

Barber, in his *Picturesque Guide*, refers to Richmond's text:

The stream which finds its way to the sea through the chasm it has so greatly assisted in producing, rises in the down beyond Shanklin, and, as it approaches the village, may be tracked as it flows by the fine forest trees that line its banks. Its course, just before it reaches the head of the chine, is along a bed of stones, placed to prevent the further wear of the sand-rock, and thence over a broad flat stone, supported as a projecting ledge to increase the effect of the fall, the natural descent of which is about thirty feet. The half-way view from which the cascade is seen on the one hand, and, behind, and around, nothing but the precipitous winding sides of the abyss is picturesque beyond description, especially if the sun aids

the effect by throwing into alternate light and shade the projections and recesses on one side, while the other wholly sleeps in comparative gloom. Another striking effect, as noticed by Mr. Richmond, is that produced by the mouth of the chasm, when the spectator stands facing it on the shore. Here the cliffs are about 280 feet high, and the width of the opening at top is at least 300 feet. The desolate and barren aspect of the rocks on the left offers a fine contrast to that of their opposite neighbours, whose steepes are clothed with wood, and broken by cottages and gardens, the latter well stocked with vegetables and fruit trees ... At the foot of the cliff is the habitation of a fisherman, to whom visitors are indebted for the path cut along the arid rock to the summit of the chine, and who expects a small gratuity from those who ascend the chasm by means of the accommodation he has provided. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, pp. 66–67).

1093. “John Campbell Cameron, esq. Tower Cottage” (*Kelly's Directory 1847*, p. 1265).
1094. “The church is dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and was built in the reign of King Stephen, when his brother Henry de Blois was Bishop of Winchester” (*Kelly's Directory 1847*, p. 1265). Located “near the southern extremity of the village”, it was “a little edifice of very primitive appearance, whose smallest windows are not above eleven inches wide, and all whose larger ones have evidently been inserted since the original building. A church stood here before the time of Domesday Book, as is seen from its mention in that venerable record, where it occurs under the name of *Senclix*. Properly, ... it is a chapel annexed to the rectory of Bonchurch: but it was formerly taken out of the parish of Brading, where the inhabitants still bury their dead; and a pension of ten shillings is paid annually from the chapel to the rector of Brading, as an acknowledgment to the mother church. The chapel was built by one of the Lisles, and endowed with fifty acres of land, together with the tithes of many tenants of the manor. As to parochial assessments, it is considered a separate parish” (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 63).
1095. “On leaving Shanklin we pass a most lovely piece of country. Ascending the hill a fine view opens before us; and below we see the little village of Luccombe, celebrated for the small Chine which it contains ... If it has not the magnificence of Shanklin Chine, it is not wanting in beauty; its dark brown cliff, with

- patches of green and hanging wood, its lofty trees, which shade and adorn the deep ravine; its rushing water murmuring and falling to a fine shore, with the little cottages which are adjacent, give it a most picturesque appearance “ (*The Isle of Wight Visitors’ Book*, p. 83). “The deep romantic chasm called *Luccombe Chine* ... was formerly a favourite resort of smugglers” (William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* [Sheffield, UK: Robert Leader for the author, 1859], p. 643).
1096. “Bonchurch is a lovely village and sea bathing place, pleasantly situated in the eastern and most beautiful part of the *Undercliff*, between Ventnor and Dunnose Head ... Its parish contains only 618 acres of land, rising boldly from the *East-end Landslip, Dunnose Head*, and *Luccombe Chine*, to the lofty hill called *St. Boniface Down* (White, *Directory of Hampshire*, p. 642).
1097. “Ventnor, a handsome modern town and rapidly improving sea bathing place, on the southern coast of the Isle of Wight, is picturesquely seated on the terrace road and on the woody and rocky declivities of the romantic Undercliff, descending to the waters of the English Channel, on the south; and sheltered on the north by a steep range of limestone rocks, or upper cliffs, rising precipitously to the height of from 90 to 100 feet, and crowned by bold ranges of lofty Downs, rising several hundred feet higher ... on the eastern part of the Undercliff, between Bonchurch and Steephill Castle. ... In 1844, an act of Parliament was obtained ‘For better Paving, Lighting ... and otherwise Improving part of the Parish of Newchurch, called Ventnor’” (White, *Directory of Hampshire*, pp. 638–639).
1098. Jean Frédéric Oberlin (Strasbourg 31 August 1740 – Ban-de-la-Roche 1 June 1826) was a Lutheran “clergyman and philanthropist” in Alsace. “He was educated at Strasbourg ... and in 1767 became pastor at Ban-de-la-Roche.” He “spent the rest of his long life [there] in labor for the material and spiritual improvement of his impoverished parishioners.” Each month he delivered “three sermons in French and one in German.” His work included “practicing medicine, founding a savings and loan bank, introducing cotton manufacturing, and bringing modern agricultural techniques to the region.” He also helped build better roads, and founded and maintained orphan asylums. “Substantial cottages were erected” for the populace, “and various industrial arts were introduced” as well as “an itinerant library” (George Edwin Rines, ed., *The Encyclopedia Americana*, 30 vols. [New York:

Encyclopedia Americana, 1918–1920], s.v. “Oberlin, Jean Frédéric”).

Seeing the luxuriant soil on the Isle of Wight, where so much more could be grown, thus making their food less expensive, Anna Whistler was reminded of Oberlin’s success with barren fields. He organized an agricultural club, “introduced new vegetables and gave instruction as to their cultivation.” He “investigated ... the nature of the [local] soil and learned what it was adapted to produce.” He replaced an unproductive kind of potato with one from France, which produced a successful crop. He brought “much waste land ... into use” by teaching his parishioners about fertilizers and irrigation and introduced “better and more modern” agricultural implements. The agricultural club was followed by a horticultural society and nurseries. “Trees more appropriate for the climate” were introduced. He applied the principles he taught to two barren fields owned by the parsonage and created “a fruitful orchard in a few years,” winning over skeptics who had been unwilling to accept his mixing piety with practical and utilitarian proposals for an improved life. Anna Whistler would have appreciated that religious motives not only underlay all he planned and taught, but that this foundation was visibly evident (Augustus F. Beard, *The Story of John Frederic Oberlin* [Boston, New York, and Chicago: Pilgrim Press, 1909], pp. 98, 99 100, 101, 102, 103). She wished that her sister, Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer (Kate) could see the gardens.

1099. It has not been possible to identify Mrs. Reid, their housekeeper at Madeira Cottage in Shanklin.
1100. The young couple, who, it is suggested, arrived on 21 July, but can not have, were James Phillips (Tottenham, Middlesex 1814 – 1873) and Anna (Mendham) Phillips (Camberwell, Surrey 11 February 1816 – 13 March 1886), who took lodgings at Madeira Cottage with their daughter, Anna Maria (b. Amptill, Bedfordshire; bap. 11 May 1841 – 30 April 1911). James Phillips and Anna Mendham were married on 2 July 1840 (*The Times* [London], July 3, 1840). His occupation is given in the 1841 Census as chemist, in 1851 as “income from houses,” and in 1861 and 1871 as “Justice of the Peace.” The address given for this household in 1851 was 26 Grove Road, Brixton, Borough of Lambeth. Anna Whistler supplied James with a slightly different address in December 1848, urging him to contact the Phillipses during his Christmas holidays with the Hadens (Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg 4 December 1848, GUL: Whistler



Collection, W 370). In 1841, the Phillipses had three female servants: Sarah Danford, Mary Danford, and Mary Sharpe, all aged twenty. In 1851, they had two female servants: Martha Briggs and Jemima K[unclear], both unmarried and both twenty-two years old. It is not possible to say whether one of these five young women was the servant maid who accompanied the Phillips family to the Isle of Wight in 1848. Anna Maria Phillips, aged twenty-nine, of Battersea, married on 14 December 1871 (by license) George Horton (c. 1842 – 23 December 1901) aged twenty-eight, an engineer of Clapham, at Holy Trinity, Clapham, Surrey (Holy Trinity, Clapham, Register of Marriages, March 1871 – April 1876, London Metropolitan Archives; Microfilm of Register of Baptisms 1801–1837, the Peckham Hanover Chapel (Independent), PRO).

1101. Anna Whistler omitted the word “been.”
1102. The references to the dates of Debo’s arrival and of the later accident with the bow and arrow are confused. Debo would seem to have come to the Isle of Wight close to the end of July, if the Phillipses arrived more than a week before her. But if the accident occurred a week after Debo’s arrival, the date of the accident would have been well after 1 August, the date of the next entry.
1103. It has not been possible to ascertain who Francis Seymour Haden’s best friends in Bath were.

Bath was a spa town. It “lies at the bottom of a valley, encompassed by a triple circle of hills, rising higher the farther they are removed from the city ... the lesser or nearest hills are ... splendidly grand, from the ... number of striking buildings with which they are studded, as well as for their beautiful verdure, the gardens and plantations which decorate their surface ... In the midst of these hills, ... with various altitudes of from four to eight hundred feet above the level of the ocean, – the old city of Bath itself being only forty feet above that level, – the Avon ... is seen winding and turning, as it descends into the level valley ... On the narrowest tongue of land which the sudden bend this river makes ... is seated the Old Bath, or the Bath of the Romans, with its hot springs occupying the centre ... Old though this part of Bath may be, ... it has been in almost all its parts modernized and embellished ... Its former antique air therefore is gone ... Milsom-street ... leads us ... into the heart of what may be considered as the second or intermediate city of Bath. It is the creation of the last sixty or seventy years ... This doubling of the original city was the result of that singular attraction imparted to

Bath by the palmy and glorious days of its now-departed 'monarch', which brought strangers to it not only from every part of England, but from foreign lands also ... Queen-square ... and the Circus ... occupy the centre of this newer section of Bath ... [which also contains] the Royal Crescent ... arranged upon the slope of a hill ... [A]scending still higher ... the new city has taken possession of the high common and its descending slopes, and there established its ... crescents and places ... [A] glance cast in the direction of the south-east embraces ... another sweep of succeeding hills ... principally arranged ... as detached villas with their surrounding gardens. This fourth region of modern Bath ... a level tract of land, a quarter of a mile wide, and twice that length, presents as it were a new town, strongly contrasting by its exquisitely-finished buildings, its magnificent streets, and open squares, and the general air of grandeur that prevails over the whole district, with the oldest part of the city ... to which it lies exactly opposite" (Granville, *Spas of England*, vol. 3, *Southern Spas*, pp. 368–371).

1104. Rennet is produced "from the stomach of an unweaned calf, containing rennin and used in curdling milk for cheese" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "rennet").
1105. "Pretty fair maid" may refer to the singing game "Green Grass," a matchmaking game, which was in vogue from the 1820s to the 1920s (Iona Opie and Peter Opie, *The Singing Game* [Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1985], p. 117). It contains the words "Come all ye pretty fair maids / And dance along with us" and "We'll take this pretty fair maid / We'll take her by the hand" (Opie and Opie, p. 116). For a discussion of "Green Grass," see Opie and Opie, pp. 116–120.
1106. Matthew 10:29: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father."
1107. The guests were Mary Anne (Parland) Morgan (c. 1813–1882) (Mrs M) and her daughter, Fanny Elizabeth (1841–1934) (her little Fanny), who was seven years old. See Morgan and Parland in Appendix E.
1108. The Morgans had in their employ in 1845 Fanny Alcock, governess, and Jane Morris, nurse (*BRBC STP 1845*, fols. 3, 40), but the reference in the diary is to "Mrs. Morgan's maid." The three announcements of their departure from St. Petersburg, not listing any domestics, appeared in the *Sanktpeterburgskie vedomosti*

- 82, April 15 [April 27 NS], 1848; no. 84, April 17 [April 29 NS], 1848; and no. 86, April 20 [May 2 NS], 1848.
1109. This is a reference to Mrs. Francis Baird (Dorothea [Halliday] Baird)'s fancy ball.
1110. It has not been possible to locate the letters of Major Whistler written to his wife in the summer of 1848.
1111. "Mr. M" is Edward John Morgan (1812–1876), husband of Mary Anne (Parland) Morgan. See Morgan and Parland in Appendix E.
1112. Although gazetteers for towns on the Isle of Wight have been consulted, there are no gazetteers available for 1848 specifically. It has not been possible, therefore, to identify either the families whom they did not visit in St. Petersburg or the Russian family.
1113. The rector was the Reverend Justly Hill (c. 1782 – 18 March 1853), venerable archdeacon of Buckinghamshire and the rector of Tingewick in that county, as well as the rector of Bonchurch with Shanklin on the Isle of Wight (*Clergy List for 1852*, p. 130). The Isle of Wight living was "a rectory with Bonchurch in the diocese of Winchester, and gift of the families of Hill and Popham" (*Kelly's Directory 1847*, p. 1265). Reverend Hill had been the incumbent at Bonchurch since 1809 (*Clergy List for 1852*). The 1851 Census gives his age as sixty-nine years and his address as The Parsonage (HO 107/1664, fol. 502, p. 11). For commentary on the Shanklin Church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, of which Rev. Hill was rector, see Note 1094 above.
1114. For information about the dissenting chapel, see the biography of Rev. Henry Smith in Note 1116, NYPL: AWPD, Part II.
1115. "Last Sunday" was 30 July 1848.
1116. The "zealous and eloquent young minister" was Richard Henry Smith (London 10 February 1821 – Hampstead, Middlesex 13 November 1884). The son of a Congregational minister, Smith "originally intended to be a printer and bookbinder." On deciding to be a Congregational minister, he entered Highbury College. "He displayed, at an early period of his ministerial career, the qualities which characterized him through the remainder of his life – viz., great courage, faith and determination." "His career was unique, useful, and self-sacrificing." While living in Brading, Isle of Wight, waiting for "an invitation to a vacant pulpit," he worked to promote "the religious interests of the inhabitants." This led to an invitation by the local Congregationalists "to become their minister." Despite the fact that "the chapel was

wretchedly situated” and the income small, he accepted. In time, he was instrumental in raising funds to have a schoolhouse with a playground built for “the children of Dissenters” (who had “no day school”) as well as a house for the schoolmaster, “a new chapel [and] a minister’s house.” He also succeeded in establishing a “Dissenters’ burial ground.” Anna Whistler met him and his wife and young family of two children after these endeavors had been accomplished, for she was charmed by the “new gothic chapel” with the Smiths’ attractive apartment in the basement and the beautiful garden, which was actually a burial ground. Reverend Smith next went to Halesworth in Suffolk. Here there was not “scope enough for his special powers,” so he went to Surbiton, near Kingston-on-Thames, and essentially proceeded as he had at Brading. First he opened “a room in his house,” leading to the eventual building of a chapel. He “resigned his charge in 1861, and became minister of Hope Chapel, Hanley.” “[A]n amateur artist and art critic ... he [also] used art as a means of preaching.” At Hope Chapel, he was “especially successful among the working classes, who came in large numbers to hear his Sunday afternoon lectures, and to see the large pictures illustrating the parables, which he painted week by week for their benefit.” In 1865, he quit Hanley and went to Gospel Oak Fields, near Hampstead Heath, where once again he undertook to form a congregation, resulting in the building of the Gospel Oak Congregational Chapel in that same year. He remained here until June 1881, when ill health required him “to tender his resignation.” He died on 13 November 1881. After the death of his first wife, Rev. Smith married twice more. From his three marriages, he had at least twelve children.

“When at Surbiton he, for a time, spent his Mondays in copying the cartoons of Raphael at Hampton Court.” This resulted in his *Expositions of the Cartoons of Raphael* (1860) and *Expositions of Raphael’s Bible* (1868). His *Expositions of Great Pictures* (1863) was similar in structure but broader in scope. A fourth publication, *The Gospel Oak Gallery of Bible Pictures and Portraits* (1878) “was ... more popular” in nature, “and was intended to enforce the writer’s views on physiognomy and the connection between countenance and character.” He also wrote a number of works about and for children.

His “preaching was distinguished for its suggestiveness and great spiritual power. He had formed a high ideal of the Christian life, and he condemned departures from that ideal with a pungency of expression which sometimes gave to his ministry an

- air of sternness and severity. He had a dread of mere religious conventionalities and mechanical contrivances to secure religious ends, and insisted on the necessity for living by principle, and not by expediency." Anna Whistler appreciated these qualities in the still-young Reverend Smith, noting in her diary his zeal and eloquence and his "deeply impressive and interesting manner" in addressing children, all of which led her to pay him one of her highest compliments: that "the name of dissenter is merged in that of christian," in meeting "with such an one as" he (Censuses for 1851, 1861, 1871, and 1881; *The Nonconformist and Independent* 256, no. 5, new series, November 20, 1884; *The Congregational Yearbook, 1885*, pp. 227–229; Register of Baptisms, Lock's Fields Independent Chapel, York Street, Walworth, Surrey, RG 4/4202, NAUK; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1884; *The Hampstead and Highgate Express*, November 15, 1884, p. 30, and November 22, 1884).
1117. It has not been possible to identify a book entitled "The Week" to which Anna Whistler is referring; there are also a number of periodical publications bearing that title.
1118. "The Parsonage [see Image 491] is remarkable for the luxuriant growth of myrtles which envelop its walls, and are found to stand the severest winters without protection" (G. Brannon, *The Pleasure Visitor's Companion in Making the Tour of the Isle of Wight*, 25th ed. [Wootton, UK: printed by the author, 1857], p. 30).
1119. Isaiah 61:3: "To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called Trees of righteousness, The planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified."
1120. Neither the 1841 nor 1851 censuses for Shanklin lists a housekeeper at The Parsonage. Perhaps she did not live in. The female listed who was closest in age to Archdeacon Hill was his wife, Jane Helena Hill (c. 1787 – 30 August 1858), aged sixty-four in the 1851 Census.
1121. Matthew 11:28: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."
1122. "The Church, like the village, takes its name from St. Boniface; 'Bonchurch' being only a contraction from 'St. Boniface Church'... it stands on [a] ... steep declivity that leads down to [the sea]. Shaded by reverend elm-trees, and affording some indications of Norman architecture, it is a little edifice that cannot

be viewed without interest ... the first erection of the building ... is supposed to have taken place shortly subsequent to the Conquest ... A large oaken cross is placed within the east window, and forms a conspicuous addition to the communion-place" (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 74).

1123. It has not been possible to determine the source of the quotation "country down to the sea beach."
1124. "Perhaps no part of the Isle of Wight has undergone greater changes during the last few years than Bonchurch. This salubrious and beautiful spot, sheltered from the winter cold by a range of elevated downs at the north and east and still more effectually guarded against the summer heats by its perpetual sea breeze, had long possessed a high reputation as a resort of the invalid no less than of the tourist ... The original village, with the exception of two villas, consisted of a few rustic cottages ... containing perhaps about sixty inhabitants. But in the year 1837 a large portion of the land was advertized to be let on building leases ... The houses ... have been so judiciously placed, each in its own domain ... as to add to the beauty of the view, and there are now some sixteen or eighteen villas, either occupied by resident families or furnishing accommodation of a very superior description" (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 74\*\*).
1125. It has not been possible to locate this letter, which Anna Whistler says she wrote to her husband on 1 August 1848.
1126. Saturday was 5 August.
1127. Anna Whistler probably should have written "just as I."
1128. Monday was 7 August.
1129. "The celebrated Culver Cliffs range along the ... side of the peninsula [which ends in Bembridge Point]; they are four hundred feet high, and command ... a most extensive view, of which the main feature is the broad bosom of the British Channel. Culver Cliffs were the scene of the Rev. Legh Richmond's meeting with the 'Negro Servant', which, together with the surrounding scenery, he so well describes in the tract published under that title" (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, p. 30–31; Richmond, *Annals of the Poor*, 1815, pp. 139–187). *The Negro Servant* is the story of a black servant who had been freed by his master and whom Richmond baptized.
1130. For the new gothic chapel at the entrance to Brading see Note 1116 above, the biography of Rev. Richard Henry Smith.

1131. Anna Whistler did not go back to record *where* they picked up Mr. Phillips (Mr P), James, and Willie.
1132. Reverend Richard Henry Smith married in the Ongar, Essex, registration district in the September quarter of 1845 Hannah Maria Andrews (Stanford Rivers, Essex 10 June 1819 – Ryde, Isle of Wight 1 June 1856) (Certificates of Nonconformist Baptisms. NA ref. R6 5/79. [Certificate] F no. 3170, Parchment Series, Dr. Williams’s Library, London; *The Nonconformist*, June 4, 1865, p. 410). Their two children at this time were Hannah Jane Smith (Brading, Isle of Wight 18 July 1846 – no earlier than 1901) and Richard Henry Smith (Brading, Isle of Wight 28 February 1848 – Halesworth, Suffolk 20 December 1852) (*The Nonconformist*, July 22, 1846, p. 506, March 8, 1848, p. 163, and December 22, 1852, p. 1013; 1901 Census for Walsall, Staffordshire, RG 13/2703).
1133. It has not been possible to identify “the *old* sexton.”
1134. The vicar of Brading (1846–1862) was Dunbar Isidore Heath (1816–1888). He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1838. He “was prosecuted for expressions in his sermons considered derogatory to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and sentenced in 1861 to deprivation of his benefice.” His case became “a precedent in the other ecclesiastical suits, by which the relations between Church and State are being largely modified.” He was the author of several works, including: *The Future Human Kingdom of Christ* (1852–1853) and *A Defence of My Professional Character* (1862) (*Men of the Times: A Dictionary of Contemporaries Containing Biographical Notices of Eminent Characters of Both Sexes*, 12th ed. [London: George Routledge and Sons, 1887], p. 514; Boase, *Modern English Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 1410–1411; John Foster Kirk, *A Supplement to Allibone’s Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1891), vol. 2, p. 801; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 3, p. 311).
1135. The Oxford Movement in the Church of England had as its aim the restoration of the High Church principles of the later-seventeenth-century Church. With the withdrawal of John Henry Newman (1801–1890) from the Oxford Movement, its leader became Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–1882). Anna Whistler obviously objected to the fact that Puseyism thereby promoted a church closer to Roman Catholicism in its views and revealed the closeness through its garb.
1136. Little Jane’s grave (see Image 492) is located by “the eastern wall of the church.” At the time of her death, Richmond planted a yew

tree nearby, but it soon withered (Richmond, *Annals of the Poor*, 1815, p. 286). In 1822, when memorials were erected in Brading to the cottagers of the *Annals of the Poor*, with Richmond present (*Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Richmond, Legh”), he had a stone placed on her grave, bearing an epitaph written by him:

Ye who delight the power of God to trace,  
And mark with joy each monument of grace,  
Tread lightly o’er this grave, as you explore  
‘The short and simple annals of the poor.’

A child reposes underneath this sod,  
A child to memory dear, and dear to God;  
Rejoice, yet shed the sympathetic tear,  
Jane, ‘the Young Cottager’, lies buried here.

(Legh Richmond, *Annals of the Poor*, new ed.  
[Philadelphia, PA: New York: Robert Carter and  
Brothers, 1850], p. 14)

1137. *Annals of the Poor*, 1815, pp. 211–212, 247–248.
1138. Tuesday was 8 August.
1139. It has not been possible to locate this letter from Major Whistler describing his illness and loneliness without his family. This bout of illness marks the beginning of the decline in his health that resulted in his death some eight months later. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s.” It has also not been possible to locate Anna Whistler’s reply.
1140. The infant is George Whistler Eastwick, born on 19/31 March 1848 and baptized on 29 October / 10 November 1848 (PREC STP, no. 5665, p. 342; see Image 238). He died one week before Major Whistler, on 19/31 March 1849 (PREC STP, no. 5931). His body was sent to America for interment.
1141. His parents, Lydia Anne (James) Eastwick (Mrs E) (see Image 234) and Andrew McCalla Eastwick (Mr E) (see Image 233) watched at the bedside of Major Whistler.
1142. “Mr & Mrs G” are William Clarke Gellibrand (see Image 265) and Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand (see Image 266).
1143. William Hooper Ropes and Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes and their children always spent their summers at the dacha of Mrs. and Mrs. Gellibrand.



1144. The seven children of Charles Wood and Lydia (Procter) Wood and their governess, Miss McMaster, were staying in a cottage on the same estate as the Gellibrands and Ropeses. See Wood in Appendix E and Images 271–272.
1145. Mrs. Charles Haden was Mary Love (Boott) Haden (c. 1820 – 6 December 1897).
1146. Wednesday was 9 August.
1147. “Between Shanklin and Appuldurcombe is a series of pasturing downs, falling with a regular descent on the south, but on the north their slope is abruptly broken by a fine range of cliff, composed chiefly of grey free-stone, and feathered by hanging ash and other self-sown trees. On the edge of this beautiful precipice stand the ruins of an ancient building, called Cook’s Castle: its history appears to be lost in oblivion; but it is a well-known and very picturesque subject, seen from a variety of points ...” (G. Brannon, *Graphic Sketches of Well-Known Subjects in the Isle of Wight* [Wootton, UK: printed by the author, c. 1839]). MacDonald says that “No sketches of the Isle of Wight have survived unless some of the drawings in the St. Petersburg sketchbook date from the trip” (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 12). She refers the reader to No. 7 on p. 24 of the St. Petersburg sketchbook, where one of the drawings “could just possibly be a view of the Needles with the lighthouse on the end” (MacDonald, p. 4).
1148. It has not been possible to determine who “the Parlans” were. An avenue of pursuit is the St. Petersburg Parland family, of which Mary Ann (Parland) Morgan was a member; however, one would expect that Anna Whistler would have identified St. Petersburg people more exactly.
1149. Anna Whistler probably means they entered the magnificent park surrounding the mansion of Appuldurcombe, which was the property of Lord Yarborough (*Barber’s Picturesque Guide*, pp. 55–58; see Image 493). Barber describes the walk *from* Appuldurcombe *to* Shanklin, which gives in reverse order an idea of the beauties of the route taken by Anna Whistler’s group, who walked from Shanklin through Appuldurcombe and on to Cook’s Castle:

We recommend all travelers, whose health and time will permit, to *walk* from Appuldurcombe to Shanklin: the lovers of nature, in her combined beauty and grandeur, can enjoy few finer treats, should the weather prove

propitious. Leaving the park attached to Lord Yarborough's noble seat, we enter a luxuriant copse, crowned by a precipitous height, and an artificial ruin [Cook's Castle] on the right hand, and commanding a succession of beautiful views to the left. As the prospect in the last-mentioned direction opens, it becomes truly magnificent, and comprehends, if we ascend the utmost elevation on Shanklin *Down*, not only at least one half of the Island, but the English Channel, the Solent, and the south coast of England to a vast extent. We must make a *détour* to gain the extreme elevation mentioned, which is nearly 800 feet above the level of the ocean; but even if content with the more moderate height afforded by the direct route, the views will be found to surpass description. Nothing can exceed the variety and beauty of the inland scene, everywhere rising into alternate swells and hollows, some of which are of a grand character, while others constitute a succession of petty undulations resembling the waves of the sea. The surface equally alternates between the richest crops and brown or flowering heath: while the blue Solent appears at every break between the downs in the distance. In a deep dell on the left, beneath the cliff along whose edge we are proceeding, two cottages ... appear ... Soon after passing them, we begin to descend towards Shanklin *Church*. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide*, pp. 62–63)

The First Earl of Yarborough had died in 1846 and “the estate remained for some time unoccupied” (White, *Directory of Hampshire*, p. 637).

1150. Because Anna Whistler could not include a visit to Preston in the summer of 1848, her sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (Sister Eliza, my sister, Aunt W, Aunt Eliza, Sister; see Image 40) and her husband, John Winstanley (Mr Winstanley, my brother Winnie, brother Winstanley, Uncle W, Mr W), traveled to the Isle of Wight to visit her. They brought with them wine and silver utensils from Francis Seymour Haden, husband of Anna Whistler's step-daughter, Deborah (Whistler) Haden.
1151. “Napier Lady, Beech” [sic] (*Kelly's Directory 1847*, p. 1265; *Kelly's Directory 1852*, p. 1377); “Napier Lady, Swiss Cottage” (*Hunt and Co.'s Directory for Hampshire ... including the Isle of Wight* [Weymouth: Benson and Barling, 1852]). This residence was between Culver Cottage and Adelaide Cottage (1851 Census for Shanklin). Lady

- Elizabeth (Younghusband) Napier (1785 – Shanklin, Isle of Wight 19 December 1857), the widow of Lt. Edward Elers, RN (1781 – 1814), married on 12 June 1815 Capt. Charles Napier of Merchistoun Hall, Stirlingshire, RN (6 March 1786 – 6 November 1860). At the time of this diary entry, he was Sir Charles Napier, KCB (4 December 1840) and rear-admiral of the Blue (9 November 1846) (William R. O’Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary* [London: John Murray, 1849]), pp. 802–804; Anderson, *Scottish Nation*, vol. 3, p. 242; Keith Scott, *Scott, 1118–1923: Being a Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Border Family of “Scott”* [London: Burke, 1924] p. 81; Lord Monson and George Leveson-Gower, eds., *Memoirs of George Elers, Captain in the 12th Regiment of Foot (1777–1842)* [London: William Heinemann, 1903], p. 309).
1152. It was Captain George Charles Elers Napier (b. 1812; bap. 17 August 1812; d. 20 December 1847), the son of Lady Elizabeth Napier and her first husband, Lt. Edward Elers, RN, and the adopted son of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, who had died at sea. He was drowned when the *Avenger* steam frigate, which he had assumed command of on 20 November 1847, “was wrecked on the Sorelle rocks, in the Mediterranean” a month later (O’Byrne, *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, p. 804; Monson and Leveson-Gower, *George Elers*, p. 309; Anderson, *Scottish Nation*, vol. 3, p. 242). His sister-in-law and the boy of three were Eliza Louisa (Daniel) Napier (1808 – Ryde, Isle of Wight 15 April 1892) and Charles Elers Napier (Purbrooke, Hampshire 10 November 1845 – drowned off Fowey 5 September 1872), the wife and son of George’s brother, Edward Hungerford Delaval Elers Napier (Westbourne, Sussex bap. 21 April 1808 – Shanklin, Isle of Wight 19 June 1870), whom she married in 1844. Edward Hungerford Delaval Elers Napier was also the adopted son of Admiral Sir Charles Napier (Monson and Leveson-Gower, *George Elers*, p. 309; 1861 Census for Shanklin, RG 9/659, fol. 134, p. 10; IGI; *Gentlemen’s Magazine* 24, pt. 2 (1845): p. 634; Edward Walford, *The County Families of the United Kingdom; or, Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of Great Britain and Ireland* [London: R. Hardwicke, 1868]; *The Times* [London], September 13, 1872, p. 481).
1153. This is Elizabeth Isabella Cottnam Maclean (bap. Isle of Coll, Argyllshire 25 November 1783 – Bath, Somerset 21 April 1854). On 28 September 1848, Eliza Winstanley wrote James that if he should ever go to Bath, he should look up her “old friend Miss Maclean at Partis College . . . a mile or two out of the town” (Eliza

- Winstanley to James Whistler Kirby Lonsdale 28<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> [1848], GUL: Whistler Collection, W1078). The 1870–71 *Post Office Directory* for Bath contains a description of a charitable institution called Partis College, on Upper Bristol Road. It was founded in 1824 by Mrs. Ann Partis, formerly of Bath, for the purpose of “receiving and pensioning 30 ladies (members of the Established Church) widows, or unmarried orphans, etc. etc. etc.” According to the 1851 Census, an Elizabeth Maclean, age sixty-seven, was living in this institution in the parish of Weston in the area of Batheaston, Bath. She was the daughter of Hannah Barbara (Cottnam) Maclean and Lt.-Colonel Lachlan Maclean (d. 1 June 1816), major of the Tower of London and resident governor (*Gentleman’s Magazine* 86, pt. 1 (1816): p. 571; *Wells Journal*, May 27, 1854) and the sister of the Mary McLean, whose portrait hung in the Winstanley home (entry for S<sup>t</sup> Petersburg. November 28<sup>th</sup> 1843, NYPL: AWPDP, Part I, and accompanying Note 22).
1154. Berwick-upon-Tweed is “a port, borough, market-town, parish, and county of itself, 55 miles (E. by S.) from Edinburgh ... containing 8484 inhabitants” (Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Scotland, Comprising the Several Counties, Islands, Cities, Burgh and Market Towns, Parishes, and Principal Villages, with Historical and Statistical Descriptions*, 2 vols. [London: Lewis, 1846], vol. 1, p. 124).
1155. Blackgang Chine (see Image 494) takes its name from “the Saxon *gange*, which signifies any opening or way in a cliff to the sea shore” and from the “almost universal [black] colour of the faces of the cloven sand-rocks.” “From the summit of the Chine we have a noble prospect of the whole line of coast westward, including Chale, Brixton and Fresh-water Bays; the towering cliffs of Freshwater; the Needles Rocks; and the coast of Dorsetshire in the extreme distance The descent to the pebbly beach is worth performing, in order to obtain an interesting view of the Chine as it appears from it.” Blackgang Chine Hotel had been “recently built on the property of W.H. Jacobs, Esq.” From it, one had a view of “the sea-coast as far as the Needles.” One could descend from the hotel to the Chine on muleback (*Barber’s Picturesque Guide*, p. 84). *Barber’s Picturesque Guide* contains no mention of a curiosity shop at the top of the Cliff. James’s memory of this spot surfaced many years later in a letter to his mother from Venice: “At last the ice and snow have left us, and now the rain is pouring down upon us. Today reminds me of our stay long ago at the

Black Gang Chyne!” (A.J. Bloor, “The Beginnings of James McNeill Whistler,” *The Critic* 48 (1906): p. 124).

1156. Anna Whistler meant to write “Cliff.”
1157. Harriet Bourmaster (c. 1781 – St. Thomas House, Ryde, Isle of Wight 6 January 1863), daughter of Admiral John Bourmaster, married Sir Archibald Collingwood Dickson, Bart. (30 June 1772 – 18 June 1827) and became Harriet Lady Dickson. They had eleven children (*Glasgow Herald*, January 9, 1863; L.G. Pine, *The New Extinct Peerage, 1884–1971* [Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishers, 1973]).
- Many years later, Anna Whistler again mentioned Lady D, in a letter to James (Anna Whistler to James Whistler Talbot House [Hastings, England], Monday 12 June [1876], GUL: Whistler Collection, W549). Debo had been asked to play Beethoven’s Kreutzer Sonata at a musical evening given by Lady D to the blind King George V of Hanover. The event was reported and Lady D identified in *The Times*: “The King and Princess Federica dined with Lord and Lady Denbigh, at 2, Cromwell Houses, South Kensington ... Lady Denbigh afterwards had an evening party” (“King George of Hanover,” *The Times* (London), June 13, 1876, p. 8). Lord Denbigh was Basil Feilding (1719–1800), 6th Earl of Denbigh. He married on 12 April 1757 Mary Cotton (1727–1782), daughter of Sir John Cotton (d. 1752) and Jane Burdett (*Burke’s Peerage*, 1869, p. 322; IGI).
1158. It has not been possible to determine whether “Jack last” is a game. Perhaps it refers to the story of Jack and his eleven brothers.
1159. *Rowe’s Illustrated Cheltenham Guide*, published in 1845, describes the town as follows:

The town of Cheltenham is situated in the beautiful vale of Gloucester, between the left bank of the Severn and the lovely Cotswold range, which indeed forms the splendid back ground to that portion of the vale in which Cheltenham is seated – a bold projecting escarpment of the range, called Leckhampton Hill, forms a prominent feature in the landscape surrounding the Town, and from whose summit may be enjoyed a most beautiful and expansive view of the vale of Gloucester, the Malvern Hills, and the distant Welch Mountains.

Since the discovery of the Mineral Springs in 1716, Cheltenham has been gradually rising into importance; the visit of His Majesty, King George the Third, with the

Royal Family, in 1788, gave it great celebrity, and from a mere village it has become one of the most extensive, and certainly the most elegant town in the Kingdom.

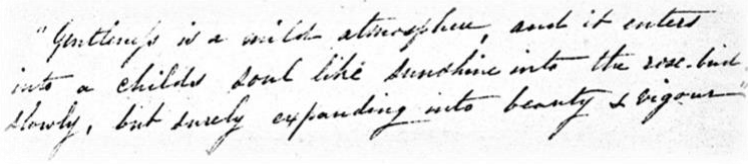
Although Cheltenham (as a Manor) dates its existence to the times previous to the compilation of “Doomsday Book,” by William the Norman, yet it now possesses no remains that would identify it with so early a period of its history; ... The Parish Church is the only building of importance forming the exception to this statement, and the date of its erection may be fixed in all probability at about the 11th century. (George Rowe, *Rowe’s Illustrated Cheltenham Guide* [Gloucester, UK: printed by the author, c. 1845], pp. iii–iv)

The principal spas described by Rowe are the Montpellier (pp. 27–29), Royal Old Wells (pp. 35–37), and Pittville (pp. 56–59).

1160. The *Scarborough Gazette* contains no entries for June 1847 that might identify “the lady D.”
1161. The little twelfth-century church dedicated to St. Lawrence (see Images 495–496) “stands in the small village of St. Lawrence, located on the Undercliff, two miles west of Ventnor.” Until 1842, it was the smallest church in England, 20 feet long and 12 feet wide (6 feet high, to the eaves), but in 1842, a small chancel 9 feet long was added, depriving it of that status. “The east window is decorated with a transparent painting of the Resurrection, in a stained glass frame, [donated] in 1798.” “The smallness of the structure is perhaps one chief evidence of its antiquity; and it is far from improbable that the *walls*, in great part, are of the Saxon era, though all the arches for windows cut in them are of much more recent date” (*Barber’s Picturesque Guide*, p. 79; White, *Directory of Hampshire*, 1859, p. 636).

## APPENDIX A

## EPIGRAPH



"Gentleness is a mild atmosphere, and it enters into a child's soul like sunshine into the rose-bud. Slowly, but surely expanding into beauty & vigour"

"Gentleness is a mild atmosphere, and it enters into a child's soul like sunshine into the rose-bud – slowly, but surely expanding into beauty & vigour"

This quotation is written on a flyleaf of the diaries. It is taken from an early parenting manual, *The Mother's Book*, by Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880),<sup>1</sup> who also wrote the highly successful *American Frugal Housewife: Dedicated to Those Who Are Not Ashamed of Economy* (1829). She would later become known for her anti-slavery writing.<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of the handwriting in the quotation from Child with that of Anna Whistler's letters corroborates that the handwriting in both is that of Anna Whistler.

The epigraph follows the New York Public Library's book plates, on the inside cover of her diaries, which read "Anna Palmer Draper Fund, to the memory of her father, Courtland Palmer Sr." and "Presented by Mrs. Henry Draper to the New York Public Library." The page with the book plates has the library stamp of SEP 26 1908.

## NOTES

1. Mrs. [Lydia Maria] Child, *The Mother's Book* (Boston, MA: Carter, Hendee and Babcock; Baltimore, MD: Carter, 1831), p. 2.
2. *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Lydia Maria Child," accessed November 15, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lydia-Maria-Child>



## APPENDIX B

“EXCERPT FROM THE MARQUIS DE CUSTINES  
TRAVELS IN RUSSIA IN 1842”<sup>1</sup>

The figure of the Empress is very elegant & tho she is extremely thin I find an indefinable grace about her whole person. Her mein far from being haughty as I had been informed is expressive of an habitual resignation. On entering the Chapel she was much affected & I thought she was going to faint... Her soft blue eyes, rather sunken, told of deep sufferings supported with angelic calmness. Her look full of feeling has the more power, from its seeming unconsciousness of possessing any. Faded before her time & so weak that it is said she cannot live long, her appearance gives the idea of a passing shadow, of of [*sic*] something that belongs no more to earth. She has never recovered from the anguish she had to undergo on the day of her accession to the throne. and conjugal duty has consumed the rest of her life. She has given too many idols to Passion, too many grand dukes to the Emperor— Every one sees the state of the Empress but no one mentions it. The Emperor loves her. When ill in bed he attends her himself, watches by her bedside & prepares & administers her food & medicine. No sooner is she better than he destroys her health with the excitement of fêtes & journeys, but the moment danger to her health is again apprehended he renounces all his projects... The nearer any of us is placed to the imperial sun the more he is a Slave to the glory attached to his situation. The Empress is dying under the weight of this Slavery—

From my own observation this must be unjust, as ungenerous, for if the wife of any Sovereign is happy in her family it is the Empress of the Czar Nicolas. but I am told her constitution was undermined by her fondness for amusement. late hours at routs, excess in dancing, frequent attendance at Theatres &c. Now the Imperial family is an example to their court, benevolent & considerate the ladies are at the head of all charitie[s] & their early hours are quite established.

## NOTE

1. Appendix B is a single, abridged quotation from the Marquis de Custine's *La Russie en 1839*, in the 1842 English translation. It is his description of the exhausted and nervous appearance of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna, attributed by him to the stress of (1) the Decembrist rebellion in 1825, which threatened her husband's accession to the throne and the entire Imperial family with assassination and (2) her years of bearing children (de Custine, *Empire of the Czar*, pp. 137–138; see also pp. 159, 161). This passage, copied in Anna Whistler's hand, is followed by her response to what she deemed to be Custine's lack of generosity and of justness in attributing the empress's debility to a subservience to the emperor's whim and thereby suggesting an unhappy marriage. But although Custine was implying that the emperor had power, he was not saying the marriage was unhappy. Anna Whistler entitled the quotation "Excerpt from the Marquis de Custine's travels in Russia in 1842." A. Th. Von Grimm, in his biography of Aleksandra Fyodorovna, whom he knew personally, corroborates in detail Custine's statement and also does not suggest an unhappy marriage (von Grimm, *Alexandra Feodorovna*, vol. 1, pp. 157, 246).

## APPENDIX C

Lines<sup>1</sup> written on the death of dear Elizth Haslewood, by her  
Sister Catherine aged 11 years—! Elizth died 25th July 1843  
aged 17!

A very sweet and lovely child  
And very precious, – Gentle, mild,  
But now, sweet Girl, she's left us all.  
And gone at her kind Fathers call.

Though she no longer lingers here.  
Yet to us all she's very dear.  
We must not call her down to this,  
From that bright world, of heavenly bliss.

Now, she has done with suffering here.  
And gone to see her Saviour dear,  
Now she has left her earthly place  
And gone to see her Makers face.

Now, she is praising him above,  
Though all on Earth, her dearly love  
But still we must not for her Moan.  
Although she was a precious loan.

### NOTE

1. A comparison of the handwriting in this copy of Catherine Haslewood's lines with the writing in Eliza Winstanley's diary recorded in Appendix D shows that Eliza Winstanley copied the poem for Anna Whistler.

## APPENDIX D

From Eliza I. Winstanley,<sup>1</sup> to her Sister Anna M Whistler, on her leaving Preston for St. Petersburg, that the incidents of her visit abroad should also be recorded.

August 1843.<sup>2</sup>

Commencement of a Journey, from Preston.<sup>3</sup>

By Eliza I. Winstanley<sup>4</sup>

I left home on thursday the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1843 – at 20 minutes past eight in the morn<sup>g</sup>. under very favorable auspices, My Husband<sup>5</sup> came with me to the North Union Station,<sup>6</sup> where I parted with him. He was in pretty good health and did not object to my going to visit an old aunt<sup>7</sup> who I had not seen for many years.

M<sup>rs</sup> Chapman,<sup>8</sup> & her young friend Miss Thompson,<sup>9</sup> went in the same Carriage, with me to Liverpool, and my Nephew Woodcock Winstanley<sup>10</sup> accompanied me as far as Kirkside.<sup>11</sup> I left our Nephew & Niece M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ainsworth<sup>12</sup> at home with Winstanley, the former, being on the Invalid list, with a severe attack of Influenza, was the only circumstance that cast a damp on my setting out! – We had a most agreeable & quick journey to Liverpool, where my Sister<sup>13</sup> & Isa, Johnstone<sup>14</sup> met me at the Edge Hill Station.<sup>15</sup>

Alicia accompanied me to M<sup>r</sup> Salisbury. where I went to pay a first visit to my dear young friend, (formerly Anne Cunliffe)<sup>16</sup> now the wife of Kingston Salisbury Esq<sup>re</sup> She welcomed me most kindly & I rejoiced to see her so comfortably settled. I could only remain a short time with her as the “Achilles” was advertised to sail at twelve at noon; my Sister went on Board with Isabella Johnstone and I. but very soon took leave of us, as preperations were then making for the vessel leaving the Dock. and at a quarter before one we were fairly off. There were a great many Passengers, and also much variety amongst them. There were several Jews, some Turks, a french party, and two very pleasing Russian Ladies with a nice little Girl the Daughter of

“M<sup>rs</sup> Handyside”<sup>17</sup> (one of the Ladies) the name of her Sister was Miss Henley.<sup>18</sup> I am that particular in mentioning them as I. [Isa] learnt in the course of the voyage, that they had met with my Brother, Whistler<sup>19</sup> at M<sup>r</sup> Laws,<sup>20</sup> the English Clergy man at St Petersburg, and I was anxious to secure their acquaintance for my Sister Anna Should it be her Lot to reside there. Those Ladies mean to return in Sep<sup>r</sup> God willing. They were very agreeable and informed me, that they were born in Poland, but had lived many years in Russia. they were very Lady like in their manners & appearance, and told me that the Russians were a sociable People! — I felt rather anxious not to be known by any of the Passengers, as I did not intend to visit my friends in Edin<sup>g</sup> or any where else in Scotland, except my aunt at Portobello.<sup>21</sup> my visit being specially to her, and I had fixed, that I should not be more than a week absent from my Husband. I soon found, however that I could not long remain incog. as very shortly after we were off from Liverpool, as Isabella and I were walking to & fro, on the Deck, a Lady accosted me as “M<sup>rs</sup> Wellwood”<sup>22</sup> I replied *that*, was my name, but a long time ago, and I said the Lady am “M<sup>rs</sup> H. Gordon”<sup>23</sup> with whom I was very glad to renew my acquaintance, she had with her, “Janet”<sup>24</sup> her eldest Daughter a very nice lively, pleasing Girl. she had been introduced to a french Deputy & his wife and a Sister of the latter, & they carried on a most animated conversation in french, in which my young friend Isabella took a part. M<sup>rs</sup> G. and I kept much together, she had lately lost her good Husband,<sup>25</sup> and I felt interested in the sad scenes, she had lately witnessed and in much, that had occurred since we last met. *She*, like myself, had not secured sleeping accommodation, and the Passengers were so numerous, that we were obliged to make the best of such beds as the Stewardess could make up for us. and she kindly agreed that those who wished to be together should be put in the same State room. we remained on Deck as long as it was safe so to do, at night, and we had a variety of amusing & interesting scenes. The Sea was beautifully calm, and we had all great reason to bless God with thankful hearts for his mercies to us. Two sweet little Girls were put on shore by a small Boat at the Isle of Man,<sup>26</sup> they were very young travellers to be without protection. I regretted not having known sooner of their being on board, for the Capt<sup>n</sup> had found much fault for

the Stewardess having taken them at all, as there were no other Passengers for the Island. Their Father came to meet his children, & the little things shed tears, (of joy I doubt not) I was very frightened. the Boat seemed to me to get almost under the Steamer at parting. There were several Boys on board going home for the holidays, and three of them had agreed to order a seperate dinner for themselves & had each a Pint of Sherry & some Porter. which made them so tipsey, that they caused both amusement & regret to many of our party one of them, a very Gentlemanly Boy from Glasgow, declared it sh<sup>d</sup> be a lesson to him, never to act in the same way again. I hope he may keep this resolution.

The time of retiring to rest, at length arrived, and I laughed heartily, when I saw fourteen Beds. put up to the best advantage around a small Cabin about ten feet square and six in addition on the floor of the same apartment. We truly were a merry set, and all seemed disposed to enjoy the change, from our own comfortable homes, one very nice good humoured looking young Lady came down, the last from the Deck, & remarked that she must try to have a little sleep, as she had been travelling for two nights before. She was not long before she put her threat in execution, tho' her head was very near the Curtain, which supplied the place of a door to our apartment. The two french Ladies, were close to my head & kept chattering to my neighbour Miss Gordon at such a rate, that I was repeatedly obliged to say "taisez vous" to their great amusement. another Lady lay very near the foot of my Bed and as Pillows were scarce, the end of my mattress served in part for that purpose, so that I was afraid of giving her a kick now & then. she however took all in good part. I was not inclined to sleep much, and was somewhat annoyed by toothach. I sat up in bed using remedies, which I had brought with me, and, notwithstanding the pain looked round & smiled upon my sleeping companions, some very quiet & others giving a little snore, in proof of their being really asleep. I did forget myself, long enough to feel quite refreshed, and awoke at 1/2 past three when, first one, & then another began to talk, and in a short time we were all once more on foot and one pair after another, went on Deck. the Morn<sup>g</sup> was bright and beautiful. The Sun had just risen in full splendor. I was delighted and could not sufficiently, thank

God for permitting me to view so glorious a sight the grand scottish mountains soon came in sight, and as we approached to Greenock,<sup>27</sup> the Islands and wooded shores were a rich feast to the eyes. oh! it was lovely beyond description, and although the air was not quite clear, still we could see “Ben Lomond,”<sup>28</sup> Ben Nevis,<sup>29</sup> &c &c in the distance towering their lofty heads, and adding to the beauty of the numberless lovely places on each side of the Clyde where stood many a noble looking Mansion, and I trust, where also dwelt many warm kind hearts ready and willing to dispense the good things so bountifully bestowed by an unerring Providence. we reached Greenock about 1/2 past six oClock on friday Morn~~g~~ we found there was not a Train for Glasgow<sup>30</sup> till 1/2 past eight, we therefore proceeded by a small steam boat, and landed safe at Glasgow at ten oClock. we then took leave of our agreeable companions, and M<sup>r</sup> Maclean,<sup>31</sup> (a friend of Alicia’s) kindly assisted us, in looking after our Luggage and we went direct to the Glasgow and Edin<sup>g</sup> Station.<sup>32</sup> near which, we procured a cup of Coffee & some refreshment, and we went on by the 11 oClock Train. we were placed in the Coach with three very starched looking Ladies (old maids I thought) they seemed too full of self importance to speak to us, they only went a short way with us, and at parting, by way of example, I handed them their parcels, and they were induced to say “much obliged & good morn~~g~~ a servant and Carriage, were in waiting for Isabella, at Falkirk,<sup>33</sup> and there we parted, with, I believe mutual regret. we had been very happy together and we had very much enjoyed our prosperous voyage & journey.

Nothing occurred worthy of remark from Falkirk, till we reached the all beauteous City of Edin<sup>g</sup> <sup>34</sup> at twelve oClock, I felt a great deal, on entering it, & driving along Princes Street,<sup>35</sup> I called to enquire about the Carlisle Mail,<sup>36</sup> thinking of my return home, and after obtaining the wished for information I almost immediately, went on to Portobello by a Stage Coach, which was about setting off from the Princes St Office. The sun, shone bright and all the well known spots appeared to welcome me to the land of Cakes.<sup>37</sup> an old lady and Gentleman were in the Coach with me, they were very civil but did not much interrupt my reverie ‘till we arrived at our destination.

Arrival at Portobello. June 16<sup>th</sup>

I went immediately to Brighton Crescent,<sup>38</sup> all anxiety to see my dear Aunt, but, what was my astonishment on finding the gate locked and no admittance. I sent a Boy over the railing who repeatedly pulled the Bell, without any success. The windows being open, made me feel pretty certain that my aunt had not gone from home. I therefore concluded that the Servant must have gone out which proved to be the case. I tried to obtain assistance from the next House, and there again I met with a disappointment. I was not invited to come in & rest, this I determined not to mention, which, I afterwards found, was a prudent plan as the servants, were not on good terms. In the course of half an hour Catherine<sup>39</sup> appeared, She had been at Market and was much dismayed at my early arrival. She is quite a Meg Merrilee<sup>40</sup> sort of character! as soon as she was aware it was me; she exclaimed, "Bless me, is that you? here already! "What will my Leddie say? she never expected you till the evg! and you said in your letter it might be late."

I explained as briefly as possible and begged she would open the Gate, which was not so easily done, with the violent shaking it had experienced, the lock was spoiled & it would not open. at length Mrs Biggs, came out, and could scarcely be persuaded that it was really me. she was quite shocked to see me so changed for the worse in appearance. "oh! my dear said she, what a reception "to give you after coming so far to see me" "And O. how fat you have grown, alas! I should not have known you" She then brought a small ladder & I tried to get over the rail & had nearly stuck fast It was most ludicrous, I could not refrain from laughing. and was very thankful to be on the ground once more. It was then resolved that a Smith must be got, and my aunt sent Catherine with me to her opposite neighbour "Mrs Ansels"<sup>41</sup> who Cath<sup>nc</sup> said was a real Lady. she received me very politely & sent a joiner, who happened to be working for her, to try to force the lock of the Gate. He succeeded, and returned in a short time. I was then very anxious to be off, and in the midst of the excitement, I did not observe how near I was to the Chimney piece, I had taken my shawl off, being exceedingly warm, and in throwing it over my shoulder, it caught a China jar, which fell on the hearth, broken to atoms. I was stunned, and mortified at my own stupidity. The old lady clasped her



hands & uttered in great vexation “what have you done? my Dresden China, oh! oh! I expressed my unfeigned regret, in the most civil terms I possibly could, but could not appease my Hostess, till I said I should do all in my power to repair her loss, to which she assented, and I held out my hand in token of kindness, but she curtsied & said good morn<sup>g</sup> and I was not sorry to lose sight of so uncourteous “ a real Leddie.” — I returned to my Aunt, who received me very cordially, and by & bye she asked me what I would have to eat”. “my dinner,” said I, as soon as convenient “we dine at five oClock” I begged that while I staid it might be rather earlier which was, agreed to. tho Catherine was inclined to rebel, on the score of it not being genteel. My aunt however was really pleased to see me & inclined to humour my fancies. as far as she could. we dined about four oClock, and we were not long, before we began to talk over old stories. and before the ev<sup>g</sup> was over I heard of many grievances, and of the shocking manner in which nearly, the whole of her own family had treated her. But the relatives of her Husband, had always shewn her the most unremitting kindness and respect. I was glad to make my escape for a little & followed Catherine to a China shop, where I purchased a pair of tall purple glasses for flowers. the best that were to be had, & sent them to M<sup>rs</sup> Ansel. and she was graciously pleased to accept them, in lieu of her “Dresden China jar”. On Saturday Morn<sup>g</sup> the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, I arose from my comfortable Bed, much refreshed after the fatigue of the two preceding days. my aunt resumed her theme, of the ill usage she had met with all her life from her unkind relatives. and she talked much of the immense deal of trouble she had had with the laying out & securing the Sum of two hundred pounds, left to her by M<sup>r</sup> Hunter,<sup>42</sup> for her own life, & after her decease to her Sister M<sup>rs</sup> Wilkin.<sup>43</sup> *I knew*, that it was only left in trust to her for the behoof of her Sister & her family and I thought it only right to undeceive her, & tell her how it really was. I did so! she would not credit what I said at first. but when I assured her that I had seen M<sup>r</sup> Hunters will, & that my Husband also saw it, she was perfectly astonished! & enraged beyond description. and declared she would not rest till she was at the bottom of the whole affair. she was so angry, that I bitterly repented having mentioned it at all. we had a weary day of it. fortunately I had the comfort of hearing from my dear Husband in the ev<sup>g</sup>

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> – This was a lovely day, and we spent it very peaceably. I read to my Aunt and to Catherine frequently and as much as was practicable we avoided worldly, & exciting subjects. I did not go to Church, as I did not wish to be known. I thought much of my own dear home, and wished I was again with my Husband. tho' my Aunt was very kind to me, yet she grieved me by the strange things she was continually saying of others who were, or had been dear to me.

On monday Morn<sup>g</sup> — The dreadful theme of M<sup>r</sup> Hunters Legacy was resumed, and my Aunt gave way to a passion so very violent, stamping her foot, & knocking the table that I was quite alarmed her face was so inflamed, I feared she might have a fit. I offered to write to the Executer, M<sup>r</sup> Pringle<sup>44</sup> for a Copy of that part of the will. I did so, which a little appeased her. my head ached and I told her how poorly she had made me. she was afterwards, more upon her guard. she walked out with me in the afternoon and was extremely pleasant, & most kind to me. On tuesday the 20<sup>th</sup> inst. we met about the usual hour of nine at breakfast, I was very happy, having another letter from my dear Husband from Underfield,<sup>45</sup> & he was very well but M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Ainsworth still Invalids. — My Aunt and I continued our old family histories, we seldom agreed in opinion but I took care to be very calm in asserting mine, which I did very candidly. My worthy Nephew Rob<sup>t</sup> Scott Moncrieff<sup>46</sup> came this forenoon to see me. I was very much gratified by his great kindness, he promised to come again & to bring my dear Niece Anna Boswell.<sup>47</sup> He also undertook to secure my place in the Carlisle Mail for thursday night. — my aunt was quite pleased with his visit and she was very chatty & upon more agreeable subjects during the rest of the day. she presented me with a Broach, set with my Mothe'rs<sup>48</sup> hair, & also a Bible & Prayer Book which had belonged to my Grand Mother<sup>49</sup> and my uncle James.<sup>50</sup> all of which I prize much. I occasionally walked to the Beach. and Catherine assured me I should not be recognised. “ye need na, be feared, naubody'll ken ye here, nau more than I wad ken my first sark”<sup>51</sup> On wed<sup>z</sup> morn<sup>g</sup> Aunt Biggs came down to breakfast, quite in full force and declared her intention of sending for a Carriage & taking me with her to M<sup>r</sup> Millars<sup>52</sup> at Fisherrrow in the afternoon, that she might consult him about the momentous will. The day proved very fine, & we went, and were most hospitably received, & I was very glad to be with my good old

friend M<sup>rs</sup> Millar<sup>53</sup> once more. we took tea there & M<sup>r</sup> James Millar drove us back to Portobello in the evg M<sup>r</sup> Millar did not know exactly how the Legacy was left. But told M<sup>rs</sup> Biggs it would be an easy matter for her to refund the Interest & put all to rights, with her Sister I really enjoyed my visit this evg very much. and my aunt was in pretty good spirits. I did not think her maid Catherine quite approved of her proceedings, she never likes to lose sight of her “Leddy”.

On Thursday the 22<sup>nd</sup> a letter arrived from M<sup>r</sup> Pringle confirming my statement, as to the Legacy being entirely for the behoof of M<sup>rs</sup> Wilkin, so the matter was now at rest only it did not afford satisfaction to M<sup>rs</sup> Biggs. The weather continued beautiful, there was no rain during my stay at Portobello. I had another letter from my dearest Winsl<sup>y</sup> but a poor account of the Invalids at Underfield. I had this morn<sup>g</sup> a most delightful visit from my dear Anna Boswell, & her sweet little daughter Sybella<sup>54</sup> Bob Scott also came again to see me. I walked with them to the Beach, and saw them off again by the Coach.

I passed the afternoon with my poor aunt and sorely I was grieved to see her so very unhappy, viewing almost every thing in the worst light. and repeating again and again the even, barbarous treatment she she [*viz*] had received from every member of her family. The hour for my departure at length arrived, and at 8 oClock in the evg I said good bye to Catherine, and took an affectionate leave of my old Aunt, who I was truly sorry to part with, notwithstanding all. and I lamented leaving her with such an artful evil minded person as her Serv<sup>t</sup> in whom she places, implicit confidence. *She* takes care to blow the coal, & keep her in mind of all she has ever heard against the members of her family who had offended her. It was truly with an undescrivable feeling of pity that I left my Aunt in the power of such a person, for evidently she has a great deal to say with her. May the Almighty see fit to renew a right spirit within them I pray. On my arrival at Princes Street, my kind Nephew Bob Scott was waiting for me. I left my luggage at the Coach Office, & went with my good friend to his House 17 Leopold Place he had a nice supper ready for me, we enjoyed a friendly chat till ten oClock when a neat little Carriage drove to the door & took us to the Office where the Mail was to depart from. I went over to Register Street, and saw my old servant Magdalen,<sup>55</sup> the eldest Daughter of my faithful Old Nanny.<sup>56</sup> The good Girl was

delighted to see me! she has been very fortunate Her Husband keeps an Inn at the east corner of Register Street, his name is Robertson.<sup>57</sup> It is a large House & well frequented. after having a short but pleasing conversation with her, I returned to the Coach Office to wait for the Mail and at half past ten oClock I got into it, & bade adieu to my kind friend M<sup>r</sup> Scott, who remained with me to the last —

#### The Journey from Edinburgh

all the Luggage I had with me, was contained in a Carpet Bag, which I wished to have inside but a Gentleman, who was already in the Coach objected to it; and I thought it best to give way and allowed my Bag to be put into the Boot! I was very glad to see a Lady seated opposite to me. I had been wishing so much that I might have a female Companion during the night. I have much reason to thank God for all his goodness to me! The evening was most lovely. I did not at first feel at all inclined to sleep. But the Lady, told me, she had been travelling for the last two days and all night also from London, she had arrived in Edin<sup>g</sup> at 1/2 past two this day, & was now setting out for London again, and she meant to return to Edin<sup>g</sup> without taking a nights rest at all, she had promised to be back in Auld reekie<sup>58</sup> by Monday Morn<sup>g</sup> next if she was alive & well. she was young & her appearance was very interesting. my curiosity was excited about her, from the first hints she threw out of her extraordinary proceedings. — She was of course much worn out with fatigue, as she said, both of body and mind. and I rejoiced to see her, asleep in a very short time. and so was the old Gentleman I was in a very happy mood. delighted to find myself really on my way home again. I mused on the great mercies of Providence on the many causes, I had for thankfulness. I enjoyed the wonderful beauty of the night.

It was the shortest, in the whole year I seemed to be surrounded by blessings, and I did feel truly thankful to Almighty God who also gave me a cheerful heart, fully to appreciate the mercies bestowed upon me. we picked up another female Passenger who left us at Gala Shiels,<sup>59</sup> I still felt very wide awake and I had hitherto had no conversation with my more drowsy companions. a Decent looking man came in at Gala Shiels, he did not look very promising for a Companion, but I began to talk to him & I found him very intelligent about the Crops and all

Country Matters. The sun rose betwixt three & four o'clock and was very magnificent amongst the Hills, I was charmed with the beauty & grandeur of the scenery. But most unfortunately I became very sleepy, just when we came to the prettiest part of the whole road, betwixt Longham and Longtown,<sup>60</sup> I missed seeing Netherby Hall<sup>61</sup> etc I was however greatly refreshed when I awoke; and we got on speedily to Carlisle, where we found a good breakfast awaiting us. I enjoyed mine very much. and after we were seated in the Coach again, we entered into a very animated conversation. The old Gentleman and I became quite good friends, and he asked me if I had forgiven him for not permitting my Bag to be inside with me I assured him I had, tho' I told him I thought him rather cross at the time. The young Lady before mentioned, was very pensive, & gave us many mysterious hints as to her unfortunate circumstances, she said she scarcely cared what became of her! I advised her strongly to write to inform her friends in Edin<sup>g</sup> that she could not return to them without resting a night in London, as if she did not, the probability was, that she would be very ill, & perhaps never recover, she said then her troubles would be at an end! The old Gentleman enquired which country she was bound for were she to leave this world? and begged her to reflect, that then, she must be either in a state of perfect happiness or misery. And it was too serious a change to be thought lightly of. she sighed deeply and assented to the solemn truth. In the course of conversation, she alluded several times to what, a "Mr Lennox"<sup>62</sup> had said, and spoke of being at the Opera; and some how or other, I fancied she had something to do with the stage. I said to her I should not be surprised, were I to see her name in the Newspapers. she said it was not impossible. I begged her to write her name in my pocket Book if she had no objection, she at once took the pencil & wrote, "Eliz<sup>th</sup> Angel"<sup>63</sup> and said if I made enquiry I might hear of her in Manchester. I was resolved to do so for my curiosity was great! - as we drew near to Kendal,<sup>64</sup> my spirits mounted very high I was so delighted at the prospect of seeing my dear Husband & some of our loved friends from Kirkby.<sup>65</sup> my fellow travellers were greatly amused with me, the old Gentleman said he had never met with a wife who spoke of her Husband with such animated affection. "he surely must be something wonderful! the Sun shone bright. The day was most splendid, and I enjoyed it to the

uttermost. we arrived at Kendal about two o'clock, and as soon as the Coach stopped I saw my Husband at the door of the Inn!<sup>66</sup> he seemed quite well, and I was as happy as any human creature could be. Rich<sup>d</sup> Picard and dear Marg<sup>t</sup> Ware, & Jane Picard<sup>67</sup> also met me. I had not seen dear Marg<sup>t</sup> since she lost her Mother and dear Husband.<sup>68</sup> she was glad to see me, yet sorrow was painted on her fine countenance. I felt ashamed of my apparent want of sympathy, for I was so overjoyed. that I could not control my tongue and I talked at the rate of nineteen to the dozen, all the time we were at dinner, and while we remained at the Inn. — we proceeded to Kirkby to tea, where we had a very joyful meeting with dear Eliz<sup>th</sup> Jane & Isabella & the darling little John.<sup>69</sup> Mrs Picard Sen<sup>t</sup> <sup>70</sup> soon joined us. I talked all the ev<sup>g</sup>. relating many anecdotes of my weeks visit at Portobello. Not omitting Catherine, telling M<sup>rs</sup> Ansel what a grand Lady I was “daily driving out in my Carriage with four Horses, or six if I thought proper.” — and also the lecture she gave me for never driving her Leddy out, when I was last in Scotland & gratifying her by letting my Carriage stand at her door.

## NOTES

1. A portrait (present whereabouts unknown) of the beautiful Eliza (McNeill) Wellwood was painted by Sir Henry Raeburn (1756–1823) (see Image 40). The portrait is said to have been sold in 1917 by the Ehrich Galleries in London to an American collector. A reference photograph of the portrait is deposited with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. 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.
2. The handwriting in these comments about why Eliza Winstanley gave Anna Whistler a copy of her diary is that of Anna Whistler.
3. I am deeply grateful to Michael J. Welch, my London researcher, and to Lorna E. Kinnaird, Dunedin Links Genealogy, Edinburgh, for providing the genealogical research for Eliza Winstanley's journal. The wills of Mrs. Isabella (Finlay) Clunie, Eliza's grandmother; Miss Isabel Clunie, Eliza's aunt; and Mrs. Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs, Eliza's aunt, offer much clarification of the Clunie family genealogy as well as add some details to the biographies of heirs, lawyers, friends, and executors that Eliza Winstanley heard her Aunt Charlotte Biggs mention. The wills show, for example, the interesting information that neither Mrs. Isabella (Finlay) Clunie nor Isabel Clunie left an inheritance to Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (see Image 39), then in her twenties, but Eliza (McNeill) Wellwood received £1000 from her grandmother, and £10 was allotted to her by her aunt for the purchase of a mourning ring as a memorial of that aunt.
4. The handwriting in this copy of the diary is that of Eliza Winstanley.
5. Eliza Winstanley's second husband was John Winstanley, solicitor, of Preston. Hereafter, any available detailed information will be given only for persons who have not already appeared in Anna Whistler's St. Petersburg diaries. Persons who have already appeared in those diaries will be identified again briefly, and the reader will be referred to their biography in Appendix E (if available). For John Winstanley, see Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
6. Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley's trip was quite complicated. She traveled by train from North Union Station in Preston to Edge Hill Station in Liverpool. At Liverpool, she boarded a steamer that stopped at the Isle of Man and then

proceeded to Greenock. Because of the lengthy wait that would have been required to take a train from Greenock to Glasgow, she traveled there by steamboat. She then traveled by train from Glasgow to Edinburgh. Here, she traveled by stage coach to the Portobello area to the home of her aunt. Her return journey was by the Carlisle coach from Edinburgh, which made a stop at Galashiels. She ended her solo journey in Kendal and proceeded by coach to Kirkby Lonsdale with her husband and a party of friends, who had come to Kendal to meet her. See Images 61–70, and 74–75 of some of the stops along her journey.

The North Union Line was opened on 1 November 1838, cutting the travel time from Preston to Liverpool to one-and-three-quarter hours (Hunt, *History of Preston*, p. 198).

7. Eliza Winstanley was going to Edinburgh to visit her mother's sister, Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs (b. Whitekirk, East Lothian 24 July 1762; bap. Whitekirk, East Lothian 30 July 1762; d. Portobello, Edinburgh 9 November 1844) (*Glasgow Herald*, November 11, 1844). Charlotte Biggs is listed in the 1841 Scottish Census as 70 years old, of independent means, and born in the county. She was the widow of James Biggs (d. Memel 24 March 1806), a British wood merchant of Memel, East Prussia ("At Memel, James Biggs, Esq. formerly of Glasgow," "Deaths March 1806," *The Scots Magazine and Literary Miscellany* 68, no. 1 [1806]). Although in his obituary James Biggs is said to be "formerly of Glasgow," he seems to have been of English descent. There is no James Biggs born or baptized from 1750 to 1790 listed in the Old Parish Registers for the whole of Scotland. It was not possible to discover his age at death, or location of birth, or confirmation of marriage between him and Charlotte Biggs in Scottish archival materials. In her will, Charlotte Biggs refers to the Knox family, the "kind relatives" of her husband, James Biggs, who Eliza Winstanley mentions in this diary as hearing about from Charlotte Biggs. This may be an avenue of pursuit to learn more about James Biggs. One of the executors of Charlotte's will, proved on 24 January 1845, was Andrew Lawson Knox, her nephew; perhaps the investigation should begin with him. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
8. This is most likely Eliza (Hatton) Chapman of Preston. See Chapman in Appendix E.
9. Miss Thompson is probably the daughter of Esther (Proddow) Thompson (b. 7 September 1807; bap. Crosthwaite, Cumberland 1 October 1807; d. Preston 3<sup>rd</sup> qtr. 1868) of 8 Stanley Place in



- Preston, with whom Alicia McNeill lodged in 1861 (1861 Census for Preston, Ecclesiastical District of Christchurch, RG9/3129, fol. 109, p. 41).
10. Thomas Woodcock Winstanley was a son of John Winstanley's brother, Thomas. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
  11. Kirkside was a suburb of Liverpool.
  12. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Thomas and Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth, who were both ill. See Ainsworth and Stirling in Appendix E.
  13. Eliza Winstanley is referring to her younger sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E and Image 39.
  14. For Johnston/Johnstone, see the biography of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill in Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E and Image 22. It has not been possible to identify Isabella (Isa) Johnstone.
  15. Edge Hill was in the West Derby ward of Liverpool (J.A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool: Historical and Topographical, Including A History of the Dock Estate*, 2 vols. [London: Longmans, Green, 1873], vol. 2, p. 485). The main railway station of the Liverpool and Manchester Line occupied "a large proportion of the land east of Tunnel Road between Wavertree Road and Smithdown Lane" (Picton, vol. 2, pp. 514–515). The Liverpool and Manchester Railway (and thus the Edge Hill Station; see Image 61) was opened on 15 September 1830, and the event marred by the accidental death of one of the officials, who, being unwell, fell onto the rails, was run over by the engine, and died a few hours later (Picton, vol. 1, pp. 488–489).
  16. Ann Cunliffe (b. 10 January 1816; bap. Chorley, Lancashire 1 March 1816; d. Myerscough 25 January 1884) was the eldest daughter of John and Sarah Cunliffe. Her father was described in the 1851 Census for Liverpool as "Deputy Lieutenant and one of Her Majesty's Justices of the peace for the County of Lancaster. Landed proprietor and occupier of 200 [?] Employing 10 Ag. Labourers." She married on 29 March 1843 in Garstang, Lancashire, Edward Kingston Salisbury (b. 8 July 1802; bap. St. Mary, Manchester 28 March 1803; d. Liverpool 20 October 1845), son of Samuel and Harriet Salisbury. They had two children: Sarah Jane (Liverpool 4 October 1844 – still alive and unmarried in 1916) and Edward Kingston (Myerscough 15 November 1845 – Warren County, VA 13 December 1916). The son was born after his father's death. The widowed Ann

- (Cunliffe) Salisbury was living in her parents' household at Myerscough House, Myerscough, Lancashire, at the time of the 1851 Census for Liverpool (IGI; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1884; 1851 Census for Liverpool, HO 107/2270; *The Liverpool Journal*, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1843, p. 7; *The Liverpool Mail*, October 25, 1845, p. 7; Transcript of Register of St. Mary's Church, Manchester, SoG; *National Probate Calendar* (UK), 1917; *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, October 24, 1845, p. 15).
17. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Anastasia/Anastatia Henley (28 June 1822 – 16 November 1910), who married in St. Petersburg on 16 April 1839 Andrew Handisides (25 July 1805 – 9 June 1887). They had no children and adopted Louisa, one of the daughters of Andrew's brother, Dr. James Ronaldson Handisides (c. 1796 – 11/23 December 1872) (Whishaw, *History*, pp. 151, 154).
  18. Miss Henley is Harriet Henley (6 August 1824 – Cheltenham 20 March 1856), sister of Anastasia/Anastatia (Henley) Handisides (Whishaw, pp. 163, 165).
  19. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Major George Washington Whistler (see Images 7–8, 21), calling him her brother with the meaning of brother-in-law, the husband of her half-sister, Anna (McNeill) Whistler (see Images 1–5).
  20. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Rev. Edward Law (see Image 253), pastor of the English Church in St. Petersburg.
  21. Portobello (see Image 68) is a town three miles east of Edinburgh city center and a favorite resort for sea-bathing (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 373; Munro and Gittings, *Scotland*, p. 387).
  22. Eliza Winstanley's first husband was Colonel Robert Wellwood. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
  23. The lady was Mrs. Jane Gordon of Great George Street, Liverpool, 40–44 years old and born in England or Wales, but not in Lancashire. (1841 Census for Liverpool, HO107/565/1). The 1851 Census shows that the widowed Mrs. Gordon and some of her children were by then living in Edinburgh; the 1861 Census shows her to still be living there with two relatives.
  24. Janet Gordon was the eldest of the eight children of Jane and Harry Gordon. She was born in Lancashire and was 20–24 years old in 1841 (1841 Census for Liverpool, HO107/565/1). Janet married at 2 Doune Terrace on 10 August 1848 George More,

- Esq. W.S. (“Marriages,” *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), August 14, 1848).
25. Mrs. Gordon’s recently deceased husband was Harry Gordon, merchant, of Liverpool, aged 50–54 in the 1841 Census, and born in Scotland (1841 Census for Liverpool, HO107/565/1). He had died in Liverpool on 19 March 1843, at his house in Great George Street (“Deaths,” *The Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, March 24, 1843).
  26. The Isle of Man (see Image 62) was at this time under English rule. “In about 1720 the contraband trade [here] had greatly increased” and in the years 1756–1765 had “assumed such proportions that, in the interests of the Imperial revenue, it [had become] necessary to suppress it. . . . There was some alleviation” to efforts “to extract as much revenue as possible” from this “pestilent nest of smugglers” between 1793 and 1826. Because of the resultant suppression of smuggling and “a large and increasing surplus “ of revenue, “representations [by] the Manx people to British ministers in 1837 [and 1844” resulted in “a somewhat less stringent customs tariff” (“History of the Isle of Man,” *Wikipedia*, accessed 15 July 2020).
  27. Greenock (see Image 63) is “a sea-port, burgh, and market-town, in the Lower ward of the county of Renfrew, . . . 22 [miles] (W.N.W.) from Glasgow, and 65 (W.) from Edinburgh . . . containing 36,936 inhabitants . . . the town is beautifully situated on the south shore of the Frith of Clyde . . . [It is] the native place of [James] Watt . . . the celebrated improver of the steam-engine” (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, pp. 522–523).
  28. The mountain of Ben Lomond (see Image 64) is located within the parish of Buchanan, in the county of Stirling. It is “the highest point of the Grampian [hills], rising 3000 feet above the sea, and commanding from its summit, which is of conical form, a prospect, on the north, of an interminable range of mountains rising in succession, one above another, and, on the south, of all the rich and varied scenery in the tract from the Western Isles to the Frith of Forth. It is one of the most striking and commanding objects in the country, and never fails to excite the admiration of every beholder” (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 157).
  29. Ben Nevis (see Image 65) is “a granite mountain rising to a height of 4409 feet to the east of Fort William in Lochaber . . . [and] the highest peak not only in Scotland but in Great Britain. In association with Carn Mòr Dearg to the northeast, it forms a vast

- northwestern-facing horseshoe. It is a challenging venue for ice and snow climbing (Munro and Gittings, *Scotland*, p. 65).
30. Glasgow (see Image 66) is “a city, the seat of a university and a sea-port, having separate jurisdiction, locally in the Lower ward of the county of Lanark, and situated ... 23 miles (E. by S.) from Greenock, ... 43 (W. by S.) from Edinburgh...; containing 120,183 and, with the suburbs of Barony and Gorbals, 274,533 inhabitants.” “The city is built on the north bank of the river Clyde” (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, pp. 478, 483).
  31. Mr. Maclean may have been a brother to Alicia McNeill’s friend, Miss Elizabeth Maclean, of Bath (see the entry for St Petersburg. 1848. September, NYPL: AWPB, Part II, and accompanying Note 1153).
  32. “The *Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway* ... was commenced in October, 1838, and opened on the 21<sup>st</sup> of February, 1842. It is forty-six miles in length” (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 489). The Glasgow and Edinburgh Station is located at George-square in Glasgow (Lewis, p. 379).
  33. “Falkirk [is] a burgh, market-town, and parish in the county of Stirling ... containing 15,621 inhabitants ... 24 [miles] (W. by N.) from Edinburgh ... The town is situated on the road from Linlithgow to Glasgow, and consists of one principal street, nearly a mile in length, and of several smaller streets (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 412–413). Here, Eliza Winstanley and Isabella (Isa) Johnstone parted company.
  34. “Edinburgh, a city, the seat of a university, and the metropolis of the kingdom of Scotland, [is] situated ... 42 [miles] (E. by N.) from Glasgow, 92 1/2 (N. by W.) from Carlisle, ... containing 56,330, and including the suburban parishes of St. Cuthbert and Canongate, 138,182 inhabitants.” The terminus of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was located at the Haymarket (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, pp. 361, 379).
  35. Princes Street (see Image 67), in the New Town, is about three-quarters of a mile in length. On the north side are buildings of various types. As there are almost no buildings on the south side, “a magnificent terrace of fine houses with pleasure-grounds in front” affords panoramic views of the valley and beyond the great rock on which Edinburgh Castle stands and the Old Town (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 372; *Tourists’*

*Handy Guide to Scotland* [Edinburgh: William Patterson; London: Simpkin Marshall, 1872], p. 2).

36. The coach for Carlisle stopped in Kendal (see Images 69, 73), the final destination in the portion of her diary that she copied out for Anna Whistler.
37. “The Land o’ Cakes” refers to Scottish oatcakes. Robert Fergusson (1750–1774) used the expression in his poem “The King’s Birthday in Edinburgh”: “Oh, soldiers! For your ain dear sakes / For Scotland’s, alias, Land o’Cakes.” Robert Burns (1759–1796) used the expression in his poem “On the Late Captain Grose’s Peregrinations Thro’ Scotland”: “Hear, Land o’Cakes and brither Scots” (Maurice Lindsay, *The Burns Encyclopedia* [London: Robert Hale, 1995], p. 209).
38. Eliza Winstanley’s aunt, Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs, lived on West Brighton Crescent, Parish of Duddington, Burgh of Portobello (1841 Scottish Census, 684/11/77). Her will, drawn up on 26 November 1844, defines the area of land belonging to her, which she seems to have acquired on 18 June 1828.
39. Mrs. Biggs’s servant was Catherine Peterkin (c. 1801 – Macduff 26 May 1855). If she was still in Mrs. Biggs’s employ at the time of the latter’s death, she was to receive ten pounds, “a suit of mournings becoming her station,” and all of Mrs. Biggs’s printed cotton gowns. As she is listed in the 1841 Scottish Census as 40 years old, she was born c. 1801. She died on 26 May 1858, age 57, single, at Gellymill Street in Macduff (Statutory Deaths 1858 in the Burgh of Banff, County of Banff, 147/01/0059, p. 20).  
Civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages in Scotland commenced in 1855.
40. Meg Merrilies (see Image 71) is the old gypsy woman in Sir Walter Scott’s novel *Guy Mannering* (1815). She succeeds in thwarting a plot to kidnap Harry Bertram, to whom she was once nurse, but dies in the attempt. She is also the subject of a song by Keats: “Old Meg she was a Gipsej,” which he copied into a letter to his sister, Fanny, written on 3 July 1818, in Auchencairn, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, where he was on a walking tour with Charles Armitage Brown (1787–1842). The poem was first published in November 1838 (Stillinger, *Keats Complete Poems*, pp. 201–202; 446–447; John Barnard, ed., *John Keats Selected Poems* [Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 2007], pp. 128–129, 253).
41. It has not been possible to find any information about a Mrs. Ansel/ Ansell/ Ansell. Sources consulted were the *Old Parish*

*Registers of Baptisms, Old Parish Registers of Deaths, Old Parish Registers of Marriage Banns, the Statutory Records of Deaths, and the 1841 Scottish Census.*

42. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Robert Hunter, Esq., of Wharton Place, Edinburgh, who, in the 1812 will of Mrs. Isabella (Finlay) Clunie is identified as “late” in the accountants’ office of the Bank of Scotland.
43. Mrs. Biggs had the right to enjoy the liferent of £200 by the settlement of the late Robert Hunter, Esq., of Wharton Place, Edinburgh, but was directed to leave that sum to her sister, Mrs. Marion Ann Clunie or Wilkins (b. 9 August 1771; bap. 20 August 1771), widow of William Wilkins, Esq., late of Leyland, Lancashire, in liferent and to her children in fee. In her will, she directed that, although the said sum was paid to her under deduction of a legacy duty and expenses, she wished that the entire sum of two hundred pounds should at her death be appropriated for behoof of her said sister and her children. In the will of Isabella Clunie, William Wilkins is identified as “Inspector of Taxes” for Yorkshire.
44. Isabella Clunie, sister of Alicia (Clunie) McNeill, Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs, and Marion Anne (Clunie) Wilkin, mentioned in her will of 15 November 1819, proved on 30 April 1824, that her sister, Margaret, was the wife of John Pringle, a naval surgeon, of Portobello. It may be he who was the executor of Mr. Robert Hunter’s will.
45. Underfield was pair of buildings in the South Lakeland District, in the civil parish of Coulton, Lancashire. Originally one house built in 1649, it consisted at this time of two houses, with extensions having been added to it in about 1800, and with outbuildings between (*National Heritage List for England, Historic England* website, accessed 12 January 2021, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1266432>). “The early nineteenth century saw the county gain fame as the Lake Poets and other artists of the Romantic movement, such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, lived among, and were inspired by, the lakes and mountains of the region” (“About Cumbria,” Co-Curate database, Newcastle University, accessed 12 January 2021, <https://co-curate.ncl.ac.uk/cumbria/>). John Winstanley and the Ainsworths were making their way to Kendal to meet Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley.

46. Robert Scott Moncrieff (b. Edinburgh 7 April 1828; bap. Edinburgh 29 April 1829; d. Edinburgh 25 June 1906; see Image 72) was the son of Robert Scott Moncrieff ( 1 December 1793 – 18 June 1869), Advocate, and Susanna (Pringle) Moncrieff (4 October 1796 – 16 May 1840). He lived at No. 17 Leopold Place, according to the 1841 Scottish Census. He is also referred to in the diary as Bob Scott and as Mr. Scott. He became an East India Merchant. He married Katharine MacKinness (Catherine Mary MacKinness). His death on 25 June 1906 occurred at 7:30 AM at 43 Macdale Crescent, Edinburgh, and his age was given as 80 years old (Baptisms: 1829/685–1/560, p. 71 of 509, Edinburgh, OPRS [mis-indexed: should be 1828]).
47. Anna Mary/Maria Boswell was born Anna Mary Wellwood and baptized on 8 March 1798 at Warkworth, Northumberland (IGI). Her parents were Andrew Moffat Wellwood (b. Dunfermline, Fife c. 1769) and Maria (Taylor) Wellwood, who were married on 12 March 1794 in Warkworth, Northumberland (IGI; death entry for Anna Mary Clarke, Statutory Records of Deaths, 685/050145). Her first husband was John James Boswell, a surgeon, whom she married on 22 March 1825 in Edinburgh (IGI). They had four children, all born in Edinburgh: Robert (b. 16 May 1826); Sibella (bap. 27 July 1833); John James (bap. 23 February 1835); Susan Wellwood (bap. 28 September 1839). John James Boswell died circa 1843 (*Index to Scottish Wills and Inventories*). Anna Boswell married in 1848, as her second husband, Ralph Clarke, a naval officer (IGI). She died on 9 February 1872 at the age of 74 in the District of Newington, City of Edinburgh (Death entry for Anna Mary Clarke, Statutory Records of Deaths, 685/050145).
48. Eliza Winstanley's mother was Alice (Clunie) McNeill (Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, vol. 1, *Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale*, p. 423). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
49. This was probably Eliza Winstanley's maternal grandmother, Isabella (Finlay) Clunie (Scott, p. 423). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
50. "Uncle James" was probably her mother's brother, James Clunie (b. 14 March 1769) (Scott, p. 423), in 1819 "Collector of the Customs" in Berwick, according to the will of Mrs. Isabella Clunie.
51. One's "first sark" (shirt) would be so tattered as to be unrecognizable after many years. The implication is that Eliza Winstanley was so changed in appearance since the years when

- she was married to Colonel Robert Wellwood (d. 1820), that no one in Edinburgh would recognize her.
52. The family of William Millar lived in Fisherrow on the west side of the town of Musselburgh, Midlothian, and about 2–3 miles east along the coast of the Firth of Forth from Portobello. William Millar (d. c. 1846) was a tanner and merchant (1841 Scottish Census for Inveresk with Musselburgh, Midlothian). His wife, Agnes (c. 1779 – 13 April 1859) was born Pringle and may thus have been related to the Pringle relatives of Charlotte Biggs. They were married on 18 June 1813 at Inveresk with Musselburgh, Midlothian (Banns of Marriage: 1813/719/60, p. 429 of 453, Haddington, *OPRS*). Their children, all born in Inveresk with Musselburgh, were Isabella (bap. 9 May 1814), James (bap. 21 December 1815), Thomas (bap. 9 August 1817), and Agnes Gilmour (bap. 27 March 1821) (1841 Scottish Census for Inveresk with Musselburgh, Midlothian).
  53. See previous Note.
  54. Sibella Boswell (bap. Edinburgh 27 July 1833 – Newington, Edinburgh 21 December 1898) later married James Lawson Hill, writer to the Signet. At her death, she was 66 years old (Statutory Records of Deaths in the District of Newington, City of Edinburgh: 685/05 1275).
  55. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Magdalen (Main) Robertson (bap. Bathgate 21 October 1798), whose age in the 1841 Census for the Parish of St. Cuthbert's is given as 35 (1841 Census 85/02143/02013). By the time of this census, she and her husband, Donald Robertson, had three children: Robert (b. Edinburgh 1 July 1837), Thomas (bap. Edinburgh 4 January 1839) and Andrew (b. Edinburgh 21 August 1840). In the 1841 Census for New Grey Friars, these three Robertson children are listed as living together with an Ann Sutherland, aged 28, identified as "servant for the Robertsons," in the household of Margaret Moon, aged 32, identified as "widow cleans Heriot school." Their ages are given as Robert (4), Thomas (2), and Andrew (9 months) (1841 Census 685/01059/01015). By the 1851 Census, Magdalen and Donald Robertson also had three daughters: Margaret (bap. Edinburgh 22 March 1842), Francis [*sic*] (b. Edinburgh 6 May 1844), and Anne (bap. Edinburgh 23 November 1846). In the 1851 Census for the Parish of Burntisland, County of Fife, Magdalen Robertson is listed as "innkeeper's widow," aged 50, born in Fife, Dunfermline, who is a lodger in the lodginghouse kept by Fanny McFarline. Lodging



- there with their mother are three of her children: Thomas (13), Margaret (9), and Fanny (7). No burial entry was located for Magdalen Robertson from 1846 to 1854; no death certificate was located for Magdalen Robertson from 1855 to 1858 (Banns: 1836/685–1/650, Edinburgh; Baptisms: 1840/685–1/580, Edinburgh; Baptisms: 1846/685–1/590, p. 245 of 446, Edinburgh, *OPRS*); and there does not seem to be a will or administration for Magdalen Robertson. When Eliza Winstanley visited her in 1843, the hotel was prospering.
56. Magdalen Main's mother, former nanny to Eliza Winstanley, was Elizabeth Easton (Eastoun) Main (b. and bap. Bathgate 30 December 1764), daughter of Robert Easton and Agnes (Anderson) Easton. She married on 30 April 1785 in Bathgate Alexander Main. No burial entry has been found for her in the *Old Parish Registers of Burials in Scotland (OPRS of Marriage Banns, OPRS of Baptisms, OPRS of Burials)*.
  57. Magdalen (Main) Robertson's husband was Donald Robertson (bap. Blair Atholl 5 September 1795 – Edinburgh 31 March 1858), son of Donald Robertson and Marion (Stewart) Robertson. It is not possible to establish the date of their marriage. They lived at 1 W. Register St., St. Cuthberts, Edinburgh, where Donald was tavern keeper. His age is given in the 1841 Census as 45 (1841 Census for Edinburgh 685–2/143/13). The *Edinburgh Gazette* contains some entries about him in connection with the sequestration of his estate in 1847. He is described therein as “Hotel Keeper, West Register Street, Edinburgh.” His hotel was the “Guildford Arms Hotel, (Robertsons). West Register Street, Edinburgh.” It is given as the place where his creditors met. A William Robertson, a brewer of Summerhall, Edinburgh, was elected trustee of Donald Robertson's estate in 1847 and sold the hotel in 1849 (*The Scotsman* (Edinburgh), Wednesday, March 21, 1849). There does not seem to be a will or administration for him. He was buried at St. Cuthbert's Burying Ground.
  58. The city of Edinburgh was called “Auld Reekie” (“Old Smoky”) because of the pall of smoke that hung over it.
  59. Galashiels (see Image 74) is “a manufacturing town, burgh of Barony, and parish, partly in the district of Melrose, county of Roxburgh, and partly in the county of Selkirk, ... 32 [miles] (S.S.E.) from Edinburgh; containing 2140 inhabitants, exclusively of 2396 in the parish of Melrose, into which the town extends ... The principal trade carried on here, and to which the town owes

its importance, is the woollen manufacture, which has been gradually brought to a very high state of perfection” (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Scotland*, vol. 1, pp. 458–459).

60. Longham is a tiny village in Norfolk, containing the medieval church of St. Andrew and St. Peter. “Longtown is a small and neat market town and township, in the parish of Arthuret ... about 9 [miles] N. by W. from Carlisle ... and 82 S. from Edinburgh; pleasantly situated on the mail road between the last named city and Carlisle; and on the south bank of the river Eske ... The town is respectable in appearance, the streets being spacious, and the houses neatly built. Many of the lower classes are employed in weaving for the manufacturers of Carlisle.” In 1831, the township of Longtown had 2,049 inhabitants (*Pigot and Co.’s National Commercial Directory for 1834; [of] Chester, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Durham, Lancaster, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Rutlandshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Westmoreland, Worcestershire, Yorkshire* (London and Manchester: Pigot, [1834]), p. 104 (hereafter, *Pigot’s Directory of Chester ... Yorkshire and the year*).
61. “Netherby township, about two miles from Longtown, contains Netherby Hall [see Image 75], the elegant mansion of Sir J.R.G. Graham, Bart. M.P. and is situated on an eminence commanding an extensive prospect over a flat but well cultivated country, interestingly spotted with pleasant hamlets and neat cottages, which, being all whitened, have a remarkable and picturesque effect upon the verdant landscape. – The township is in the same parish as Longtown, and contained [in 1851, 358] inhabitants” (*Pigot’s Directory of Chester ... Yorkshire 1831 and 1855*, p. 104).
62. Samuel Morton Lennox was a comedian of the Queen’s Theatre in Manchester. Elizabeth Angel’s comments suggest a possible difficult romantic involvement with him. He married on 3 November 1844 at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, a Miss Craven, also of the Queen’s Theatre, Manchester (*Liverpool Mail*, November 9, 1844; *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser*, November 12, 1844). See the biography of Elizabeth Angel in Appendix E (hereafter, Angel).
63. Elizabeth Angel was a young actress, the protégée of Edward William Elton (August 1794 – d. in the wreck of the *Pegasus* off the Holy Island of Lindisfarne 20 July 1843; see Image 76), a well-known London actor of the Drury Lane Theatre. When Eliza Winstanley met her in the coach, Angel had just resigned from the Theatre Royal company in Manchester to take up residence

with the Adelphi Theatre company in Edinburgh. She was extremely depressed over her personal life and, it would seem, romantic involvement with Samuel Morton Lennox in Manchester. See previous Note and Angel in Appendix E.

64. Kendal (see Image 69) is the largest “town (parish), South Lakeland district, administrative county of Cumbria, historic county of Westmorland, northwest England. ... The outline of a Roman fort is traceable...” It had a weekly market starting in the late twelfth century and fairs as of the early fourteenth century. The cloth called “Kendal green,” from which foresters’ clothing was made, was manufactured here” (*Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Kendal, England, United Kingdom,” accessed 5 October 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Kendal-England>).
65. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland (see Image 70), where her friends, Richard and Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard, lived. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
66. The Carlisle coach stopped at the Inn in Kendal (see Image 69).
67. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Richard Stuart Picard (bap. 16 January 1807 – 26 November 1887) and Margaret (Winstanley) Ware (b. 12 April 1801; bap. 17 April 1801; d. Leyburn, York 16 April 1877), his sister-in-law (IGI). A Jane Picard (c. 1809 – 28 November 1881), aged 30, is listed in the household of Christopher Picard of Lake Bank, Claife, Hawkeshead, Lancashire, in the 1841 Census, without further identification is the sister of Christopher (1841 Census HO107/-529/6). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
68. For Margaret (Winstanley) Ware; her mother, Betty (Ryder) Winstanley; and her deceased husband, William Ware, see Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
69. Eliza Winstanley is referring to Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard, wife of Richard Stuart Picard; Jane and Isabella Simpson, who lived with them; and John Richard Picard, son of Eliza (Winstanley) and Richard Stuart Picard. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
70. Mrs. Picard Senior was Jenny Picard (c. 1785 – Kirkby Lonsdale 6 July 1849), wife of Thomas Tunstall Picard (buried at Kirkby Lonsdale 31 August 1826). They were the parents of Christopher (bap. Leck 17 December 1805), Richard Stuart (bap. 16 January 1807 – 26 November 1887), and Thomas (bap. 19 April 1808) (IGI). In the 1841 Census, Jenny Picard and her son Thomas,

manufacturer, are listed in the household of Christopher Picard of Lake Bank, Claife, Hawkeshead, Lancashire (1841 Census HO107/-529/6).

## APPENDIX E: BIOGRAPHIES

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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.<sup>1</sup> They made their home in Preston. David Ainsworth and his younger brother, Thomas, were partners in the cotton-spinning business.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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."<sup>4</sup> He was already engaged in flax spinning in this area and became very successful.<sup>5</sup> In his religion, he was a staunch Unitarian.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> Mary Laurie (Stirling) Ainsworth's father had been moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.<sup>8</sup> "About the time of his marriage, [Thomas] Ainsworth purchased the mills at Cleator, in Cumberland."<sup>9</sup> He also bought "the property at The Flosch."<sup>10</sup> 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."<sup>11</sup> He and his wife were living at the Flosch during the period covered by the diaries, and all of their children were born there.<sup>12</sup> 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)<sup>13</sup> and had lost a son named Thomas Hatton (d. 1847).<sup>14</sup> Their fourth son, William Macquhae (20 December 1848 –

26/27 May 1891), was born just after the period covered by the diaries.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> At the time of Anna Whistler's meeting with her, she had lost two sisters: Laura Margaret and Annabella Fullerton.<sup>17</sup>

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 “Eliz<sup>th</sup> Angel,” but is called in a theater bill announcement, it would therefore seem erroneously, “Miss M. Angel.”<sup>1</sup> “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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> Her first appearance there was on 28 June 1843, when she was referred to in a billing as “Miss M. Angel.”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> On 20 February 1845, a “Miss Angel” performed at the Theatre Royal in Bath.<sup>6</sup>

At the Theatre Royal, Manchester, in January 1843, Miss Angel appeared as Cora in *Pizarro*.<sup>7</sup> 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).<sup>8</sup> On Wednesday, 7 June 1843, she was to appear in Knowles’s *The Secretary* as Lady Laura Gaveston, but she was indisposed.<sup>9</sup> On 28 June 1843, “Miss M. Angel” made her first appearance at the Adelphi Theatre, Edinburgh, as Desdemona in *Othello*.<sup>10</sup> On 25 September 1843, she made her first appearance as Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>11</sup> 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*.<sup>12</sup>

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.”<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> He left seven motherless children, who became orphans, “the youngest not eight years of age.”<sup>15</sup> A subscription in aid of them, which was enthusiastically greeted by the public, was announced in the *Morning Post* (London) on 7 August 1843.<sup>16</sup>

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.”<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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.”<sup>19</sup> “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.”<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

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](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*<sup>7</sup>

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)<sup>2</sup> 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)<sup>3</sup> – ran a boarding house on the English Embankment a few doors down from Ritter’s house, where the Whistlers and Ropeses lived.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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)<sup>6</sup> the only daughter of the eminent family of Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Muraviev-Vilenskii (1796–1866; see Image 342).<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> It was called the Mansfield Hotel and was located at 4 Mansfield Street, Portland Place.<sup>9</sup> 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.”<sup>10</sup> On 5 January 1856, a Petition in Bankruptcy was filed against “Elizabeth Benson and Sarah Benson ... Spinsters and Copartners, Hotel and Boarding-house Keepers.”<sup>11</sup>

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,”<sup>12</sup> which was the least severe of bankruptcy laws.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> In the meantime, they had applied for passports on 12 May 1856<sup>15</sup> and had returned to Russia.<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> *Murray's Handbook* which appeared in a completely new edition in 1865, having totally abandoned its 1849 edition, also listed it, with high praise.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Benson closed the boarding house, located in these years at 78 English Embankment,<sup>20</sup> 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.”<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

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.”<sup>23</sup> 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.”<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>r</sup>. 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<sup>r</sup>. 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<sup>r</sup>. Sombre, look out for a storm, keep out of his reach and lock up all the servant girls – Oh law M<sup>r</sup>. 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 tamer<sup>28</sup> who was here last year, and who knows but her dumplings and puddings, may not successfully “minister to a mind diseased.”<sup>29</sup>

\* \* \*

Dr. Edward Maynard<sup>30</sup> 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.”<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> During “a rather threatening illness – brought on by a cold in the head,” they gave him the best of care.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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...”<sup>35</sup> 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 “peecky” 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.<sup>36</sup>

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.<sup>37</sup>

(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),<sup>38</sup> 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.”<sup>39</sup>

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.”<sup>40</sup> 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, *niveh*, 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.”<sup>41</sup>

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.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup>

On Christmas Day, they had a Christmas dinner, including champagne.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> In the evening, another group of mummers, “not servants like the others but respectable people, probably some acquaintances of the Bensons, but *nbo*, 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.”<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup>

The passing years show that the Benson sisters and their establishment in St. Petersburg continued to be praised by boarders for hospitality and kindness.<sup>49</sup> 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.”<sup>50</sup>

#### 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](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-ebed-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](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*<sup>1</sup>

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 feisty 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).<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> “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*.”<sup>3</sup>

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.”<sup>4</sup>

He married at St. Petersburg on 27 April/9 May 1821, Sofia Aleksandrovna Samoiloova (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) Samoiloova. 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.”<sup>5</sup> They had three surviving sons.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup> He was “an enlightened landowner” with an interest in scientific and technological advances.<sup>8</sup> He was always ready to make those material and moral expenditures that he thought could be useful to the prosperity of Russia and mankind.<sup>9</sup> He was “a millionaire, owning up to twelve thousand serfs.”<sup>10</sup> He “had large landholdings in Tula and Kiev provinces,” for example, “forty thousand desiatinas of land (1 d. = 2.7 acres) in Tula Province.”<sup>11</sup> “On his estates in Kiev Province he had introduced sugar refining factories”<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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.”<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> He gathered economic data and “was entrusted with calculating the potential costs of construction” of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway.<sup>19</sup> He was one of the two men instrumental in the “eventual authorization of the railway in January 1842.”<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

#### 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 deviatnadsatogo 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], *Èkstraordinarnoe sobranie Komiteta g.g. sakharovarov v pamiat' grafa Aleksieia 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 Aleksiei 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*<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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).<sup>4</sup> Their father was chief clerk in the Adjutant General's office.<sup>5</sup>

Harriet Beall Williams's marriage on 7 April 1840,<sup>6</sup> at the age of sixteen, to Baron Alexander Andreevich Bodisco, then fifty-three years old, was an exciting social event.<sup>7</sup> 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 alive<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> 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."<sup>10</sup> But the marriage "was a happy one to [Baron Bodisco] and evidently of contentment to [his wife]."<sup>11</sup> 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.”<sup>12</sup>

They had seven children:<sup>13</sup> 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 Farm<sup>14</sup> 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.”<sup>15</sup> 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).<sup>16</sup> It is said that Constantine also received his education in Russia and “came to Washington as third secretary of the Legation.”<sup>17</sup> He married an American, Charlotte Elizabeth Barton, on 9 July 1867 in the Church of the Epiphany, Washington, DC.<sup>18</sup>

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 1854<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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.”<sup>21</sup> 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.”<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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 Scott<sup>24</sup> (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.<sup>25</sup> 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).<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> Her personal estate amounted to about £882.<sup>28</sup> Douglas Gordon Scott died on 6 November 1911 at the age of eighty-three at Walton, Surrey.<sup>29</sup> His personal estate amounted to about £9,000.<sup>30</sup>

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.”<sup>31</sup> But she took her part in the life she had chosen “amiably and well,”<sup>32</sup> and had “one great and happy quality. Whatever she cannot avoid, she makes the most of.”<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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. Formuliarnyi spisok o sluzhbe Chrezvychainogo Poslannika i Polnomochnogo Ministra pri Soedinennykh Amerikanskikh Shtatakh Tainogo Sovetnika Bodisko. Sostavlen 5<sup>go</sup> 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 Georgetowner*, February 2, 1956, a response to “Who Is ‘Annett Bodisco’? Query by Roland T. Carr, Vice Pres., Riggs Bank,” *The Georgetowner*, 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 okonchivshogo 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 Bodisco’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) Bodisco’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*<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> Both were born in Ballyhale, Kilkenny, Ireland, the children of Martin and Mary (Maher) Brennan [*sic*].<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> He resided in Springfield until his death.<sup>5</sup>

His occupation in the 1840s was probably that of laborer.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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. Fiessler<sup>10</sup> (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.<sup>11</sup> His interest in emigrating to the United States in 1850<sup>12</sup> may have been connected with the fact that their mother died in Ireland in late 1849 or early 1850.<sup>13</sup> But Mary received a letter from him on 25 June 1850, saying he had decided “to remain in Stoney Ford.”<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> Arrangements were made on several occasions for her to travel to the United States and to visit her family in Ireland.<sup>19</sup> She accompanied Anna Whistler and the children to England in the summers of 1847<sup>20</sup> and 1848, and remained in London in 1848 with Deborah Whistler Haden (see Images 17–19, 21),<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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,<sup>23</sup> but they may have been connected with the death of Mary's mother.

The peripatias 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> She was concerned about having to write twice to Mary Brennan because she had not heard from her.<sup>26</sup> 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.”<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, despite her fears, Mary was with Anna Whistler in Baltimore in autumn of 1854.<sup>28</sup> Although she told Anna Whistler in December 1854 that she wanted to return to her New York connections,<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> In late November – early December 1855, with Anna Whistler’s permission, Mary visited her brother James for two weeks.<sup>31</sup> 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.”<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> Anna Whistler hoped Mary might find employment in Springfield with Mrs. Barnes, until she herself could “see [her] way clearer,”<sup>34</sup> 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!”<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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

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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.”<sup>46</sup> The plot was purchased by her husband when she died.<sup>47</sup>

Martin Bergin “was in the grocery and meat business” in New Haven.<sup>48</sup> At some time, he served as an alderman.<sup>49</sup> He sold his business there, apparently after his wife’s death, “and intended to open a store in [Springfield] or Holyoke.”<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> They had no surviving children.<sup>53</sup>

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.”<sup>54</sup> 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.”<sup>55</sup> Mary seemed to justify this assessment when she offered to sleep on the floor of the cabin because of a lack of berths.<sup>56</sup>

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.”<sup>57</sup> Anna Whistler described the hardworking young woman as “a host in herself.”<sup>58</sup> 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<sup>rs</sup> Bergin residing in New Haven ... sign[ed] herself [your] ‘Servant Mary’.”<sup>59</sup> To this Anna Whistler responded: “There are not many like her.”<sup>60</sup>

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.<sup>61</sup> 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,<sup>62</sup> 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,<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> In 1852, he was working at the Springfield depot.<sup>65</sup> He married Margaret Bergin on 8 May 1853 in Cabotville (now Chicopee), Massachusetts.<sup>66</sup> The names of Margaret Bergin's parents are not given in the marriage record<sup>67</sup>; 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.<sup>68</sup> At that time, the Keefes had three children: Mary (6), John (4), and Ella (2).<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> She continued to appear in the Holyoke city directories until 1911.<sup>71</sup> The Holyoke City Clerk's Office has no death record for her.<sup>72</sup>

A final intriguing question arises from these biographies. All the persons were from Ballyhale, Kilkenny, the population of which in the 1830s was 369.<sup>73</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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.] 26<sup>th</sup> [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 10<sup>th</sup> 1849. Thursday, GUL: Whistler Collection, W388; Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 19<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
58. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Pomfret tuesday night Feb. 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 20<sup>th</sup>, 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 23<sup>rd</sup>. 1849, GUL: Whistler Collection, W389. She also referred to a Thomas in 1838 (Anna Whistler to Catherine McNeill, Stonington, Ct. May 1<sup>st</sup> 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. 10<sup>th</sup> [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)<sup>1</sup> (Moscow 2 June [OS] 1809 – 25 July [OS] 1876)<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Buttats had a brother, Aleksei Frantsevich Buttats (c. 1810 – 23 March 1846), also working for the railroads.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

Buttats's later appointment<sup>8</sup> to the post, in 1842, gave him the opportunity to see London, where he bought geodesic instruments for the Russian government.<sup>9</sup> Accompanying Major Whistler back to Russia, he had the further opportunity to see Paris and Brussels.<sup>10</sup>

On his return to Russia, Buttats was appointed head of the Drafting Department of the railway and taught drafting courses in the Transport Institute.<sup>11</sup> He held the rank of lieutenant colonel as of 6 December 1843.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup>

Buttats died on 25 July 1876 at 2:45 p.m.,<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup>

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. Formul'iarnyi 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. Formul'iarnyi 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. Formul'iarnyi spisok o sluzhbe i dostoinstve Korpusa Inzhenerov putei soobshcheniia Kapitana Buttats 2. 11 Okruga putei soobsheniia 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. Formul'iarnyi 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 Rossiuu 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 Rossiuu Maiora Uistlera. V Stroitel'nyi 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. Vsepoddanneishie 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: AWP, 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. 1844 g., fol. 62v; *Adres-Kalendar', ili, Obschii 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/Б-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.<sup>1</sup> 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.”<sup>2</sup>

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 Messes. Cropper, Benson and Company of Liverpool.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> He died at Preston on 20 May 1861, aged seventy, leaving effects under £16,000.<sup>8</sup>

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:<sup>9</sup> 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).<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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."<sup>12</sup> "George Chapman, who developed a talent for portraiture, remained on close terms with [James] Whistler for most of his life."<sup>13</sup> 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."<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> Emily, who did not marry, recorded in her diary, covering the years 1857–1893, that James Whistler and her family had "regular contact."<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

He last appears in *The Medical Register* in 1872, with the same address.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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*.”<sup>20</sup>

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.”<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> Both John Gerald Potter and Alfred Chapman became major collectors of James Whistler’s works.<sup>23</sup>

#### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> After graduation, “he entered the counting-house of R.G. Shaw and Company,” where he worked until 1836.<sup>3</sup> 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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

Harvard records show that William S. Cruft received an MA in 1837.<sup>6</sup> In that year, he “visited Europe to make his house known and establish correspondence.”<sup>7</sup> He returned to the United States in 1838, but because of failing health went again to Europe in 1841.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> His condition did not improve, and on 19 April 1850, they again applied for passports.<sup>12</sup> 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."<sup>13</sup> His body was brought home and buried on 14 August 1851 in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> The only further biographical information available for Annah P. Cruft is that she was also buried (on 21 July 1888) in Mount Auburn Cemetery.<sup>16</sup> James Jackson Cruft graduated from Harvard College, BA in 1846.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> He was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery on 27 August.<sup>19</sup> The Harvard records show that he was awarded an MA in 1849.<sup>20</sup> 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."<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

#### 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.<sup>1</sup> When the War of 1812 broke out, all four Frenchmen “were placed under surveillance and then exiled for two years to Irkutsk.”<sup>2</sup> At the war’s end, “they returned from exile and decided to remain permanently in the tsar’s service.”<sup>3</sup> “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.”<sup>4</sup> Later, Destrem was sent to the Institute of Transport Engineers, where he taught mechanics<sup>5</sup> and became professor in 1818.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> He was the first editor of *Zhurnal Putei Soobsbcheniia* [*The Journal of Transport*], which began to appear in 1826.<sup>8</sup> In 1833, he published *Mémoires surs 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.”<sup>10</sup> Both of his positions were viewed by his contemporaries as opportunistic, reflecting in each case the opinion of his superior.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

Destrem eventually became director of the Department of Planning and Estimates. He was instrumental in building the fortifications of Cronstadt.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> He also “direct[ed] the engineering work of the defence of Sebastopol.”<sup>15</sup> *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].”<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> General Destrem died in Tsarskoe Selo on 10/22 November 1855.<sup>18</sup>

#### 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<sup>e</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> In 1835, the firm of Garrett and Eastwick took on as foreman Joseph Harrison Jr. (see Image 226), who in 1837 became a partner.<sup>4</sup> On Garrett’s retirement in 1839, “the firm was reorganized as Eastwick and Harrison.”<sup>5</sup>

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.”<sup>6</sup>

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)<sup>7</sup> in London, where he was made the bearer of dispatches to St. Petersburg.<sup>8</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup> Andrew and Edward Eastwick arrived in St. Petersburg on 22 May 1844.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> In

September 1844, Eastwick learned that his wife had given birth to a stillborn daughter, Julia, on 12 August 1844.<sup>12</sup> 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 position<sup>13</sup>; 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.<sup>14</sup> 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),<sup>15</sup> Margaret (1840–1862), and Maria James (11 August 1842 – 1926), all described by R.G. Fairbanks as “beautiful”;<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> She and her charges reached London on 27 April 1845 and were met by Andrew Eastwick.<sup>18</sup> 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).<sup>19</sup> Andrew Eastwick was issued passport no. 1639 and made the bearer of dispatches.<sup>20</sup> 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).<sup>21</sup>

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.”<sup>22</sup> He therefore felt he could not “urge ... too strongly the necessity of obtaining knowledge in the springtime of your life.”<sup>23</sup> His anxiety concerning the early acquisition of good “habits in writing and

composition [was] very great,”<sup>24</sup> 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.”<sup>25</sup> He spoke of the great “pleasure and satisfaction” he felt as the quality of Edward’s letters to him improved.<sup>26</sup>

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.”<sup>27</sup> 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,<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> The conditions were set down in a contract signed on 25 April 1845.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.”<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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.”<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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,<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.”<sup>42</sup> 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.”<sup>43</sup> Work on the bridge “obliged [him] to visit town every day,” as well as do the office work.<sup>44</sup> All these duties exhausted him, so that he had “little inclination to do anything at night but rest.”<sup>45</sup> 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.”<sup>46</sup>

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.”<sup>47</sup> 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.”<sup>48</sup> “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.”<sup>49</sup> He “sometimes acted in a high-handed and overbearing manner toward [William Lewis] Winans”<sup>50</sup> (see Image 232). There were also difficulties between Harrison and R.G. Fairbanks.<sup>51</sup> 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.”<sup>52</sup> From “the beginning of ... 1849 Eastwick ... had nothing to do with the business.”<sup>53</sup> 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.”<sup>54</sup>

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.”<sup>55</sup> 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.”<sup>56</sup>

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."<sup>57</sup> 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 [*sz*] 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).<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup>

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.<sup>60</sup> 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.”<sup>61</sup> On 7/19 October 1850, Eastwick left Russia permanently, “a rich man,” “far richer,” Harrison said, “than he deserved to be.”<sup>62</sup> 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.”<sup>63</sup>

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.”<sup>64</sup> 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.<sup>65</sup>

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)<sup>66</sup> 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).<sup>67</sup> 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).<sup>68</sup>

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.”<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

Anna Whistler considered the Eastwicks good friends, and Edward was “quite a favourite of hers.”<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup>

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.”<sup>73</sup> Anna Whistler considered him a close-enough friend to write to him after that visit, with a request that he go “to see Mr. Harrison’s father about the loan of \$1000 for [her] brother Charles,”<sup>74</sup> 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<sup>t</sup> [Wm. H.] Swift being made responsible.”<sup>75</sup> He was “a friend in need,” whom Anna Whistler and her family remembered for this deed in their prayers.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

Anna Whistler was also a frequent visitor at Bartram Hall<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup> 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.”<sup>80</sup>

#### 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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: AWPD, Part II; entry for Saturday Dec 5th [1846]; entry for Preston. September. Saturday 10<sup>th</sup> [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. 8<sup>th</sup> 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. 29<sup>th</sup> 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.

*ELLERBY*<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Scales Ellerby (Manchester, Lancashire 18 March 1810 – Toronto, ON 11 June 1892; see Image 256)<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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,”<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>d</sup> R.W. Hamilton – and also that of [his] relative the Rev. Thomas Scales.”<sup>5</sup> On returning to his parents in Manchester, he eventually regained his faith through “the ministerial labours of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr McAll.”<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.”<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> He was ordained at Islington Chapel, Middlesex, on 15 July 1840, for the English and American Church in St. Petersburg,<sup>10</sup> which “was opened



for public worship” on 24 August / 5 September 1840.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> Ellerby served in St. Petersburg from 1840 to 1853.<sup>13</sup> 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.”<sup>14</sup> 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.”<sup>15</sup> There was a great increase in the membership of the church during his tenure.<sup>16</sup> 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.”<sup>17</sup> A feature of his preaching at Alexandrofsky was an annual sermon to the young.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> In May or June 1853, his health failed “to such a degree that the physician thought the delay of another week dangerous.”<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> In 1846, the Ellerbys had at least three daughters,<sup>24</sup> 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).<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup> 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.”<sup>27</sup> In 1866, he joined establishment:<sup>28</sup> i.e., the Anglican Church. “He was ordained deacon on 28 October 1866, by the First Bishop of Huron”<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> He was superannuated from the Diocese of Huron in 1882<sup>31</sup> 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.”<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup>

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,<sup>35</sup> 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),<sup>36</sup> daughter of Mrs. Ellerby's sister, Sarah (Bealey) Schofield (b. Radcliffe, Lancashire c. 1800 – after 1861)<sup>37</sup> and of Robert Schofield (Yorkshire, England c. 1797 – Buenos Aires 23 September 1825).<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> After his death, her mother returned to England.<sup>41</sup>

Anna Whistler recorded that Sarah Bealey Schofield was in Russia in 1846 and 1847.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> [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, 3<sup>rd</sup> Sept. 1845. He pointed out that he had no difficulty in performing the marriage ceremony for Americans and had “the authority of Col<sup>l</sup> 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: AWPD, 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.<sup>1</sup> He married on 11 March 1831 in Windham, Connecticut, Lucy Lee Webb (Windham, CT 24 November 1806 – West Farm, Westchester, New York March 1870).<sup>2</sup> At this time, he was living in Brooklyn (a part of Pomfret, Connecticut, in the 1880s).<sup>3</sup>

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).<sup>4</sup>

Reuben Goodale Fairbanks was a partner in the railroad-contracting firm of Carmichael, Fairbanks and Otis of Westfield, Massachusetts, in the 1830s.<sup>5</sup> Otis died in 1839, and the firm became Carmichael, Fairbanks and Company by 1840.<sup>6</sup> 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.”<sup>7</sup> 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.”<sup>8</sup> R.G. Fairbanks, nevertheless, did not appear in the censuses for Massachusetts consulted for 1820–1880.<sup>9</sup>

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.”<sup>10</sup> The firm had experience “in operating steam excavators during the construction of the Western Railroad.”<sup>11</sup> Captain William H. Swift called Fairbanks “one of my oldest and best contractors.”<sup>12</sup> 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.”<sup>213</sup> He arrived in Russia some time between 4 and 18 April 1843: “nothing of any great interest has ... transpired except the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> 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.”<sup>214</sup> 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.”<sup>215</sup> In praising America, Maxwell singled him out, among others: “here is M<sup>r</sup> Fairbanks astonishing the natives with piledriving machines and excavators.”<sup>216</sup> But this steam machinery was “to find limited application and [its] operation ... was far from a signal success.”<sup>217</sup> By “late 1846, the use of his steam machinery was coming to an end.”<sup>218</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> By November 1847, Fairbanks and George Henry Prince had announced that they were “going into the Ice business – exporting it to London.”<sup>21</sup> 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 Athenaeum<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.”<sup>24</sup> He still had one son and four daughters.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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.”<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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

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

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

## 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 24<sup>th</sup> 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> In St. Petersburg, he lived on Galernaia Street in the building belonging to Brandt, which stood alongside the building of the Holy Synod.<sup>2</sup> Through his “diligent reporting,” there exists “a fairly complete file of arrivals and departures of American ships and their cargoes” to and from Russia.<sup>3</sup> “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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.”<sup>5</sup> 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.”<sup>6</sup> He saw Gibson as “a singular sort of a personage,” who “must amaze the faculty,”<sup>7</sup> and physically as “an extraordinary man. What a constitution he must have had.”<sup>8</sup> Gibson contracted tuberculosis while serving in Russia.<sup>9</sup> He resigned his post in 1850 and died, unmarried, on 30 November 1852 in London, England.<sup>10</sup>

### 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.<sup>1</sup>

“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.”<sup>22</sup>

“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.”<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

He received many orders, the final being, in 1839, the diamond attachments to the Order of Alexander Nevsky, which he had received in 1836.<sup>5</sup>

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).<sup>6</sup> His funeral took place in the English Church on Thursday, 27 January / 8 February.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> Hall was buried in the Volkov Lutheran Cemetery.<sup>10</sup>

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 Nizhnekolymskogo ostrova, i*

*plavanie kapitana Galla po sev.-vost. okeanu v 1791 g., s priloženiem slovaria 12 narečiij ètikb narodov* [The Voyage of Captain Billings over the Chukot Land from the Bering Strait to Nižnekolyma 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: Morskaja tipografija, 1811).<sup>11</sup>

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.”<sup>12</sup>

Admiral Hall’s wife was Natalia Elisabeth (Pegelov) Hall (31 December 1780 [OS] – 21 September 1853 [OS]).<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> Both women were members of the Reformed Church.<sup>15</sup> After the Admiral’s death, the two women continued to live in their house on the 9th Rota (Ninth Line) in the Liteinaia District.<sup>16</sup> “Rota” was the word used in the Semyonov Regiment instead of “liniia” to mean “line”; both words mean “street.”<sup>17</sup> Ninth Rota was also called Basseinaia Street.<sup>18</sup>

#### 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 Tlingít 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. 14<sup>th</sup> 1844, NYPL: AWP, Part I.
9. Entry for Feb. 14<sup>th</sup> 1844, NYPL: AWP, 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.”<sup>1</sup>

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.”<sup>2</sup> 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,”<sup>3</sup> who had “formed the American Steam Carriage Company in Philadelphia.”<sup>4</sup> “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,”<sup>5</sup> which he did successfully. “In 1837 he was made a partner in the firm.”<sup>6</sup> On Garrett’s retirement in 1839, the firm “was reorganized as Eastwick and Harrison”<sup>7</sup> (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.”<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.”<sup>10</sup> They were awarded the contract, for some three million dollars, which they “signed on December 27, 1843 / January 8, 1844.”<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.”<sup>13</sup> “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.”<sup>14</sup> He later “sometimes acted in a high-handed and overbearing manner toward [William Lewis] Winans”<sup>15</sup> (see Image 232). There were also difficulties between Harrison and R.G. Fairbanks.<sup>16</sup> 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."<sup>17</sup>

\* \* \*

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."<sup>18</sup>

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).<sup>19</sup>

Harrison's art collection possibly began in St. Petersburg.<sup>20</sup> "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."<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup>

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.”<sup>23</sup> The entire family was in Paris in 1851 “during the uprising that resulted in the accession of Louis Napoleon as Emperor Napoleon III.”<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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.”<sup>26</sup> He paid \$20,000<sup>27</sup> 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].”<sup>28</sup> 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.”<sup>29</sup> In August 1854, Harrison was elected a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.<sup>30</sup> 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.’”<sup>31</sup> 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.”<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> “In 1867, he was appointed to the fine arts selection committee of American art to be exhibited at the Paris Exposition Universelle.”<sup>34</sup> In 1869, Harrison was confirmed in the Episcopalian Church.<sup>35</sup>

“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.<sup>36</sup>

\* \* \*

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<sup>o</sup>/4, Forehead Medium, Eyes Dark Hazel, Nose Grecian, Mouth Full, Chin Round, Hair Dark Brown, Complexion Dark, Face Oval.”<sup>37</sup> She, Henry, and Annie journeyed to England under the care of Andrew McCalla Eastwick, who, in London, entrusted them to Joseph Harrison Jr.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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."<sup>40</sup> The Whistler's former governess became Henry's governess in early 1848.<sup>41</sup> In early September 1848, Henry was reported to be boarding at Mr. Hirst's school while his parents were spending six weeks in Germany.<sup>42</sup> Andrew McCalla Eastwick's response to this news was: "I trust it will be to his advantage."<sup>43</sup>

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."<sup>44</sup>

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).<sup>45</sup> James McNeill Whistler painted a portrait of Henry in 1859 (whereabouts unknown), as did artist and poet Thomas Buchanan Read (1822–1872) (whereabouts unknown).<sup>46</sup>

"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.<sup>47</sup>

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

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.<sup>50</sup>

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 "Aunty 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.<sup>51</sup>

\* \* \*

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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> He commissioned a death mask (whereabouts unknown).<sup>54</sup> 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.<sup>55</sup> Harrison was “entrusted ... with all the arrangements that are needed in this melancholy matter.”<sup>56</sup> He undertook “all the expenses and toil of boxing those articles of furniture valuable from fond associations of home here –.”<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup>

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 ...”<sup>59</sup> “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.”<sup>60</sup>

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.”<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup>

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.”<sup>63</sup> 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.”<sup>64</sup>

She and Willie attended the weddings of Annie Harrison and of Joseph Eastwick in October 1858.<sup>65</sup> 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.<sup>66</sup> Harrison wrote her a letter of condolence when George William Whistler died.<sup>67</sup>

## 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. О приглашеніи в Россію из Америки Механика Гаррисона [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 23<sup>rd</sup> [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 10<sup>th</sup> (OS) 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Stephen Poulterer Alex. July 25 (OS) 1849; Joseph Harrison, Jr., to Joseph Harrison Sen<sup>r</sup> Philadelphia United States Alex. July 26<sup>th</sup> (OS) 1849.
54. Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening. Preston. July 7<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.
  55. Anna Whistler to James Whistler, Alexandroffsky, May 10<sup>th</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>r</sup> Philadelphia United States Alex. July 26<sup>th</sup> (OS) 1849, HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1.
  60. Joseph Harrison, Jr., to his sister Elizabeth Alex. July 27<sup>th</sup> (OS) 1849.
  61. A.M. Eastwick to Edward Peers Eastwick, Alexandroffsky Head Mechanical Works St. Petersburg December 12<sup>th</sup>/December 24<sup>th</sup> 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. 18<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 Hedenschoug<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> His mother was Hedvig Margareta Holmberg (b. 4 August 1782).<sup>3</sup> His father, a jeweler and magistrate, was Nils Hedenschoug (b. 4 January 1776).<sup>4</sup> Carl was the youngest of three children, the other two being Hedvig Sabina (b. 19 August 1808) and Nils Fredric (b. 6 November 1809).<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

Hedenschoug's profession was that of "mechanicus", a term which used to signify among other things a constructor of machines, railways and bridges.<sup>11</sup> Exactly when he became Major Whistler's draftsman is not clear, but he was certainly in Whistler's employ before 2 June 1844.<sup>12</sup>

On 1 September 1845, he married in St. Catherine's Swedish Church in St. Petersburg Charlotta Wilhelmina Brask, spinster.<sup>13</sup> 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.”<sup>14</sup>

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).<sup>15</sup>

Carl Robert Hedenschoug died in St. Petersburg on 2 December 1861 of tuberculosis.<sup>16</sup>

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,<sup>17</sup> and that the resulting caricatures he produced of James and Willie for a fee were burned by their father.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

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.”<sup>21</sup>

Hedenschoug had a drinking problem and in 1848 possibly stole some silver from the Whistlers.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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 Hadenschough 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.”<sup>24</sup>

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: “Hadenskougg I fear is but as the swine, returned to wallowing in the mire. alas! why will those who have talents throw them away!”<sup>25</sup>

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.”<sup>26</sup>

#### 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 prikhod Sv. Ekateriny i ego arkhiv” [“The Swedish Parish of St. Catherine’s and Its Archive”], in *Shvedy na beregakh Nevy. 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 Hadenskougg, 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. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1848 Monday evening, GUL: Whistler Collection, W370).
23. Anna Whistler to James Whistler St. Petersburg Dec. 4<sup>th</sup>. 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 7<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34.

*HIRST*

Thomas Nelson Hirst (Huddersfield 12 November 1794<sup>1</sup> – St. Petersburg 22 May / 3 June 1863)<sup>2</sup> and his sister, Mary Gent Hirst (Huddersfield bap. 22 March 1797<sup>3</sup> – St. Petersburg 23 July / 4 August 1844),<sup>4</sup> were from Huddersfield in Yorkshire. Both they and their sister, Elizabeth Hirst (b. Huddersfield 23 June 1800 – between 1822 and 1844),<sup>5</sup> were baptized at St. Peter’s Church, Huddersfield.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.”<sup>8</sup>

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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.”<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> Anna (Turnerelli) Hirst died on 20 May 1822, at the age of twenty-six.<sup>13</sup>

“Thomas Nelson Hirst and John Wood, now or late of Huddersfield, ... Merchants, Dealers, Chapmen and Partners,” were declared “bankrupts” in May 1818.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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,<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> Caroline (Holliday) Hirst died on 8/20 February 1842.<sup>18</sup> On 20 November / 2 December 1842, Thomas Nelson Hirst married Margaret Gordon (c. 1809 – St. Petersburg 22 March / 3 April 1891), widow.<sup>19</sup> 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.”<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup>

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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup>

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.<sup>24</sup>

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.”<sup>25</sup>

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,”<sup>26</sup> 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.”<sup>27</sup> This may not, however, have implied a negative assessment of the school but of Henry, who was eventually confined to a mental institution.<sup>28</sup>

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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> In 1884, a man named Bremer built an enormous house in its place.<sup>31</sup>

## 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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," *Laity'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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.”<sup>3</sup> While acknowledging that “Kleinmikhel belongs among the most remarkable people in the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I,”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.”<sup>6</sup> 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.”<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.”<sup>9</sup>

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.”<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

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.”<sup>14</sup>

## 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 Klokov (b. c. 1817) at the Russian State Historical Archives in St. Petersburg are dated 1842, 1844, 1849, and 1856.<sup>1</sup> Klokov 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.



Klokov'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 Kisl'novskii–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 Kisl'novskii–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 konduitynykh 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 Klokov 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.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Nadezhda Gustavovna (Rudol’f) Koritskaia (d. after 8–9 / 20–21 February 1866)<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> Koritskii had a sister, Ekaterina Osipovna, who attended the Smol’nyi Institute for the Education of Young Noblewomen<sup>4</sup> (see Image 147) and married Pavel Adol’fovich Meingard (Meinhardt) (St. Petersburg 1812 – Yaroslavl’ 1878),<sup>5</sup> also a transport engineer.<sup>6</sup> From 1824 to 1828, Koritskii’s father supported within his household the Shtukenberg (Stuckenber) 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),<sup>7</sup> with Nikolai Dmitrievich Bykov (1812–1884), Shtukenberg’s brother-in-law, who worked at the Academy as a supervisor/tutor (*guvernior*)<sup>8</sup> and eventually became a famous art collector.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> However, he had little enthusiasm for study, disliked mathematics particularly, and loved drawing.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> A few days

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

According to Shtukenberg, Koritskii began to attend the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in 1838 as an external student.<sup>15</sup> In 1839, he was listed as a student in the battle scene class taught by Professor Aleksandr Ivanovich Zauerveid (Sauerweid) (1783–1844).<sup>16</sup> He had attracted Zauerveid’s attention through a small painting he had executed, which was presented to Nicholas I (see Images 420–423),<sup>17</sup> to whom, as Grand Duke, Zauerveid had taught drawing.<sup>18</sup> 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.”<sup>19</sup> He indicated that he had already taken courses in architecture, descriptive geometry, theory of shading, and perspective.<sup>20</sup> He was accepted and became a student of Karl Pavlovich Briullov (1799–1852; see Image 173),<sup>21</sup> the most influential Russian painter of his day and the best known outside of Russia.<sup>22</sup>

In December 1841, he was promoted to sub-lieutenant.<sup>23</sup> 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).<sup>24</sup> 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*).<sup>25</sup> 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’ Evridiki*).<sup>26</sup> His study received the approval of the Council of the Academy to proceed.<sup>27</sup>

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.”<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> He was appointed architect’s assistant in the drafting section of District IV of the Board of Transport.<sup>31</sup> 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).<sup>32</sup> His domicile was registered in 1844 and 1845 as Bykov’s apartment at the Academy.<sup>33</sup>

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.<sup>34</sup> Yet, despite the fact that “he lived a very long time with Briullov,”<sup>35</sup> 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.”<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

They also participated in this work, being taught how lacquer and paints are made and how the ground of the canvas is prepared.<sup>40</sup> Koritskii prepared the palette for Briullov when the latter, now seriously ill, decided to paint a self-portrait in April 1848.<sup>41</sup> Briullov, while executing the main figures in his *The Fountain of Bakhbisarai* (*Bakhbisaraiskii fontan*) (dated 1849, but begun several years earlier), delegated Koritskii to paint the surroundings, such as the fountain, plants, and furniture.<sup>42</sup> Koritskii and another student, Il'ia Ivanovich Lipin, worked extensively on the cartoons for Briullov's St. Isaac's Cathedral frescos.<sup>43</sup> Briullov also required his students to copy his own paintings as part of their training.<sup>44</sup>

Some of Briullov's students visited the Hermitage collections with him,<sup>45</sup> where he would expound to them on works by the great Western masters.<sup>46</sup> They often read to him when he was working.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup>

Briullov tyrannized these students, playing merciless tricks on them.<sup>51</sup> 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,"<sup>52</sup> 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).<sup>53</sup> 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.<sup>54</sup>

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)*.<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> 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).<sup>57</sup>

Some time between September 1844 and April 1845, Koritskii also began to give private drawing lessons to James Whistler<sup>58</sup> (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.<sup>59</sup> 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,<sup>60</sup> but this was not required of advanced students. In 1846, he was also promoted to

lieutenant.<sup>61</sup> He is last registered at the Academy in 1847, when he took one monthly examination.<sup>62</sup> From 1847 through early May 1849, he helped care for the ailing Briullov and spent much time copying paintings in the Hermitage.<sup>63</sup> 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.”<sup>64</sup> Instead, Koritskii was going “daily to the Hermitage to copy some pictures from the Empress’s cabinet, painted by Bruloff for her majesty.”<sup>65</sup> 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)<sup>66</sup> and invited Major and Anna Whistler “to go to the Hermitage to see the pictures now.”<sup>67</sup> 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,<sup>68</sup> and so charming Kartizkie [*siz*] hopes we may see it.”<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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.<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> Whether their correspondence concluded with this exchange is not



known to me.<sup>75</sup> 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).<sup>76</sup> 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.”<sup>77</sup>

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.<sup>78</sup> From June 1853 until his death, he served as junior assistant to the director of the Second Department of the Hermitage,<sup>79</sup> Fyodor (Fidelio) Antonovich Bruni (1800–1875; see Image 183). The Second Department encompassed paintings, drawings, sculpture, porcelain, and bronze and bone objects.<sup>80</sup> On being appointed to it, he continued in his civil rank of county secretary (12th grade).<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup> 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’*.<sup>84</sup> Koritskii died suddenly during the night of 8–9/20–21 February 1866 in St. Petersburg<sup>85</sup> and held the rank of court councilor (7th grade) at the time of his death.<sup>86</sup> He seems to have remained a bachelor all his life.<sup>87</sup> His mother asked that the Hermitage Museum consider acquiring seven paintings belonging to him:<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> Alexander II, to whom the pictures were submitted for consideration, chose not to acquire them.<sup>90</sup>

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;<sup>91</sup> *Charles IX Shooting out the Window on St. Bartholomew's Night* (*Karl IX, streliaiusbchii v okno vo vremia Varfolomeevskoi nochi*), intended as an illustration for Dumas's *Queen Margot* (*La Reine Margot*) (a watercolor?);<sup>92</sup> an unfinished painting of *Sleeping Juno* (*The Origin of the Milky Way*) (*Spiasbchaia Iunona: Proiskhozhdenie Mlechnogo Puti*);<sup>93</sup> a painting of the head of the Queen of Sheba, copied from a fragment of a painting by Rubens;<sup>94</sup> head of Eurydice (drawing);<sup>95</sup> *Peter the Great Drafting at a Table* (*Petr Velikii, chertiasbchii u stola*) (drawing);<sup>96</sup> *Leverrier's Discovery* (*Otkrytie Lever'e*), an allegorical depiction of the discovery (in 1846) of the planet Neptune (drawing);<sup>97</sup> *Deposition from the Cross* (*Sniatie so kresta*) (drawing);<sup>98</sup> *Rodin and Mademoiselle Cardoville* (*Roden i devitsa Kardovil*), an illustration to Sue's *The Wandering Jew* (*Le Juif Errant*) (either watercolor or sepia);<sup>99</sup> and *Minerva Driving Pleasure Away from Art* (*Minerva progoniaet ot iskusstva udovol'strie*) (drawing?).<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> The State Russian Museum has a portrait of Nicholas I by him.<sup>102</sup> 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.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup> One of the numerous copies of Briullov's *The Last Day of Pompeii* (*Poslednii den' Pompei*) (see Image 204) may be by Koritskii.<sup>105</sup> He also copied Dessain's double

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

## 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. Seria 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: Biobibliograficheskiĭ spravocnik* [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 publicnykh zdaniĭ* [Journal of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings] 33, no. 1 (1861): pp. 37–94, as well as from Polovtsov, *Russkii biograficheskiĭ 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 Ènsiklopediia* [*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 Transbaikal 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: *Osenie 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 Luterischer Friedhof*, p. 89.

8. According to the Statute of 1802, a tutor (*guvernior*) 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 *Rossiiia* [*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'ma*, 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 poseshchaisichikh 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*” (Bowlt, *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; Bowlt, *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 pravleniia IV okruga Sikorskoi, Eremeev i Koritskoi [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 (Tsentral'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 Tre'tiakov Gallery, whose collection it entered in 1925 (*Gosudarstvennaia Tre'tiakovskaia galereiia. Katalog zhivopisi XVIII-nachala XX veka (do 1917) goda* [*State Tre'tiakov 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 khudozhnikazhivopista” [“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-checked 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 znaniiia [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”], *Khudozbnik [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 sozdat’ 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, *Memoary*, 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, *Dnevnik 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 istoricheskaia 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 (Spiasbchaia Imona 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 kbrama udovol'stvie)*.

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 Treťiakovskaia 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. Treťiakovskaia 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 (Arkhiv 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).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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; *Brokhaus–Èfron*, vol. 32, p. 575; entry for Monday July 27 [1846], NYPL: AWPD, 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*<sup>1</sup>

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).<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

#### 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 Hon<sup>ble</sup> 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<sup>d</sup> 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; *Cattley 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 Harwarden 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<sup>ble</sup> 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*,<sup>1</sup> 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,”<sup>2</sup> 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”<sup>3</sup> 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.’”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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.”<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> Her funeral “was very respectably attended,”<sup>9</sup> 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.”<sup>10</sup>

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].<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup>

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 81<sup>st</sup> Anniversary of her birth day would be next Sunday,”<sup>13</sup> 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 descendants 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,<sup>14</sup> but I believe she was named for her father’s aunt, Charlotte (Fryer) Jenner.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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 Szczęsny 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).<sup>19</sup> They had two daughters: Zofia (1801 – Paris 2 September 1875; see Image 327) and Olga (1802 – Paris 7 October 1861; see Image 326).<sup>20</sup> The Potockis lived on an estate in Tulczyn in the south of Russia, as well as having a mansion in St. Petersburg.<sup>21</sup> 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,<sup>22</sup> traveling to Tulczyn in late 1807 with the widowed Countess Potocka, who was his lover.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

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 Szczęsny.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> From the letters of people in St. Petersburg to the 10th Duke of Hamilton,<sup>28</sup> we know that she was in St. Petersburg in June 1810 and in December 1810.<sup>29</sup> She left St. Petersburg in the winter of 1811 (?) "on Acct of the Contracts at Kieff."<sup>30</sup> It is said that she was in St. Petersburg during the War of 1812.<sup>31</sup> In July 1813, she was at Tulczyn.<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> 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,<sup>34</sup> 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.”<sup>35</sup>

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,<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> Dr. James Rogers, her physician, personally had her prescriptions filled and paid for them himself.<sup>38</sup> 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).<sup>39</sup> 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 Cemetery<sup>40</sup>.

## 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: AWP, Part II.
8. Entries for Saturday, January 30 [1847] and Saturday morning Feb. 6th [1847], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
9. Entry for Tuesday night [February] 9 [1847], NYPL: AWP, Part II.
10. Entry for Saturday evening: Feb. 27th [1847], NYPL: AWP, 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: AWP, 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. 6<sup>th</sup> [1847], NYPL: AWP, 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 toż 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 (Sofiia Gliavone-Vitte-Pototskaia)” [“The Fate of a Beauty (Sofiia 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<sup>r</sup>. 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*<sup>1</sup>

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).<sup>2</sup> 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].<sup>3</sup> 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.”<sup>4</sup> As “the wine trade ... had suffered an economic slump after 1815,” William went into “wool trading in partnership with [a] John Thomas.”<sup>5</sup> 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.”<sup>6</sup>

In 1817, William Maingy married in St. Peter Port Eliza Lamb (Piette House, St. Peter Port, Guernsey 16 January 1801 – London 28 June 1877),<sup>7</sup> 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)<sup>8</sup>; 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.’”<sup>9</sup>

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.”<sup>10</sup> They lived on Vasilievskii Island.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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 Ochta Cotton Spinning Mill was set up as a pilot project by the Frerichs brothers on the little Ochta River feeding into the Neva. They were partners in the De Jersey merchanting firm which had special interests in cotton and the Baltic trade.”<sup>13</sup>

William Maingy, “who had behind him his experience in the textile trade ... was one of the Ochta 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.” “Ochta ... 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.”<sup>15</sup>

William Maingay returned to England in 1843, probably “to prepare for the return of the whole family the following spring,”<sup>16</sup> and “stayed at Wellesley House, a substantial villa on Shooters’ Hill, London.”<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup>

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.<sup>20</sup>

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.<sup>21</sup>

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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.”<sup>22</sup>

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).<sup>23</sup> 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."<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup>

\* \* \*

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.”<sup>26</sup>

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 adamant 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 –

Reepham, Norwich 30 April 1958), Wilfred Gosselin (5 June 1873 – Tunbridge Wells 21 August 1873).<sup>27</sup> 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.”<sup>28</sup>

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 17<sup>th</sup> Kent Rifles in the Volunteer Corps in 1863.”<sup>29</sup>

By 1868, he and his family were living at Marlborough House on Mount Zion 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.<sup>30</sup>

\* \* \*

Eliza Anne Maingay<sup>31</sup> (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.<sup>32</sup>

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.

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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.<sup>33</sup>

\* \* \*

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).<sup>34</sup> 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 Maingay<sup>35</sup> (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,<sup>36</sup> 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.”<sup>237</sup>

#### 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: AWP, Part I; entries for 6/18 June [1845], Tuesday 10th March [1846], and Monday November 2nd [1846], NYPL: AWP, 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).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> It survived only three seasons, “was sold at auction in 1836” to Mr. Mauran, and became the National Theatre.<sup>3</sup> Together “with Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt he owned the Staten Island Ferry.”<sup>4</sup> “Among the early tugboats of New York Harbor were two well-known side-wheelers, the *Bolívar* and the *Hercules*, in which he was interested.”<sup>5</sup>

Oroondates Mauran lived in New York City in winter and, as of 1831, on Staten Island in summer.<sup>6</sup> He “was a bon vivant and very hospitable,” as well as “one of the oldest members of the Union Club in New York.”<sup>7</sup> “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.<sup>8</sup> He “travelled a good deal” at one point to Europe and spent “several winters in Havana.”<sup>9</sup>

Josephine Mauran’s paternal grandfather, Joseph Carlo Mauran, was “a native of Villefranche, Italy.”<sup>10</sup> 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.”<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup>

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),<sup>13</sup> as Debo’s “intimate friend and correspondent.”<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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).<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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).<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

Maxwell attended The Lawrenceville School<sup>5</sup> and graduated from Princeton University in the Class of 1836.<sup>6</sup> He considered himself a Whig.<sup>7</sup> He “pursued the whole term of his professional studies” in law in New York in the office of Elijah Paine (1796–1853).<sup>8</sup> He was a colonel in the militia.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Anna Whistler referred to him in a letter to James as an appropriate role model for her son.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

In 1846, Maxwell "had an office in the Mortimer Building, 11 Wall Street."<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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."<sup>16</sup> Other supporting letters were written by referees such as Elijah Paine, in whose office Maxwell had pursued his training as a lawyer.<sup>17</sup> 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."<sup>18</sup> 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."<sup>19</sup> The appointment, however, was given to George Perkins Marsh (1801–

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

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.<sup>22</sup> They had one daughter: Caroline Ross Maxwell (New Jersey 2 July 1853 – New York 19 May 1936).<sup>23</sup> 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.”<sup>24</sup>

John Stevenson Maxwell died at Nyack, New York, on 2 March 1870.<sup>25</sup>

The Traphagens’ daughter, Ethel Traphagen (1882–1963) (whose married name was Leigh), founded the Traphagen School of Fashion (1923) in New York.<sup>26</sup> 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).<sup>27</sup>

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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

John Stevenson Maxwell reminded Major Whistler in a letter that he had a pencil portrait of himself executed by James Whistler.<sup>30</sup> 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 Cyclopedia*, 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),<sup>2</sup> “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.”<sup>3</sup> 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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.”<sup>5</sup> “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.”<sup>6</sup>

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.”<sup>7</sup> 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).<sup>8</sup>

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.”<sup>9</sup> “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).<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

“Encouraged by the ministers of several European countries”<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

They arrived in St. Petersburg on Saturday, 20 September 1845.<sup>16</sup> 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 Parnly. 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.”<sup>17</sup> 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.”<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> On Friday, 7/19 December 1845, Maynard received a letter from the Russian committee rejecting his gun invention.<sup>21</sup> On Sunday, 30 December (OS), the emperor returned to St. Petersburg.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup> 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”<sup>24</sup> (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.”<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> The arrangement concerning Sweden was successfully concluded in mid-January 1846.<sup>27</sup>

On 20 April 1846, Maynard stopped in at the Whistlers’ to say goodbye.<sup>28</sup> 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.”<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> Again, however, there were many delays.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> He spent all of May, June, and July in Belgium, heading on 31 July for Paris.<sup>33</sup> He

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

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,”<sup>37</sup> and had “his Tape Primer Lock patented in France, Belgium, England, Scotland and Ireland.”<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup>

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).<sup>40</sup> In 1855, the Maynards bought a house in Cooperstown, New York. Ellen (Doty) Maynard died on 3 October 1863 of heart disease.<sup>41</sup> 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).<sup>42</sup>

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.”<sup>43</sup> “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.”<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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’.”<sup>46</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

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 unembarrassedly both open and allusive in his sexual remarks to his wife.<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> His letters contain many instances in which he praises contentment and the circumstances of travel and life in general that can promote it.<sup>49</sup> 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,<sup>50</sup> 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.”<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.”<sup>53</sup> At the same time, he disapproved of imitations of the Negroes by Parnly, 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.”<sup>54</sup>

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*.<sup>55</sup>

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.”<sup>56</sup> 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!<sup>57</sup>

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.”<sup>58</sup>

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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.<sup>59</sup> 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."<sup>60</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

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."<sup>61</sup> As his fame spread, he raised his fee to ten rubles.<sup>62</sup> One busy day, he earned twenty-five dollars.<sup>63</sup>

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";<sup>64</sup> 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.”<sup>65</sup> 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”),<sup>66</sup> 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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

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.”<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup>

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.”<sup>71</sup> Etiquette, however, required that he perform his operations in a dress coat.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> He charged the Imperial family fifty rubles (\$37.50) per day.<sup>74</sup>

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.<sup>75</sup> 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.”<sup>76</sup> 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.”<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup>

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.<sup>79</sup> 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,<sup>80</sup> while Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna herself wished to have her children operated on.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup> 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.”<sup>83</sup>

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”<sup>84</sup> (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.”<sup>85</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

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.”<sup>86</sup> Major Whistler took him on several occasions to the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works (see Images 223–225).<sup>87</sup> 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.”<sup>88</sup> On Monday, 27 October 1845, he was able to operate on the teeth of Willie Whistler, “a fine boy of 8 or so years.”<sup>89</sup> On New Year’s Day 1846, Anna Whistler had two teeth filled.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> Whistler often came to see Maynard at the boarding house, bringing information he hoped might be helpful in presenting the firearm invention.<sup>92</sup> 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.”<sup>93</sup>

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.”<sup>94</sup>

\* \* \*

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."<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> 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."<sup>97</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup>

\* \* \*

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.<sup>99</sup> 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 Pavlovsk<sup>100</sup> and to the Alexandrinskii Theatre, where Maynard reported they “saw some very capital acting.”<sup>101</sup> 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.<sup>102</sup> 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.”<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup>

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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.<sup>105</sup> 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.”<sup>106</sup>

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.<sup>107</sup> 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.<sup>108</sup>

\* \* \*

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 21<sup>st</sup> 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-Christien-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 4<sup>th</sup>) 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 22<sup>nd</sup>. (December 4<sup>th</sup>) 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: AWP, 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 22<sup>nd</sup>. (December 4<sup>th</sup>) 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.<sup>1</sup>

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).<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

## 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 otdelenie, 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 Pridvornoii Koniusheanoi Kontory, Deist. St. Sov. Mel'nikova, ne razdel'no s det'mi, po osoboi Monarshei milosti. Nachalos' 27 iuniii 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 stinging 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.<sup>1</sup> His parents were William Melvil, "a [illegible] labourer" and Margaret (Cooper/Cowper) Melvil.<sup>2</sup>

His father was married twice, first to Margaret (Cooper/Cowper) in Errol, Perthshire, on 25 February 1799<sup>3</sup> and, secondly, to Janet Martin in Errol, Perthshire, on 26 October 1806.<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup> 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."<sup>7</sup>

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."<sup>8</sup> 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."<sup>9</sup>

"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.”<sup>10</sup> “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.”<sup>11</sup>

“Shortly after his arrival in Odessa, Melville began his lifetime’s work by distributing Bibles and tracts to people in the city.”<sup>12</sup> There were at this time “no active BFBS [British and Foreign Bible Society] agents in southern Russia.”<sup>13</sup> 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.”<sup>14</sup> “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.”<sup>15</sup> But Melville wanted only “to procure a better supply of Bibles from the main Russian depot.”<sup>16</sup> “[H]e could not become an employee of the BFBS [because] he desired to continue distributing tracts” as well.<sup>17</sup> 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.”<sup>18</sup>

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,<sup>19</sup> “clandestine evangelical work”<sup>20</sup> “among the indigenous population in southern Russia.”<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> “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.”<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.”<sup>25</sup> 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’.”<sup>26</sup> 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.”<sup>27</sup> 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.”<sup>28</sup>

“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.”<sup>29</sup> 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.”<sup>30</sup> Watt probably also became aware of Melville’s clandestine evangelical work, which could not be condoned by the BFBS.<sup>31</sup>

Melville is said to have returned to Scotland in the 1870s,<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> How he spent the remaining years of his life is unknown.<sup>34</sup>

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.”<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> He had been an officer in the Madras Artillery in India.<sup>2</sup> He married on 12/24 November 1837<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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).<sup>6</sup> The Morgans lived at 31 Galernaia Street, in the building belonging to Kensovskii in the First Admiralty District, Fourth Ward.<sup>7</sup> They had in their employ in 1845 Jane Morris, nurse, and Fanny Alcock, governess.<sup>8</sup> 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.”<sup>9</sup> At his death, he left effects under £4,000 in England and extensive effects in Russia.<sup>10</sup> At her death, Mary Anne (Parland) Morgan left effects amounting to about £6500.<sup>11</sup>

Edward Delmar was educated at Eton and became a linguist and traveler.<sup>12</sup> 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*,<sup>13</sup> and in 1879, with Sir Thomas Douglas Forsyth, Przhevalsky’s *From Kulja Across the Tian-Shan to Lobnor*.<sup>14</sup> 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:<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

Maria Frances Morgan married on 10 April 1866 in London Thomas William Snagge (later Sir T.M. Snagge, KCMG) (Merion, Dublin c. 1837 – 1 February 1914), barrister-at-law.<sup>17</sup> 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).<sup>18</sup>

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).<sup>19</sup> He later changed his name to Ainslie Douglas Ainslie, on succeeding to the property of his maternal granduncle’s estate.<sup>20</sup> He was a barrister-at-law and had also served in the diplomatic service from 1859 to 1866.<sup>21</sup> 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).<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>

## 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.”<sup>1</sup> This descent was disputed.<sup>2</sup> 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.”<sup>3</sup>

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).<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

In 1843, the Poizats were the parents of two children, Charles André (c. 1841 – 12 April 1882)<sup>7</sup> and Mary. In July 1844, Mr. Poizat announced in a letter to Anna Whistler the birth of another daughter, on 10 May 1844.<sup>8</sup> Charles seems to have been the only surviving child and later became a manufacturing chemist.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Mlle. Victoire gave him a box of family portraits<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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).<sup>14</sup> In 1857, they were again in Philadelphia,<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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 Vérone” [*sic*] to his name.<sup>17</sup> A few years before her death, Cecilia Poizat gave the Scaliger family portraits and papers to the American Philosophical Society.<sup>18</sup>

## 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] 24<sup>th</sup> [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).<sup>1</sup> “Since which time,” he wrote to Cullum, “I have been living at this place [New Iberia, LA] and engaged mostly in agricultural pursuits.”<sup>2</sup> On 16 May 1844, he married Eliza Ann Marsh (Petit Anse Island, LA 20 September 1825 – New Iberia, LA 9 October 1878).<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.”<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> They had four children, born between 1845 and 1864, the last of whom died in 1943.<sup>8</sup>

For more than forty years, Robertson ran the Robertson Insurance Agency.<sup>9</sup> He was mayor of New Iberia in 1860<sup>10</sup> and a prominent citizen.<sup>11</sup> 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.”<sup>12</sup>

## 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.



## ROGERS<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> When the position of physician to the British Legation was relinquished by Sir George William Lefevre (1798–1846) in 1842, Rogers succeeded him.<sup>3</sup> 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.”<sup>4</sup> He lived at 247 Galernaia Street in the building belonging to Potocki, in the First Admiralty District, Fourth Ward (see “Maps”).<sup>5</sup>

It is not clear exactly when he returned to England permanently, but he settled in Port View, Saltash, Cornwall,<sup>6</sup> where his brother, Dr. William Rogers (1817 – 7 April 1904), Surgeon RN (retired as of early 1863), was living with his wife and children.<sup>7</sup> It appears that James Rogers registered for practice there in 1873 and retired in 1877.<sup>8</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup>

He settled in the Port View Estate.<sup>10</sup> 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.”<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

In his will, drawn up on 7 March 1890, with a codicil dated 9 April 1890,<sup>14</sup> 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,"<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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); *Chiemssee 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;<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> The gross value of his personal estate amounted to some £24,000.<sup>19</sup>

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."<sup>20</sup>

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

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.<sup>23</sup> The marriage took place on 2 June 1891.<sup>24</sup> 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. *Sanktpeterburgskie 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),<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> He remained in Russia, while his children were placed in the homes of family and friends.<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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).<sup>7</sup> 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.

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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."<sup>8</sup> Mr. Gellibrand, son of Reverend William (28 May 1763 – 27 September 1840) and Sophia (Hinde) Gellibrand (12

January 1759 – 20 November 1793),<sup>9</sup> 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.”<sup>10</sup> 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).<sup>11</sup> On 24 January / 5 February 1833, Mrs. Gellibrand died. On 27 January / 8 February, she was buried from the Sarepta Chapel,<sup>12</sup> the meeting house of the German Moravian Brethren, which the dissenters used until they had their own church.<sup>13</sup> 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 1834<sup>14</sup> in the English Church (see Images 110–111), Rev. Edward Law (see Image 253) officiating.<sup>15</sup> The Gellibrands wanted Elizabeth Hannah Ropes to come out to St. Petersburg from Boston to live with them as their own child.<sup>16</sup> She arrived in October 1834, along with her sister, Martha Reed Ropes, who came to live with their father and step-mother.<sup>17</sup> It was for the purpose



of being “useful to Elizabeth” that Ellen Harriet Hall (23 April 1822 – 11 December 1903),<sup>18</sup> the niece of Mr. Gellibrand’s first wife, was invited from Leeds to St. Petersburg in 1837.<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> They did not, however, leave Russia until at least 1854,<sup>21</sup> 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.”<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> It is here that Mr. Gellibrand died.<sup>24</sup> Judging from the number of members of the clergy present at his funeral, he had been very generous to various churches.<sup>25</sup>

He left a personal estate of almost £72,000. Mrs. Gellibrand was his sole executrix and heir.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> The gross value of her personal estate was almost £59,000, and her will was twenty-eight pages long.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Gellibrand, in turn, visited Anna Whistler in London.<sup>30</sup>

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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.”<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup>

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Somewhat more is known of Sarah Louisa Ropes. She was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts,<sup>33</sup> 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,<sup>34</sup> and in August of the same year was in England because of lung trouble.<sup>35</sup> She left Russia with her father and step-family and became “quite an English girl”<sup>36</sup> but felt “that her home [was] with her brothers and sisters” and in September 1838 was back in Russia with the Gellibrands.<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> On 9 October 1849, she married Charles Hooper Trask (4 September 1824 – 11 December 1905).<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup>

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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.”<sup>44</sup> He was the scholar of the family.<sup>45</sup> He undertook the study of Russian, along with the rest of his family, when they arrived in St. Petersburg in 1832.<sup>46</sup> His mastery of the language enabled him to attend the Third St. Petersburg Gymnasium.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> He began attending St. Petersburg University in August 1837 and at the end of his first year had “passed No. 1 in his class.”<sup>49</sup> He completed his studies on 11 June 1841 (OS) and received a certificate dated 25 October 1841 (OS).<sup>50</sup> While still a student at the university, he had taken on “a large share of Tract business.”<sup>51</sup> He filled the office of secretary of the Tract Committee,<sup>52</sup> superintended the publication of all translated tracts,<sup>53</sup> and himself translated tracts into Russian.<sup>54</sup> 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.”<sup>55</sup> 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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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.”<sup>58</sup> Joseph Samuel also translated and wrote secular pieces. He made a translation of an article on the 1837 fire in the Winter Palace.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> In 1847, Joseph Samuel returned to Boston permanently<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> He received an honorary MA from Yale College in 1853<sup>63</sup> and served several times on examining and visiting committees at Harvard University, for example, the Special Committee for Examination in the Greek Language.<sup>64</sup> 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.”<sup>65</sup> In 1894, he moved to Norwich, Connecticut, to live with his wife’s nieces, the Misses Huntington.<sup>66</sup> 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’.”<sup>67</sup> He died on 14 March 1903.<sup>68</sup> His funeral took place on 19 March in the Immanuel Congregational Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts.<sup>69</sup>

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William Hooper Ropes, eldest son of William Ropes, was attending Mount Pleasant Institution in Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1829.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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."<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> In 1837, he hired Archibald Mirrielees, a close friend of his and of William Clarke Gellibrand, "to take charge of the internal department ... but not to be a partner,"<sup>75</sup> 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,"<sup>76</sup> was to handle "the outdoor business," which was "his forte."<sup>77</sup> William Hooper and Archibald Mirrielees got on very well, but in 1841 the very self-assured Joseph Samuel Ropes joined the firm and Archibald Mirrielees, unable to cope with him, left it in 1842.<sup>78</sup> William Hooper now managed William Ropes and Company with the help of his brother-in-law, William Clarke Gellibrand.<sup>79</sup>

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,<sup>80</sup> and they became engaged in the summer of 1838, when she was sixteen.<sup>81</sup> Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand found her future sister-in-law "amiable, affectionate ... pious, [and] an excellent musician, with a beautiful voice and fine execution."<sup>82</sup> On 23 April 1840, her eighteenth birthday, William Hooper Ropes and Ellen Harriet Hall were married in the dissenting chapel in Leeds,<sup>83</sup> 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).<sup>84</sup> 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).<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> 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).<sup>87</sup> 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."<sup>88</sup> 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.<sup>89</sup> They were said to be living in 1868 in Upper Clapton.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> In 1888,

William Hooper's address, again probably his office, was 5 Jeffreys Square, St. Mary Axe in London.<sup>94</sup> On 15 July 1890, in Christiana, Copenhagen, Denmark, Ellen Gellibrand Ropes married Charles Hooper Trask (1824–1905).<sup>95</sup> 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,<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup> It has not been possible to locate the will of William Hooper Ropes. Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes left effects of about £13,000.<sup>98</sup>

\* \* \*

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.<sup>99</sup> They were married on 26 June 1821.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> He is listed in the 1841 Census as "clerk," and in the 1851 Census as "agent," to the Aire and Calder Navigation Company.<sup>102</sup> 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."<sup>103</sup> They both died in Falsgrave.<sup>104</sup> John D. Hall's occupation appears on his wife's death certificate as "cashier."<sup>105</sup> 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."<sup>106</sup>

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)<sup>107</sup> married in Leeds on 6 June 1850<sup>108</sup> George Henry Prince, first cousin of William Hooper Ropes.

\* \* \*

George Henry Prince (16 October 1821 – 25 April 1900)<sup>109</sup> 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).<sup>110</sup> 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.”<sup>111</sup> 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.”<sup>112</sup> He arrived in St. Petersburg in early September of 1838<sup>113</sup> 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.”<sup>114</sup> “His *American* feelings [were] strong, and [did] not seem likely to evaporate very soon.”<sup>115</sup> Although the others in the family seemed to be “getting less American,” “George was the only staunch one among [them], unchanging and unchanged.”<sup>116</sup> When Archibald Mirrielees 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.”<sup>117</sup> 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.<sup>118</sup>

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).<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup> 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.<sup>121</sup> George Henry Prince died on 25 April 1900 in Wyberg (Vyborg in Russian), Finland, in the house of his son-in-law, Edward Engestrom,<sup>122</sup> husband of Ruth Harriet (Prince) Engestrom. Both he and Marian (Hall) Prince were buried in the Smolensk Cemetery.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup>

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),<sup>125</sup> who arrived in St. Petersburg in May 1846 with George Henry Prince. He seems to have gone to work for Harrison, Winans and Eastwick.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup>

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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),<sup>129</sup> who traveled to St. Petersburg in the summer of 1844. He had traveled to St. Petersburg on at least one previous occasion.<sup>130</sup> 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.<sup>131</sup>

## 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 Mirrielees 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, *Kbramy 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<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 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’stva 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. Iiun' 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 piatidesiatiletiaa tret'ei sanktpeterburgskoi gimnazii* [*A Historical Note for the Fiftyeth 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 Mirrielees 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 Mirrielees 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 Mirrielees 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. 19<sup>th</sup> 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 1792<sup>1</sup> – 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)<sup>2</sup> 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.”<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> His family returned to Liverpool.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> In 1845, he published a volume entitled *The Wanderer and Other Poems*, which he had written during that four-year sojourn in South America.<sup>11</sup> The preface to the volume was written in Blakeney, Gloucestershire, in August 1845.<sup>12</sup> 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.”<sup>13</sup> He seemed to have problems finding employment.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.”<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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).<sup>20</sup> Anna Whistler referred in her correspondence to the poverty in which the Boyds were living in the 1870s.<sup>21</sup>

## 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<sup>ry</sup> 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),<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw’s father had been secretary to the Bank of Scotland between 1791 and 1802,<sup>3</sup> 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),<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

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.<sup>8</sup> Although directory information about her career as a schoolmistress is sporadic and confusing, *Pigot’s London Directory 1832-3-4*<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Her mother, Catherine (Fraser) Wardrop, who lived with her, died at her home.<sup>12</sup> She left five-eighths of her property to her daughter.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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 Smith<sup>1</sup> (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 *Cricquet*, 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<sup>d</sup> 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),<sup>1</sup> 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 Edinburgh<sup>2</sup> Frances Morton (bap. Edinburgh 27 April 1783 – London 16 October 1845).<sup>3</sup> Frances (Morton) Stevenson was the daughter of Walter and Rebecca (Finlay) Morton.<sup>4</sup> 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. 1821<sup>5</sup> – London 11 February 1889),<sup>6</sup> and Francis (c. 1828 – 1 February 1902).<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.”<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> Walter Stevenson was described as a person of “Independent Means,” George as a surgeon, and Francis as an apprentice.<sup>11</sup> On 24 September 1844, Eliza Isabella Wellwood Stevenson married at St. Pancras Church<sup>12</sup> Thomas Macdougall Smith (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1 November 1816 – London 24 January 1886).<sup>13</sup> Both resided in St. Pancras Parish, and they were married by license.<sup>14</sup> The witnesses were Francis Stevenson, the bride’s brother, and Catherine Shaw, daughter of Georgina and John

Shaw<sup>15</sup> (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.”<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> Francis Stevenson, unmarried, an engineer, was recorded as being in his father’s home at 6 Albert Street in the 1851 Census.<sup>18</sup> 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.”<sup>19</sup>

Thomas Macdougall Smith, called “Tom Smith” by his close friends, was a distinguished civil engineer.<sup>20</sup> In 1835, he had joined the office of Walker and Burges, then considered the “great nursery of civil engineers in England.”<sup>21</sup> Here he became a first-class draftsman and surveyor, noted for the painstaking detail of his work.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> He later went into mining work.<sup>24</sup> He was elected a graduate of the Institution of Civil Engineering on 24 March 1840 and on 17 February 1846 made a member.<sup>25</sup> 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).<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> In 1851, Thomas and Eliza (Stevenson) Smith were living at 1 Chapel (or Duke) Place, Westminster.<sup>28</sup> London directories and censuses list him as living at the same address from 1851 to 1886.<sup>29</sup> Thomas M. Smith died on 21 January 1886. His personal estate amounted to some £2000.<sup>30</sup> His will was proved on 4 March 1886 by his goddaughter, Alice Jeannette Taylor, of 1 Chapel Place, one of the executrixes.<sup>31</sup> 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.”<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> Her



personal estate amounted to about £102.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup> According to his service record, he was a foreigner of the Roman Catholic faith.<sup>2</sup> His father, Andreas, was an Austrian diplomat in Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> His mother, Marie-Anne Pisani, was the daughter of Nicolas Pisani (1743–1819), first dragoman for Russia in Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> He graduated from the Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa in 1821 with the right to the civil service rank of county secretary (12th grade).<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> On 18 December (OS) 1844, he was appointed senior secretary.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> On that day, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America.<sup>9</sup> In 1864, he was promoted to privy councilor (3rd grade).<sup>10</sup> In his capacity as envoy, he negotiated the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867.<sup>11</sup> On 20 April (OS) 1869, at his request, he was retired.<sup>12</sup> He had also held diplomatic posts in Moldavia and Wallachia, Constantinople, and the Sandwich Islands before and between his American appointments.<sup>13</sup>

After de Stoeckl's retirement, he and his wife lived in Paris.<sup>14</sup> He died there on 26 January 1892 and was buried in the family vault in St. Germain Cemetery in Paris.<sup>15</sup> Eliza (Howard) de Stoeckl died in Paris in 1913.<sup>16</sup> It has not been possible to ascertain whether she is also buried in the de Stoeckl family vault.<sup>17</sup>

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.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup> 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).<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> They were married in Springfield, Massachusetts, on 2 January 1856.<sup>22</sup>

The de Stoeckls' only child, Alexander, was born in Washington in 1862.<sup>23</sup> He was later educated in Paris by Jesuits at the College in rue des Postes.<sup>24</sup> He, too, eventually entered the Russian foreign service<sup>25</sup> and “[a]bout 1880 ... was appointed *Gentilhomme de la Chambre*,” to Alexander II.<sup>26</sup> 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).<sup>27</sup> Her father had inherited from his grandfather, Eustace Barron, “large estates and many business interests” in Mexico City.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> Agnes Barron and Alexander de Stoeckl were married on 30 June 1892 at St. Mary's in Cadogan Place, London.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup> 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).<sup>32</sup> Her husband was also the son of Grand Duke Mikhail Nikolaevich.<sup>33</sup>

Alexander de Stoeckl died in London on 23 July 1926 at the age of sixty-four.<sup>34</sup> His funeral was held at the Church of Notre-Dame de France in Leicester Place.<sup>35</sup> The body was then taken to Paris and placed in the family vault at St. Germain Cemetery.<sup>36</sup> In 1950, Agnes (Barron) de Stoeckl published her memoirs of their life, *Not All Vanity*.<sup>37</sup> In writing the book, she consulted the journals of Eliza (Howard) de Stoeckl, the present whereabouts of which are unknown to me.<sup>38</sup> 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.”<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> She died at Iver, Buckinghamshire, on 30 January 1968.<sup>41</sup>

Agnes and Alexander de Stoeckl had one child, Zoia (1893–1974).<sup>42</sup> At eighteen, she was named a maid of honor to the empress of Russia.<sup>43</sup> Zoia de Stoeckl married on 2 July 1919, at St. James Church in Spanish Place, London, Captain Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell (1891–1962).<sup>44</sup> Their son Roman was born on 22 December 1920.<sup>45</sup> He died a year and three months later.<sup>46</sup> Another son, Alexander, was born in 1924 (d. 1966); a third, Vincent, on 30 June 1929 (d. 1 September 2017).<sup>47</sup> 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.”<sup>48</sup> Zoia Poklewski-Koziell and their sons returned to London in August 1939 and Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell in October 1939.<sup>49</sup> Alfonse Poklewski-Koziell died on 9 November 1962 in Iver, Buckinghamshire.<sup>50</sup> Zoia (de Stoeckl) Poklewski-Koziell died there on 7 July 1974.<sup>51</sup>

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.<sup>52</sup>

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.<sup>53</sup> A business address is listed for Charles W. Swift in New York from 1860–1861 through 1864–1865.<sup>54</sup> Charles W. Swift predeceased his wife; Margaret (Howard) Swift died in London.<sup>55</sup> They had two daughters, both born in the United States: Mary (b. c. 1860) and Louisa Josephine (b. c. 1864).<sup>56</sup> Mary Swift married Alfred St. Johnston (b. 1858), an English journalist, and lived in London.<sup>57</sup> It was at her home that her mother died. Alfred St. Johnston died on 19 February 1891.<sup>58</sup> Mary (Swift) St. Johnston died on 11 December 1942.<sup>59</sup> Louisa J. Swift died on 1 July 1944 in Surrey.<sup>60</sup>

\* \* \*

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,<sup>61</sup> Mary E. Swift was essentially brought up in the home of George and Mary Bliss in Springfield, Massachusetts.<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

\* \* \*

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).<sup>64</sup> He is listed in New York city directories from 1840 well into the 1870s as part of the firm of Siffken and Ironside, merchants.<sup>65</sup> He is listed in London directories for 1861 and 1862 as a commission merchant.<sup>66</sup> He was still or again living in London in 1865.<sup>67</sup> In 1879, his residence was New London, Connecticut.<sup>68</sup> Mary (Swift) and George Ironside are buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery in New London, Connecticut, along with her mother.<sup>69</sup>

\* \* \*

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!”<sup>70</sup>

## 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 Stoeckl," 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. Stoeckl, *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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

\* \* \*

Sofia Vladimirovna (Golitsyna) Stroganova<sup>5</sup> (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'chikov<sup>6</sup> (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)<sup>7</sup> 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 (*kamerger*). 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 Ulan 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).

\* \* \* \* \*

Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev<sup>8</sup> (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 Maklotin. 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.<sup>9</sup>

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. 12<sup>th</sup> [1846], NYPL: AWPDP, 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: *Stcherbinine –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. Istorii 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 kraï: 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 èpokhi 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, *Dvorianskie 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 mezhdū 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;<sup>1</sup> 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”;<sup>2</sup> “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.”<sup>3</sup> 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.”<sup>4</sup> In his sixteen years as superintendent, “he built up the Military Academy from an elementary school to a model seminary of science and soldiership.”<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.”<sup>8</sup> 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.”<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.”<sup>13</sup> 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.”<sup>14</sup>

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.”<sup>15</sup> 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.”<sup>16</sup> 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.”<sup>17</sup> They sailed on the Packet Ship *Liverpool* on 22 December 1843.<sup>18</sup>

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.”<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

Although Thayer “was going to Europe primarily for his health,” his intention was “also to visit points of greatest interest to the military.”<sup>21</sup> He was supplied by the Ordnance Office with a list of “objects requiring [his] attention,”<sup>22</sup> but it was suggested that “he might have a ‘Carte Blanche’ in relation to all Military information.”<sup>23</sup> 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.”<sup>24</sup> 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.”<sup>25</sup> 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.”<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> They traveled through parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland.<sup>28</sup> Thayer wrote a friend that Parker “accompanied me everywhere except to Greece & Egypt & a part of Italy.”<sup>29</sup>

Thayer, improved in health, arrived back in New York on 2 June 1846.<sup>30</sup> 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.”<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.”<sup>33</sup> 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.”<sup>34</sup> He returned to a secluded life in Braintree, Massachusetts, where he died at the age of eighty-seven.<sup>35</sup>

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.<sup>36</sup>

## 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).<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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)<sup>4</sup> 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).

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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.<sup>5</sup> 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.

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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)<sup>6</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>7</sup>

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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.”<sup>8</sup> He was called Judge Abbott because he was a Justice of the Peace.<sup>9</sup> 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)<sup>10</sup> 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).

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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."<sup>11</sup>

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.

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Joseph Gardner Swift (Nantucket Island, MA 31 December 1783 – Geneva, NY 21 July 1865; see Image 11)<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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).

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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 Swift<sup>14</sup> (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 of 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>16</sup>

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),<sup>17</sup> 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)<sup>18</sup> 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 *Brandywine* 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.

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William Gibbs McNeill (Wilmington, NC 3 October 1801 – Brooklyn 16 February 1853; see Image 31)<sup>20</sup> 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).<sup>21</sup> 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. Cammann<sup>22</sup> (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.

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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.

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Mary Isabella McNeill (19 August 1823 – 24 October 1867; see Image 32)<sup>23</sup> 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.

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Catherine Julia McNeill (Newark, NJ 26 December 1825 – Staten Island, NY 20 October 1897; see Image 33)<sup>24</sup> 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.

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Little is known also of Eliza Winstanley McNeill (1830 – Brooklyn 22 May 1855).<sup>25</sup> 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.

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William Wyatt McNeill<sup>26</sup> (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.

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Patrick Tracy Jackson McNeill (3 October 1835 – 22 April 1898)<sup>27</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>28</sup> He was a hunchback, having been dropped by a servant when he was a baby.<sup>29</sup> 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."<sup>30</sup> 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."<sup>31</sup>

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."<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> On 2 March 1846, the court "upheld the validity of Kingsley's 1843 will."<sup>34</sup> Martha McNeill's further "appeals to Florida's higher courts ... also failed."<sup>35</sup>

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.”<sup>36</sup> 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,”<sup>37</sup> 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.”<sup>38</sup> 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.”<sup>39</sup> 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.”<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup>

Charles Johnston McNeill married a mulatto woman named Elizabeth Coffee (St. Augustine, FL c. 1828 – Jacksonville FL 23 August 1898).<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup> 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.”<sup>44</sup>

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.”<sup>45</sup> She did not, however, wish to live in the South for reasons she did not give.<sup>46</sup>

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.”<sup>47</sup>

He was one of the beneficiaries of his half-sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill’s, will in 1863, receiving £200.<sup>48</sup>

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.”<sup>49</sup>

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.”<sup>50</sup>

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!"<sup>51</sup> 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,<sup>52</sup> 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, MD<sup>53</sup> (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.<sup>54</sup> 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)<sup>55</sup> 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)<sup>56</sup> 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)<sup>57</sup> 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 relatives<sup>58</sup> 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 cousins<sup>59</sup> 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 Vallance<sup>60</sup> 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,”<sup>61</sup> 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<sup>t</sup> Petersburg. November 28<sup>th</sup> 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.](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* [Rohdewald 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*<sup>1</sup>

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).<sup>2</sup> 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).<sup>3</sup>

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.”<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> “In 1835 he and his partner, George Gillingham, took over the company shops at Mount Clare.”<sup>6</sup> “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.”<sup>7</sup>

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.”<sup>78</sup> 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.”<sup>79</sup> Harrison invited Winans “to participate with him in the negotiations.”<sup>80</sup> They were awarded the contract, for some three million dollars, which they “signed on December 27, 1843/January 8, 1844.”<sup>81</sup> The contract was for six years.<sup>82</sup> 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.”<sup>83</sup> 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.”<sup>84</sup> She was the daughter of George Revillon (1802 – 24 March 1859) and Marguerite Louise (Bonjour) Revillon.<sup>85</sup> “Her father [was] at the head of a large type foundry” in St. Petersburg and had resided there from about 1837.<sup>86</sup> She

did “not speak English and Mr. Wynans knowledge of French [was] limited, but they both [had] some knowledge of the Russian language.”<sup>17</sup> They were married on 11/23 August 1847 “in [both] the British and American Chapel [see Image 125] and the Catholic Church.”<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> Their second son, Ross Revillon (1850–1912), was also born in Russia.<sup>20</sup>

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),<sup>21</sup> 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.”<sup>22</sup> “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.”<sup>23</sup> “Although the firm ... remained legally in existence until October, 1850,” Eastwick left Russia in May 1849, after a quarrel with Harrison and Thomas Winans.<sup>24</sup> 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.”<sup>25</sup>

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.<sup>26</sup> Nor was he obliged to act upon advice from either of them, unless that partner returned to live in Russia.<sup>27</sup>

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.”<sup>28</sup> All became very rich.<sup>29</sup>

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.”<sup>30</sup> He also built a villa at Newport, which he called “Bleak House.”<sup>31</sup> Two more children were born: William (2 March 1852 – 9 December 1871) and Celeste Marguerite (1855 – February 1925). George died in August 1851.<sup>32</sup> 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.”<sup>33</sup> 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).<sup>34</sup> 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).<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup>

In 1862, “a consortium of French capitalists won the ‘remount’ contract through a lower bid,”<sup>37</sup> and William Lewis Winans settled permanently in England. “In 1865, the Russian government, dissatisfied with [the French],” invited the Winanses “to resubmit their bid.”<sup>38</sup> 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.”<sup>39</sup> In 1868, the Russian government bought them out, “reimburs[ing] them for their outlay [and] paying them a bonus of several million dollars.”<sup>40</sup>

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.<sup>41</sup> At his death, he left an estate of over £20 million.<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup>

\* \* \*

The biography of George William Whistler in the 1850s and 1860s<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> Louisa Ann Emilie Ducatel (bap. 6 November 1836) married on 14 January 1863 Henry R. McNally.<sup>48</sup> The third Ducatel daughter, who did not marry, was Josephine (Maryland 1842 – Baltimore, MD 13 April 1867).<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> Mary died on 25 February 1852, and Eliza died, too, some six weeks later.<sup>51</sup> There were doubts as to whether the baby would survive, but he did.<sup>52</sup>

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).<sup>53</sup> 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).<sup>54</sup>

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.<sup>55</sup> 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.”<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> The Haden children doted on a daguerreotype of him that Anna Whistler brought them when she visited Debo in England in 1852.<sup>60</sup> She and Debo's family hoped George William would come to England for Christmas 1852 and bring Georgie with him.<sup>61</sup> In 1858, George Worthen was having his portrait painted by Giuseppe Fagnani (1819–1873), who was also painting one of Mary (Ducatel) Whistler.<sup>62</sup> The death of George William Whistler in 1869 brought, in Anna Whistler's mind, "a cloud over the orphans future,"<sup>63</sup> but George William Whistler had provided for George Worthen in his will equally with the children of his second marriage.<sup>64</sup> 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."<sup>65</sup> 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."<sup>66</sup>

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.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> His middle name, “Worthen,” is incorrectly incised on his grave monument as “Warthen” and his date of death as July 1908.<sup>69</sup>

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 Willam 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.<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> But, as his father-in-law, Ross Winans, was planning to move to England, George did not wish to live in the United States.<sup>72</sup>

On 24 March / 5 April 1867, George William Whistler drew up a will in St. Petersburg, revoking all others.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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."<sup>75</sup>

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.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

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 o'clock [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<sup>?</sup> – 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](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 Cyclopaedia 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 27<sup>th</sup> [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 22<sup>nd</sup>, 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 8<sup>th</sup> [18]51, LC: P-W, box 34, fols. 33–34; Anna Whistler to Well darling Jemie Pomfret Thursday p-m Nov. 13<sup>th</sup> [18]51, GUL: Whistler Collection, W402; Anna Whistler to My own dear Jemie Pomfret tuesday night Feb. 10<sup>th</sup>, W406; Anna Whistler to My own dear James Pomfret March 3<sup>rd</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> [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 6<sup>th</sup> 1851 Wednesday morning, W394; Anna Whistler to My beloved Jemie Stonington Wednesday Aug 27<sup>th</sup> [18]51, W395; Anna Whistler to dearest Jemie Pomfret Dec 17<sup>th</sup> 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 26<sup>th</sup> [1854], GUL: Whistler Collection, W441).

54. Anna Whistler to my own dear Debo Scarsdale Dec. 10<sup>th</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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. 24<sup>th</sup> 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W418; Anna Whistler to my own dear precious Willie 62 Sloane St Feb 27<sup>th</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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. 16<sup>th</sup> 1867).

59. Anna Whistler to my dear Jemie Scarsdale Thursday p-m July 29<sup>th</sup> [1852], GUL: Whistler Collection, W411; Anna Whistler to My own loved Jemie Scarsdale Scarsdale Sunday night Sept. 12<sup>th</sup> 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. 28<sup>th</sup> [1853], GUL: Whistler Collection, W423)

60. Anna Whistler to George William, William McNeill and James Whistler 62 Sloane St Nov 18<sup>th</sup> 1852 Thursday night, GUL: Whistler Collection, W417.

61. Anna Whistler to my dearest Jemie 62 Sloane St Wed. Nov. 24<sup>th</sup> 1852, GUL: Whistler Collection, W418; Anna Whistler to my own dear precious Willie 62 Sloane St Feb 27<sup>th</sup> 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 7<sup>th</sup> 1870, entry for Sat 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 27<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> [18]57, GUL: Whistler Collection, W474).
71. Anna Whistler to My Dearest friend & Sister Margaret 2 Lindsey Row Chelsea London Monday night Dec<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 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 25<sup>th</sup> [1865], GUL: Whistler Collection, W520; Anna Whistler to my dearest Debo 34 Schloss Strass Coblentz Wednesday Jan 24<sup>th</sup> 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 M<sup>r</sup> Harrison 2 Lindsey Row, Chelsea, London, S.W. May 14<sup>th</sup> 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 M<sup>r</sup> Harrison SW 2 Lindsey Row Chelsea London Feb<sup>ry</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1870, LC: P-C, box 34, fols. 53–54.
76. Anna Whistler to My dear Mr Gamble 2 Lindsey House Chelsea London Sept 7<sup>th</sup> 1870, entry for Sat 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 5<sup>th</sup> 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]<sup>1</sup>) 27 September 1788 – Preston, Lancashire 20 August 1857; see Image 40)<sup>2</sup> 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)<sup>3</sup> and Alice (Clunie)<sup>4</sup> McNeill (Scotland 14 July 1757<sup>5</sup> – Wilmington, NC 12 November 1791),<sup>6</sup> who were married on 29 August 1784 at Whitekirk, East Lothian.<sup>7</sup> After the death of their mother, Eliza and her younger<sup>8</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup> 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),<sup>10</sup> of Garvock and Pitliver, Fife. A second date of 1 June 1812, Dunfermline, Fife, is also given for their marriage.<sup>11</sup> 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).<sup>12</sup> Eliza married secondly, on 1 June 1825 at Edinburgh, St. Cuthberts,<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> that Anna Whistler came in 1829, meeting them for the first time and staying about eighteen months.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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,”<sup>17</sup> they were granted to her sister, Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill, of Preston, on the consent of the executors of John Winstanley's estate.<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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.”<sup>20</sup> 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.”<sup>21</sup> 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.”<sup>22</sup> At his death in 1859 at the age of eighty-two,<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> 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)<sup>26</sup> 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,<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> She included North Carolina in her travels. She set out for a visit to North Carolina via New York on 27 September 1836.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> She had returned to England before 19 June 1838.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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."<sup>36</sup> She was buried from the house of Mrs. Rodger, whom she had known in Russia, when the latter was Miss Sophia Morgan of Edinburgh.<sup>37</sup> Her likeness, drawn by James Whistler in 1844, shows a plain, stout woman with

eyeglasses (see Image 39).<sup>38</sup> 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.”<sup>39</sup> 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.”<sup>40</sup> 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.<sup>41</sup>

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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),<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.”<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> “In 1863 he resigned the vicarage of Poulton on his appointment to the rectory of Eaglesfield, Durham.”<sup>46</sup> He married on 1 July 1833 at Rousham, Suffolk, Lucy Brooke (1812 or 1813 – Southport, Lancashire 6 September 1899), daughter of R. Bevan, Esq.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> 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.<sup>51</sup> 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.”<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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),<sup>54</sup> 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)<sup>55</sup> married Richard Stuart Picard, Esq. (bap. 16 January 1807 – 26 November 1887)<sup>56</sup> of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorland, on 16 May 1835, at Bolton Castle cum Redmire.<sup>57</sup> In the 1841 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, Richard S. Picard's occupation is given as "Chemist and Druggist."<sup>58</sup> 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."<sup>59</sup> In the 1861 Census for Kirkby Lonsdale, he is also listed as "landed proprietor."<sup>60</sup> In the 1871 Census, he is listed as "land owner."<sup>61</sup> In the 1881 Census, he is a "widower" and his occupation is "land and dividends."<sup>62</sup> He was one of the executors of John Winstanley's will.<sup>63</sup> 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."<sup>64</sup> In the 1881 Census, he is listed as "solicitor" and "unmarried."<sup>65</sup> His effects, when he died, amounted to almost £57,000.<sup>66</sup>

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.<sup>67</sup> They had a son, William Ryder (31 March 1830 – buried 1 October 1834), baptized at Wensley, Yorkshire.<sup>68</sup> 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).<sup>69</sup> The children were Mary Jane Picard (bap. St. Andrew Presbyterian, Liverpool 15 May 1838 – Gateacre, near Liverpool 8 September 1892)<sup>70</sup> and Margaret Stuart Picard (bap. South Leith 27 April 1841 – 10 May 1883).<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup> 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).<sup>73</sup> “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.”<sup>74</sup>

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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.<sup>75</sup> 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.

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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),<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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),<sup>78</sup> who married on 25 August 1844 William Cragg (c. 1812 – 13 July 1898).<sup>79</sup> After his wife’s death, he remarried.<sup>80</sup> 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.<sup>81</sup> 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),<sup>82</sup> 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.”<sup>83</sup>

Cousin Anne Clunie (Berwick on Tweed 10 June 1793 – Edinburgh 18 May 1882)<sup>84</sup> is recorded on several occasions in Anna Whistler’s diaries as a visitor in the home of Eliza and John Winstanley.<sup>85</sup> She was



the daughter of John (b. 30 September 1755) and Wilhelmina (Rutherford) Clunie (b. Jedburgh 1761).<sup>86</sup> John Clunie was the brother of Eliza Winstanley and Alicia McNeill's mother.<sup>87</sup> 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).<sup>88</sup> Rutherford Ainslie Clunie, a corn merchant, married Frances Mein at Berwick on 12 August 1816.<sup>89</sup> Their son, Thomas Mein Clunie (1827 – 1 April 1898),<sup>90</sup> Anne Clunie's nephew, is mentioned in the diaries as helping in Liverpool during the wedding preparations for the Whistler–Haden marriage in 1847.<sup>91</sup> He was then twenty years old. Like his father, he became a corn merchant.<sup>92</sup> He married on 28 October 1854 Charlotte Ann Bowen.<sup>93</sup>

## 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 regretted 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 Chaigeley 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] 29<sup>th</sup> [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 19<sup>th</sup> 1849, LC: P-W, box 34; Anna Whistler to Mrs. Harrison, 62 Sloane St. June 20<sup>th</sup> [1849]; Anna Whistler to Mr. Harrison, Saturday evening. Preston. July 7<sup>th</sup> 1849; Anna Whistler to Mr. & Mrs. Harrison, Fleetwood. Monday. July 15<sup>th</sup> 1849.
36. William Charnley to "Madam," Preston 23<sup>rd</sup> 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<sup>y</sup> 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<sup>y</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> [1852], GUL: Whistler Collection, W406.
76. Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 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 Scoticae*, 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 Scoticae*, 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 10<sup>th</sup>, 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)<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> His mother was Helen (Nicholson) Wood (Didcot, Berkshire 17 April 1780 – Macclesfield 2 March 1833).<sup>3</sup> Charles attended Hipperholm School near Halifax.<sup>4</sup> “He was a good classical scholar and could speak five modern languages.”<sup>5</sup> On 3 September 1834, he married at Prestbury Lydia Procter (Cranage 26 November 1810 – Clevedon 22 April 1880; see Image 272).<sup>6</sup> Lydia (Procter) Wood “was the granddaughter of the Rev. James Crabtree, Curate of an absentee Rector at Gawsorth 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.”<sup>7</sup> 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.”<sup>8</sup> 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).<sup>9</sup> 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.”<sup>10</sup> 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).<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> The same wealthy friend from Cheshire then offered to lend Charles Wood £2000 so that he could participate in this venture.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> 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.”<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup>

Charles Wood and his family went to St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1843.<sup>21</sup> They are listed in 1845 as living at 30 Angliiskii Prospekt (English Prospect),<sup>22</sup> which was in the Second Ward of the Fourth Admiralty District.<sup>23</sup> Living with them was a governess named Miss McMaster, whose given names were probably Anne Caroline.<sup>24</sup>

The Woods remained in Russia “for ten years and [Charles Wood] made a tolerable fortune with which he retired.”<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup> Lydia (Procter) Wood survived him by some twenty years; she died on 22 April 1880 at Clevedon.<sup>28</sup>

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 20<sup>th</sup> Jan'y 1834 Cha<sup>s</sup> 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: Peregiska 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*.

## APPENDIX F

“CHORNYI TSVET” (ROMANS)<sup>1</sup>

When Debo sang a popular romance of the period, “The Color Black,” at Col. Todd’s birthday dinner party on 22 January 1844, “she surprised M<sup>r</sup>. Law by her correct pronunciation” (entry of January 1844, NYPL: AWPD, Part I).

**·ЧЕРНЫЙ ЦВѢТЬ·**

*Allegretto moderato.*

CHANT  
Чер- ный цвѣтъ мрачнѣй цвѣтъ, ты мнѣ милъ на все- гда, и цѣ-  
люсь, въ дру- гой цвѣтъ не влюблюсь ни ко- гда. Не принудятъ мѣ, не оставятъ ме, ни разлюбить чернѣй цвѣтъ, свидѣтъ въ сѣнѣхъ и нѣтъ! Отъ че-  
го! спростъ свѣтъ я влюблю въ дѣвчѣтѣхъ, я скажу чер- ный

PIANO

The image shows a page from a music manuscript. At the top, the title "·ЧЕРНЫЙ ЦВѢТЬ·" is centered. Below it, the tempo marking "Allegretto moderato." is written. The score is divided into two parts: "CHANT" (vocal line) and "PIANO" (piano accompaniment). The vocal line consists of four staves of music with Russian lyrics written below the notes. The piano accompaniment consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with chords and melodic lines. The paper is aged and shows some staining.

цвѣтъ, цвѣтъ по дру- ги мо- ся и ска- жу чер- вым цвѣтъ, цвѣтъ по  
 дру- ги мо- ся.

2<sup>й</sup> КУПЛ.:  
 И пусть други, милый другъ Но за- бу- деть мо- ня, Черный  
 цвѣтъ мрачный цвѣтъ Все лю- бить бу- ду я. У мо- ня мысл о- дна  
 Черный цвѣтъ и о- на Съ ней на вѣкъ я со- лю Мрачу ду- шу сво- ю. Раста-  
 ма- несь ле- жай, О. бле- кушъ въ- черный цвѣтъ, А по- ка въ- чашъ свѣтъ, И влю-  
 бись въ- черный цвѣтъ, А по- ка въ- чашъ свѣтъ, И влюбись въ- черный цвѣтъ...

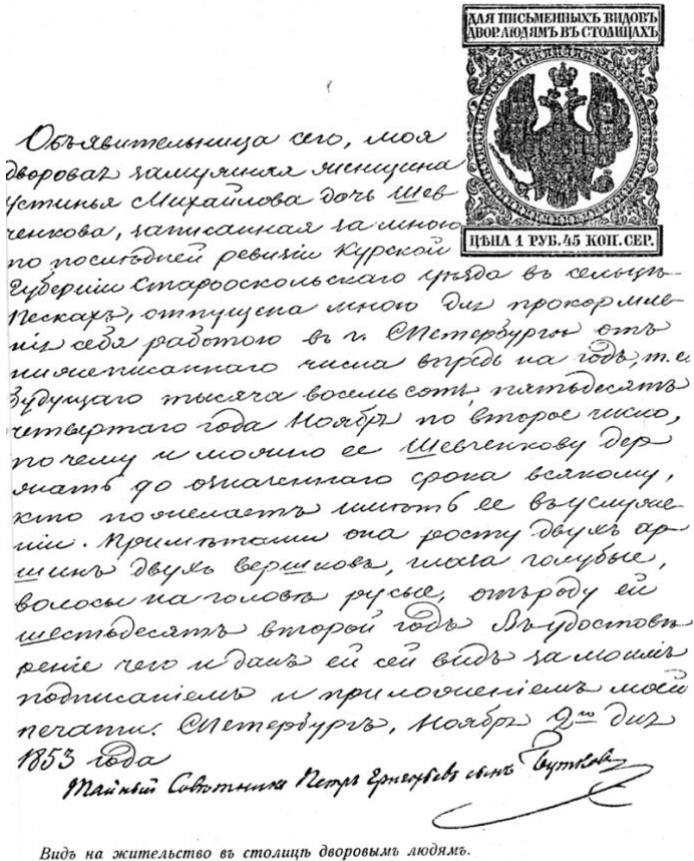
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## NOTE

1. “Chornyi tsvet” (Romans) [“The Color Black” (Love Song)], *Liubimye russkie romansy i pesni dlia odnogo golosa* [Favorite Russian Romances and Songs for Solo Voice]. St. Petersburg: M. Bernadaki.

## APPENDIX G

## PERMISSION FOR SERFS TO LIVE IN THE CITY



I.N. Bozherianov, *Nenskii Prospekt, 1703–1903. Kult'urno-istoricheskii ocherk zhizni S.-Peterburga za dva veka-XVIII i XIX* [*Nenskii Prospekt, 1703–1903: A Cultural-Historical Essay on the Life of St. Petersburg for Two Centuries – 18th and 19th*]. Jubilee ed. 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: A.I. Vil'borg, 1901–1903), vol. 2, p. 445.

## TRANSLATION

The bearer of this, my married female serf, Ustin'ia Mikhailovna, daughter of Shevchenko, registered as mine, according to the most recent census of Kursk Province Staropol'sk Region in the hamlet of Peski, is released by me to earn a living by working in the city of St. Petersburg as of the date cited below for one year, i.e., the coming year one thousand eight hundred fifty-four second November, for which period anyone who wishes to have her, Shevchenko, in service, may do so. Her distinguishing features are: height 2 arshiny 2 vershki,<sup>1</sup> eyes light blue, hair on her head blonde, age 62. In confirmation of which I have given her this permission with my signature and the affixing of my seal.

Privy Councilor Petr son of Grigorii Butkov

On the stamp is written: "For written permissions for serfs in the capital cities Price 1 ruble 45 kopeks silver."

## NOTE

1. An arshin = 28 inches; a vershok = 1¾ inches. The female serf was thus just short of five feet tall.

## APPENDIX H

### SERVICES OF HEIRS FOR *FINLAYS MATRI* AND *MCNEILLS MATRI*<sup>1</sup>

The Service of Heirs is a Scottish law that confirms the legitimacy of the children of a deceased parent, thus making them eligible to be that parent's heir.<sup>2</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Service of Heirs, C22/121, pp. 226–227, SRO; English translation by Laura Moncion, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto.
2. “By the law of Scotland, before an heir can regularly acquire a right to the estate of the ancestor, he ought to be served heir: which is one of the old forms of the law of Scotland proceeding upon a writ, and including in it the decision of a jury fixing the right and character of the heir to the estate of the ancestor” (Sir Thomas Edlyne Tomlins, *The Law-Dictionary, Explaining the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the British Law*, 2 vols. [Edinburgh: John Anderson; London: Saunders and Benning, 1835], vol. 2, s.v. “service of an heir”). See also William Bell, *Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Anderson; London: Saunders and Benning, 1838), pp. 903–907.

N. 10  
 Haec Inquisitio facta fuit in Curia  
 Ballivorum Burgi de Edinburgh septi-  
 die mensis Julij Anno MDCCLXV  
 -Cingentesimo vigesimo quarto, coram  
 honorabili viro Gulielmo Blackwood  
 Armigero uno Ballivorum dicti Burgi  
 per hos probos et fideles homines patres  
 subscriptos Viz: Robertum Brown Jam-  
 -nem Keaton et Josephum Grant sorsum  
 Signetis Regis, Johannem Gibson, Jacobum  
 Laurie, Henricum Horne Greiv, Joan-  
 -nem Hatcherison, Jacobum Malcolm  
 Eberhardum Wallace, Georgium Mitchel  
 Thomam Fortep et Adamum Eden sor-  
 -bes in Edinburgh, Gulielmum Brunton  
 Mercatorem ibid et Majorem Jacobum  
 Laing et Gulielmum Pull Armigerum  
 ambo residentes ibid. Illi jurati dicunt  
 Magno Sacramento interveniente quod  
 quondam Rebecca Edence vidua Finlay  
 quae

Finlay  
 Matri

## LATIN TRANSCRIPTION

No. 16	<p>Hæc Inquisitio facta fuit in Curia          Ballivorum Burgi de Edinburgh sexto          die mensis Julij anno millesimo oc-          -tingentesimo vigesimo quarto, coram          honorabili viro Gulielmo Blackwood          Armigero uno Ballivorum dicti Burgi          per nos probos et fideles homines patriæ          subscriptos viz<sup>1</sup> Robertum Brown, Joan-          -nem Renton et Josephum Grant scribas          Signeto Regio, Joannem Gibson, Jacobum          Laurie, Henricum Horne Greive, Joan-          nem Hutchin<del>son</del>,<sup>2</sup> Jacobum Malcolm,          Ebenezerum Wallace, Georgium Ritchie,          Thomam Fortye et Adamum Paton scri-          -bas in Edinburgh, Gulielmum Brunton          Mercatorem <i>ibid</i><sup>3</sup> et Majorem Jacobum          Laing et Gulielmum Bell armigerum          ambos <i>residen</i><sup>4</sup> <i>ibid</i><sup>5</sup>. Qui jurati dicunt          magno sacramento interveniente quod          quondam Rebecca Clunie alias Finlay</p>
Finlays Matri	quæ

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviation for: *videlicet*

<sup>2</sup> Written as “Hutchinson” with the “n” then crossed out.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviation for: *ibid[em]*

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviation for: *residen[tes]*

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviation for : *ibid[em]*



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

No. 16 – Finlay Mother

This inquiry was made in the court  
of the bailiffs of the burgh<sup>6</sup> of Edinburgh, on the sixth  
day of the month of July eighteen-  
twenty-four, before  
the honourable man William Blackwood  
esquire,<sup>7</sup> one of the bailiffs of the said burgh,  
by us, the undersigned honest men, faithful to the nation,  
namely, the clerks<sup>8</sup> Robert Brown, John  
Renton, and Joseph Grant;  
by the royal seal the clerks John Gibson, Jacob  
Laurie, Henry Horne Greive, John  
Hutchison, Jacob Malcolm,  
Ebenezer Wallace, George Ritchie,  
Thomas Fortye, and Adam Patron  
in Edinburgh; William Brunton  
a merchant in the same place; and Major Jacob  
Laing and William Bell esquire,  
both residing in the same place,  
who, called to witness, declare  
under oath<sup>9</sup> that  
the late Rebecca Clunie, also known as Finlay,

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<sup>6</sup> *burgh*: this word literally means “castle”, “fort”; it can also mean “city” or “borough.”

<sup>7</sup> *armiger*: this word can also mean “soldier” or “squire” (literally “arms-bearer”).

<sup>8</sup> *scribas*: this word can also mean “scribe.”

<sup>9</sup> Literally, “with a great oath taking place”. The word for “oath” used here is *sacramentum*: this word can also mean “sacrament”, “civil suit or process”, “secret or something to be kept secret.”

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qua filia fuit nuperi Reverendi Joan-  
 nis Etonie nonnunquam Evangelij Mi-  
 nistri apud Whitehirk. Mater Sancta  
 Rebecca Fenlay et Gulielmone Fenlay  
<sup>intererat</sup> seu <sup>intererat</sup> nuptiis inter demortuum  
 Georgium Fenlay nonnunquam Com-  
 mander of the Prince Augustus Frede-  
 rich Custom House Butler et dicta Rebe-  
 cam Etonie alias Fenlay Brit ad fi-  
 dem et pacem S. D. N. Regis. Et QUOD  
 dicta Sancta Rebecca Fenlay et Guli-  
 elmina Fenlay sunt legitima et pro-  
 pinquiores heredes portionaria in gene-  
 rali dicta quondam Rebecca Etonie alias  
 Fenlay earum Matris. Et QUOD sunt  
 legitima aetatis. IN CUIUS rei TESTI-  
 monium sigilla quorundam eorum  
 qui dicunt Inquisitioni intererant, cum  
 brevi Regio debite, excuto incluso, ac sigil-  
 lum dicti Ballivi, presentibus scriptis  
 appensa loco, die, mense et Anno praes-  
 scriptis. Extrac<sup>t</sup> de Libris Actonum Cu-  
 riae dicti Burghi per me (sic) Subscribitur  
 Carlisle Bell Cony<sup>s</sup> Sck. 9<sup>to</sup> Julij 1824

Haec Inquisitio facta fuit iisdem  
 loco et tempore, coram eodem iudice, et  
 per easdem Inquisitionis personas ut  
 in Protocollo immediate praecedente,  
 Illi jurati dicunt magno Sacramen-  
 to interveniente QUOD quondam Magis-  
 tra Alicia Etonie alias McNeill qua McNeill  
 filia fuit nuperi Reverendi Joannes Mulri  
 Etonie nonnunquam Evangelij Ministri  
 apud Whitehirk. (Mater Magistra Eliza-  
 betha McNeill alias Melwood vidua de-  
 -cessa

## LATIN TRANSCRIPTION

quæ filia fuit nuperi Reverendi Joan-  
 nis Clunie nonnunquam Evangelij Mi-  
 nistri apud Whitekirk Mater Janetæ  
 Rebeccæ Finlay et Gulielminæ Finlay  
 filiarum procreat<sup>10</sup> ex nuptiis inter demortuum  
 Georgium Finlay nonnunquam lie<sup>11</sup> Com-  
 mander of the Prince Augustus Frede-  
 rick Custom House Cutter et dict<sup>12</sup> Rebec-  
 -cam Clunie alias Finlay obiit ad fi-  
 -dem et pacem S. D. N. <sup>13</sup> Regis. Et quod  
 dictæ Janetta Rebecca Finlay et Guli-  
 elmina Finlay sunt legitimæ et pro-  
 pinquiores hæredes portionariæ in gene-  
 rali dictæ quond<sup>14</sup> Rebeccæ Clunie alias  
 Finlay earum matris. Et quod sunt  
 legitimæ ætatis. In cuius rei testi-  
 monium sigilla quorundam eorum  
 qui dict<sup>15</sup> Inquisitioni intererant, cum  
 brevi Regio debite executo incluso, ac sigil-  
 -lum dicti Ballivi, præsentibus sunt  
 appensa loco, die, mense et anno præ-

<sup>10</sup> *procreat* written in the line above and inserted into the text in this place.

<sup>11</sup> I can't make this out completely from the handwriting, but I'm guessing it is some kind of abbreviation relating to this person's rank as Commander of what seems to be a ship (?), perhaps an abbreviation for "lieutenant" (if this fits with your knowledge of other comparable documents, e.g. it is also customary for "lieutenant" to be shortened and written beginning with a lower-case letter, as this is, in English-language documents of this kind and period).

<sup>12</sup> Abbreviation for: *dict[am]*

<sup>13</sup> Abbreviation for: *S[ancti] D[ominum] N[ostri]*

<sup>14</sup> Abbreviation for: *quond[am]*

<sup>15</sup> Abbreviation for: *dict[ae]*

scriptis. Extract<sup>16</sup> de Libris actorum Curia dicti Burgi per me (sic subscribitur)

Carlyle Bell Conjt<sup>17</sup> Clk(?).<sup>18</sup>

9<sup>no</sup> Julij 1824

Haec Inquisitio facta fuit iisdem loco et tempore, coram eodem iudice, et per easdem Inquisitionis personas ut in Retornatu immediate praecedente, qui jurati dicunt magno sacramento interveniente, quod quondam Magistra Alicia Clunie alias McNiell quae filia fuit nuperi Reverendi Joannis Clunie nonnunquam Evangelij Ministri apud Whitekirk (mater Magistræ Elizæ Isabellæ McNiell alias Welwood, viduae de -cessi

No. 17

McNiells

Matri

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<sup>16</sup> Abbreviation for: *Extract[um]*

<sup>17</sup> *conjt*: this might be an abbreviation of *conicit* (i.e. “Carlyle Bell concludes/assigns/classifies”) but since I suspect it is part of this formula (which I am not familiar with) I can’t say with any certainty.

<sup>18</sup> I can’t make this out either, but I would guess that it has something to do either with this person’s rank or position, or is part of the formula of this kind of nineteenth-century record. This might be short for “clerk.”

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

who was the daughter of the late<sup>19</sup> Reverend John Clunie, sometime minister of the Gospel at Whitekirk, and the mother of Janet Rebecca Finlay and Wilhelmina Finlay, daughters whom she begot from the marriage between the late George Finlay, sometime lieutenant Commander of the Prince Augustus Frederick Custom House Cutter, and the said Rebecca Clunie a.k.a. Finlay, died in the faith and peace of the Holy Lord Our King. And that the said Janet Rebecca Finlay and Wilhelmina Finlay are the legitimate and closest heirs, beneficiaries in general of the said late Rebecca Clunie a.k.a. Finlay, their mother, and that they are legitimate forever. In testimony of which matter the seals of those who were present for the said inquiry, with the king's letter, duly executed, included, and the seal of the said bailiff, by those present are attached at the place and on the day, month, and year as written above. Extracted from the Books of the acts of the Court of the said burgh by me (thus signed) Carlyle Bell Conjt Clk(?).

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<sup>19</sup> *nuper*: this word can also mean "recent".

No. 17 – McNeill Mother

This inquiry was made in the same place and at the same time, before the same judge, and by the same people of the inquiry as above,<sup>20</sup> who, called to witness, declare under oath that the late Mistress<sup>21</sup> Alice Clunie also known as McNiell, who was the daughter of the late Reverend John Clunie, sometime minister of the Gospel at Whitekirk (the mother of Mistress Eliza Isabella McNiell also known as Wellwood, the widow of the

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<sup>20</sup> literally something like “in returning to the directly preceding”, i.e. the same witnesses as the previous document.

<sup>21</sup> *magistra*: this word can also mean a female “instructor”, “teacher”, “master”.

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-cesu Roberto Willwood Armigeri de Gar-  
 -voch. et Alicie Margarete Caroline M<sup>o</sup>  
 -Niell filiam procreat e nuptiis inter  
 Doctorem Danielem M<sup>o</sup> Niell nonna-  
 -quam Medicum apud Wilmington in  
 Carolina Boreali nunc residentem in New  
 -York et quondam Magistram Aliciam (Eli-  
 -sie alias M<sup>o</sup> Niell ejus sponsam) sicut  
 ad fidem et pacem S. D. N. Regis: Et quod  
 dicta Magistra Eliza Isabella M<sup>o</sup> Niell et  
 Alicia Margareta Caroline M<sup>o</sup> Niell sunt  
 legitime et propinquiores heredes forti-  
 -onarie in generali decem quondam Ma-  
 -gistra Alicie Elisee alias M<sup>o</sup> Niell ea-  
 -rum Matris: Et quod sunt legitime  
 etatis: Immo recte memorum  
 he ut in Protocollo preedem (sic sub-  
 -scribitur) Carlisle Bell Com<sup>o</sup> Clk.

9<sup>no</sup> July 1821

## LATIN TRANSCRIPTION

	-cessi Roberti Wellwood armigeri de Gar-
	-vock et Aliciæ Margaretæ Carolinæ Mc-
	-Niell filiarum procreat e <sup>22</sup> nuptiis inter
	Doctorem Danielem McNiell nonnun-
	-quam Medicum apud Wilmington in
	Carolina Boreæli nunc residen <sup>23</sup> in New-
	-York et quond <sup>24</sup> Magistram Aliciam Clu-
	-nie alias McNiell ejus sponsam) obiit
	ad fidem et pacem S. D. N. <sup>25</sup> Regis. Et quod
	dictæ Magistra Eliza Isabella McNiell et
	Alicia Margareta Carolina McNiell sunt
	legitimæ et propinquiores hæredes porti-
	-onariæ in generali dictæ quond <sup>26</sup> Ma-
	-gistræ Aliciæ Clunie alias McNiell ea-
	-rum matris; Et quod sunt legitimæ
	ætatis. In cujus rei testimonium
	7 <sup>27</sup> ut in Retornatu præceden <sup>28</sup> (sic sub-
9 <sup>no</sup> Julij 1824	-scribitur) Carlyle Bell Conjunct Clk [?].

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<sup>22</sup> Abbreviation for: *e[x]*

<sup>23</sup> Abbreviation for: *residen[tem]*

<sup>24</sup> Abbreviation for: *quond[am]*

<sup>25</sup> Abbreviation for: *S[ancti] D[omini] N[ostri]*

<sup>26</sup> Abbreviation for: *quond[am]*

<sup>27</sup> What is written in the original text here looks like an abbreviation known as the “Tironian et” (I found this symbol online; feel free to change it to another one if that is more appropriate for your purposes). It is not technically a letter or a set of letters. It expands simply to et (“and”).

<sup>28</sup> Abbreviation for: *præceden[te]*



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION

late Robert Wellwood esquire of Garvock; and of Alice Margaret Caroline McNiell, daughters whom she begot from the marriage between Doctor Daniel McNiell, sometime medic in Wilmington in North Carolina, now living in New York, and the late Mistress Alice Clunie aka McNiell his wife) died in the faith and peace of the Holy Lord Our King. And that the said Mistress Eliza Isabella McNiell and Alice Margaret Caroline McNiell are the legitimate and closest heirs, beneficiaries in general of the said late Mistress Alice Clunie aka McNiell their mother, and that they are legitimate forever. In testimony of which matter also as above (thus signed) Carlyle Bell Conjunct Clk[?].

## APPENDIX I

### A LETTER FROM MARTHA (KINGSLEY) MCNEILL AND ANNA (MCNEILL) WHISTLER TO CATHERINE (MCNEILL) PALMER

The following letter was written jointly by Martha (Kingsley) McNeill and Anna (McNeill) Whistler to their daughter and sister, Catherine (McNeill) Palmer, on 12 January 1852, some three months before the death (on 7 April) of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill. The opportunity to thus juxtapose the similar styles of their expressions shows clearly how great the moral and religious influence of mother on daughter was.

This photocopy of portions of the letter and transcription of the complete letter were provided (26 March 1976) by Josephine Caldwell (d. March 1986), great-granddaughter of Charles Johnston and Eliza (Coffee) McNeill. All attempts to locate the originals have been unsuccessful.

THE TWO SHEETS OF THE HANDWRITTEN LETTER

Comfort, Jan 31<sup>st</sup> 1852

①

Another year has passed, and thus allowed so many days of the year to intervene without and hind expression of my heart's desire for every happy return to your abode and dear presence. Altho' mind I could not say would be cheered by it only and I am saying "as well will" but I will not complain so gravely after a long absence. I am amply compensated by one of your highly prized satisfactory accounts of savings and things of all your precious ones at home my own health and who knows what happy things this day has may be the bearer of - The parcel sent by John Brinkman we have not long since had been received as these forwarded from Boston towards the city of hope, some to know of the comforts its contents have afforded our darling to all of whom say much of your many kisses, and good wishes for sweet stands, and grand mother - We and will be the extreme cold, and slippery walking, confine us not only to the house as both back and foot are impossible, and impossible for us to walk from the door to the gate had I an offer of riding and yesterday paid many lonely hours, although I continued from my bed from half past ten until three when you returned with the returned from having one good Boston & bought two of his 3 volume (for my good) which this morning read with other portions of scripture & prayers which ends one day or which I hope in some way from which to be able to be with the comfort in our retirement to sleep we need which brings much to pass, I am here before our great month, each night I find it with other varieties more considerable health - Margaret Hill is her last fellow says, the weather has promised Anna's cottage to be finished by April by which time I suppose it will be in readiness so that to be out of the way in March, not in yours, my child I trust as in various ways I can find, and shall try by the society of my own, & the people of dear old Amherst. We are enjoying the good weather although it is very cold, & windy, but health, cheer, and we feel good and as for the school for innumerable blessings - I must not forget to mention every unexpected arrival the other day from Mr. Flegg, & those who arrived just after our dinner when the dinner was barely cooked in the kitchen (they do not know what a world of pains it was with my feet in winter thinking to ourselves what all this was worth - they have so quiet comfortable afterwards. I had some in light spirit of so was like they enjoyed themselves and took a great afternoon on the way to Denmark Hill where he was engaged to deliver a lecture at Boston & promised themselves much happiness and with it Brooklyn. This is a beautiful sermon his church where he is quite an essential character - so took a lot of much interest by his congregation and a most favorable of the Camp who says he has had the best of the time - your wife about double when I say what a fullness of addition - her pleasure which in Madam Brinkman who's just better than I have just announced - her pleasure which perhaps had to say so small joy been realized by your last letter - my good child for which occurred my own than Helen's brought it from the office just as a woman's case to our dear which I enjoyed with admirable appetite which is always good.



## TRANSCRIPTION OF THE COMPLETE LETTER

The following is the transcription of the complete letter provided by Josephine Caldwell. I have indicated, based both on Josephine Caldwell's comments and on textual content, which parts of the letter were written by Anna Whistler, and which by Marth (Kingsley) McNeill.

This part of the letter was written by Martha (Kingsley) McNeill to her daughter, Kate:

Pomfret, Jan 12, 1852

Another year has passed and I have allowed as many days of the new to intervene without one line expressive of my heart's desire for very happy returns to you all, my own dear precious children. Mine, I need not say, would be cheered by, if only one line saying "we are all well" but I will not complain as generally after a long silence, I am amply compensated by one of your highly prized satisfactory accounts of sayings and doings of all your precious ones at home, my own Kate, and who knows what happy tidings this day's mail will be the bearer of. The parcel sent by John Brookman<sup>1</sup> we know must long since have been received as it was forwarded from Boston immediately, & we hope soon to know of the comforts its contents have afforded our darlings to all of whom say much and give many kisses and good wishes from Aunt Anna and Grandmother.

We are well but the extreme cold and slippery walking confines me entirely to the house as both back and front are impossible and impossible for me to walk from the door to the gate, had I an offer of riding, and yesterday passed many lonely hours – although comforted with my books from half past ten until three when your sister and Willie<sup>2</sup> returned from hearing our good pastor<sup>3</sup> and brought two of his sermons (for my good) which the former read with other portions of scripture and prayers which end our days & which pass in sameness from week to week, but we have the comfort in our retirement to ply our needle which brings much to pass & we hope before our great move to effect much and give place to other varieties more conducive to health. Margaret Hill<sup>4</sup> in her last letter says the workmen have promised Anna's Cottage to be finished by April by which time I suppose all will be in readiness as I

hope to be out of the way in March, not in yours, my child I trust, as in various ways I can assist and shall enjoy the society of your pets and the prattle of darling Anna.<sup>5</sup> We are enjoying the fine sunshine although very cold and windy but health cheers, and we feel great cause for thankfulness and innumerable blessings.

I must not forget to mention a very unexpected visit the other day from Mr. Flagg & Eliza<sup>6</sup> who arrived just after our dinner when your sister was busily engaged in the kitchen (Mary B.<sup>7</sup> not having returned), I upstairs with my feet in water thinking to ourselves when all is done we will have a quiet comfortable afternoon. Eliza was in high spirits and so was he. They enjoyed themselves until the next afternoon on their way to Danielson Falls<sup>8</sup> where he was engaged to deliver a lecture and promised themselves much happiness in a visit to Brooklyn. Eliza is a bright star in his church where she is quite an intellectual character, is looked up to, and much beloved by his congregation, and a vast favourite of Mrs. Camp<sup>9</sup> who says he loves her best of the two. You will almost doubt when I say what a flattering addition I have to my correspondents in Madam Vinton<sup>10</sup> whose last letter I have just answered. My pleasing anticipations have, to my no small joy, been realized by your last letter, my good child, for which receive my warm thanks.

Willie brought it from the office just as we were going to our dinner which I enjoyed with a double appetite which is always good, and as you sister wishes to add to this, I will resign my pen to her's more able with the blessing of your affectionate Mother – M. McN.

This part of the letter was written by Anna (McNeill) Whistler to her sister Kate.

Our hominey<sup>11</sup> has arrived in time as our rice is just out. Our dear Charles<sup>12</sup> was well a short time since and begged love to you and the Doctor<sup>13</sup> who will again receive my dear love. I take it for granted my dear George<sup>14</sup> rec'd the pen wiper from Mary B. Mother sent one to Don.<sup>15</sup> The bag was from Mary B. to darling Annie, the cherry color and white ear warmer from Nellie to Annie and the two white ones from me to Julie and Emma.<sup>16</sup> Nellie's new blue corded silk quilted hood is so

becoming to her. I trust God will ward off contagion. The only disease I dread is small pox.

Mother, our beloved, has left me to tell you, my dearest Kate, of my children, judging of your interest by my own for yours. Oh, my Sister I unite my earnest thanksgiving with yours to our Father in Heaven that the illness which has increased your winter cares has not lessened your sources of home joys, for while I am but a sojourner, you have the substantial comfort of a settled home; long may it be thus your lot, with a husband to sustain you in the path of duty. Debo's<sup>17</sup> letter will be more satisfying than aught I can extract. Mrs. Park<sup>18</sup> has ere this the due for taste and neatness in dressing the doll. Tell Emma with my love I hope she will reward you for all your care of her as my precious daughter<sup>19</sup> has ever done, how sacred is the bond between us! She is so kind in the fondest of my memories, of home scenes passed away from me. George<sup>20</sup> is equally dutiful and affectionate, poor fellow! I tenderly sympathize in his anxiety now because of our gentle Mary's<sup>21</sup> feeble frame of body. He fears she must suffer much, tho he clings to hope that the tender care of her mama may prop her so that she may long be spared to us. Her cough is of the most severe kind, her lungs diseased, and she is thin as a shadow. Her doctor does not speak encouragingly of her ever being stronger. She is confined to warm rooms and cannot make the least exertion without suffering; baby<sup>22</sup> has quite outgrown her care of him. He has his first tooth and is sprightly and firm in health, the joy of Mrs. Ducatel's<sup>23</sup> whole house. George managed to get to West Point to spend half a day with Jemie<sup>24</sup> on the 3rd. Our Cadet had passed the rigid examination creditably so Proff. Bartlett<sup>25</sup> told George. I am expecting Jemie's expression of thanks for the boxes of ginger snaps (& mince puffs, 3 doz) which I sent him via New Haven. Tho George judges by the bleakness of the plain & Jemie's having had no overcoat that the soft, warm under-garments received from Aunt Alicia,<sup>26</sup> my commission, would be most seasonable It seems until the "plebes" pass their Jan. exam, they are not provided with military great coats, and of course allowed to wear no other. Ero [Ere] this I doubt not Jemie is rewarded but "Uncle Palmer" will be satisfied that his rheumatic patient has borne the cold without injury to health or limb. Thus far how favored we have been in our share of health. Willie<sup>27</sup> is as tall as I am now, and as fat

again! Tho he studies till a later hour than formerly since joining an evening class at the Rectory for the chief benefit of those who are preparing for visiting Germany. Willie is the pronouncing dictionary. I am glad on his account for the walk and to refresh his Deutch. As the present school term will be so brief I hope as he does that Uncle Palmers lecture will be deferred till March when Willie looks forward to escorting Grandmother to Stonington. We hope not to be disappointed in dear Georgie's<sup>28</sup> visit. Cannot he persuade his mother to bring him? O I will hope so, dearest Kate. Your girls will, I am sure, neglect nothing in the home to spare you to the Pomfret circle a week or a fortnight. Mary B. was absent 3 weeks in the coldest weather experienced in 70 years here. Yet I managed nicely. Eliza<sup>29</sup> attends the District school half days and Sunday school She is still a great tax to patience and is subject to the evil spirit but she wishes to overcome her enemy and has improved tho slowly, so I am not discouraged as Mother and Mary are.

How I should refresh my spirit among your plants (and especially those whom you nurture for a celestial garden! My associations with flowers are sacred. "Charlie<sup>30</sup> remembered Aunt Kate" when he reveled in the parterre of Preston. Kirkie<sup>31</sup> cherished every bright leaf to show Grandmother in his last earthly home! Oh, my sister how precious is the promise that tho they cannot come bodily to my embraces, I shall have "little ones" forever thru the perfect work of a Redeemer. I must patiently abide all my appointed time, for I need the refining of the furnace under the daily cross. It seems to me I never knew the evil of my own heart till now, or adored sufficiently the forbearance of our heavenly father. I am one of a bible class of ladies in this church; their expressions of regret at the prospect of my soon being parted from them when we were together yesterday made me feel the value of christian sympathy more than ever. I have been thankful every day in Pomfret and should regret going from it under the prospect of going only among strangers. Tell Julie I wish she would get 4 of her little friends out of the family to unite with her in subscribing for the Child's Paper.<sup>32</sup> It will only be 10 cents each, for a year 12 papers. I have received the first number. I distribute 5. I should recommend it to Capt. Palmer's children<sup>33</sup> Katy Bennett's, those agents of the American Messenger<sup>34</sup> will take the subscription for the Child's Paper. There is no time to lose. I hope



Amos<sup>35</sup> will determine to try for city practice. I don't think he could endure the fate of a village doctor. My love to him.

When I began on the other page I intended to preserve this for my scribbling is such a disgrace in contrast (to her mother's) but I find this space necessary to tell you of again having heard from Preston;<sup>36</sup> so much love was enclosed for the Corner House.<sup>37</sup> I am glad you will soon write our sister Winnie. She and Mr. W. had just returned from Kirby L.<sup>38</sup> in time to go to Hope Farm<sup>39</sup> to spend Christmas. Only to think of Mr. Ware<sup>40</sup> now being the sustainer of the drooping fireside circle. Jane Simpson<sup>41</sup> so wasted away by disease that we could not recognize her. Jane Picard<sup>42</sup> in consumption, little Johnie Picard feeble from effects of scarlet fever & his mother bowed down in anxiety for them all. What an angel that most devoted of all our sisters in Christ, Margaret Ware<sup>43</sup> must be!

Tuesday morning 13th: Mother forgot to tell you dearest Kate of the frost at Charlie's place<sup>44</sup> after a 48 hours storm – trees & shrubs were broken by ice. Your sunny parlor so admirably regulated is a favorable enclosure for your plants. It will delight Mrs. Park<sup>45</sup> when I tell her this evening (for I've promised Willie to go with him for an hour's chat with her when he presents a frame he made for her in the holidays) the flourishing state of your jessamine. There is to be a sleighing party tonight & the two German scholars<sup>46</sup> will not be at the Rectory so our pastor and lady will both be free. It is good to be with them I find. I am hurried this morning to get this ready for the mail. Will your dear children take less interest in their contract for the little boys grave stones if their cousins Jemie & Willie contribute a mite? Do as your excellent judgement approves, dear Kate. I enclose a dollar, devote it all or half as you think right; if you do not require all, then change in 3 cent stamps will be useful as here we cannot get them but this is "No chi vo".<sup>47</sup> The inscription ought to be simply "little Willie West",<sup>48</sup> don't you think so? How delightful the privilege to your little flock to have visited the little one who loved Jesus so supremely & their walks to his grave in summer with dear Mother I hope I may sometimes join.<sup>49</sup> Oh, Kate, how your best beloved<sup>50</sup> must love the mother of such children! May your union become more and more cemented thru love to this bountiful Giver. Poor Mattio [Mattie]<sup>51</sup> hoped if she were so lucky as to have a son live to win

back her husband from disapation. I am rendered very uneasy by her silence, having never had any acknowledgement of the articles sent her thru the kindness of Fred & Mary.<sup>52</sup> I shall write to her this week & to Donald<sup>53</sup> too. I will get from the Bowers<sup>54</sup> the rules for crochet pen wiper for dear Emma.<sup>55</sup> Anna presented my ? with one for my Christmas & Nellie had embroidered me a beautiful toilette cushion.<sup>56</sup> Mother rejoices that you had the family gathering at the Corner House on New Years day. I don't know when we have been so glad as to hear of Aunty Swan's<sup>57</sup> breaking the ice. Our love to all Winterley<sup>58</sup> branches, remembrances to Mr. & Mrs. Willey<sup>59</sup> also. When you have a chance, dear Kate, remind Aunt Swan that I shall want my flower stand when I move to where I hope she will see it. Ask Russel Donivan<sup>60</sup> what he would charge to repair the old rocking chair. Write soon to your loving sister

Anna M. Whistler

Embrace your husband and children for me.

## NOTES

1. It has not been possible to identify John Brookman.
2. This is William McNeill Whistler (1836–1900), Anna (McNeill) Whistler’s second son. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s,” Whistler . . . Fairfax in Appendix E, and Images 27, 30.
3. Their pastor was Rev. Dr. Roswell Park (1807–1869), who graduated from the USMA in 1831, serving as a military engineer from 1831 until 1836, then as a professor of natural philosophy and geometry at the University of Pennsylvania, until again changing careers. “In 1843, he was ordained a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church and became Rector of Christ Church, Pomfret, Conn. Three years later (1846), he also took charge of Christ Church Hall, a high school, connected with his parish. Here he remained until 1852” (Edwin F. Hatfield, *The Poets of the Church: A Series of Biographical Sketches of Hymn-Writers with Notes on Their Hymns* [New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1884], p. 490).
4. Margaret Getfield Hill (1802–1881), Anna (McNeill) Whistler’s friend from girlhood days, lived in Scarsdale, New York. She had contracted for a cottage for Anna Whistler to be built on her property.
5. “Darling Anna” is Anna Whistler Palmer (b. 7 April 1848), daughter of Catherine (McNeill) and Dr. George E. Palmer (see Image 36) and namesake of Anna (McNeill) Whistler.
6. This is Rev. Edward Octavius Flagg (1824–1911), husband of Eliza Winstanley (McNeill) Flagg (1830–1855), daughter of Maria (Cammann) and William Gibbs McNeill and niece of Anna (McNeill) Whistler. The young couple had been married on 24 September 1851. Rev. Flagg, rector of Trinity Church, Norwich, Connecticut, was a poet and lecturer as well. See Whistler . . . Fairfax in Appendix E. The description here of Eliza Winstanley (McNeill) Flagg is one of the few pieces of information we have about her personality.
7. This is Mary Brennan (1828–1895), servant in the Whistler family, who had gone to Russia with them as nursemaid to Charles Donald Whistler. See Brennan, Bergen, Keefe in Appendix E.
8. “Danielson Falls” are possibly the falls in present day Old Furnace State Park in Danielson, a borough in the town of Killingly in Windham County, Connecticut (“Old Furnace State

Park,” Connecticut’s Official State Website, <https://portal.ct.gov/DEEP/State-Parks/Parks/Old-Furnace-State-Park/Overview>).

9. It has not been possible to identify Mrs. Camp.
10. This is possibly Elizabeth Mason (Perry) Vinton (1819–1878), wife of Francis Vinton (1809–1872), a prominent clergyman in the Episcopal Church (1839–1872). He was professor of ecclesiastical polity and canon law and in 1855 became a minister at Trinity Church in New York (see Image 49), where he remained until his retirement in 1871.  
It could also be Mary (Atwell) Vinton (1773–1854), the grandmother of Francis Laurens Vinton (1835–1879), who was James’s roommate at the USMA and eventually became professor of mining and engineering there.
11. “Hominy” is “coarsely ground corn (maize) used to make grits” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “hominy”), a popular dish in the southern United States. “Hominy (from Virginia Algonkian rockahominy meaning “boiled corn”) grits (from Old English grot, “crush”) is now a mush made [*sic*: from] fine-ground corn meal ... There is a fairly clear line from Native American sofkey ... and Cherokee/ Appalachian whole-grain hominy ... through African American “hog and hominy” dishes, to today’s grits. A northern dish of whole-grain lye hominy and beans persisted regionally as Plymouth succotash” (Smith, *Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink*, s.v. “hominy grits”). Anna Whistler was most likely speaking of a form of Appalachian whole-grain hominy.
12. This is Charles Johnston McNeill (1802–1869), son of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill and brother of Anna (McNeill) Whistler, who lived in Florida. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
13. This is Dr. George E. Palmer, MD (see Image 32), husband of Catherine (McNeill) Palmer.
14. This is George William Whistler (1822–1869), step-son of Anna (McNeill) Whistler. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s,” Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E, and Images 12–13.
15. This is Donald McNeill Fairfax (1824–1894; see Image 38) of the United States Navy, Anna (McNeill) Whistler’s nephew, son of her sister Isabella Kingsley (McNeill) (c. 1798 – c. 1850) and

- George William Fairfax (1797–1853). See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
16. Mary B. is Mary Brennan, Anna Whistler's servant; Annie is Anna Whistler Palmer; Julie is Julia Palmer; Emma is Emma Woodbridge Palmer. Annie and Julie were the daughters of Catherine (McNeill) Palmer and Dr. George Palmer, MD, while Emma Woodbridge Palmer was Dr. Palmer's daughter by his first marriage. It has not been possible to identify Nellie.
  17. Debo is Deborah (Whistler) Haden (1825–1908 see Images 17–19, 21), step-daughter of Anna (McNeill) Whistler and wife of Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910; see Image 20), English physician and etcher, whose marriage on 16 October 1847 on Preston, Lancashire, is recorded in detail in AWPDP, Part II.
  18. Mary (Brewster) Park was the wife of Rev. Dr. Roswell Park (1807–1869), Episcopalian minister and principal of Christ Church School in Pomfret.
  19. Anna (McNeill) Whistler is referring to Deborah (Whistler) Haden (1825–1908; see Images 17–19, 21), her step-daughter, and hoping that Emma Woodbridge Palmer, Catherine (McNeill) Palmer's step-daughter, will be as wonderful to her step-mother as Deborah has been to Anna Whistler.
  20. This is George William Whistler (1822–1869), Anna (McNeill) Whistler's step-son. See his biography in "The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s," Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E, and Images 12–13.
  21. This is Mary (Ducatel) Whistler (1825–1852), George William Whistler's wife, who died of consumption in February 1852. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
  22. This is George Worthen Whistler (1851–1908), son of George William and Mary (Ducatel) Whistler. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
  23. This is Joanna (Barry) Ducatel (1800–1873), grandmother of George Worthen Whistler, in whose home he was being raised by her and her daughters. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
  24. James Abbott Whistler (1834–1903; see Images 24–29) was attempting to pass the entrance examinations for admittance to the USMA.
  25. This is Professor William Holmes Chambers Bartlett (1804–1893), "professor of natural and experimental philosophy" who

- taught science and engineering at the USMA (William R. Livermore, “Biographical Notices: William Holmes Chambers Bartlett,” *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, new series, vol. 22; whole series, vol. 30 [Boston: John Wilson and Son for the University Press, 1895], p. 570).
26. This is Alicia Margaret Caroline McNeill (1791–1863), Anna (McNeill) Whistler’s half-sister from her father’s first marriage, to Alice Clunie (1758–1791). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
  27. This is William McNeill Whistler (1836–1900), second son of Anna (McNeill) Whistler, who was an assiduous student. See his biography in “The Whistlers as They Were in the 1840s,” Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E, and Images 27, 30.
  28. This is George E. Palmer Jr. (1843–1909), Anna (McNeill) Whistler’s nephew and son of Catherine (McNeill) and Dr. George E. Palmer, MD. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
  29. Eliza was a black servant girl in the employ of Arthur and Kate (Prince) Livermore whom Martha (Kingsley) McNeill and Mary Brennan were attempting, with apparent frustration, to train, so that she could then go back to the Livermores’ home in New Hampshire able to carry out her duties. In describing how she delivered Eliza to Arthur Livermore (Anna Whistler to James Whistler Scarsdale Wednes– evening Nov 16th [18]53, GUL: Whistler Collection, W425), Anna Whistler makes clear that Eliza is black by calling her “our Topsy,” a reference to the orphan slave girl in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852).
  30. This is Charles Donald Whistler (1841–1843), who died on the *Acadia* en route to St. Petersburg in August 1843.
  31. This is Kirk Boott Whistler (1838–1842), who died while his father, Major George Washington Whistler, was en route to St. Petersburg.
  32. The first issue of *The Child’s Paper*, published by the American Tract Society, appeared in January 1852. “It was thought that a cheap, beautiful, and excellent paper for children, introduced into the several neighborhoods they visit, aside from the spontaneous circulation it might receive, would aid in supplying means of instruction and salvation for multitudes who otherwise would remain in comparative ignorance of religious truth” (*American Messenger* 10, no. 1 [January 1852]: p. 2).

- Anna Whistler raised the issue of subscribing to *The Child's Paper* in a February letter as well (Anna Whistler to My own dear Jemie Pomfret tuesday night Feb. 10th [1852], with continuation on Wednesday morning 11th, GUL: Whistler Collection, W406).
33. Captain Palmer is a relative of Dr. George E. Palmer, MD, whom it has not been possible to identify further.
  34. Katy Bennett's, according to Anna (McNeill) Whistler, was the agent through which one could subscribe to the *American Messenger* and other religious newspapers.
  35. This is Dr. Amos Palmer, MD (1827–1861), son of Dr. George E. Palmer and his first wife, Emma (Woodbridge) Palmer (1802–1839).
  36. Anna (McNeill) Whistler's half-sister, Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley (1788–1857; see Image 40) lived in Preston, Lancashire, with her second husband, John Winstanley (1776–1859). See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E. She is called "sister Winny" in this letter.
  37. The Old Corner House (see Image 37) was the home in Stonington, Connecticut, of Dr. George E. Palmer, MD, Catherine (McNeill) Palmer, and the children from both of Dr. Palmer's marriages.
  38. The Winstanleys had just been on a visit to the family of Richard Stuart (1807–1877) Picard of Kirkby Lonsdale. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E and Image 70.
  39. On 11 April 1850, Anna (McNeill) Whistler also wrote to her son James asking that Mary Isabella (McNeill) Rodewald (1823–1867; see Image 32), who was traveling to England, carry a parcel of books to "Mary Smith" of Hope Farm (Anna Whistler to My dearest Jemie Pomfret Thursday. April 11th. 50, GUL: Whistler Collection, W319), but it has not been possible to identify the location or owners of Hope Farm.
  40. It is not possible to say who Mr. Ware is. Margaret (Winstanley) Ware's husband and son had both died in 1843. A photocopy of this part of the letter was not supplied by Josephine Caldwell, only a transcription.
  41. This is Jane Simpson (1790–1852), who lived in the home of Richard Stuart Picard (1807–1877) in Kirkby Lonsdale. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.

42. This is Jane Picard, sister of Richard Stuart Picard. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
43. This is Margaret (Winstanley) Ware (1801–1877), widow of William Ware (1793–1843) and sister of Elizabeth (Winstanley) Picard. See Winstanley ... Cragg in Appendix E.
44. Charles Johnston McNeill (1802–1869), Anna (McNeill) Whistler's brother, lived in Florida on a plantation with his mulatto wife, Eliza (Coffee) McNeill (c. 1828–1898), and their children. His mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, visited them almost annually and supervised the moral, spiritual, and social training of both her daughter-in-law and their children. The explanatory correspondence of Josephine Caldwell, great-granddaughter of Charles Johnston and Eliza (Coffee) McNeill, associated with this joint-letter corroborates Martha (Kingsley) McNeill's success in her efforts, which Anna (McNeill) Whistler, years later, saw living proof of and approved. Josephine Caldwell describes her mother's corroborating description of Martha (Kingsley) McNeill's influence on Caldwell's great-grandmother: "After [Charles Johnston McNeill] died, his wife who was a Coffee ... of St. Augustine, was left to bring up all the children ... My mother does remember her grandmother whom they called 'Nana.' She was very stern and very strict – mother remembering mostly how particular she was about table manners" (Josephine Caldwell to Frederick Coburn, Lowell, MA, 9 January 1950).
45. Mary (Brewster) Park was the wife of Rev. Dr. Roswell Park (1807–1869), Episcopalian minister and principal of Christ Church School in Pomfret.
46. It has not been possible to identify the two German scholars.
47. This is a Russian expression, spelled "Nichego" and pronounced "nyeecheevaw'," meaning "never mind," "it's all right."
48. Aside from the fact that a little child named Willie West had died, I am unable to understand what Anna Whistler was talking about.
49. This may be a reference to Kirk Boott Whistler's grave in Stonington, Connecticut.
50. This is a reference to Dr. George E. Palmer, MD, the husband of Catherine (McNeill) Palmer.
51. This seems to be a reference to Anna Whistler's niece, Martha Fairfax (b. c. 1820), daughter of her sister, Isabella Kingsley



- (McNeill) Fairfax (c. 1798 –1853) and George William Fairfax (1798–1853), and wife of Isaiah Davenport. She was called “Matty.” See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
52. Fred and Mary may be Frederick and Mary (McNeill) Rodewald, son-in-law and daughter of General William Gibbs McNeill (see Image 31) and Maria (Cammann) McNeill, married on 2 April 1850.
  53. This is Donald McNeill Fairfax, a favorite nephew of Anna (McNeill) Whistler, son of her sister, Isabella Kingsley (McNeill) Fairfax and George William Fairfax. See Whistler ... Fairfax in Appendix E.
  54. The Bowers were Ellen Augusta Bowers (1834–1900), Lloyd Henry Bowers (1836–1866), and their father, Captain Perry Bowers Sr. (1794–1870) of Pomfret, Connecticut (GUL: Whistler Collection, W390 and LC: P-W: box 34, fol. 19–20, cited in Toutziari, “Anna Matilda Whistler’s Correspondence,” vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 266, 272, 273).
  55. This is Emma Woodbridge Palmer (1835–1912), step-daughter of Catherine (McNeill) Palmer.
  56. It has not been possible to identify Nellie.
  57. It has not been possible to identify Aunt Swan.
  58. It has not been possible to identify the Winterley family.
  59. It has not been possible to identify Mr. and Mrs. Willey.
  60. “Russel Donivan” is most likely Russell A. Denison, who “had a cabinet shop and kept a limited stock of furniture” in Stonington in the 1850s (Henry Robinson Palmer, *Stonington By the Sea* [Stonington, CT: Palmer Press, 1913], p. 67).

## APPENDIX J

### POSSIBLE SKETCH OF JOHN STEVENSON MAXWELL

I strongly believe that the image on page 52 of James Whistler's *St. Petersburg Sketchbook* in MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 9, is John Stevenson Maxwell. After Maxwell left Russia permanently in November 1844, he traveled extensively. In Greece, he spent Christmas Day 1844 in the home of Rev. John Henry Hill, who, together with his wife, Frances (Mulligan) Hill, ran a school in Athens for Greek boys and a second one for Greek girls. Reverend Hill asked him whether he was related to his friend of college days, Hugh Maxwell, because his resemblance to the latter was so great (John S. Maxwell to Mrs. Hugh Maxwell, Trieste, Monday, December 16, 1844; entry for Thursday, December 26, N-YHS: Maxwell Papers, no. 49). Comparing the drawing in the *Catalogue Raisonné* to Image 55 in this volume, a portrait of Hugh Maxwell painted in 1844, I think that he and the man wearing a hat (as well as the profile image beside it) in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, greatly resemble one another.

James had actually also drawn a pencil portrait of Maxwell, who reminded Major Whistler that he, Maxwell, had it in his possession, and that James would have to make an oil portrait of him some day (John S. Maxwell to George W. Whistler New York. Monday. December 13. 1846 – N-YHS: Maxwell Papers). The whereabouts of this pencil drawing or of an oil portrait of Maxwell are unknown to me.



## IMAGES

Most of the images contained herein are in the public domain. For those which are not, every effort has been made to identify and receive permission from copyright holders. Some images, while in the public domain, have been reproduced from published works; these have been identified in the bibliographic details that follow the image captions.

Images have been chosen on the following basis: persons, places, events, and objects actually recorded in the diaries as having been met, visited, attended, owned, or seen by Anna Whistler; recorded in the diary of a journey made to Edinburgh by Anna Whistler's half-sister, Eliza Winstanley (see Appendix D); referred to in the introductory material; and referred to in the biographies of friends, family, and acquaintances contained in Appendix E.

Every effort has been made to locate images of individuals presented in this volume, but I was unable to find images of a number of Anna Whistler's acquaintances that I would have liked to include, for example John Stevenson Maxwell.<sup>1</sup> At times, the images are of poorer quality than I would have liked, but I have chosen to include them nonetheless, as they are often the only known – or the best available – image of these individuals.

In selecting images, research was focused firstly on images of the 1840s, secondly on images of the 1830s and 1850s, and then for images beyond the 1850s. My preference was first for photographs; then for artists' original depictions held by museums; then for illustrations of artists' works recorded in printed sources. Dates for images are recorded in the bibliographic details below each image.

The images presented are grouped according to the following categories: Anna McNeill Whistler's extended family; the Whistlers' lives in the United States; images associated with Eliza Winstanley's diary, which Anna Whistler read; Anna Whistler's journey to St. Petersburg with her family in 1843; the city of St. Petersburg, including the Bobrinskii House, in which the Whistlers lived, and the Imperial

Academy of Fine Arts and James Whistler's experiences there; other artists, musicians, scientists, and literary figures; Major Whistler's work colleagues on the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway and at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works; friends and associates of the Whistlers in St. Petersburg; other significant persons and personages – many of them St. Petersburg residents who were part of the Whistlers' world – including members of the military, diplomats, nobility, and other foreign visitors to St. Petersburg, such as dentist Dr. Edward Maynard, who fixed Whistler family members' teeth; daily Russian life, ranging from peasant games to religious festivals; the environs of St. Petersburg; the Imperial family; places and images associated with Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, whose death had a strong impact on both the Russian and the foreign communities in St. Petersburg; Anna Whistler and her children's trip to Germany and England in the summer of 1847, which culminated in Debo's wedding; and Anna Whistler and her children's trip to Copenhagen, England, and the Isle of Wight in the summer of 1848.

By including these images, I hope to further increase my readers' understanding of St. Petersburg in the 1840s, in which Anna Whistler lived and wrote her diaries. Once again, I wish to express my gratitude for the gracious permissions given by those who were approached as contributors.

#### NOTE

1. Possible sketches of John Stevenson Maxwell can be found in MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 9. For more information, see Appendix J.

## ANNA MCNEILL WHISTLER'S EXTENDED FAMILY

### IMAGE 1

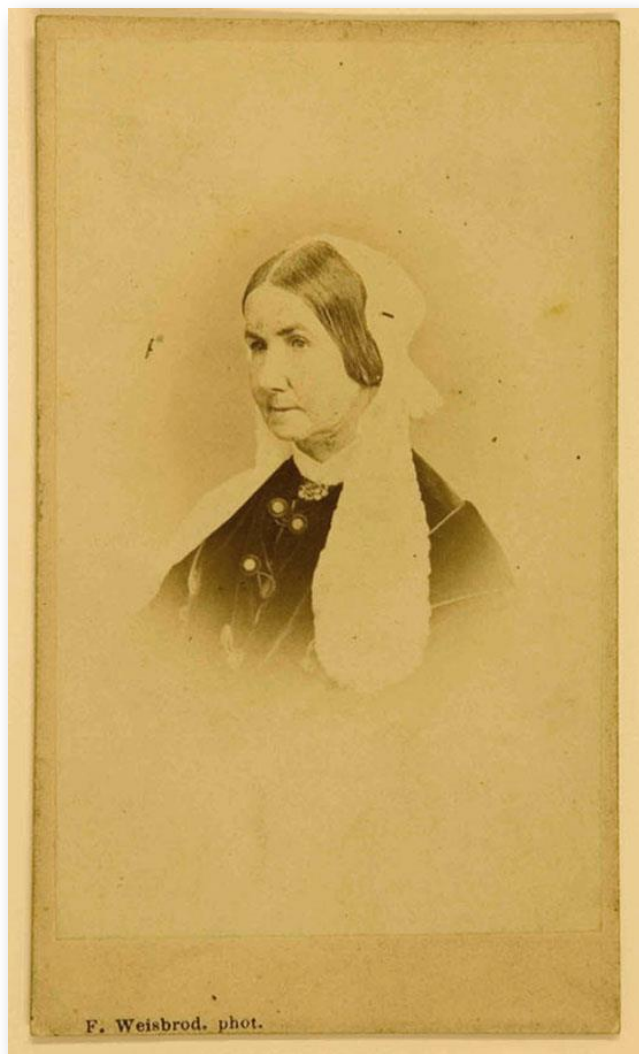
Anna Whistler in St. Petersburg in 1845



Thomas Wright (1792–1849). *Anna Whistler*. 1845. Pencil and watercolor.  $6\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. (16.9 x 10.6 cm). Signed “Tho<sup>s</sup>. Wright,” and in Russian characters “Райт” (“Rait”), 1845. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow (GLAHA:54135); bequeathed by Rosalind Birnie Philip, 1958.

## IMAGE 2

In September 1865, Anna Whistler, accompanied by James and Willie, traveled to Coblenz, Germany, to see an eye specialist.



*Photograph of Anna Whistler.* 1860s. Albumen print. 9 x 5.6 cm; mounted on card, 10.4 x 6 cm. Imprint on mount: "F. Weisbrod, Photograph, Bleichstrasse 70, Frankfurt a. M. Between summer 1864 and autumn 1865"; inscribed on verso: "Anna M. Whistler." GUL: Whistler Collection, PH 1/56.

## IMAGE 3

James Whistler created this etching of Anna Whistler standing in 1871.



James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). *Whistler's Mother*. 1871. Drypoint on paper. 25.2 x 15.3 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (F1903.252).



## IMAGE 4

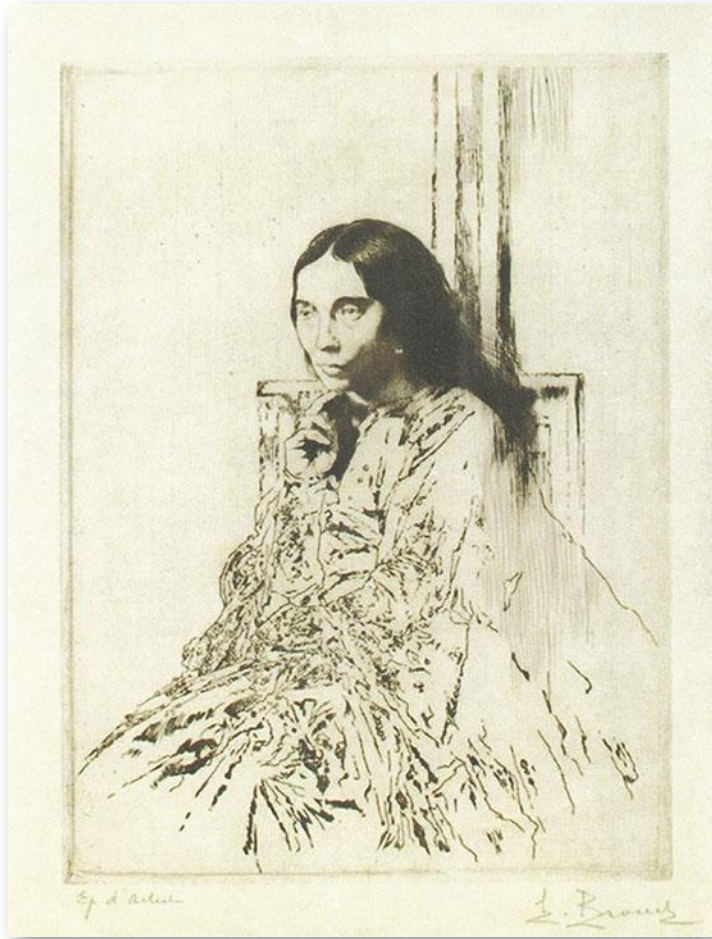
This portrait of Anna Whistler, seated, was executed by James Whistler, also in 1871.



James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). *Arrangement en gris et noir no. 1* [*Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1*, also called *Portrait of the Artist's Mother*], 1871. Oil on canvas. 56.8 x 63.9 in. (144.3 x 162.4 cm). Musée d'Orsay, Paris (RF 699).

## IMAGE 5

Brouet seems to be imagining Anna Whistler in the 1830s–1840s in private, with her hair falling loosely.



Auguste Brouet (1872–1941). *La Mère de Whistler* [Whistler's Mother]. 1900–1910. Etching and drypoint. Artist's proof, signed. 9¼ x 7 in. David Barnett Gallery, Milwaukee, WI (G.261).

## IMAGE 6

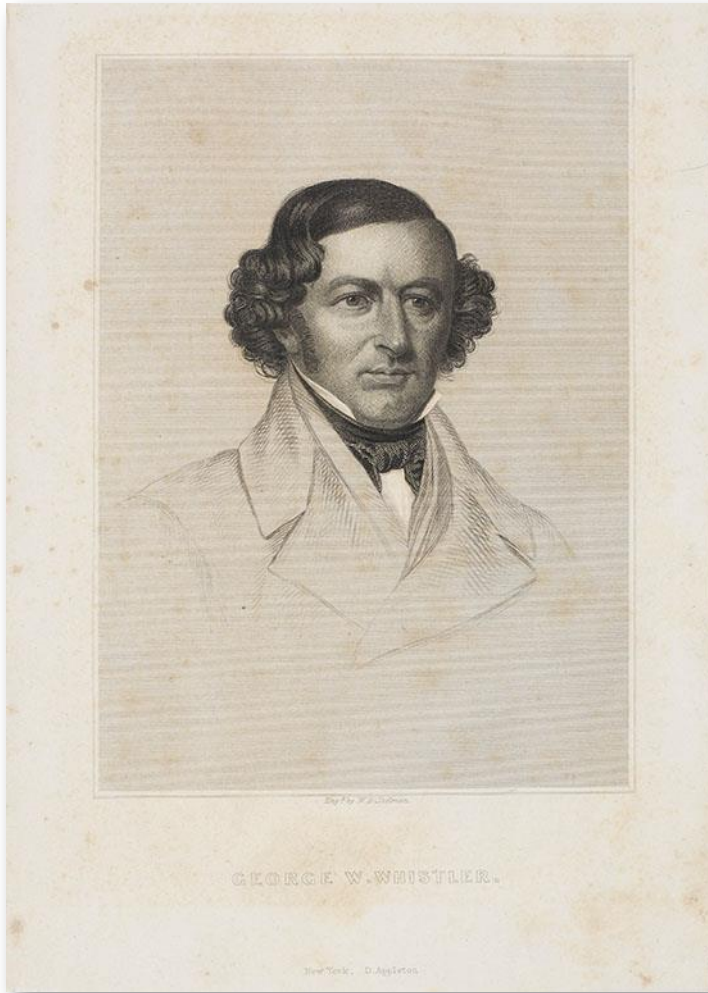
Anna Whistler's handwriting from the diaries

"Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord" they rest from their labours & their works do follow them" etc.  
 "Blessed are they who do the commandments: that they may have right to the tree of life" etc.  
 My friend Mr. Barnes also writes much of the happy death of another little daughter of his, Puffy,  
 & promises to send her memoirs written by our dear pastor Mr. Lee of Springfield. He was child  
 of only eight years had the remaining influences of the holy spirit (blessed) and  
 when he was in his infancy the impression of his example was sanctified to be distant the his just  
 left her home as the brides of as each man of the world: & may the example of this believing young  
 wife be sanctified to him: many will regret to be as far from the elevation of her station in this world  
 without considering the temptations it will draw her into to profane pleasures of the world & god pain.  
 January 1847  
 Status of 23<sup>rd</sup> of our style being 11<sup>th</sup> of Russian style. It is three weeks this afternoon since  
 our dear boy came home from school to spend this Russian Christmas & New Year holidays, &  
 now it seems not probable they shall return again to those fondness this winter James  
 was dropping from slow confinement at school & for two days was confined to his bed with  
 slow throat. I came to him to nurse him at night as by day in our hospital the bed  
 chamber & his father took Willie to our room as his bed fellow, but our dear Mr. Willie  
 also was taken ill the second night & that a palmarium communicating with the drawing room  
 improper for an invalid he also was brought to share this & for the benefit of the open  
 fire place our boys were permitted sufficiently well by Christmas eve Russian style  
 (being 5<sup>th</sup> of our style) to avoid of the invitation they had received from Mr. Morgan  
 to partake of the festivities of the season prepared for her children & their playmates,  
 but the only time was the strongest argument with us to consent, going at five, and  
 returning at eight or nine, gave them as much frolic as they could derive enjoyment  
 from for it was smothered by after suffering. They gradually recovered from their attack  
 & shewed with visible benefit almost daily upon the head, but James (our dear) was  
 on the eve to the bleeding of his ears to spend an hour or two of the early part of the day  
 in the study of his drawing master. Upon the Russian New Year eve Sets & her father

January 1847 / Saturday 23<sup>rd</sup> of our style being 11<sup>th</sup> of Russian style, AWPDP: Part II.

## IMAGE 7

Major George Washington Whistler, before July 1842, and his departure for Russia



W.G. Jackman. *Portrait of George W. Whistler*. Mid 19th century. Steel engraving on paper.  $6\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{7}{16}$  in. (15.4 x 11.2 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (F1907.632).

## IMAGE 8

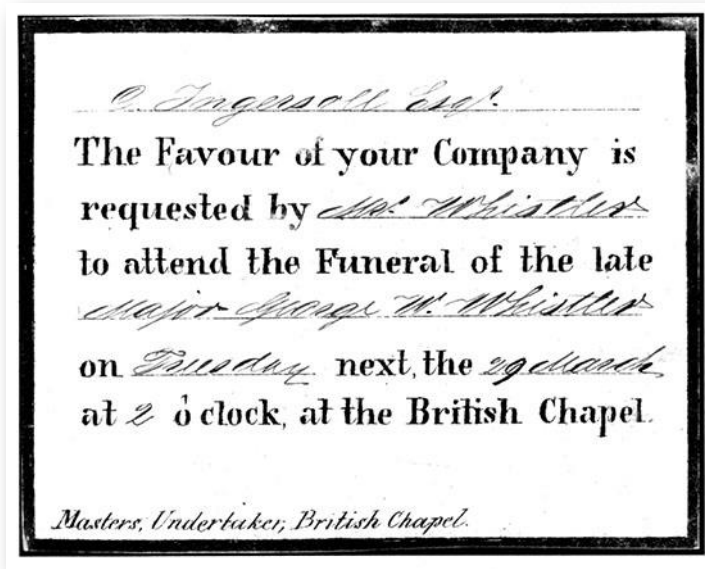
Major George Washington Whistler, before July 1842, and his departure for Russia



Chester Harding (1792–1866). *George Washington Whistler*. c. 1840–1842. Oil on canvas. 76.2 x 63.5 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow (GLAHA:54134); bequest of Joseph Whistler Revillon, 1955.

## IMAGE 9

Colin Ingersoll's invitation to Major Whistler's funeral.



Photocopy kindly supplied to E. Harden by Special Collections, Mugar Library, Boston University, in the late 1980s.

## IMAGE 10

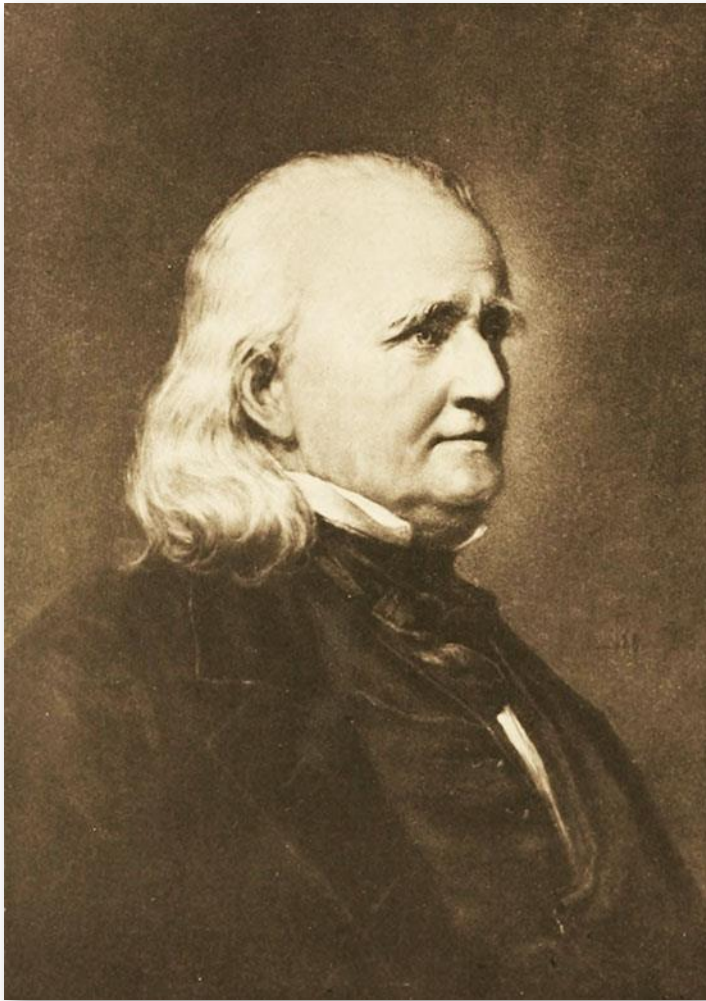
Mary Roberdeau Swift in about 1820, before she became the wife of Lieutenant George Washington Whistler



*Photograph of a miniature of Mary Whistler [Mary Roberdeau Swift Whistler]. 1890s. Platinum print; photograph mounted on card. Inscribed on verso: "To Seymour Haden Esq from Lady Haden" and, in another hand: "Mary Whistler (1804-1827) 1st wife of Geo Washington Whistler, from a portrait." GUL: Whistler Collection, PH 1/141.*

## IMAGE 11

General Joseph Gardner Swift, brother of Major Whistler's first wife,  
Mary Roberdeau (Swift) Whistler

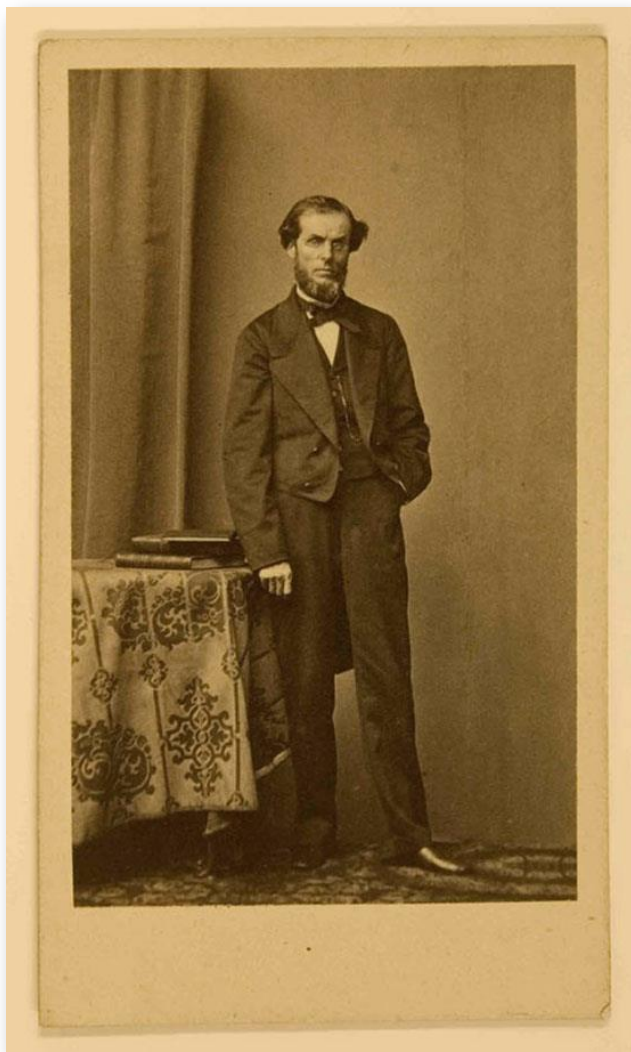


Genl. Joseph Gardner Swift, L. L. D. (Ellery, *Memoirs of Gen. J.G. Swift*, frontispiece)



## IMAGE 12

George William Whistler, several years after his marriage to his second wife, Julia DeKay (Winans) Whistler



Andrei ["H."] Denier (1820–1892). *Photograph of George William Whistler*. c. 1860. Albumen print. 8.7x5.3 cm; mounted on card, 10.4x6 cm. Imprint on mount in Cyrillic: "H. Denier, S. Peterburg"; inscription on verso: "Geo Wm Whistler." GUL: Whistler Collection, PH1/75.

## IMAGE 13

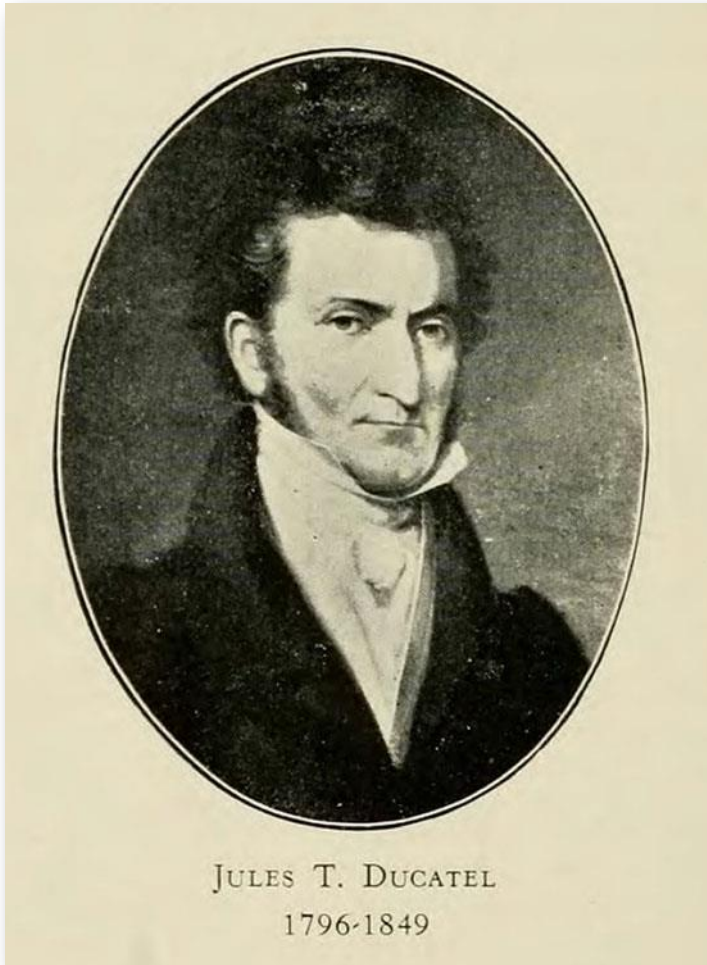
George William Whistler wearing a shuba, when a partner in Winans, Whistler and Winans, and living in St. Petersburg



Jean Hoch. *Photograph of George William Whistler, in Fur Hat and Coat*. Between 1856 and 1869. Silver gelatin print mounted on card. 8.7 x 5.7 cm; card, 9.1 x 5.9 cm. Imprint on mount: "Photographie Jean Hoch, Grande Morskaia, maison Zolotoff no 26, [St Petersburg]. GUL: Whistler Collection, PH1/74.

IMAGE 14

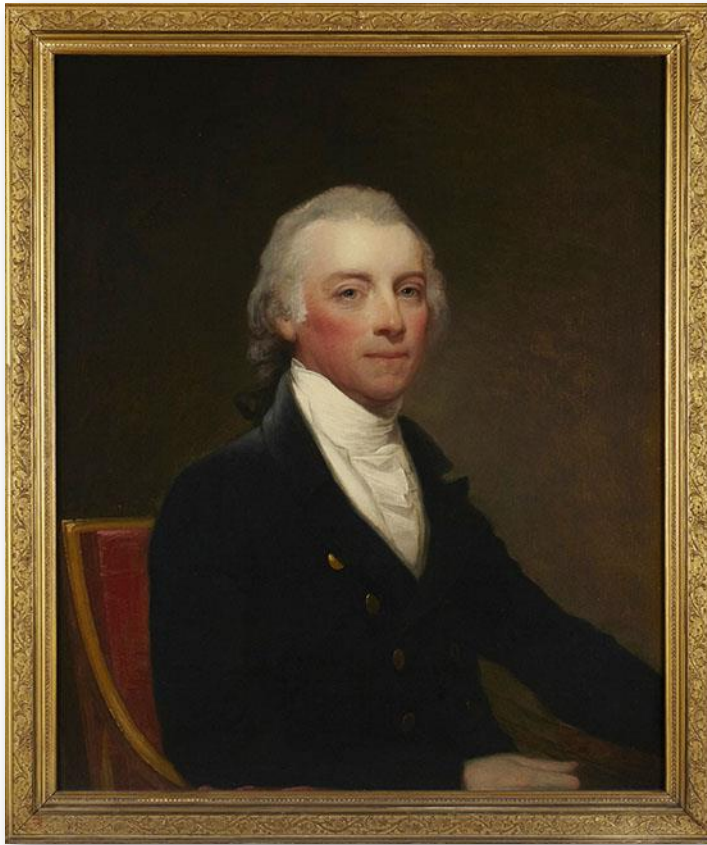
Julius Timoleon Ducatel, father of George William Whistler's first wife, Mary Ducatel



*Bulletin of the University of Maryland School of Medicine 1932-1933*, vol. 17, no. 4 (April 1933), p. 163

## IMAGE 15

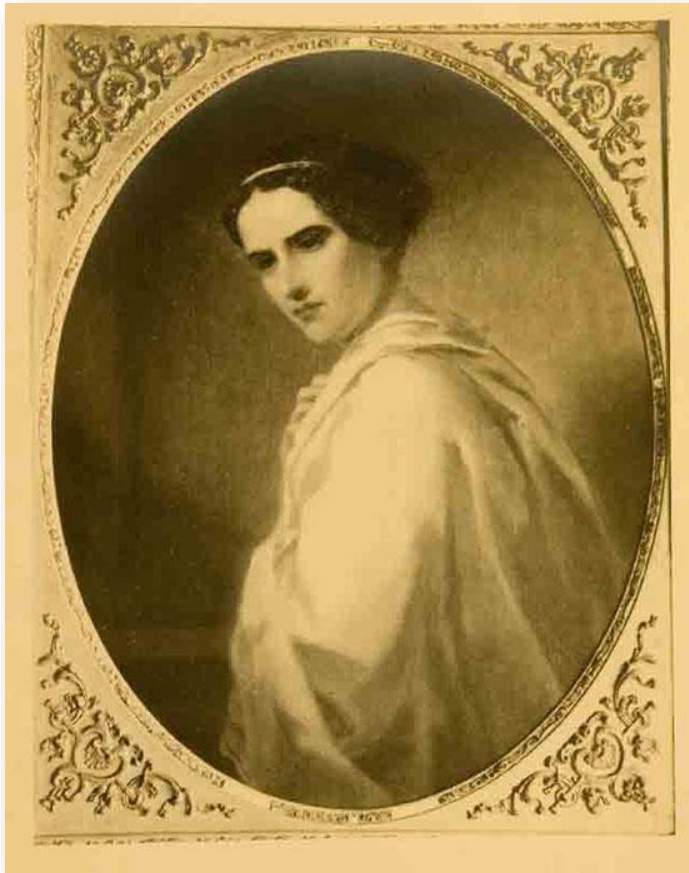
Captain James Barry, of whose family Mary Ducatel's mother, Joanna (Barry) Ducatel, was a member



Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828). *James Barry*. Oil on canvas. 28 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 24 in. (73 x 61 cm). Princeton University Art Museum (y1979-52; [artmuseum.princeton.edu](http://artmuseum.princeton.edu)).

## IMAGE 16

Julia DeKay Winans, sister of Thomas DeKay Winans, before she became the second wife of George William Whistler



Thomas Winans. *Photograph of a painting of Julia Whistler by Alfred Jacob Millar, 1847*. 1943. Silver gelatin print. Inscription in pencil on verso: "Julia Winans daughter of Ross Winans married Geo. Wm Whistler, eldest son of Geo Washington Whistler. On 28 Dec 1847 Ross Winans paid Alfred J. Miller (portrait painter) \$100 each, on a/c, for two portraits one of Miss Julia Winans the other of Madame Celeste Winans (eldest daughter of George Revillon). These photographs were taken in 1943 by Thomas Winans at Shamrock cliff Newport R.I. from the two portraits now owned by Mrs H.A. Prichard (née Lucette Hutton) a grand daughter of Thomas Winans & Celeste Revillon & great grand daughter of Ross Winans. The photographs were taken at the request of Dr J. Hall Pleasants who was anxious to locate the portraits. Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-74) active in Baltimore. Pupil of Thomas Sully." GUL: Whistler Collection, PH 1/133.

IMAGE 17

Deborah Delano (Whistler), Lady Haden, Major George Washington Whistler's only daughter



Maingay Family Papers.

## IMAGE 18

Deborah at the piano with her daughter Annie, who was born while James Whistler was living in England in 1848



James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). *At the Piano*. 1858–1859. Oil on canvas. 26<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 36<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (67.63 x 93.35 cm). Taft Museum of Art, Cincinnati, OH (acc. no. 1962.7).

## IMAGE 19

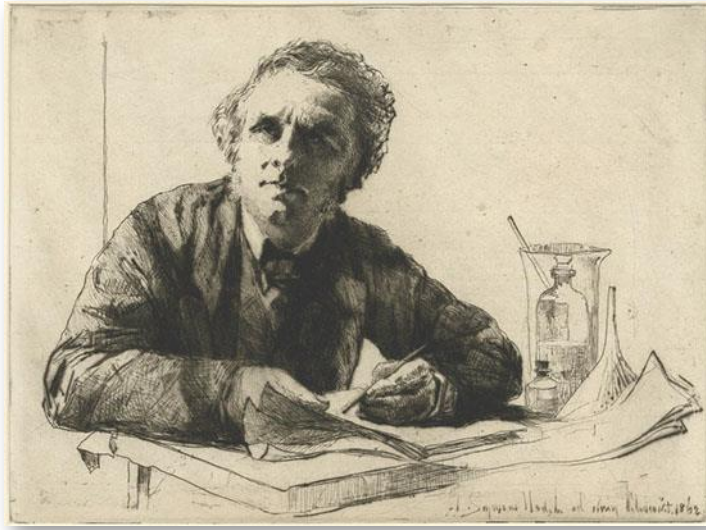
Deborah reading, with her daughter Annie in the shadows



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *A Lady Reading*. 1858. Etching and drypoint. 11.8 x 16.1 cm. (Schneiderman, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 50, plate 10.VI)

## IMAGE 20

Francis Seymour Haden, medical doctor and etcher, husband of Deborah (Whistler) Haden

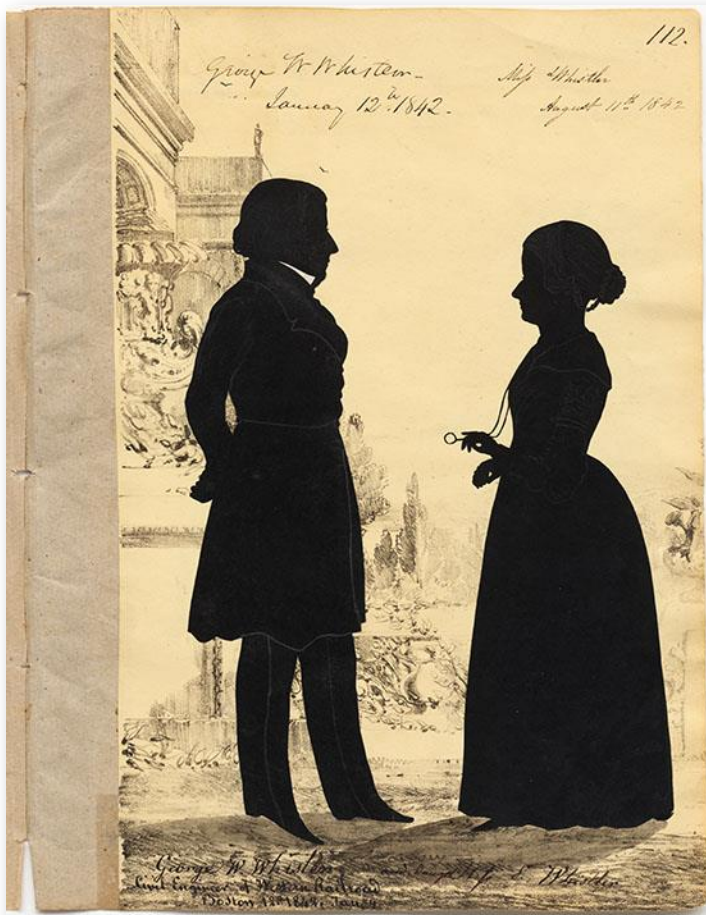


Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Portrait of Francis Seymour Haden, no. 2. (while etching)*. 1862. Etching and drypoint. 19.5 x 26. 7 cm. On bottom right: "F. Seymour Haden Ad Vivam Delineavit.1862." British Museum, London (1910,0421.226).



## IMAGE 21

This silhouette by Auguste Edouart bears the inscription: “George W. Whistler, Civil Engineer of Western Railroad, Boston 12th 1842 January and Daughter Miss D. Whistler August 11th 1842.”



Auguste Edouart (1789–1861). *George Washington Whistler and Lady Whistler Haden*. 1842. Ink, chalk, and cut paper on board. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC; gift of Robert L. McNeill Jr.

## IMAGE 22

Martha (Kingsley) McNeill, Anna Whistler's mother



Samuel Lovett Waldo (1783–1861) and William Jewett (1792–1874). *Mrs. Charles (Martha Kingsley) MacNeill*. 1834. Oil on wood. 24<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (61.3 x 49.6 cm). Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford, CT; bequest of Clara Hinton Gould, 1948.

IMAGE 23

Dr. Daniel McNeill, Anna Whistler's father



Dr. Daniel McNeill. Miniature.

## IMAGE 24

James Whistler at the age of nine or ten in St. Petersburg



C.A.F. Fiessler. *J. A. M. Whistler*. 1844. Watercolor, ink, and pencil on board. 28.1 x 23.3 cm. Inscribed: "v. Natur gemalt v. C.A.F. Fiessler 1844." National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (NPG.95.35).

## IMAGE 25

James Abbott Whistler in St. Petersburg at the age of ten



*Photograph of James McNeill Whistler. c. 1844. Albumen print. 12 x 8.8 cm. Inscription on verso: "J. McN. Whistler aged abt 10."* GUL: Whistler Collection, PH1/93.

## IMAGE 26

James Abbott Whistler at about eleven years of age. The artist of this sketch might be James Whistler, but Thomas Wright and Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii have also been proposed.



*Portrait of Whistler.* 1845 or 1846. Pencil and watercolor on wove paper.  $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$  in. (11.8 x 7.8 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (F1898.144).

## IMAGE 27

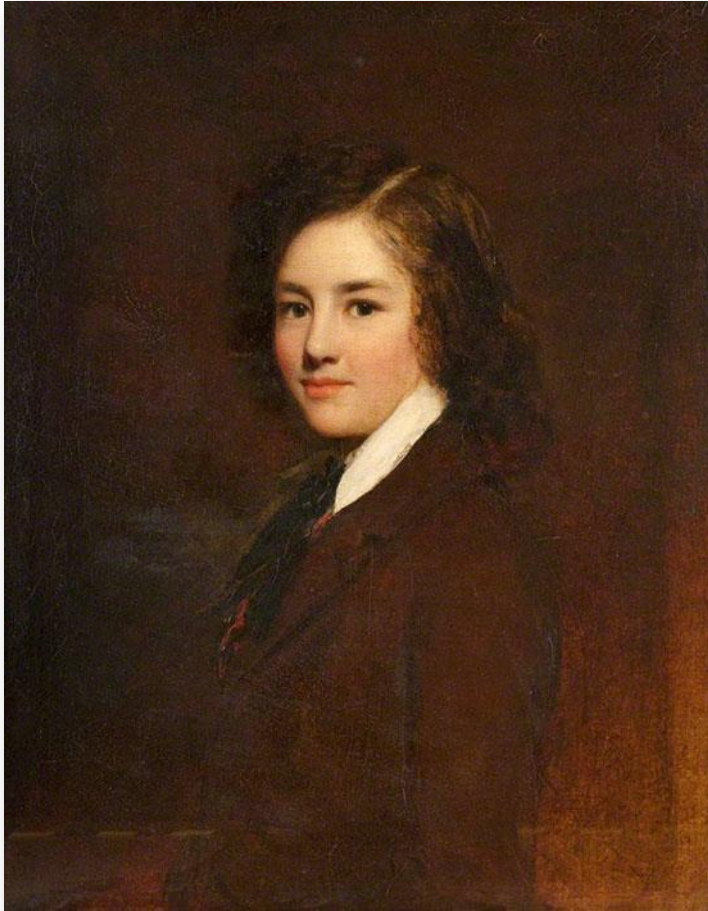
James Abbott Whistler and William McNeill Whistler wearing the uniform of Monsieur Jourdan's school



Émile François Dessain (1808–1882). *Portrait of J. McNeill Whistler and His Brother William (Dr. William Whistler)*. 1847. Pastel on paper. 20 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (52.7 x 41.3 cm). Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (F1904.412a-b).

## IMAGE 28

James Abbott Whistler in London, at the age of fourteen

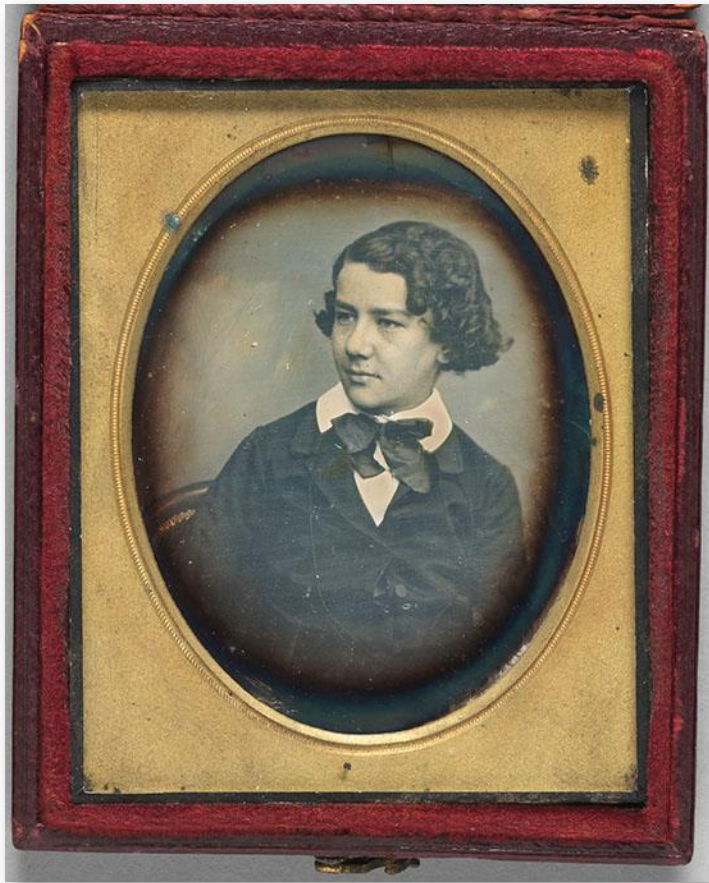


William Boxall (1800–1879). *James McNeill Whistler, aged 14*. 1848. Oil on canvas. 29½ x 24 in. 75 x 61 cm. Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow University; gift from Rosalind Birnie Philip, 1935.



## IMAGE 29

Daguerreotype of James Abbott Whistler taken in 1849 in London at the request of Joseph Harrison Jr.



William Edward Kilburn (1818–1891). *James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834–1903)*.  
Daguerreotype. 1847–1849. 7 cm x 4 cm x 1.2 sight. Fogg Museum, Harvard University  
Art Museums, Cambridge, MA (P1978.93); gift of Dr. John H. Kennard.

## IMAGE 30

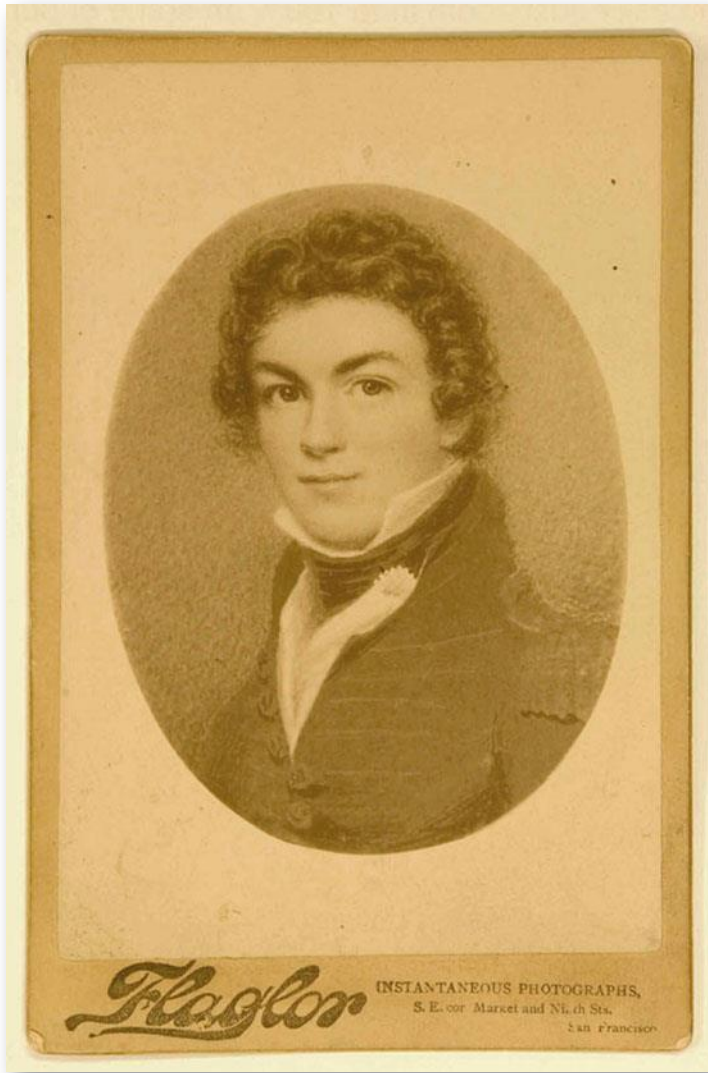
Daguerreotype of William McNeill Whistler taken in 1849 in London at the request of Joseph Harrison Jr.



William Edward Kilburn (1818–1891). *William Whistler (Brother of James Abbott McNeill Whistler)*. Daguerreotype. 1847–1849. 7 cm x 4 cm x 1.2 sight. Fogg Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, MA (P1978.94); gift of Dr. John H. Kennard.

## IMAGE 31

William Gibbs McNeill, Anna Whistler's brother



*Photograph of William Gibbs McNeill. 1820s. Silver gelatin print. 14.5 x 9.8 cm; mounted on card, 16.5 x 10.8 cm. Imprint on mount: "Flaglor, instantaneous photographs, S.E. cor. Market and Ninth Sts, San Francisco." GUL: Whistler Collection, PH1/20.*

## IMAGE 32

Mary Isabella (McNeill) Rodewald, niece of Anna (McNeill) Whistler and daughter of William Gibbs McNeill



Mary Isabella (McNeill) Rodewald. Photograph. Wolfgang Rohdewald family archive.

## IMAGE 33

Catherine Julia (McNeill) Rodewald, niece of Anna Whistler, daughter of William Gibbs McNeill, and “twin” of Deborah Delano Whistler



Catherine Julia (McNeill) Rodewald. Wolfgang Rohdewald family archive.

## IMAGE 34

William Whistler, Major Whistler's brother, in the early 1830s. "[The] portrait was most likely done when Whistler was stationed at Fort Niagara, New York. [The] painting would have come with him when he returned to Fort Mackinac in 1833 and was fort commandant." (Brian S. Jaeschke, registrar of collections and archives, Mackinac State Historic Parks, 5 October 2021)



Grove Shelden Gilbert (1805–1885). *Portrait of Major William Whistler*. c. 1831. Oil on canvas. 30 x 35 in. Fort Mackinac Soldier Barracks, Mackinac Island, MI; part of the Mackinac State Historic Parks Collection.

## IMAGE 35

Joseph Nelson Garland Whistler, son of William Whistler and nephew of Major George Washington Whistler



*Joseph N.G. Whistler, 1822–1899.* The Artillery Reserve website, accessed 4 October 2021, <http://www.artilleryreserve.org/commanders.html>

## IMAGE 36

Dr. George E. Palmer, MD, brother-in-law of Anna (McNeill) Whistler and husband of her sister Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut



*Dr. George Edwin Palmer, M.D.* Courtesy of the Stonington Historical Society, Stonington, CT.



## IMAGE 37

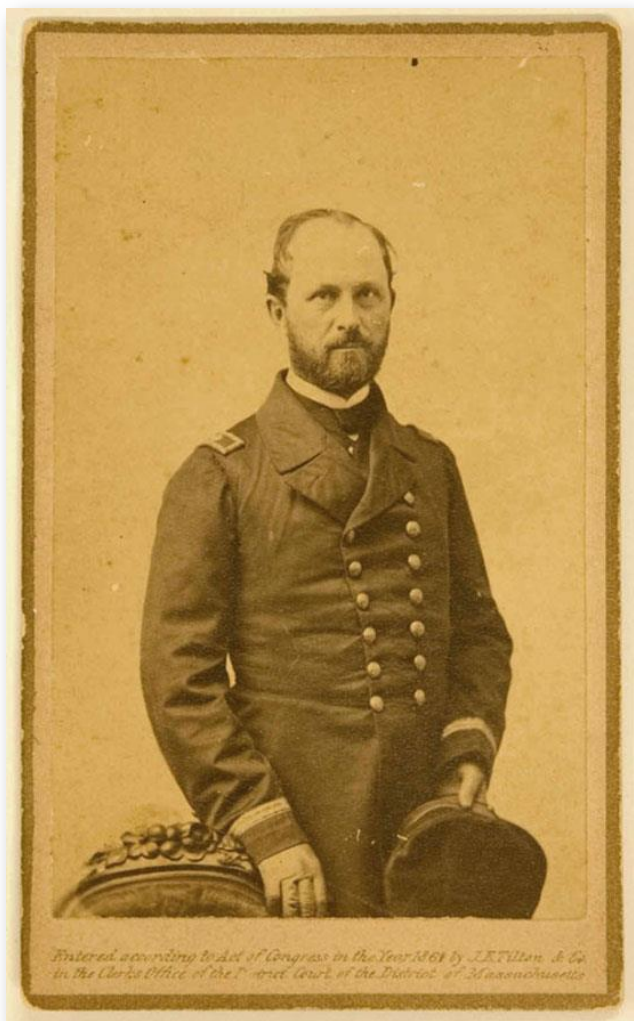
The Old Corner House, home of Catherine Jane (McNeill) Palmer and Dr. George E. Palmer, MD, Anna Whistler's sister and brother-in-law, in Stonington, Connecticut



*Photograph of Old Corner House, Stonington, Connecticut, home of Palmer family.* Silver gelatin print. 9.3 x 11.3 cm; mounted on gilt-edged card, 10.7 x 13.3 cm. GUL: Whistler Collection, PH 1/183; bequeathed by Joseph Whistler Revillon, 30 July 1955.

## IMAGE 38

Donald McNeill Fairfax, a favorite nephew of Anna Whistler, and son of her sister Mary Isabella (McNeill) Fairfax



*Photograph of Admiral Donald [McNeill] Fairfax. 1858. Albumen print. 9.1 x 5.9 cm; mounted on card, 10.5 x 6.3 cm. Printed at foot of mount: "Entered ... in the year 1861 by J.E. Tilton & Co. in ... District Court of ... Massachusetts"; written on verso: "Sent to Kate R. McDiarmid by the late Mrs Anna Whistler Palmer (Stanton), Stonington, Conn." GUL: Whistler Collection, PH 1/5.*

## IMAGE 39

Alicia Caroline Margaret McNeill, half-sister of Anna (McNeill) Whistler



James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). *Drawing, Portrait of Aunt Alicia McNeill*. 1844. Pencil on cream wove paper.  $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{11}{16}$  in. (11.7 x 9.3 cm). Inscribed “James to Aunt Kate” and, possibly in another hand, “1844.” inscribed on back of frame, in graphite: “James Mc N. Whistler’s pencil sketch of his Aunt Kate made in Petersburg, Russia at the age of [sic: age missing] and sent to his aunt in Stonington, whose daughter Emma Palmer gave it to me, Katherine S. Dreier.” Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (18397263); gift of Mary E. Dreier from the estate of Katherine S. Dreier.

## IMAGE 40

Eliza Isabella (McNeill) (Wellwood) Winstanley, half-sister of Anna (McNeill) Whistler



Sir Henry Raeburn (1756–1823). *Lady Wellwood*. Damaged photograph of portrait. Sold by the Ehrlich Galleries to an American collector.

## IMAGE 41

George Philip Cammann, brother of Catherine (Cammann) McNeill,  
wife of William Gibbs McNeill



Matthew B. Brady & Studio, New York. *Dr. Cammann*. c. 1860. Carte-de-visite; albumen print photograph.

## THE WHISTLERS' LIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

### IMAGE 42

View of New York from Brooklyn Heights, where Anna Whistler lived from the age of ten



John William Hill (1812–1879), and Lewis Peter Clover (b. 1770). *New York from Brooklyn Heights*. 1837. Mezzotint. J. Clarence Davies Collection, Museum of the City of New York (MNY15659).

## IMAGE 43

Kirk Boott, who was responsible for bringing Major Whistler to Lowell, Massachusetts, to be superintendent of the locks and canals that brought power to the city's cotton-spinning mills



Chester Harding (1792–1866). *Kirk Boott* (detail). c. 1835. Oil on canvas. 97 x 60 in. (247 x 152.4 cm). City of Lowell, MA.

## IMAGE 44

Henry Washington Lee, the Whistler family's pastor when they lived in Springfield, Massachusetts, from 1838 to 1842



J. Gurney & Son, photographers. *Henry Washington Lee, Bishop of Iowa*. 1863. (*The House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; Photographed from Life during the Triennial Convention by J. Gurney & Son* [New York: T. Porter Shaw, 1863], no pagination)



## IMAGE 45

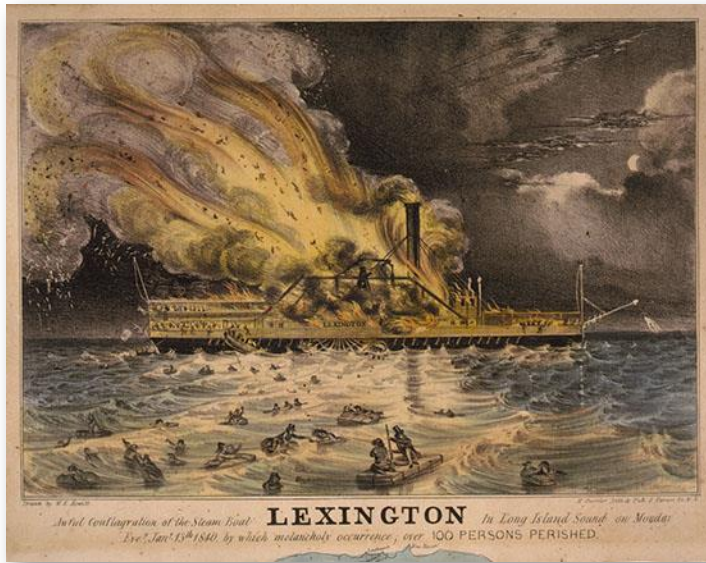
Lydia Mason (Morton) Lee, wife of Rev. Henry Washington Lee and close friend of Anna Whistler



Lydia Mason (Morton) Lee in about 1880; courtesy of Susan Alland, great-great-granddaughter of Henry Washington and Lydia (Morton) Lee.

## IMAGE 46

The destruction of the *Lexington* in 1840



Nathaniel Currier (1813–1888). *Anful Conflagration of the Steam Boat Lexington in Long Island Sound on Monday Eve, Jan'y 13th, 1840, by which melancholy occurrence, over 100 Persons Perished.* 1840. Hand-colored lithograph after a drawing by William Keesey Hewitt (1817–1893). Published in *The New York Sun*. 8<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 12 in. (21.4 × 30.5 cm). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC (LC-DIG-pga-06100).

## IMAGE 47

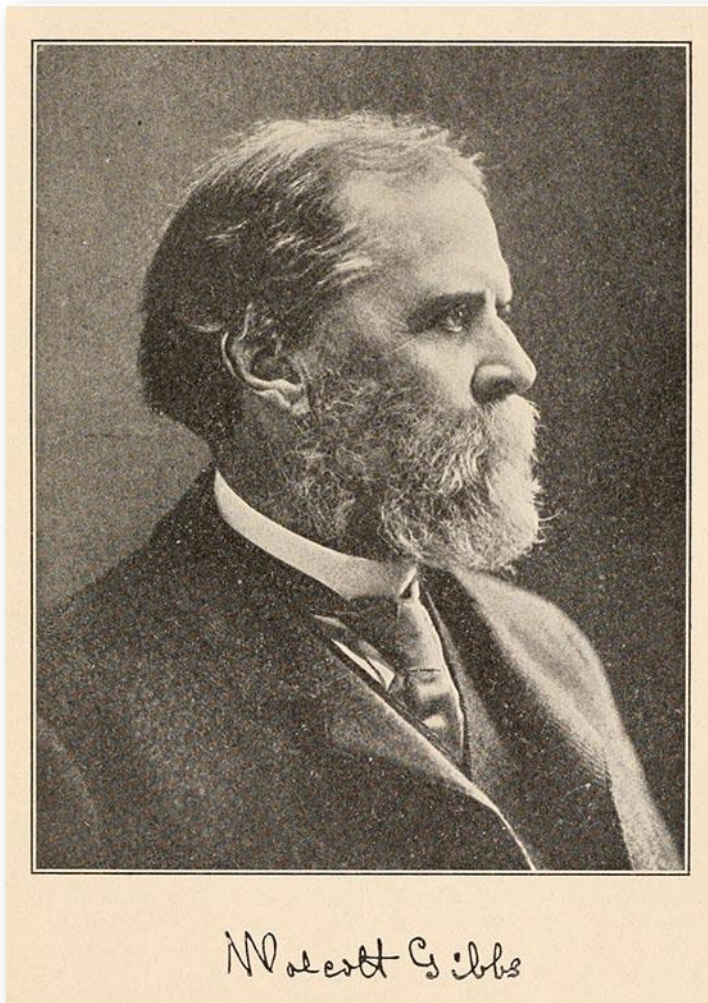
Oroondates Mauran, father of Josephine Mauran, Deborah Whistler's classmate in New York in 1843



Stockbridge and Mauran, *Mauran Family*.

IMAGE 48

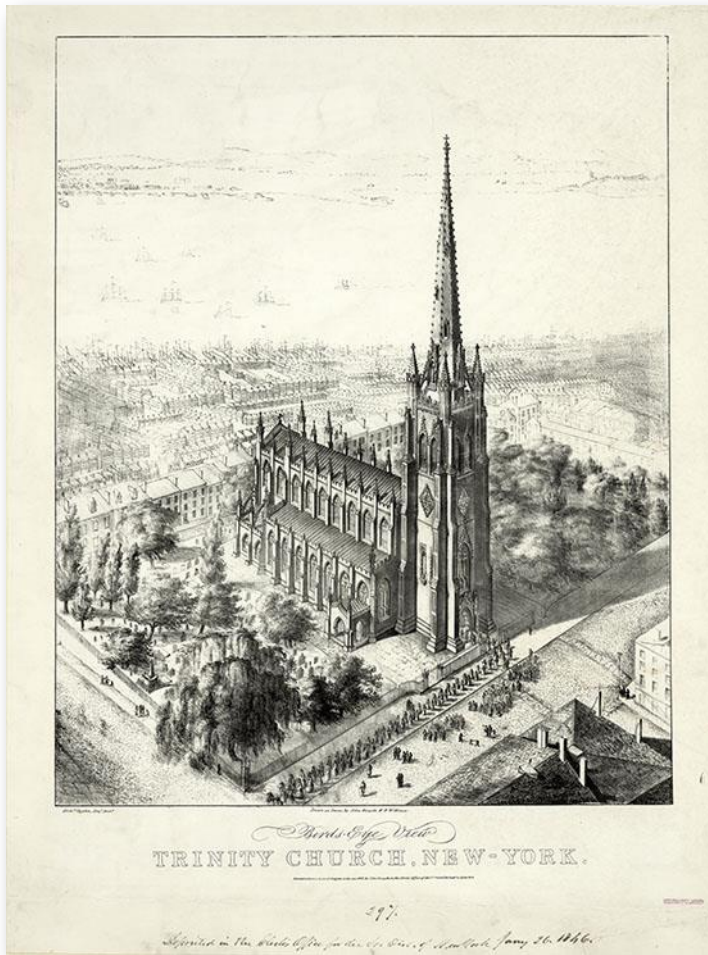
Oliver Wolcott Gibbs, husband of Josephine (Mauran) Gibbs



“The Progress of Science,” *Popular Science Monthly* 82, no. 42 (1913), p. 617.

## IMAGE 49

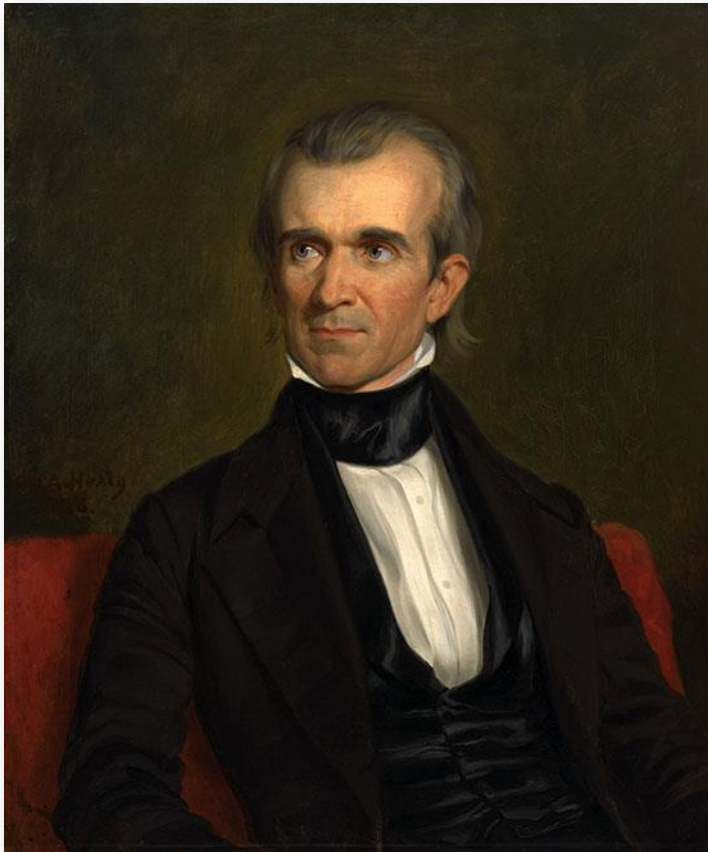
Trinity Church in New York, which held its reopening in 1846



John Forsyth and E.W. Mimeo. *Trinity Church*. 1846. Lithograph. 15½ x 22 in. J. Clarence Davies Collection, Museum of the City of New York (MNY12751).

## IMAGE 50

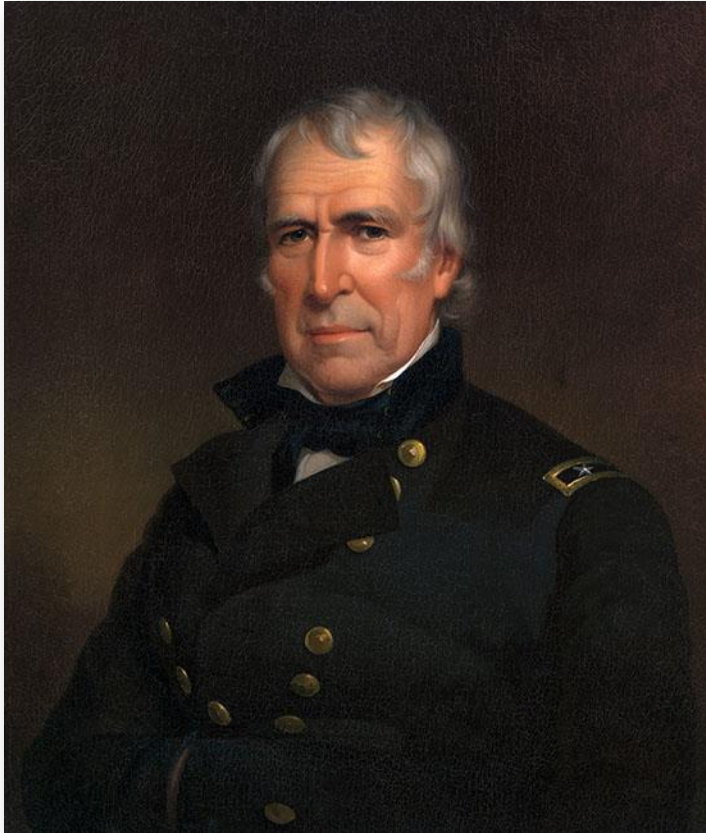
James K. Polk, president of the United States from 4 March 1845 to 4 March 1849



George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894). *James Knox Polk*. 1846. Oil on canvas. 30½ x 25½ in. (77.5 × 64.8 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (NPG.2019.14); gift of the Trustees of the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

## IMAGE 51

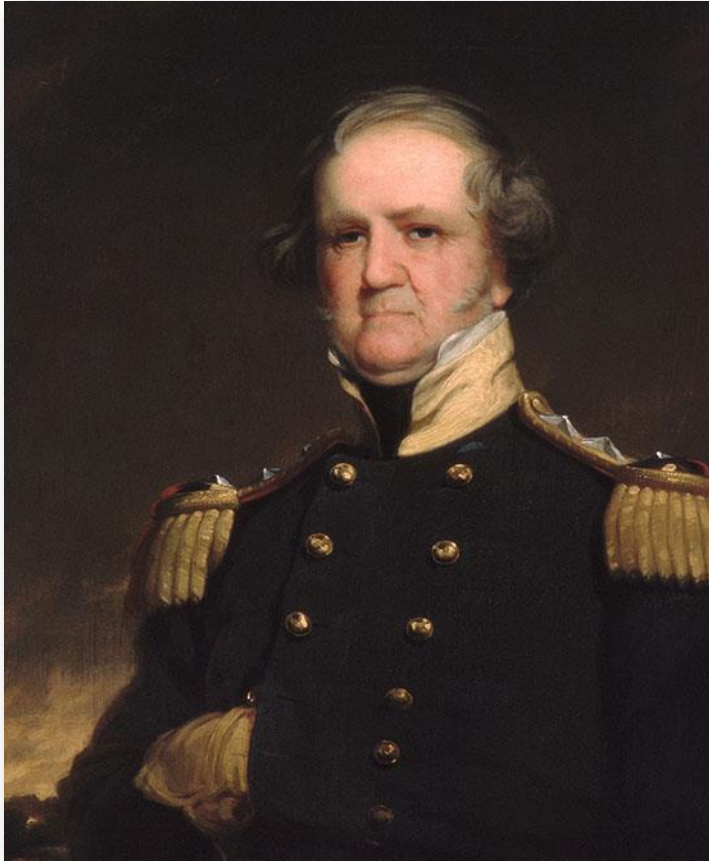
General Zachary Taylor, commanding general of the U.S. Army in the War with Mexico



James Reid Lambdin (1807–1889). *Zachary Taylor*. 1848. Oil on canvas.  $30\frac{1}{4} \times 25\frac{1}{8}$  in. (76.8 × 63.8 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (NPG.76.7); gift of Barry Bingham, Sr.

## IMAGE 52

General-in-chief of the Army, Winfield Scott, whom Nicholas I reminded Major Whistler of in appearance



Robert Walter Weir (1803–1889). *General Winfield Scott*. c. 1855. Oil on canvas.  $33\frac{3}{4} \times 26\frac{7}{8}$  in. (85.7 x 68.3 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 10.54; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/13187>); gift of the heirs of William B. Isham, 1910.



## IMAGE 53

Anna Margareta (Kunze) Lorillard's death in New York in November 1846 was reported to Anna Whistler.



*Anna Margareta Kunze*. Photograph (1910) of a portrait in the possession of Hermann H. Cammann. (Henrietta Meier Oakley and J.C. Schwab, *Muhlenberg Album* [New Haven, CT: Tuttle Press, 1910], no pagination)

## IMAGE 54

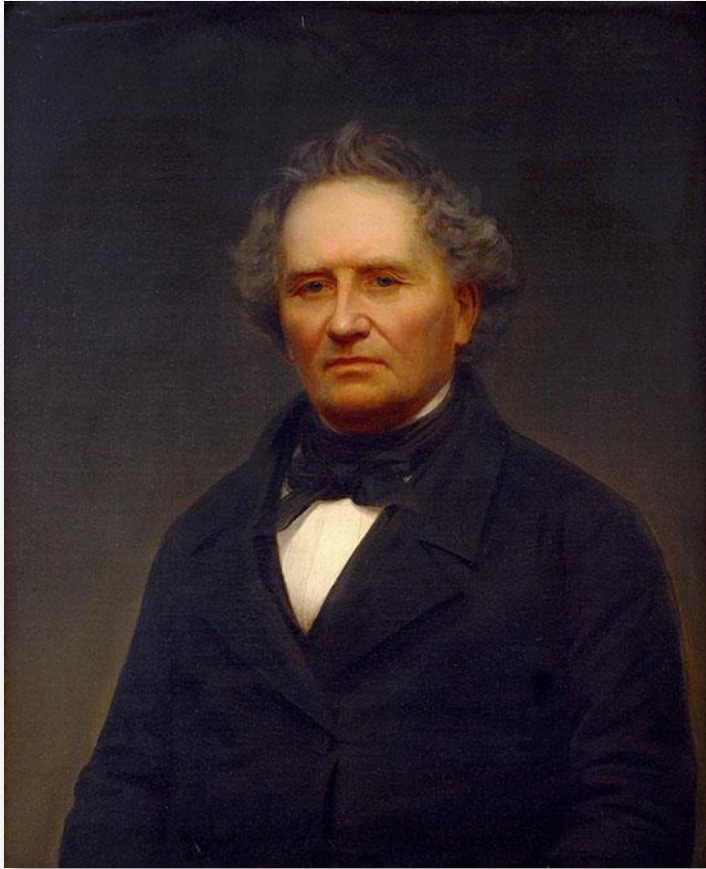
Agnes (Stevenson) Maxwell, mother of John Stevenson Maxwell



Solomon Nunes Carvalho (1815–1897). *Mrs. Hugh Maxwell* (c 1790–1866). 1867. Oil on canvas.  $30\frac{1}{4} \times 24\frac{7}{8}$  in. (76.8 x 63.2 cm). New-York Historical Society (ID 1969.53); bequest of Virginia Livingston Hunt.

## IMAGE 55

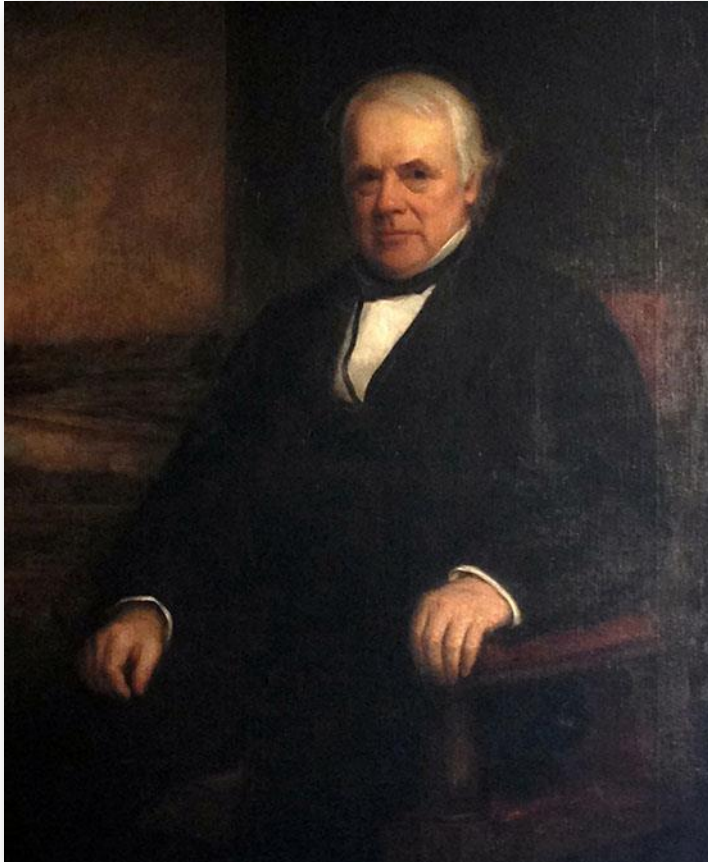
Hugh Maxwell, father of John Stevenson Maxwell



Anton H. Wenzler. *Hugh Maxwell (1787–1873)*. 1844. Oil on canvas. 30 ½ x 25 in. (77.5 x 63.5 cm). New-York Historical Society (ID 1964.35); gift of Wellwood Hugh Maxwell.

## IMAGE 56

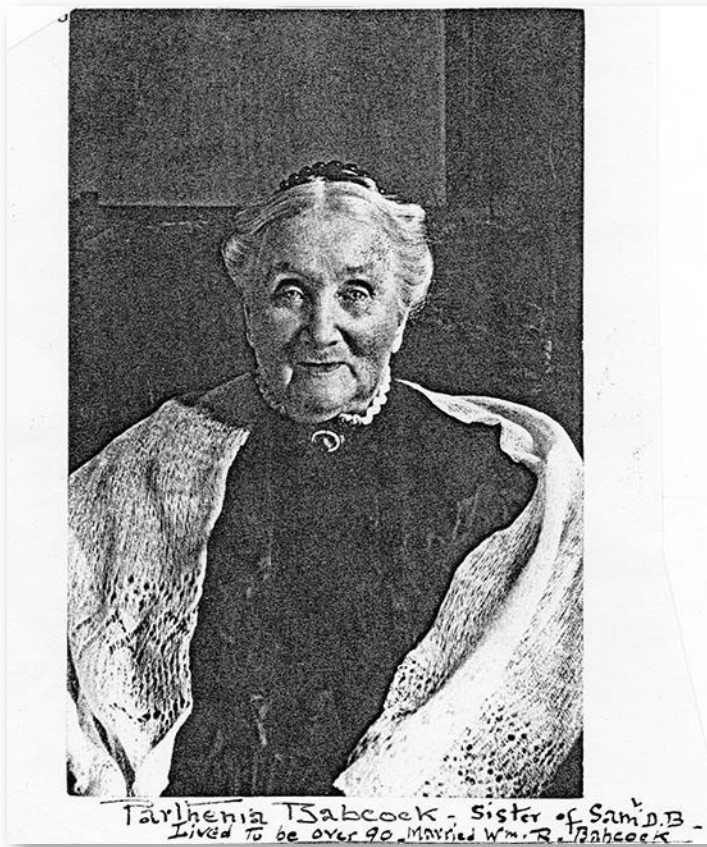
James Bicheno Francis, a friend and work associate of Major Whistler from Lowell, Massachusetts, who did not appreciate James Whistler as an artist



Richard B. Staigg (1817–1881). *Portrait of James Bicheno Francis*. 1878. Whistler House Museum of Art, Lowell, MA.

## IMAGE 57

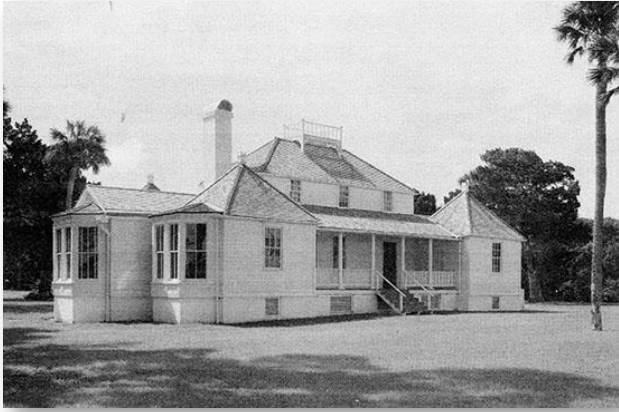
Parthenia Pardoe (Babcock) Babcock, Anna Whistler's friend in Stonington, Connecticut, whose baby daughter died in 1846



Photocopy of a photograph provided to E. Harden.

## IMAGE 58

The house in Florida belonging to Zephaniah Kingsley, the brother of Anna Whistler's mother, Martha (Kingsley) McNeill



Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, p. 159.

## IMAGE 59

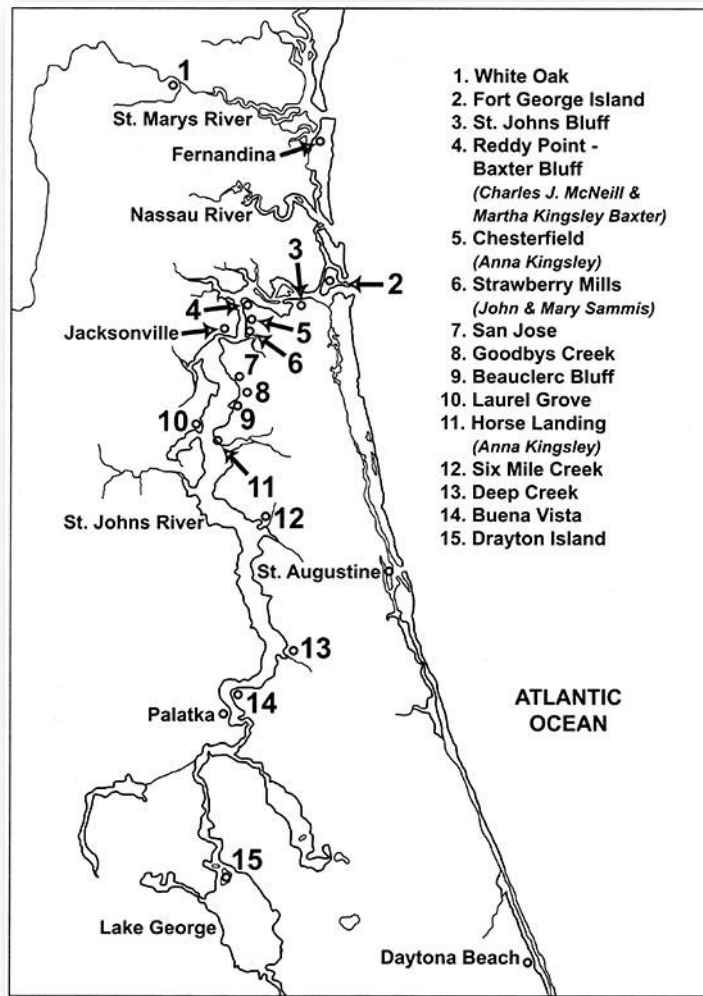
The house in Florida belonging to Anna Jai Kingsley, the mother of some of the children of Zephaniah Kingsley



Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, p. 160.

IMAGE 60

Map of Zephaniah Kingsley's lands in Florida



Schafer, *Zephaniah Kingsley*, p. 157.

## ELIZA WINSTANLEY'S DIARY

### IMAGE 61

Eliza Winstanley was met at Edge Hill Station, Liverpool, in June 1843 by her sister, Alicia, and Isa Johnstone.



Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait (1819–1905). *Edge Hill Station*. 1848. Lithograph. Printed and published by Bradshaw and Blacklock, London and Manchester.



## IMAGE 62

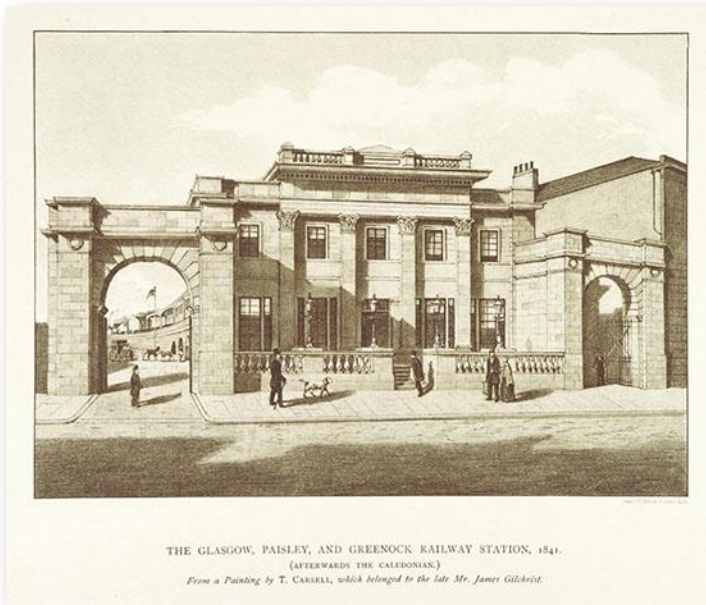
The boat on which Eliza Winstanley was traveling in June 1843 from Liverpool delivered two little girls to their father at Douglas, the main harbor on the Isle of Man.



*Douglas, Isle of Man* (*Brown's Guide to the Isle of Man*, 13th ed. [London: Geo. Philip and Son; Liverpool: W.H. Smith and Son, 1897], p. 24)

## IMAGE 63

Eliza Winstanley disembarked at Greenock, intending to catch a train to Glasgow.



*The Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock Railway Station, 1841.* Lithograph from a painting by T. Carsell. (A. Williamson, *Views & Reminiscences of Old Greenock* [Greenock, Scotland: J. McKeivie and Sons, 1891]. Courtesy of the British Library (digital record no. 10370.i.3)

## IMAGE 64

As the steamer approached Greenock, Eliza Winstanley was struck by the magnificence of Ben Lomond.



John Cousen (1804–1880). *Ben Lomond from Inveruglas (Dunbartonshire)*. 1839. Etching after Thomas Allom (1804–1872). 21.7 x 28.3 cm (trimmed). British Museum, London (1936,0425.4)

## IMAGE 65

Eliza Winstanley was equally awestruck by the sight of Ben Nevis.



*Ben Nevis.* 1873. (*The Illustrated London News* [Saturday, September 20, 1873], p. 268)

## IMAGE 66

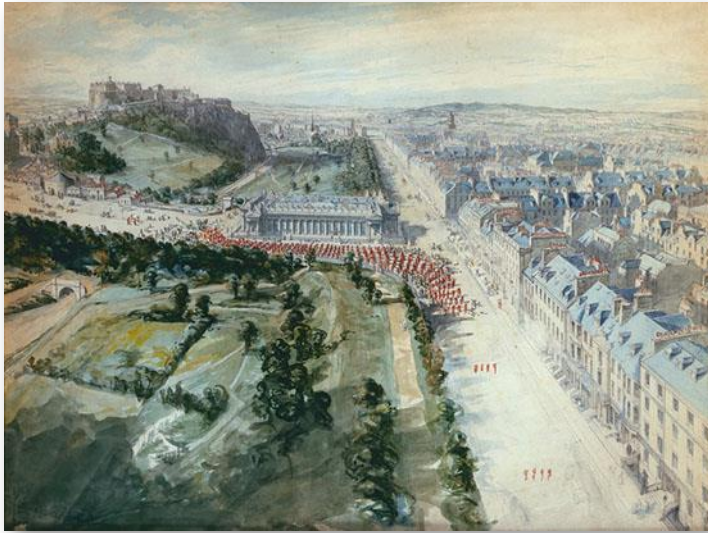
In Glasgow, Eliza Winstanley left the steamer, traveling by train to Edinburgh.



William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854). *Port Glasgow [Scotland]*. c. 1840. Lithograph engraved by J.W. Appleton.  $4\frac{11}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$  in.

## IMAGE 67

At the railway station in Edinburgh, Eliza Winstanley transferred to a coach that drove along Princes Street, heading for Portobello.



Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth (1824–1908). *Princes Street, Edinburgh Looking West, 10.15 am August, 1847, showing Parade, West of the Institution. 1847.*

## IMAGE 68

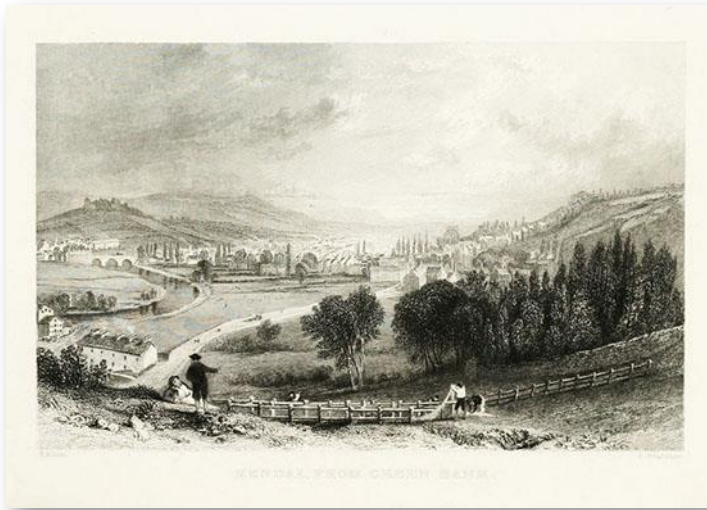
Eliza Winstanley traveled to Portobello, a suburb of Edinburgh, to visit her aunt, Charlotte (Clunie) Biggs, in June 1843.



*The Village of Portobello near Edinburgh.* c. 1850. Watercolor. 18.2 x 29.1 cm. Museums and Galleries Edinburgh, accessed 20 October 2021, <https://www.edinburghmuseums.org.uk/stories/making-waves-portobello-bathing-pool>

## IMAGE 69

Eliza Winstanley was met by her husband John and members of his extended family at Kendal.

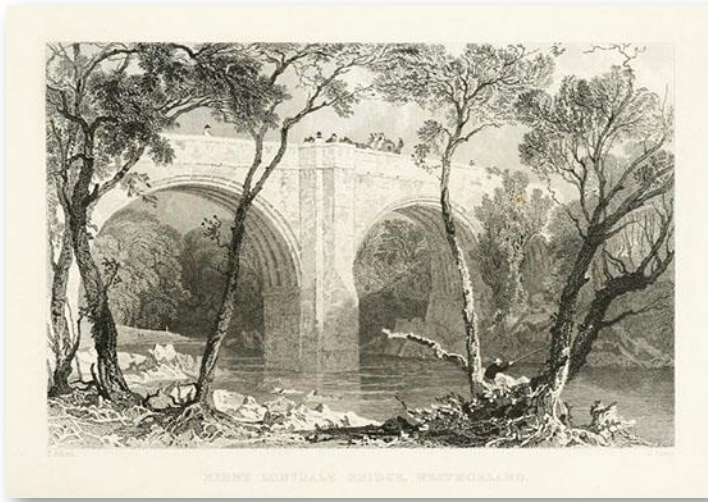


Thomas Allom (1804–1872) and W. Le Petit. *Kendal, from the Castle*. 1833. Engraving. (Thomas Allom, George Pickering et al., *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, Illustrated from Original Drawings by Thomas Allom, George Pickering &c.*, ed. Thomas Rose, 3 vols. [London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher, and P. Jackson, 1832–1835], vol. 2, facing p. 140)



## IMAGE 70

Eliza and John Winstanley and members of his extended family traveled together to Kirkby Lonsdale.



Thomas Allom (1804–1872) and S. Lacey. *Kirkby Lonsdale Bridge*. 1833. Engraving. (Allom, *Westmorland*, vol. 2, facing p. 82)

## IMAGE 71

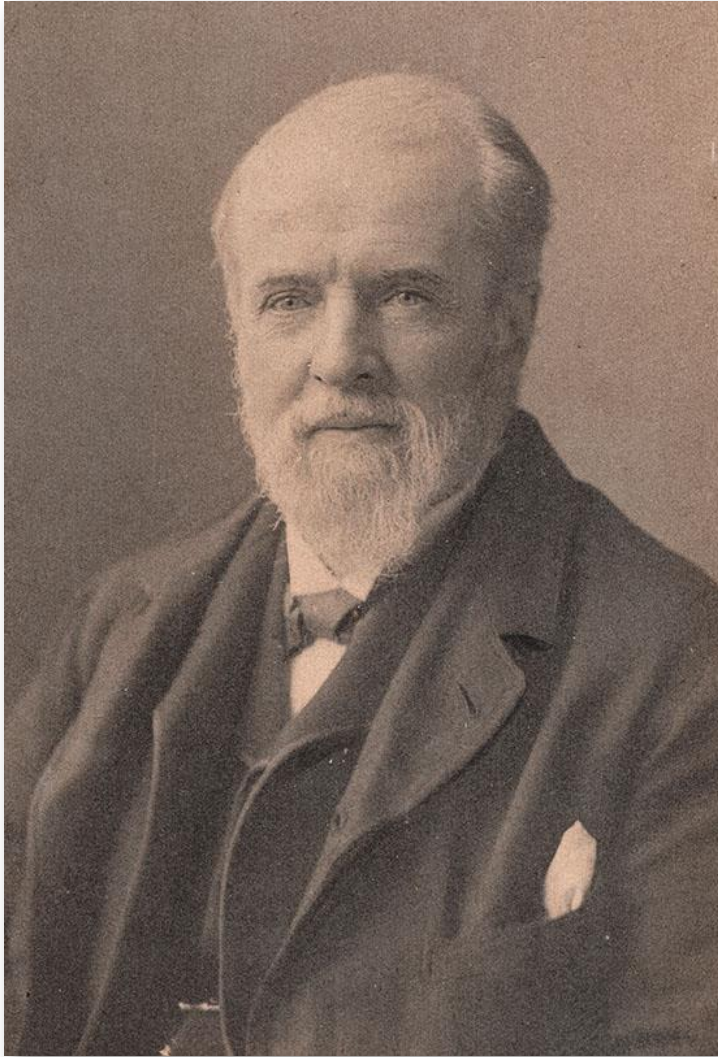
Meg Merrilies, whom Catherine Peterkin (Aunt Biggs's servant) resembled, is the old gypsy woman in Sir Walter Scott's novel *Guy Mannering* (1815).



James Thomson (Thompson). *Sarah Egerton (née Fisher) as Meg Merrilies in Terry's "Guy Mannering."* 1817. Hand-colored stipple engraving; published 1 April 1817 by Clement Chapple after Samuel De Wilde (1751–1832). 11½ x 7½ in. (29.1 x 19 cm) paper size. National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D10966).

## IMAGE 72

Robert Scott Moncrieff was Eliza Winstanley's nephew from her first marriage, to Colonel Robert Wellwood.



Photograph courtesy of Brenda Beech, Robert Scott Moncrieff's great-granddaughter; in ink on verso: "Grandpapa R. Scott Moncrieff"

## IMAGE 73

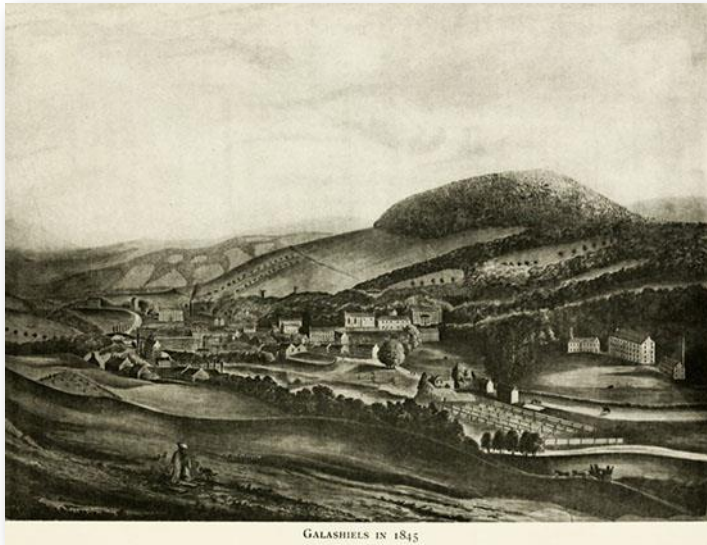
Elizabeth Angel was traveling to London on the Carlisle stage coach; Eliza Winstanley departed the same coach in Kendal.



James Pollard (1792–1867) and S. Rosenberg. *The Edinburgh Express*. c. 1840. Hand-colored aquatint on card. Printed in England.

## IMAGE 74

The coach from Edinburgh to Carlisle stopped at Galashiels.



*Galashiels in 1845.* (Robert Hall, *The History of Galashiels* [Galashiels, Scotland: Alexander Walker and Son, 1898], frontispiece)

## IMAGE 75

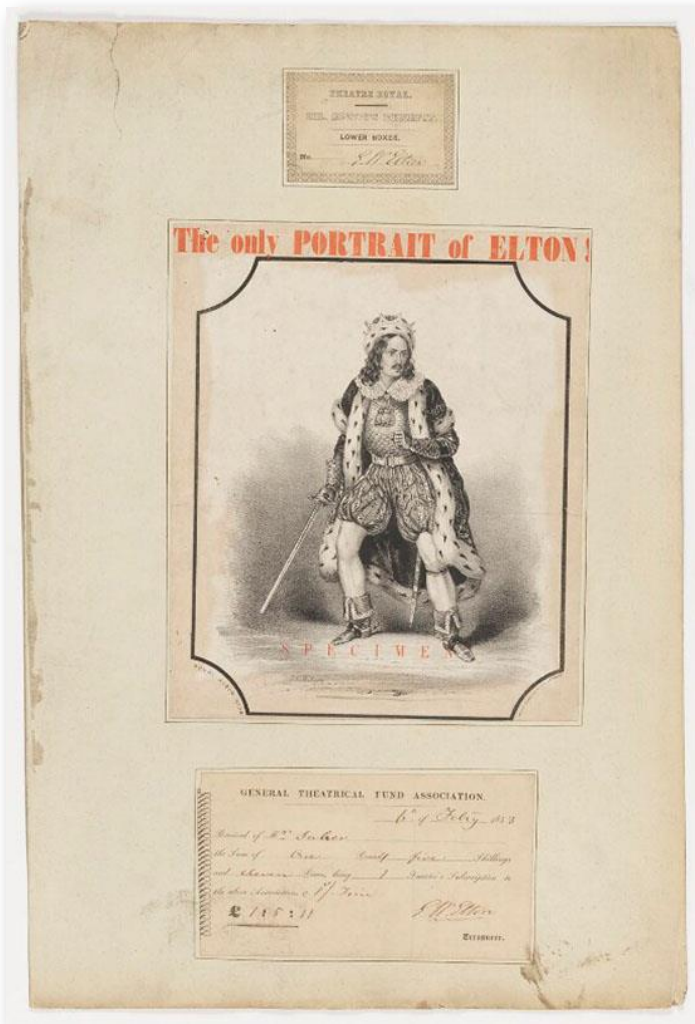
The coach from Edinburgh to Carlisle passed by Netherby Hall.



Thomas Allom (1804–1872) and Joseph Clayton Bently (1809–1851). *Netherby, Cumberland. Seat of Sir James Gram, Bart. First Lord of the Admiralty*. 1835. Etching.

## IMAGE 76

Miss Elizabeth Angel, traveling in the coach from Edinburgh to Carlisle with Eliza Winstanley, was the protégée of the London actor Edward William Elton.

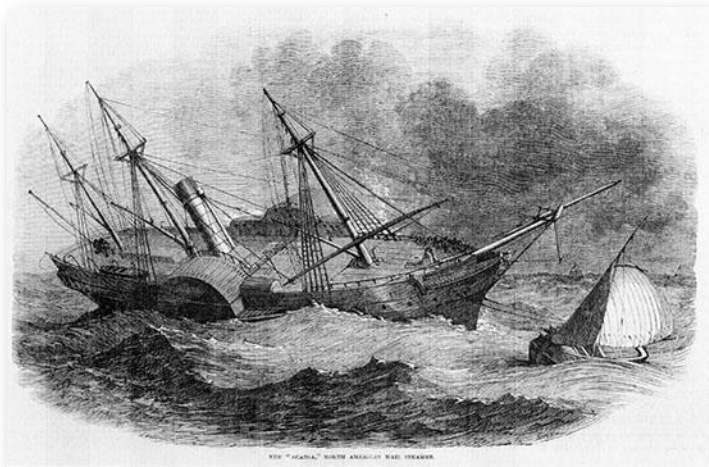


T.C. Wilson. *Edward William Elton*. c. 1831. Lithograph. National Portrait Gallery, London (D36176).

## THE JOURNEY TO ST. PETERSBURG

### IMAGE 77

The *Acadia*, the steamship on which Anna Whistler, George, James, Willie, Debo, Charlie, and Mary Brennan traveled to England in August 1843, on their way to join Major Whistler in St. Petersburg



“The ‘Acadia,’ North American Steamer.” *Illustrated London News*, March 24, 1849.



## IMAGE 78

Jean Robert and Louise Cecilia Poizat, whom Anna Whistler met on the *Acadia* in 1843



Auguste Edouart (1789–1861). *Mr. and Mrs. Poizat, of Philadelphia*. 24 July 1843. Silhouette. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (50.602.884); bequest of Glenn Tilley Morse, 1950.

## IMAGE 79

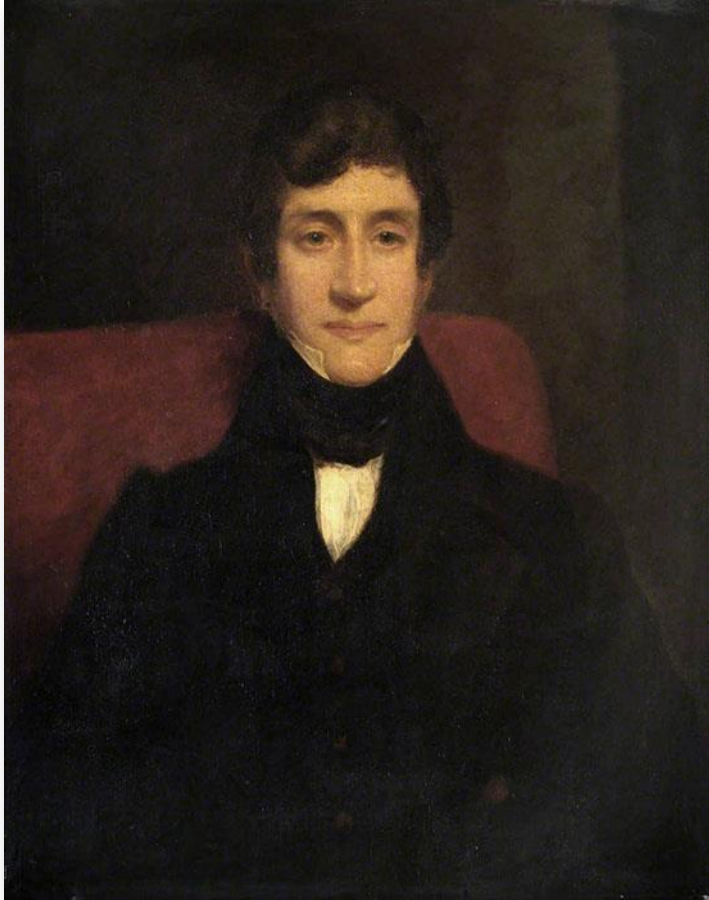
It is possible that members of the Whistler family visited an exhibit of George Catlin's portraits of North American Indians in the Egyptian Hall, Picadilly, when they were in London in 1842 and 1843. Anna Whistler showed a book of Indian portraits to Miss Khremmer in St. Petersburg.



A. McClatchy. *Egyptian Hall, Picadilly, London*. 1828. Engraving from a drawing by Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1793–1864). Westminster City Archives, London (D137 021).

## IMAGE 80

At least twice during her visits to England (en route to St. Petersburg in 1843 and again in the summer of 1847), Anna Whistler visited with the family of Francis Boott, brother of Kirk Boott.



Eden Upton Eddis (1812–1901). *Francis Boott (1792–1863)*. 1840. Oil on canvas. 29.8 x 24.8 in. (75.7 x 63 cm). Royal College of Physicians, London (X298); gift from the Linnean Society, 1874.

## IMAGE 81

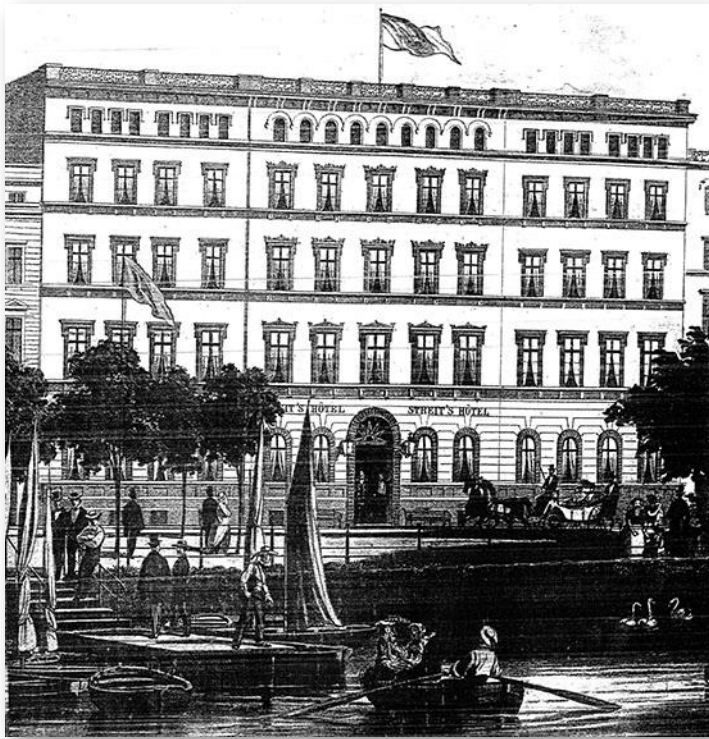
The port at Hamburg, to which Anna Whistler and her family sailed from London in September 1843 en route to St. Petersburg



André Durand (1807–1867). *Porte de Hamburg*. 1839. Lithograph. (Prince Anatole de D emidoff, ed., *Album du Voyage Pittoresque et Arch ologique en Russie: Par le Havre, Hambourg, Lubeck, Saint-Petersbourg, Moscou, Nijni-Nowgorod, Yaroslaw et Kasan* [*Album of a Picturesque and Archeological Journey in Russia, Via Le Havre, Hamburg, Lubeck, Saint-Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhnii Novgorod, Yaroslavl and Kazan*], illst. Andr e Durand [Paris: Ernest Bourdin, 1839])

## IMAGE 82

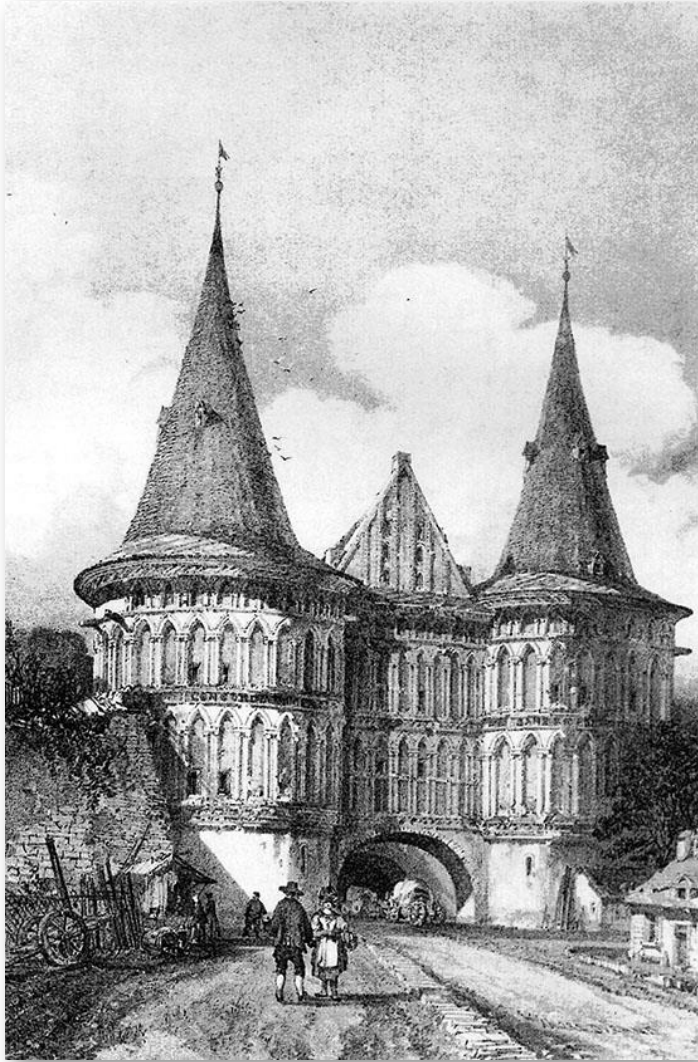
Streit's Hotel, where the Whistler family stayed when in Hamburg



*Streit's Hotel in Hamburg.* Staatsarchiv, Hamburg. (Hering, *150 Jahre Streit's*)

## IMAGE 83

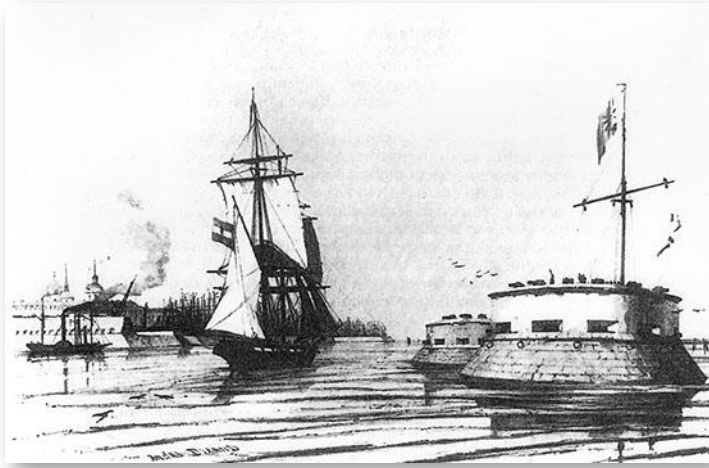
Lübeck, which Anna Whistler and her family passed through by coach en route from Hamburg to Travemünde on their voyage to St. Petersburg in September 1843



André Durand (1807–1867). *Porte d'Holstein. Lübeck*. 1839. Lithograph. (de Démidoff, *Voyage Pittoresque*)

## IMAGE 84

The entrance to the port at Cronstadt. The steamer from Travemünde dropped its passengers off at Cronstadt, where they took a “lighter” (a smaller boat, with a lighter draught) to St. Petersburg. The drawing depicts a Baird steamship and what appears to be a bilander or clipper, but no lighter.



André Durand (1807–1867). *Entrée de la Rade. Kronstadt*. 1839. Lithograph. (de Démidoff, *Voyage Pittoresque*)

## IMAGE 85

The English Church at Cronstadt (adjacent to the British Seamen's Hospital, also shown in this image), where Charles Donald Whistler's corpse was kept in September 1843 until a steamship could take it back to Stonington, Connecticut, for burial



“The British Seamen’s Hospital at Cronstadt,” *The Illustrated London News*, Supplement, December 29, 1866, p. 645.



## THE BOBRINSKII MANSION

### IMAGE 86

Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii, who owned the mansion on Galernaia Street in which the Whistler family lived from September 1843 to May 1844



Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1806–1873). *Portrait of Count Aleksei Bobrinskii*. 1844. Oil on canvas. 123 x 93 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-9621).

## IMAGE 87

Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii's father, Aleksei Grigorievich Bobrinskii, son of Catherine the Great and Prince Grigorii Grigorievich Orlov



Carl Ludwig Christineck (c. 1732 – c. 1793). *Portrait of Count Alexey Bobrinsky (1762–1813) as a Child*. 1769. Oil on canvas. 74 x 90 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1407).

## IMAGE 88

The front gates of the Bobrinskii Mansion on Galernaia Street, in which the Whistler family lived from September 1843 to May 1844



The photographs in Images 88 through 92 were all taken by G.K. Lukomskii c. 1917 and published in G.K. Lukomskii, *Staryi Peterburg Progulki po starinnyim kvartalam* [*Old Petersburg: Walks through the Old Quarters*] [Petrograd: Svobodnoe iskusstvo, 1917] as well as in subsequent editions.

## IMAGE 89

View of the front of the Bobrinskii Mansion



## IMAGE 90

The Bobrinskii Mansion had a walled garden at the side and front with a pavillion.



## IMAGE 91

Detail of fencing that was part of the garden wall of the Bobrinskii Mansion as seen from the New Admiralty Canal



## IMAGE 92

Back of the Bobrinskii Mansion



## IMAGE 93

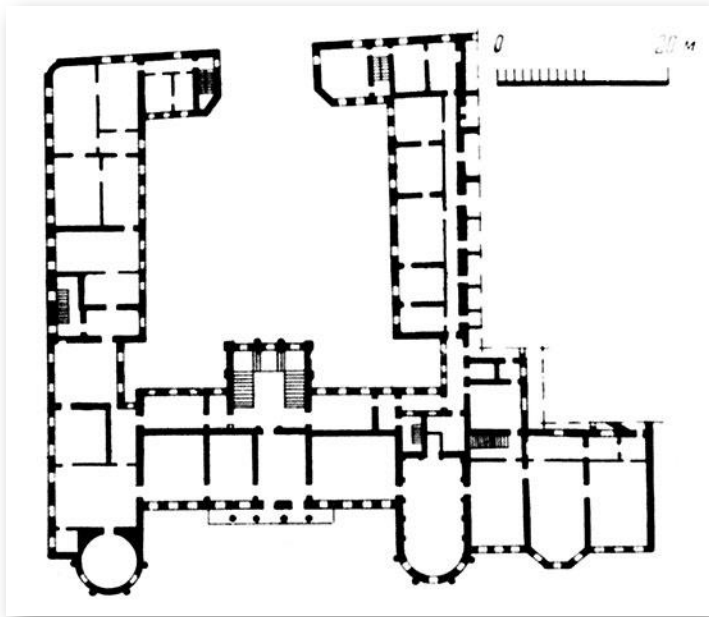
Garden at the back of the Bobrinskii Mansion



*The Garden Façade of the Bobrinský Palace.* Courtesy of Stern youth, CC BY-SA 4.0, via Wikimedia Commons, accessed 4 November 2021.

## IMAGE 94

The Whistlers lived on the second floor (shown here) of the Bobrinskii Mansion. The reception rooms were on the first (street) floor.



Floorplan of the second floor at the beginning of the 19th century. (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury Leningrada* 1958, p. 228).

## ST PETERSBURG

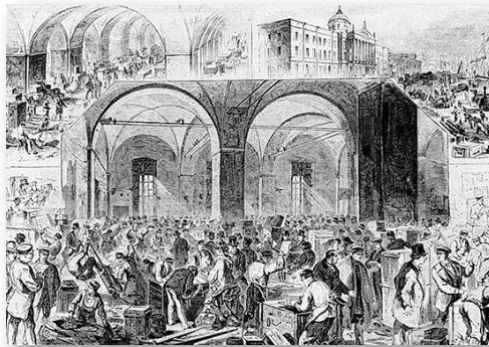
IMAGES 95, 96

The Customs House, which most travelers found unpleasant



*Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House)*. Photograph. (*Saint Petersburg Encyclopedia*, accessed 5 November 2021, <http://www.encyspb.ru/object/2804011054?lc=en>)

Customs House interior



*Petersburg. Customs House*. Mid-1800s. Xylograph. (Lotman and Pogosian, *Velikosvetskije obedy*, p. 238)

## IMAGE 97

Workers clearing the Nevskii Prospekt of snow at night

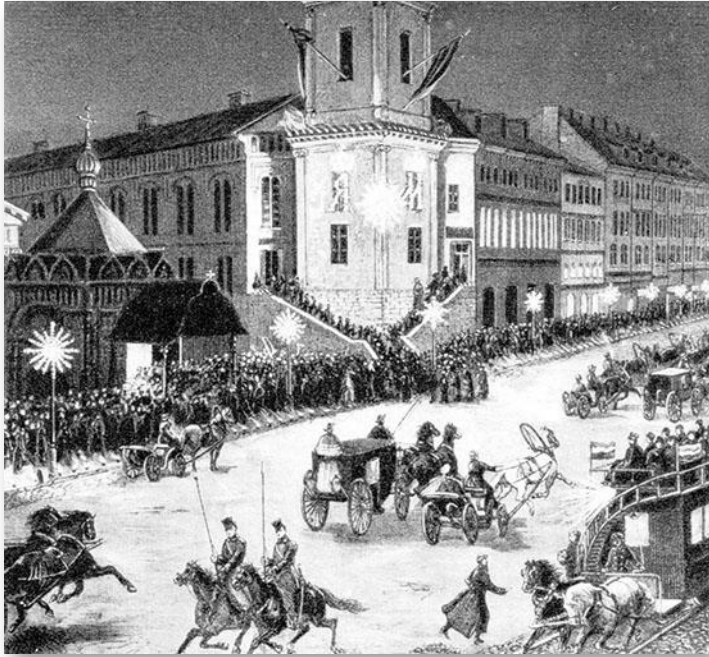


Louis Julien Jacottet (1806–1880) and Charles Claude Bachelier. *Nevskii Prospekt by Moonlight*. 1855–1859. Lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). 45 x 63 cm. State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg.



## IMAGE 98

The return of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna from Palermo in 1846 was celebrated by a full illumination of the Nevskii Prospekt and adjacent streets.



“A holiday on the Nevskii” (Éleonora Fradkina, *Zal Dvorianskogo sobraniia Zametki o koncertnoi zhizni Sankt-Peterburga* [*The Assembly Hall of the Nobility: Notes on the Concert Life of St. Petersburg*] [St. Petersburg: Kompozitor, 1994], no page number)

## IMAGE 99

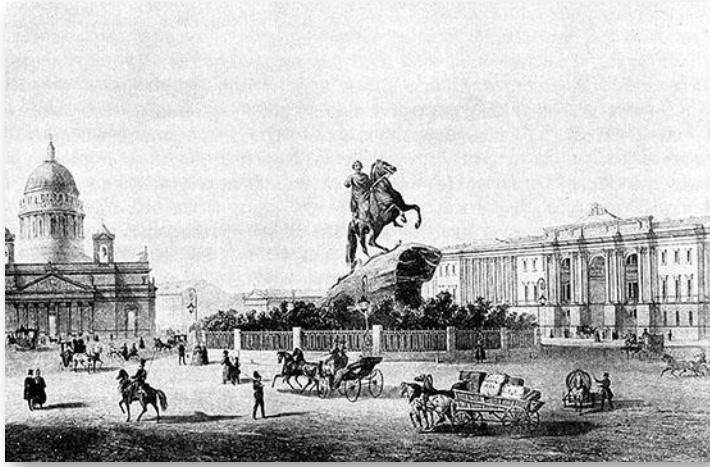
View of the Isaac floating bridge from St. Peter's Square (Senate Square) to Vasilevskii Island, showing St. Isaac's Cathedral, the statue of Peter the Great, and the Synod and the Senate, with the arch leading into Galernaia Street between them



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *View of the Isaac Floating Bridge Senate Square and Isaac Square in Winter*. 1830s. Lithograph. Private collection.

## IMAGE 100

Equestrian statue of Peter the Great, with a writhing snake being trampled by the horse's hind hooves, and Peter, dressed in a toga, pointing with his right hand



*Senate Square*. 1850s. Lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). (Lotman and Pogosian, *Velikosvetskie obedы*, p. 38)

## IMAGE 101

View of the English Embankment from Peter's Square, showing the Laval' house on the corner, before construction of the Senate and Synod was begun. Boats on the Neva River: on the right a Baird steamship; center and left, painted gondolas.



*View of the English Embankment from Peter's Square. 1826. Lithograph. 34.5 x 49.5 cm. State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg.*

## IMAGE 102

View of the English Embankment with the English Church visible through the rigging of one of Baird's steamships



Karl Petrovich Beggrov (1799–1875). *The English Quay. A Steamship on the Neva River*. 1830s. From the cycle of lithographs “Views of Petersburg.” State Tret’iakov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 103

View showing the middle section of the English Embankment



Ludwig Bohnstedt (1822–1885). *View of The English Embankment*. Watercolor. 21.7 x 33.4 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR-5527).

## IMAGE 104

The other end of the English Embankment: on the right, a covered slip; on the left, one of Baird's steamships



Joseph Charlemagne (1782–1861). *The English Embankment on the Neva, St. Petersburg*. 1858. Pencil and gouache. 30.5 x 42.5 cm. (12 x 16.7 in.). Private collection.

## IMAGE 105

View of the St. Petersburg islands and the Neva showing the gaily painted gondolas in the foreground and one of Baird's steamships

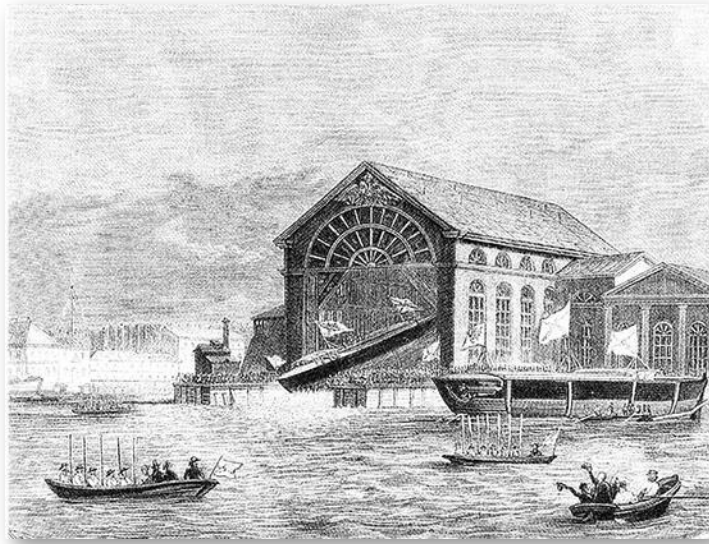


Timofei Alekseevich Vasiliev (1783–1838). *View of Islands in St. Petersburg, Russia*. 1820. Oil on canvas. 83 x 114 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1680).



## IMAGE 106

Anna Whistler was invited by Timothy Abraham Curtis to see a ship-launching.



E. Anert and I. Carbonier. *Covered Slip at the New Admiralty*. 1837. (Shtiglits, *Promyshlennaiia arkhitektura Peterburga*, no page number)

## IMAGE 107

Anna Whistler mentioned a mild episode of flooding Neva water appearing in their street.



*Flood in St. Petersburg, Russia, on 19 November 1824* (K.E. Rainold, ed., *Erinnerungen an merkwürdige Gegenstände und Begebenheiten* [Memories of Noteworthy Objects and Occurrences] [Vienna, 1825], facing p. 40)

## IMAGE 108

The English Magazine on the left corner of the Nevskii Prospekt and Bol'shaia Morskaia Street



L. Tiunling, *English Magazine on the Left Corner of Nevskii Prospekt and Bol'shaia Morskaia*. 1830s. Engraving. (A.M. Gordin and M.A. Gordin, *Byloi Peterburg Panorama stolichnoi zhizni* [*Bygone Petersburg: A Panorama of Life in the Capital City*][St. Petersburg: Pushkinskii fond, 1995], p. 145)

## IMAGE 109

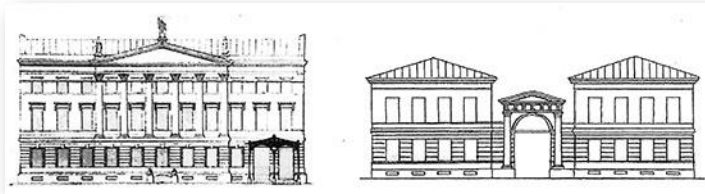
Anna Whistler frequently walked or shopped on elegant animated Bol'shaia Morskaia Street



*Bol'shaia Morskaia Street*. 1850s. Lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). State Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

## IMAGE 110

The English Church on the English Embankment as it would have looked when the Whistlers were communicants there. On the left is the main façade of the building of the church built by Giacomo Quarenghi; on the right is the façade of the building on the Galernaia Street side (architectural plan by F.K. Boltengagan, 1876)



Feodor Karlovich Boltenhagen. *Anglican Church* (№ 56). 1876. Drawings of the architectural design by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817). (Solovieva, *K prichalam*, p. 238)

## IMAGE 111

A photograph of the English Church on the English Embankment in the early 2000s, with the statues of the lions missing



*Anglican Church of Jesus Christ (along the English Embankment)*. Photograph. Citywalls.ru website, accessed 4 November 2021, <https://www.citywalls.ru/photo7238.html?s=dk570fk659m1av6geneg3hsn47>

## IMAGE 112

Rubens's *Deposition from the Cross*, which hung above the altar of the English Church at the time that the Whistlers were communicants there



Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). *Deposition from the Cross*. 1617–1618. Oil on canvas. 297 x 200 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-471).

## IMAGE 113

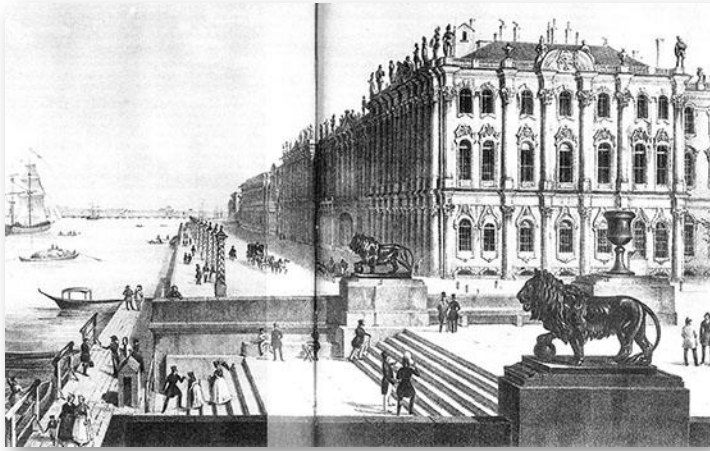
Like all visitors, Anna Whistler and her party, guests of Colonel Todd, the envoy of the United States, were limited in what they could see of the Winter Palace, because the New Hermitage was being built from 1842 to 1852.



Luigi Premazzi (1814–1891). *View of the New Hermitage from Millionnaya Street*. 1861. Watercolor. 32.2 x 43.8 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (OP-42894).

## IMAGE 114

The Winter Palace, with the entrance to the Jordan Staircase, which Todd's party ascended, visible on the side of the building



*Imperial Winter Palace*. Mid-19th century. Lithograph. (*Perepiska Imperatora Aleksandra II s Velikim Kniazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem. Dnevnik Velikogo Knaizja Konstantina Nikolaevicha* [Correspondence of Emperor Alexander II and Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich. *Diary of Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich*] [Moscow: Terra, 1994], pp. 24–25)



## IMAGE 115

The Jordan Staircase in the Winter Palace



Konstantin Ukhtomsky (c. 1818 – c. 1880). *Jordan Staircase*. 1866. (A.N. Voronikhina, *Vidy zalov Ermitazha i Zimnego Dvortsa* [*Views of the Salons of the Hermitage and the Winter Palace*] [Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1983])

## IMAGE 116

View of Alexander (Palace) Square, showing the front of the Winter Palace, with the monument to Alexander I



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *View of Palace Square and the Winter Palace, St. Petersburg*. c. 1847. Watercolor. 23.8 x 39.2 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR-5515).

## IMAGE 117

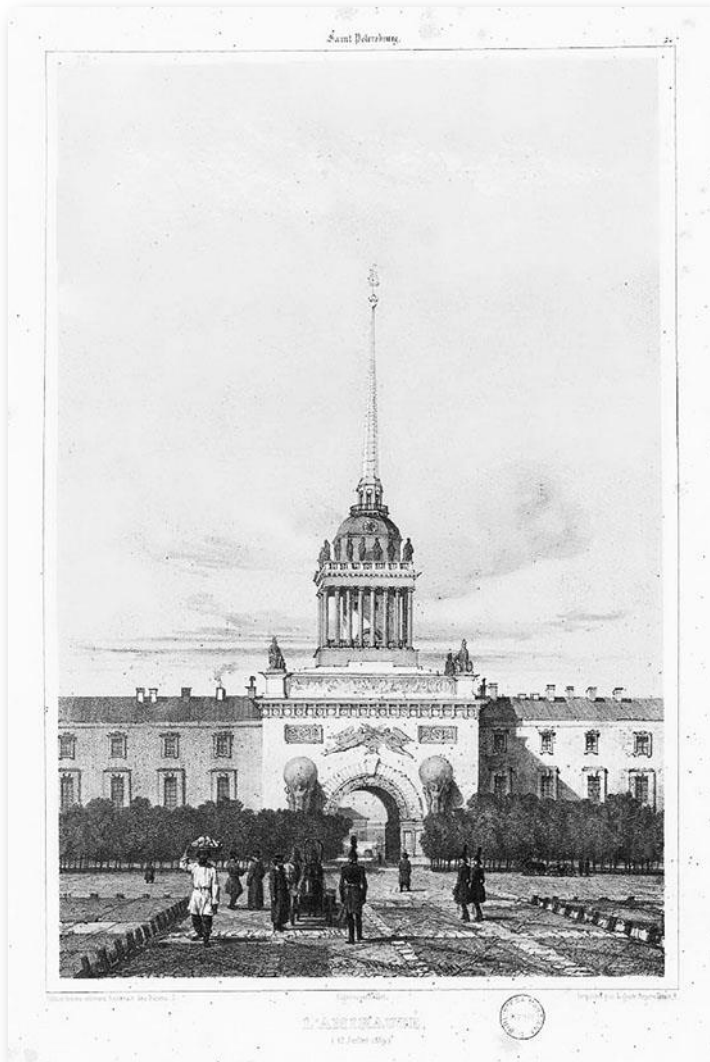
The Winter Palace during the White Nights of summer



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *Winter Palace by Night*. 1857. Watercolor on paper; included in the series of drawings (13 sheets) “Court life in Gatchina in 1859.” 27.6 x 38.9 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (OR-38952).

## IMAGE 118

The Admiralty, on Admiralty Square, where the Shrovetide fair was constructed



André Durand (1807–1867). *The Admiralty*. 1839. Lithograph. (de Démidoff, *Voyage Pittoresque*)

## IMAGE 119

St. Isaac's Cathedral was being built while the Whistlers were in Russia.



Jean Victor Adam (1801–1867). *View of St. Isaac's Cathedral in Scaffolding*. 1845. Tinted lithograph from a drawing by Auguste de Montferrand (1786–1858). 30.5 x 43.2 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERG-33095).

## IMAGE 120

View of the north façade of St. Isaac's Cathedral from Admiralty Boulevard



Philippe Benois. *St. Isaac's Cathedral from Admiralty Boulevard*. 1845. Lithograph from a drawing by Auguste Montferrand (1786–1858). 48.5 x 63.5 cm. State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 121

Alexander Koritskii told Anna Whistler that he was assisting K.P. Briullov while the latter was painting the cupola frescos and ceiling in St. Isaac's Cathedral in 1843–1847.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Christ in Majesty*. 1843–1847. Sketch for a ceiling painting in St. Isaac's Cathedral. Oil on canvas. Tondo, dia. 65 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 122



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Mother of God in Glory Surrounded by Saints*. 1843–1847. Initial composition for the plafond of the central cupola of St. Isaac's Cathedral in St. Petersburg. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

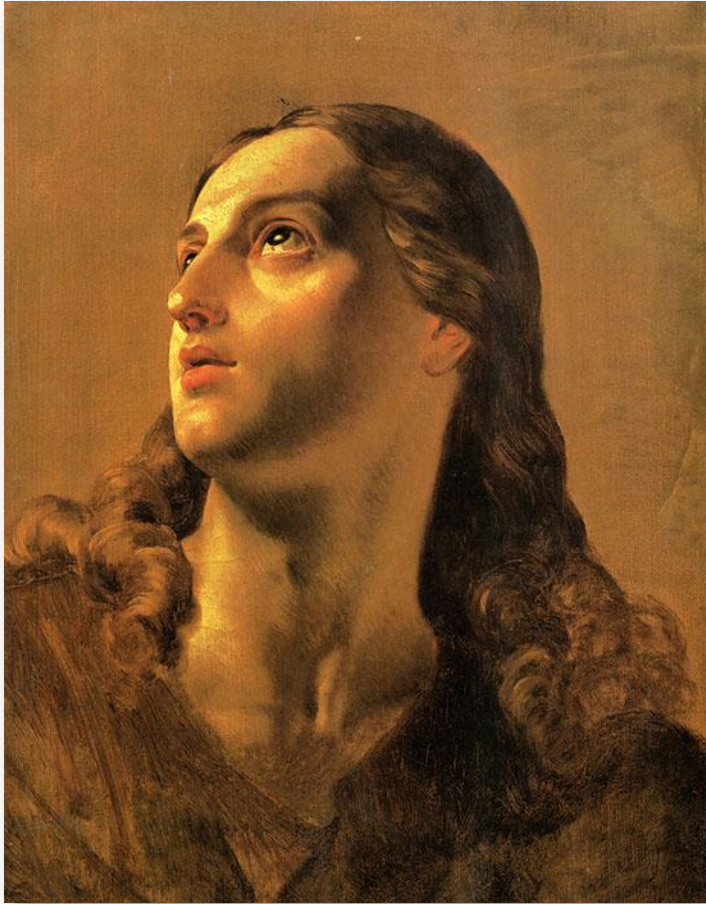
## IMAGE 123



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *The Evangelist Mark*. Sketch for a pendentive painting in St. Isaac's Cathedral. Oil on canvas. 35 x 48 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.



IMAGE 124



Karl Briullov. *St. John the Divine*. 1843–1847. Study for a ceiling painting in the central dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral. Oil on canvas. 53 x 42 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 125

Anna Whistler sometimes attended the evening service at the British and American Congregational Church (British and American Chapel), of which the Gellibrands and Ropeses were communicants.



*British and American Congregational Church of St. Petersburg, c. 1890. Photograph. Courtesy of David Whitford, Social Media Manager, Anglican Church in St Petersburg.*

## IMAGE 126

Kazan Cathedral on the Nevskii Prospekt, to which Deborah Whistler was invited in 1844 to hear the Russian all-night Easter service



Karl Beggrov (1799–1875). *Kazan Cathedral, with the Statues of Barclay de Tolly and Koutouzoff*. Bibliothèques de Nancy, France (Collection Victor Poiré, Rés. 4276).

## IMAGE 127

St. Catherine of Alexandria Roman Catholic Church on the Nevskii Prospekt, where Anna Whistler heard a service on Easter Sunday 1844



P.S. Ivanov. *St. Catherine's Roman Catholic Church* (detail from *Panorama of Nensky Prospekt*). 1835. Lithograph from the original drawing by Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). (*Saint Petersburg Encyclopedia*, accessed 8 November 2021, <http://www.encspb.ru/object/2855696190?lc=en>)

## IMAGE 128

The Dutch Reformed Church on the Nevskii Prospekt, in which Anna Whistler attended a funeral service for Wilhelmina Elizabeth (Funck) Grooten in December 1846



*The Building of the Dutch Church on Nensky Prospekt. 1850s. Lithograph tinted with watercolor. 32 x 51.5 cm.*

## IMAGE 129

St. Peter's Lutheran Church (sometimes called St. Peter and Paul Lutheran Church) on the Nevskii Prospekt, in which Major Whistler and Debo may have heard the testing of a new organ



Alfred Lorenz. *Lutheran Church of St. Peter and Paul in St Petersburg*, c. 1860–1879. Photograph on card. (Travel Cultura, accessed 8 November 2021, <https://travelcultura.com/petrikirche-mystery-hidden-behind-the-facades/>)

## IMAGE 130

Peter and Paul Fortress Church, where the Imperial dead are interred, which Anna Whistler took Mary Brennan, Willie, and John Bouttatz to visit in July 1846



André Durand (1807–1867). *Sts. Peter and Paul Church in the Fortress*. 1839. Lithograph. (de Démidoff, *Voyage Pittoresque*)

## IMAGE 131

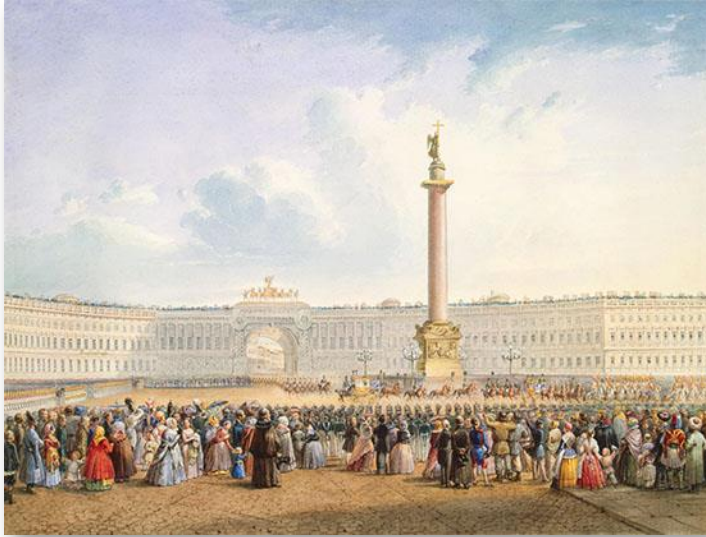
The Church in Honor of the Celebration of the Annunciation to the Most Holy Mother of God was being built not far from the Bobrinskii mansion.



Jean-Louis Jacotet (1806–1880) and Charles Claude Bachelier (fl. c. 1832–1885). *View of Blagoveshchenskaya (Annunciation) Square*. c. 1850. Colored lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). 44.5 x 61 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERG-7522).

## IMAGE 132

Alexander (Palace) Square with the arch of the General Staff Headquarters building, showing the ceremonial entry of Princess Alexandra of Sachsen-Altenburg into St. Petersburg to be betrothed to His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich in 1847



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *The Ceremonial Ride in Palace Square*. 1840s. Watercolor. 20.5 x 29.5 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR-6418).



## IMAGES 133, 134

Anichkov Palace, to which the Imperial family retreated during Lent



Joseph Andreas Weiss. (1814–1887). *View of the Anichkov (Nikolai) Palace in St Petersburg*. 1843. Watercolor. 22.6 x 22.3 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (OR-24064).



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *View of the Anichkov Palace from the Fontanka River*. 1838. Watercolor on paper. 23.2 x 38.2 cm. State Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

## IMAGE 135

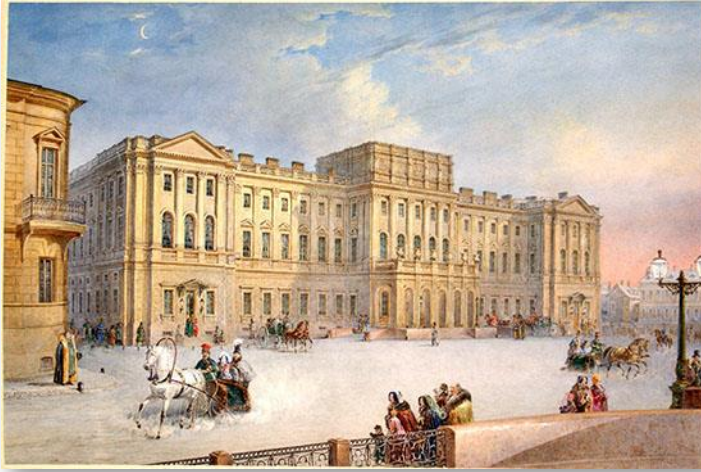
The Michael (Mikhailovskii) Palace, the home of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Nicholas I, in St. Petersburg



*Palace of G<sup>d</sup> Duke Michael.* 1850s. Lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). State Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

## IMAGE 136

Maria (Mariinskii) Palace, the home of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, eldest daughter of Nicholas I, and of her husband, His Imperial Highness Duke Maximilian-Eugene-Jozef-August-Napoleon Leuchtenberg



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *View of the Mariinskii Palace from the Blue Bridge*. 1840s. Watercolor. 24.9 x 37.3 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR-5512).

## IMAGE 137

The Horse Guards Manege, the Imperial indoor riding range



Gaubert. *The Horse Guards Manege, 1834*. From a drawing by Alexey Gornostaev (1808–1862). State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg. (Manege Central Exhibition Hall, accessed 30 October 2021, <https://manege.spb.ru/en/about/>)

## IMAGE 138

One of the many reviews of the Horse Guard that Anna Whistler, James, and Willie saw during their time in St. Petersburg



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *Parade of the Horse-Guard Regiment near the Manege*. 1840s. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR-5569). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

## IMAGE 139

The Corps of Pages, in which Nicholas I is said to have offered to educate James and Willie after Major Whistler's death, was housed in this building.



Agafon Avnatomov (1816–1893) and Nikolai Broese. *His Imperial Majesty's Page Corps*. 1858. Lithograph with watercolor; from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). 43.3 x 61.2 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERG-6124).

## IMAGES 140, 141, 142

The Whistlers left Russia in May 1849 after the death of Major Whistler and did not see the completed Annunciation Bridge.



Jean-Louis Jacottet (1806–1880) and Regeme. *Annunciation (Nicholas) Bridge*. c. 1850. Lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). (A.L. Punin, *Arkhitektura Peterburga serediny XIX veka* [*St. Petersburg Architecture of the Mid-Nineteenth Century*] [Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1990], p. 291)



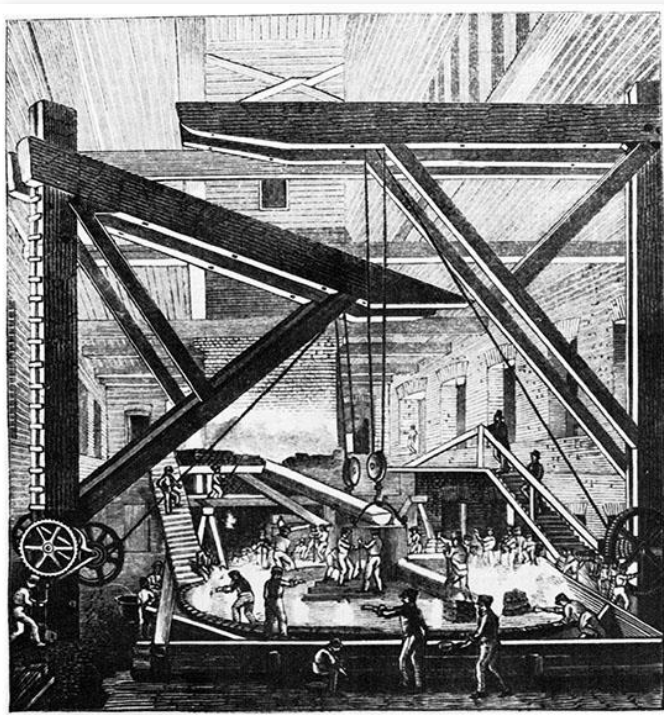
Jean-Louis Jacottet (1806–1880) and Regeme. *Annunciation (Nicholas) Bridge from the English Embankment*. c. 1850. Tinted lithograph from a drawing by Joseph Charlemagne (1824–1870). (*Saint Petersburg Encyclopedia*, accessed 20 January 2022, <http://www.encyspb.ru/object/2855715447?lc=en>)



Detail of the railing of the Annunciation Bridge cast by the Baird Iron Works (Bowles, "From the Banks of the Neva," p. 75)

#### IMAGE 143

The interior of the Baird Iron Works that cast railings and statues and built steamships for Neva traffic. Anna Whistler did not like the kind of subsequent wealthy and extravagant social life its profits afforded Mrs. Baird, and tried to avoid accepting her invitations.



An interior view of the Baird works (Bowles, "From the Banks of the Neva," p. 71)



## IMAGE 144

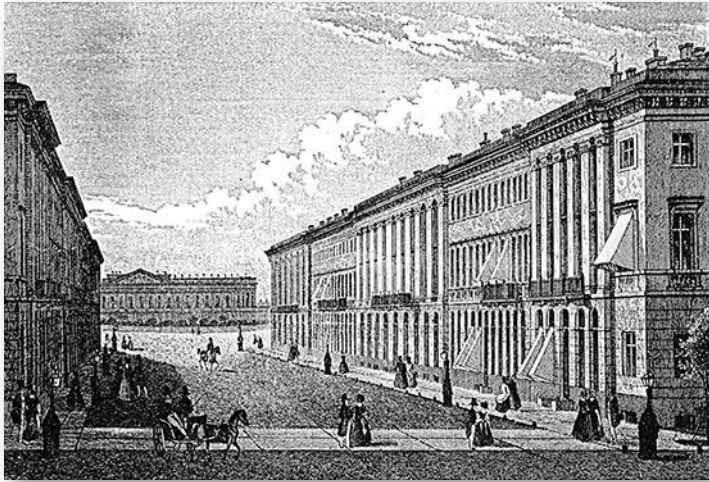
The Whistlers left Russia in May 1849 after the death of Major Whistler and did not see the completed St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway Passenger Station.



A. Pettsol't. *St. Petersburg Passenger Station of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway*. 1851. Watercolor.

## IMAGE 145

In 1845, Anna Whistler, Major Whistler, and Debo attended a charity concert for orphans under the patronage of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna held in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility



*Building of the Assembly Hall of the Nobility on Novo-Mikhailovskaia Street. (Bozherianov, Nenskiĭ Prospekt, vol. 2, p. 424)*

## IMAGE 146

Anna Whistler, Major Whistler, and Debo attended an annual charity event for invalids of the Napoleonic Wars held in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility



*Ball in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility. (Fradkina, Zal Dvorianskogo sobraniia)*

## IMAGE 147

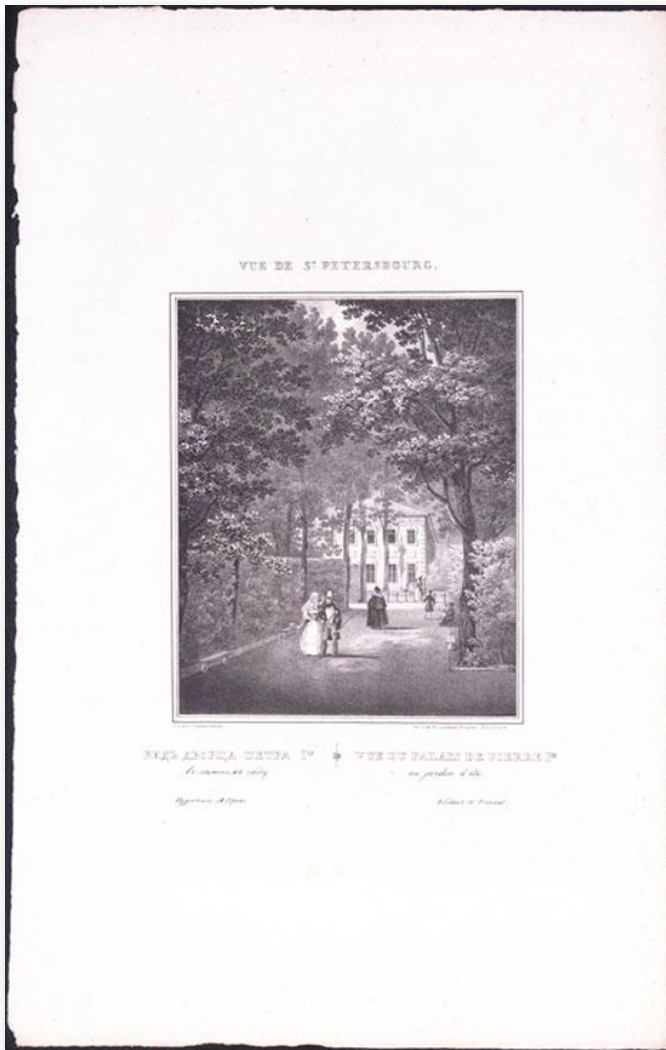
Smol'nyi Institute for the Education of Young Noblewomen, where Deborah Whistler heard Clara Schumann play



Ferdinand-Victor Perrot (1808 –1841). *View of the Smolny Convent*. 1841. Watercolored lithograph on paper. 41.5 x 57.5 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERG-20120).

## IMAGE 148

The Summer Palace was located in the Summer Garden, where James and Willie, when pupils of Monsieur Jourdan's school, played.



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *View of the Palace of Peter I [the Great]*. 1833. Lithograph. Russian National Library, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 149

Anna Whistler took her half-sister Alicia McNeill to the residence of Count Benkendorf near the Summer Garden to get a ticket of residence.



K.K. Schultz. *Café in the Summer Garden*. c. 1845. Lithograph from an original by Johann Jacob Meyer (1787–1858). (Johann Jacob Meyer, *Vues pittoresque des palais et jardins impériaux aux environs de St. Petersburg; Dessinés d'après nature par J. Meyer et lithographiés par Schultz* [St. Petersburg: Velten, 1845–1855])

IMAGE 150

A ticket of residence was required for all visitors to St. Petersburg.



A ticket-of-residence (printed in Russian, English, French, and German). (Bozherianov, *Nevskaia Prospekt*, vol. 2, p. 423.

## IMAGE 151

Mansion of Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev, from a window of which, not facing the Neva river, Ellen Harriet (Hall) Ropes saw a review



Luigi Premazzi (1814–1891). *House of G.G. Kushelev*. 1840s. Watercolor on paper.

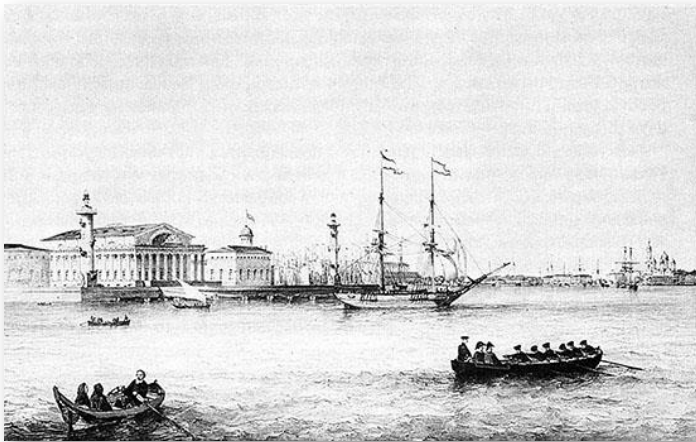


## IMAGES 152, 153

The Exchange, to which merchants such as William Hooper Ropes went daily to conduct their firms' business, was situated on the Spit of Vasilievskii Island.



Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (1817–1900). *Evening on the Neva. The Spit of Vasilievskii Island*. 1847. Oil on canvas. 81 x 116 cm. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.



*The Spit of Vasilievskii Island, Petersburg Port*. Lithograph after a drawing by F. Perrot. (Lotman and Pogosian, *Velikosvetskie obedы*, p. 76).

## THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

### IMAGE 154

View of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts from the Neva River in the 1830s, after the installation of the two sphinxes



Pyotr Ivanov. *View of the Academy of Arts, Two Sphinxes Decorating the New Landing Place on the Neva Embankment.* 1830s. Lithograph from a drawing by Vasily Sadovnikov (1800–1879). 28 x 35 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERG-30526).

## IMAGE 155

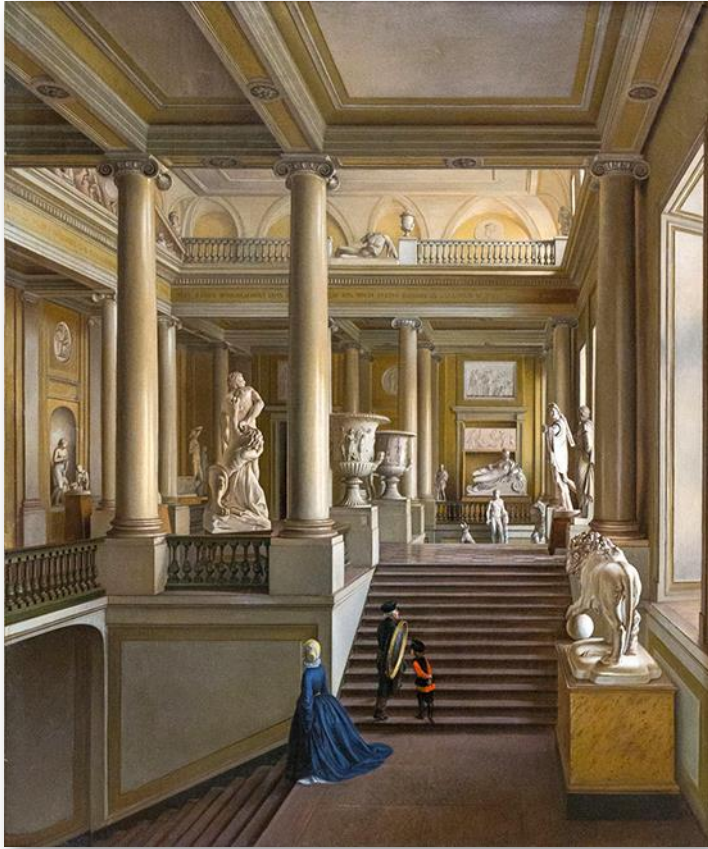
Landing dock at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, which James attended in irregular fashion



Ferdinand Victor Perrot (1808–1841). *Landing Stage at the Academy of Fine Arts*. 1841. Lithograph tinted with watercolor. 26.5 x 44.5 cm. State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 156

The staircase in the entrance hall of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts



Ivan Alekseevich Ivanov (1779–1848). *Main Staircase of the Academy of Fine Arts*. 1830. 106 x 88 cm. Oil on canvas. Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 157

A student copying in the Second Antique Gallery of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts



Grigory Karpovich Mikhailov (1814–1867). *Second Antique Gallery in the Academy of Fine Arts*. 1836. Oil on canvas. 138 x 170.5 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 158

Professor Karl Pavlovich Briullov, mentor to Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, James Whistler's private drawing teacher, in the life class at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in 1844



Aleksei Filippovich Chernyshev (1824–1863). *K. Briullov in the Life Class at the Academy of Fine Arts*. 1844. (Kornilova, *Karl Briullov*, unnumbered pages between pp. 128 and 129)

IMAGE 159

A page from the registry book showing that Ticket no. 355 was issued “to James Whistler, son of an American” (“Iakovu Uisleru synu Amerikantsa”) to attend drawing classes at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, and that nine rubles were paid for the ticket on 26 March [7 April] 1845 received by Koritskii (James’s private drawing teacher) that day (“26 Mart. 9. Poluchil Koritskii”).

Имя и фамилия	Вид билетов	Класс	Классификация
354 Георгий Уислеров сын американец	—	26 Март 9.	получил Уислеров
355 Яков Уислеров сын американец	—	26 Март 9.	получил Коритский
<p>Учредитель Императорской Академии Художеств 1784</p> <p><u>Михаил Акимович</u></p>			<p>Данная сумма в размере 9 руб. получена от Уислера 26 Март 1845 г.</p>
356 Александр Акимович Уислеров сын	—	9. Апр. 9.	получил Уислеров

RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734, fol. 18v. Kniga o vydache biletov raznym litsam poseshchajushchim Risoval'nye klassy IAKh za 1845 g. i 1846 g. [Book concerning the issuing of tickets to various persons attending drawing classes at the IAFA in 1845 and 1846]. Entry for James Whistler.

## IMAGE 160

A page from the registry book showing that the holder of ticket no. 355 was James Whistler, who lived in Ritter's house on the English Embankment ("Uisler (Iakov) v dome rittera na Angliiskoi naberezhnoi")

102	Хитровъ Детская школа Старый мостъ Кол.	—	въ Петербургѣ на набережной Князя Александра
174	Училище Губернское	—	на набережной въ Петербургѣ у Мухоморова
957	Училище де сиротъ	—	въ Петербургѣ на набережной
355	Училище (школа)	—	въ доме г-на Уислера на набережной

RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 733, fol. 31r. Kniga dlia zapisi biletov, vydavaemykh uchashchimsia na poseshchenie risoval'nykh klassov na 1845 g. [Book for registering tickets issued to pupils to attend drawing classes in 1845]. Entry for James Whistler.



IMAGE 161

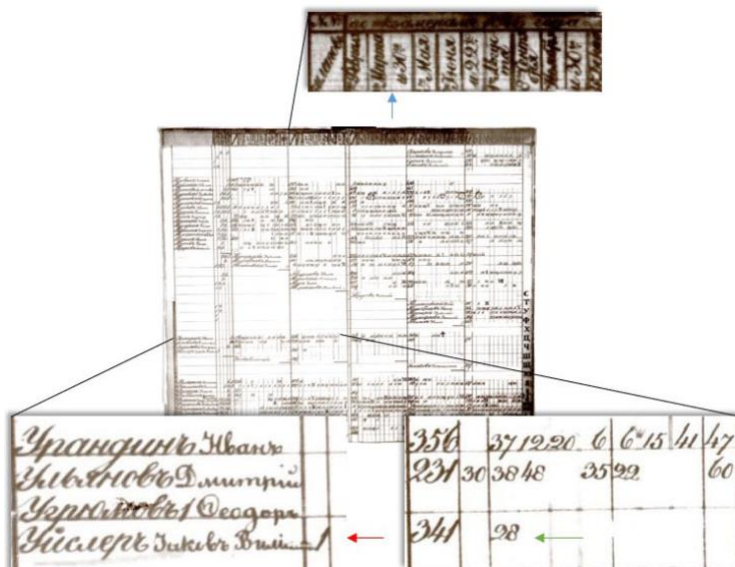
A page from the registry book showing that the holder of ticket no. 341 was William Whistler, son of a Major in American service 18 Feb. 9 r [rubles] received by A. Koritskii ("Villiamu Uisleru synu Amerikanskoi sluzh. Maiora 18 Fevr. 9r. Poluchil A. Koritskii")

340.	Евгению Бобринскому затем - на имя сына 1 рубл.	18 февр.	9.	Коритский Бобринский
341.	Вильямусу Уилеру сыну Американской службы Майора	18 февр.	9.	Коритский А. Коритский
342.	Николаю Георгиевичу сыну офицера, сына подполковника Московского полка	18 февр.	9.	Коритский И. Коритский
343.	Ивану Ивановичу Кареевичу Горбачеву.	18 февр.	9.	И. Кареевич
344.	Ивану Ивановичу Горбачеву затем - на имя сына	18 февр.	9.	Коритский И. Коритский
345.	Владимиру Григорьевичу Горбачеву затем - на имя сына	18 февр.	9.	
346.	Петру Ивановичу Волкову затем - на имя сына	18 февр.	9.	Коритский И. Коритский
347.	Константину Ивановичу Горбачеву	18 февр.	9.	Анна де Латвицкая
348.	Александрю Кернелю сыну подполковника	18 февр.	9.	Коритский И. Коритский
349.	Николаю Ивановичу Горбачеву затем - на имя сына	18 февр.	9.	Коритский

RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 734. Kniga o vydache biletov raznym litsam poseshchaiushchim Risoval'nye klassy IAKh za 1845 g. i 1846 g. [Book concerning the issuing of tickets to various persons attending drawing classes at the IAFA in 1845 and 1846], fol. 40r. Entry for William Whistler.

IMAGE 162

This list of Academy pupils consists of six columns. In the first column, the last name in the list of four beginning with the letter “Y” says “Uisler Jakov Vil[iam?] (identified by the red arrow), which is in English “Whistler James William.” In the third column, Willie’s ticket number (341) and his grade on the examination (28) are shown (identified by the green arrow). At the top of the page, the date of the examination (3 March) is shown (identified by the blue arrow).



RGIA: Fond 789, op. 19, d. 735, fol. 140v. 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].

## IMAGE 163

Neoclassical drawing made by James while attending the lowest level drawing course (taught by Vistelius) at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts. Written on the top right in Russian is “Vistelius””; on the bottom right “Visler”; below that, someone has written in English “James Whistler.” This drawing was once owned by the Winans family.



James Abbott Whistler (1834–1903). *Woman's head*. Pencil on beige wove paper. 44.3 x 30.4 cm (17<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 11<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in.). (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 11)

## IMAGE 164

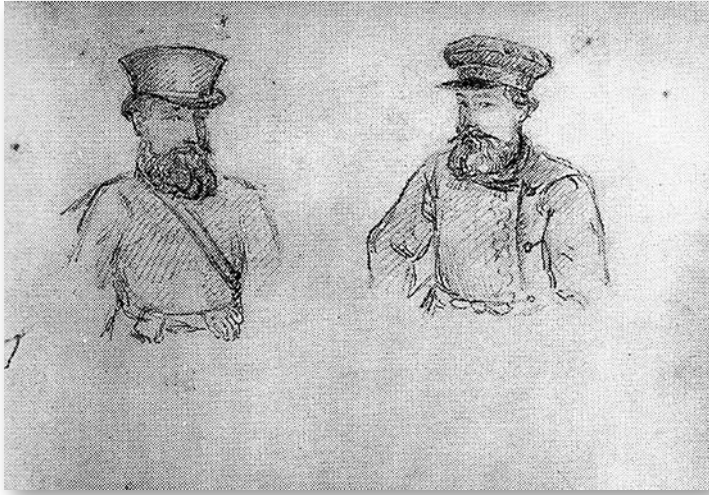
Pencil and watercolor drawing on page 39 of James Whistler's *St. Petersburg Sketchbook*, 1844–1848, inscribed "Render Unto Ceasar the Things that are Ceasar's [*sic*]"



James Abbott Whistler (1834–1903). *Render Unto Ceasar the Things that are Ceasar's*. Pencil and watercolor. *St. Petersburg Sketchbook*, 1844–1848, p. 39. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Scotland. (MacDonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 7)

## IMAGE 165

Pencil drawing on page 11 of James Whistler's *St. Petersburg Sketchbook*, 1844–1848 of two Russian men in working garb



James Abbott Whistler (1834–1903). *Two Russians in Working Dress*. *St. Petersburg Sketchbook*, p. 11. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Scotland. (Macdonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 5)

## IMAGE 166

James's sketch inside a book cover



James Abbott Whistler (1834–1903). *Drawings in a French Grammar: Head of a Man with Curly Hair*. 1843–1845. Signed “J.A.W.” Glasgow University Library, Glasgow, Scotland. (Macdonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 2)

## IMAGE 167

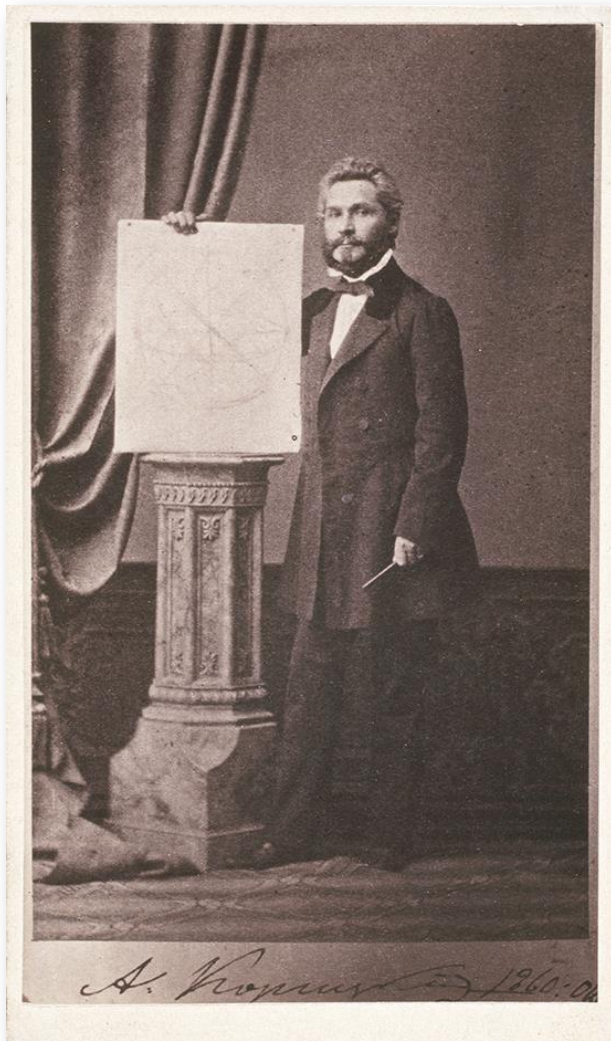
Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, James Whistler's private drawing teacher in St. Petersburg, as he appeared in 1846



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Portrait of Koritskii, Pupil of K.P. Briullov*. 1846. Graphite pencil on paper; on a sheet with other drawings. 22.8 x 28.7 cm. Signed on bottom center in ink: Karl Briullov 1846; inscribed top center in ink: "Portrait of K.P. Briullov's pupil Koritskii." State Tre't'iakov Gallery, Moscow (inv. no. 9967).

## IMAGE 168

Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, James Whistler's private drawing teacher, as he appeared in October 1860



*Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, Junior Assistant to the Curator, Court Councilor (7th grade). 1860. Photograph. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ORDF-OP-1-20). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.*

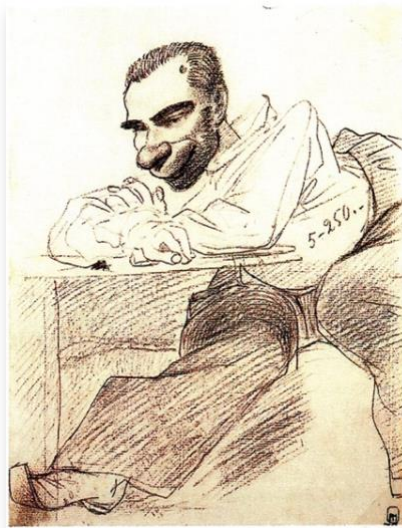


## IMAGES 169, 170

Cartoons of James Whistler's private drawing teacher, Aleksandr Osipovich Koritskii, by Karl Briullov, 1843–1847



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Portrait of Alexander Koritsky*. 1843–1844. Cartoon. Italian pencil on paper. 19.8 x 29.5 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (P–2217).



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Alexander Koritsky Sitting at a Table*. 1843–1847. Cartoon. Italian pencil on paper. 19.8 x 30 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (P–97).

## IMAGE 171

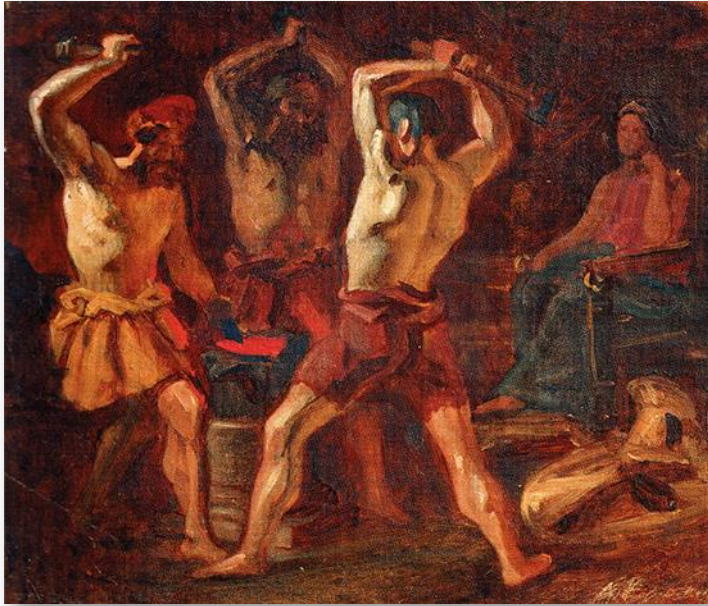
Koritskii's *Napoleon*, drawn in James's sketchbook in 1847



Alexander Osipovich Koritskii (1818–1866). *Napoleon Bonaparte*. In James McNeill Whistler, *St. Petersburg Sketchbook*, p. 23. Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow, Scotland. "Signed illegibly, 'A [Koritskii] 1847- March 17. -'" (Macdonald, *Catalogue Raisonné*, pp. 4, 5)

## IMAGE 172

In March–April 1845, Koritskii presented his oil study on the subject of *Vulcan Forging the Arms of Achilles in the Presence of Thetis* (*Vulkan kuet oruzhie Akhillesu v prisutstvii Fetidy*) assigned to him by the Academy Council in the program set for the small gold medal in the category of history painting



Alexander Osipovich Koritskii (1818–1866). *Vulcan Forging the Arms of Achilles in the Presence of Thetis*. 1845. Oil on canvas. 27.4 x 32.2 cm. Inscribed lower right: “A. Koritskii. In the collection of S.A. Bakhrushin until 1920, when it entered the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery.” State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (inv. no. 4761).

## IMAGE 173

Karl Briullov's self-portrait in oil, painted in 1848



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Self-Portrait*. 1848. Oil on cardboard. 64.1 x 54 cm (25.2 x 21.2 in.). State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (inv. no. 5051).

## IMAGES 174, 175

In late 1848, Koritskii told Anna and Major Whistler that he was now going daily to the Hermitage and copying works painted by K.P. Briullov hanging in the study of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Italian Morning*, 1823. Oil on canvas. Kunsthalle, Kiel, Germany.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Italian Noontday*. 1827. Oil on canvas. 21.6 x 25.1 in. (55 x 64 cm). State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (Zh-5079).

## IMAGE 176

In late 1848, Anna Whistler wrote James that Koritskii had told her and Major Whistler that Briullov was “at present painting a beautiful group, three nuns at the organ, one playing, the others singing in deep devotion!”



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *The Nuns of the Monastery of the Sacred Heart in Rome Singing at the Organ*. 1849. Oil on canvas. 53.4 x 76.3 cm. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (Zh-722). On the reverse side of the canvas in the lower left corner is inscribed: “This picture was painted by Karl Briullov in 1849 and presented by him as a gift to Countess Sofiia Osipovna Shuvalova. Flowers were brought to him by Countess Shuvalova and he painted them” (see Èsfir Atsarkina, “Maloizvestnye proizvedeniia K. Briullova” [“Little-Known Works by K. Briullov”], *Iskusstvo* 3 [1950], pp. 64–71).

## IMAGE 177

A number of unfinished versions of *Sleeping Juno (the Origin of the Milky Way)* by Karl Briullov exist.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Sleeping Juno*. 1840s. Oil on canvas. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Sleeping Juno and a Parca with the Infant Hercules (the Origin of the Milky Way)*. 1840s. Oil on canvas. 52.5 × 67.1 cm. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.



## IMAGE 178

James was too ill to attend the exhibition of marine paintings by Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii in February–March 1847 at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts that Anna Whistler described.



Alexey Vasilevich Tyranov (1808–1859). *Portrait of Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii*. 1841. State Treŭiakov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 179

*Peter I at Krasnaia Gorka Lighting a Bonfire on the Shore as a Beacon to His Foundering Ships*, lent from the Imperial collection, was included in the Aivazovskii exhibition at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in February–March 1847.



Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (1817–1900). *Peter I at Krasnaia Gorka Lighting a Bonfire on the Shore as a Beacon to His Foundering Ships*. 1846. Oil on canvas. 223 x 235 cm. State Tre'tiakov Gallery, Moscow (Zh-5879).

## IMAGES 180, 181, 182

Anna Whistler described having seen, in the Aivazovskii exhibit, delightful smaller views of Odessa, Constantinople, and other seaports



*View of Odessa [Odessa in Moonlight]*. 1846. (48 x 78.4 in. (122 x 190 cm). Oil on canvas. Signature and date bottom right. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (F-2201).



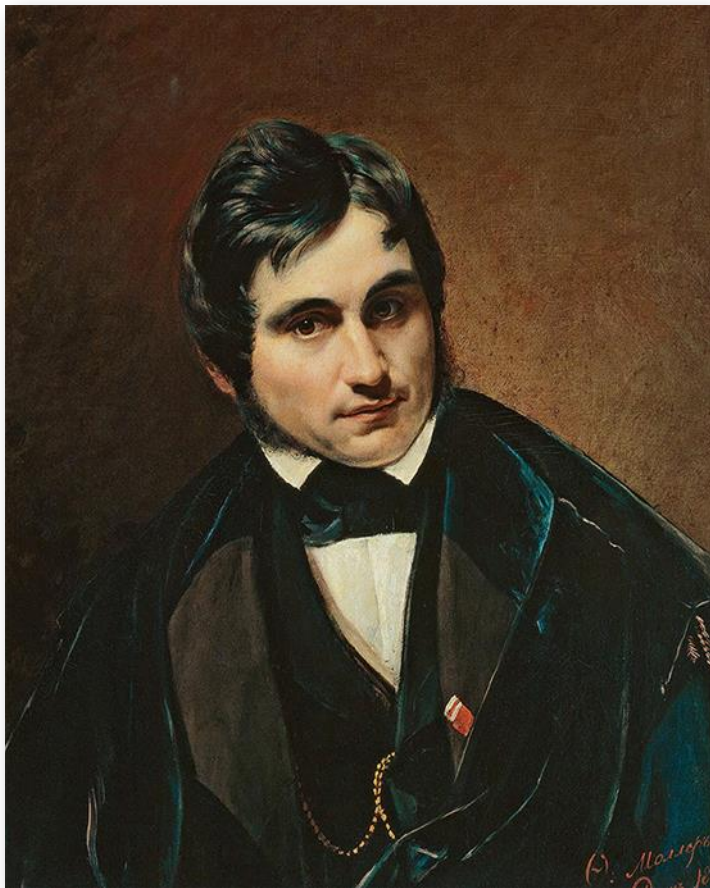
*Constantinople by Evening Light*. 1846. Oil on canvas. 47.2 x 74.4 in. (120 x 189 cm). Cottage Palace, Peterhof.



*View of Constantinople by Moonlight.* 1846. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 183

From June 1853 until his death, Koritskii served as junior assistant to Fyodor Antonovich Bruni, director of the Second Department of the Hermitage. The Second Department encompassed paintings, drawings, sculpture, porcelain, and bronze and bone objects.



Fyodor Moller (1812–1874). *Portrait of Fyodor Bruni*. 1840. Oil on canvas. 73 × 59 cm. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 184

Anna Whistler was impressed by the faces that she thought she saw beaming with faith in Bruni's painting *The Brass Serpent* in the permanent collection of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in March-April 1847.



Fyodor Antonovich Bruni (1799–1875). *The Bronze Serpent*. 1841. Oil on canvas. 565 x 852 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (Z-5070).

## IMAGE 185

Faddei Antonovich Goretskii, along with their mentor K.P. Briullov, was present in December 1846 / January 1847 when Koritskii was drawing the portrait of “the American,” and therefore was aware of the latter’s identity.

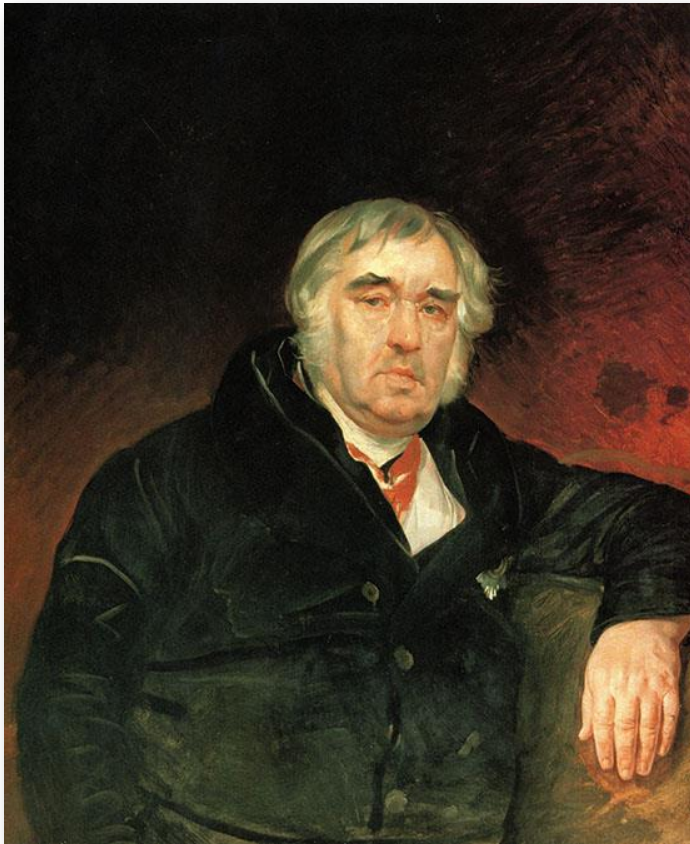


*Faddeus Antonovich Goretsky (1825–1868)*. Photograph. Russian Academy of Arts, accessed 22 February 2022, [https://rah.ru/the\\_academy\\_today/the\\_members\\_of\\_the\\_academie/member.php?ID=52703](https://rah.ru/the_academy_today/the_members_of_the_academie/member.php?ID=52703)

## LITERATURE, MUSIC, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS

### IMAGE 186

Ivan Andreevich Krylov, fabulist, who died in St. Petersburg in November 1844



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Portrait of Ivan Krylov*. 1839. Oil on canvas. 102.3 x 86.2 cm. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.



## IMAGE 187

Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevskii, whose first novel, *Poor People*, appeared in 1846



Konstantin Trutovskii (1826–1893). *Portrait of Fyodor Michailovich Dostoevskii*. 1847. Pencil drawing on paper. 9.8 x 7 in. (25.1 cm x 18 cm). State Literature Museum, Moscow (KP-35716/436).

## IMAGE 188

Vissarion Grigorievich Belinskii, literary critic, who died in St. Petersburg in June 1848



N. Noskov. (V.G. Belinskii 1811–1911 s risunkami i portretami russkikh pisatelei [V.G. Belinskii 1811–1911, *With Drawings and Portraits of Russian Writers*] [St. Petersburg, 1911], frontispiece)

## IMAGE 189

Reverend Legh Richmond, whose edifying tales of English village life James and Willie Whistler read



William Finden (1787–1852). *Legh Richmond*. 1833. Stipple engraving after Joseph Slater published 1 May 1833 by R.B. Seeley & W. Burnside. National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D8354).

## IMAGE 190

Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake, whose book *Letters from the Shores of the Baltic*, which included a record of her sojourn in St. Petersburg, Anna Whistler had read before coming to Russia



Lady Elizabeth Rigby Eastlake, *Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake; Edited by her Nephew, Charles Eastlake Smith; with Facsim. of Her Drawings and a Portrait*, 2 vols. [London: John Murray, 1895], vol. 1, frontispiece).

## IMAGE 191

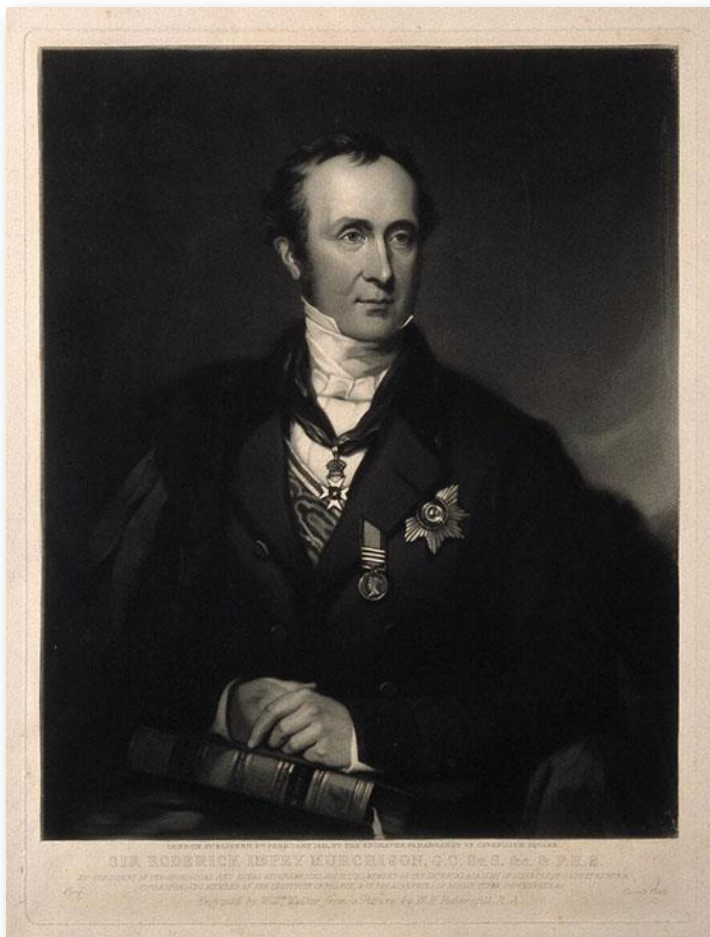
Anna Whistler read and quoted from Dr. John Wilson's memoir of his wife Margaret (Baine) Wilson, both missionaries in India.



D. Macnee and J. Horsburgh. *Margaret Wilson*. 1827. Etching. (Wilson, *Memoir of Margaret Wilson*, frontispiece)

## IMAGE 192

Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, English geologist, who personally delivered a copy of his book on Russian geology to Nicholas I just after the death of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna



W. Walker. *Sir Roderick Impey Murchison*. 1851. Mezzotint from an 1849 portrait by Henry Willam Pickersgill (1782–1875). Wellcome Collection. Wellcome Library no. 7095i.

## IMAGE 193

Dr. Edward Jenner, discoverer of the process of vaccination, to whom Charlotte Leon was purported to be related



James Henry Lynch. *Edward Jenner*. c. 1827 (c. 1809). Lithograph published by Charles Heald Thomas, after Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830); printed by Kell Brothers. National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D21545).

## IMAGE 194

Andrei Ivanovich Shtakenshneider, favorite architect of Nicholas I from the 1840s until the latter's death

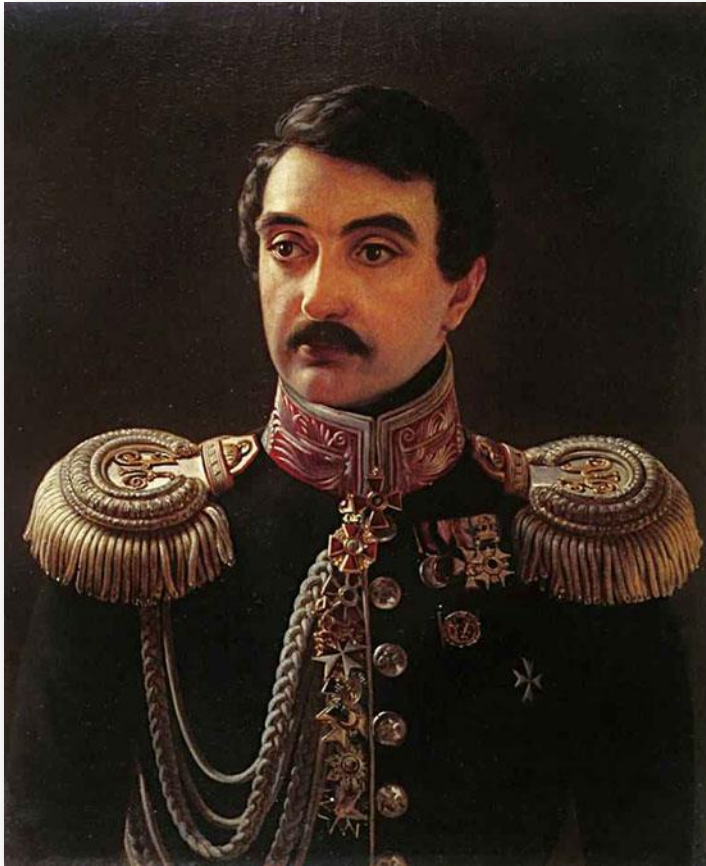


N.Terebenev. *Andrei Shtakenshneider*. 1854. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.



## IMAGE 195

Aleksei Fyodorovich L'vov, director of the Imperial Chapel Choir, which moved Anna Whistler to tears



Alexey Vassilievich Tyranov. *Aleksei Fyodorovich Lvov, Composer*. Oil on canvas. 46 x 38 cm (18.1 x 14.9 in.). Samara Art Museum, Russia.

## IMAGE 196

Antonio Tamburini, baritone soloist of the Italian Opera in St. Petersburg, whom the Whistlers heard sing in 1845 at the annual performance celebrating the defeat of Napoleon



*Antonio Tamburini, Baritone of the Italian Opera in St. Petersburg.* Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House), St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 197

Giovanni Battista Rubini, tenor soloist of the Italian Opera in St. Petersburg, whom the Whistlers heard sing with Tamburini in 1845



Guillet. 1840. *Giovanni Battista Rubini*. Lithograph. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

## IMAGE 198

Polina Viardot-Garcia, soprano soloist of the Italian Opera in St. Petersburg, whom the Whistlers heard sing with Tamburini and Rubini in 1845, shown here in 1844 in the role of Amina in *La Sonambula* by Vincenzo Bellini



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Portrait of the Singer Polina Viardot-Garcia*. 1844. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 199

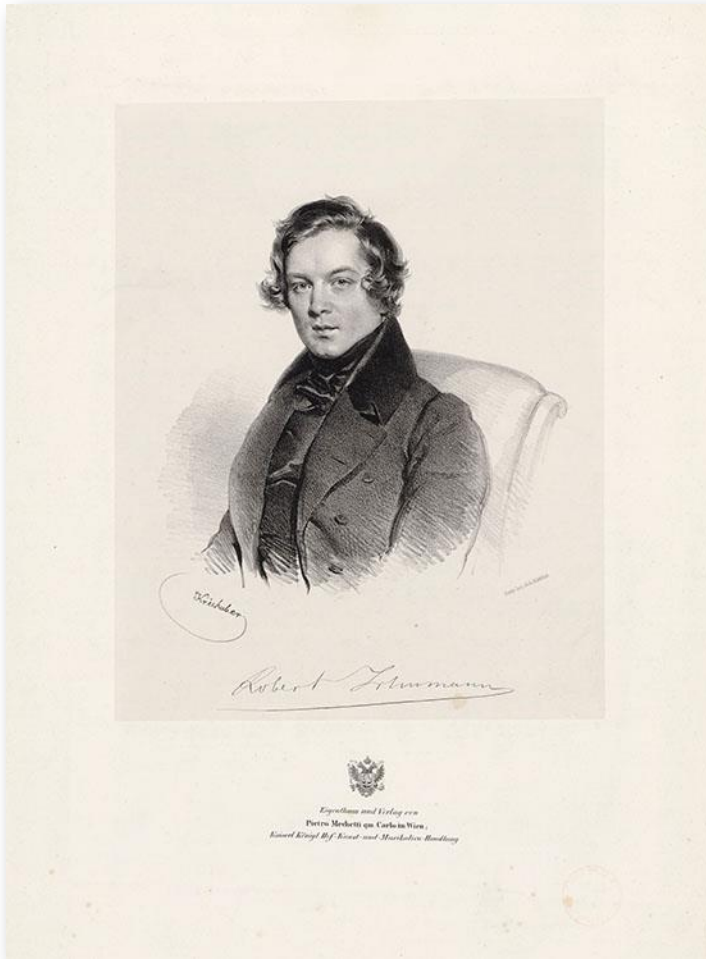
Clara Schumann, pianist, whom Debo heard play two concerts in 1845



Andreas Johann Staub (1806–1839). *Clara Wieck*. c. 1839. Lithograph. Private collection.

## IMAGE 200

Robert Schumann, composer, who accompanied his wife to St. Petersburg



Joseph Kriehuber (1800–1876). *Robert Schumann*. 1839. 26 x 21 cm (print). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

## IMAGE 201

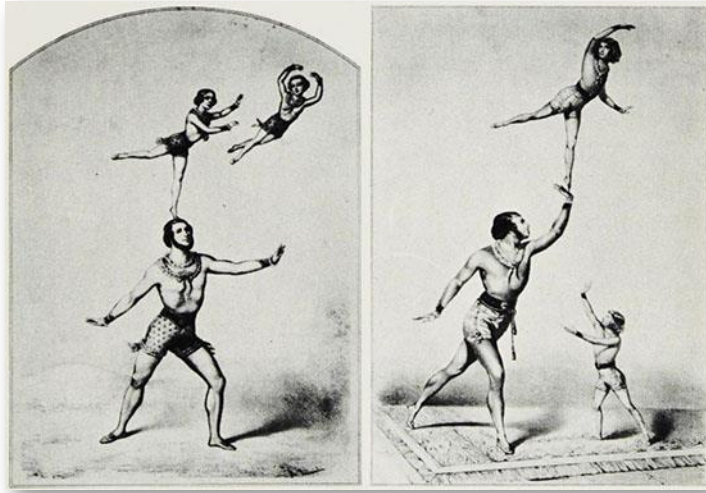
The Whistlers heard Herman's orchestra play in the Pleasure Garden in Pavlovsk, the terminus of the St. Petersburg–Tsarskoe Selo–Pavlovsk Railway, in May 1844.



*Conductor Josef German (Jozef Herman), Master of Ballroom Music. 1830s. Engraving.*  
(Bukharkin, *Deviatnadsatyi vek*, p. 115)

## IMAGE 202

Professor Richard Risley and his sons, John and Henry, American aerialists, performed in St. Petersburg.



Two drawings of Professor Risley and his sons in the “Ballet Aérien”: by Alexandre Lacauchie in 1844 and J. Petit in 1845 respectively (Winter, *Theatre of Marvels*, p. 143)



## IMAGE 203

The communicants of the English Church and of the British and American Congregational Church contributed generously in February 1847 to aid the Irish and Scottish famine sufferers.



Daniel MacDonald (1821–1853). *An Irish Peasant Family Discovering the Blight of Their Store*. 1847. 33 x 40 in. National Folklore Collection, University College, Dublin, Ireland.

## IMAGE 204

Karl Briullov's *Last Day of Pompeii*, like Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*, represented the current mainstream of historical painting.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *The Last Day of Pompeii*. 1830–1833. Oil on canvas. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 205

Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*



Théodore Géricault (1791–1824). *Raft of the Medusa*. 1819. Oil on canvas. 16.1 x 23.4 ft. (491 x 716 cm). Louvre Museum, Paris (INV 4884).

## IMAGE 206

This painting is an example of Briullov's striving for "effect" through deliberate exaggeration of colors.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852) *Portrait of Countess Julia Samoilova with Foster Daughter Giovannina and Black Servant*. c. 1832–1834. Oil on canvas. 105.5 x 78.7 in. (268.1 x 200 cm). Inscribed in lower left in black Latin characters: Brulloff. Hillwood Museum, Washington, DC (51.73); bequest of of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973.

## IMAGE 207

Johann Heinrich Füssli's *The Lazar House*, which Francis Seymour Haden bought a print of for James in 1849, thus starting him as a collector



Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741–1825). *Vision of the Lazar House*. 1791–1793. Oil on canvas. Kunsthaus, Zürich, Switzerland.

## IMAGE 208

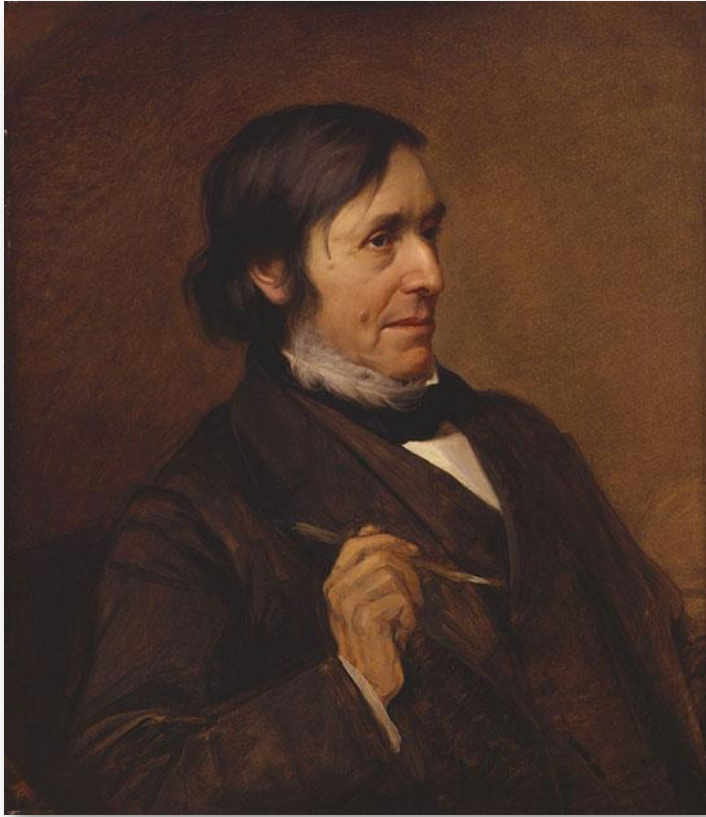
Thomas Wright, who made a watercolor drawing of Anna Whistler in 1845 in St. Petersburg



Vasilii Aleksandrovich Golike (1802–1848). *Portrait of Thomas Wright*. 1834. Detail from larger collage. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 209

William Boxall, who painted the portrait of the fourteen-year-old James Whistler in London



Michel Angelo Pittatore (1825–1903). *Sir William Boxall*. 1870. Oil on canvas. 69.2 x 60 cm (27.2 x 23.6 in). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 937).

## IMAGE 210

Charles Robert Leslie, whose art lectures in London in 1849 James Whistler attended



Alfred Edward Chalon (1780–1860). *Portrait of C.R. Leslie, R.A.* 1848. Watercolour on wove paper. 38.0 x 30.5 cm. Royal Academy of Arts, London.

## IMAGE 211

“Blue Gown,” by Ethel Traphagen, descendant of John Stevenson Maxwell, was inspired by James Whistler’s *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge*.



*Blue Gown*, 1913. Photograph. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Picture Collection, The New York Public Library (ID 816801).



## IMAGE 212

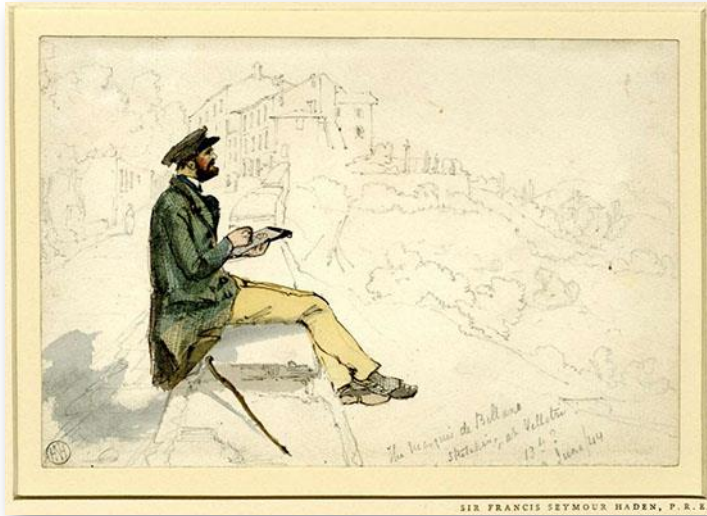
*Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge* by James Whistler, the inspiration for Ethel Traphagen's "Blue Gown" design



James McNeill Whistler (1834–1903). *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge*. c.1872–5. Oil on canvas. 68.3 × 51.2 cm. Tate Gallery, London (N01959).

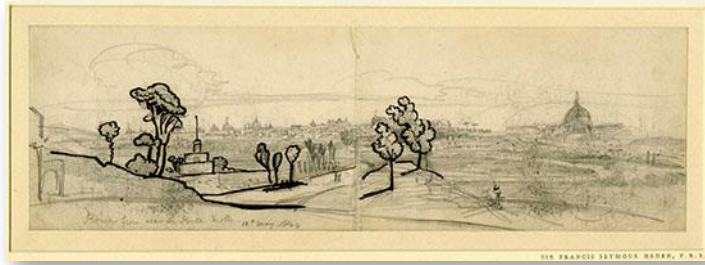
## IMAGES 213

While the Hadens were on their honeymoon in October 1847, Anna Whistler visited their home at 62 Sloane Street, where she saw, adorning the walls of Deborah's boudoir, watercolors made by Seymour during his travels in Italy in 1843 and 1844. While she does not describe those watercolors, images 213–222 include most of the extant images from those trips.



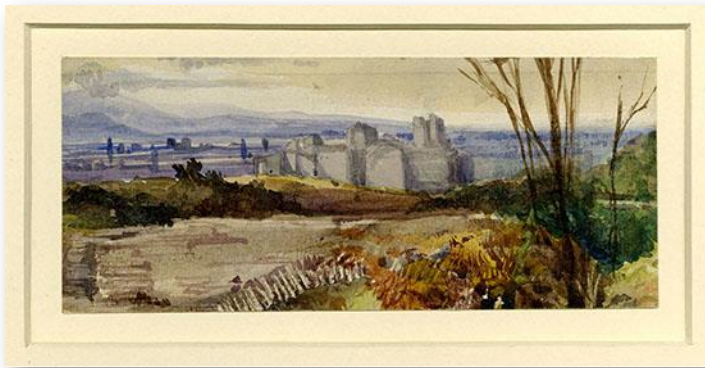
Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Portrait of the Marquise de Belluno sketching at Velletri*. 1844. Pen and brown ink, with graphite and watercolor. 13.8 x 20.5 cm. Inscribed with title and dated: “13th ? [?] June/44.” British Museum, London (1935,1214.9).

## IMAGE 214



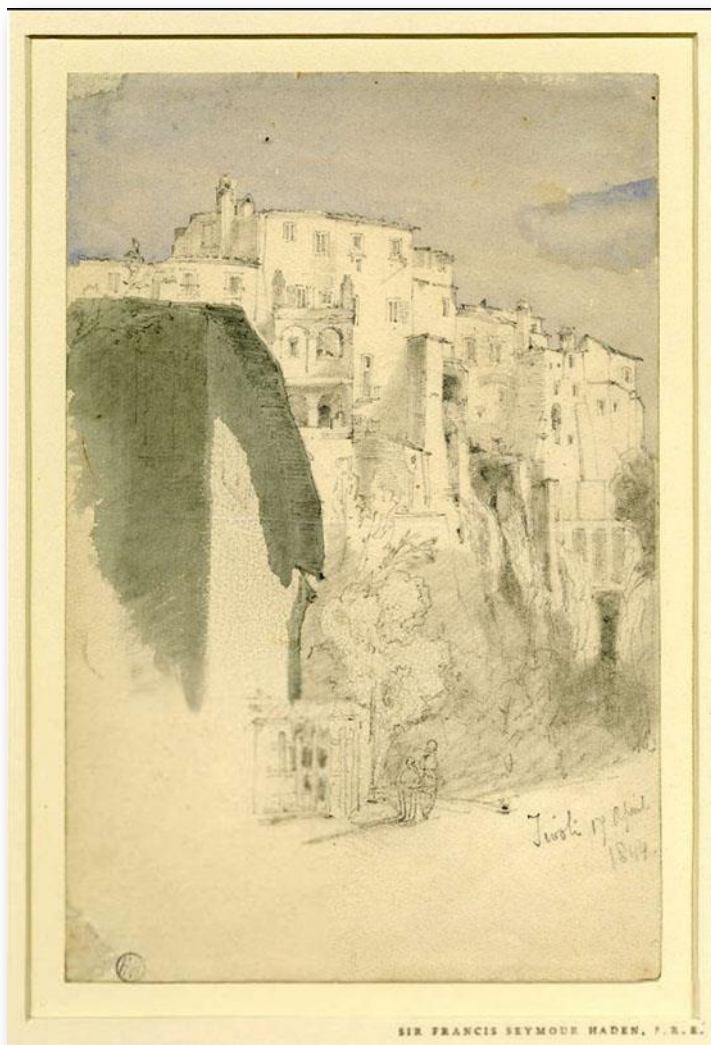
Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Rome from near the Ponte Molle*. 1844. Graphite, with pen and black ink; on two conjoined leaves. 9.9 x 31.9 cm. Inscribed with title and dated “15th. May.1844.”; inscribed on verso of one leaf: “sketch of the Castello S. Angelo etc.” British Museum, London (1935,1214.11).

## IMAGE 215



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Baths of Caracalla, Rome*. 1844. Watercolor. 7.4 x 17.6 cm. Inscribed on verso (according to register, by the artist): “Baths of Caracalla.” British Museum, London (1935,1214.12).

## IMAGE 216



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *View at Tivoli*. 1844. Graphite with watercolor. 23.7 x 15.7 cm. Inscribed and dated: “Tivoli 17 April 1844.” British Museum, London (1935,1214.10).

## IMAGE 217



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Portrait of Duval le Camus*. 1844. Pen and brown ink, with graphite and wtercolor. 12.8 x 18.9 cm. Inscribed and dated: “Roma 9. April 1844 Duval le Camus painting.” British Museum, London (1935,1214.18).

## IMAGE 218



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Maecenas' Villa at Tivoli*. 1844. Graphite, heightened with white, on brown paper. 28 x 41.6 cm. Inscribed with title and dated: “April 17th 1844.” British Museum, London (1937,0612.7).

## IMAGE 219



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Houses on the Tiber*. Graphite.  $4\frac{3}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. (10.6 x 16.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.3.2418).

## IMAGE 220



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Pisa*. 1843–1844. Watercolor over graphite.  $2\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{16}$  in. (5.2 x 12.2 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (17.3.2418).

## IMAGE 221



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *The Colosseum*. 1843–1844. Pencil and watercolor on paper. 6 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (15.56 x 31.11 cm). Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York (1891:3.36); gift of Dr. Frederick H. James, 1891.

## IMAGE 222



Francis Seymour Haden (1818–1910). *Castle of Savelli. From the Inn at Albano*. 1844. Pencil and watercolor on paper. Inscribed with title and dated: "8th June 1844." Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.3216-1911).

## THE ALEXANDROFSKY HEAD MECHANICAL WORKS AND MAJOR WHISTLER'S WORK ASSOCIATES

IMAGE 223

Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works in about 1840



*Alexandrofsky, c. 1840.* Photograph. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.



## IMAGE 224

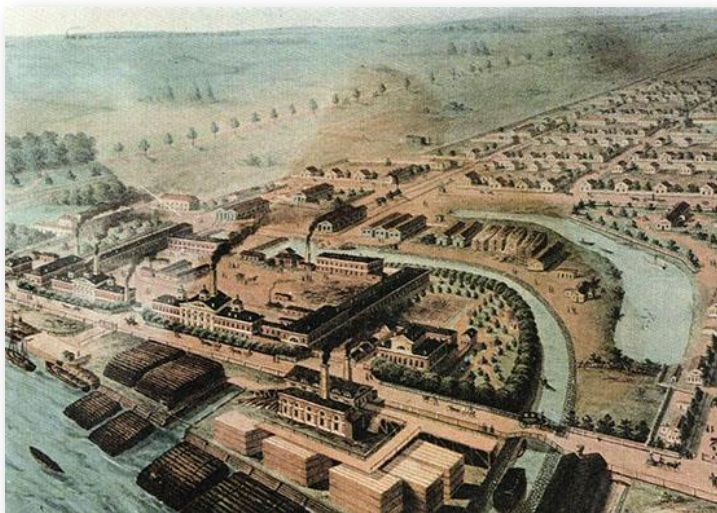
This bird's-eye view of the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works was drawn for Andrew McCalla Eastwick by a draftsman in 1844. It is here that the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway were being made by the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, and the three partners and their families lived.



*Bird's-eye Drawing of the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works.* Watercolor. 60 x 90 cm.  
Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 225

Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works in about 1845



*Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works*. c. 1845. Reproduction of a drawing. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 226

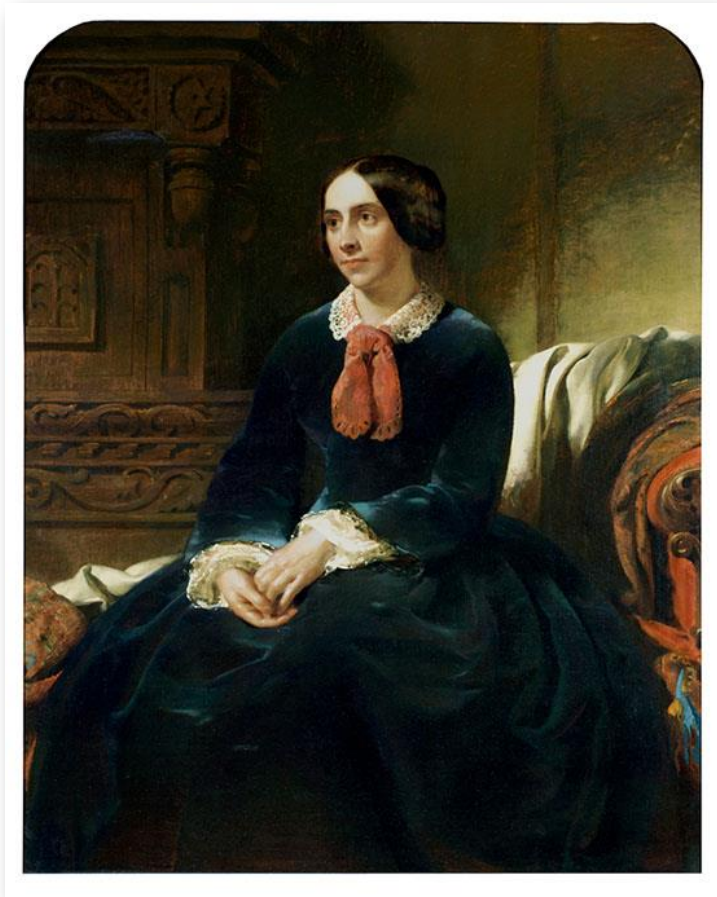
Joseph Harrison Jr., partner in the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick, who were building the locomotives and rolling stock for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works



Thomas Buchanan Read (1822–1872). *Joseph Harrison, Jr.* 1860. Oil. 51 x 41¼ in. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, PA; gift of Leland Harrison.

## IMAGE 227

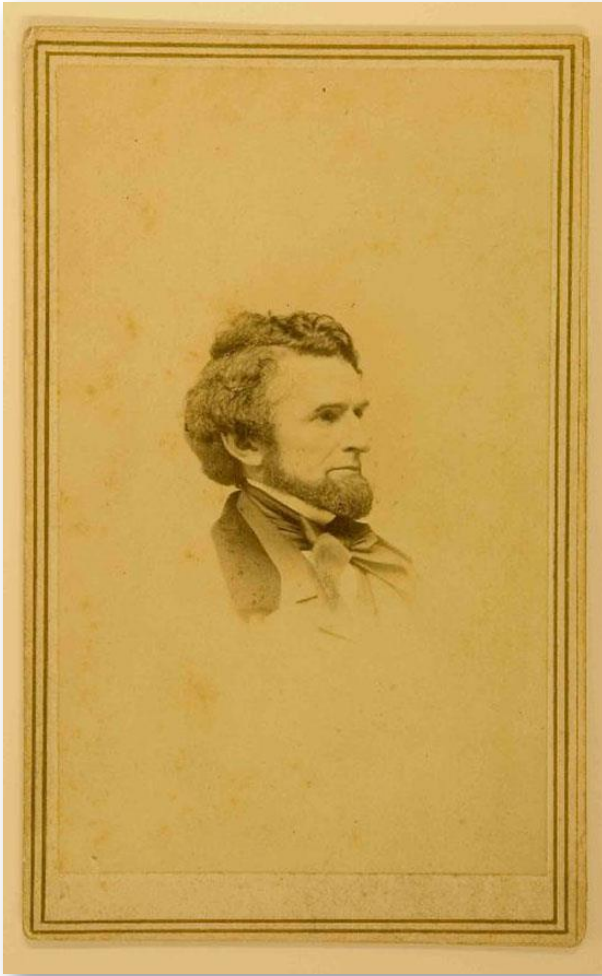
Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison, wife of Joseph Harrison Jr.



*Sarah Poulterer Harrison*. c. 1850. Oil.  $50\frac{1}{8} \times 40\frac{1}{8}$  in. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, PA; gift of Leland Harrison. Formerly attributed to Thomas Buchanan Read (1822–1872).

## IMAGE 228

Ross Winans Sr., whom his son Thomas DeKay represented as a partner in the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick



A.A. Turner (c. 1831–1866). Photograph ... of *Ross Winans, Sr.* Photograph mounted on card. 9.2 x 5.6 cm; mount: 10.4 x 6.5 cm. Imprint on mount: D. Appleton & Co., 443 & 445 Broadway, N.Y. A.A. Turner, photographer. GUL: Whistler Collection, PH1/155.

## IMAGE 229

Thomas DeKay Winans, partner in the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick



*Thomas DeKay Winans.* Photograph. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 230

Celeste Louise Revillon, wife of Thomas DeKay Winans



Bencann. *Celeste (Revillon) Winans*. c. 1860. Carte de visite. (MdHS; photograph courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp)

## IMAGE 231

Celeste Louise Revillon, at the time of her marriage to Thomas DeKay Winans



Alfred Jacob Miller. *Mrs. Thomas Winans (Celeste Revillon)*. 1847. Oil. Frick Art Reference Library, accessed 31 March 2022, <https://digitalcollections.frick.org/digico/#/details/bibRecordNumber/b13309900/Photoarchive>



## IMAGE 232

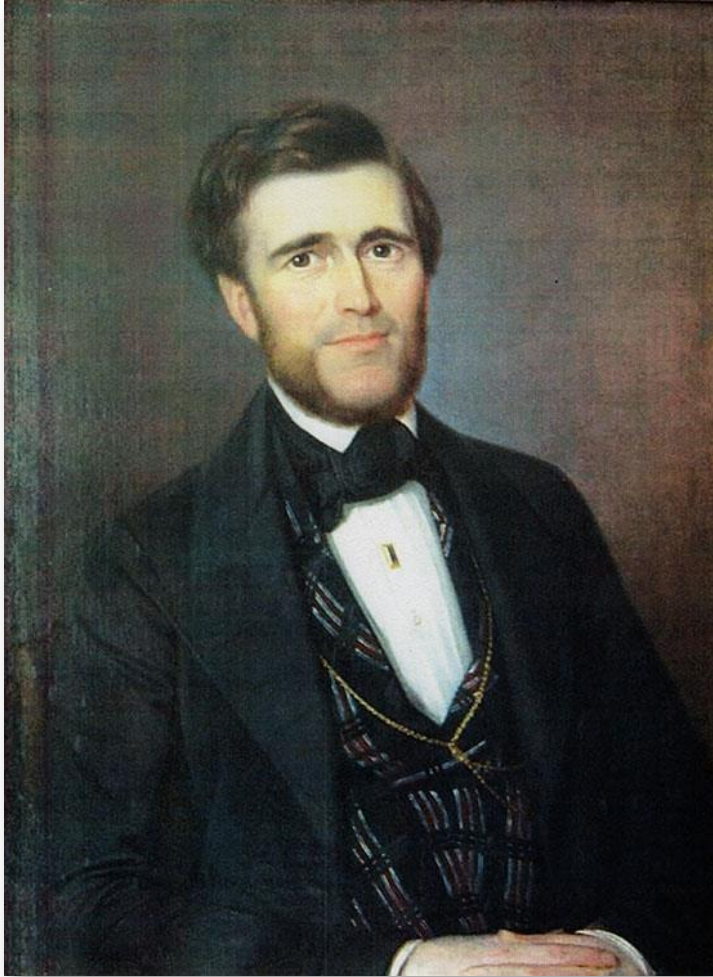
William Louis Winans, brother of Thomas DeKay Winans, in Russia



*William Louis Winans in a Troika Outside his St. Petersburg Home.* Lot 232: The Agra Diamond, Christie's auction house catalogue, 20 June 1990, p. 20. Courtesy of David Knapp.

## IMAGE 233

Andrew McCalla Eastwick of the firm of Harrison, Winans and Eastwick



*Portrait of Andrew McCalla Eastwick.* 1846. Oil on canvas. 66 x 84 cm. Probably painted in Philadelphia, PA, by Robert Street of Germantown. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 234

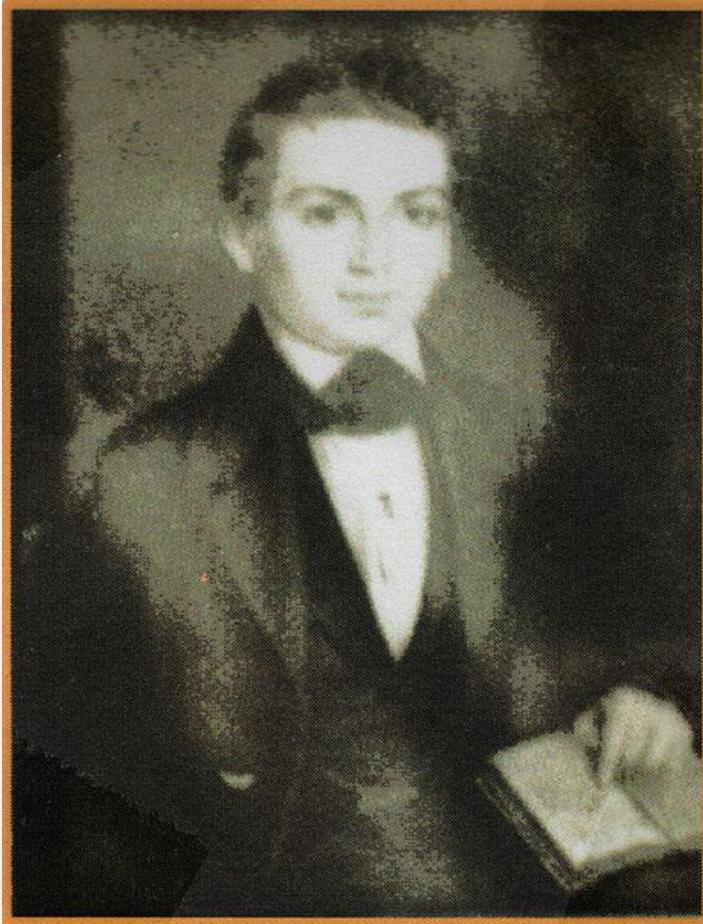
Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick, wife of Andrew McCalla Eastwick



*Portrait of Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick.* 1846. Oil on canvas. 66 x 84 cm. In the private collection of Maria Edna Eastwick, Greenwich, CT; photograph courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 235

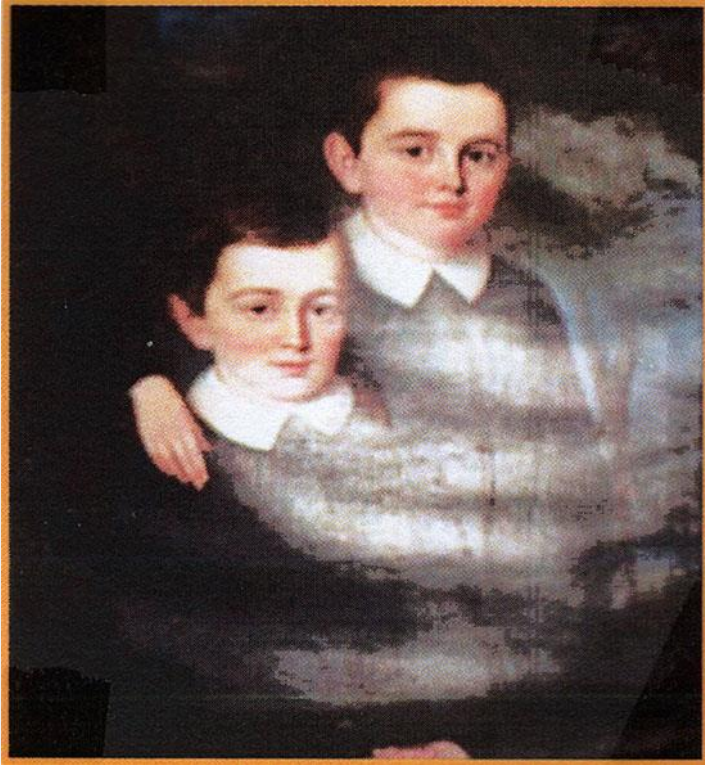
Edward Peers Eastwick, eldest son of Andrew McCalla and Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick, came to Russia with his father before the other family members.



*Portrait of Edward Peers Eastwick.* Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 236

Phillip and Charles Eastwick, sons of Andrew McCalla and Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick, were playmates of James and Willie Whistler.



*Portrait of Phillip and Charles Eastwick.* Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 237

Maria and Margaret Eastwick, the two elder daughters of Andrew McCalla and Lydia Ann (James) Eastwick



*Portrait of Maria and Margaret Eastwick.* c. 1846. Miniature. In the private collection of Marjorie S. Eastwick, Lively, VA; photograph courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 238

Lydia Eastwick with her two sons – William on the left and George on the right – in St. Petersburg in about 1849



*Lydia Ann Eastwick and Sons in Russia*. c. 1849. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 239

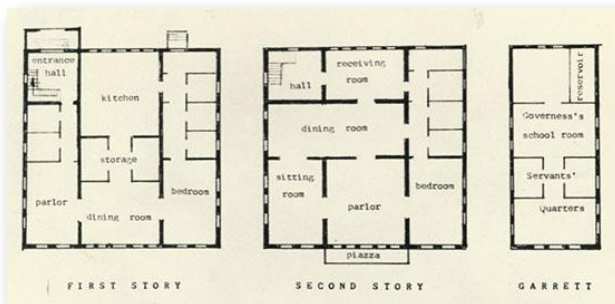
The house in which the Eastwicks and Harrison lived at the Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works



*Eastwick and Harrison home at Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works*. Photograph. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.

## IMAGE 240

Floor plan of Eastwick and Harrison home: the Eastwicks lived on the first floor; the Harrison on the second floor; and the schoolroom, where Rev. Thomas S. Ellerby preached on Sundays, was in the garrett.



*Floor Plan of Eastwick and Harrison Home at Alexandrofsky Head Mechanical Works*. Courtesy of Estelle and David Knapp.



## IMAGE 241

Engineer-General Alexander Wilson was in charge of the orphanage in which linens and playing cards were made.



*Engineer-General Alexander Wilson* (Bowles, “From the Banks of the Neva,” p. 68)

## IMAGE 242

Playing cards and linens of superb quality were made at the Aleksandrovskaia Manufactory (also called General Wilson’s), located on the Schlüsselberg Road, which Aunt Alicia visited in the summer of 1844.



*The Imperial Aleksandrovskaia Manufactory.* (Shūglits, *Promyshlennaia arkhitektura Peterburga*, facing p. 64)

## IMAGE 243

Count Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel' was head of the Main Administration of Transport and Public Buildings, and Major Whistler's superior.



Franz Krüger (1797–1857). *Portrait of Count Peter von Kleinmichel (1793-1869)*. 1851. Oil on canvas. 53.9 x 40.9 in. (137 x 104 cm). Inscribed below right: “Krüger px. 1851.” State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-211).

## IMAGE 244

Count Aleksei Andreevich Arakcheev, mentor to young Pyotr Andreevich Kleinmikhel', in whom he instilled his Draconian philosophy



George Dawe (1781–1829). *Portrait of Alexey A. Arakcheyev (1769–1834)*. 1824. Oil. 70 x 62.5 cm. The Military Gallery of the Winter Palace, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-7813).

## IMAGE 245

Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin was chief of staff of the Corps of Mining Engineers and a member of the Construction Commission for the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He and Major Whistler had discussions about education systems.



*Konstantin Vladimirovich Chevkin. 1857–1861. The State Government in Russia in Portraits from the Ninth through the Twenty-First Century, accessed 4 November 2021, deduhova.ru/statesman/konstantin-vladimirovich-chevkin/*

## IMAGE 246

Engineer-General Jean-Antoine Maurice Destrem was a transport engineer, poet, and translator of the Russian fabulist Ivan Krylov



*Destrem Moritz Ivanovich (Jean-Antoine-Maurice Destrem) (1788-1855).* (Napoleon and Revolution, accessed 22 September 2021, <http://impereur.blogspot.com/2017/05/jean-antoine-maurice-destrem-1788-1855.html>)

## IMAGE 247

Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov, transport engineer, head of the Northern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway, became one of Major Whistler's closest Russian friends.



*Pavel Petrovich Mel'nikov (Ot konki do trampaia Iz istorii peterburgskogo transporta [From the Horse Car to the Street Car: From the History of Petersburg Transportation])*[St. Petersburg: Liki Rossii; Moscow: Dzhuliia, 1994], p. 13)

## IMAGE 248

Nikolai Osipovich Kraft, transport engineer, head of the Southern Administration of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway



*Nikolai Osipovich Kraft (Neviorovskii, LIIZbT 1809–1959, p. 48)*

## IMAGE 249

Dmitrii Ivanovich Zhuravskii, transport engineer, was in charge, along with Major Whistler, of building the bridge across the Vereb'ia River along the route of the St. Petersburg–Moscow Railway. He presented tickets for the opera to Deborah Whistler.



*D.I. Zhuravskii (Veviorovskii, LIIZbT 1809–1959, p. 69)*



## IMAGE 250

Anton Ivanovich Shtukenberg, transport engineer, was first cousin to A.O. Koritskii, James's private drawing teacher, and a great admirer of Major Whistler.



*A.I. Shtukenberg (Neviorovskii, LIIZhT 1809–1959, p. 67)*

## IMAGE 251

Baron Anton Ivanovich Del'vig, transport engineer, on special assignment to Count P.A. Kleinmikhel', considered Major Whistler "remarkable."



Ilya Repin (1844–1931). *Portrait of Military Engineer A.I. Delvig*. 1882. 108 × 86 cm. State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 252

Order of St. Anne, 2nd Class, Civil Division, was awarded to Major Whistler in 1847.



*Imperial Russian Order of St. Anne, 2nd Class, Civil Division.* 1850. 18k gold and enamel; 14kt gold ribbon wire. 4.4 x 4.4 cm. Stamped with 1850 date. Sold at auction by Jackson's International Auctioneers, 19 November 2020.

## FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES IN ST. PETERSBURG

### IMAGE 253

Reverend Edward Law was chaplain of the English Church in St. Petersburg from 1820 to 1864. He became Reverend Doctor Law in June 1844.



Timoleon Neff (1805–1876) (attributed). *Portrait of Rev. Edward Law (1791–1868)*. Leeds Russian Archive, University of Leeds, UK (LRA/MS 1117).

## IMAGE 254

Mary Eliza (Law) Cattley, daughter of Rev. Edward Law



*Mary (Law) Cattley*. Photograph of a portrait. Leeds Russian Archive, University of Leeds, UK (LRA/MS 1406).

## IMAGE 255

James Richard Cattley, who married Mary Eliza Law in October 1840



*James Richard Cattley*. Photograph of a portrait. Leeds Russian Archive, University of Leeds, UK (LRA/MS 1406).

## IMAGE 256

Reverend Thomas Scales Ellerby, pastor of the British and American Congregational Church in St. Petersburg from 1840 to 1853



*Rev. T.S. Ellerby* (Romanes, *Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk*, following p. 82)

## IMAGE 257

Sarah Bealey Schofield, niece of Rev. T.S. Ellerby's wife, who, before her marriage to Charles Bell, was nursemaid to the Ellerby children



*Sarah Bell* (Romanes, *Calls of Norfolk and Suffolk*, following p. 86)



## IMAGE 258

William Maingay, British merchant in St. Petersburg from the 1830s until May 1844, husband of Eliza (Lamb) Maingay



*William Maingay.* Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 259

Eliza (Lamb) Maingay and Anna Whistler became friends in St. Petersburg in 1844.



*Eliza (Lamb) Maingay*. 1840s. Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 260

William Bonamy Maingay, eldest son of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, was romantically interested in Deborah Whistler for a time.



*William Bonamy Maingay*. c. 1859. Photograph. Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 261

Charles George Maingay, second son of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, died in St. Petersburg in 1843, from a fall on the ice, at the age of 13.



*Charles George Maingay.* Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 262

Eliza Anne Maingay (“Nina”), eldest daughter of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, whose piety Anna Whistler deeply admired



*Eliza Anne Maingay*. Photograph. Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 263

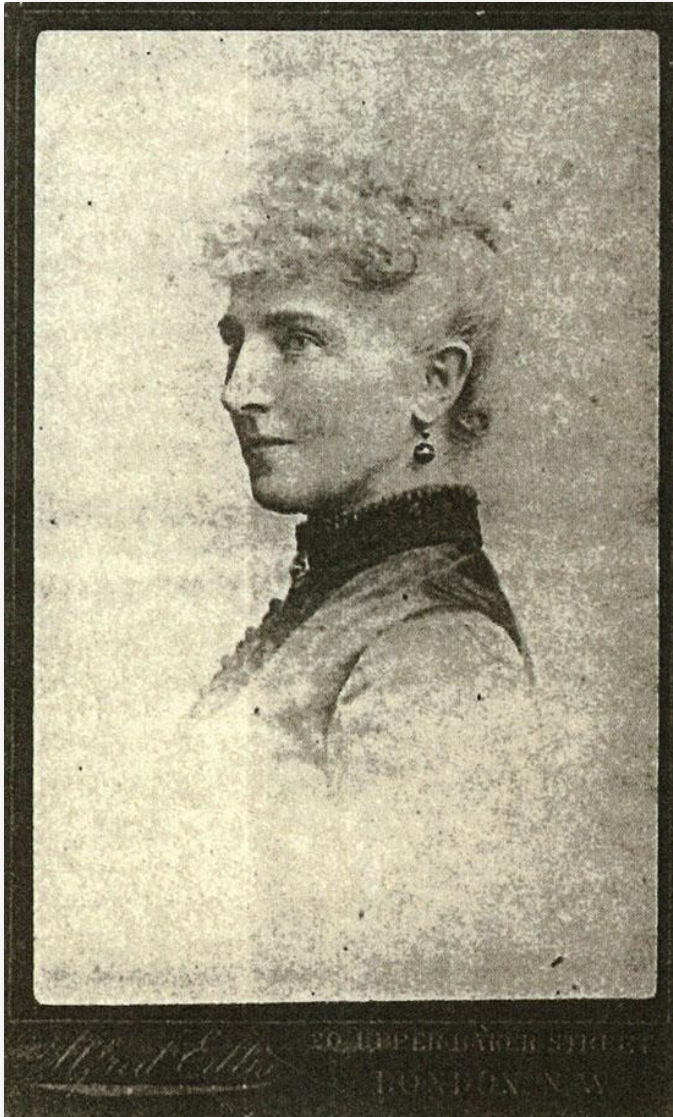
Emma Elizabeth Maingay, second daughter of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay, was the lifelong friend of Deborah Delano (Whistler) Haden, whom she met in St. Petersburg.



*Emma Elizabeth Maingay*. September 1859. Photograph. Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 264

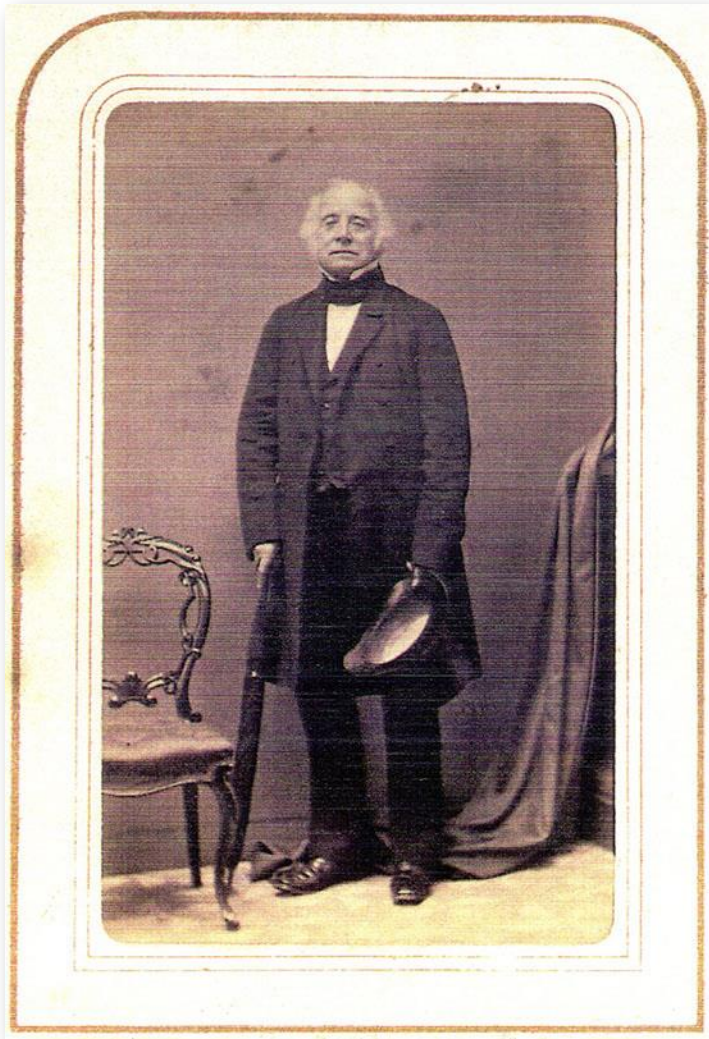
Emily Maingay (“Lille” or “Lily”), youngest daughter of William and Eliza (Lamb) Maingay



*Emily Maingay*. Photograph. Maingay Family Archive.

## IMAGE 265

William Clarke Gellibrand, an English merchant, became a close friend of the Whistlers in St. Petersburg.



*William Clarke Gellibrand.* Photograph taken in Norwich, England, provided by Jane D'Arcy, a descendent of William Clarke Gellibrand's brother, Joseph Tice Gellibrand



## IMAGE 266

Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand, the American wife of William Clarke Gellibrand, became a close friend of Anna Whistler's.



*Mary Tyler Gellibrand.* Photograph taken in Norwich, England, provided by Jane D'Arcy, a descendent of William Clarke Gellibrand's brother, Joseph Tice Gellibrand

## IMAGE 267

Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and her biological sister, Elizabeth Hannah Ropes, whom she and her husband, William Clarke Gellibrand, adopted, frequently visited her brother, William Hooper Ropes, who lived across the hall from the Whistlers.



Jean Daniel Huber (1754–1845). *Mary Tyler (Ropes) Gellibrand and her sister Elizabeth Hannah Ropes*. Photograph of an 1840 portrait painted in the Tyrol. Leeds Russian Archive, University of Leeds, UK (IRA/MS 1406).

## IMAGE 268

The Whistler family frequently visited with Archibald Mirrielees, Scottish merchant, a friend of the Ropeses and Gellibrands.



Archibald Mirrielees with his children Maggie and Fred. Photograph from daguerrotype of 1857. (Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, p. 42).

## IMAGE 269

The Whistler family frequently visited with Jane (Muir) Mirrielees in St. Petersburg, after she became the third wife of Archibald Mirrielees in 1844.



Jane (Muir) Mirrielees, third wife of Archibald Mirrielees, with three of their children: Maida, Archy, and Augusta. Photograph from daguerrotype of 1857. (Pitcher, *Muir and Mirrielees*, p. 42)

## IMAGE 270

Benjamin Ropes Prince, brother of George Henry Prince and first cousin of William Hooper Ropes



*Benjamin Ropes Prince*. 1863. Photograph taken at Whitney's Gallery, St. Paul, MN.  
Courtesy of S. Hardy Prince, of Beverley, MA.

IMAGE 271

Charles Wood was in the cotton-spinning business in St. Petersburg.



*Charles Wood.* Photograph. Courtesy of Rev. Eric Wood of Bruton, Somerset, England.

## IMAGE 272

Lydia (Procter) Wood, wife of Charles Wood and a close friend of Anna Whistler's in St. Petersburg



*Lydia (Procter) Wood.* Photograph. Courtesy of Rev. Eric Wood of Bruton, Somerset, England.

## IMAGE 273

Harriet (Henley) Wishaw, a close friend of Deborah Whistler's, whose wedding the latter could not attend in 1846 because she was in England



*Harriet Wishaw, née Henley* (Whishaw, *History*, between pp. 164–165)



## IMAGE 274

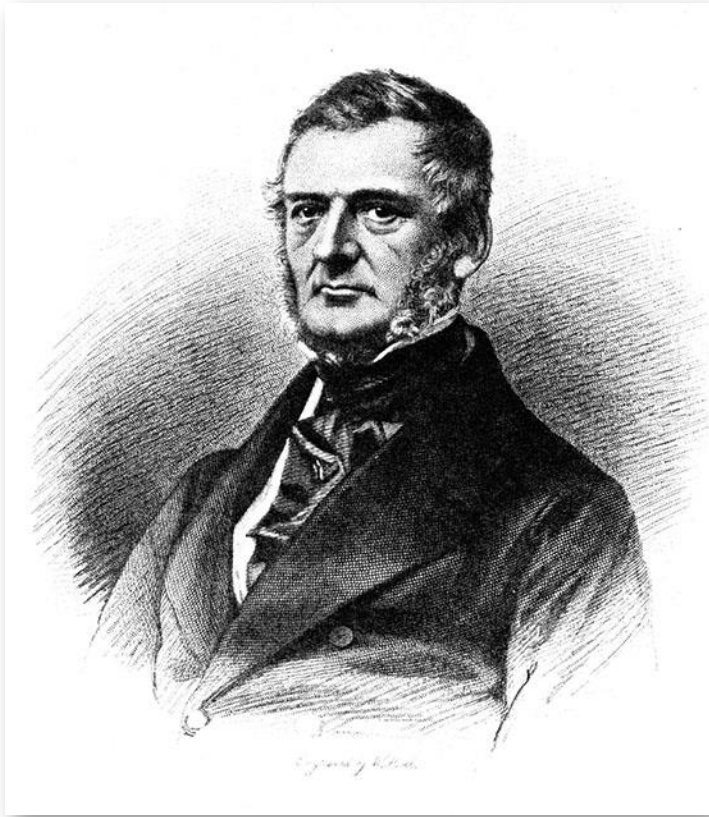
Charles Baird, owner of the Baird Iron Works, that made metal furnishings for many of the buildings of St. Petersburg, died in late 1843. “Old Mrs. Baird” was his widow.



W. Hall. *Charles Baird*. 1867. Engraving. (T. Tower, *Memoir of the Late Charles Baird, Esq., of St. Petersburg, and of His Son, the Late Francis Baird, Esq., of St. Petersburg, and 4, Queen's Gate, London* [London: Harrison and Sons, 1867], frontispiece)

## IMAGE 275

Francis Baird, son of Charles Baird, who succeeded his father as head of the Baird Iron Works



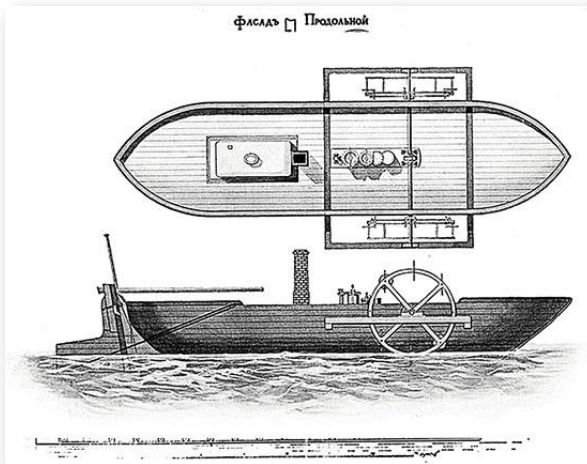
W. Hall. *Portrait of Francis Baird, son of Charles Baird*. 1867. Engraving. (Tower, *Memoir of Charles Baird*, frontispiece)

## IMAGES 276, 277

The *Elizaveta*, the first Russian steamship, produced at the Baird Iron Works in 1815



*Elizaveta*. c. 1820. Colored lithograph. (*The First Steamboat on the Neva*, 15 November 2015, [http://bianki.mypage.ru/nauka-i-tehnika/perviy\\_parohod\\_na\\_neve\\_1\\_1.html](http://bianki.mypage.ru/nauka-i-tehnika/perviy_parohod_na_neve_1_1.html))



[*Elizaveta*] Longitudinal Façade. (Tower, *Memoir of Charles Baird*, unnumbered plate)

## OTHER IMPORTANT PEOPLE

### IMAGE 278

Colonel Charles Stewart Todd, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States in St. Petersburg from 1841 to 1846



*Charles S. Todd. Inspector General and Aide de Camp to General Harrison during the late war. Representative of the U.S. in S. America. Minister to Russia. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC (LC-DIG-pga-11696).*

## IMAGE 279

Abraham Priest Gibson, consul general of the American Legation in St. Petersburg from 1819 to 1850



F.H. Bischoff. *Portrait of A.B. [sic] Gibson Esq, Consul of the United States of North America at St. Petersburg*.  $4\frac{1}{10} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (10.7 x 13.0 cm). Private collection; exhibited at the Royal Academy, London 1841, no. 911; sold at auction 8 April 2020.

## IMAGE 280

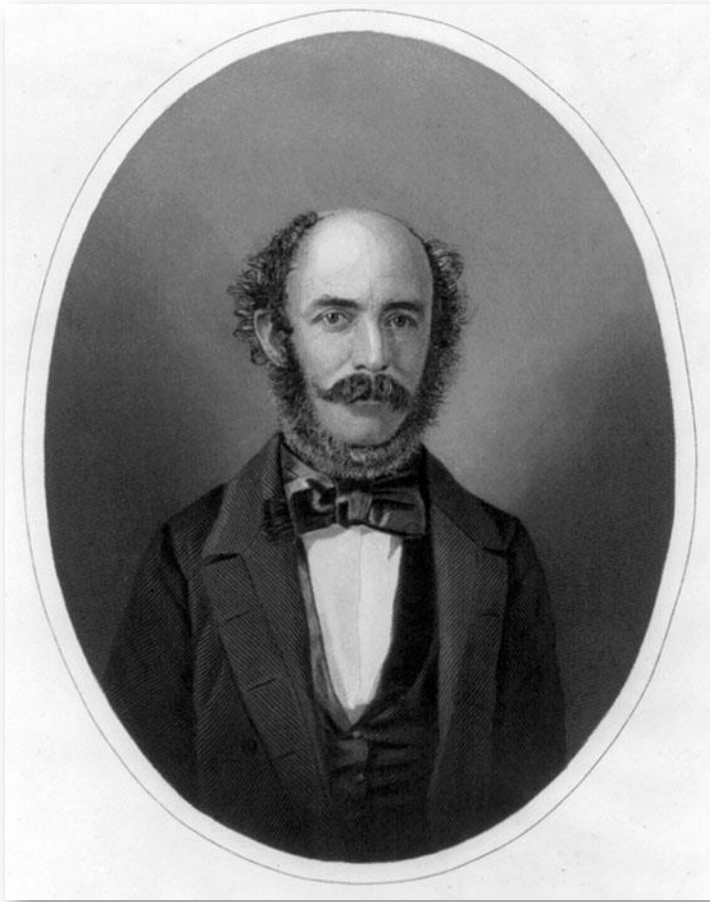
Colin McCrae Ingersoll, secretary ad interim to the American Legation in St. Petersburg from May 1847 to May 1848



*Photograph of Colin McCrae Ingersoll. Box 7, fol. 14, BUHG.*

## IMAGE 281

John Randolph Clay, who served as secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg from July 1845 until April 1847



*John Randolph Clay, American diplomat to Peru* (John Livingston, *Portraits of Eminent Americans Now Living, with Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Their Lives and Actions*, 2 vols. [New York: Cornish, Lampert; London: Sampson, Low and Son, 1853], vol. 1, opposite p. 133)

## IMAGE 282

John Randolph of Roanoke was described by Anna Whistler as generally being called “our queer Randolph.”



Chester Harding (1792–1866). *John Randolph of Roanoke*. 1829. Oil on canvas. 29½ x 24½ in. (74.9 x 62.2 cm). National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC (NPG.2019.9).



## IMAGE 283

Baron Alexander Andreevich Bodisco, Russian envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States from 1833 to 1854, whom Anna Whistler met in St. Petersburg in January 1844 at Colonel Todd's birthday party



*Count Alexander de Bodisco, Russian envoy, at the time of his marriage to Harriet Beall Williams, April 9, 1840.*  
—Edmonston Studio Photo.

John Clagett Proctor, "Count Bodisco, Russian Envoy and Young Bride Made Social History Here," *Sunday Star* (Washington, DC), September 8, 1940, p. 2)

## IMAGE 284

Harriet Beall (Williams) Bodisco, wife of Baron Alexander Andreevich Bodisco, whom Anna Whistler met at Colonel Todd's birthday party in January 1844



John Clagett Proctor, "Count Bodisco, Russian Envoy and Young Bride Made Social History Here," *Sunday Star* (Washington, DC), September 8, 1940, p. 2)

## IMAGE 285

Harriet Bodisco, called “the beautiful American” by the Russians



Johann Conrad Dorner (1809–1866). *Harriet Bodisco*. 1844. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 286

When on leave in 1844, Eduard de Stoeckl, junior secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington, visited the Whistlers at their dacha on the Peterhof Road.



*Baron de Stoeckl*. c. 1860. Photograph. Brady-Handy Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (LC-BH82-5273B).

## IMAGE 287

Queen Victoria, the British monarch from 1838 to 1901



Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805–1873). *Queen Victoria (1819–1901)*. 1843. Oil on canvas. 107.5 x 63.6 in. (273.1 x 161.6 cm). Garter Throne Room, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, England.

## IMAGE 288

Sir Robert Ker Porter, diplomat, who, Colonel Todd told Anna Whistler, died unexpectedly while on a visit to St. Petersburg in 1842



William Oakley Burgess (1818–1844). *Sir Robert Ker Porter*. 1843. Mezzotint from an oil painting (1808) by George Henry Harlow (1787–1819). Plate: 18½ x 12<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (47.1 x 32.7 cm); paper: 19<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. x 14¼ in. (48.5 x 36.1 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D14453); bequeathed by (Frederick) Leverton Harris, 1927.

## IMAGE 289

Jane Porter, sister of Sir Robert Ker Porter and author of historical novels, who was with her brother in Russia when he died



Samuel Freeman (c. 1773–1857). *Jane Porter*. Engraving from a pencil drawing by George Henry Harlow (1787–1819). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D9126).

## IMAGE 290

Anna Maria Porter, sister of Sir Robert Ker Porter, also mentioned by Anna Whistler when she was speaking of Sir Robert Ker Porter's death



Thomas Woolnoth (1785–1857). *Anna Maria Porter*. Engraving from a pencil drawing by George Henry Harlow (1787–1819). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 1109).



## IMAGE 291

John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Great Britain to the Russian Court as of April 1844, whom Anna Whistler used to see as a communicant of the English Church in St. Petersburg



Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830). *John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield, 2nd Baron Bloomfield*. 1819. Oil on canvas. 9  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 25  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (75.6 x 63.8 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 1408); bequeathed by Georgiana Bloomfield, 1905).

## IMAGE 292

Anna Whistler used also to see Georgiana (Liddell) Bloomfield, wife of John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield and previously lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, as a communicant of the English Church in St. Petersburg



*Portrait of Lady Georgiana Bloomfield and Miss Matilda Paget (detail). c. 1843. Hand-colored lithograph; illustration to Planché's "Souvenir of the Bal Costumé" (1843). 28 x 37.8 cm. British Museum, London (1943,0410.1455).*

## IMAGE 293

Queen Pomare of Tahiti, who asked Queen Victoria for help when exiled



Reine Pomaré (Taïti) (Eugène Delessert, *Voyages dans les deux océans, Atlantique et Pacifique, 1844 à 1847* [Paris: A. Franck, 1848], p. 129)

## IMAGE 294

In the autumn of 1847, the Whistlers entertained Dr. Adair Crawford, who had been invited to Russia to consider being moral tutor to a son of Prince Pyotr Georgievich Ol'denburgskii, nephew of Nicholas I, and his wife, Princess Teresia Vil'gel'mina Ol'denburgskaia.



Joseph-Désiré Court (1797–1865). *Portrait of Prince Peter of Oldenburg* (1812-1881). 1842. Oil on canvas. 90 x 71.5 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-5178).

## IMAGE 295

Princess Teresia Vil'gel'mina Ol'denburgskaia, wife of Prince Pyotr Georgievich Ol'denburgskii



Joseph-Désiré Court (1797–1865). *Portrait of the Princess of Oldenburg*. 1847. Oil on canvas. 89 x 71 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-5170).

## IMAGE 296

The children of Prince Pyotr Georgievich Ol'denburgskii and Princess Teresia Vil'gel'mina Ol'denburgskaia in 1853. One of the two oldest boys in this portrait is the son to whom Dr. Adair Crawford was asked to consider being moral tutor.



Vital Jean de Gronckel (1820–1890). *Portrait of the Children of Duke Constantine Frederick Peter of Oldenburg and Princess Therese Wilhelmine Friederike Isabelle Charlotte of Nassau-Weilburg, 1853*. Oil on canvas. 71 x 90.5 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1501).

## IMAGE 297

Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig of the Russian Navy, who died in January 1845



*Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig.* Lithograph. (Aslanbegov, *Admiral Aleksei Samuilovich Greig*, frontispiece)

## IMAGE 298

Sir James Wylie, MD, 1st Baronet, was the chief inspector of military hospitals. The back of his house on Galernaia Street faced the front of the Bobrinskii house.



Mihály Zichy (1827–1906). *Sir James Wylie, MD. 1st Baronet.* Oil on canvas. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.



## IMAGE 299

Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov was a passenger on the lighter carrying the Whistlers to St. Petersburg in September 1843.



O. Tishina. *Portrait of Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov (1818–1864)*. Second half of the 19th century. Miniature. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 300

Colonel Todd told Anna Whistler about attending the funeral of Sofia Vladimirovna (Golitsyna) Stroganovna, the grandmother of the young Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov, whom Anna Whistler and her family met on the lighter to St. Petersburg in September 1843.



Jean-Laurent Mosnier (1743–1808). *Portrait of Countess Sofia Stroganovna*. 1808. Oil on canvas. 24<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 21<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. Stroganov Palace, State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 301

Countess Tat'iana Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Stroganova was the fiancée of Count Aleksandr Sergeevich Stroganov when Anna Whistler saw her at the fête given by Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev for his peasants.



Pietro Tenerani (1789–1869). *Countess Tat'iana Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Stroganova*. 1853. Marble bust. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (N.sk-2345). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

## IMAGE 302

Count Grigorii Grigorievich Kushelev (1802–1855), at whose estate on the Peterhof Road Anna Whistler and friends attended a fête he gave in 1844 for his peasants



Julius Klünder (1802–1875). *Count Grigory Grigoryevich Kushelev (1802–1855) the Younger*. 1833.

## IMAGE 303

Countess Ekaterina Dmitrievna (Vasil'chikova) Kusheleva, the wife of Count G.G. Kushelev, was present at the fête for his peasants that Anna Whistler attended.



Pyotr Fyodorovich Sokolov (1791–1848)(attributed). *Ekaterina Dmitrievna Kusheleva née Vasil'chikova*. 1830s.

## IMAGE 304

Dmitrii Vasilievich Vasil'chikov, brother of Prince Illarion Vasilievich Vasil'chikov and father of Ekaterina (Vasil'chikova) Kusheleva and Tat'iana Dmitrievna Vasil'chikova



George Dawe (1781–1829). *Portrait of Dmitry V. Vasilchikov (1778-1859) (2nd)*. Before 1825. Oil on canvas. 70 cm (27.5 x 24.6 in. 70 x 62.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-8009).

## IMAGE 305

From 1832 to 1853, the retired Buturlin squandered a huge fortune, thereby requiring him to return to active duty in the civil service. Anna Whistler was told about how he had gambled away one of his estates.



*Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin (1807–1876). 1820s. Miniature.*

## IMAGE 306

While visiting the Olenin daughter's governess, Miss McLean, in Tsarskoe Selo, Anna Whistler met the pupil's mother, the widowed Varvara Alekseevna Olenina.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Portrait of Grigorii Nikanorovich Olenin and Varvara Alekseevna Olenina in Rome*. 1828. Watercolor on paper. 42.5 x 33.5 cm. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.



## IMAGE 307

Aleksei Nikolaevich Olenin, who died in 1843, was the father of Varvara Alekseevna Olenina, whom Anna Whistler met when she went to visit Miss McLean, the governess



Alexandr Grigorievich Varnek (d. 1843). *Portrait of the President of the Academy of Arts Alexei Nikolaevich Olenin*. 1824. Oil on canvas. Scientific Research Museum of the Russian Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 308

Count Aleksandr Khristoforovich Benkendorf, head of the Third Department of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancery and chief of the Gendarmerie, to whose office Anna Whistler accompanied her half-sister Alicia McNeill to obtain a ticket of residence



Yegor Botman (1821–1891). *Portrait of Count Alexander Benkendorff (Konstantin Alexander Karl Wilhelm Christoph Graf von Benckendorff) (1782–1844)*. 1859. From a portrait by Franz Krüger (1797–1857). Oil on canvas. 140 x 102 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-209).

## IMAGE 309

Count Karl Vasilievich Nesselrode, foreign minister and chancellor of the Russian Empire, who attended services at the English Church once a year



Yegor Botman (1821–1891). *Portrait of Count Karl Nesselrode (Karl Robert Reichsgraf von Nesselrode-Ebreshoven) (1780–1862)*. 1860s–1870s. From a portrait by Franz Krüger (1797–1857). Oil on canvas. 139.3 x 102.5 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1523).

## IMAGE 310

Prince Illarion Vasilievich Vasil'chikov, close friend of Nicholas I, is shown in the uniform of the Life-Guard Dragoon Regiment, whose chief he was from 1814 to 1847. Anna Whistler watched his funeral cortege in 1847.



Yegor Botman (1821–1891). *Portrait of General, Prince Illarion V. Vasilchikov (1775–1847)*. 1859. From a portrait by Franz Krüger (1797–1857). Oil on canvas. 140 x 102 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-204).

## IMAGE 311

Leontii Vasilievich Dubel't, to whom Colonel Charles Stewart Todd applied to get Martha Reed Ropes released from Cronstadt to enter St. Petersburg



Aleksei Vasilievich Tyranov (1808–1859). *Portrait of Leontii Dubelt*. 1842–1844. Oil on canvas. 46 x 39.5 cm. State Literary Museum, Moscow.

## IMAGE 312

Count Aleksei Fyodorovich Orlov, with whom Sir William Allan, when in St. Petersburg in the summer of 1844, corresponded concerning his painting *Peter the Great Teaching the Peasants to Make Ships*



M.D. Filin, *Imperator Nikolai Pervyi* [Emperor Nicholas I], in *Russkii mir v litsakh* [The Russian World Through Its Personages] (Moscow: Russkii Mir, 2002).

## IMAGE 313

Count Aleksandr Vladimirovich Adlerberg, childhood companion of the future Alexander II and aide-de-camp of Nicholas I, for whose expected child Anna Whistler said the seamstress Franciska was making baby clothes



Andrey (Heinrich) Ivanovich Denyer. *Portrait of Count Alexander Adlerberg*. 1858–1861. Photograph. Multimedia Art Museum, Moscow. Retrieved 24 July 2022 from the *History of Russia in Photographs* project, developed with the support of Yandex and the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, [https://russiainphoto.ru/search/photo/years-1858-1861/?page=1&paginate\\_page=1&index=1](https://russiainphoto.ru/search/photo/years-1858-1861/?page=1&paginate_page=1&index=1)

## IMAGE 314

Adjutant General and General of Infantry Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kavelin, the military governor general of St. Petersburg in 1844, to whom Nicholas I sent a moving rescript after the body of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna was transferred from Tsarskoe Selo to the Imperial mausoleum at the Peter and Paul Fortress



Frish and Vysotskii, *S-Peterburgskaia stolichnaia politisia*, facing page 136



## IMAGE 315

Adjutant General and General of Infantry Matvei Evgrafovich Khrapovitskii, the military governor general of St. Petersburg from April 1846 to March–April 1847, about whose attention to exorbitant pricing of food products Charlotte Leon told Anna Whistler



Frish and Vysotskii, *S-Peterburgskaia stolichnaia politsiia*, facing page 138

## IMAGE 316

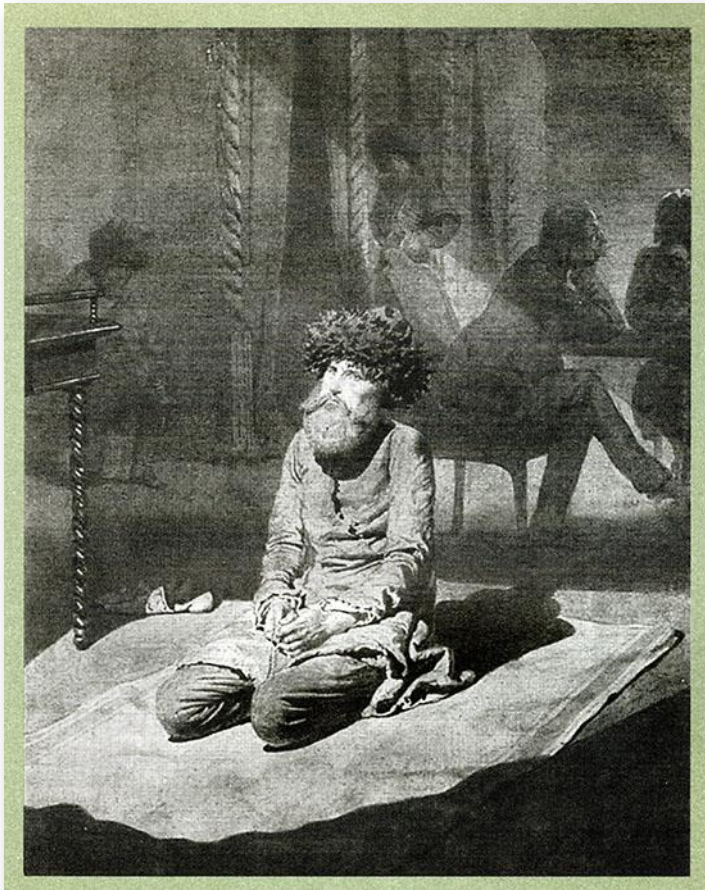
Adjutant General and General of Infantry Dmitrii Ivanovich Shul'gin, military governor general of St. Petersburg from April–May 1847 to December 1854 / January 1855



Frish and Vysotskii, *S-Peterburgskaia stolichnaia politsiia*, facing page 142

## IMAGE 317

Imam Shamil', leader of Caucasian resistance (1834–1859) to Russia's war of annexation, at prayer



Mihály Zichy (1829–1906). *Imam Shamil' at Prayer*. Mid-19th century. Lithograph. (R. Ia. Shterengarts, *Istoriia Rossii XIX veka v zerkale graficheskogo iskusstva* [*The History of 19th-Century Russia in the Mirror of Graphic Art*] [Moscow: Progress-Traditsiia, [2002]], p. 111)

## IMAGE 318

Sylvanus Thayer, superintendant of the United States Military Academy when Major Whistler was a cadet there, visited the Whistlers on the Peterhof Road in July 1844.



Robert W. Weir (1803–1889). *Brevet Brigadier General Sylvanus Thayer*. 1845. West Point Museum Collection, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY.

## IMAGE 319

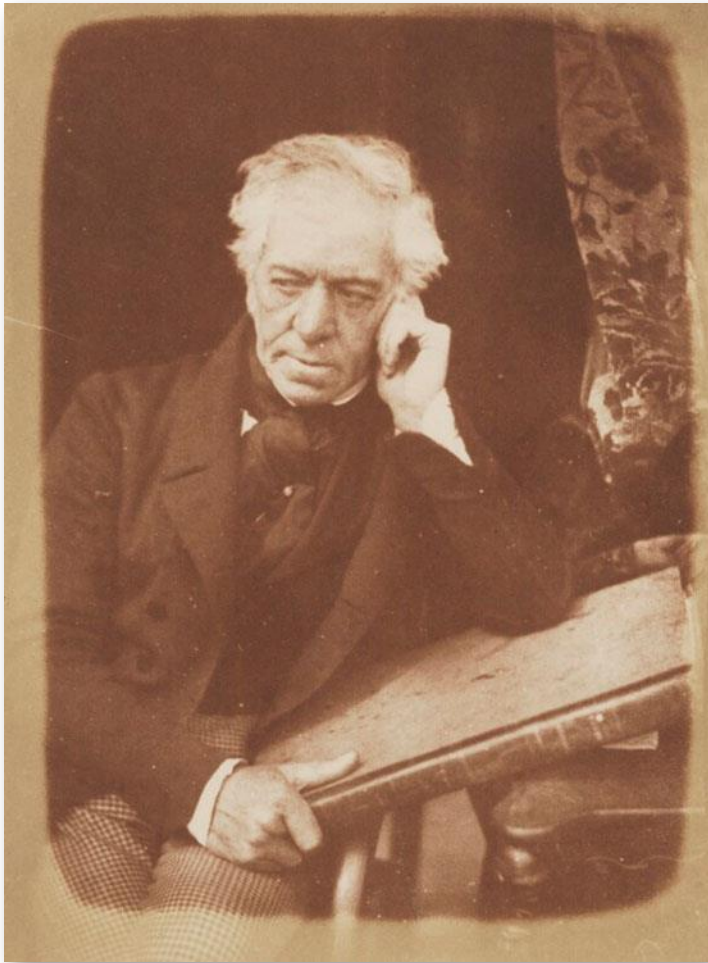
Charles Collins Parker, a medical student and traveling companion to Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, accompanied him on a visit to the Whistlers on the Peterhof Road in July 1844.



*C.C. Parker, Son of Gen<sup>l</sup> Philadelphia 25th Oct 1842*, 1842. Silhouette. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (50.602.1158); bequest of Glenn Tilley Morse, 1950.

## IMAGE 320

The Scottish artist Sir William Allan visited the Whistlers on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844 and praised James's artwork.



David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848). *Sir William Allan*. 1844. Calotype. 8 x 5<sup>5</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (20.3 x 14.3 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG P6(9)).

## IMAGE 321

David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre was a fabulously wealthy Anglo-Indian member of the British Parliament, whose jealousy towards his wife caused her family to have him committed as insane. His escape from restraint caused him to wander all over Europe, which was a probable reason for his being in St. Petersburg, where John Stevenson Maxwell met him at the misses Benson's boarding house in 1844.



Charles Brocky (1807–1855). *David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre (1808–1851)*. Oil on canvas. The Potteries Museum & Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, UK. (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Sombre, David Ochterlony Dyce,” accessed 28 September 2021)

## IMAGE 322

Prince Oscar of Sweden attended the wedding of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna and the Crown Prince of Württemberg in 1846.



Huillot de Saignez (attributed). *Prince Oscar II of Sweden*. 1847. Photograph. Bernadotte Library Archive, Stockholm, Sweden.



## IMAGE 323

Vasilii Grigorievich Zhukov was the owner of a tobacco factory famous for its workers' choir and a philanthropist. His choir sang at Ekateringof in summer.



*City Head V. Zhukov.* (Bozherianov, *Nevskii Prospekt*, vol. 2, p. 426)

## IMAGE 324

Count Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki, father of Olga Potocka, to whom Charlotte Leon had been governess



Domenico Cunego (c. 1724–1803). *Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki*. c. 1783. Copperplate etching. National Library of Poland, Warsaw.

## IMAGE 325

Countess Zofia (Glavani)(Witt) Potocka, wife of Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki, to whose daughter, Olga, Charlotte Leon had been governess



Johann Baptist Lampi (1751–1830). *Zofia Wittowa Potocka (1760–1822) as a Vestal Virgin*. c. 1785. Museo Castello del Buonconsiglio, Trento, Italy.

## IMAGE 326

Countess Olga (Potocka) Naryshkina, to whom Charlotte Leon was governess, when the former was a child, was the daughter of Count Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki and Countess Zofia (Glavani)(Witt) Potocka.



*Portrait of Olga Naryshkina.* 1830s–1840s. Oil on canvas. 70.5 x 58.5 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (Zh-6223).

## IMAGE 327

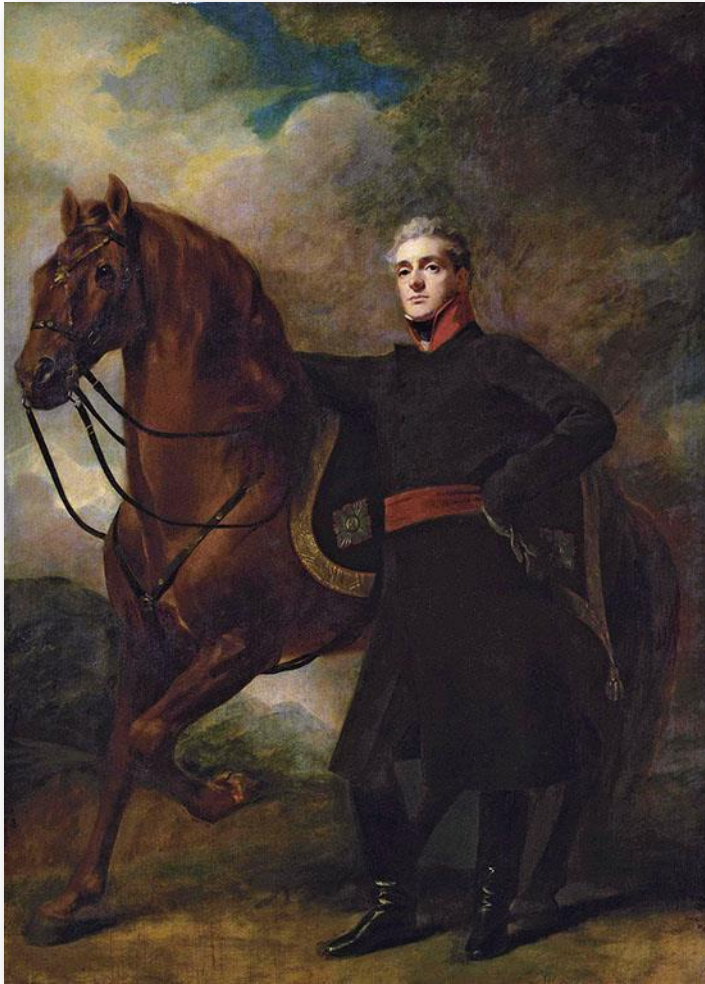
Countess Zofia (Potocka) Kiseleva, to whom Charlotte Leon had been governess, when the former was a child, was the daughter of Count Stanisław Szczęsny Potocki and Countess Zofia (Glavani)(Witt) Potocka.



George Hayter (1792–1871). *Portrait of Sofia S. Kiselevova*. 1831. Oil on canvas. 78 x 67 cm; oval painted into a rectangle. Inscription: “George Hayter pinxit Paris 1831.” State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-4929).

## IMAGE 328

Alexander Hamilton Douglas told Charlotte Leon, when she was governess to Countess Zofia Potocka's daughters, that she should feel free to contact him if she ever needed financial help.



Henry Raeburn (1756–1823). *Alexander Hamilton, 10th Duke of Hamilton and 7th Duke of Brandon (1767–1852)*. Between 1812 and 1823. Oil on canvas. 245.1 x 179.1 cm (96.4 x 70.5 in.). Sold at auction by Christie's, London, 14 September 2011.

## DR. EDWARD MAYNARD

### IMAGE 329

Dr. Edward Maynard, dentist and firearms inventor, repaired the teeth of several Whistler family members while visiting St. Petersburg in the winter of 1845–1846.



*Dr. Edward Maynard.* After 1870. Photograph. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC (ID 99472659).





## IMAGE 331

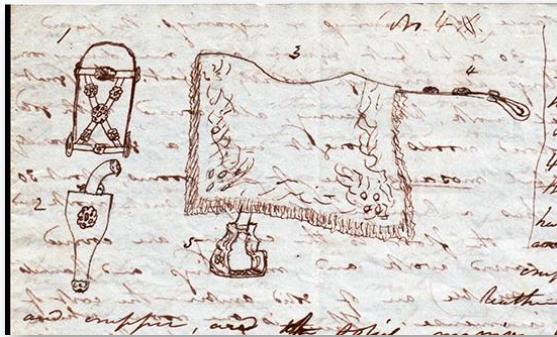
Drozhki drawn by Dr Edward Maynard in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard



Edward Maynard, letter no. 1, St. Petersburg, Russia, Monday night, September 22, 1845 (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

## IMAGE 332

Eastern saddle and accoutrements seen in the Armory at Tsarskoe Selo, to which Colonel Todd, the American envoy, took Dr. Edward Maynard in September 1845, drawn by the latter in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard



Edward Maynard, letter no. 1, St. Petersburg, Russia, Friday night, September 26, 1845 (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

## IMAGE 333

Masked figure seen at the New Year's Eve ball in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility, to which Colonel Todd, the American envoy, took Dr. Edward Maynard, drawn by the latter in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard



Edward Maynard, letter no. 7, St. Petersburg, Tuesday morning [2 January 1846] (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

IMAGE 334

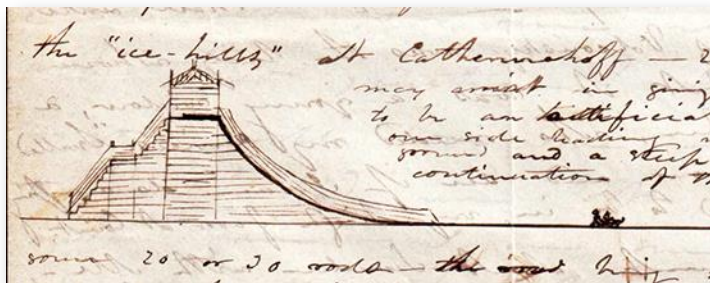
Portraits of Emperor Nicholas I and his brother Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, drawn by Dr. Edward Maynard in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard, in January 1846



Edward Maynard, letter no. 8, St.Petersburg, Saturday evening January 12, 1846 (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

## IMAGE 335

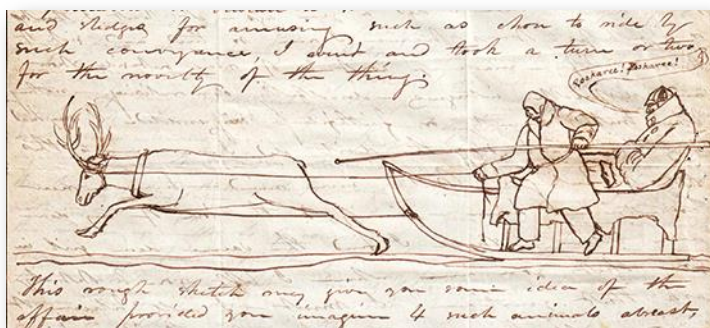
Ice-hills at Catherinehoff visited by Dr. Edward Maynard, and drawn by him in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard, in January 1846



Edward Maynard, letter no. 8, St. Petersburg, Monday P.M. [14 January 1846] (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

## IMAGE 336

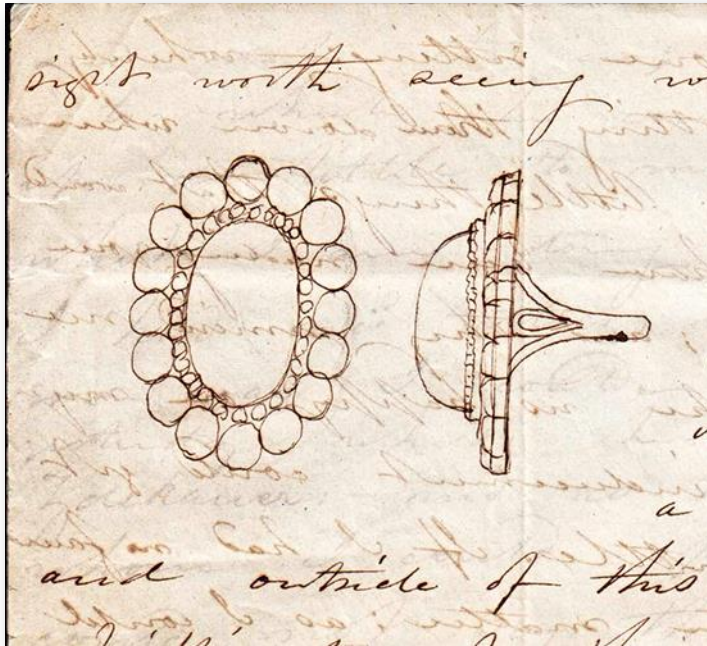
Reindeer sleigh ridden in by Dr. Edward Maynard, and drawn in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard



Edward Maynard, letter no. 8, St. Petersburg, Wednesday 23rd January 1846 (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

## IMAGE 337

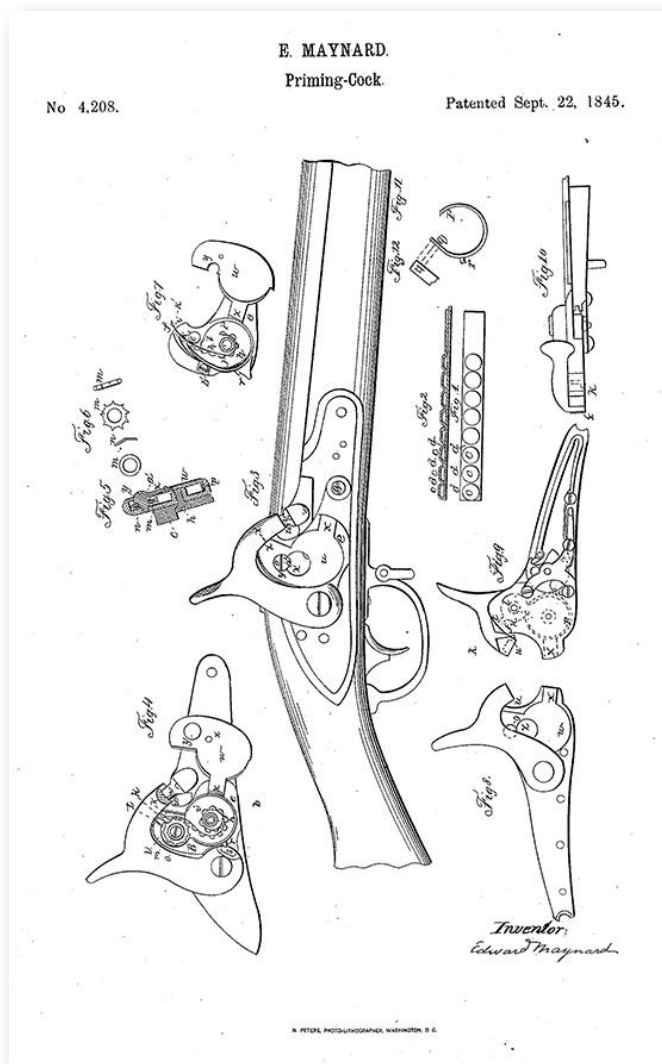
Ring awarded to Dr. Edward Maynard by Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna in March 1846 for his dental services, drawn in a letter to his wife, Ellen Maynard



Edward Maynard, letter no. 11, St. Petersburg, Sunday morning, March 10, 1846, (original letter in the possession of his descendant, Cynthia McGrath)

## IMAGE 338

Schematic for Maynard's priming lock mechanism, patented in 1845



“E. Maynard, Priming-Cock, No. 4,208, Patented Sept. 22, 1845.” *United States Patent Office: Edward Maynard of Washington, District of Columbia, Percussion-Primer and Gun-lock Therefore.* Google Patents, accessed 4 October 2021, <https://patents.google.com/patent/US4208A/en>

## IMAGE 339

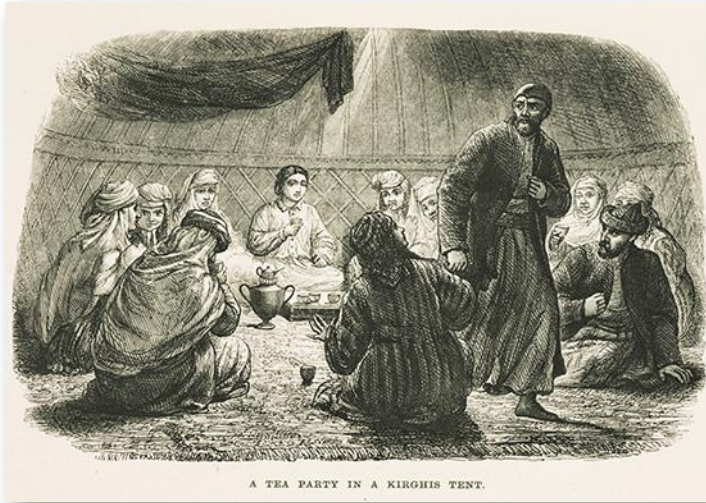
George Washington Parmly, Maynard's dentist colleague and friend, who traveled to St. Petersburg with him



*George Washington Parmly*. c. 1865. From a photograph taken in Paris, France. Lawrence Parmly Brown, *The Greatest Dental Family* (1923), p. 25; reprinted from *The Dental Cosmos*, March, April, and May 1923.

## IMAGE 340

Lucy (Finley) Atkinson, cousin of the misses Benson

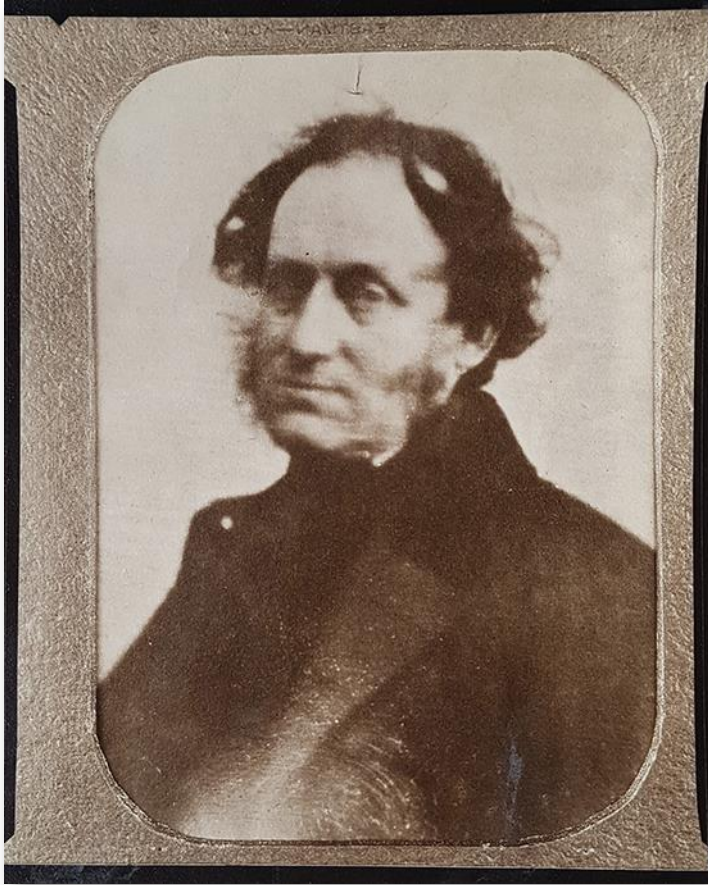


Thomas Atkinson (1799–1861). *Tea Party in a Kirghis Tent*. Sketch. (Atkinson, *Recollections*, facing p. 204)



## IMAGE 341

Thomas Atkinson, husband of Lucy (Finley) Atkinson



“The only known photograph of Thomas Witlam Atkinson” (Nick Fielding, Siberian Steppes website, accessed 22 September 2021, <https://siberiansteppes.com/2018/11/16/a-new-portrait-of-thomas-witlam-atkinson/>)

## IMAGE 342

Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Muraviev, to whose daughter Lucy Finley was governess



Smirnov. *Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Muraviov*. 1865. Lithograph. St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 343

Dr. Nikolai Fyodorovich Arendt, who negotiated with Maynard to remain in St. Petersburg as Imperial dentist



*Nikolai Fyodorovich Arendt. 1830s. (Stark, *Zhizn' s počtom Natal'ia Pushkina*, vol. 2, p. 63)*

## DAILY LIFE IN ST. PETERSBURG

### IMAGE 344

Anna Whistler took James and Willie in 1844 to a toboggan hill (ice hill), where they saw Colonel Todd and the Risleys enjoying themselves.



*Toboggan Hills on Admiralty Square During Shrovetide in 1835. Mid-nineteenth century. Lithograph tinted with watercolor. 38.5 x 45.5 cm.*

## IMAGE 345

Every year at Easter, James and Willie attended the fair on Admiralty Square.



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *Fair Booths on Admiralty Square*. 1849. Watercolor on paper. 31.1 x 42.7 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 346

Swings, such as those seen by the Whistlers in Admiralty Square at the Shrovetide fair



*Butter Week in St. Petersburg (detail). 1869. (Die Gartenlaube [The Gazebo] [1869]: p. 85)*

## IMAGE 347

James and Willie were taken to the frozen Neva to ride on sleds drawn by reindeer, an enterprise of Lapplanders.



Nikolai Vanifantiev. *Races in St. Petersburg. Amusements on the Neva*. 1846. Lithograph. 22.2 x 34 cm. Gr-25221. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 348

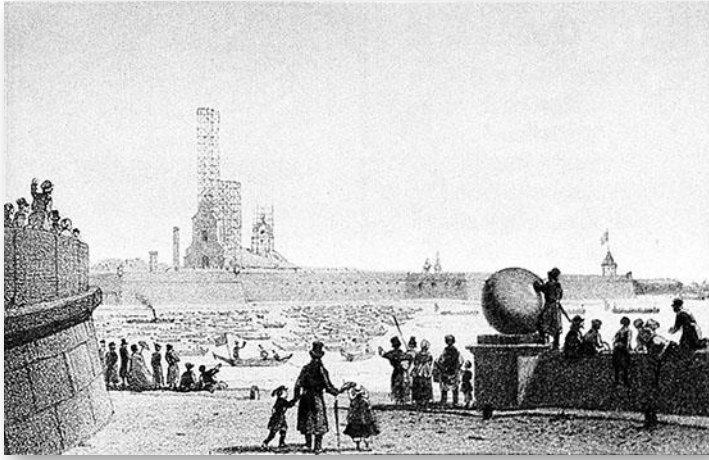
Anna Whistler records many instances of James and Willie skating at the English Club skating ground on the Neva.



Akim Egorovich Karneev (1833–1896). *Ice Skating on the Neva*. First half of the 19th century. Engraving tinted with watercolor. 29.7 x 30 cm. Museum of the History of St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 349

Each year, after the ceremony of the Blessing of the Neva had taken place, navigation reopened.

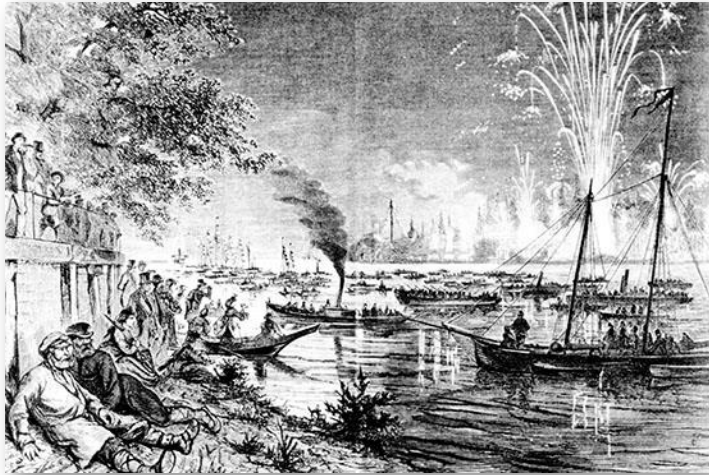


Vasilii Fyodorovich Timm (1820–1895). *The Opening of Navigation on the Neva River*. 1858. Lithograph from *Russkii khudozhestvennyi listok* [*Russian Art Newsletter*]. (Lotman and Pogossian, *Velikosvetskoe obedy*, p. 314)



## IMAGE 350

People watching fireworks on the banks of a river, most likely the Neva



The source of this image is uncertain. Specialists from the engravings department of the State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, note the similarities between this and an engraving by Khelmitiskii from an original drawing by G. Brolling of a festive scene on Elagin Island, published in *Neva* in 1892, and suggest that this may be by the same artist and from the same publication. “Both [Khelmitiskii and Brolling] are little-known staff artists of the magazine” (Andrew Gangan, State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, 27 December 2021).

## IMAGE 351

James and Willie sometimes went unaccompanied on the omnibus to Alexandrofsky



*Omnibus. Panorama of the Nevskii Prospekt.* 1835. Lithograph from a drawing by V. Sadovnikov.

## IMAGE 352

When Major Whistler used the family carriage, the remaining family members hired a drozhki.



Aleksandr Orlovskii (1777–1832). *A City Drozhki*. 1820. Lithograph. 44.6 x 55.7 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 353

See detail of a sentry box with a sentry on duty on the right. In the 1840s, he no longer carried a halberd.



Aleksandr Orlovskii (1777–1832). *A Sledge Harnessed to a Pair of Horses*. 1820. Lithograph. 44.5 x 56.3 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 354

The passenger in a kibitka reclined rather than sitting up, as Joseph Harrison Jr. discovered when he had to use one.



Aleksandr Orlovskii (1777–1832). *Traveler in a Kibitka Harnesses to a Troika of Horses*. 1819. Lithograph. 39.5×57.3 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 355

This pastime was known to Anna Whistler as “gee-joggle.” The image also contains the detail of the gable end of a peasant house, which she noted particularly.



Aleksandr Orlovskii (1777–1832). *Jumping on a Board*. 1827. Lithograph. 30 x 38 cm. National Museum of Poland, Warsaw.

## IMAGE 356

Game of knucklebones (babki), which Anna Whistler saw peasant boys playing



*Game of Knucklebones.* Lithograph after an original by Aleksandr Orlovskii (1777–1832). 36 x 48 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg (Gr–19389). (Petrova, *Play and Passion*, p. 107)

## IMAGE 357

The English name for the game called “svaika” is “nail into the ring.” It is depicted in a sculpture outside the Alexander Palace, which Anna Whistler visited.



*Svaika. A Favorite Game of the Moujiks.* 1833. Hand-colored engraving. Reproduced from Robert Pinkerton, *Russia; or, Miscellaneous Observations on the Past and Present State of That Country and Its Inhabitants* (London: Seeley and Sons, 1833), facing p. 295.



## IMAGE 358

A restaurant catering to the general public



Victor Adam (1801–1866). *Café Restaurant in St. Petersburg*, c. 1830. Lithograph from a drawing by Heinrich Mitreiter. State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 359

The samovar was a vital part of all Russians' and foreigners' everyday life in St. Petersburg.



Brass samovar, created by "F.P." 1840s. 36 x 32 x 30 cm. Engraved on the base: "Ф. П. ГРМ" ["F. P. In GRM"]. (I.L. Zakharova, *Russkie samovary – Russian Samovars* [Leningrad: Khudozhnik RSFSR, 1971], plate 69, p. 171)

## IMAGE 360

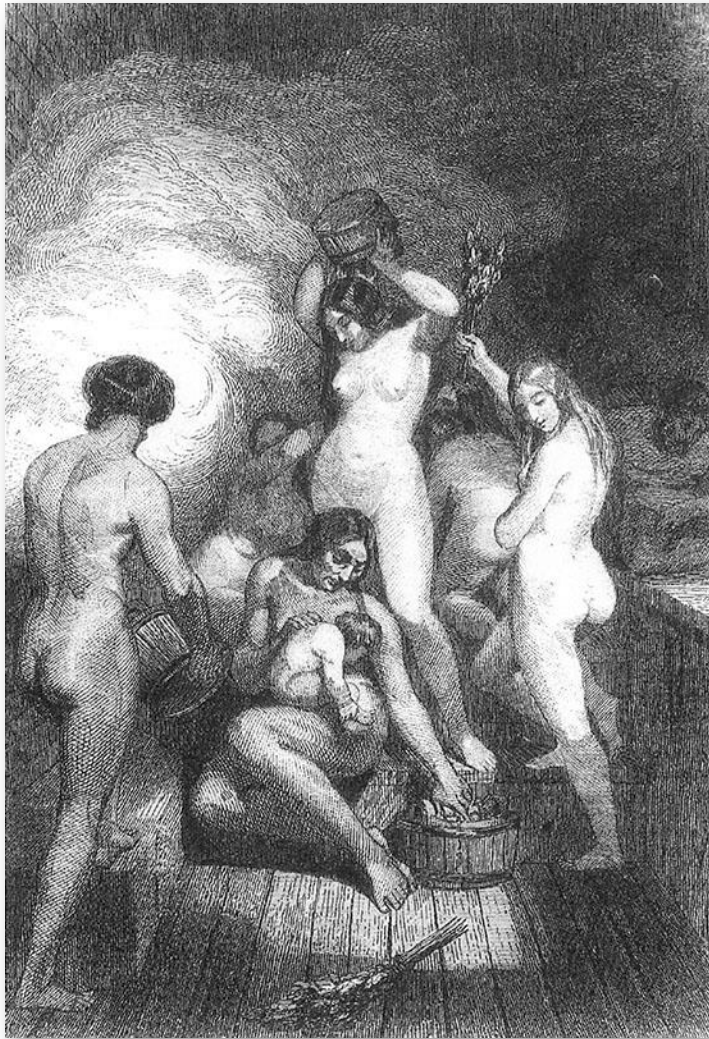
Like most St. Petersburg inhabitants, Anna Whistler did not buy fruit in winter, as it was excessively priced



*Petersburg, Fruit Shop.* 1858. Xylograph taken from *Zhivopisnaia Russkaia biblioteka* [Picturesque Russian Library]. (Louman and Pogonian, *Velikosvetskie obedы*, p. 221)

## IMAGE 361

A Russian public bath house. Anna Whistler used the private bath house on old Mr. Drury's estate on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844.



Geoffroy. *The Russian Baths*. 1845. Engraving after P.Iw. [Ivanov?]. (Anthony G. Cross, "The Russian *Banya* in the Descriptions of Foreign Travellers and in the Depictions of Foreign and Russian Artists," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s., 24 [1991], p. 57)

## IMAGE 362

The St. Petersburg *dvornik* (outdoor–indoor man), a feature of every house



Ignatii Stepanovich Shchedrovskii (1815–1870). *Petersburg dvornik*. 1839. Lithograph. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 363

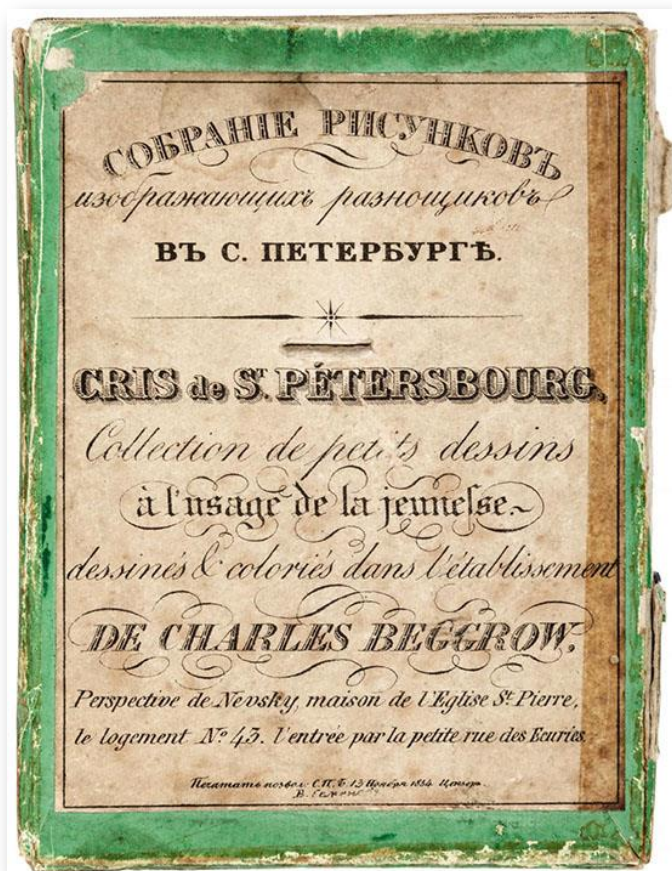
Anna Whistler engaged a wet nurse when John Bouttatz Whistler was born in 1845.



Aleksei Venetsianov (1780–1847). *Wet Nurse with a Child*. Early 1830s. Oil on canvas. 66.7 x 53 cm (26.2 x 20.8 in). State Tret'iakov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 364

Front cover of the custom cloth box containing the 24 hand-colored lithograph cards included in the 1834 collection *Sobranie risunkov izobrazhainschikh raznozhchikov v S. Peterburge – Cris de St. Pétersbourg*,



Custom cloth box. 12.5x9.5 cm (5x3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " original green glazed board slipcase with printed paper label on one side and an engraved illustration on the reverse. From the set *Sobranie risunkov izobrazhainschikh raznozhchikov v S. Peterburge – Cris de St. Pétersbourg*. *Collection de petits dessins à l'usage de la jeunesse, dessinés & coloriés dans l'établissement de Charles Beggrov* [The Cries of St. Petersburg: A Collection of Small Drawings for the Use of Children, Designed and Colored in the Workshop of Charles Beggrov [Karl Beggrov (1799–1875)]. Sold at auction (with contents) by PBA Galleries, 6 November 2014.

## IMAGE 365

“Kazan shoes” are boots of soft leather without demarcation of a sole and heel.



*Kazan shoes. Seller of Kazan boots and slippers. 1834. Hand-colored lithograph card. 5 x 3¾ in. (12.5 x 9.5 cm). From the set *Sobranie risunkov izobrazhainshchikh raznoschikov v S. Peterburge* – *Cris de St. Pétersbourg*.*



## IMAGE 366

From her European travels in 1846, Sarah (Poulterer) Harrison brought Anna Whistler an elaborate pelerine cape to thank her for taking care of baby Alicia McNeill Harrison.



*Miss Etta Estabrook. Daguerreotype. c. 1845. (Severa, *Dressed for the Photographer*, p. 55)*

## IMAGE 367

Anna Whistler had a brooch made for Mary Brennan from the hair of John Bouttatz Whistler as a memorial after he died in October 1846.



*The Victorian Art of Hair Jewelry with Art Historian and Master Jeweler Karen Bachman.* Observatory, Brooklyn NY. Course advertisement, 13 January 2013, accessed 5 October 2021, <http://www.observatoryroom.org/2014/05/17/the-victorian-art-of-hair-jewelry-workshop-with-art-historian-and-master-jeweler-karen-bachmann-2/>

## IMAGE 368

Major Whistler bought a screw-cushion for Anna Whistler on one of his trips within Russia.



*Pincushion and Workholder*. c. 1800. Cut steel. Manufactured in Birmingham, England. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (metalwork collection 540-1903).

## IMAGE 369

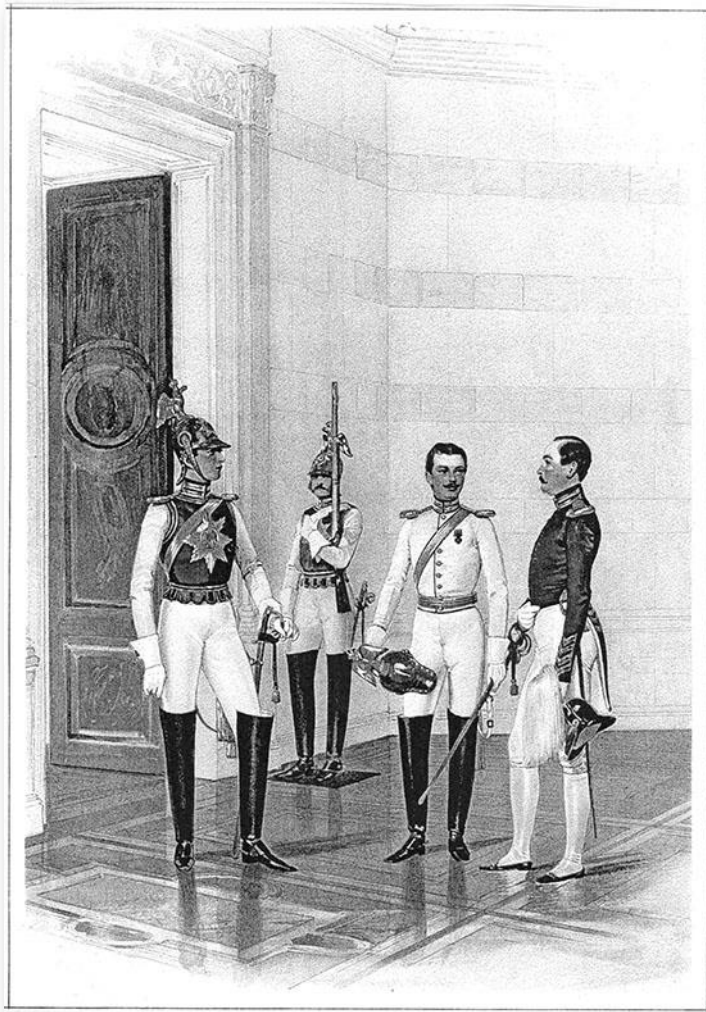
The Life Guards Cavalry Regiment praying in the manège in St. Petersburg in the presence of Emperor Nicholas I



*Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Appointment of Emperor Nicholas I as Chief of the Cavalry Regiment at the Mikhailovskiy Manege.* 1849. Oil on canvas. 56 x 88 cm. State Museum of the History of St. Petersburg (I-A-235-g); previously in the collection of the Life Guards Cavalry Regiment; a gift to the regiment in 1849 according to the will of the Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich.

## IMAGE 370

Members of the Cavalier (Imperial Household) Guard, of which Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna was head. In English, the Cavalier Guard is called the Horse Guard.



*The Cavalier (Imperial Household) Guard in the Reign of Nicholas I (Panchulidzev, Istoriia Kavaler gardov, vol. 4, facing page 140)*

## IMAGE 371

Pages of Nicholas I, who is purported to have offered to educate James and Willie in his Corps of Pages after Major Whistler's death



Carl Piratskii (c. 1814–1871). *The Court Grenadiers and Pages in the Military Gallery of the Winter Palace* (detail). 1848. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 372

Ladies-in-waiting to Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna



Adolphe Ladurner (1798–1856). *Part of the White (Armorial) Hall in the Winter Palace* (detail). 1838. Oil on canvas. 69 x 96 cm (full painting). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-2436).

## IMAGE 373

Once a year, Nicholas I gave a masked ball at which the ladies could approach and speak with frankness to him.



Adolphe Ladurner (1798–1856). *The Masked Ball of Nicholas I*. 1845. Oil on canvas. State Central Literary Museum, Moscow.



## IMAGE 374

Mrs. Trouvellier described to Deborah Whistler that at midnight at a ball where all classes of society were admitted, one's clothing could become quite dishevelled and torn.



“A Ball in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility” (Fradkina, *Zal Dvorianskogo sobraniia*)

## IMAGES 375 THROUGH 382

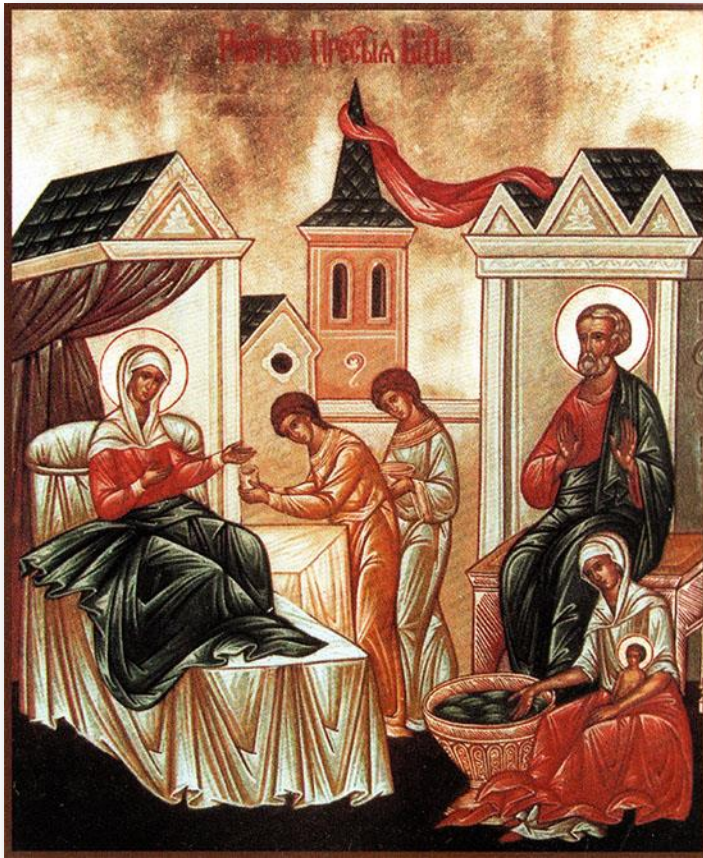
The Russian Orthodox Church calendar “begins with the Birth of the Holy Virgin on September 8th old or Julian calendar, September 21st new or Gregorian calendar. This holy day corresponds closely to the date of the Jewish New Year which to the Hebrews signified a new beginning of their life. Similarly the early Church, which generally closely followed the Old Testament celebrations of the Hebrews, proclaimed the new Christian era with the birth of the Holy Virgin, Who was to be the Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who in turn by His birth, was to bring a new era into the world – the era of Christianity” (N.E. Mokhoff, ed. *Holy Days of the Church: A Short Synopsis of Pascha and the Twelve Major Feasts and Fasts of the Orthodox Church* [New York: Russian Orthodox Youth Committee, 2001], p. 1). The images of the icons shown here are presented according to the Russian Orthodox calendar year, starting with the birth of Mary and ending with her death.

The icons discussed represent those of the twelve major feast days of the Russian Orthodox Church that Anna Whistler had occasion to be present during the celebration of, evoking from her comments of approval, disapproval, interpretation, misunderstanding, and sometimes sheer ignorance.

Images are reprinted with permission from Mokhoff, *Holy Days of the Church*. In the twenty-first century, when Mokhoff’s book was published, the difference between Old and New Style became thirteen days.

## IMAGE 375

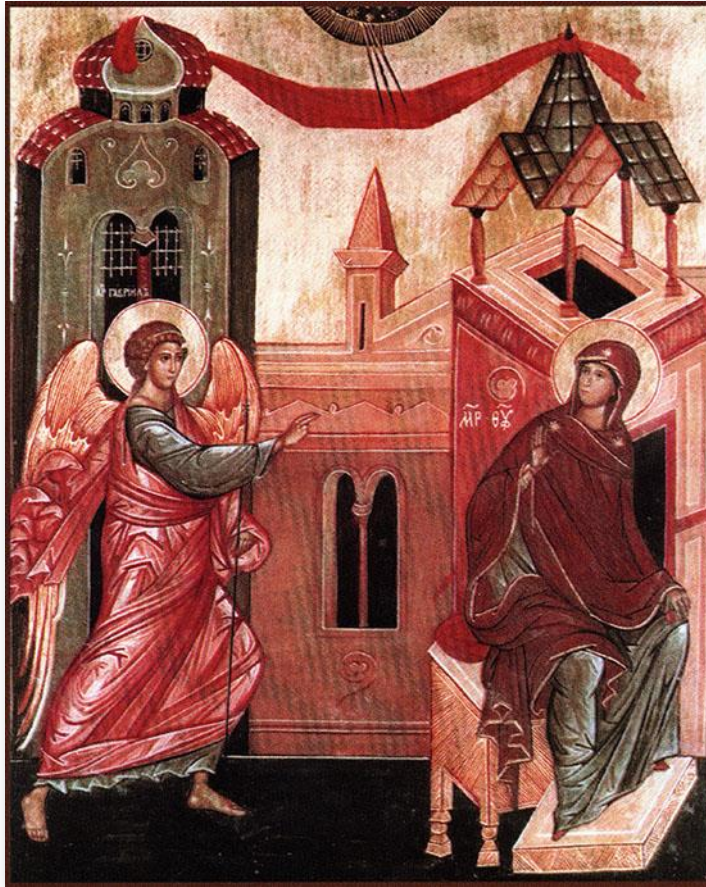
Icon of the immoveable feast day of the Birth of the Most Holy Mother of God, Mary, daughter of the elderly couple Joachim and Anna. Her birth signifies that “the great task of saving mankind from enslavement to sin as promised to the first man” (Mokhoff, p. 3) has begun. While living on the Peterhof Road in the summer of 1844, Anna Whistler, hearing of this feast day, the first in the Church calendar year, celebrated on 8/20 September, confused it with the Epiphany, celebrated on 2/14 February, and then dismissed it as probably having to do with the Virgin Mary.



*Nativity of the Holy Virgin* (p. 2)

## IMAGE 376

Icon of the moveable feast day in March of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Mother of God commemorates the announcement by the Angel Gabriel to the Blessed Virgin Mary of the conception of Jesus in her womb.



*Annunciation* (p. 6)

## IMAGE 377

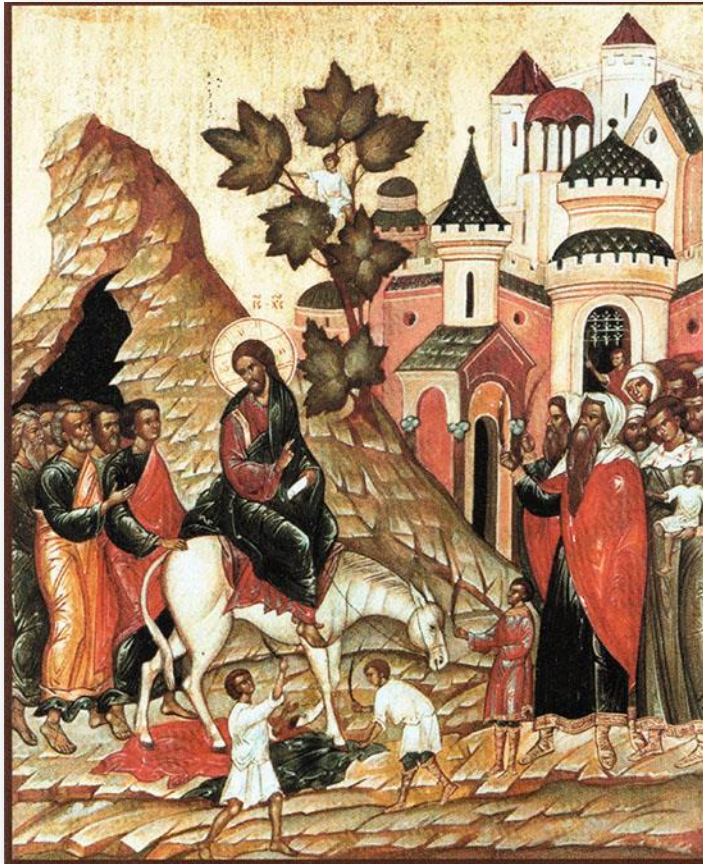
Icon of the immovable feast day the Nativity of Christ, celebrated on 25 December / 6 January and called Christmas. Anna Whistler recorded in December 1843 and December 1845 – January 1846 the Whistler family's secular preparations for and celebration of Christmas.



*The Nativity of Christ* (p. 8)

## IMAGE 378

Icon of the moveable feast day the Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, called by Western Christians “Palm Sunday” and by Russian Orthodox Christians “Pussy Willow Sunday” as well, occurring on the Sunday before Easter. Anna Whistler described her, James, and Willie’s excursion with Major Bouttatz in the week before Palm Sunday of 1844 to buy trinkets associated with this feast day.



*Entrance of the Lord into Jerusalem* (p. 16)

## IMAGE 379

Icon of the moveable feast day the Resurrection of Our Lord (Easter Sunday), when Jesus, who had announced before his crucifixion that he would be resurrected three days later, emerged alive from his tomb. Anna Whistler, who attended the Easter service at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Catherine, Maiden and Martyr in 1844 with William Hooper Ropes, described the music, the service, and the activity there in extensive detail.



*Easter (Pascha) – Resurrection of Our Lord (p. 20)*

## IMAGE 380

Icon of the moveable feast of the Pentacost (Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles), also called “Trinity Sunday” by the Western and the Russian Orthodox Church, and popularly “Whitsunday,” occurring on the fiftieth day after Easter and the tenth day after the Ascension of Jesus. An important feast day in the Russian Orthodox Church, Pentacost marks the beginning of the spread of Christianity (Mokhoff, p. 25). Anna Whistler mentions having attended the English Church that Sunday and points out that the poorer classes do not understand the meaning of this great feast day and regard it as the first day of summer.

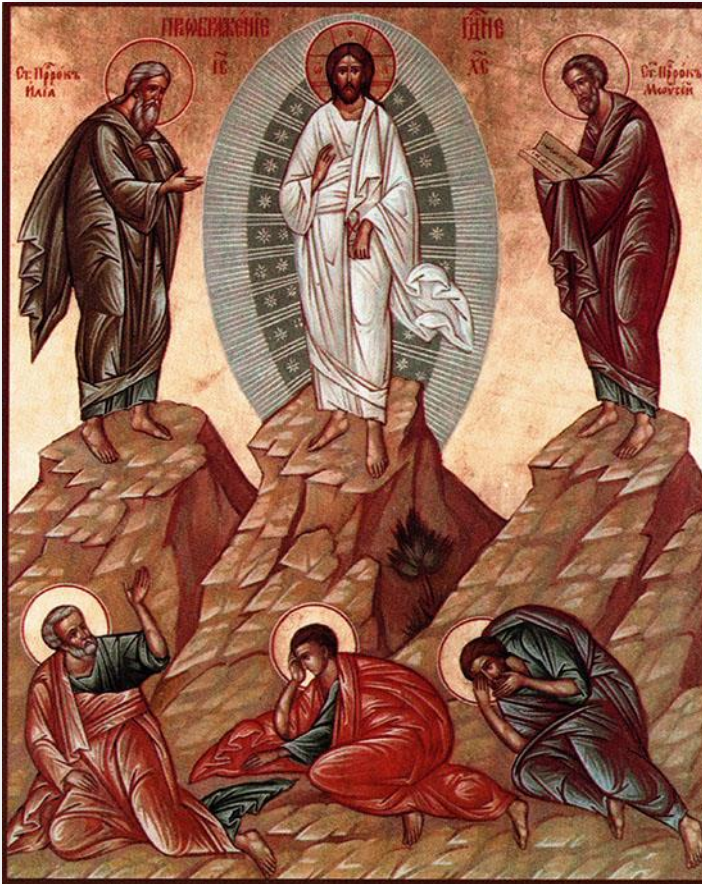


*Pentacost – Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles (p. 24)*



## IMAGE 381

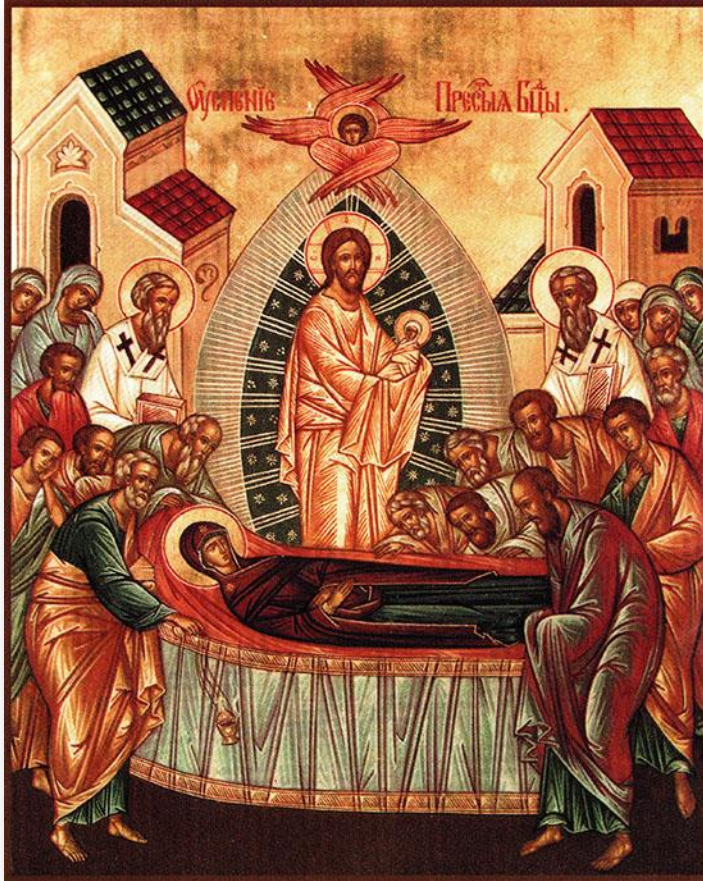
Icon of the Transfiguration of Our Lord, an immovable feast day in Russia, celebrated on 6/18 August, represents the moment on Mount Tabor when Jesus' raiment and visage are transfigured and his future suffering and death are presaged (Mokhoff, p. 15). When the Whistlers were living on the Peterhof Road in 1844, Anna Whistler did not know the name of the religious holiday, but knew that it had its counterpart in the folk holiday called "the Blessing of the Apples."



*Transfiguration of Our Lord* (p. 14)

## IMAGE 382

Icon of the Dormition of the Most Holy Mother of God, also called “The Assumption,” an immovable feast day falling on 15/27 August, celebrates the death and apotheosis of the Virgin Mary, when she is taken into heaven by her son, Jesus (Mokhoff, pp. 27–29). When the Whistlers were living on the Peterhof Road in 1844, Anna Whistler responded to this event with skeptical sarcasm.



*Dormition of the Ever-Holy Mother of God (p. 28)*

## THE ST. PETERSBURG ENVIRONS

### TSARSKOE SELO

In May 1844, Maxwell took Anna Whistler, Debo, James, and Willie to Tsarskoe Selo to visit Colonel Todd. In 1846, Anna Whistler, James, and Willie went there to see the monument to the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna and also visited the Arsenal.

#### IMAGE 383

The Whistlers rode on the St. Petersburg–Tsarskoe Selo–Pavlovsk Railway when they visited Colonel Todd in May 1844.



Karl Petrovich Beggrov (1799–1875). *Tsarskoe Selo Railway Train*. 1840s. Watercolor on paper. 9.5 x 14 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERG-20092).

## IMAGE 384

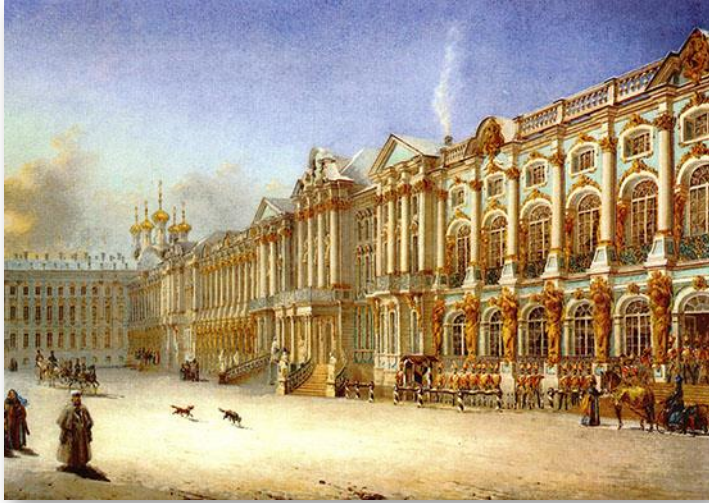
The Pleasure Garden at Pavlovsk, the terminus of the St. Petersburg–Tsarskoe Selo–Pavlovsk Railway, which Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited while being entertained by Colonel Todd in May 1844



C. Schultz. *Pleasure Garden in Pavlovsk*. c. 1845. Lithograph from an original by Johann Jacob Meyer (1787–1858). (Meyer, *Vues pittoresque des palais*)

## IMAGE 385

The west façade of the Great Tsarskoe Selo (Catherine) Palace



Vasilii Sadovnikov (1800–1879). *The West Façade of the Great Palace*. 1860. Watercolor on paper. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.

## IMAGE 386

The Lyon Drawing Room in the Great Tsarskoe Selo (Catherine) Palace, with its lapis lazuli ornamentation and yellow silk wall hanging



Luigi Premazzi (1814–1891). *The Lyon Drawing Room in the Great Palace at Tsarskoe Selo*. 1878. Watercolor on paper. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.

## IMAGE 387

Catherine the Great's "snuffbox" room in the Great Tsarskoe Selo (Catherine) Palace



Vladimir Ivanovich (Woldemar) Hau (1816–1895). *Blue Cabinet called The Snuffbox*. Watercolor. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums. (I.W. Bardowskaja and G.D. Chodassewitch, *Deutsche Prinzessinnen auf Russischem Thron: Schätze aus Zarskoje Selo, der Sommerresidenz bei St. Petersburg* [*German Princesses on the Russian Throne: Treasures from Tsarskoye Selo, the Summer Residence near St. Petersburg*] (Berlin: Kulturstiftung Schloß Britz, 1992), p. 6)

## IMAGE 388

The Alexander Palace, where the family of Nicholas I lived and his daughter Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna died in August 1844

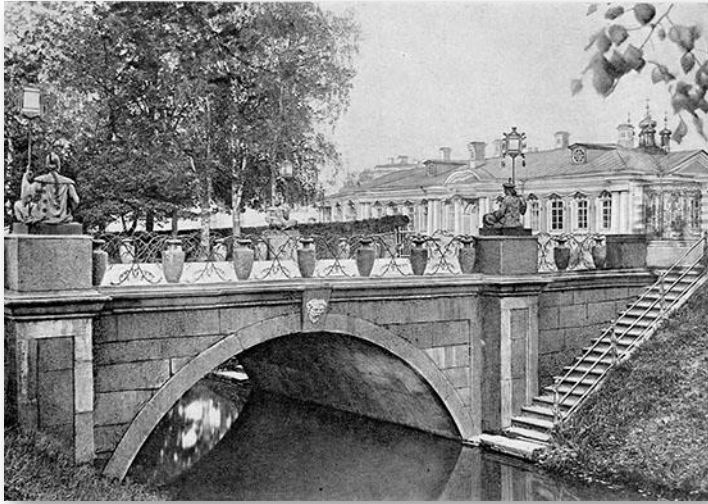


C. Schultz. *The Palace of Alexandre at Tzarskoé-sélo*. c. 1820. Lithograph in black with second fawn tint stone on ivory wove paper; after J. Meyer. Image: 24.6 × 35.4 cm; sheet: 40.1 × 57 cm. Art Institute of Chicago (1960.694); gift of Ralph Horween.



## IMAGES 389, 390

The Great Chinese Bridge with its lifelike figures that appealed greatly to James and Willie



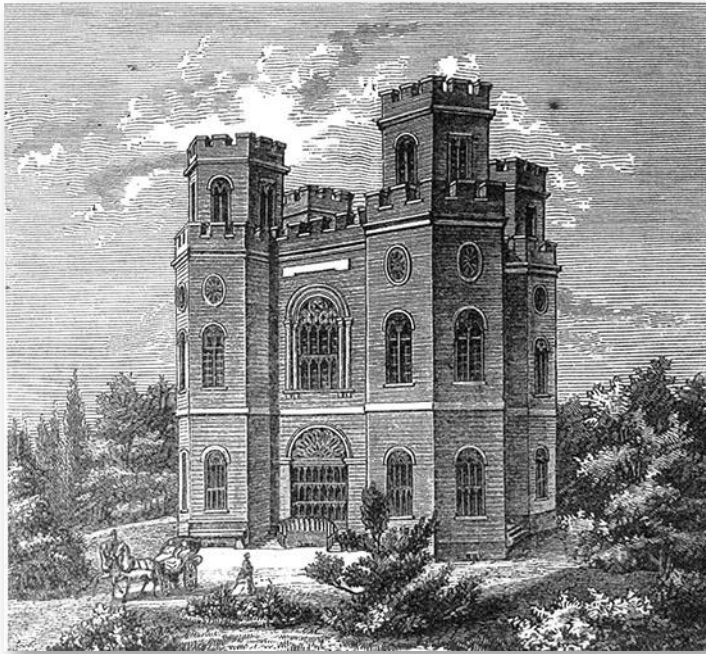
Giovanni Bianci. (1811–1893). *Great Chinese Bridge in Tsarskoe Selo*. 1870s. Albumen print. 19.5 x 26.5; 30 x 40 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERFT-2509).



*Figure of a Chinese man: Detail from the Chinese Bridge*. Photograph. Early 1900s. (*Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada*, p. 115)

## IMAGE 391

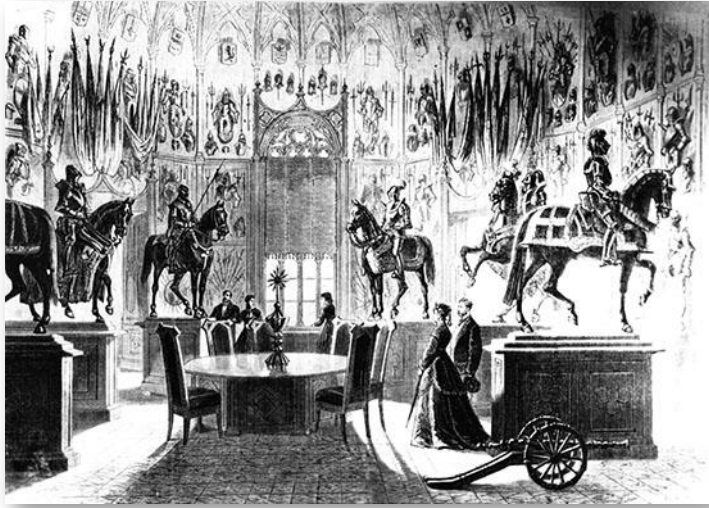
Anna Whistler and members of her family visited the Arsenal in Tsarskoe Selo in the summer of 1846.



*The Arsenal in Tsarskoe Selo. 1860. (Gille, Tsarskosel'skii muzei, frontispiece)*

## IMAGE 392

The coat-of-arms gallery on the upper floor of the Arsenal



*The Upper Floor Gallery in the Arsenal at Tsarskoe Selo. 1830. Archive of A. Menelas, Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.*

## IMAGE 393

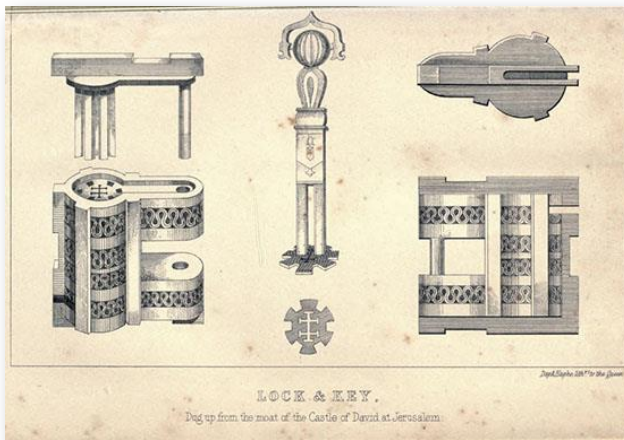
Tipoo Sahib's saddle in the Arsenal at Tsarskoe Selo



*Saddle Belonging to Tipoo Sahib in the Arsenal at Tsarskoe Selo.* State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ORDF-OP-1-20). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

## IMAGE 394

Lock and key in the Arsenal at Tsarskoe Selo



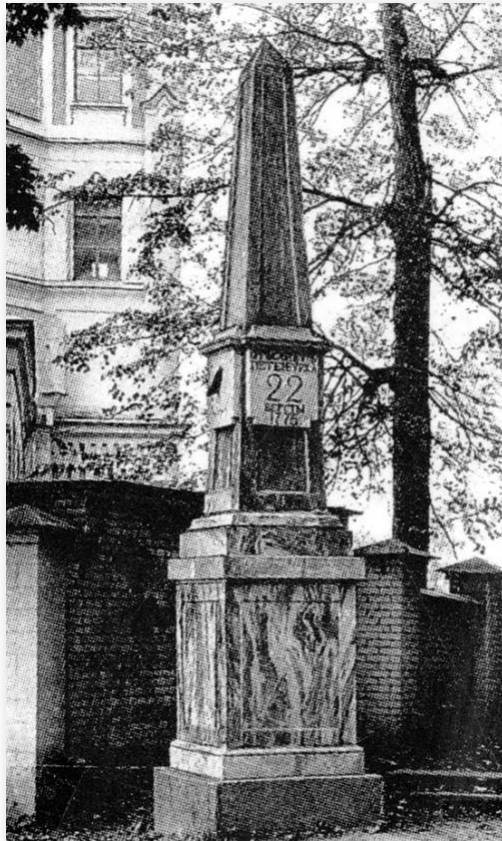
Williams, *Holy City*, after p. 503.

## PETERHOF

In June–July 1846, Major and Anna Whistler, James, and Willie traveled by coach from St. Petersburg to Peterhof to attend the outdoor festivities at the Great Peterhof Palace celebrating the marriage of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna to His Royal Highness Crown Prince Karl Friedrich Alexander of Württemberg.

### IMAGE 395

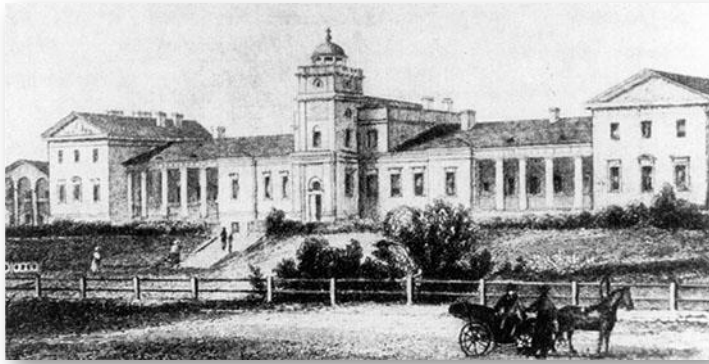
A verstmarker on the Peterhof Road, showing a verst number clearly



D. Listopadov. *Verstmarker on the Peterhof Road*. 1990s. Photograph. Used with permission.

## IMAGE 396

“All Who Mourn” was a mental asylum located at the seventh verst on the Peterhof Road, between Krasnyi Kabachok and Ligovo.



*General View of “All That Mourn” Hospital on the Peterhof Road in 1834. Engraving from a drawing by Aleksei Gornostaev (1808–1862). (Iurii M. Denisov, “Usad’ba XVIII veka na Petergofskoi doroge,” *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo*, 4 [1953], p. 148)*

## IMAGE 397

The Trinity-Sergius Monastery on the Peterhof Road, where the Whistlers attended a service in the summer of 1844



*View of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery on the Peterhof Road. 1840s. Lithograph. (Gorbatenko, *Petergofskaiia doroga*, p. 194)*

## IMAGES 398, 399

The Strel'na Palace, belonging to His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, son of Nicholas I



C. Schultz. *The Strel'na Palace*. c. 1845. Lithograph from an original by Johann Jacob Meyer (1787–1858). (Meyer, *Vues pittoresques des palais*)



Alexey Gornostayev (1808–1862). *Palace in Strel'na*. 1847. Watercolor, gouache. 25.7 x 38 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR–5529). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

## IMAGE 400

The Great Peterhof Palace is depicted by Aivazovskii as it was in 1844. The Samson fountain is in the left foreground. Figures fencing with water are in the middle ground. A view of the Great Cascade is below the palace.



Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovskii (1817–1900). *Great Peterhof Palace*. 1844. Oil on canvas. 44.2 x 62.3 cm. Depository of the Peterhof Museum Preserve.



## IMAGE 401

Ivory panel with relief depicting the coronation of Catherine I by Peter the Great in Moscow in 1724, which Anna Whistler admired in an unspecified building at Peterhof



*The Coronation of Catherine I.* First half of 18th century. Rectangular ivory panel with relief. 16.3 x 12.3 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERTH-2144). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

## IMAGE 402

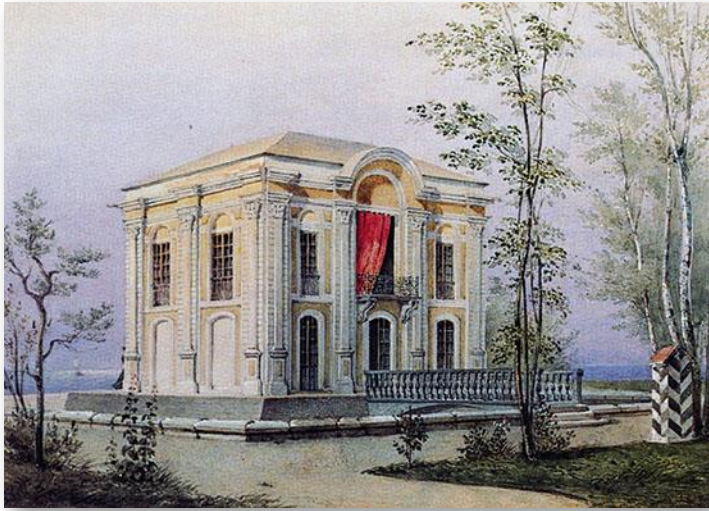
Terrace of the Monplazir Palace, in which Anna Whistler saw the personal nightclothes of Peter the Great



*The Terrace of the Monplazir Palace.* Watercolor on paper. 17.7 x 26 cm. Fasanerie Archive, Eichenzell, Germany. (Dobler et al., *Die mitgift einer Zarentochter*, pp. 92–93)

## IMAGE 403

Peterhof Hermitage (Little Monplazir), where the Whistlers saw paintings of birds made by Peter the Great



*The Hermitage at Peterhof.* Watercolor on paper. 17.2 x 24 cm. Schloss Fasenerie Archive, Eichenzell, Germany. (Dobler et al., *Die mitgift einer Zarentochter*, pp. 92–93)

## OTHER EXCURSIONS

## IMAGE 404

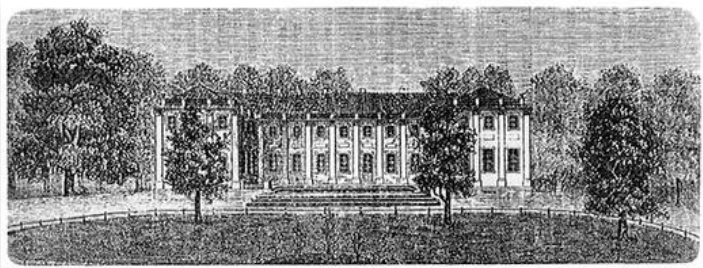
Plans for a trip to Lake Ladoga from St. Petersburg were discussed at some length by Anna Whistler's friends, but it is not clear whether the trip ever took place.



Petr E. Zabolotskii (1803–1866). *View of Old Ladoga*. 1833. Oil on canvas. 25.9 x 44.8 in. (66 x 114 cm). State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGES 405A AND 405B

The palace of Peter the Great at Ekateringof, which Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited with a large party of friends, including the Gellibrands and Ropeses, in August 1844 from their dacha on the Peterhof Road



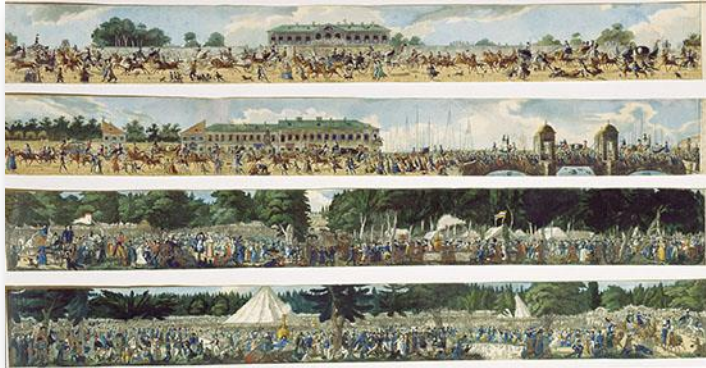
*The Palace of Peter I in Ekateringof.* Mid-19th century. Engraving. (Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, p. 128)



*Domenico Trezzini* [architect: c. 1670–1734]; photograph by the “Education Society.” *Old Ekateringof.* c. 1911. Photograph. (G. Balitskii and N. Rusov, eds., *Istoricheskaia panorama Sanktpeterburga i ego okrestnosti* [*Historical Panorama of St. Petersburg and Its Environs*] [Moscow: Tipografiia Russkogo Tovarishchestva, 1911], plate 20)

## IMAGE 406

In around 1825, Karl Gampel'n drew this panorama of the May Day celebrations at Ekateringof, depicting the promenade on foot or in carriages, when merchant-class attendees actually sought out potential wives.



Carl Hampeln (c. 1794 – after 1880). *Panorama of the Yekaterinof Outdoor Festival on 1 May 1825*. c. 1825. Colored aquatint. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 407

From their dacha on the Peterhof Road, Anna Whistler and her children took a ride with Joseph Samuel Ropes in the summer of 1844 on the Krasnoe Selo Road, which leads to Krasnyi Kabachok, a tavern famed in Russian history and literature. They did not, however, go to the tavern.



*The Road to Krasnyi Kabachok*. 1813. After a drawing by Alexander Zauerweid (1783–1844). Russian National Library, Moscow.

## IMAGE 408

Luisa Kessenikh, a retired German soldier, owned the Krasnyi Kabachok (Red, or Beautiful, Tavern) at Krasnoe Selo.

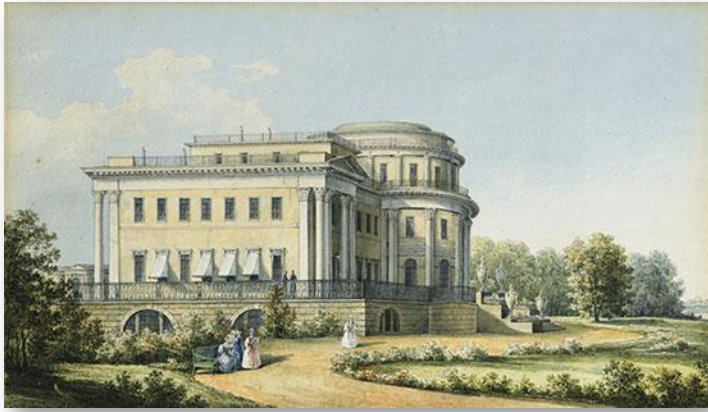


*Portrait of Luisa Kessenikh.* 19th century. Drawing by an unknown artist. (Batorevich, *Ekateringof*, p. 163)



## IMAGE 409

Elagin Island, location of the Alexander Palace, an Imperial summer residence, is referred to by Anna Whistler as the “Alargon.”



Nikanor Grigorievich Chernetsov (1805–1879). *View of the Yelagin and Alexander Palace*. 1839. Watercolor on card. Signed in Cyrillic and dated 1839. Private collection; sold at auction by Sotheby's, 2 June 2015.

## IMAGE 410

St. Nicholas Church in Kolpino, from which the miracle-working icon of St. Nicholas was brought annually on St Nicholas Day, to the small chapel some three miles away, where the holy image was said to have first appeared. St. Nicholas Church is on the left; the building on the right is the belltower of Holy Trinity Cathedral.



*Church of St. Nicholas in Kolpino.* (A. Vasiliev, "Puteshestvie po Rossii" ["A Journey Through Russia"], *Illustratsiia* 34 [1845]: p. 133)

## THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

### IMAGE 411

Peter I (the Great), founder of St. Petersburg, aspects of whose life Anna Whistler mentioned extensively



Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–1766). *Portrait of Emperor Peter the Great (1672-1725)*. 1717. 142.5 x 110 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1856).

## IMAGE 412

Catherine I. Anna Whistler, in discussing Imperial residences in Tsarskoe Selo and Peterhof, frequently confused changes made by Catherine I, wife of Peter I (the Great), and by Catherine II (the Great).



Jean-Marc Nattier (1685–1766). *Portrait of Empress Catherine I (1684–1727)*. 1717. 142.5 x 110 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1857).

## IMAGE 413

Anna Whistler mentioned that the daughters of Peter the Great made elaborate changes to the simple residences their father had built in the environs of St. Petersburg. It was Empress Elizaveta who is known to have done so.



Ivan Vishnyakov (1699–1761). *Portrait of Empress Elizaveta Petrovna*. 1743. Oil on canvas. 254.5 x 179.8 cm (100.1 x 70.7 in). State Tret'iaikov Gallery, Moscow.

## IMAGE 414

Catherine II (the Great) is mentioned by Anna Whistler in connection with her changes to some of the Imperial residences in the environs of St. Petersburg.



*Portrait of Catherine II. Late 1700s. Oil on canvas; after Dmitri Grigorievich Levitskii (1735–1822). Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums. (Bardowskaja and Chodassewitch, *Deutsche Prinzessinnen*, p. 5)*

## IMAGES 415, 416

Anna Whistler mentioned the deceased Empress Maria Fyodorovna, mother of Nicholas I, when writing of the death of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna in 1844.



Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842). *Portrait of Maria Feodorovna (1759-1828), Empress of Russia*. 1790s. Oil on canvas.



Alexander Roslin (1718–1793). *Portrait of Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna (Sophie Dorothea of Württemberg)*. 1777. Oil on canvas. 265 x 178 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-1357).



## IMAGE 417

Paul I, husband of Empress Maria Fyodorovna, and father of Nicholas I



Alexander Roslin (1718–1793). *Portrait of Grand Prince Paul Petrovich, future Emperor Paul I.* 1777. Oil on canvas. 265 x 168 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-1356).

## IMAGE 418

Emperor Alexander I, whose apartments in the Great Tsarskoe Selo (Catherine) Palace Anna Whistler, her children, and Maxwell visited in May 1844



George Dawe (1781–1829). *Alexander I, Emperor of Russia (1777–1825)*. c. 1818–1825. Oil on canvas. 94.5 x 61 in. (240.2 x 155 cm). Royal Collection, England.

## IMAGE 419

Anna Whistler mentioned the death (1826) of Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna, wife of Alexander I, in citing Imperial deaths.



George Dawe (1781–1829). *Portrait of Empress Elizaveta Alekseevna*. 1828. Oil on canvas. 86.5 x 60.4 cm. State Museum Preserve of Peterhof.

## IMAGE 420

*The Tsarskoe Selo Carousel*, painted by Horace Vernet in 1843: (left to right) Aleksandr Nikolaevich, Crown Prince; Maksimilian Leuchtenberg, husband of Maria Nikolaevna, eldest daughter of Nicholas I and Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna; Emperor Nikolai I; Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna; Olga Nikolaevna, their second daughter; Aleksandra Nikolaevna, their third daughter; Konstantin Nikolaevich, their second son. In the foreground on foot: Nikolai Nikolaevich, their third son, and Mikhail Nikolaevich, their fourth son. Only Maria Nikolaevna, their eldest daughter, is not in the portrait.



Horace Vernet (1789–1863). *The Tsarskoe Selo Carousel*. 1843. Oil on canvas. 248 x 340 cm. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.

## IMAGE 421

Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia, about the time the Whistlers lived there, who gratefully appreciated the talent and moral rectitude of Major Whistler



Yegor Botman (1821–1891). *Portrait of Emperor Nicholas I (1796–1855)*. 1850s. Oil on canvas. 84.7 x 67 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-619).

## IMAGE 422

A portrait of Emperor Nicholas I owned by the Maingay family



*Emperor Nicholas I. Miniature. Courtesy of Dr. Hugh Maingay.*

## IMAGE 423

Nicholas I is wearing the parade uniform of the Cavalier Guard (Imperial Household) Regiment, the head of which was his wife, Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna. In English, the Cavalier Guard is called the Horse Guard.



A.V. Schmidt. *Nicholas I in the Parade Uniform of the Cavalier (Imperial Household) Guard Regiment*. 1830s. Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House), St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 424

Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna, wife of Nicholas I.



Christina Robertson (1796–1854). *Portrait of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna*. c. 1845. Oil on canvas. 84 x 65 cm. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.



## IMAGE 425

Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich (future Alexander II), about 30 years old (c. 1848)



Winberg. *Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich*. Miniature.

## IMAGE 426

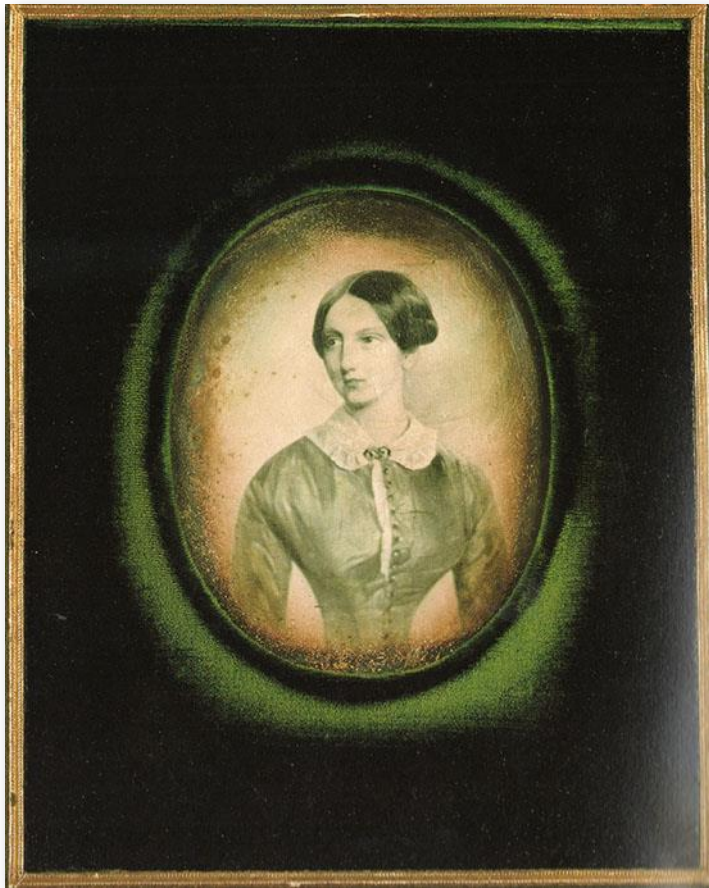
Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna, wife of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaevich, the future Alexander II



Christina Robertson (1796–1854). *Portrait of Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna*. 1849. Oil on canvas. 249 x 157 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-5254).

## IMAGE 427

Daguerrotype of Her Imperial Majesty, Maria Aleksandrovna, wife of Emperor Alexander II



Charles Bergamasco (1830–1896). *Grand Duchess Maria Aleksandrovna*. 1860–1870. Daguerrotype. (*Das Russland der Zaren: Photographien von 1839 bis zur Oktoberrevolution* [*The Russia of the Tsars: Photographs from 1839 to the October Revolution*] [Berlin: Nishen, 1989], p. 106)

## IMAGE 428

Grand Dukes Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, and Nikolai Aleksandrovich, sons of Grand Duke Aleksandr Nikolaeovich and grandsons of Nicholas I. Nikolai Aleksandrovich was Crown Prince but predeceased his father, thus making Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Crown Prince, the future Aleksander III. Anna Whistler saw Grand Duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich at a review in May 1847, when he was about four years old.



Christina Robertson (1796–1854). *Grand Dukes Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, and Nikolai Aleksandrovich as Children*. 1849. Watercolor, gouache on Bristol board. 27.2 x 21 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (OR-18965). Photograph © The State Hermitage Museum.

## IMAGE 429

Grand Duke Nikolai Aleksandrovich wearing a scarlet shirt. Emma Maingay informed Anna Whistler that only the Imperial children wore such scarlet shirts.



Vladimir Ivanovich (Woldemar) Hau (1816–1895). *Portrait of Tsarevich Nicholas Alexandrovich of Russia*. c. 1847. Watercolor heightened with white over pencil on paper. 27 by 21.5cm (10¾ by 8½ in.). Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House), St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 430

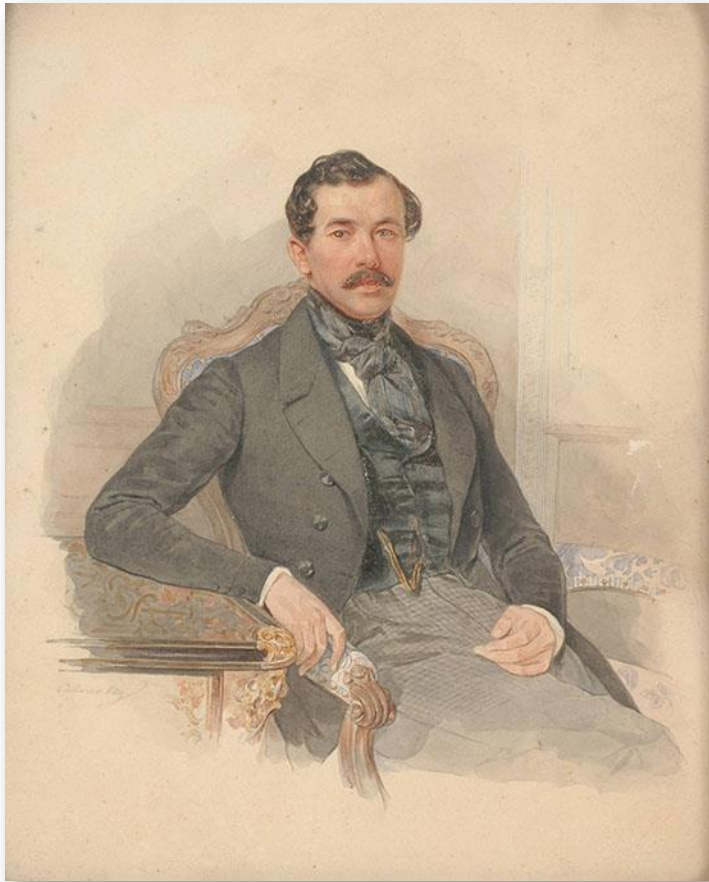
Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, eldest daughter of Nicholas I



Christina Robertson (1796–1854). *Portrait of Grand Princess Maria Nikolayevna (1819–1876)*. 1841. Oil on canvas. 249 x 151 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-4784).

## IMAGE 431

His Imperial Highness Maximilian, Duke of Leuchtenberg, husband of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, eldest daughter of Nicholas I



Petr Fedorovich Sokolov (1787–1848). *Maximilian, Duke of Leuchtenberg*. c. 1847. Watercolor over pencil and pen and black ink, heightened with gum arabic. 25 x 21 cm (9 4/5 x 8 1/4 in.). Auctioned at Bonham's, London, 8 June 2009.

## IMAGE 432

Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, second daughter of Nicholas I, whose outdoor wedding festivities the Whistlers attended in 1846 at Peterhof



Nicaise de Keyser (1813–1887). *Portrait of Grand Princess Olga Nikolayevna (1822-1892), Daughter of Emperor Nicholas I of Russia*. 1848. Oil on canvas. 82.5 x 71 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-1271).



## IMAGE 433

Crown Prince Karl of Württemberg, husband of Grand Duchess Olga Nikolaevna, second daughter of Nicholas I



Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805–1873). *Portrait of Prince Karl von Württemberg in Uniform*. 1856. Oil on canvas. 92 x 69.5 cm. (36.2 x 27.4 in.). Private collection.

## IMAGE 434

Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, the youngest daughter of Nicholas I, who died in August 1844



Christina Robertson (1796–1854). *Portrait of Grand Princess Aleksandra Nikolayevna*. 1840. Oil on canvas. 249 x 151 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (GE-1351).

## IMAGE 435

Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel, husband of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna



Karl Steiben (1788–1856). *Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Hesse-Kassel*. 1843. Oil on canvas. Palace Museum, Pavlovsk, Russia.

## IMAGE 436

His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, second son of Nicholas I



Franz Krüger (1797–1857). *Portrait of Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich of Russia (1827–1892)*. Mid-19th century. Oil on canvas. 54.5 x 43.5 cm (21.4 x 17.1 in.). State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERZh-640).

## IMAGE 437

Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna, wife of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich



*Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna. (Kalendar' na 1850 god. S portretom Eë Imperatorskogo Vysochestva Gosdaryni Velikoi Kniagini Aleksandry Iosifovny [Calendar for 1850, with a Portrait of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna] [St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1849], p. 1)*

## IMAGE 438

Anna Whistler attended the betrothal ceremony of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich and Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna in 1847.



*Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich and Grand Duchess Aleksandra Iosifovna. 1857–1861.*  
Photograph. Russian State Film and Photo Archive, Krasnogorsk.

## IMAGE 439

His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Nicholas I



Ivan Nikolaevich Kramskoi (1837–1887). *Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich*. 1845. Oil on canvas. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

## IMAGE 440

Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna, the wife of His Imperial Highness Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Nicholas I



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Portrait of Grand Duchess Yelena Pavlovna with Her Daughter*. 1830. Oil on canvas. 265 x 185 cm. State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.



## IMAGE 441

Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna was the daughter of Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, brother of Nicholas I, and Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna. She was married in January 1844, about the same time as her cousin, Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, and died in 1845 in childbirth.



Vladimir Ivanovich (Woldemar) Hau (1816–1895). *Portrait of Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna*. 1844. Watercolor on paper. 28 x 22 cm. Signed and dated “W. Hau 1844.” Private collection; sold at auction by Ruzhnikov, UK.

## IMAGE 442

His Serene Highness Duke Adolphe Wilhelm of Nassau, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, who married Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Elizaveta Mikhailovna, niece of Nicholas I, in January 1844



Josef Kriehuber (1800–1876). *Portrait of Adolphe, Grand Duke of Luxembourg*. 1835. Lithograph. 34.9 x 47 cm. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (oai:baa.onb.at:5296126).

## IMAGE 443

Prince Grigorii Grigorievich Orlov, lover of Catherine the Great and grandfather of Count Aleksei Alekseevich Bobrinskii, in whose mansion the Whistlers lived as a family from September 1843 to May 1844



Fyodor Rokotov (1735–1808). *Portrait of Grigory Orlov (1734-1783)*. c. 1763. Oil on canvas. 38.1 x 29.8 in. (96.9 x 75.8 cm). State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

## GRAND DUCHESS ALEKSANDRA NIKOLAEVNA

### IMAGE 444

Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna at the time of her betrothal to Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel in 1843



Charles Pohl. *Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna*. 1843. Lithograph by M. Golde, Imperial Lithograph in St. Petersburg from a watercolor by Woldemar Hau (1816–1895). 33 x 28.8 cm. Museum Schloss Fasenerie, Eichenzell, Germany. (Dobler et al., *Die mitgift einer Zarentochter*, pp. 104–105)

## IMAGE 445

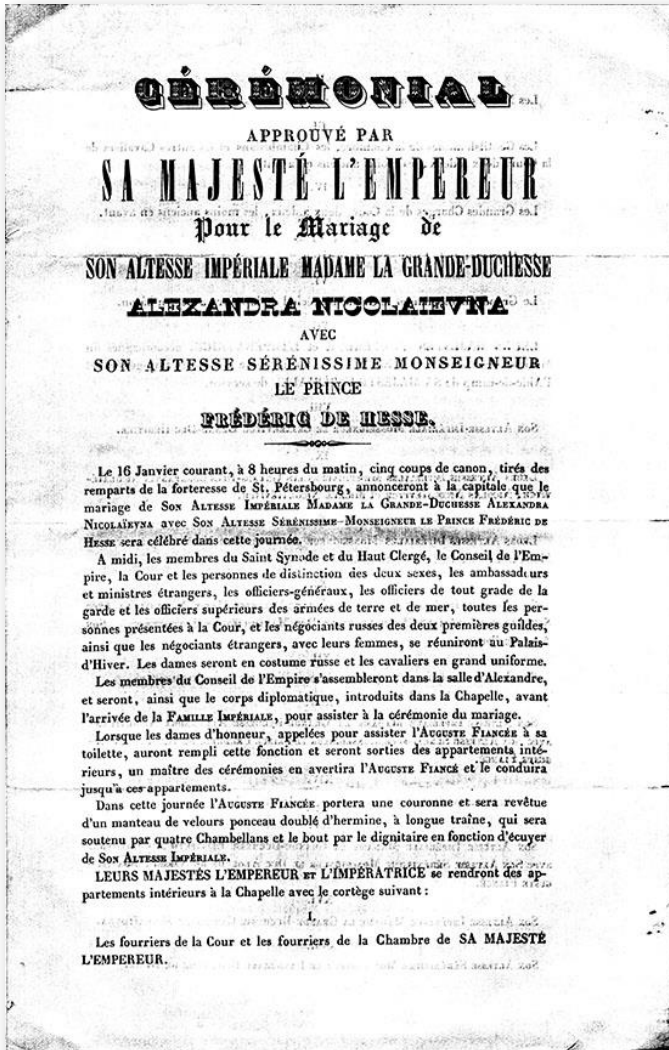
Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel at the time of his betrothal to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna in 1843



Charles Pohl. *Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Hesse-Kassel*. 1843. Lithograph by M. Golde, Imperial Lithograph in St. Petersburg from an oil painting by Woldemar Hau (1816–1895). 33 x 28.8 cm. Museum Schloss Fasanerie, Eichenzell, Germany. (Dobler et al., *Die mütigt einer Zarentochter*, pp. 104–105)

## IMAGE 446

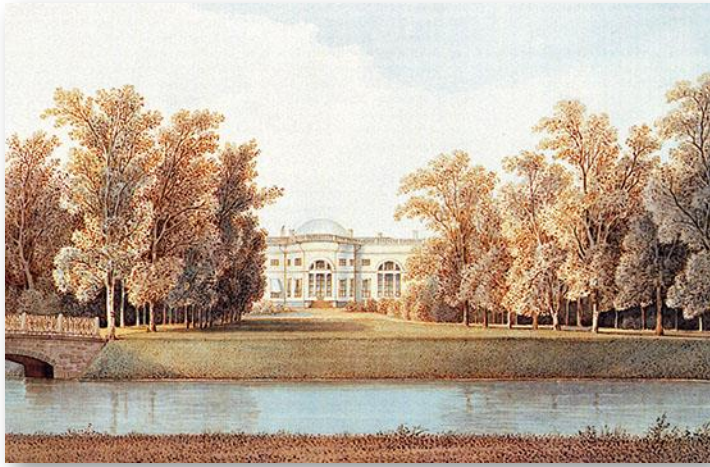
First page of the Ceremonial received by John S. Maxwell, then secretary of the American Legation in St. Petersburg



First page of the Ceremonial approved by His Majesty the Emperor for the marriage of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna and His Serene Highness Prince Friedrich of Hesse (N-YHS: Maxwell Papers)

## IMAGE 447

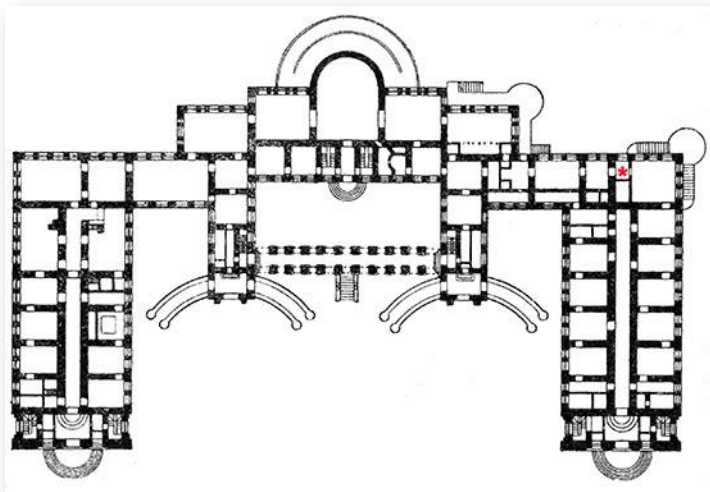
The (New) Alexander Palace in Tsarskoe Selo, where the Imperial family lived, and where Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna died



Unknown artist. *Palace in Tsarskoe Selo*. 1855. Watercolor on paper. 18.4 x 32.3 cm. Schloss Fasanerie Archive, Eichenzell, Germany. (Dobler et al., *Die mitgift einer Zarentochter*, pp. 98–99)

## IMAGE 448

Plan of the first floor of the (New) Alexander Palace in Tsarskoe Selo, showing (\*) the location of the oratory created in memory of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, between the bedroom of her mother, Her Imperial Majesty, Aleksandra Fyodorovna, and the Blue Salon

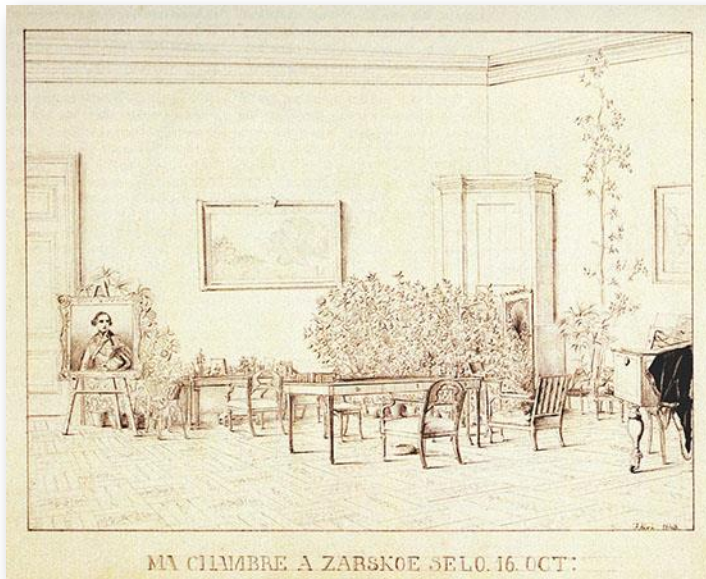


*Plan of the Alexander Palace, First Floor.* Drawing based on original plan by Giacomo Quarenghi (1744–1817). (adapted from E.F. Gollerbakh, *Detskoe'skie dvortsy-muzei i parki Putevoditel'* [St. Petersburg: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1922], p. 59)



## IMAGE 449

Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna's room in the New (Alexander) Palace in Tsarskoe Selo



Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna. *Ma Chambre à Zarskoe Selo 16 Oct* [My Room at Tsarskoe Selo 16 Oct], 1843. Pencil on paper. 22.4 x 28.4 cm. Schloss Fasanerie Archive, Eichenzell, Germany. (Dobler et al., *Die mitgift einer Zarentochter*, pp. 100–101)

## IMAGE 450

The study of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna in the (New) Alexander Palace, in which her daughter Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna died in 1844



Vladimir Ivanovich (Woldemar) Hau (1816–1895). After 1840. *Study of Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna*. Watercolor. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums. (Bardowskaja and Chodassewitch, *Deutsche Prinzessinnen*, p. 22)

## IMAGE 451

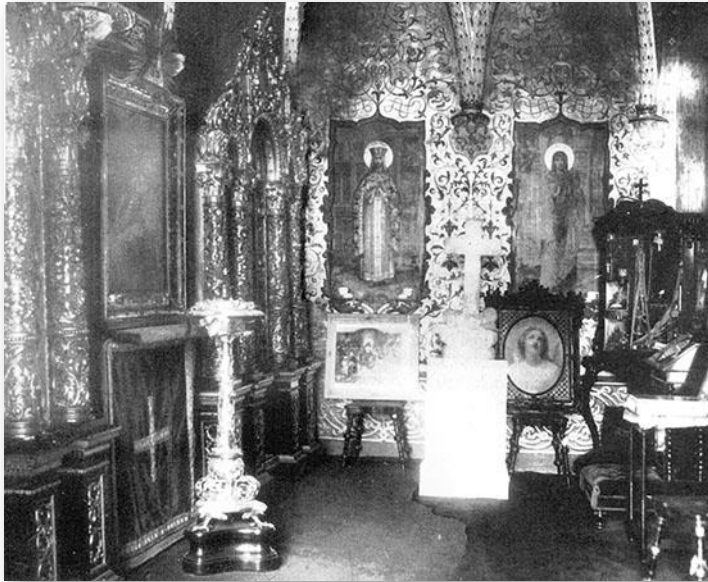
Portrait of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna painted in 1845



Vladimir Ivanovich (Woldemar) Hau (1816–1895). *Portrait of Grand Duchess Alexandra Nikolaevna*. 1845. Watercolor. 24.4 x 20.7 cm. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (ERR-9416).

## IMAGE 452

In 1846, Anna Whistler visited the oratory dedicated to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna (1825–1844), created in the corner of the study of her mother, Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna, in the (New) Alexander Palace. The candlestick and the portrait of Aleksandra Nikolaevna that it stood in front of are shown here.



*Interior of the Oratory in the Alexander Palace, 1930s. Photograph. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.*

## IMAGE 453

In the oratory dedicated to Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna hung a portrait of the deceased grand duchess ascending into heaven, painted in 1845 by Karl Briullov.



Karl Briullov (1799–1852). *Holy Tsarina Alexandra, Ascended to Heaven*. 1845. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.

## IMAGE 454

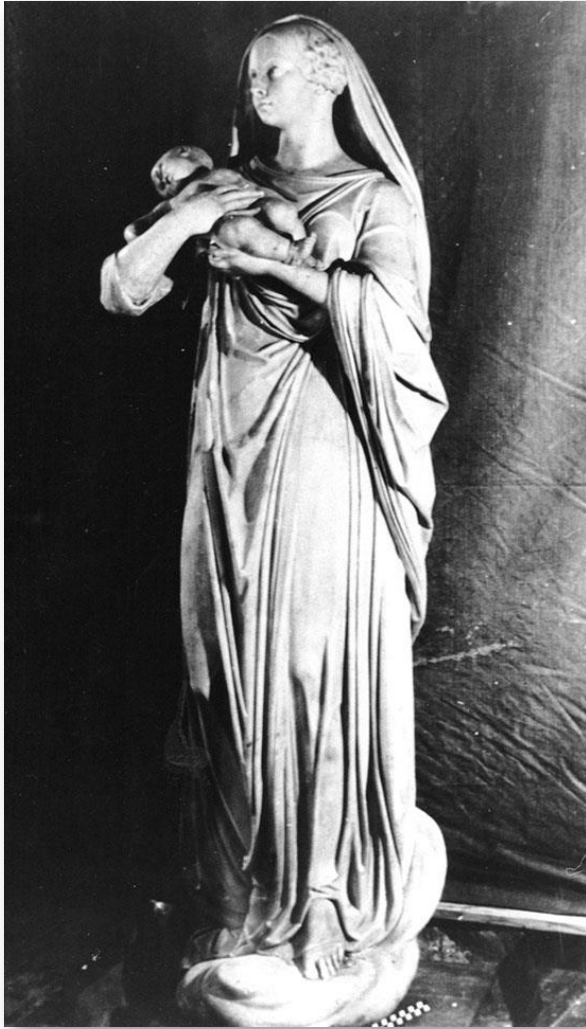
Anna Whistler visited the monument to the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna and her deceased child, Prince Wilhelm, in Tsarskoe Selo in 1846.



Paolo Catozzi (pavilion) and Giovanni Vitali (statue). *Monument in memory of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna*. 1845. Marble. Archive of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums; courtesy of the Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.

## IMAGE 455

The statue of the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna and her deceased child



Giovanni Vitali. *Statue of the Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna*. 1845. Marble. Depository of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums; photograph courtesy of the Archive of the Tsarskoe Selo Palace–Museums.

## IMAGE 456

The statue of the deceased Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna and her deceased child is said to resemble the angel holding a baby on the tomb of Princess Charlotte and her deceased child in St. George's Chapel in Windsor, England.

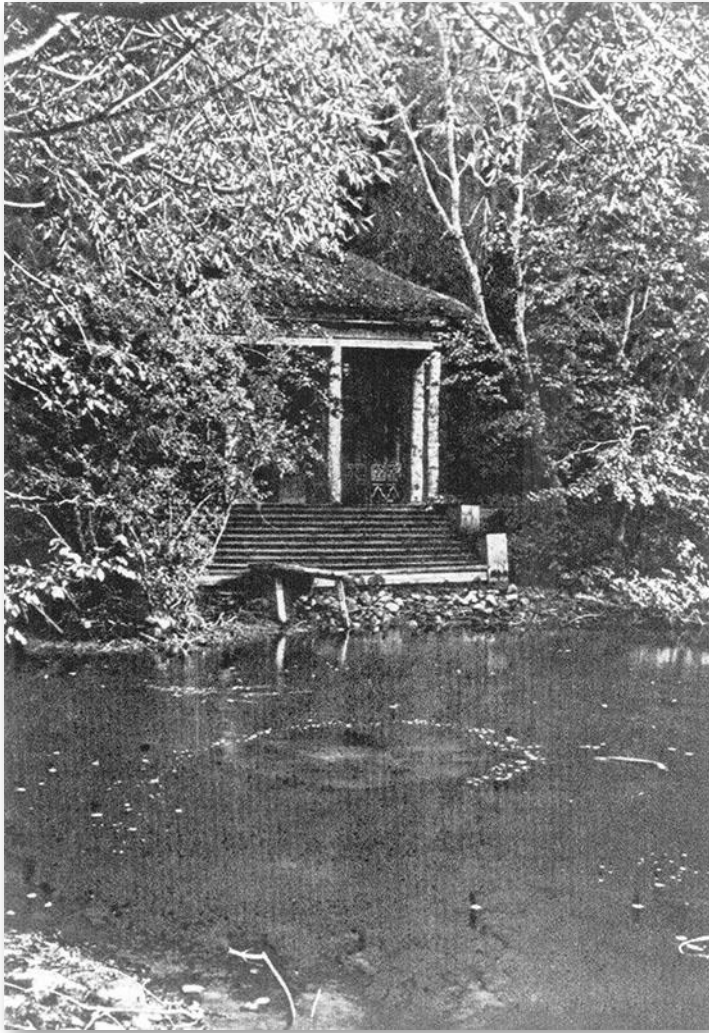


Sir Benjamin Stone (1838–1914). *Princess Charlotte's Monument in St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle*. 1899. Platinum print (detail). Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, England (RCIN 2507452).



## IMAGE 457

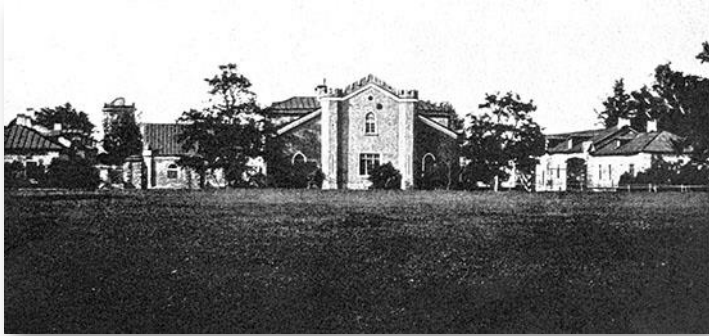
In 1846, Anna Whistler visited the little wooden house at Tsarskoe Selo erected in memory of the late Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna.



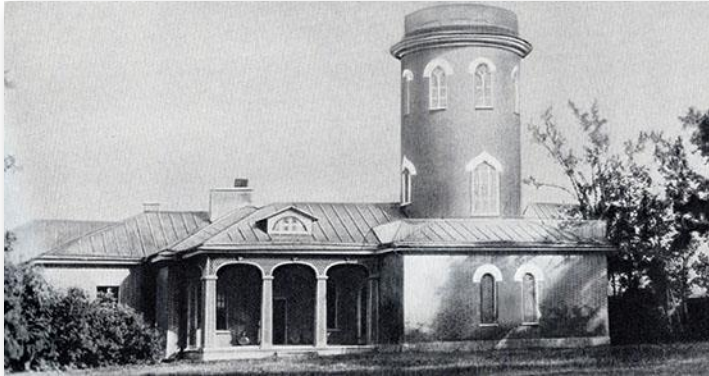
D. Efimov. *The Little House in Tsarskoe Selo in Memory of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna*. 1845. Wood construction. (Vil'chkovskii, *Tsarskoe Selo*, facing p. 190)

## IMAGES 458, 459

Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, who had tuberculosis, was given the “cowshed treatment” at the farm in Tsarskoe Selo, but could not endure it.



*The Royal Farm at Tsarskoe Selo. Photograph. 1910. (Benois, Tsarskoe Selo, p. 221)*



*The Farm Wing with Tower. Photograph. Beginning of the 1900s. (Pamiatniki arkhitektury prigorodov Leningrada, p. 127)*

## IMAGE 460

Alexandra Hospital for Women, established in memory of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna in 1844 by her husband Prince Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel



*View from Nadezhdinskaia Street of the Alexandrinsky Hospital for Women.* Photograph. Sobory, accessed 16 November 2021, <https://sobory.ru/photo/224873>

## A VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1847

### IMAGE 461

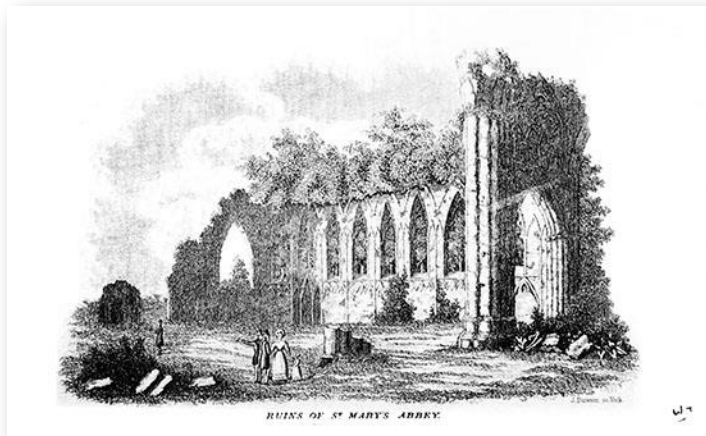
Northwest view of York Minster, in which Anna Whistler attended a service



*York Minster from the N.W. (Stranger's Guide 1850)*

## IMAGE 462

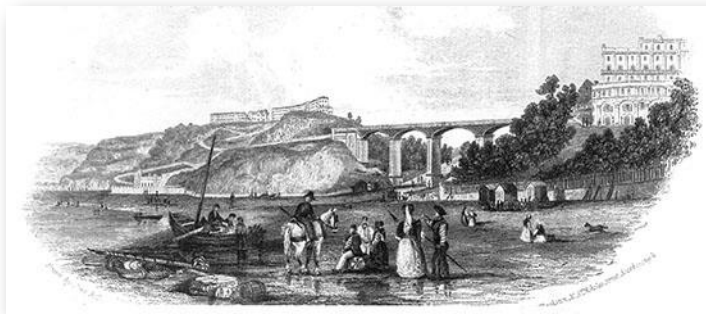
A view of the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey in York, which Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited in the summer of 1847



*Ruins of St. Mary's Abbey (Stranger's Guide 1850)*

## IMAGE 463

Scarborough viewed from the Sands, which Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited in June–July



John Bell. *View from the Sands, Scarborough*. Engraved by Theakston, 31 St. Nicholas Street, Scarborough. From a sheet of writing paper used by James Whistler in 1847 to write to his father. (James Whistler to Major George Washington Whistler, Preston, entry for July 3 in a letter of Monday, June 21, [18]47, GUL: Whistler Collection, W654)

## IMAGE 464

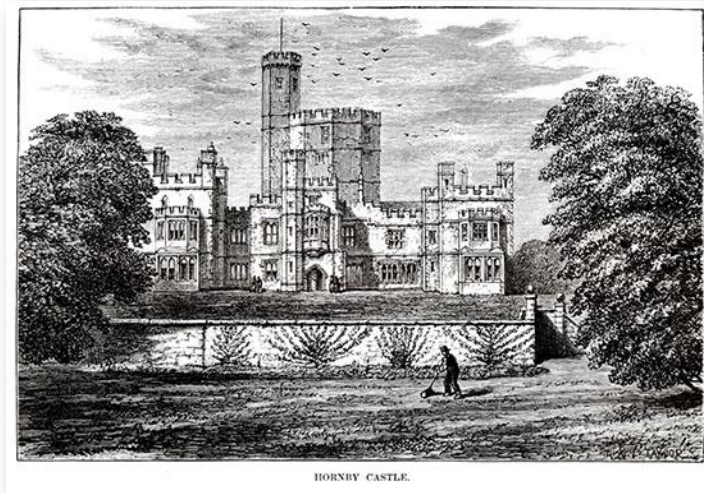
Cooper Hill, Walton-le-dale, Lancashire, home of Charles Swainson, where James celebrated his thirteenth birthday in July 1847



*Cooper Hill, Walton-le-dale, Lancashire. Seat of Charles Swainson Esq<sup>r</sup>. 1855. Lithograph. (Hardwick, *History of Preston*, facing p. 568)*

## IMAGE 465

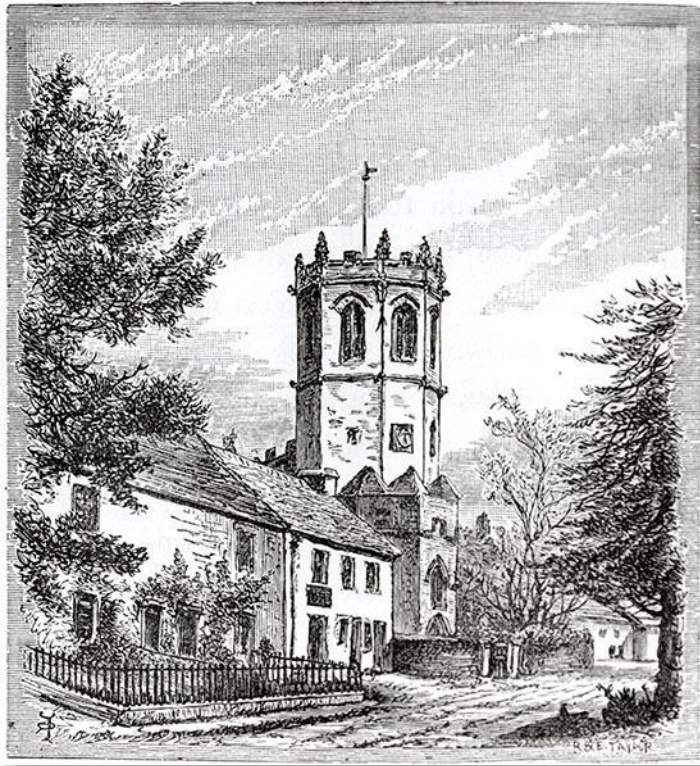
Anna Whistler, James, and Willie walked through the grounds of Hornby Castle en route to Preston in the summer of 1847.



*Hornby Castle* (James Hogg, ed. *Fortunes Made in Business: A Series of Original Sketches Biographical and Anecdotal from the Recent History of Industry and Commerce by Various Writers*, 3 vols. [London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884–1887], vol. 2, p. 58)

## IMAGE 466

Anna Whistler, James, and Willie saw Hornby Church while en route to Preston in the summer of 1847.

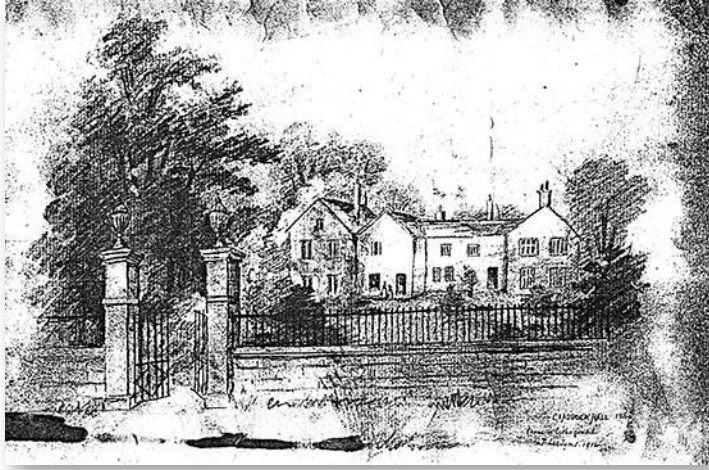


*Hornby Church* (Hogg, *Fortunes*, vol. 2, p. 98)



## IMAGE 467

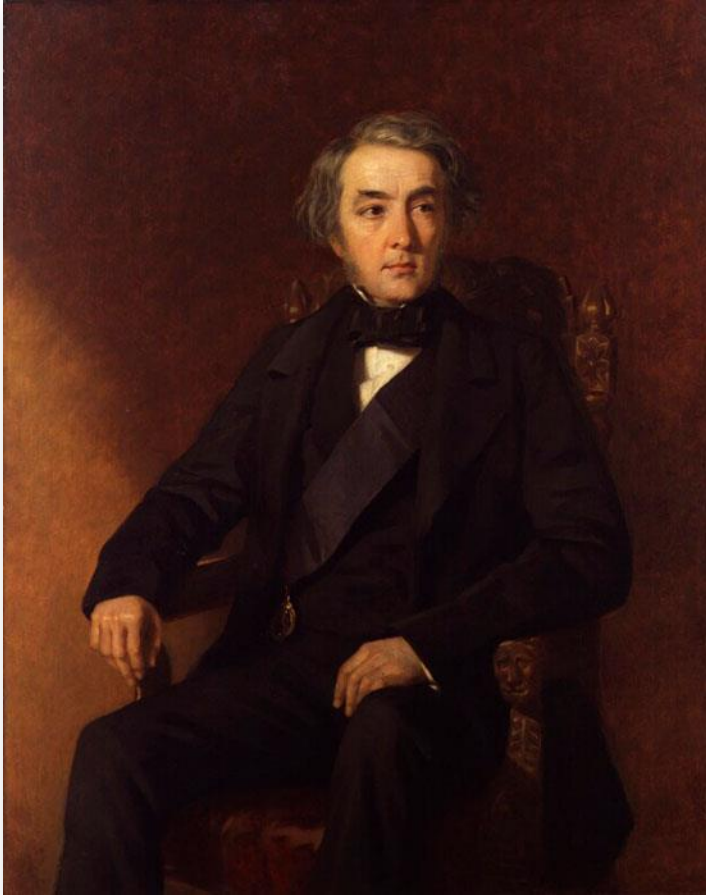
Chaddock Hall, home of Robert Smith, cotton mill owner, which Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited in 1847 and Deborah had visited in 1846, when in England for her health's sake



*Chaddock Hall, 1860. 1912. Sketch from a lithograph. Courtesy of J.H.R. Cunliffe.*

## IMAGE 468

Anna Whistler revisited Worsley in July 1847, a year after St. Mark's Church and the new mansion of Lord Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, were completed and he was raised to the Peerage.



Edwin Longsden Long (1829–1891). *Francis Egerton, 1st Earl of Ellesmere*. c. 1850. Oil on canvas. 50 x 40<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub> in. (127 x 102 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 5524).

## IMAGE 469

Agnes (Walton) Ryley was a friend of Eliza Winstanley's in Preston



*Portrait of Agnes (Walton) Ryley* c. 1870. Courtesy of David Hunt, Preston, Lancashire.

## IMAGE 470

One of the mills owned by “Cotton Lords” of Preston, some of whom, Anna Whistler mentions, came to consult John Winstanley



*Messrs Swainson Birley & Co Mill Preston. 1856. Lithograph. (Hardwick, History of Preston, facing p. 425)*

## IMAGE 471

The Philosophical Institution and residence of W. Ainsworth, a friend of the Winstanleys, in Preston



*Philosophical Institution and Residence of W. Ainsworth, Esq. Preston.* 1854. Lithograph. (Hardwick, *History of Preston*, facing p. 451)

## IMAGE 472

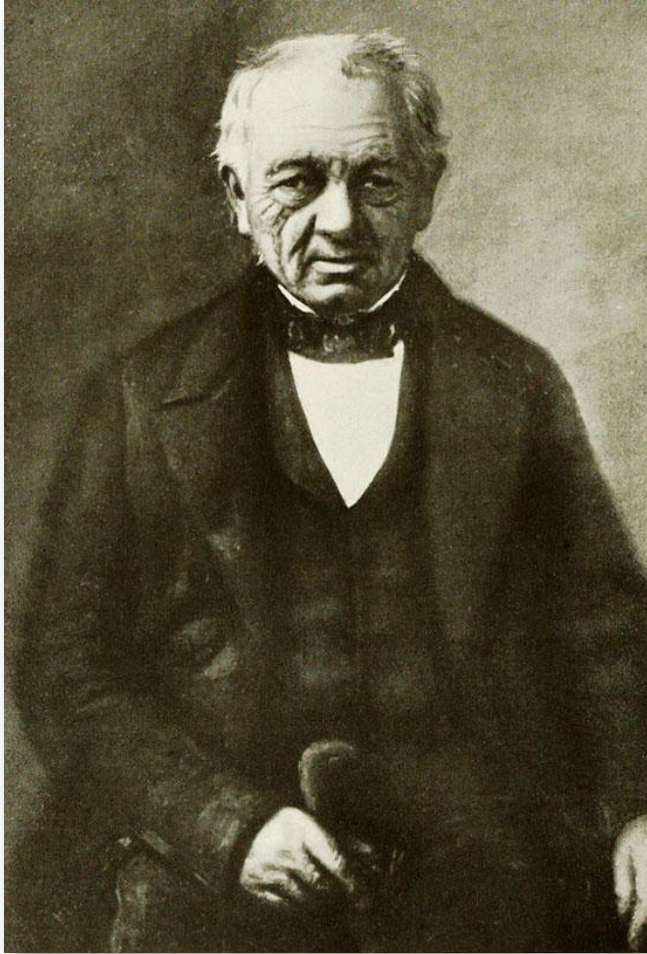
Deborah Delano Whistler and Francis Seymour Haden were married in the Parish Church in Preston on 16 October 1847.



William Physick. *Preston Church, about 1845*. (Hunt, *History of Preston*, p. 31).

## IMAGE 473

Members of Dr. William Winstanley's household came to the home of his brother John Winstanley to congratulate Deborah (Whistler) Haden and Francis Seymour Haden on their wedding day, 16 October 1847.



*William Winstanley.* (Brockbank, *Sketches of the Lives of the Medical Staff of the Manchester Infirmary*, facing p. 241)

## IMAGE 474

Anna Whistler mentioned the Strand in October 1847, when she and her family were about to depart London for St. Petersburg after Deborah Delano Whistler's marriage to Francis Seymour Haden.



Thomas Shutter Boys (1803–1874). *Entry to the Strand from Charing Cross*. 1842. Lithograph. (Thomas Shutter Boys, *Original Views of London as it is, 1842: A Re-issue of the Complete Set of These Scarce and Valuable Delineations of London, with Descriptive Notes to Each Plate, and a Short Introduction by E. Beresford Chancellor* [London: Architectural Press, 1926], p. 85, plate 19)



## IMAGE 475

Anna Whistler mentioned her visit in October 1847 to Westminster Abbey, when James could not draw because a service was about to start.



Thomas Shutter Boys (1803–1874). *Westminster Abbey*. 1842. Lithograph. (Boys, *Original Views of London*, p. 43, plate 8)

## IMAGE 476

Anna Whistler mentioned walking through St. James's Park and seeing Buckingham Palace before embarking for St. Petersburg in October 1847.



Thomas Shottesboys. *Buckingham Palace from St. James's Park*. 1842. Hand-colored lithograph. Private collection. (Boys, *Original Views of London*, p 51, plate 10)

## IMAGE 477

Anna Whistler records in 1847 having attended a service at Holy Trinity Church on Sloane Street, the parish church of Francis Seymour and Deborah (Whistler) Haden



*Holy Trinity Church, Sloane Street, Chelsea, London. c. 1890. Contemporary picture postcard.*

## A TRIP TO EUROPE AND ENGLAND IN 1848

### IMAGE 478

Bertel Thorvaldsen, whose sculptures in Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady) in Copenhagen Anna Whistler, James, and Willie viewed in July 1848



Horace Vernet. *Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768–1844) with the Bust of Horace Vernet*. 1838. Oil on canvas. 38 x 29½ in. (96.5 x 74.9 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (62.254).

## IMAGE 479

Thorvaldsen's Museum in Copenhagen, where Anna Whistler and Willie visited his mausoleum in September 1848.

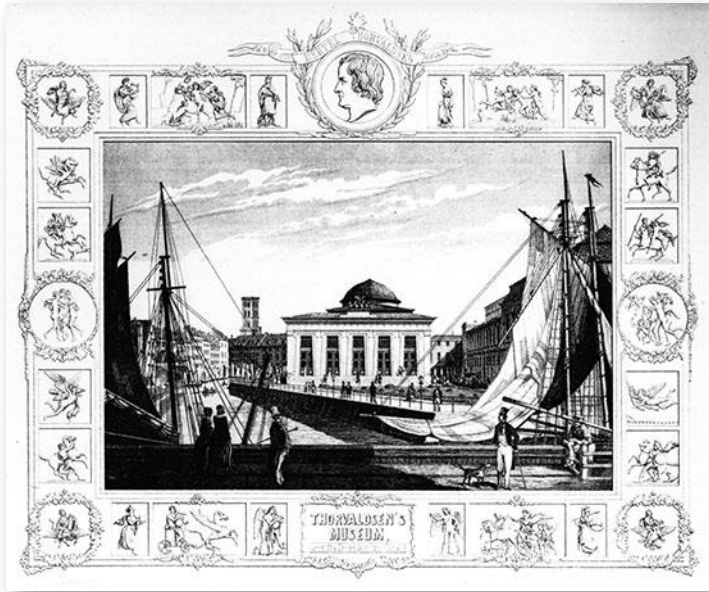


Image courtesy of Thorvaldsen's Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.

## IMAGE 480

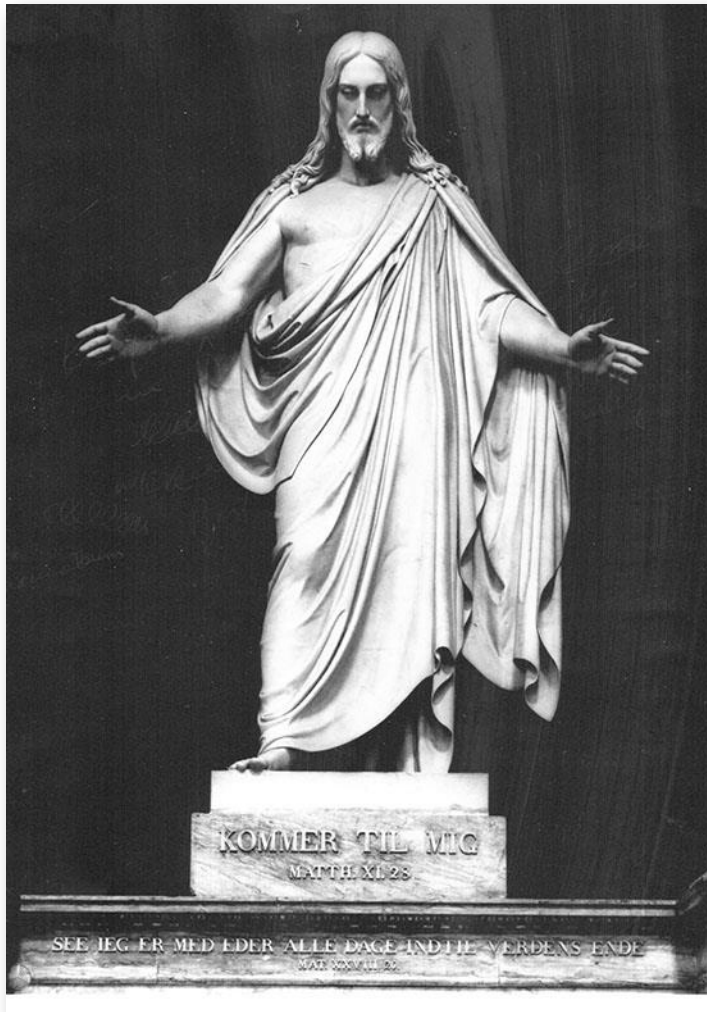
Front view of Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen



*Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen, Denmark.* Photograph courtesy of Vor Frue Kirke Archives, Copenhagen, Denmark.

## IMAGE 481

Bertel Thorvaldsen's sculpture *Christ*, in Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady), made a deep impression on Anna Whistler, who viewed it in July 1848.



Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Christ*. c. 1830. Marble. Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen, Denmark. Photograph courtesy of Vor Frue Kirke Archives.

## IMAGE 482

Anna Whistler viewed the Angel font resting on a carpet when she visited Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady) in July 1848.



Bertel Thorvaldsen. *Angel Font* resting on carpet. Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen, Denmark. Photograph courtesy of Vor Frue Kirke Archives.



## IMAGE 483

Anna Whistler viewed the sculptures of the Twelve Apostles when she visited Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady) in July 1848.



Bertel Thorvaldsen. *St. Paul*. c.1830. Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen, Denmark. Photograph courtesy of Vor Frue Kirke Archives.

## IMAGE 484

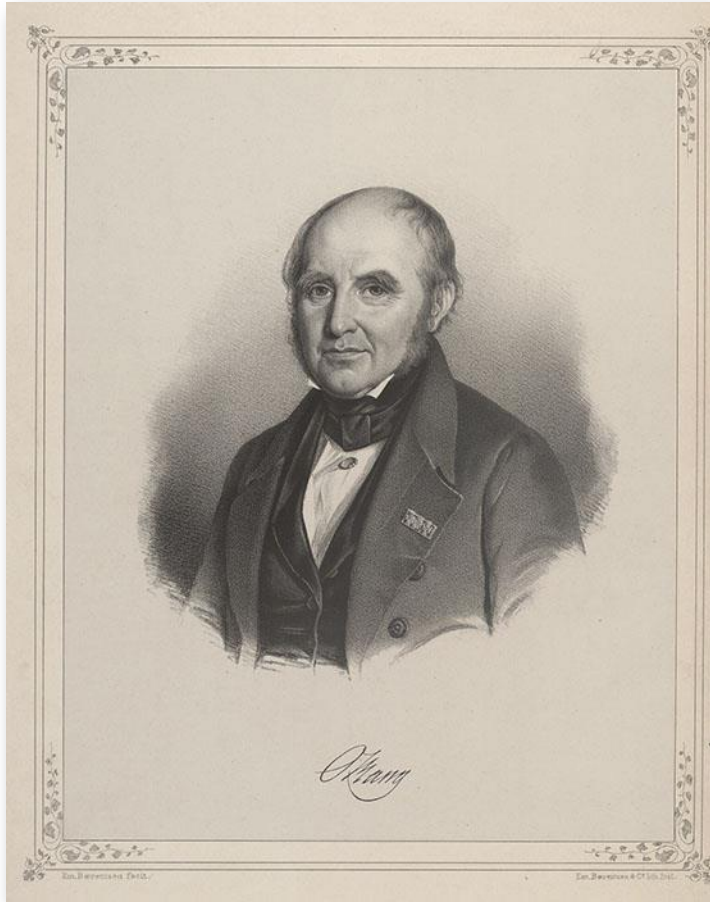
Anna Whistler viewed the terra cotta pediment of Vor Frue Kirke (The Church of Our Lady), depicting St. John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, when she visited the church in July 1848.



Bertel Thorvaldsen. *St. John Preaching in the Wilderness*. Terra cotta. On the pediment of Vor Frue Kirke (Church of Our Lady), Copenhagen, Denmark. Photograph courtesy of Vor Frue Kirke Archives.

## IMAGE 485

Oluf Lundt Bang was the Danish obstetrician attending Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna in 1844, whom Anna Whistler met on the *Camilla* in July 1848.



*Oluf Lundt Bang*. Lithograph. 23.1 x 30.3 cm. Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen (KBP7).

## IMAGE 486

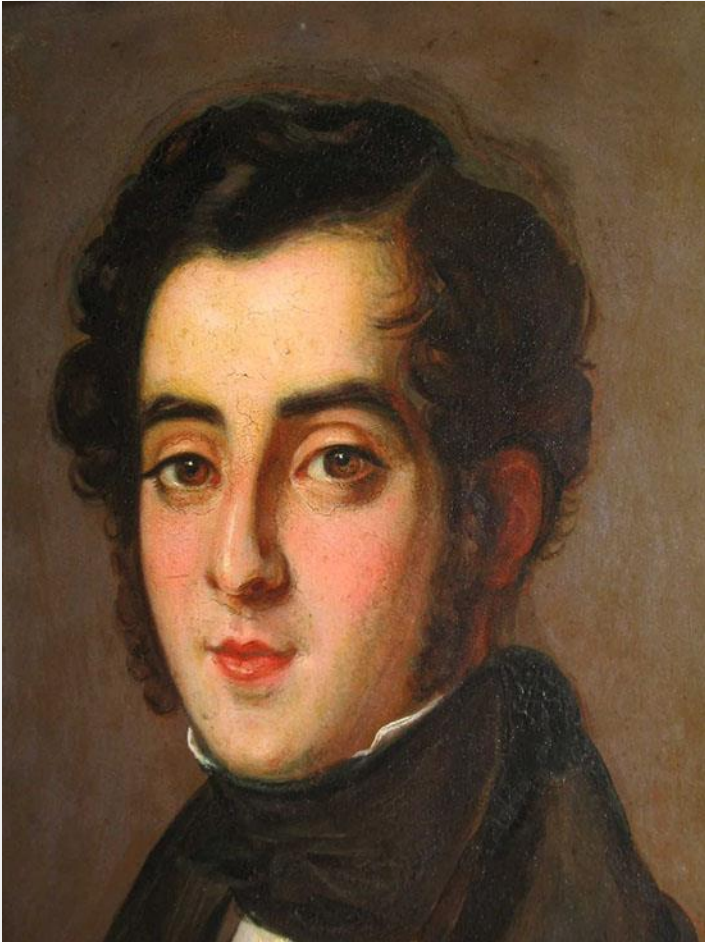
Anna Whistler revisited in 1848 Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw, whom she had met in 1830 through the Stevenson family.



*Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw, c. 1814.* Image courtesy of John Hersey, descendant of the Shaw family.

## IMAGE 487

Anna Whistler first met Georgina Shaw in 1830, seven years after the death of the latter's husband, John Shaw.



*John Shaw, physician, husband of Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw, c. 1814. Image courtesy of John Hersey, descendent of the Shaw family.*

## IMAGE 488

When Anna Whistler visited Georgina (Wardrop) Shaw in 1848, she was not allowed to see her frail mother, Catherine (Fraser) Wardrop, whom Anna Whistler called Mrs. Wardrobe.



William Dickes. *Grandmamma* [Catherine (Fraser) Wardrop]. c. 1840s. Image courtesy of John Hersey, descendent of the Shaw family.

## IMAGE 489

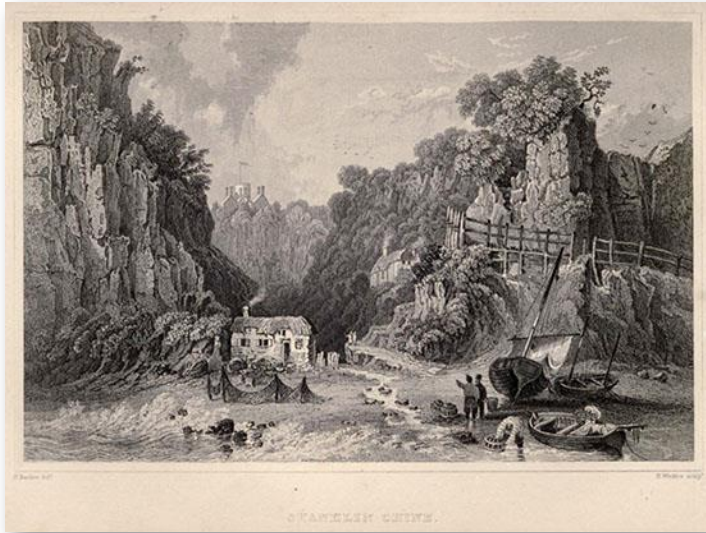
Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited Pastor Richard Henry Smith and his family at Brading Church.



H.W. Bartlett and T. Barker. *Brading, Looking Toward St. Helen's*. 1834. Steel engraving. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide* 1834, facing p. 28)

## IMAGE 490

Shanklin Chine on the Isle of Wight, with its steps to the sea.



H. Bartlett and H. Winkles. *Shanklin Chine*. 1834. Steel engraving. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide* 1834, facing p. 67)



## IMAGE 491

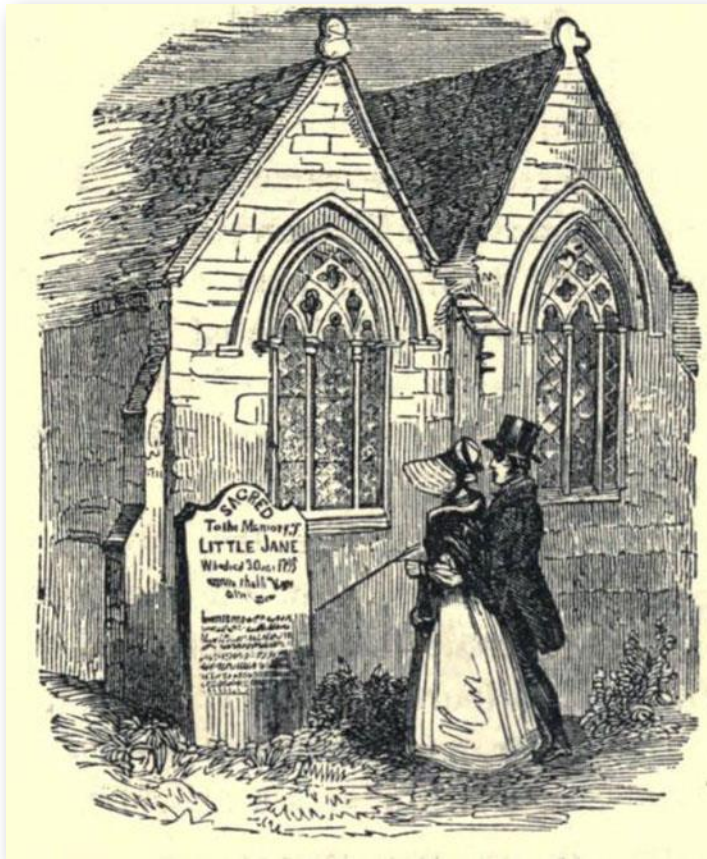
The parsonage at Shanklin, famed for its myrtles



Frederick Hudson (d. 1889). *The Parsonage, Shanklin, I.W.* Photograph. c. 1870. Courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA, USA (84.XD.1157.1157).

## IMAGE 492

Little Jane's Grave, which Anna Whistler, James, and Willie visited



*Grave of Little Jane.* Sketch. c. 1850 (Richmond, *Annals of the Poor* [Philadelphia, PA: Presbyterian Board of Publication, n.d.], p. 193)

## IMAGE 493

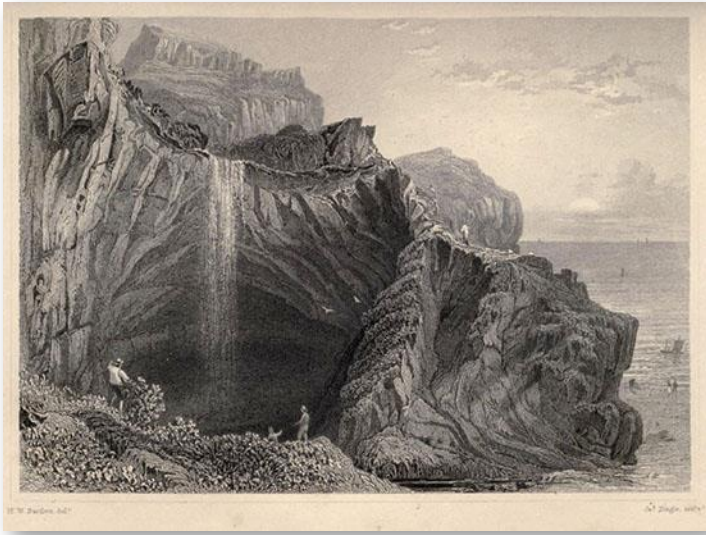
Anna Whistler, James, and Willie walked from Shanklin through Appuldurcumb Park, Lord Yarborough's estate, on their way to Cook's Castle..



T. Barber. *Appuldurcumb Park Lord Yarborough's*. 1834. Steel engraving. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide* 1834, facing p. 56)

## IMAGE 494

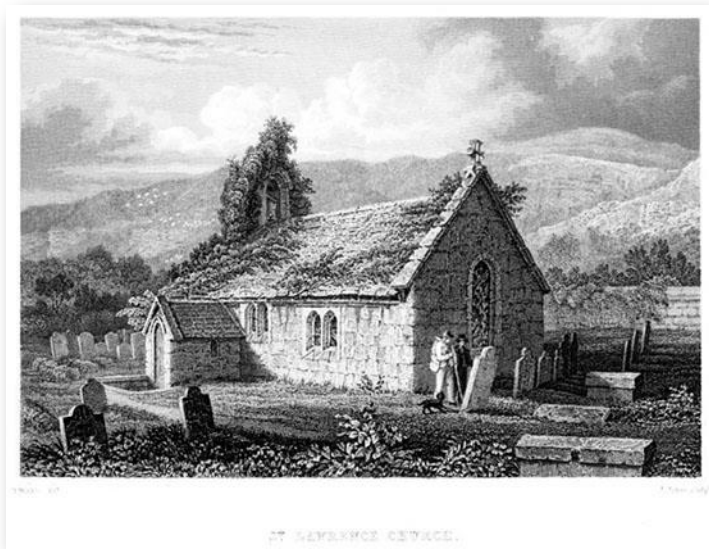
Blackgang Chine, where James attempted to draw the waterfall and cavern up the side of the precipice



H.W. Bartlett and J. Tingle. *Black-Gang Chine*. 1850. Steel engraving. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide* 1850, facing p. 83)

## IMAGE 495

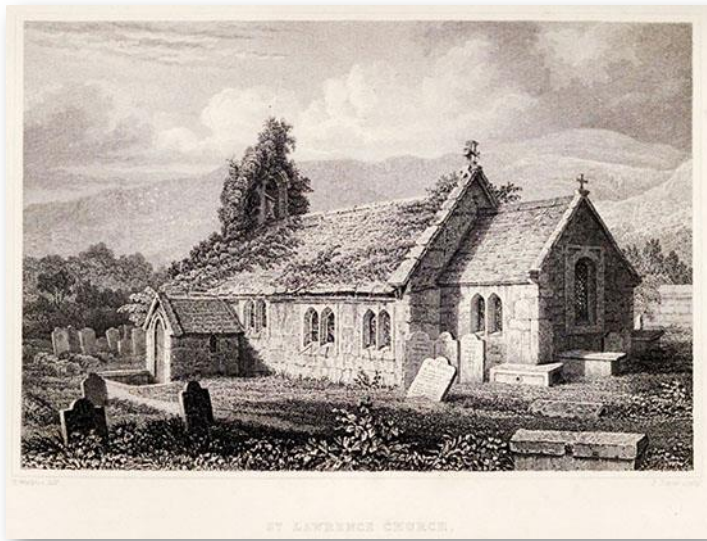
St. Lawrence Church in 1834 before an extension in 1842 made it no longer the smallest church on the Isle of Wight.



H. Winkles and J. James. *St. Lawrence Church*. 1834. Steel engraving. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide* 1834, facing p. 79)

## IMAGE 496

St. Lawrence Church, with its extension, which Anna Whistler saw in 1848.



H. Winkles and J. James. *St. Lawrence Church*. 1850. Steel engraving. (*Barber's Picturesque Guide* 1850, facing p. 79)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AAA: JMcNW	James McNeill Whistler Papers (Glasgow), Archives of American Art (AAA), Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC
Amburger Datenbank	Amburger Datenbank, Osteuropa Institut München/Historische Abteilung (Munich, Germany)
AMW 1850 Diary	Anna McNeill Whistler 1850 Diary, box 33, Pennell–Whistler Collection, 1597–1937, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
APS: Scaliger	B Sca 42, Scaliger Papers, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia
Arkhiv GE	Arkhiv gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha [Archive of the State Hermitage], St. Petersburg
AVPRI	Arkhiv Vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi Imperii [Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire], Moscow
AVPRI: Bodisco	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 <sup>go</sup> Oktiabria 1853 goda [Service Record of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America Privy Councilor Bodisko. Compiled on 5 October 1853].
BRBC STP 1845	RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 13. <i>British Residents and British Congregation St. Petersburg 1845</i>

BUHG: Colin Ingersoll Journal	Colin Ingersoll Journal, Ralph McAllister Ingersoll Collection, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University
CHS: <i>Whistler</i>	James Whistler Wood [son of Major G.W. Whistler's youngest sister, Caroline (Whistler) Wood], comp., <i>Whistler Family Genealogy</i> ([Chicago]: published by the author, 1903), Chicago Historical Society
<i>Eastwick Letters</i>	The Eastwick family correspondence, some 116 letters, is in the possession of Estelle and David Knapp of New Albany, Ohio.
GLRO	Greater London Records Office and History Library (now the London Metropolitan Archives)
GRM	Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei (GRM) [State Russian Museum], St. Petersburg
GRM OR	Gosudarstvennyi Russkii muzei Otdel rukopisei [State Russian Museum Manuscript Division], St. Petersburg
GRM OR: Koritskii, <i>Zapisi</i>	Arkhiv Gos. Russkogo muzeia, Fond 22, d. 37 Fond Zheleznova Mikhaila Ivanovicha Kratie zapisi Koritskogo A.O. (uchenik K.P. Briullova) o zhizni i rabotakh K.P. Briullova 1843-1847 [Archive of the State Russian Museum: Collection of M.I. Zheleznov. Brief notes by A.O. Koritskii (pupil of K.P. Briullov) about the life and works of K.P. Briullov 1843–1847], f. 22v, St. Petersburg
GRO	General Register Office for England and Wales
GUL: Laver Papers	James Laver Papers, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library Manuscript Department
GUL: Whistler Collection	Whistler Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library Manuscript Department



HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
HSP: Harrison Letterbook No. 1	Joseph Harrison, Jr., Letterbooks (No. 1: 15 April 1844 – 27 March 1850; No. 2: 27 March 1851 – 12 February 1852; No. 3: 16 December 1852 – 13 October 1854), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
HUA	Harvard University Archives, Cambridge, MA
HUBL: Ropes Papers	Ropes Family Papers, Baker Business School Library Special Collections, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
IGI	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, International Genealogical Index. This citation refers to all of the documents and information accessible through the extensive IGI database, including ancestry.com.
IRLI	Institut russkoi literatury Akademii nauk (Pushkinskii dom) [Institute of Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences (Pushkin House)]
<i>JISCE</i>	<i>Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Church of England in the Diocese of Toronto</i>
KAS	Kilkenny Archaeological Society, Kilkenny, Ireland
LC: P-W	Pennell–Whistler Collection, 1597–1937, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC
LIIZhT	Leningradskii institut inzhenerov zheleznodorozhnogo transporta [Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers], Rukopisnyi otdel [Manuscript Division], St. Petersburg
LRA	Leeds Russian Archive Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds

LRA: Gellibrand Papers	Gellibrand Family Papers, LRA, MS 1110, Leeds Russian Archive Special Collections, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds
LRA: Lady Gellibrand	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
LRO	Lancashire Record Office, Preston, Lancashire
Maingay Family Papers	This collection includes information and photographs supplied to me by Rosemary K.F. Clarke of Weybourne, Norfolk; 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.
MdHS	Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
MdHS: Winans Papers	Winans Papers, MS 916, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, MD
Mel'nikov, <i>Svedeniia</i>	RGIA: Fond 446, op. 12, d. 4. P.P. Mel'nikov, <i>Svedeniia o russkikh zheleznykh dorogakh</i> [ <i>Information about Russian Railways</i> ], sect. 1, bk. 1
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MHS: Ropes Papers	Ropes Family Papers, 1734–1952, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MLKML	Martin Luther King Memorial Library, Washington, DC
N-YHS	New-York Historical Society
N-YHS: Bliss Papers	Papers, 1846–1897, MSS Collection (BV Bliss, George); New-York Historical Society Library
N-YHS: Maxwell Papers	John Stevenson Maxwell Papers, New-York Historical Society Library

NAUK	National Archives [UK], Kew, Richmond, Surrey, England
NAUS	U.S. National Archives, Washington, DC
NAUS: Passports, M1371, roll 2	M1371: Registers and Indexes for Passport Applications, American Embassy London Passport Book 1836–1845, roll 2, U.S. National Archives, Washington, DC
NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.2	RG84: Records of Foreign Service Posts, Diplomatic Posts, American Embassy, Great Britain, C18.2: London Passport Book 1836–1845, U.S. National Archives, Washington, DC
NAUS: Passports, RG84, C18.3	RG84: Records of Foreign Service Posts – Diplomatic Posts – Great Britain, vol. 1588, C18.3: Passport Book commencing 9 August 1845, U.S. National Archives, Washington, DC
Nicholson Papers	Papers of the Nicholson Family (c 17/2/23), Manchester Central Library, Manchester, UK
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NSDAR	National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, DC
NYPL	New York Public Library
NYPL: AWPD	Anna Whistler's Petersburg Diaries, James McNeill Whistler Papers, MssCol 3311 Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library
NYPL: Swift Papers	Joseph G. Swift Correspondence, 1809-1862, MssCol. 2935. Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library
<i>Olographe Testament</i>	The English translation of the will of Baron Alexander Bodisco, originally in French, provided by Robert W. Lyle, curator, Peabody Room, Georgetown Regional Branch of District of Columbia Public Library

OPRS	<i>Old Parochial Registers of Scotland</i> These include <i>Old Parish Registers of Baptisms</i> , <i>Old Parish Registers of Deaths</i> , and <i>Old Parish Registers of Marriage Banns</i> .
PAHRC	Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, Wynnewood, PA
Parish of St. Jacob	Church Records for the Parish of St. Jacob, City Archives of Stockholm
PEM	Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA
PEM: Fettyplace Journal	H.K. Fettyplace, <i>Journal of a Voyage from Mobile to Havana (via New Orleans) Hence to St. Petersburg and from Hense [sic] to Boston on Board the Ship "Peterhof" Captain L. Endicott, A. 1848</i> , Peabody and Essex Museum Library, Salem, MA
PREC STP	Parish Registers of the English Church, St. Petersburg, held at the Guildhall Library, London  These are copies of the originals contained in RGIA: Fond 1689, op. 1, ed. khr. 1 Register British Factory Chapel St. Petersburg [1763–1812]; Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 2 [1812–1830]; Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 3 [1831 – Jan. through 1846 – Dec.]; Fond 1689, op. 1, d. 4 [1847–1867].
PRO	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, UK  The national archives of the UK were housed at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, from 1838 until 2003, when they merged with the Historical Manuscripts Commission to form The National Archives (NAUK), now based in Kew, Richmond.
RGIA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive], St. Petersburg

RGIA: A.O. Koritskii	RGIA: Fond 472, op. 32 (323/1125), d. 1408 Formuliarnyi 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].
RGIA: Golland. reform. tserkov'	RGIA: Fond 40, op. 1. Gollandskaia reformatorskaia tserkov', 1717–1921 gg., d. 2 Tserkovnaia kniga zapisei rozhdenii, venchanii i smertei, 1808–1883 [Dutch Reformed Church, 1717–1921. Church register of births, marriages and deaths, 1808 – 1883]
RGIA: <i>Kamer- fur'erskii zhurnal</i>	RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 153. <i>Kamer- fur'erskii zhurnal</i> [ <i>Chamberlain's Journal</i> ], 1844
RGIA: <i>Kamer- fur'erskii zhurnal, O konchine ... Aleksandry Nikolaevny</i>	RGIA: Fond 516, op. 28/1618, d. 153. <i>Kamer- fur'erskii zhurnal</i> [ <i>Chamberlain's Journal</i> ], 1844. <i>Zhurnal. O konchine i pogrebenii v Bozhe pochivainsbchei Velikoi Kniagini Aleksandry Nikolaevny. S 29<sup>го</sup> Iiulia po 5<sup>е</sup> chis: Avgusta 1844<sup>го</sup> goda</i> [Concerning the decease and burial of Grand Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna, reposing in God. From the 29th of July through the 5th of August [OS] 1844]
RNB OR	Rukopisnyi otdel Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki [Manuscript Division of the Russian National Library], St. Petersburg
SHS	Stonington Historical Society, Stonington, CT
Shtukenberg, <i>Memuary</i>	A.I. Shtukenberg, <i>Memuary Antona Shtukenberga</i> [ <i>Memoirs of Anton Shtukenberg</i> ], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1836–61), Rukopisnyi otdel (RO) [Manuscript Division], Leningradskii institut inzhenеров zheleznodorozhnogo transporta (LIIZhT) [Leningrad Institute of Railway Transport Engineers], St. Petersburg
SoG	Society of Genealogists, London

SRO	Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
SRO: Hamilton	Duke of Hamilton Papers, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh
St. Catherine's Swedish Church Registers	Register of St. Catherine's Swedish Church in St. Petersburg, Department of Private Archives, National Archives, Stockholm, Sweden
TsGALI	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva [Central State Archive of Literature and Art], Moscow
TsGIA SPb	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii arkhiv Sankt Peterburga [Central State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg]
USMA	United States Military Academy, West Point, NY
USMAL: A.J. Swift Papers	Alexander J. Swift (1810–1847) Papers, United States Military Academy Library, West Point, NY
USMAL: J.G. Swift Papers	Letters of General Joseph G. Swift; Swift, Joseph Gardner, 1783–1865, Papers 1800–1865; Manuscripts, 19 <sup>th</sup> Century 10; United States Military Academy Library, West Point, NY
USMAL: Thayer Papers	Sylvanus Thayer Papers, United States Military Academy Library, West Point, NY
USMAL: W.H. Swift Papers	William Henry Swift, USMA 1819,CU231: Correspondence 1820–1857, Letters written to his brother, General Joseph G. Swift. Washington, 26 March 1846, United States Military Academy Library, West Point, NY

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