

*Worcester through a Child's Eyes:
An Introduction to the Diaries of
Louisa Jane Trumbull, 1829-37*

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THE GIRLHOOD DIARY kept by Louisa Jane Trumbull (1822-90) that is transcribed and annotated below is one of four in the collection of Trumbull Family Papers at the American Antiquarian Society. She was just seven years of age when she began keeping a diary on November 3, 1829. She wrote that she did so because her sisters had journals and her mother wanted her 'to write what happens every day.'¹ The entries in the first diary conclude on May 20, 1834, with a list of books at the back of the volume. This diary is 19.5 cm. by 21 cm. It has ninety-two unlined pages. It is bound in plain boards with a green leather spine and gold trim. A total of three leaves appear to be missing. One leaf cut out between pages 22 and 23 appears to have

I wish to thank my friend and colleague Caroline Fuller Sloat for her careful and thoughtful reorganization and redirection of this essay. I also thank her former assistant Katherine S. Simpson and the anonymous readers for their insights, Susan Anderson and Thomas Knoles of AAS who retrieved the manuscript for me many times over, and Knoles who also compared my transcription to the manuscript. I also thank William D. Wallace, executive director of Worcester Historical Museum, for his enthusiastic support. Without his steadfast belief in the historical value of this project I could not have completed the time-consuming transcriptions and community analysis it required. Finally, while Jenny intended her volumes for her eyes only, I am deeply grateful to be able to share her wonderful childhood insights. Thanks, Jenny.

1. November 3, 1829, Louisa Jane Trumbull, Journal 1, November 3, 1829-May 20, 1834. Subsequent references to this volume will only give the date of the entry.

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had writing on it because a trace of ink can be seen on the stub. Two additional leaves are apparently missing between pages 86 and 91, the last diary entry and the book list in the back of the volume. The subsequent volumes cover 1834-35, 1836, and 1836-37. Additionally, there is a record of the letters written and received in 1841 in that year's *Boston Almanac*.²

Louisa Jane Trumbull, named after her mother, Louisa Clap Trumbull, and her mother's close friend, Jane Bancroft Gherardi, was known as Jane. I will refer to the daughter as Jenny, the nickname the mother used in her own diary during her daughter's childhood. It should be noted, however, that the child signed her formal full name several times in the pages of her journals. After she was married and had moved away from Worcester, both her mother and her friends called her Jane.³ For clarity, I refer to Jenny's mother as Louisa, and cite the mother's diary in footnotes, as Louisa Clap Trumbull's. The other family nicknames were: Liz (Elizabeth), Cally (Caroline), Bell (Isabella), Susy (Susan), Charley (Charles) and Johnny (John).

As the annotated transcription of the first journal indicates, Jenny was a highly observant child. The journals offer an intimate and engaging connection with a past time and place through

2. S. N. Dickinson, *The Boston Almanac for the Year 1841* (Boston: Thomas Groom, [1840]). The Trumbull Family papers in the AAS collection date from 1773 to 1903. In addition to the four diaries kept by Louisa Jane Trumbull are two kept by her mother, Louisa Clap Trumbull (1798-1885) between 1829 and 1879. The collection includes account books and miscellaneous papers including school copybooks, a genealogical chart, promissory notes, and receipts, news clippings, estate inventories, and an inventory of the wedding gifts received by Susan Trumbull Price. For a complete description, see the finding aid at AAS. Material related to the family may be found in two other manuscript collections at AAS. A collection of Lincoln Family Papers includes a series of letters written by women of the Trumbull family in the 1820s and 1830s. Several letters written in the 1860s by Louisa Jane Trumbull Lea are in the Salisbury Family Papers. Transcriptions of the three diaries of Louisa Jane Trumbull that are not included here are available at the American Antiquarian Society.

3. Louisa Jane's grandmother, Elizabeth Trumbull, and great-aunt Sarah Perkins referred to her as both 'Jenny' and 'Jane' in letters written to Elizabeth Trumbull Lincoln, now in the Lincoln Family Papers at AAS. Worcester diarist Lucy Chase wrote of her friend 'Jane' Trumbull accompanying her to lectures and meetings as young adults (in Chase Family Papers, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society).

youthful eyes and sensibilities. Through the volumes, her spirited yet sweet personality and inquisitive nature unfold, and her keen awareness of the immediate world around her becomes apparent. She writes about family members and social networks, mapping out the geography of her life and the shape of her world. Young Jenny pulls the reader into her view of the rhythms of her daily life: the inner workings of the Trumbull household, the affective ties and sometimes difficult bonds of obligation among members of her large extended family, the tangled webs of social relationships in her community, and the expectations attending her social standing. They are a rare and valuable resource, as relatively few children's records have survived for study, and they are quite remarkable for the quality of their content.

The journals are a lively, at times wry or anguished, and increasingly thoughtful commentary on her life. Central to her account in the first diary are lengthy and poignant entries related to an awareness of illness and death following the 1833 scarlet fever epidemic in which her four-year-old brother John died. Perhaps taking her cue from her disconsolate mother, Jenny wrote at length of her brother's death, pouring out her sadness and memories as well as details of his brief but agonizing illness. Louisa filled many more pages on this subject. Jenny even copied a poem her mother had written in memory of little Johnny—a text not found in the leaves of her mother's journal. The little boy seems to have had some developmental issues; diary entries of mother and daughter indicate he was backward in his learning, spoke with a lisp, had difficulty pronouncing even simple words, hated school and apparently was picked on by others, was very loud, and was unable to hold still or fully control his movements. These traits, which family members found aggravating during his lifetime, became endearing after his death. Although the death of a child or sibling was a common occurrence in early nineteenth-century New England, this was the first death in their inner family circle; Louisa plummeted into a prolonged

and deep depression and the loss threw Jenny's world off kilter. In the midst of the family's continuing distress over John's death, Jenny wrote: 'Sometimes I have wished that I, too were dead and with my dear little brother, . . . but I know that it is wicked and wrong for me to wish so.'⁴

Jenny's first—and longest—journal covers almost five years (1829–34). Like each of the other three volumes, it highlights the concerns and activities that absorbed a young person in early nineteenth-century New England. This was a family with connections to elite and well-documented families of Worcester, Salem, and Milton, Massachusetts. The wealth of antiquarian sources, including genealogies published in Worcester or about Worcester families was helpful in teasing out the meaning of many references to people and buildings. In addition to the annotations in the diary itself, I have prepared three appendices to accompany this edition of the girl's diary—genealogical, biographical, and an annotation of an 1829 center village map—that show family relationships and provide information about the lives and locations of the dwellings of some friends and family members who figure most prominently in Jenny Trumbull's account.

Journal Keeping in the Trumbull Family

Although the only Trumbull diaries to survive are those of the mother and one daughter, Louisa Clap Trumbull believed strongly in the value of keeping such a record. The mother indicated her commitment to keeping a diary in a new one that she began in March 1829, with the following words:

'In reviewing a diary which I kept before my marriage, and which has been discontinued since that period, I have lamented so much that any circumstance should have interrupted it that I formed

4. June 30, 1833.

the determination to resume the practice of daily committing some of my thoughts to paper. The common occurrence of our lives which are obliterated by a few months time would frequently, if committed to paper, be both instructive and interesting in after days. The earliest days of my recollection were those of joy and grief. I cannot think that the popular idea that childhood is a cloudless scene a correct one.⁵

When Louisa Clap Trumbull returned to keeping a journal in March 1829, she was thirty years of age. She had been the wife of George A. Trumbull for thirteen years, and given birth to seven children. Caring for a house so full of children could well have interrupted even the most dedicated diarist's efforts. This time, however, Louisa continued keeping a journal. The two octavo volumes in which Louisa Clap Trumbull recorded her own 'feelings . . . thoughts . . . doings and undoings'⁶ for a fifty-year period ending on December 30, 1879, are more introspective than her daughter's. Entries are sporadic (sometimes only one or two per year), although some are quite lengthy. They overflow with her love, concerns, hopes, and fears for the children and include reflections on her own character and deportment, reminiscences of her girlhood and earlier chapters in her family's history, reports on daily happenings, and concerns about her husband's poor health and failed business endeavors. As Louisa's journals cover fifty years, they also present portraits of the children from youth through adulthood. Read alone, the journals of mother and daughter are interesting and informative. But as the journals at times present family and local events from the perspectives of two generations, they can be read together, as they are below, to demonstrate the interrelationship between parental goals and instruction and a child's behavior and development.

Louisa instructed her children, as each in turn mastered the quill pen, to follow her example by writing in a diary (fig. 1). By

5. March 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull, *Journal 1*, March 1829–June 1833.

6. August 12, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

November 3^d 1829. (Born October 12th 1822. Louisa Jane Trumbull)
 As the other girls have got journals I thought that I would have one too.
 As Mother desired me to write what happens every day. I think I shall go
 to Miss Bancroft's school today with my sister Caroline. I am going to see my
 little brother Joseph today; because George drew him yesterday; and it is my
 turn today. Sarah reads in the Testament. Joseph reads in two syllables.
 Mother has got a new pair of huacals which Elizabeth made for her. School will
 begin Monday Oh dear! what shall I do? I am sure I don't want to go to school
 to learn Geography and History. Miss Chamberlain makes me learn six pages in
 History and one page of Geography. I am going to study Latin, arithmetic, Dic. & C.
 I went to Mrs. Bates this afternoon and had a very good time. Caroline and Elizabeth
 have gone to Miss Hinneault this afternoon. He made some molasses candy and it is
 very good. Dec 6th. Mother says that we may get Sally to make us some squash and
 pumpkin flap-jacks if she wants to. I went to skating today and dined at Aunt
 Bradishes. So rains this afternoon very hard and I rode home with Sister Maria.
 I have got me dollars. Father is Cashier of the Central Bank. Mother has got a
 new hat with three plumes; the hat came from New York. Dec 12th
 As Joseph was young out he fell down and cut his upper lip quite badly.
 I have made my doll a very pretty plume with points before and behind.
 Mother wishes Dolly and Elizabeth Burnett and Miss Chamberlain to come
 and see us but it rained so hard they could not come. I go to Miss Chamberlain's
 school. Jan 14th 1830. Aunt Mine is dead; she died January fourteenth.
 May 31st 1830. Grandmother and Aunt Perkins went to Boston this morning.

Fig. 1. Jenny opened the first volume of her journal with the statement: 'As the other girls have got journals, I thought that I would have one too.' November 3, 1829. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

the time Jenny had begun her second diary volume, she was entering her teens and had developed a perspective about keeping a private record.

'In keeping a journal I at first did it because my sisters kept one. Afterwards I wrote because it was the wish of my mother and now it is done not only to serve as means of being employed about

something useful and proper, but because it is a source of pleasure to me. "In after life," said my Mother, "you will read with pleasure what you are now writing." And even now I am much interested in what I wrote a year or two ago. My first journal or diary was commenced November third 1829 and completed May twenty-first 1834. This one was commenced June 1835 [*sic*] and finished April the 4th day 1835 [*sic*]. In the pages of these two books there is probably little, perhaps nothing, that would amuse any save myself. But as they were written for no eye save mine, if they amuse my mind or gratify mine eye their purpose will be accomplished. Therefore I begin my next book as I began my last in many respects. My purpose being (as may be very plainly seen by reading it) to keep an account of the most important things that happen in our family, together with the births, deaths, and marriages of our friends and acquaintances. The writing to take the whole book together is very poor but as I can read it myself it little matters whether anyone else can, it may on the contrary be a fortunate circumstance.⁷

The circumstances that resulted in the survival of Jenny's intimate early records for public study may never be known. Although she moved away from Worcester at age twenty-two and returned virtually every summer for an extended visit, she appears to have left the diaries behind in her childhood bedchamber where they remained until the Trumbull homestead was moved after her death. Her diaries were among the papers given to AAS in 1955 by Edwin Melville Roberts. It is not known whether Jenny kept additional journals or what has happened to those kept by her siblings. Of Louisa's journals, only those from her married life have survived—chosen by her youngest son, John, at the division of her estate in 1886 and purchased by her daughter Susan after John's death in 1893.⁸

7. March 31, 1835, Louisa Jane Trumbull, Journal 2, June 1834-April 4, 1835.

8. 'Inventory of articles belonging to Louisa Clap Trumbull and divided, February 22-23, 1886'; 'Family Auction, October 17, 1894.' Susan purchased her mother's two journals and one other by an unnamed family member for fifty cents. The American Antiquarian Society acquired Louisa Clap Trumbull's journals by purchase in 1987.

Louisa Clap Trumbull

Louisa Clap Trumbull was second youngest of four surviving daughters of Caleb (1752-1812) and Elizabeth Stone Clap (1758-1843). The family had moved repeatedly in search of economic security and along the way had buried five young children. Louisa's parents even considered severing ties with family and friends to start anew on the Ohio frontier, but could not bear the thought of living at such a distance from the graves of their dead offspring. Finally, with assistance from his brother-in-law, a physician, Louisa's father established an apothecary business in the Connecticut River Valley town of Greenfield, Massachusetts. But finding economic stability did not protect the family entirely. As Louisa related in a retrospective diary entry, her father and his twin brother, Joshua, had always been subject to extreme mood swings, which 'in later life terminated in derangement.' Joshua committed suicide in 1810 and Caleb in 1812.⁹ At his death, daughter Lucy, who would be Mrs. Clap's lifelong helpmate, was twenty-three, Susan sixteen, Louisa fourteen, and Elizabeth eleven. Louisa recalled that in widowhood her mother 'doubly devoted herself to her family and felt an increase of responsibility for the direction of the minds of her children as well as for their personal wants.'¹⁰

Shortly after her father's death Louisa was sent to Worcester to live with her great-uncle Daniel Clap (1739-1827) and attend school.¹¹ In Worcester, she met George Augustus Trumbull (1792-1868), and soon fell in love with him. Eight years her senior, he had attended Phillips Exeter Academy and was the proprietor of a book and stationery store on Main Street where Louisa and her friends purchased school supplies.¹² Louisa was

9. July 16, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

10. May 18, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

11. James Henry Lea, *A Genealogy of the Ancestors and Descendants of George Augustus and Louisa (Clap) Trumbull of Trumbull Square, Worcester, Mass.* (Printed for the family, 1886), 20.

12. The Trumbull Family Papers also include one volume of the accounts (1819-1823) of George A. Trumbull's Worcester stationery business, which he purchased from Isaiah Thomas, Jr., and operated for ten years. Charles A. Nutt, *History of Worcester and Its People*, 4 vols. (New York City: Lewis Historical Publishing, 1919), 3:205.

four days shy of her seventeenth birthday when the couple married on September 20, 1815, in a double ceremony with her sister, Susan, and Thomas Ripley.

The young couple did not, in the expression of the time, 'go to housekeeping.' Instead, they resided with George's parents, Joseph (1756-1824) and Elizabeth Paine Trumbull (1766-1832). The senior Trumbulls had returned to Worcester in 1803, after Joseph retired from practicing medicine in Petersham, Massachusetts. Joseph Trumbull first moved to Worcester in June 1778, and opened a general store in the area later named Lincoln Square. In December 1779 in partnership with Isaiah Thomas, Sr., owner and editor of the *Massachusetts Spy*, he acquired a half share in an apothecary shop and established the 'Old Medical Store.' When Thomas retired from the firm in 1781, Trumbull became sole owner of their half. In 1783 he bought the other half of the shop from Dr. William Paine and sold the business to Abraham Lincoln, an apothecary. Even after Trumbull relocated to Petersham, he continued to have business interests in Worcester, advertising an apothecary store in the new Howe's Tavern in 1793.¹³ Having returned to Worcester, the family lived in a large, two-story building dating from 1751 that until 1800 had been the county courthouse. At the instigation of Elizabeth Trumbull's wealthy sister, Sarah Paine Perkins, the former courthouse was moved to an area south of the common (then designated South Street) and remodeled as a dwelling (fig. 2).¹⁴ Prescient concerns about the resources of the Worcester branch of the family prompted Perkins to ask her

13. Nutt, *History of Worcester and Its People*, 3:205. Ten interleaved almanacs for the years 1808, 1809, 1813-1819, and 1822, which contain Joseph Trumbull's accounts and notes are in the Trumbull Family Papers. See appendix 1 for genealogical information and appendix 2 for biographical information about William Paine.

14. The area where it stood was later named Trumbull Square to honor the family. Around 1900, the house had fallen into disrepair and was threatened by demolition. Jenny's youngest sister, Susan, was instrumental in having the house taken down and rebuilt at 6 Massachusetts Avenue, where it was home to Trumbull descendants for another half century and still stands today. Mary Louisa Cogswell, 'The Trumbull Mansion and Its Occupants,' *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity* 9 (1900-1901): 241. Cogswell was Jenny's niece (see appendix 1) and the last family member to live in the house. Her widower was the donor of the family papers to AAS.



Trumbull Mansion, Worcester, Mass.

Fig. 2. "Trumbull Mansion, Worcester, Mass." An 1850s view of the house at Trumbull Square (South Street) where Jenny Trumbull grew up. It was built in 1751 as the second Worcester County Courthouse. In 1801 twenty teams of oxen moved the building to South Street (later renamed Franklin Street), where it was refitted as a dwelling for the Trumbull family. It was sold after Mrs. Trumbull's death in 1885, and when threatened with demolition fourteen years later, it was purchased by Jenny's sister Susan, who had it rebuilt on Massachusetts Avenue, a newly laid out road on the developing west side of the city. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

husband and his brother—James and Thomas Handasyd Perkins¹⁵—to finance this project because she worried that Joseph's incapacitating health problems made him undependable financially. Just as her own mother had once provided a strong role model, Louisa as a young wife now lived with a mother-in-law of similar nature and became immersed in an extended kinship network of strong-minded women. After Joseph's death in 1824 (following

15. Extraordinarily wealthy, they were the founders of the Boston Athenaeum and the Perkins Institute for the Blind. See, for example, Thomas G. Cary, *Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1856). Their mother, Elizabeth Peck Perkins, a prosperous merchant in her own right, established the Boston Female Asylum.

seventeen years as an invalid), Sarah Perkins deeded the house to her sister, to pass at her death to daughter-in-law Louisa and then to Louisa's daughters born before the deed was drawn up. Although Elizabeth Trumbull in widowhood retained a chamber in the house, she seldom occupied it, preferring to spend her time with her sister Sarah, alternately in Boston and at the Perkins's country estate in Jamaica Plain, where she died in 1832.¹⁶ Effectively, then, after nine years of sharing the house with her in-laws, Louisa Clap Trumbull became its mistress at age twenty-five and its sole owner eight years later.

That the house was Louisa's provided a measure of security because her husband pursued various business ventures that were generally unsuccessful and resulted in accumulating debts. George A. Trumbull had purchased the Main Street bookstore in 1813, two years before their marriage and owned it for ten years. In 1819 he and a partner purchased the *Massachusetts Spy* (from Isaiah Thomas, Sr.), but this partnership dissolved in 1822. Trumbull then formed a partnership to establish a brewery. In 1823, after selling the stationery store, he resumed ownership of the newspaper with financial backing from others. By 1827 he was no longer in the newspaper business and the following year he sold the brewery at a loss. He found steady work as a bank cashier after 1829, but continued to invest in start-up businesses with disastrous results. Louisa reflected: 'I cannot but be somewhat anxious for his prosperity but I do endeavour not to be absorbed by the feeling. I think I know myself sufficiently to be confident I should not be wretched if deprived of that abundance which has always surrounded me, but it is for his comfort & for my children I think.'¹⁷ Louisa stood by her husband through financial difficulties and nursed him during bouts with gout and an illness that she described as lung fever.

16. Louisa's diary entry following her mother-in-law's death recalls her many 'excellencies' and 'Christian fortitude,' her 'kind advice' and 'eloquent example.' August 10, 1832.

17. The sale of the brewery business in 1828 was apparently at a significant loss. September 26 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

Louisa Clap Trumbull's journals reveal the warmth and the seriousness with which she undertook her marital and parental responsibilities. After the birth of her seventh child, in 1828, she wrote: 'How much devolves upon a wife and mother, the question I cannot answer. It were indeed no small care to provide for their bodily comfort. . . . And what is this care compared to the important task of forming their moral character!!' Her twelve children—seven daughters and five sons—were born between 1816 and 1841, with all but one surviving to adulthood (appendix 1). She was the mother of nine when she reflected at the beginning of 1833: 'Here I am too upon another year. I think I may class this *with* the happiest if not the happiest of my life. I have now the satisfaction to see my children round me companions all with good capacities for improvement and usefulness. A fond mother's partial eye flatters me they will *continue* to be comforts.' As her eldest child, Elizabeth, prepared to depart for boarding school in 1829, Louisa confided to her diary: 'Our affections are so interwoven with them, their every thought and movement, what a vacancy there must be.'¹⁸

Her vigilance, devotion, and boundless affection proved fruitful in raising thoughtful, well-educated, and well-cultivated children—each 'a useful member of society and a rich blessing to us.'¹⁹ Louisa herself was remembered as 'a person of marked character, of strong and clear intelligence, thoroughly self-poised, responsive to the sentiments of duty, and earnest in her religious convictions.' At the same time, 'the strength and force of her character were tempered with a rare tenderness' and she possessed 'a refinement of spirit which could manifest itself only

18. May 18, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

19. December 16, 1829; January 4, 1833; May 18, 1829; June 29, 1829; and August 16, 1833, Louisa Clap Trumbull. The Reverend John S. C. Abbott, who served as minister of Worcester's Calvinist Church in the early 1830s, and was a popular writer of advice on raising children, admonished mothers to make certain their children were clear on familial obligations for parental care. While Louisa frequently expressed a desire for her offspring to become 'useful members of society,' she never wrote of their obligation to her. In fact, her diaries reveal her life-long attention to their needs. For a discussion of Abbott's writings, see Carolyn J. Lawes, 'Capitalizing on Mother: John S. C. Abbott and Self-Interested Motherhood,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 108 (1998): 342–95.

in gentle ways. . . . She was an example of a true, high-spirited, active, sympathetic woman, of high aims and clear judgment, noted alike for bright fancy, wise intelligence, and kindness of heart.²⁰ The diaries reveal that Elizabeth Stone Clap had indelibly impressed the importance of education, piety, self-restraint, humility, strict adherence to duty and moral principles, and selfless devotion to children upon her daughter.

Family Management and Raising Children

Louisa Clap Trumbull, although a member by marriage of an elite Massachusetts family and resident in Worcester's center village, was the wife of a man whose success in business was, at best, modest. Forever worrying about her children's futures, Louisa attempted to train them 'to pursue aright the path of life.'²¹ She saw to it that, like herself, they were well educated in both academic and practical matters, and prepared to mingle comfortably with their wealthy relations in New England's polite society. She insisted upon regular attendance at Sunday worship and strict adherence to religious principles, participation in the work of the household, and close attention to learning—in school, at Lyceum lectures, and from writing and reading.

The diaries provide a record of a family that eschewed Worcester's public schools for their children's education, opting instead for private schools. Enrolled in the community's highly fluid private system for their primary education, the children frequently changed schools as teachers left, or they advanced to a higher level of instruction. There were times when the children did not attend school regularly, but Louisa considered their education of utmost importance. In a nostalgic moment in 1862, she

20. The Reverend Austin S. Garver, 'Sketch of . . . Program for the funeral of Mrs. Louisa C. Trumbull,' December 8th, 1855, Manuscript Collection, Worcester Historical Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts. See also, Austin S. Garver, *Remarks at the Funeral Services of Mrs. L.C. Trumbull* (Worcester, 1886).

21. June 20, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

reminisced about Caroline and Jenny: 'I think often of these two children when they were at their studies, coming in for mother's approval and sometimes for suggestions for compositions.'²²

Familiar with the educational opportunities in Greenfield, where members of her family continued to live, Louisa chose to send her older children back to her hometown. George attended Fellenberg Academy to learn business skills; Elizabeth, Caroline, and later, Jenny, attended Greenfield High School for Young Ladies, chosen to prepare them to teach should the necessity arise. Joseph—who would be the most successful—was a graduate of Harvard Law School and practiced law briefly before embarking on a business career in Worcester and New York City.

The management of a house and family was hard work, especially when babies and young children were present. The Trumbull children, both boys and girls, were taught house and garden skills from a young age, and older children were expected to help with younger siblings. The girls, for example, learned plain sewing before the age of four.²³ Older girls, often children themselves, were expected to help watch younger siblings. One time when Elizabeth was six or seven she was assigned to watch baby Jenny with the disastrous result of 'tumbling' her into the fire,²⁴ an incident that left Jenny with a permanent scar on her forehead. Jenny first wrote of her duty toward her siblings within days of her eighth birthday, closing an entry with: 'I am going to make a needlebook at the end of this term. I must now go and hold the baby.'²⁵ Charles was six weeks old. In their teenage years, girls in the family were assigned young charges for whom

22. May 27, 1862, Louisa Clap Trumbull, *Journal* 2, June 1833–December 30, 1879.

23. On January 24, 1841, Louisa noted: 'Mary has learned to sew prettily & sits like a lady in the parlour with her patchwork.' She was not yet four years old. From the outset of Jenny's diaries, her daily chores included 'work,' her term for plain sewing. Jenny had evidently mastered sewing sufficiently by the age of seven that she wrote that she had stitched a pelisse (cloak) for her doll in her spare time (December 12, 1829). For the practical and cultural roles sewing played in nineteenth-century women's lives, see Carolyn J. Lawes, *Women and Reform in a New England Community, 1815–1860* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), ch. 2: 'Missionaries and More.'

24. January 22, 1833.

25. October 30, 1830.

they were given primary responsibility. For example, Jenny noted in 1833 that when Elizabeth (age sixteen) returned home from boarding school, eleven-year-old Sarah 'is to be delivered into her care; she is to make and mend her clothes, but as to teaching her I cannot say whether she will or not.'²⁶ The burden of minding youngsters, of course, did not fall solely on siblings; at times of childbirth it was common practice for single relations to assist in the households of married sisters. Louisa's older sister Lucy was a regular helpmate in the family through numerous births and family illnesses; and in adulthood Jenny, Sarah, and Susan Trumbull similarly assisted their siblings.

Like other families of their status and size, the Trumbulls relied on a series of live-in hired girls and day help for the management of their household. Even with help, Louisa Trumbull's daughters assisted with housework as indicated in both the mother's and daughter's diaries. 'It is Cally's vacation and I find great assistance from her. She makes herself useful washing windows, cleaning stairs, putting the parlor in order &c &c, all of which lessens my labor,'²⁷ wrote Louisa. Jenny once observed that her older sister Elizabeth had worked on spring cleaning with a hired girl. 'We have no fire today in our parlour as Liz and Sally cleaned the room yesterday and the fire would make very sad work with all they had done.'²⁸ But daily workloads, particularly when illness prevailed, could be crushing and operations not always smooth. 'The summer previous to John's birth on the 31 July 1828, I was suffering from many causes,' Louisa recalled much later. 'My health was unusually poor and for 6 weeks before his birth I was confined to my room and most of the time to my bed. The weather was *very warm* and I never shall forget the trial I then endured. Our domestic concerns did not contribute to render my situation less irksome. The woman who I considered *head help* was a most unsuitable person to hold that title and

26. March 27, 1833.

27. August 16, 1833

28. May 8, 1835, Louisa Jane Trumbull, *Journal* 3, May 8, 1835-June 6, 1836.

constantly aggravated every trifling circumstance in my cares. In addition to her, my young girl whose province was more particularly to attend to my personal wants & to the children, was a nervous and sickly creature & is not to be relied upon in any emergency.²⁹ Louisa described another instance in 1843, when the care of daughters afflicted with scarlet fever prevented her from disrobing and going to bed for nine consecutive days. Her solution was to hire a neighbor to watch for several days, so that family members 'being so worn down with anxiety and fatigue' could recover.³⁰

Sickness, which might be expected in a large family, and even the deaths of a sibling and other children are subjects in Jenny's journals because they were so much a part of daily life. To cite an example, in January 1832 she wrote: 'The smallpox now prevails here and there was an old woman who died of it in our neighborhood. . . . All the schools are now stopped and we are eight of us at home. Elizabeth is going to keep school for us, and Caroline is going to assist her.'³¹ It was not just the elderly whose passing she recorded; it was also young friends such as Caroline Coe who succumbed to an attack of lung fever at the age of fifteen. 'Poor Caroline!' Jenny lamented. 'Little did I think when I saw you at singing school six weeks ago that it was for the last time. She was at Lyceum lecture on Thursday about a week ago. On next Thursday she will be an inhabitant of the cold and silent grave!! . . . I cannot realise that she is no longer alive.' The twelve-year-old closed her musings on this melancholy event with: 'Father, thy will not ours be done.'³²

At times when she felt overwhelmed with household duties Louisa kept a daughter or two at home. When her eighth baby was born in the fall of 1830, for example, she confided the difficulty of the decision to keep Elizabeth out of school 'to assist in

29. Retrospective entry, February 28, 1833, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

30. Retrospective entry, 1843, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

31. January 22, 1832.

32. March 14, 1835.

the family' until her sister Lucy arrived: '*Sometimes* I feel it is wrong for me to put my necessities in the way of her improvement, but hope all will be for the best and that soon she may regularly attend.'³³ When Louisa was slow to regain her strength after another birth, she similarly noted: 'Jenny and Sarah have been at home for several weeks, first from bad colds, & now I have decided to keep them the remainder of the winter [as] I find them pleasant companions & very useful to me.'³⁴ During a period of illness in the winter of 1835, Jenny complained: 'I do not go to school now. Even when I *am* well there is no one to attend to me and I shall probably grow up and live in ignorance knowing no more than I do now.' She concluded, hopefully: 'When I go to Greenfield I probably shall attend to my studies more than I do now.'³⁵

Louisa guided her children to navigate a society with its own particular structure and prevailing cultural values. The legal system of early nineteenth-century New England continued to be based on a system of patriarchy in which men controlled property and held primary responsibility for family maintenance. In agricultural households, women—wives and older daughters—made essential contributions to the family economy that were so intertwined with those of men that gender hierarchy might have seemed secondary in the face of life's daily realities despite the word of the law. But in the commercial center villages that emerged after the Revolution and proliferated along newly built turnpikes in the early nineteenth century, women's income-producing work was no longer integral to or even possible for middle- and upper-class households. Responding to this changed situation for rapidly growing numbers of such households, advice writers redefined a woman's role as the family's moral anchor. Education and religious training of children and protection of her husband against unwholesome influences in the world of business

33. September 2, 1830, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

34. December 28, 1832, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

35. February 7, 1835.

became a woman's obligation and responsibility.³⁶ Heady as this moral empowerment might have been, women remained secondary citizens in society, rarely having access to real property or comparable wages for comparable work, if it were available. In this context, a young woman's fate hinged on her marriage. In preparation, Louisa trained her daughters in the practical details of household management; to understand their inherent value as educated, Christian women; and to be aware in choosing a husband that there were men among their acquaintances who were not good husbands and fathers.

Jenny's View of Worcester

Worcester, Massachusetts, was a dynamic community during the time period covered in Jenny's journals and her writing shows a youthful awareness of some of the changes taking place. Her diaries begin one year after completion of the Blackstone Canal, a man-made water route that connected interior landlocked towns to the wider world of commerce and trade via the port of Providence, Rhode Island (fig. 3). The dedication of the canal, on October 7, 1829, marked a seminal moment in the history of Worcester. Although the canal was never a financial success for its investors and was eclipsed by railroads and closed just twenty years after opening, it set in motion rapid-fire development. Certainly the town was not static prior to the canal. Louisa noted in her diary in the spring of 1829: 'I have been this evening round our town and find many improvements. The busy world is ever on the wing and our canal brings new life to the business portion of our town. The change for fourteen years has been great, so great that we could not have believed had a prophet foretold.'³⁷

36. For a good overview of the 'cult of domesticity,' see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835* (1977; repr. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). A study of how women in Worcester worked within these obligations and constraints to affect change in their own lives and in their community, see Lawes, *Women and Reform*, and Lawes, 'Capitalizing on Mother, 342-95.

37. June 19, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

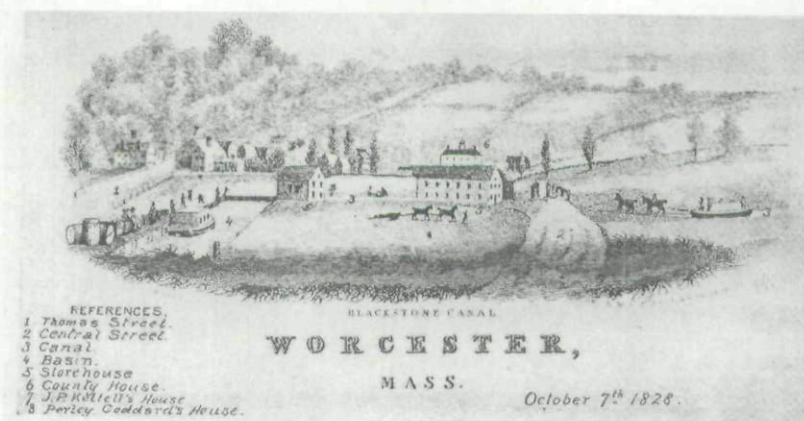


Fig. 3. The Thomas Street canal basin. Emblematic of the promise of the canal for the Worcester business community was its use as an illustration on a hat label. The brothers John P. and Daniel G. Kettell were partners in hat manufacturing, with a shop and factory located in a commercial block at 35 Main Street. Worcester Historical Museum.

The canal had dramatically quickened the pace of change and opened new possibilities. Worcester in the 1830s pulsed with optimism and entrepreneurial spirit. It was a potent time.

As county seat, Worcester enjoyed a unique trajectory of development among interior locales. Court weeks brought visitors into town and created a need for lodging and meals, laundry and livery services. By 1850 there were at least three hotels in operation near the courthouse. Artisans' shops and stores were soon established. In 1767, recognizing the market potential of the shire town, Boston merchants Samuel and Stephen Salisbury opened a branch store adjacent to the courthouse, advertising a greater variety of stock than was generally found in interior towns sold at 'direct market' prices that undercut rural storekeepers (they did not engage middlemen). Other seaboard merchants followed suit and soon a brisk commercial trade was part of each court week, as lawyers and their clients rode to town with empty wagons and neighbors' shopping lists. Worcester also contained some of the most fertile land in the county and farming—the basis of rural New England's early economy—prospered. The Worcester Agricultural

Society was incorporated in 1818, promoting scientific farming and serving as the town's most elite social organization throughout the nineteenth century.

Because of its central location in both the county and the commonwealth, Worcester served as a transportation hub between the coast and points west and south—crisscrossed first by Indian paths, then cart paths, turnpikes, and, after 1835, railroads. Many people, some of them celebrities, passed through town, often patronizing places of business and carrying news from places beyond. General George Washington breakfasted at a Main Street hotel en route to Boston in 1789. General Marquis de Lafayette breakfasted at the same hotel and dined at Governor Levi Lincoln's house during his celebrated return to the new republic in 1824. The governor frequently entertained national politicians and foreign dignitaries, occasions to which Jenny became a regular guest following her sister Elizabeth's engagement to the governor's son William Sever Lincoln in 1835. In the 1830s, Worcester became a routine stop on reformers' lecture circuits.

With its lawyers, judges, court officials, and clergy, nineteenth-century Worcester had a disproportionate number of college-educated gentlemen in comparison with other towns in the county and its built landscape was a reflection of greater wealth. Analysis of the 1798 Federal Direct Tax suggests more than one-third of the town's 276 dwelling houses had two stories, at a time when the preponderance of houses in Worcester County were 'low' or single story and many of them quite small.³⁸ Retired Yale President Timothy Dwight observed of Worcester when he traveled through New England and New York in the first decade of the nineteenth century: 'Few towns in New-England exhibit so uniform an appearance of neatness, and taste; or contain so great a proportion of good buildings, and so small a proportion of those which are indifferent, as Worcester. There is probably

38. Michael Steinitz, 'Landmark and Shelter: Domestic Architecture in the Cultural Landscape of the Central Uplands of Massachusetts' (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1988).

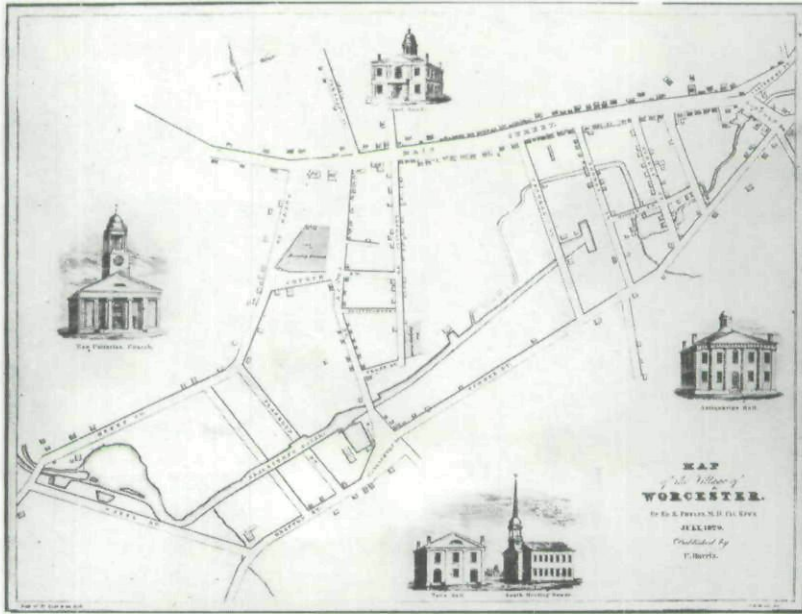


Fig. 4. 'Map of the Village of Worcester, by Ed. E. Phelps, M.D., Civil Engineer, July, 1829, published by C. Harris.' A detailed explanation of the residents and businesses indicated on this map may be found in Appendix 4. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

more wealth, in it, also, than in any other, which does not exceed it in dimensions, and number of inhabitants.' Dwight singled out one dwelling—a structure that also figures in Jenny Trumbull's account—for particular notice: 'The house erected by the late Gardiner Chandler, Esq. [1723–82], is one of the handsomest which I have met in the interior of the country.'³⁹ This was a large Georgian mansion that stood at the south end of Main Street on Nobility Hill, so named probably in the eighteenth century in reference to the elegant mansions of its wealthy residents. Corresponding to Court Hill at the north end of Main Street, this elevation was leveled in the later nineteenth century in the name of progress (figs. 4 and 5).

39. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, 4 vols. (1821; repr. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), I: 366–68.



Drawn by J. W. Barber—Engraved by J. Downes, Worcester.
MAIN STREET IN WORCESTER, MASS.

The above is a view taken at the south-western entrance of the Main street in Worcester. The old South Church and the Town-House appear on the right. A number of private residences are seen on the left. Main street is seen extending in the distance to the northward.

Fig. 5. 'Main Street in Worcester, Mass.' Drawn by J. W. Barber. Engraved by J. Downes, Worcester. 'The above is a view taken at the southwest entrance of the Main Street. The old South-Church and the Town-House appear on the right. A number of private residences are seen on the left. Main Street is seen extending in the distance to the northward.' John Warner Barber, *Historical Collections . . . Relating to the History and Antiquities of every town in Massachusetts* (Worcester: Dorr, 1841), 618. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

The diversity of occupations and services offered in Worcester can be gleaned from district school census lists compiled in 1826.⁴⁰ Many of the professionals, merchants, and artisans were concentrated in the center village. A majority of the households in the school districts beyond the center, like the county generally, were engaged in farming. Professionals included twenty court officials and attorneys, five ministers, five physicians, two bank officials, and a postmaster. Retail establishments included eleven bookbinders, booksellers, and printers; fourteen dry goods stores, and two bakeries (one of which had seven employees); five grocery and butcher shops; and three apothecaries. Twelve hotels

40. District school census lists for 1826, Box 4, Folder 7, Worcester, Massachusetts, Papers, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

and a stable served the traveling public. Trades involved in the production of clothing items were represented by six 'head' tailors (one of whom employed fourteen hands, and another, fifteen); three hatters who employed eleven persons; and five milliners and clothiers (the number of their employees was not specified). Other skilled tradesmen included five jewelers, watchmakers, and clockmakers (one of whom employed six hands); a gunsmith; four furniture makers; and seven ornamental painters. Among the artisanal trades represented were twenty-seven carpenters plus one specialized woodworker; nine blacksmiths; four masons and a gravestone carver; three saddle-makers and harness-makers' shops employing in all nine persons; two cordwainers' shops together employing seven hands and eight other shoe- and boot-makers. The town also had some larger-scale manufacturing, including a distillery and a brewery, a coach factory, a machine shop that employed twenty men, another five shops that together employed forty-four mechanics, and two paper mills that employed twenty men.

The 1829 *Worcester Village Directory*, compiled by Clarendon Harris, the proprietor of George Trumbull's former stationery store, shows even more diversity and growth in the nonagricultural sector of the population and economy, including significant expansion in the relatively new fields of banking and insurance.⁴¹ When Trumbull took the position of cashier at Central Bank in 1829,⁴² it was newly incorporated. When Citizens Bank opened in 1836 he moved, along with bank president Benjamin Butman, from one establishment to the other. A new era—one of rapid industrialization, immigration, and suburbanization—was ushered in following the opening of the Blackstone Canal. The business part of town soon extended eastward to Summer Street, creating a triangle of commerce, and along east-west streets between

41. Clarendon Harris, *Worcester Village Directory, Containing the Names of the Inhabitants, Their Dwelling Houses and Places of Business—Arranged According to the Streets and Squares to Accompany a Map of the Village of Worcester* (Worcester: Clarendon Harris, 1829).

42. 'My husband is now absent at Portsmouth. I tremble for his health, may he return to us and find pleasure in his new employment.' September 26, 1829, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

Summer and Main Street. Central Street was cut through between Main and Summer streets to provide access for the canal's terminal basin at Thomas Street and to facilitate the area's growth; it soon drew places of business.⁴³ Mechanic and Front streets, just north of the Common, filled in with new places of work. East of the Common, Washington Square exploded as a node of industry and enterprise and became home to an Irish immigrant population. With the advent of the first railroad line, Main Street houses were replaced with commercial blocks and the well-to-do moved into new dwellings built on residential roads freshly cut through old pastures, fields, and woodlots. In 1832, the fashionable mansion built by Gardiner Chandler was bought by a group of local lawyers and businessmen who turned it into a school for young ladies; Jenny's older sisters Elizabeth and Caroline were enrolled at its opening.

It is plausible to imagine that Harris published the *Village Directory* with its map and house directory in 1829 to establish a sense of order—at least for the moment—in the face of change (fig. 6). It is a record of people and places, and, perhaps as well, a measure of civic pride. The map is rimmed with drawings of significant public buildings—the third Worcester County Courthouse, the recently built Town Hall and Antiquarian Hall, the new Unitarian church, and the venerable South Meetinghouse. Much of what he recorded was transformed by 1833, when the next map was drawn.

South Street, where the Trumbulls lived, ran from east to west south of the common, connecting Main and Franklin streets and eventually merging into Green Street. The Trumbulls' house stood on a five-acre parcel that included tall shade trees, ornamental and vegetable gardens tended by the family,⁴⁴ a wood

43. Frederick G. Stiles, 'Recollections of Central and Thomas Streets in the Thirties of 1800,' *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity* 8 (1800): 542–54.

44. 'My husband's health is on the whole better than for several years. He rises early and works at his favourite employment, the garden, for several hours, then goes to his duty at the Bank where he is constantly occupied all day. He then drinks his tea and goes to his garden again.' August 17, 1831, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

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WORCESTER.



View at the north entrance to the village of Worcester.

Fig. 6. 'View at the north entrance to the village of Worcester. Court House, at center the Unitarian church and spire on the left is the Central Church.' Barber, *Historical Collections*, 620. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

house, and other outbuildings such as a small shelter for their cow. No antiquarians recorded memories of this street. Although Harris listed fifteen properties in the directory, the twelve buildings drawn on the map were not numbered. However, from Jenny's description of Green Street in 1835, it is evident that this part of town also experienced considerable change, effectively becoming part of the center village as economic development pushed outward. After riding out in her neighborhood that spring, following several months of confinement due to illness, the twelve-year-old marveled to her diary: 'Greene Street has increased amazingly in the course of a year. The houses seem to be formed and placed here by enchantment. I can hardly realise the change which has been affected. In fact the whole town has altered very much. Old houses are continually coming down and new ones as continually filling their places.'⁴⁵

45. May 9, 1835.

By comparison to Worcester in the pre-canal era, the years covered in Jenny's diaries were a time of remarkable mobility as well as economic growth and physical development within the city. An impressionistic measure of economic activity could be observed on the first day of April, the date that marked the onset of the eight-month agricultural season and when leases traditionally began and expired. On April 1, 1835, Jenny noted: 'We have seen many people pass by with their goods and chattels.'⁴⁶ The renters in transit on 'moving day' included young professionals, widows, friends, and even relations, as well as the many artisans and mechanics, who hoped to secure a foothold in the town's expanding industrial economy. Nearly every spring Jenny provided many specifics of who moved from where to where as well as the names of some landlords, including her father, and her favorite new neighbors. With young adults represented in increasing numbers in the population, it became more fluid. Analysis of federal manuscript census returns for 1820 shows that the number of people in the age cohort from sixteen to twenty-five only slightly outnumbered those who were between twenty-six and forty-five and those over forty-five. In the 1830 census, reflecting revised age cohorts, by contrast, there is a spike in the number of people ages twenty through twenty-nine (higher for men than women), nearly double the number of people in their thirties, and three times greater than the number of people between the ages of forty and forty-nine. At the same time, tracking names of heads of household in 1820, 1830, and 1840 shows a steady decline in persistence, although not generally within Jenny's circle, and an overall increase in the population, from 2,962 in 1820 to 4,173 in 1830, and 7,498 in 1840. By 1850, this figure had leaped to 17,049.

The first new group of immigrants to arrive in substantial numbers to help meet Worcester's growing need for labor—both heavy and domestic—came from Ireland.⁴⁷ Agents had travelled

46. April 1, 1835.

47. A small company of Scots settled briefly in Worcester in the early eighteenth century, but were met with such hostility they moved on. William Lincoln and Charles Hersey, *History of Worcester, Massachusetts* (1835; repr. Worcester: Charles Hersey, 1862), 48.

to Ireland seeking canal diggers to work on New York's Erie Canal, and some of these men were a source of labor when work began on the Blackstone Canal. In 1826 an experienced crew of about thirty came to Worcester under fellow Irishman Tobias Boland's leadership to dig the canal bed. Reportedly, Yankee women were so frightened at the presence of Irish Catholics that they could not even walk down Main Street. The Irish built a shantytown in a swampy, unpopulated area that grew as more canal workers arrived. After the canal opened in 1828, the Irish workers stayed, finding work on infrastructure projects that related to the canal. They were soon joined by more Irish crews hired to lay railroad tracks. In 1834 the first Roman Catholic church in all of Worcester County was built; the Irish were now a permanent part of the community and would in time become a formidable political force.

Like many Worcester residents, the Trumbull family looked with suspicion on the growing numbers of Irish in town in the 1820s and 1830s. Some of them boarded in an old wooden building—a distillery-turned-boardinghouse—at Washington Square called the Arcade, located not far from the Trumbull mansion. A diary entry in the spring of 1835 revealed both Jenny's awareness of their presence and a disquietude that surely reflected the sentiments of her family and social class generally. 'We have for two or three nights lost our milk;⁴⁸ probably stole by some of the inhabitants of the *Arcade*.' When riding out of town (on her first visit to Milton) not long after the milk incident, she saw the squalid camp of more recent immigrants. Her response no doubt incorporated opinions she was hearing at home. Upon arriving at the Forbes estate, the twelve-year-old recounted her journey and pleasant welcome, and also: 'We passed by the *shantys* of the Irishmen at work on the railroad and more miserable hovels I never saw. No opening or window, save the door, a barrel answering the purpose of a chimney. The sides of the house had

48. June 3, 1835. The Trumbulls kept a cow (for milk), sometimes a pig, and also cultivated a kitchen garden, as was common for early nineteenth-century center village households.

sods upon them, yet it is said that they are better off than in Ireland, because here they *can* get food.⁴⁹

Despite a vague suspicion of Irish workers in general, several branches of the Trumbull family hired Irish immigrants to work in their households. This was more out of practical necessity than choice; Yankee girls moved out of service as other employment options opened in the early nineteenth century, and Irish girls filled the void.⁵⁰ Catherine, an Irish hired girl employed by Jenny's great aunt, Harriet Paine Bradish, became well known to Jenny's family through her length of service. Her Catholic wedding in 1833 aroused their keen interest. Jenny wrote on November 15: 'Catherine was married Monday night by an itinerant Catholick priest who came from Hartford. . . . Josephine Rose went. I wish I could have gone. Cousin Sarah Paine also went and staid all night and in the morning came over here and Mother told her and pressed her so much to stay that finally Cousin Sarah consented.'⁵¹ Later, Elizabeth wrote a full report of Sarah Paine's detailed account to their brother George away at school.⁵² A comment Jenny made in a letter written shortly after the wedding highlights the cultural gap between poor Irish servants and their Yankee employers. 'Since I last wrote we have had a girl, an Irish girl, but she is very dirty and she quarrels with Nancy a great deal and Mother is not going to keep her. Her name is Catherine Rays. She is very pleasant but the kitchen is a most horrid sight.'⁵³ In 1836 Jenny reported: 'Mother has engaged a little Irish girl to live here, Mary Davenler by name, but I don't know when she will come. She will be quite a little help to us, I presume.'⁵⁴ Other Irish women came to do laundry by the day.

49. June 10, 1835.

50. While this outlines the general trend, there were, of course, exceptions. Analysis of help in the Worcester households of Widow Elizabeth Tuckerman Salisbury and that of her son Stephen and wife Rebekah Scott Dean Salisbury show remarkable persistence of the old system of 'looking up' among friends and acquaintances. Salisbury Family Papers, Manuscript Collection, American Antiquarian Society.

51. November 15, 1833.

52. Her letter is in the Lincoln Family Papers at the American Antiquarian Society.

53. December 25, 1833. Nancy is an orphan living with the family.

54. May 7, 1836.

Recognition of the expanding civic needs of the community led to such developments as the construction of the Town Hall in 1825. Three years later officials authorized laying brick sidewalks along Main Street to mitigate accidents and improve traffic flow. By-laws were enacted to regulate civility. In 1829—the year Jenny began writing—nude bathing in the Blackstone Canal and other waterways was banned during the daylight hours of canal operations, with violators subject to fines ranging from two to ten dollars. In 1833 disposal of animal carcasses in the canal and other waterways was banned, under penalty of a fine ranging from five to ten dollars. That year officials also passed prohibitions on sledding in the streets, navigating wheeled vehicles on sidewalks, driving carriages at an ‘immoderate gait’ in the streets, polluting public wells, and obstructing public roads. In 1835 officials established a fire department and published a code of fire regulations.⁵⁵

In the same year, the Boston and Worcester Railroad opened the Foster Street Railroad Depot, on a newly laid-out street that ran eastward off Main Street. With Foster Street now directly opposite his elegant and hospitable mansion, Governor Lincoln had a road—Elm Street—cut through his farmland on the edge of the village, where he built a mansion in the Greek Revival style.⁵⁶ Alfred D. Foster, who sold the land for the new street, also sold his house and moved to the ‘suburbs,’ the area around present-day Elm and Chestnut streets. Both Foster’s and Lincoln’s former houses became hotels catering to railroad passengers. Rail lines terminating at the depot reconfigured the lower part of center village and effectively disrupted an older way of life, right down to where one could and could not walk ‘down street.’ The town was changing palpably right before Jenny’s eyes, and, living on South Street, her family was in the thick of it.

55. Extracted from Minutes of Town Meetings, 1829–1835.

56. When urban renewal threatened its future, this house was given to Old Sturbridge Village to preserve and now stands on Route 20, where it is home to Country Curtains.

Jenny Trumbull was born into a family that was elite but not affluent. The social stature of her extended family helped shape her perceptions and expectations. The Claps and Stones on her mother's side had lived in Massachusetts for many generations in the towns of Rutland, Hardwick, Greenfield, and Boston, and included respected ministers, physicians, political figures, military leaders, and men of letters. On her father's side, relations included the illustrious and politically powerful Trumbull family of Connecticut, the Perkins merchant princes of Boston and Salem and their numerous distinguished relations (including the Forbes, Murrays, Russells, and Abbots), and the Paines and Chandlers who ranked among the most elite and influential Worcester families. Encouraged by her mother and documented in each of the diary volumes, she learned to move comfortably and easily among the elite. Through her out-of-town relatives, she was exposed to wealthy and prominent people who offered her experiences not shared by most girls of her age.

Jenny—often 'dear Jenny' in the mother's diaries—was the only one about whom the parent had no reservations in a review of the temperaments and inclinations of her older children in January 1830. The mother's observation and capsule reviews of each child provide an adult introduction to the siblings, whose youthful activities we will see through Jenny's eyes, at a particular point in time. Eleven-year-old George's 'faithful and industrious habits are a great source of comfort, and his strict adherence of truth is no small satisfaction,' wrote Louisa, also noting his need to 'gain in maturity.' Elizabeth, age thirteen, bore 'strong marks of mind and integrity,' but also had 'a spirit of independence and sometimes opposition to my wishes when they come into contact with my own.' Nine-year-old Caroline 'is usually mild and gentle but when her angry spirit is aroused, I am baffled at any attempt to bring her to sense and reason. She is affectionate and yet selfish.' As for her seven-year-old: 'Jenny is active and obliging *to all* and

tender of feeling *to all*. Her disposition should be guarded with more than common care lest the gentle spirit be broken & the strong passions be soused or crashed by too strong a bearing upon her mind.⁵⁷ The others were too young to receive more than brief notice. In 1832 Louisa again commented on Jenny's sensitive and tender disposition, relating: 'Dear Jenny the other day told me one of the school boys ran after her & she thought of going to tell their mistress but she recollected how many whippings the poor little fellow had & she thought if by silence she could save one she concluded not to notice it. She . . . is so affectionate and confiding I fear I love her too well. She went a few days to see a caravan of animals. Upon coming home she announced she was delighted with them but it hurt her feelings so much to see how the poor monkeys feared their masters. She knew they were afraid of the whip & said they looked so tired she could not bear to witness their tricks, which were only to amuse people & it was hard to appear to play when they felt so. This kindly feeling is in all her actions & often she makes me ashamed of my deficiencies by her strict adherence to principles.'⁵⁸ One winter evening in 1833 Louisa wrote: 'I just have been the rounds to see that "all is well" & dear Jenny roused & begged for the night parting kiss. She is a dear affectionate child. Heaven shield her officious [kind] heart from the world's blight.'⁵⁹

Although the journal that Jenny Trumbull began to keep at the age of seven begins with brief, matter-of-fact notes describing family, visiting, and school, it also incorporates intimate details and increasingly perceptive commentary on her life. But sometimes she just has fun: 'I went to Mrs. Vose's this afternoon and had a very good time. Caroline and Elizabeth have gone to the Miss Kinnicutts this afternoon. We made some molasses candy and it is very good.' Jenny wrote about imaginary play, such as a pretend tea party when she was seven. 'Caroline and I played in

57. January 9, 1830, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

58. August 10, 1832, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

59. January 4, 1833, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

the wood house chamber and made tea and had beans for bread, and we called beans without being shelled cake.⁶⁰ She occasionally described a new gown or hat, twice gave detailed descriptions of Elizabeth's attire for cattle show balls, and once itemized new winter clothing for several family members. She noted in November 1834, at age twelve: 'I am dressed this winter in a claret coloured pelisse with velvet of the same colour, a claret coloured watered silk bonnet lined with blue watered silk, a black merino and a blue & green silk and dark calico dresses.'⁶¹ From one of her numerous Episcopalian relations, the ten-year-old being raised in a Unitarian household learned of an old English folkway related to Christmas, a holiday that was not then celebrated in New England. 'Tuesday was Christmas and Aunt Bradish requested me to set down what was the weather on Christmas Holidays because she said that *folks* said "that whatever the weather was on them days, the twelve months of the next year would be." So I guess I will set them down.⁶²

At other times, the children's activity relates to pencils, paper, and reading: 'I am going to draw my little brother Joseph today, because George drew him yesterday, and it is my turn today. Sarah reads in the testament. Joseph reads in two syllables,' Jenny wrote. The beginning and ending of school terms was noted regularly: 'School will begin on Monday. Oh dear! What shall I do? I am sure *I* don't want to go to school to learn Geography and History!'⁶³ But Louisa encouraged her children to do their homework assignments for school, remembering them not only as a time for study, but study within the context of family: 'The evenings after school when books and work were brought, the table drawn close to the fire, and lamps placed to favour all. Elizabeth

60. September 8, 1830.

61. November 23, 1834.

62. December 29, 1832. Christmas was first celebrated in New England in 1835, by German-born Dr. Charles Follen and family in Cambridge. Observance of the holiday did not become widespread until much later in the century. Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), ch. 5.

63. November 7, December 5, and November 9, 1829.

with directions, helping and doing. George, Caroline, and Jane each with characteristics well remembered, the younger children in their beds, sometimes baby in sideboard drawer when nurse was away.⁶⁴ Reading aloud was one of the activities the sisters did together and, after visiting a convalescing older relative in October 1833, the eleven-year-old diarist noted: 'I read to Cousin Sarah,⁶⁵ *Civility Savage* was what I read, taken from "an unpublished novel." She was much, very much pleased with it.'⁶⁶ Jenny also describes trips 'down street' to the Lyceum Society library. On the corner of Main and School streets, its collection numbered approximately five hundred titles. Lists of book titles appear in the diary and are offered without any commentary, although several entries indicate that the children received books as gifts in addition to those they borrowed from the library.

On January 29, 1834, when she was eleven, the young diarist wrote an account of a full day starting with what she did at home before meeting a friend to go into the village. This trip involved making purchases at two stationery stores. The day ended with some reading and writing: 'I then read some in the *Juvenile Repository* and have spent my evening in writing in my journal.'⁶⁷ Neither the mother nor the child states that they discussed what should be included in the diary. However, there are times when the child's entries sometimes appeared to simply parrot her mother's choice of words, such as when her grandmother Trumbull died. Jenny wrote: 'We of course feel very sad at Grandmother's death but we must think it is all best and look to God for our consolation in all our trials for all things are for our good. We may feel assured that she is now happy as she was such a good woman.'⁶⁸ Louisa wrote: 'Where shall we look for consolation? It

64. Insert note about evening reading.

65. October 29, 1833. Sarah Paine was actually a cousin of her mother. Throughout her diaries Jenny refers to her older relatives by their relationship to her parents.

66. See for example, January 23, 18xx, September 9, 1833, October 29, 1833, and January 29, 1834, Louisa Jane Trumbull.

67. January 29, 1834.

68. July 13, 1832.

is a trial which Heaven has seen fit to visit us and we must bow in submission. Let us endeavour to be still and in all our doings have an eye upon the giver of all good gifts & who is able to support & comfort us.'⁶⁹ In other entries, Jenny incorporated her mother's admonitions with her own sentiments. When mourning little Johnny's death in 1833, she wrote: 'We used to think he made a great deal of noise; oh! if we could only hear his little step, how thankful we should be.' This outpouring she followed immediately with: 'Yet why should we wish him back again, for we have reason to think he is now happier than we could ever have made him.'⁷⁰

During the years of Jenny's first journal, George A. Trumbull's poor health and his business investments and reversals were, not surprisingly, of greater concern to the mother than to the child. She says nothing about the purchase of a farm in 1830, for example, but is more interested in the acquisition of a Chickering piano in 1832. Jenny must have gradually become aware of their father's shortcomings as a breadwinner because in 1835 she wrote that poor investments bankrupted her father. But she confided to the page: 'I need not say this is a new and important event in the history of our little family circle. I shall make no remarks upon this for they require none save to say that Father is universally pitied.'⁷¹ Louisa's diary during this period reveals that the family received more than pity; they were forced to rely upon the kindness of others to get by.⁷² Jenny expressed gratitude on several occasions when wealthy friends and relatives gave her hand-me-down clothing. In the early months of 1835, Jenny observed that Caroline 'made a visit in Boston of a month [and] took musick lessons with the hope she might instruct' and at her return

69. July 13, 1832, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

70. February 8, 1833.

71. February 7, 1835.

72. Reflecting on twenty years of marriage, she wrote: "Pecuniary trials have come upon us, the world's goods have taken wings and as it were in a moment our prospects of future care and independence have been cut off. This I have striven to receive with propriety and humility." Retrospective entry, September 20, 1835, Louisa Clap Trumbull. Between 1835 and 1845, George Trumbull's business loans were repaid.

opened a school for young scholars. Her brother George went off to New York City with Frink relations in search of employment, making him the first to move beyond the family circle,⁷³ although he returned home after the Panic of 1837 cost him his job. Not once do her diary entries in any way relate events such as these to economic necessity.

As Jenny matured, she began to pour her reflections and feelings into the diary's pages. She frequently expressed admiration for the exemplary way her oldest sister Elizabeth conducted her life, and how much she missed her during her absences at school. 'In ten weeks Elizabeth will come home!! Oh!! How glad I shall be!!!' she wrote in the winter of 1833, counting down the days until her sister's return.⁷⁴ Shortly after her tenth birthday she compared herself to Elizabeth: 'I hope that I can sometime or other be as good as she is and a blessing to my dear Father and Mother, who have *done* so much, and are *continually* doing so much for me.'⁷⁵ At age eleven she detected a sign of character improvement, writing: 'I have spent a very happy day today, in fact I have not been so happy as I have been today for this long while. . . . I suppose one reason of my being so happy today is because I have tried to be as pleasant as I possibly could and I think I have succeeded tolerably well.'⁷⁶

She gave her opinion about the downside of being part of a large family of children. At age twelve, having been invited to visit Greenfield relatives, she confided to her journal: 'I wish much to go for I am sick of the noise and crying of our little children and glad shall I be to go there where in the quiet of Aunt Susan's family I shall for a short time at least escape that noise which is daily and hourly made by each child from Sarah down to Isabella.'⁷⁷ When two years later Jenny learned that her mother was expecting another baby (the eleventh) she commented, for

73. April 9, 1835, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

74. February 11, 1833.

75. February 7, 1833.

76. January 29, 1834.

77. February 7, 1835.

only her eyes to see, it was 'much to my disappointment as I had firmly hoped this business would be over and done.'⁷⁸ She noticed the physical and emotional toll her mother paid for having so large a family. On an occasion in 1835, when Louisa took a rare break from household duties to visit Paine relations, Jenny expressed her pleasure: 'I am glad of it for I think it will do her good to mix a little with some of her fellow mortals.'⁷⁹

Jenny's diaries show that, with the guidance of her mother, as she grew older she gained insight into the darker side of human nature. When the Trumbulls learned after she left their employ that their much-loved former hired girl Sally had been prevented from receiving invitations to pay social visits by the theft and deception of the girl's jealous sister, Jenny exploded, 'I certainly think it is the most outrageous thing that ever was overheard,' likely reflecting her mother's outrage over this display of dishonesty and disrespect.⁸⁰ Jenny anguished over her older sisters' friend Ellen Bigelow, whose father absconded with all their money, and whose mother, in despair, committed suicide. In explaining this unhappy event to her daughter, Louisa condemned both parents. 'Mother says she [Mrs. Bigelow] had a very wicked husband,' Jenny wrote. 'He ran away to Ohio and left his wife and children wholly destitute. And it is likely that a weight of trouble and sorrow oppressed her so much that she wickedly determined to take away her life which God had given her; and so her poor children! What will become of them?'⁸¹ Several years later, Louisa explained the facts of another unfortunate event, the death of twenty-six-year-old Susan Orne McFarland. Thirteen-year-old Jenny wrote of widower Andrew McFarland's professed desire for prayers that he 'might not sink under this afflicting event,' but told

78. October 31, 1836, Louisa Jane Trumbull, *Journal* 4, June 23, 1836-June 25, 1837.

79. June 3, 1835.

80. November 3, 1833.

81. April 9, 1833. Ellen kept school for a time, but then in 1835 moved with a newly married sister to Peoria, Illinois, where she could be a helpmate in the household as their family grew.

her journal she was wise to his insincerity.⁸² Her mother even told her the name of the young woman he had clandestinely called upon while his wife lay ill. Louisa had perhaps shared the sordid details with her daughter as a warning: McFarland was from a local family, college-educated, and a promising young lawyer; by all appearances he should have made a good husband.

When, like her older sisters, Jenny visited her prominent Boston and Milton relations, she pondered their airs and pretensions, but also expressed affectionate admiration for this grace and generosity toward her. She found the social swirl of her visits to these families enchanting, with people of high influence and worldly knowledge constantly visiting for teas and dinners, a coachman to drive them about, a private lake for boat rides, and ornamental gardens to stroll through at leisure. The extraordinary level of detail in her numerous entries relating to these visits paints a vivid portrait of life in elite New England society in the mid-1830s, and her delight at being a part of it.⁸³

While Jenny was steeped in and largely bounded by her world of immediate and extended family, the diaries reveal her awareness of some of the poverty around her. 'We saw a poor old man laying on his pack on the grass asleep,' was her comment after riding out for pleasure with friends two days before her eighth birthday.⁸⁴ On a visit to Milton at age twelve that included a flurry of entries describing genteel pastimes, she recorded journeying to the edge of town with cousin Emma Forbes to carry Village Benevolent Society relief funds to a poor black woman whose children were gravely ill and husband injured from a work-related accident.⁸⁵

Jenny's journals contain other evidence of her interest in the world beyond the family in the topics of several of the school compositions that she copied into her journals. Written when she

82. May 21, 1836.

83. These visits begin in June 1835, when Jenny was nearing thirteen, and are described in her third and fourth journals.

84. October 20, 1830.

85. June 13, 1835.

was age ten and eleven, she preserved them to be read 'at some future time.'⁸⁶ Her essays covered a variety of subjects: letter writing; religion, benevolence, and patience; slaves and slavery. The subject of race would have been hard to ignore in a household with relatives who had once lived on a cotton plantation in Natchez, Mississippi, and owned slaves, and others in Worcester who returned from Antigua with an emancipated woman who then lived in the family as the housekeeper. Other contemporary issues apparently did not capture Jenny's interest and may not have been topics of discussion in her household. For example the years spanned in her diaries were electrically charged with the spirit of reform—temperance,⁸⁷ abolition, health, and education, to name a few—and Worcester was a center of reform activity.⁸⁸ Worcester lecture halls regularly hosted reform-minded speakers, including well-known abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Abby Kelley Foster, an outspoken leader in both the antislavery and women's rights movements, lived in town. Jenny noted frequent attendance at Lyceum lectures, though rarely did she identify topics and even more rarely did she comment upon them. At age eleven she wrote: 'When father went to Boston there was a man in the stage who was a member of the Graham system so-called, because a man by the name of Graham founded it. They *don't* eat meat or drink coffee, tea, or spirits, and they *do* eat rice, water, bread, and milk, and potatoes, all vegetables and natural productions. They have a tavern in New York called the Graham house on this system. This man said he and his wife and child had not eat any meat for two years. Only think of

86. February 12, 1833.

87. Christopher Columbus Baldwin of Worcester recorded a street brawl following the narrow passage of a resolution to ban alcohol from taverns at a town meeting in 1835 in his diary. Although the Trumbull family was acquainted with the men involved, and it is clear from Baldwin's account that the incident stirred much agitation in the community, Jenny made no mention of it. April 1 1835, April 6, 1835, *Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin*, Nathaniel Paine, ed. (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1902).

88. See John L. Brooke, *The Heart of the Commonwealth: Society and Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts, 1713-1861* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3.

it.⁸⁹ But when Sylvester Graham came to Worcester two years later, Jenny went to hear his lecture. She recorded: 'I liked him very much indeed.'⁹⁰

By the 1830s, so many conventions and lectures were held in Worcester that streets were thronged with strangers and newspapers were filled with reports about one meeting or another. In the contemporary diary kept by the young librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Christopher Columbus Baldwin, records the complaint that the constant swirl of speakers and swelling crowds could not be escaped. But the reader of Jenny's—or her mother's—journals would have no inkling of this, nor suspect the deep-seated radicalism that thrived among members of the town's middle and working classes. Isolated occurrences that fueled local gossip but did not threaten the fabric of community—such as the mournful cries of a crazy man disturbing the night sky, the foreigner barging uninvited into the house of a sick woman during a smallpox epidemic, the untoward proposal of an old man to a widow above his social stature ('she declined, *of course*')—were recorded, no doubt after hearing her mother and father talk of them.⁹¹ But issues of wide-sweeping social reform, no. This was the case among the town's elite inner circle generally; they were not on the whole in the vanguard of reform.⁹²

Jenny's Adult Life

At the close of her last surviving journal, Jenny was approaching the age of fifteen and visiting her Forbes relations in Milton. She wrote her final entry after tea, on a pleasant Sunday afternoon in June 1837. She had read a letter from home; she wrote some

89. March 29, 1834.

90. October 1, 1836.

91. March 27, 1835.

92. Brooke, *Heart of the Commonwealth*, part 3. Also see correspondence in the Lincoln Family Papers and Salisbury Family Papers in the AAS manuscript collection.

family news, an account of her immediate social activities; and, remarking that all—both distant and nearby—were well, concluded the journal. By all accounts, Jenny could be considered grown up. She was an educated and well-read young woman, who knew the ways of polite society and socialized easily with some of the most influential New Englanders of her day. Emblematic of her desire to be considered adult, she had purchased and begun to wear stays during that visit to Milton. Her concluding words, 'no more now,' end our intimate glimpse into her youthful life.⁹³

Jenny had learned to take advantage of educational, cultural, and social opportunities at home and to look eastward for worldly and exciting experiences beyond the limits of what Worcester society could offer. Louisa no doubt expected Jenny to choose a husband from among her many New England acquaintances, as her older sisters had done. But this was not to be the case. In 1835 Jenny's sister Elizabeth married William Sever Lincoln (1811–89), an attorney (appendix 2–19). William opened a law office near Worcester in Millbury, but three years later they moved west.⁹⁴ The couple removed to Alton, Illinois, a frontier town built at the convergence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, rich with promise of becoming an important commercial city. There, their first two children were born. Following the family custom, Jenny went west to help with her nephew Levi in 1844, but a year later, Elizabeth's poor health dictated a return to Worcester. Jenny, now Jane, did not return with them. She had become engaged to Henry Lea, an established Alton merchant nineteen years her senior. The couple married in Worcester on September 2, 1845, then 'went westward in September after visiting Mr. Lea's friends on the way.'⁹⁵

Nearly every summer, Jenny returned to her childhood home for a long visit. The first summer after her marriage, she and her

93. Stays are the bones within the corset that provide a close-fitting support of the upper body that defined a fashionable appearance. June 25, 1837.

94. January 21, 1838, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

95. Retrospective entry, January 1864, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

sister Caroline, who was living in Boston, both returned home to await the birth of babies. On July 1, 1846, Jenny's only child, James Henry Lea, was born, and on July 15, Caroline gave birth to Louisa Trumbull Blake. Their mother confided to her journal:

'These two sisters whose childhood and youth had been spent as loving sisters came to the old home to be together through their confinements, had the same nurse, and were confined in the west parlor chamber. The season was one of much satisfaction to all our family. Their father enjoyed having them once more in our midst.' 'In the sixteen years of her married life I think only three summers have been spent away from us,' Louisa noted in 1862, complaining how 'One obstacle after another rises to obstruct, and now the wicked war comes, and comes, almost at their door, so that for months we were thinking they would flee from all their business prospects and come to us for safety.' Jenny was an active participant in the Union war effort: 'Alton has the war very near, the rebels at St. Louis and soldiers in their midst, as well as prisoners to care for. Jenny has worked diligently and visited with good things in hand, relieving the sufferers at hospitals near her. Susan too has been interested in doing all she could.'⁹⁶

The following year, Henry Lea retired and made plans to settle his business affairs and return to live in Wilmington, Delaware. For the next few years, they established a pattern of visiting Worcester every summer and travelling to healthful resorts with Trumbull relations, until the fall of 1879, when Henry Lea's final illness interrupted this custom. 'Jane, with heart-breaking, witnessing the suffering of Mr. Lea with no hope but by release in death, doing with all her might whatever seems best for all.'⁹⁷ Henry died on January 5, 1881, after which Jenny returned to Massachusetts to reside with her son, who had been a publisher in Boston, and his family in Fairhaven where she died on January 30, 1890.

96. Retrospective entry, 1846 and May 27, 1862, Louisa Clap Trumbull. Closer to home, daughter Elizabeth's husband and two of her sons enlisted, as did Louisa's sons Charles and George. Louisa, for her part, established the Soldiers' Relief Society in Worcester.

97. September 3 and 13, 1879, Louisa Clap Trumbull.

Louisa Clap Trumbull resumed keeping a diary in 1829 with the statement: 'The earliest days of my recollection were those of joy and grief. I cannot think that the popular idea that childhood is a cloudless scene a correct one.' As Jenny's diary reveals, highs and lows were part of her daughters' youth and adolescence as well. Her friendships with Hester Newton and her cousins and school friends brought her joy. They were the children of Worcester's lawyers and professionals living comfortably in the center village. Her visits to her wealthy cousins in Milton that play a larger role in the later volumes of the diaries were pleasurable extensions of her association with Massachusetts elite families. She was happiest when the family was all together with the older sisters she admired home from school. But there were low moments, even grief, as well. George A. Trumbull's business difficulties did intrude on their security, even if Jenny did not dwell on them to the extent that her mother did. The death of Johnny and the depth of the grief into which both mother and daughter plunged and expressed in the pages of their diaries offer a glimpse of the family's need to mourn.

Jenny had to come to terms with more than change in the family circle. Worcester was changing, too. She appeared to love her freedom to move around the center of town with her friends. But in her account of all the changes that she noticed when she went out for the first time after her six-month illness and confinement at home in 1834-35, she revealed how unsettling it was not to recognize once-familiar surroundings. We get a child's perception of a rapidly urbanizing community in the prosperous early 1830s. New buildings had replaced old ones that were torn down or moved. Nor did it escape her notice that economic growth also attracted a new, ethnic population—canal builders who were Irish; Irish women hired as household help. Housed at first in shantytowns, as they married and settled, they established a new community served by Catholic priests.

We do not know how much Jenny understood about the business affairs of the Burlings and Bradishes in Natchez, or of the Roses in Antigua, or what drew Donato Gherardi to New Orleans. She does not intimate that adults whispered about their business, either the labor they employed or the cotton that they traded. However, she copied a composition titled 'On Slaves and Slavery' into her journal in February 1833, in which she deplored its 'inhumanity' and describes the colonization project in Sierra Leone. If she was aware of problems other than the harshness of the climate represented by these families' business activities, the diaries do not reveal it.

Louisa Clap Trumbull would not have known precisely what her daughter would observe, but she knew from her own experience that a journal would help her keep her childhood in perspective.

A Note on My Editorial Practices

Bracketed information is inserted for clarity.

Phrases in parentheses are in original text.

Punctuation has been corrected for ease of reading.

Jenny's spelling has been retained except in cases of misspelled proper names and a few instances where her version rendered a word unintelligible.

Bracketed page numbers indicate journal pages.

Street addresses cited can be matched against the 'Map of the Village of Worcester' July 1829, appendix 3, for a sense of the geography of Jenny's world.

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