

**THE PRIVATE JOURNALS OF C. W. MOWLL:
FAMILY, POLITICS AND POWER
IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY BOSTON**

By

Barbara Walker

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Liberal Studies

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Mowll/Mowle family members who cherish their heritage.

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ABSTRACT

Charles Wills Mowll's *Private Journals* cover less than three years of an English immigrant's life in mid-nineteenth century Boston. His ruminations may be minor compared to well-known diarists or journal keepers of the time, but in such everyday things, history lives. Mowll's story is presented thematically around his family, church, work, living standards, civic life, powerful friends and health matters. His is a valuable story about hopes for success and the reality experienced by an immigrant aspiring to a genteel life in his adopted home.

Mowll came from a line of noted English mariners, but in 1849 he chose to bring his family to America. His efforts to be accepted by Boston middle-class society came at a time when industrialization, political turmoil over slavery, financial hardships, and health issues worked against him. Despite support from his religious community and hopes for social mobility and economic opportunity, Mowll struggled in a city filled with immigrants and American country folk reaching for the same American Dream.

Mowll's paymaster experience in the Royal Navy Slaver Fleet qualified him for a white-collar bookkeeper position with Littell publishers in Boston, but the Bank Panic of 1857 brought difficult economic times. Mowll also served as sexton at his church in East Cambridge, but his sexton's pay was slow due to the financial hard times. Powerful people helped but also created heartaches for the Mowlls. The Reverends E. N. Kirk and J. W. Chickering, Mrs. Ann Eliza Safford and former

Maine governor William George Crosby all assisted the Mowlls through guardianships, job procurement, and financial assistance. The Mowlls were indebted to them, but their charity weighed on Mowll family independence.

As the bad economic situation continued, Mowll's position at Littell weakened. Continuing health issues, probably resulting from his bout of yellow fever in the Royal Navy, were onerous and possibly affected his employment, which was terminated 17 April 1860. On 30 September 1862, Charles Wills Mowll, at age forty-six, died from consumption. His employment at death was laborer. Mowll's story and his family's testify to the contingencies affecting social change within an ideology of optimism.

You choose some things and some things choose you.

J. Ritchie Garrison, Director, University of Delaware, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture
Material Culture Symposium for Emerging Scholars, April 2003

FOREWORD

C. W. Mowll surreptitiously entered my life about five years ago when I bought a box of prints and old papers at auction. His *Private Journals (Nos. Four-Seven)* had languished in a drawer.¹ A penciled note on the cover of *Journal No. Five* read: “These are the papers we found in the sideboard...the date of the sideboard is about 1825.” The note is not signed or dated, but the handwriting is obviously not Mowll’s.² I purchased the journals, dated 4 May 1857 through 17 April 1860, in a lot with a small photo album tucked beneath early twentieth century French architectural prints. Today I believe the French prints belonged to Mowll’s grandson, William Luther Mowll, Harvard class of 1899, Rotch Traveling Scholar, 1901-1903; instructor and assistant professor of architecture at Harvard University, 1903-1910, and then Boston architect and author.³

As I read and reread C. W. Mowll’s journals, I struggled with his penmanship and writing peculiarities of the day, such as random capitalization of words and inconsistent punctuation. I listed all names to sort out actors and uncover persons represented by initials Mowll sometimes used. More importantly I noted all events and places he described, explored ideas and locations surrounding them, and strove to piece together local, national and international history as it touched Mowll family fortunes and misfortunes. For me, Mowll’s journals opened a door on streets, homes and churches in

Boston and East Cambridge some 150 years ago; walking through that door transformed strangers into real people with hopes, dreams and stories, which are now a meaningful part of my life.

I regretted not knowing why Mowll brought his wife and three children to America and tried to imagine what motivated him to make such a commitment to change. His available journals begin eight years after the family's arrival in the United States and no other document recorded his reasons for leaving England. I felt compelled to uncover what happened to his family and to Mr. Mowll, especially, because of the last journal's abrupt ending on 17 April 1860.

In addition to reading the journals innumerable times, I attended a week's seminar in Boston at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, August 2005. With the research staff's help, I uncovered Mowll's death certificate, and since he died intestate, the "Limited Administration of the Effects of Charles Wills Mowll, Deceased." These documents provided information about his eldest daughter, Eliza Jane, and the Martin Sheldon and J. Ogden Armour connection. Research sources included: United States Census and various U. S. and U. K. databases; Boston Public Library records, assisted by Henry F. Scannell, Curator of Microtext and Newspapers; Harvard Student and Staff Records and a photograph of Diana Spicer Mowll, found at a Cape Cod yard sale — serendipitously, like many other aspects of this project — through the assistance of Kyle P. DeCicco-Carey, Research Assistant, Harvard University Archives; Boston and Cambridge City Records at the Winterthur Library, Joseph Downs Collection, assisted by Jeanne Solensky; the New England Historic Genealogical Society, assisted by

Christopher C. Child, Marie E. Daly, David C. Dearborn, David Allen Lambert, Julie Helen Otto, and Gary Boyd Roberts; numerous texts and Web sites about the era and documents provided by Mowll family members.

The most remarkable breakthrough came in May 2005 when, after numerous previous attempts, I found C. W. Mowll on a Web site, Maritime Mowlls/Mowles.⁴ This was the elusive U. K. connection I hoped to find and there was his full name, Charles Wills Mowll, among the many mariners listed. As a result, a lively e-mail correspondence began with U.K. Mowlls and U.S. Mowlls. In the United States, Robert Mowll kindly forwarded a copy of the Mowll/Mowle Family Tree and put me in touch with Charles Archer Mowll, C. W. Mowll's great-great-grandson. When we met in July 2005, Chuck proved interested in preserving the Mowll story in America and shared information, documents and photographs. In England, Richard, Roger and Nicholas Mowll and Coll (Mowle) Macdonald provided important information and documents, as well as encouragement to contribute to Mowll family history. As elements of research and luck came together, I was correct to be concerned about C. W. Mowll. I discovered the circumstances of his death at age forty-six and uncovered that Mowll family descendents live, among other places, in Vermont, Illinois and Delaware.

Charles Wills Mowll's journals are a first hand account of his daily life for three years in mid-nineteenth century East Cambridge and Boston. Mowll was one of numerous people who helped create mid-nineteenth-century America — a hardworking immigrant who became a naturalized citizen and strove to find a niche for his family in a new country. His may not be an important story; rather it is a valuable story about one

immigrant's attempt to realize an American Dream, and his struggles with family, politics and power in the United States. Mowll died before he reached his goals for financial security, but his children largely attained the social and economic goals to which he aspired. His story and theirs testifies to the contingencies affecting social change within an ideology of cultural optimism.

Dreamed last night of being Cap't of a vessel & was out-at-sea taking in the Lower Stud'g Sail, &tc.

C. W. M. Journals, 19 August 1858

Chapter 1

OCEAN JOURNEYS

Charles Wills Mowll was a risk-taker. In 1849, at age thirty-three, he brought his wife, Diana, and his three children, Eliza Jane, Charles Frederick, and Isabella, from England to America. They crossed the Atlantic Ocean on the “Nathaniel Thompson” to New London, Connecticut, and completed the journey to Boston by rail.¹ Mowll seemed to be in pursuit of economic opportunity and social mobility. His relocation was an irreversible commitment to a hoped-for brighter future and an indication of his determination and enterprise.

It was not Mowll’s first encounter with risk. A decade earlier, in 1839, he joined the Royal Navy Anti-Slavery Fleet and sailed the Atlantic as a Royal Navy paymaster attached to a squadron of Slaver interceptors. England created this Fleet in 1808 to halt the Atlantic slave trade by seizing British ships carrying African slaves and searching other countries’ ships for slaves under a series of bilateral agreements. Despite dwindling support for an Anti-Slavery Fleet after the 1834 emancipation of slaves in British territories, and the cost, danger and death to crewmen, anti-slave-trade forces convinced the Royal Navy to increase the Fleet from six ships to over fifteen.² C. W. Mowll sailed in this enlarged force.

Mowll described some of his experiences in a June 1839 letter from Rio de Janeiro to his father in England:

We have been very fortunate in capturing four slavers, the first one had 414 slaves on board, and I was sent Prize Master of her and I brought into this port on the 11th of April. We captured her on the 7th...and have been on board of her ever since until I caught the Fever, when I laid sick on board for 3 weeks for I could not be [moved]...I was obliged to be carried in a cot on shore by the Commodore's orders...Nurse still does everything for me, reads to me the whole day long...Many officers in the squadron say that she alone saved my life [including] Captain Preston of the Flag...The first two prizes has [*sic*] given me as my share of prize money 163£, and the other two will be much about the same...so that you can consider the whole of that money yours. I have written to my agent to inform him of the capture of the first two—Mr. Woodhead of St. James Terrace, Adelphi, Strand, so that you will be able to draw it from him as authority for to do so...

I have changed. I am happy to say everyone in the Squadron respects and is very fond of me; so I hope never to turn from the true and faithful, especially the path God has made for us...Give my sincerest and true love to my dear Mother; and I hope, please God, to meet you all on my return to England a much better young man than when I left it...John ought to be a midshipman with me...for then he would make a deal of money, and at this rate, I think my fortunes are really made.³

How long C. W. Mowll remained with the Anti-Slavery Fleet after his bout with yellow fever is not known, but on 2 August 1840, 9:30 AM, Mowll married Diana Spicer, at the Parish Church in Portsea Parish, Hampshire County.⁴ He was twenty-four and she was nearly nineteen. Mowll's residence on the record was listed as St. Mary's Parish, Dover, Kent County, while Diana's was White's Row; the records list his profession as mariner, like his father, Richard. Diana, the daughter of John Spicer, a joiner, was a spinster, a term noting she was not married previously.⁵

Why, after nine years of marriage and three children, the Mowll family emigrated is not known. The available *Private Journals* begin in the spring of 1857 and no other

record about Mowll's reasons for leaving England exists. There are clues in his letter from Brazil; Mowll referred to owing his father money and that he "changed." He was about twenty-three when he wrote that he hoped "to meet you all on my return to England a much better young man than when I left," and was now respected by his squadron mates. Evidently, there was some tension between Mowll and his father.

Then again, maybe America promised a change from a rut worn deep by Maritime Mowll/Mowles. Mowll came from an established mariner family, many of whom served in the Royal Navy's upper ranks or as Cinque Port Pilots on England's southeastern shore.⁶ In the 1840s, three of the five Cinque Port Pilot positions sometimes allotted eldest sons were filled by Mowll/Mowle family members. Mowll's father was a Cinque Port Pilot and his older brother, Richard, was a Royal Navy Commander when Mowll retired from the Navy, so perhaps he thought America offered opportunities free of competition from older family members.⁷

Possibly Mowll was unfamiliar with the United States' economy in 1849. Although Alexis de Tocqueville had lauded America in 1835 as a place where, "Every man's power of invention was on the stretch to find new ways of increasing the wealth and satisfying the needs of the public," much of the Northeast's economy was changing from an agrarian society to industrial capitalism.⁸ England's economy had embraced capitalism earlier. Perhaps Mowll assumed he had the entrepreneurial skills necessary for survival in one of America's most important commercial cities. But Mowll was only one of many immigrants flooding the Northeast ports of entry; the Boston region was growing.⁹ In 1810, Boston (proper) had a population of 32,896; by 1850 the total had

risen to 113,721, then to 133,563 in 1860.¹⁰ Folk fleeing economic instability, political chaos, social class bias, overpopulation, or famine, as in Ireland, descended on Boston during the second quarter of the nineteenth century in search of the American Dream.¹¹ Some were displaced by the Industrial Revolution, which disrupted European rural economies and caused numerous workers to search for factory jobs in urban centers. Once there, many found limited opportunities, and continued on to America. Those who went past Boston for greater opportunities were more affluent, energetic immigrants who helped develop the West.¹²

After 1840, poorer immigrants began to sail for America, because ocean travel improved and fares dropped. At the same time, mail from England to Canada proved fastest through Boston, increasing the number of ships entering the harbor from Britain. As a result, when Boston became a major immigration center in the 1840s-1850s, new arrivals tended to remain in the city. In 1850, 3,213 English and Welsh immigrants lived in Boston. By 1860, their numbers increased to 4,273.¹³

The Mowlls were part of this swell of immigration when they arrived in Boston in 1849 and settled in Ward Eight, contiguous to Ward Seven's infamous Fort Hill sector. Here new arrivals, particularly Irish, flocked in the 1840s, because it was close to docks where many had arrived and to potential employment for day laborers. Fort Hill was soon overrun with immigrants living in tenements, cellars and even tunneling into the hill itself. Privies drained downward into slum housing. By 1849, the area became the center of a cholera epidemic, about the time the Mowll family arrived in Boston. Their fourth child, Ellen, was born in Boston's Eighth Ward on 6 September 1850.¹⁴

Day: Saturday; AM: Winds NW, PM: Winds NW; Weather: Ther. 38 AM Fine PM Fine. Fine morning. Passed the Rev. Mr. Green on his way out to East Cambridge. Going home this evening found that the Bridge was free forever, the city of Cambridge to take possession on Monday. Choir until 9 PM.

C. W. M Journals, 30 January 1858

Chapter 2

JOURNAL KEEPER

Information about Mr. Mowll's life in the United States is known only because he kept a daily journal between 4 May 1857 and 17 April 1860. His observations set him apart from other immigrants, few of whom recorded their lives or thoughts. Mowll wrote from an everyday man's perspective. He chronicled family, church and employment activities, as well as local, national and international affairs. His entries were not effusive, but gave his point of view about what he observed and experienced.¹

Even though he titled them his *Private Journal*, they came with directions inside the cover of *Journal No. 5* explaining how to read the entries: "For each day read along the line and then Above it. [Signed] C. W. Mowll."² Clearly, he expected his writings to be preserved and read in the future. As Kagle observed, "Diarists envision an audience for their entries...(even if it is) an idealized self, a future self...The personality of the diary has become its own audience."³

Mowll's employment facilitated his record keeping. At some point after 1853 when he began work at Littell, Son & Company, Mowll apparently used ledger paper from his bookkeeping duties for journal pages.⁴ Each journal contains twenty-two pages

of a bluish tint paper folded in half and sewn together with string between pages eleven and twelve. They measure 7 1/2" by 9 5/8", except for *No. Five*, which is 7 7/8" by 10". The journal covers were pasted to the first and last pages, and probably were from scraps of the brown paper used to mail Littell's publication, "Living Age."⁵ Mowll poached from his employer, constructing his journals with Littell materials, most likely writing in them at work where pen and ink were readily available, and filling them with information gleaned from the newspapers and magazines the publishers probably took.

Using company materials for his journals and writing on company time are examples of de Certeau's theory, *la perruque*, described as "an art of the weak...a guileful ruse ...determined by the absence of power."⁶ Mowll increased his sense of autonomy and importance by using Littell's time and supplies to his advantage. Martin and Garrison observed, "Humans make meaning and negotiate power."⁷ By writing at work and using company equipment and time to his benefit, he satisfied his need to find meaning and power in his life. Glassie explained this phenomenon by describing Hugh Nolan of Ballymenone and his ilk, who, "In confrontation with figures of authority...always wittily invert hierarchies of power and gain little victories, proving that their outward poverty tells nothing of their inward genius."⁸ De Certeau posited, "The child still scrawls and daubs on his schoolbook; even if he is punished for this crime, he has made a space for himself and signs his existence as an author on it."⁹ Mowll quietly fought his employers, who denied him vacation, time off for family events, and apparently docked his pay if he missed work due to illness.

By poaching time and materials, Mr. Mowll provided another viewpoint of mid-nineteenth century Boston in his journals. In addition to daily weather records, news events, and arrival and departure of ships from Great Britain and Europe, he wrote about business, church, recreation locations and activities in Boston and Cambridge, special prayer meetings and temperance functions. On a more personal level, he detailed employment activities and relationships and interactions with his wife and children. He listed some clothing and food purchases, and described the ailments he and his family suffered, along with medications and treatments. He expressed anger about financial problems and social slights by those of higher rank, including landlords and bosses. This Royal Navy paymaster from a respectable family in England believed himself an equal in business and social settings in a new land that labeled him an immigrant.

C. W. Mowll was a keeper of records. Glassie observed that “only a small percentage of the world’s population is and has been literate, and the people who write literature or keep diaries are atypical.”¹⁰ In the same vein, de Certeau comments, “Of all the things everyone does, how much gets written down?”¹¹ Perhaps Mowll’s habit of journal writing began during his time at sea or maybe later as an effort to assert control over his life, when employed as bookkeeper at the lower end of the emerging American middle class. He constructed his journals as a daily calendar and weather report, with room for remarks on what he observed, experienced, and thought. He rigorously maintained his daily schedule of entries, even though at times he reported there was nothing new to report.

As did many other diarists, Mowll had some mundane motives for his journals, such as recording personal and job-related finances. He kept track of monies received for pew rents he collected and when and how much he paid the church treasurer. Mowll also noted costs of items he obtained for the church as sexton, such as lamp wicks and wood for heating. At Littell, he recorded taking care of “mail” and “books” and noted activities of the business’ father and son owners; at home, he listed clothing and household purchases. Accounting was not his sole purpose though. Mowll also wrote about emotions with which he struggled, praises he received, personal offences, all the stuff of human experience.

By keeping his daily journal, Mowll applied structure to the external world and/or internal world, following paths blazed by ancestor journal keepers. Through his journals, C. W. Mowll also gained recognition, at least in his own eyes, as being educated, urbane, and of certain social standing. Writing gave him cultural capital.¹²

Robert Fothergill observed:

Like the best literature, they [diaries] extend our realization of what being alive is like. They are not necessarily ‘truthful’ in the sense that a court of law recognizes truthfulness—but they are ‘actual,’ true to life...the reader encounters...more or less remarkable human beings communicating their natures abundantly, registering the impact of passing days.¹³

Henry Glassie notes a similar observation by Mr. Hugh Nolan of Ballymenone:

His delight in youth...was listening to the old people talking. From them he assembled the history of his place, and in old age his delight...was speaking the truth. The truth, he knew, is not the same as the factual. The past is gone, the facts that remain might be wrong...The truth he said is what you are willing to live by.¹⁴

Mr. Mowll recorded the truth through his perspective that he and his family experienced.

I received a note from Eliza, a very insulting one. Went up to the house [No. 2 Beacon Hill Place] & saw Mrs. S. & E. It seems that all my correspondence with Eliza she has placed in the hands of Mrs. Safford to use against me so as to cast us off from her. Had a long talk.

C. W. M. Journals, 16 December 1859

Chapter 3

FAMILY MATTERS

Mowll expressed strong feelings as he wrote about his family in England and Boston. He regularly sent letters to England, with health and finances the primary concerns; he also noted, sometimes with pique, how long it took for the family to respond. Writing about his Boston family revealed a plethora of issues and feelings. Sometimes he wrote with sadness or anger as mercurial Eliza Jane spurned her parents; sometimes it was with jubilation when Isabella returned to the fold from her apparent guardian in Maine; sometimes it was with vexation when Ellen was quite ill or when Diana stayed away overnight; and sometimes it was with pride when, at fifteen, Charley began fulltime work and Mowll purchased new clothes to fit his son's adult role.

U. K. Families

Mowll's heritage was important to him. In the late 1850s, his father, Richard, a Cinque Port Pilot who still went to sea, and his mother, Sarah Millen Mowll, lived in Dover, one of the Head Ports.¹ C. W. Mowll's older brother Richard, apparently lived at 16 York St., Gosport, England, the address recorded on the front inside-cover of

Journal No. 7. Beneath the address Mowll pasted a print, perhaps suggesting mockery of English upper-class sorts.²

The transatlantic mail permitted a steady, if slow, correspondence. Richard sent a letter in August 1859 with news of their mother's dire illness and a "likeness" of his son, Richard Alfred Mowll.³ In September, Charley had his photograph taken for one dollar, which Mowll sent to Richard about two weeks later. He followed its journey on the "Persia" to Liverpool, along with most of his other correspondence to England.⁴ But in late November, Mowll was waiting still for a return letter from Richard.⁵

Mowll's other siblings included a younger brother, John George, who sailed out of Liverpool.⁶ On 10 February 1858, Mowll attempted to send a note to John in Liverpool through a Mr. John Mc Garoa on the "Steam Ship Canada" docked in Boston.⁷ Besides his two brothers, Mowll had five sisters: Catherine (Kate) Bullock, Sarah Anne, Susannah Elizabeth, Emma Maria, and Eliza Mary. Mowll's father apparently supported two of his daughters' families due to illness and financial straits.

In October 1858, Mowll wrote that he heard about these financial matters:

Rec'd a letter from Richard. Father and Mother well. Father still goes to sea. *Kate has been dead 3 years.* Father has been let in for 1000£ by his sons-in-law. One of them is in an Insane Asylum in London. Father has to keep their families.⁸

Family circumstances played a role in Mowll's success or failure to procure additional funds from England. If Mowll wrote his family for financial assistance in 1858, the answer was clearly negative. C. W. Mowll was alone in his adopted

country. The print pasted under his brother's address may reveal Mowll's frustration with his relatives in England who seemed to have their own financial problems and could not or would not help.

In 1870, Mowll's inheritance from his father's will, written in 1853, was settled in "Her Majesty's Court of Probate."⁹ It stipulated that his portion was reduced by a 200£ debt. Perhaps part of this was a residual amount Mowll promised his father from the Slaver Prize money, or maybe he borrowed additional money in the ten years before he left England. Possibly it was for the trip to America and later to maintain the family after their arrival in 1849. The number of times Mowll asked for help is not known, but his father appeared to resist funding his middle son's further risk-taking adventures, especially after he became liable for the debts of two sons-in-law.

In the late 1850s, Diana's mother and father, Mr. and Mrs. John Spicer, resided in Cowes, on the northern shore of the Isle of Wight, across from the entrance to the port of Southampton's waterway.¹⁰ Diana had two brothers, Henry and Frederick, who were mentioned in the journals. Henry spent the summer of 1859 on a yacht, while "Fred" got married that same summer.¹¹ The Mowlls chose Frederick for their son's middle name, apparently for Diana's brother. Charles Frederick Mowll later named his first of three sons, Frederick Newell; the other two were William Luther and Philip Waldstein. It was not for two more generations that the name Charles Mowll appeared, when Charles Archer Mowll was born to William Luther Mowll II in the mid-twentieth century.¹²

Mowll regularly sent publications to Diana's mother in Cowes, Diana's brother, Henry, his own brother, Richard, and his parents as well. These included Littell's *Living Age*, *Harper's Weekly*, *New England Farmer*, *Olive Branch*, *Congregationalist*, and various newspapers including the *Boston Post*. Very likely these came from Littell's collection of publications to review for the *Age* and possibly from the Third Evangelistic Congregational Church where Mowll also worked.

The Boston Mowll Family

When the journals began in May 1857, Mowll and his wife, Diana, and their four children comprised his family in Boston. The eldest daughter, Eliza Jane, turned sixteen on 27 May that year and was not living at home. The second oldest child, Charles Frederick, turned fourteen on 3 April. Isabella, the second-eldest daughter, was ten on 19 March and living with Reverend Chickering in Maine; and their youngest living child, Ellen Catherine, whose middle name was for Mowll's oldest sister, turned seven on 6 September. Earlier, a son, Samuel, born 4 November 1854, died the day after Christmas, 1855. The infant's death may have been one of the Mowll family problems, which culminated in a guardianship for Eliza Jane and perhaps Isabella in 1856.¹³

Diana

Diana Spicer Mowll, as related by her husband, appeared a combination of feminine dependence and strength.¹⁴ Mowll detailed her illnesses, which seemed continual, and was confounded by some of her independent behaviors. Diana did not mind having "high words" with Mrs. Safford over Eliza and she sometimes expressed her apparent unhappiness with Eliza and other home situations by staying out late, even if it

was only at the church's Ladies Sewing Circle. She even spent the night with a Miss White and a week later she would not attend a séance at Mrs. Parmalee's with Mowll, both behaviors which he did not understand.¹⁵ The following year, Diana stayed away overnight with the Smiths in Quincy and opened a savings account in her name at the Warren Safety Bank in Charlestown. The first deposit was Mowll's fifty dollars back pay for sexton duties, then twenty-five dollars more when Mowll received additional overdue sexton's salary.¹⁶ Diana also expressed affection for her husband by meeting him in Boston for outings to purchase clothing, for clothing mattered to the Mowll family.

In August 1858, C. W. wrote, "Anniversary of our Wedding Day, 18 years ago. We've had many ups and downs in that time but thank God *we are as we are*."¹⁷ The Mowlls obviously experienced many rough times in their marriage, but at least in early August 1858, things were better. This did not last long.

Eliza Jane

Mowll's eldest daughter, Eliza Jane, was plucked from the grasp of near poverty sometime in 1856, when she came under the care of Mrs. Ann Eliza Safford, wealthy widow of prominent Boston businessman, Daniel Safford. As Mowll's journals opened in the spring of 1857, Eliza Jane attended Mount Holyoke Female Seminary through Mrs. Safford's sponsorship, and stayed at No. 2 Beacon Hill Place or traveled with Mrs. Safford during vacations.¹⁸ This situation became untenable to Mowll, who wrote of both his anger and sadness over estrangement from his eldest child. Eliza obviously had a mind of her own, found her life more secure and comfortable on Beacon Hill and resisted her father's overtures for control in her life.

Mowll missed Eliza, wrote her frequently, and even included stamps for return letters. She seemed hesitant to visit her family or answer her father's many letters, although when she wrote, she often included letters for her siblings. She maintained a polite, and at times hostile distance from her parents, then seemed to relent and visit. But the visits were short and she several times brought a companion, Ann Eliza Gale Williston, perhaps for moral support. Four years older than Eliza Jane, Ann Eliza was Mrs. Safford's niece and previously attended Mount Holyoke.¹⁹ Eliza even began calling herself Jane Eliza, perhaps to identify more with Ann Eliza, which also was Mrs. Safford's Christian name.²⁰

Ann Eliza married in the summer of 1857 and one year later Eliza Jane became engaged to Ann Eliza's older brother and Mrs. Safford's nephew, William Gale, with Mrs. Safford's approval.²¹ Mowll was not informed until Eliza wrote him in August 1858 that the engagement was broken by Mr. Gale.²² Eliza's reluctance to involve her parents in the engagement is telling; Mrs. Safford was her surrogate parent and role model for success in genteel, upper-class society.

Angry that he was not asked for his daughter's hand, Mowll used the situation to claim a role in Eliza's life again. He wrote her with advice about the broken engagement several times and wrote Mr. Gale for the return of Eliza's picture, probably taken when she visited her family in East Cambridge, July 1857.²³ Mowll also asked his benefactor, "Hon. W. G. Crosby," for advice, but Mowll's efforts only seemed to alienate his daughter.²⁴

A little more than a month after Mowll glowingly wrote of a happy wedding anniversary in August 1858, he and Diana had “high words” with Mrs. Safford about their strained relationship with Eliza Jane. Mowll tried to force Eliza Jane’s return, when he “*Wrote to Mrs. Safford asking her decision about Eliza & telling her how Eliza denied her parents (2 years ago in her house).*”²⁵

In January 1859 things improved:

Eliza called at the office with Ann [most likely Ann Eliza Gale Williston] & invited us all to tea tomorrow evening. She looks well. [Following day] All of our family went to tea at Mrs. Saffords. In the Evening went to prayer meeting & heard Mr. Kirk lecture. Was introduced to Dea. Palmer and Mrs. Edwards [Ann Eliza Safford’s sister] & got home about 9.30 PM.²⁶

Eliza took a risk introducing her parents to Deacon Palmer, but maybe she did not know that his wife, Anna Maria Waud Palmer was her future sister-in-law.²⁷ Later in January Mowll wrote, “Eliza and Ann Eliza spent the day at home. Went home myself at 4 PM to catch them just leaving for the City.”²⁸ Apparently his daughter paid a perfunctory visit to East Cambridge, while avoiding him. She remained close to some of Boston’s most elite families, while Mowll remained an outsider.

Matters with Eliza Jane remained unpredictable for the balance of 1859. In April she visited her father at Littell and said she planned to visit East Cambridge the following week. Early in May, Mowll took Isabella and Ellen into Boston to see Eliza. Two days later Eliza Jane came to tea at her parents home, prior to leaving for Mount Holyoke the next day.²⁹ Like her husband, Diana Mowll also was unhappy with her daughter’s estrangement. In July, Diana saw Mrs. Safford and had words with her about Eliza Jane. One week later, Mowll spoke to Mrs. Safford and Dr. E. N. Kirk and found that “Mrs.

Safford intends to give her a home there & her family to have intercourse with her at anytime...had some high words.” Mowll was reminded that he signed over parental responsibility for Eliza when, “Mrs. Safford sent me a copy of the paper I gave with Eliza.” Informal guardianships were not uncommon in this era.³⁰

In September 1859, “Charley went to Mr. Kirk’s Church [Mount Vernon Street Congregational Church] & received the Sacrament with Mrs. Safford and Eliza & the rest.”³¹ Perhaps Mowll sent Charley as a family emissary, but if so, the ruse did not work in December when, “Charley went to meeting in Afternoon at Mr. Kirk’s church. Saw Eliza who tried to shun him. She says she will not answer my note on account of stile [sic] I addressed her & will not visit her mother.”³²

Mowll kept a copy of the next note he wrote Eliza; her reply was not to his liking:

I received a note from Eliza, a very insulting one. Went up to the house [No. 2 Beacon Hill Place] & saw Mrs. S. & E. It seems that all my correspondence with Eliza she has placed in the hands of Mrs. Safford to use against me so as to cast us off from her. Had a long talk.³³

Then mercurial Eliza appeared the very next evening in East Cambridge. “On my arrival home found Eliza there and all comfortable. She went home again at 6:30 PM. All friends again.”³⁴ Perhaps Mrs. Safford and Reverend Kirk advised Eliza to make peace with her family, for Mrs. Safford held the upper hand. Mowll seemed to finally accept the situation, for he now mentioned Eliza less frequently in his journals. She was eighteen, Diana’s age when she married Mowll, and had a comfortable life on Beacon Hill. Mowll stopped pressing for her return to East Cambridge. His daughter was adamant about her future and he had lost control over her.

Charley

Charles Frederick was a bright light in Mowll's life and he seemed to enjoy recording Charley's successes in his journals. Charley was a good boy, unlike neighbor Nichol's son, who stole \$100 from a shopkeeper and ran away in May 1859; the boy was caught, tried three days later and sent to reform school until age twenty-one.³⁵

By contrast, Charley did well at his lessons, which cost forty-two cents a week at Miss Rezar's; he attended Sabbath School every Sunday and helped Mowll with sexton duties at their church.³⁶ Mowll wrote with pride in June 1858, "Charles Fred Mowll accepted into church and rec'd communion."³⁷ Charley suffered from frequent chest colds, which was treated with cherry pectoral and humor medicine.³⁸ He had intestinal distress, headaches, and was prone to eye problems, as was his son, William Luther.³⁹

In 1858, Mowll bought Charley a cap in March, a straw hat and new shoes in June, and a new coat in October.⁴⁰ More significantly, Mowll bought him appropriate clothing when he reached working age. Charley was "measured for a double-breasted jacket at Skinners" a week before his fifteenth birthday on 3 April 1859.⁴¹ Then Mowll, "Called on Mr. Kirk & asked him to get a situation for Charley which he promised to do."⁴²

Reverend Kirk kept his word and on 14 April 1859 Charley went to work at the Candle Factory in East Cambridge. In less than two weeks, an East Cambridge merchant sought Charley's services. "In the evening, Mr. F. N. Davis, Grocer, called on me to engage Charley for one year in his store at \$150 first year. Agreed to his proposition." Charley's reputation as an honest young man most likely procured this position. Also,

Mr. Davis was a member of Mowll's church, the Third Evangelical Congregational Church in East Cambridge. The next day Charley began working at Mr. Davis' store and the grocery business became his long-term employment.⁴³ When Charley got a three-day paid vacation from Davis, it likely was insulting to Mowll, who received no vacation or time off from Littell. When he asked to leave early on the afternoon of Isabella's eleventh birthday, Elikiam Littell threatened to replace him.⁴⁴ In September 1859, the Mowlls moved to larger, more expensive quarters in East Cambridge, which Mowll apparently rented from Charley's employer, Mr. Davis.⁴⁵ Two weeks before Christmas, Mowll bought Charley a top coat costing \$11.50.⁴⁶ Apparently he controlled Charley's earnings, which were a boon to family finances.⁴⁷ At fifteen, Charley contributed to the family's income, but in time he would leave to establish his own independent household.

Isabella

When Mowll's journals began in May 1857, Isabella lived with Reverend J. W. Chickering in Maine, perhaps in a school or guardian situation similar to Eliza Jane's with Mrs. Safford. In August, Mowll wrote to Mr. Chickering who responded by bringing Isabella for a visit. Mowll met Chickering and Isabella at the Boston & Maine Depot and took "Bella" home. Reverend Chickering went to Nantucket on vacation and told him that Mr. Tucker, the conductor, would care for her on her train trip back to Portland.⁴⁸ When Isabella went back to Maine less than a week later, she took Peter, one of the family's pet canaries, perhaps to offset homesickness. Mowll sent Chickering another letter, this time with Isabella, "to try to get her back again...I feel very low spirited."⁴⁹ As Mowll struggled to regain custody of Isabella from Reverend Chickering, he again faced

a powerful force. Chickering responded to Mowll's written request for Isabella's return by appearing in person with an ultimatum. "He called about Noon and left word that if I did not hear from him in two or three days I might considered it settled and should hold Isabella to my order."⁵⁰ But Mowll was not intimidated and wrote to Chickering, "To send Isabella up by train either Friday or Saturday."⁵¹ Chickering relented and promised he would return her on Monday, 21 September 1857.⁵²

In a flurry of letters and confrontations, Mowll won this battle for parental control, unlike his experience with Mrs. Safford and Eliza. Isabella was younger and more pliant than her older sister, who developed a taste for Beacon Hill's comfort and life at Mount Holyoke.

The day Isabella came home from Maine to stay was eventful for the Mowlls:

Eliza came to the office about 12:15. Di brought my dinner about 12:30, saw Eliza, went & met Isabella at 1:45 & took her to Mrs. Safford's & spent afternoon. Felt myself getting much worse [from a bowel complaint] Went home at 5. Saw Mrs. S. & bid Eliza goodbye. Got home with Isabella about 6:30, went to bed.⁵³

Apparently Eliza went with her mother to meet Isabella, and the three of them went to Mrs. Safford's. There was no mention of guardianship papers being given to Chickering with Isabella, as with Eliza.

Mowll's preoccupation with regaining Isabella's custody in September probably overshadowed the Bank Panic of 1857. He wrote in October that "Harper & Bros. Failed in New York," as the ensuing "bad money" situation created economic chaos in general and specifically in the publishing business.⁵⁴ Mowll's priority was Isabella's return, but Rev. J. W. Chickering continued his interest in her. He wrote in October 1857 and visited

Mowll at Littell to inquire about Isabella in November. She in turn wrote Chickering a letter, probably suggested by her father, who mailed it.⁵⁵

Nothing more was heard from Maine until the following March 1858, when Mowll took Isabella into Boston to see Mr. Chickering, at Chickering's request.⁵⁶ Then in November 1858, Chickering called and wanted to see Isabella again. The next day, "Di and Bella came into the City and saw Mr. & Mrs. Chickering at Boston & Maine Depot."⁵⁷ It was the last Chickering visit or communication Mowll noted. Isabella, the healthiest in her family, is not mentioned often, beyond the Chickering interaction. The Mowlls' parenting abilities were questioned, but Mowll and Diana maintained custody of Isabella, despite losing Eliza, winning one battle against powerful friends in high places.

Ellen

Ellen, the youngest Mowll, was an American citizen born in Boston's Eighth Ward in 1850. She attended Sabbath School on Sundays, where she received attendance awards. In March 1860, Mowll wrote, "Took Ellen away from Miss Wyman's school & put her in Miss Reser's."⁵⁸ This was the school Charley previously attended, and then Isabella after Otis Grammar School burned down. Unlike Isabella though, Ellen had a serious illness, which Mowll described.

Ellen suffered, as did most others in the family, from intestinal disease and colds, but on 30 June 1859, Ellen developed a dangerous disease. "Ellen breeding some sickness or other," and on 1 July she "spent a restless night. Stomach came out full of spots." By 4 July, "Ellen very sick so that we could not leave home on an excursion." Mowll possibly went by himself to the Yankee Independence Day celebration, since he

described, “Thousands of people in the City. Two balloons went up & grand displays of Fire Works in the evening. Bought a hat (straw) and a pair of shoes. Went to bed at 9:30. Ellen pretty sick.” Illness caused anxiety in Mowll, most likely based on his brush with death from yellow fever in 1839. Perhaps he combated this fear by going to Boston on July Fourth and purchasing clothing. By 6 July the disease had a name, smallpox. The next night Ellen appeared improved, but then on 14 July Mowll wrote, “Found Ellen sick with a Fever on getting home in the evening.” He made no further mention of Ellen’s condition.⁵⁹

Ellen’s birthday was 6 September but Mowll forgot to mention it in 1857, perhaps because it was during the time he fought to regain Isabella’s custody. He noted Ellen’s birthday in 1858 and then in 1859, when Ellen turned nine, just after she had smallpox. Ellen was the third daughter and youngest child. He mentioned Isabella and her less frequently throughout the journals in comparison to Eliza Jane and Charley.⁶⁰

C. W. Mowll wrote in his journals to document and review trials he experienced and to express a variety of emotions about his family — from pride, to consternation, to anger. The family in England maintained contact through transatlantic correspondence, but also maintained a distance, and seemed besieged by family concerns at home. At the same time, Diana and he experienced many trials, but maintained their relationship over the years. Diana became more independent, opened her own savings account, and occasionally took respite from the family turmoil by staying with friends overnight. Mowll’s daughters, particularly Eliza Jane, seemed to bring the most heartache, especially when powerful people both helped and hindered Mowll’s role as a patriarch.

He and Diana faced the challenge of the Chickering's guardianship of Isabella and won her return, but Eliza Jane's age and comfortable lifestyle on Beacon Hill triumphed over family ties. It was time for Eliza to grow away from her family, but at the same time Mrs. Safford and Dr. Kirk became her surrogate family. Ellen was not mentioned often, unless she was ill, as when she contracted smallpox. In contrast, Mowll's son Charley contributed to family finances beginning in April 1859, and frequently was mentioned with fondness.

Mowll took his role as patriarch and community member to heart. He became involved in Boston and East Cambridge organizations though membership in church and temperance societies. As the Civil War approached, abolition issues became more prominent and Mowll decided to become a United States citizen.

Fine day Went out all forenoon to try & get my naturalization papers. Could not succeed in E. Cambridge. Went out again to E. Cambridge at 3 o'clock & got them. Returned again to the office quarter before 5—Went in evening to the Mayor and Alderman & got my name put on the list.

C. W. M. Journals, 1 November 1858

Chapter 4

CITIZEN MOWLL

Englishman Charles Wills Mowll came to America with heritage, hopes and expectations. The Mowll family's honorable maritime background shaped his view of social standing, while his experience as paymaster in the Royal Navy Slaver Squadron reinforced his perception of rank, seasoned his personality, gave him a firsthand view of slavery's cruelty and set his course for the years to come. As he faced death from yellow fever, Mowll wrote his father from Brazil that he had "changed" and hoped to follow the "true and faithful...path God has made for us." Experience as a RN officer capturing illegal slave trade ships, religious awakening, and marriage combined to hone a young man into a responsible adult with values and a sense of responsibility. Along with his family, immigrant Mowll brought this set of values to Boston in 1849.

As an outsider, Mowll struggled to provide for his family in an adequate and genteel manner, which was made more difficult by the economic changes brewing in his adopted home. He most likely relied on his religious values to sustain him through difficult times brought on by antebellum financial upheaval and the Bank Panic of 1857. Two institutions which welcomed him and facilitated his efforts to assimilate into Boston

society were the Sons of Temperance Society and the Congregational Church. The church assisted the Mowll family during hard times through spiritual fellowship and economic assistance, while the Sons of Temperance provided a social community for Mowll and wholesome activities for his family. Mowll's life experiences culminated in his decision in 1858 to become a United States citizen during the tumultuous time prior to the Civil War.

Sons of Temperance Society

Mowll demonstrated affiliation with genteel ideals when he joined the Sons of Temperance in Cambridge. The movement in both England and America was "led by Evangelical Protestants who were increasingly concerned about the social, moral and political consequences of alcohol." The Temperance Movement was a way for middle-class Protestants to impress upon Catholic immigrants "the central power and dominance of native American Protestant morality," and values of "self-control, sobriety and industriousness."¹ Other theorists credited the politics of "lifestyle or way of life" with Temperance, not prestige issues and attributed movements of this sort to a psychological need "to resolve dissonance" caused by political strain such as "massive immigration."² As an English immigrant seeking assimilation, Sons of Temperance membership placed Mowll with those citizens anxious about recent immigrants, putting distance between him and the numerous, mainly Irish, newcomers.

Belonging to the "Sons of Temperance Society, Division 8 of East Cambridge," politically aligned Mowll with like-minded middle-class Protestants, including many Evangelicals.³ It also provided opportunities for socializing with respectable people. The

Division provided evenings of fellowship for him and outings for his family, all for quarterly dues of one dollar.⁴ Mowll received a vote of thanks from Division 8 in May 1859 for the books he contributed to the reading room.⁵ Considering Mowll family finances, the donations probably were some of the many magazines, books and newspapers received at his employer, Littell, Son & Co. Apparently Mowll contributed these “free” materials courtesy of Littell, with or without the firm’s knowledge. Mowll’s gifts to the Division reading room were another example of de Certeau’s *la perruque* tactic, which enhanced his standing within the “good citizen” Sons of Temperance Society and raised his self-esteem.

Voter Mowll

Mowll’s desire to vote in the national elections of 1858 demonstrated his willingness to adopt America as home. He was aware of political debates and patriotic celebrations, recording various related news items in his journal. But the timing of his naturalization suggests Mowll wanted to vote his opposition to slavery. He reported his frustration and pride in obtaining his United States naturalization papers in November 1858, thereby qualifying him to vote.

Mowll wrote:

Fine day. Went out all forenoon to try & get my naturalization papers. Could not succeed in E. Cambridge. Went out again to E. Cambridge at 3 o’clock & got them. Returned again to the Office ¼ before 5 — went in Evening to the Mayor and Alderman & got my name put on the list.⁶

After his successful second attempt, Mowll took the required papers to the Mayor’s Office and made the voting list for the next day’s election.⁷ Subsequently Mowll rejoiced that the American Republican Party ticket he backed won and reveled in Anson

Burlingame's re-election to Congress. On election day he wrote, "Went home at 5 PM & voted American Republican ticket & Burlingame. Every chance of our gaining the victory," and the next day, "Republicans carried the whole state & Burlingame elected. Good news New York, New Jersey & Wisc' gone Rep."⁸

Burlingame was first elected to Congress as a Know-Nothing or American Party candidate in 1854, when that party swept the election in Massachusetts.⁹ Its nativistic platform included the election of native-born Americans, limitations on immigration, and the promotion of twenty-five year residence requirement prior to citizenship application. By the election of 1856, Know-Nothings splintered over slavery, with many anti-slavery proponents joining the Republican Party.¹⁰ Mowll's support of American Republican Party candidates demonstrated his abolitionist sentiments.¹¹

Slavers and Abolition

By the 1850s, strong political and moral currents concerning slavery swirled throughout Massachusetts. Mowll worked in the city where in 1831 the abolition activist William Lloyd Garrison began publishing his weekly anti-slavery newspaper, *The Liberator*. Garrison's stance was reasoned, consistent and unmovable. "Immediate abolition became his gospel and the anti-slavery movement...his household of faith."¹²

Mowll's own experience with Slavers shaped his stance on this thorny, ethical issue.

He recorded his feelings of repulsion in the 1839 letter to his father from Rio de Janeiro, when he described the particulars in capturing "Slaver" ships:

The first one had 414 slaves on board...So you can imagine the stench on board of her, so many on board and the engine not more than 220 Tons. We found on board her 450£ in Gold...[On] the Barque was found 4,000£...500 barrels of gunpowder and a great number of muskets. In the

other a Brigantine was found 300 Doubloons and likewise a great number of arms, so that we have taken in the space of six weeks 2 Brigs. 1 Barque and 1 Brigantine... The Grecian put out to sea after more...One arrived which was loaded the morning before 404 slaves. There is expected now from the coast upwards of 412.¹³

Mowll's journals reported other later accounts of ships taken for illegally trading slaves and he referred knowingly to the duplicity of slavers. In July 1857, he recorded that "Brig Adams seized & commandered [*sic*] as a Slaver at Sierra Leona," and in May 1858 he noted, "British Gun Boats are overhauling American vessels, which I think is right — for slavers when chased will hoist any color, for I have been chasing them & found such to be the case." Mowll spoke from experience.¹⁴ In August the same year Mowll wrote, "U. S. Brig Dolphin caught a slaver the South side of Cuba, 370 slaves on board under American colors, the crew consisting of Am, Span, & English," and in October 1858, "Barque Lille de Cuba brought in by the mate from St. Michaels, being bound for a cargo of Slaves, the crew refusing to go & the captain leaving her at St. Michaels. The U. S. authorities took charge of her."¹⁵ Mowll's experience in the Royal Navy Anti-Slavery Fleet acquainted him with the underhanded maneuvers used by ships running anti-slave trade blockades, and he easily recalled his experiences chasing them.

Mowll's religious beliefs possibly influenced him that slavery was wrong, for he commented about other abolition-related instances. Mowll wrote about a November 1857 Boston court case concerning "Betty," a slave from Tennessee.¹⁶ When visiting Lawrence, Massachusetts, with her owners, Lewis and Laura Sweet, abolition sympathizers filed suit on Betty's behalf. Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw interviewed Betty in chambers separate from the Sweets and found her, "intelligent and capable of judging for herself...[with] a

husband and children in Tennessee...very well treated by the Sweets and wished to remain and return with them.” Judge Shaw offered Betty the option of remaining in Massachusetts, a free woman, but she chose to return to Tennessee a slave.¹⁷

The case followed legal precedent set by Shaw. Betty came into the State of Massachusetts by consent and in company of her owner and therefore was not a fugitive. All parties in the case agreed Betty could choose her future and Shaw said her choice was entered in the files of the court clerk, so that, “If she should at any future time send for them and obtain them, they would entitle her to freedom.” Shaw’s reasoning was based on his ruling in *Commonwealth v. Aves*: Once a slave was taken “voluntarily into a Free State, and declared free by the consent of the owner, a subsequent return to the State in which the party was held in bondage does not restore the obligations of slavery.”¹⁸ The Chief Justice gave Betty an additional chance to change her mind in the future.

Mowll wrote about Betty’s decision to return as a slave to Nashville, Tennessee, but did not offer an opinion on particulars of the court case, as he did on the illegality of slave-carrying ships. His primary interest seemed related to events in his personal experience, although he followed two other abolition-related events.

In December 1859, Mowll noted, “John Brown hung at 11:25 AM. All of the color’d people attended church for prayers in behalf of John Brown, meeting all over the Northern States.”¹⁹ A report the following April concerned, “Great excitement in Concord Mass’ by arrest of F. B. Sanford [*sic*] by US authorities. His sister prevents it and gives an alarm. Habeas Corpus served by Judge Hoar. Hearing today at Supreme Court.”²⁰ Mowll had the name wrong, but the political situation right. Franklin B. Sanborn

supported John Brown and reportedly served as chief fundraiser for the “Secret Six.”²¹

Sanborn’s support of Brown was questioned by the “Senate Committee Investigating the Attack at Harper’s Ferry,” chaired by Virginia Senator James Mason, an author of the Fugitive Slave Law. Sanborn refused to testify before the committee and officials arrested him in Massachusetts on 3 April 1860.²² A report on the episode read:

A deputy U. S. marshal [*sic*] and four assistants, armed with a subpoena, attempted to abduct Sanborn but were delayed when Sanborn’s sister and another woman raised the alarm while Sanborn struggled with his would-be abductors, who were trying to shove him in a waiting coach...more than 100 Concordians, including Thoreau, arrived...to foil the attempt. A writ of habeas corpus hastily prepared by Judge Hoar was served on the abductors, who refused to release Sanborn until Concord’s deputy sheriff, Mr. Moore, threatened to call on the assembled citizens to take Sanborn by force. The next day the Massachusetts Supreme Court met in a special session to discharge Sanborn from arrest.²³

Mowll caught the excitement generated by Sanborn’s near abduction, and perhaps understood the principles underlying habeas corpus, but maybe not the participants’ backgrounds. If Mowll knew his employers’ position on abolition, it was not clear from his journals, although articles on both sides of the slavery issue appeared in Littell’s publication, *Living Age*.²⁴ In contrast, his church made their stand clear. On the first Sunday in January 1860, Mowll reported, “A colored minister lectured in the evening. Took up collection amounting to \$15.40, pretty full house.”²⁵

Mowll’s decision to become a citizen reinforced his attempts to become a recognized member of Boston’s genteel society. The Sons of Temperance Society provided evenings of fellowship and family outings with like-minded people of respect, an atmosphere familiar to him from his family background in England. His citizenship was timed to vote in 1858 for the American Republican Party pro-abolition candidates, a

cause he had supported since serving as a British officer intercepting slaver runners. But his political activism was constrained by his immigrant status and tenuous employment by a publisher anxious to cover different subscriber bases. His complicated employment, persistent health issues and tumultuous family concerns overshadowed the deeper meaning of some political events he observed, making him no different than many people before and since. C. W. Mowll preferred not to reveal his innermost feelings about such topics as abolition in his journals, but he confided his frustration, anger and chagrin over employment issues and financial matters.

Fine warm day Splendid times among the May children Diana came over...we went to Oak Hall & bought a coat for myself. Gave \$10. On our arrival home found the children had got a letter for us from England & newspaper.

C. W. M. Journals 1 May 1858

Chapter 5

STANDARDS OF LIVING

C. W. Mowll came from a family of certain means and rank in England, where class distinction was important. His tenure as an officer in the Royal Navy and his family's respected mariner status contributed to Mowll's expectations and desire to succeed in America. He undoubtedly wanted to prove himself capable of establishing a niche in Boston with a new, worthy career and social standing.

As the journals opened, Mowll was the sole support for his family. Unlike many other immigrants, Mowll's wife, Diana, did not work outside the home to supplement the family's income. Mowll was the breadwinner and made his living as a white-collar clerk in a publishing business. In 1850, there were 3,676 clerks in Boston, but only 151 of them were from Britain, possibly including Mowll, since as early as 1853 he worked for Littell, Son & Co., Publishers, 46 Bromfield Street, Boston.¹ Mowll was also an active member of the Third Evangelistic Congregational Church in East Cambridge, which contributed to his middle-class status, but at the same time he held a "manual position" of church sexton.² Mowll was part of a growing group of workers who managed paperwork in an office, but he struggled to meet his family's needs on his income.

Walt Whitman wrote in a *Brooklyn Daily Times* 1858 editorial, “The most valued class in any community is the middle class, the men of moderate means, living at a rate of \$1,000 a year or thereabouts.”³ The terms “middling, middling sort, middle condition, or occasionally middle class” were used before, but this was the first time an economic benchmark was attached to this under-recognized sector of society.⁴ In 1857, eight years after arriving in Boston, Mowll earned \$416 a year at his full-time job as bookkeeper at Littell, and another \$100 a year as sexton at his church — when he actually received his sexton’s pay.⁵ Mowll’s total salary was about half that identified as middle class in — Whitman’s 1858 editorial.⁶

Several factors challenged Mowll’s hope for economic success and social respect in America’s new class structure. Given his country of origin and military experience, Mowll was sensitive to the nuances of rank. He was competing for work with the growing influx of immigrants and young Americans seeking white-collar jobs in Boston.⁷ His age was another factor. Since Mowll turned forty-two in 1858 and had a family to support, he could not casually change jobs like younger men without putting his family at risk. Also, he tended to be prickly at times and expressed dissatisfaction with “superiors” in a combative manner, at least in his journals, if not in actual dialogue. Finally, his financial security was threatened by an economic downturn following the 1857 Bank Panic.

Bank Panic of 1857

The Bank Panic of 1857 brought “chaos” to Boston’s publishing businesses and increased hard times for Boston immigrants like the Mowlls.⁸ The Panic began 24

August 1857, when the New York branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Co. failed due to embezzlement at its home office. New York bankers responded by putting restrictions on all bank transactions, which in turn stampeded customers to withdraw funds and sell stocks. There were other contributing factors, including the over-building of railroads and related over-speculation in real estate. Moreover, there were international consequences. British investors removed some of their U. S. bank accounts, grain prices fell, and consumer inventories became overstocked.⁹

Additionally, the “Steam Ship America,” carrying fifteen tons of gold from the San Francisco Mint to East Coast banks as a reserve, sank off South Carolina in September 1857. Mowll called it “SS Central America” in his journal and observed that, “\$2,000,000 and 400 passengers were lost, about 100 saved by vessels.”¹⁰ Banks on the East Coast began to collapse and by mid-October, banks in New England and New York instituted a “Suspension Day” in an effort to stem bank runs. The panic also spread to the American Midwest and eventually reverberated through “Europe, South America, South Africa, and the Far East.”¹¹

Although there had been previous financial upheavals in 1819 and 1837 (and later in 1873), nineteenth-century entrepreneurs internalized a psychology in which personal weaknesses, not economic circumstances, caused business failures.¹² Failure became a deficiency in character, despite an assessment that only three of one hundred business start-ups in Boston, for example, were calculated to succeed.¹³

While Mowll was not a business owner, his success or failure was a matter of personal responsibility. If he could only just work hard enough, success was his, as

P.T. Barnum's memoirs suggested in 1855 and 1869, and as later Horatio Alger texts argued. Winners had innate qualities of ambition and success.¹⁴ Ulysses S. Grant and Thomas Edison were viewed as, "overcoming early setbacks, proving that a winner never quits." Similarly, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote after the Civil War, "The great American Assumption was that wealth is mainly the result of its owner's effort and that any average worker can by thrift become a capitalist."¹⁵ Mowll wrote in the 1839 letter to his father from Rio de Janeiro that he thought he was "a much better young man than when I left." In this way, Mowle accepted responsibility for previous behavior and changed, linking this change to his newfound success in life. He continued, "I am happy to say everyone in the Squadron respects and is very fond of me...I think my fortunes are really made." His changed behavior brought respect and financial success. But then the reverse would be true; lack of success would be a character flaw, making failure in business his fault.

Immigrant Mowll fought an uphill battle to improve his rank in Boston society and took his status personally. He wrote in frustration when things did not go well, despite apparent links to Congregational Church hierarchy, Royal Navy experience in accounting, and his literate education. He sought social standing and economic security, but often recorded his sensitivity to rebuffs from "superiors" and financial distress. Beacon Hill upper class society accepted his daughter Eliza Jane, but denied him patriarchal respect.

Possibly Mowll hoped for a quick fortune in America, similar to his earlier fortune from Slaver Squadron prizes. But he had no capital to begin his own business and

was not someone who seemed willing to work with his hands, although he did minor repairs at home and church. His Royal Navy paymaster training qualified Mowll for a “middling” class bookkeeper position at Littell, in a city crowded with aspiring young men seeking clerks’ positions. Given the competition and depressed wages for clerks, it was no wonder he dreamed of being captain of his own ship.¹⁶ In reality, Mowll worked two jobs and eighteen-hour days, his family moved frequently, usually to less expensive quarters, and his schedule left scant time to enjoy his children, his wife, or leisure. No matter how many hours he worked, his family edged nearer poverty’s vortex.

Bookkeeper Mowll

For many mid-nineteenth century workers who sought middle-class identity, an office environment emerged as the preferred employment. For Mowll, the position at Littell meant white-collar status and a reliable salary, although his wage of eight dollars a week was insufficient for his family of five and his social aspirations. Despite a perception of higher social standing as clerk, wages were much lower than for skilled manual workers.¹⁷ Additionally, clerks and apprentices in Boston’s publishing industry earned less than their counterparts in other East Coast cities.¹⁸ At the same time, estimated minimal living costs for a Boston family of four in 1860 were just under \$600 a year.¹⁹ As Mowll battled for respect in Boston’s middle and upper classes, he also battled to keep his family afloat.

It did not help that his timing was poor. Just before the 1857 Bank Panic, Mowll borrowed a rather substantial amount from his employer. In May 1857 he wrote, “Signed a note for Littell & Co., \$607.45,” and entered about a month later, “Robert’s a little

sulky about money &tc. &tc.”²⁰ Then, as the Panic unfolded in August, Littell called for payment and Mowll wrote with pique, “A note of mine due to day \$608 which we could not meet & is protested.”²¹ Mowll borrowed money from his employer and then protested when payment was demanded. A repayment schedule for Mowll’s loan was not recorded in his journal, but considering the Bank Panic circumstances, Littell’s request seemed reasonable, although unfortunate for Mowll.

In fact, Littell was in financial trouble. Mowll wrote about an angry boss in September when he observed that Robert Littell, “got into a terrible passion with me for nothing at all. Kept very cool myself & after a while he cooled down.” The next day Mowll noted, “Money matters very bad in the city. Heavy failures every day,” and the following day, “Meeting of merchants in the Mer. Xchange about the Banks where they voted for the banks to continue payment (times very bad).” The day after he entered, “Great doings in paying notes at the Banks. The Suffolk rec’d at a rate of 2- a minute for 4 hours.” Mowll also noted that “Harper & Bros. Failed in N. Y.”²² Mr. Mowll most likely understood that his position at Littell, as well as the Littell Company itself, was in jeopardy, as he wrote about the demise of another publisher. Robert Littell’s outburst seemed due to tough financial times and Mowll’s response was “to keep very cool.” Perhaps he held the best job available to him at the time and his outward coolness covered turmoil over precarious employment.

In November Mowll solemnly wrote, “At 7 AM found a man in the Store Yard at East Cambridge who had blown his throat with a pistol—a shocking sight to behold. He had 15.00 dollars in a saving bank.” In December he entered, “A man of

this City cut his throat in *bath tub*.” Mowll appeared to fully understand the money crisis implications.²³

The Bank Panic of 1857 took its toll on Littell publishing, as it did other publishing houses. To shore up finances, Littell, Son & Company took a partner for the *Living Age* in the spring of 1858, and announced the new co-publisher and format in a lengthy article. Eliakim Littell wrote of the successes of the *Age*'s First and Second Series in the introduction of a Third Enlarged Series, and emphasized that, despite the recent financial hard times caused by the Panic of 1857, Littell's *Living Age* went on:

[Due to] the friendship of our subscribers...[who] adhered to us through the financial crisis, now passing away, we have made an alliance with the eminent publishing house, Stanford & Delisser of New York, by whose strength of capital & business connections in all parts of the country, we are enabled and encouraged to announce the Enlarged Series.²⁴

Littell defined his audience for the weekly *Living Age* as, “All professional men, clergy, lawyers, physicians, as well as merchants and mechanics,” and “the large class of young men who are educating themselves.”²⁵ He added that his readers did not have time “to wade through the heavy lightness, the serious vanity, the vapid wit, or stupid pomposity” of all of the literature available. Instead, he provided the very best of current literature for inquisitive minds and presented, “the cream of foreign periodicals” to his varied readers, all for, “six dollars a year, remitted directly to either of the publishers.”²⁶

In an April 1858 edition Littell added two more promotional notes. He presented a congratulatory letter from J. Q. Adams, dated Washington, 27 December 1845, and an editorial with a flattering appraisal of Eliakim Littell's skills by Mr. Raymond of *The New York Times*. Raymond noted that the *Age* “needless to say always will be filled with

the choicest selections, as long as MR. LITTELL prepares copy.”²⁷ Perhaps others believed only senior Littell could prepare the best copy. Son Robert’s pique at the implied slight emerged as negative behavior toward his underling, bookkeeper Mowll.

The Third Series of Littell’s *Living Age* began with much fanfare and hoopla. There were new partners, Stanford and Delisser; a change from stereotype to lithography, and a new printer, Avery & Rand. Mowll made little note of these changes in his journals, except for mentioning Eliakim Littell’s frequent trips to New York. The partnership was unsuccessful; within a year, Littell was again sole publisher of the *Age*. The new typeface and printer remained, but Stanford & Delisser were no longer partners. In December 1858 Mowll wrote, “S & D’s note protested,” apparently a Littell loan.²⁸ Then in July 1859, Mowll noted “Delissa [*sic*] & Procter stopped payment in New York.”²⁹

Mowll Saves Littell

Mowll seemed oblivious to certain aspects of his surroundings until forced to reckon with them. Despite Eliakim Littell’s bravado, by 1859 financial reverses caused by the 1857 Panic had not improved for many Boston publishers.³⁰ Perhaps Mowll’s preoccupation with personal concerns obfuscated his awareness of business problems. In July 1859 he remarked, “Robert in a bad way,” but seemed not to know the cause.³¹

Three days later Mowll wrote:

At 11 AM a Deputy Sheriff came to the office with a man & attached the property to the amount of \$500 for a debt of Deliveries, Littell Son & Co being the endorsers of the note. Left man in charge on my going home at night, I had to deliver up the keys, all but the safe key.³²

This event revealed the trust the Littells had in Mowll's character. Mowll appeared alone in the office at the time officials arrived and had responsibility for all keys to Littell's office including the one to the safe. Perhaps the Littells knew what to expect, as exhibited in Robert's behavior, so both father and son avoided the office. The next day, Saturday, a working day for Mowll, he wrote, "The man is still in possession."³³

Then on Monday Mowll wrote:

Sheriff's man still in possession. Rec'd No. 791 of Age. On Saturday I bought of Littell Son & Co. all the Stereotypes Plates, papers, & No. 791 and 792 to sell to subscribers, booksellers, &tc. & with proceeds to pay for the manufacture of the same, retaining \$8= as compensation for my services per week, nothing new.³⁴

Mowll had no money to buy these items from Littell. Apparently Littell and Mowll struck a deal to circumvent the Sheriff for the debt execution, buy time, and protect Littell's printing plates and most recent issues of the *Living Age*. Four days later Mowll noted, "The man is still in possession," but did not mention work for another ten days when he reported, "Sheriff sent men to remove the goods away all since 26 March 1855," and the next day, "At about 1:30 PM Sheriff and his men finished taking goods away & gave back keys to the office."³⁵

The exact impact this turmoil had on Mowll or Robert Littell is unknown, but in early August, Mowll wrote, "EL [Eliakim Littell] went down to the harbor with the Trade Sale Booksellers."³⁶ This entry referred to a practice of meeting with other publishers and booksellers to wholesale leftover stock, a "system of exchange," where booksellers could sell large quantities of books on commission or directly to retailers."³⁷ The senior Littell

was attempting to raise cash to recover some of his company's records and goods still in the Sheriff's hands.

About a month later Mowll wrote, "Got the goods back to the office from the Sheriff. Very busy putting them away in their place," followed the next two days by the same.³⁸ The "Nos." or numbers were back issues of the *Living Age*, including bound quarterly books of the magazine. Not much had changed for Mowll, for he still had his middle-class bookkeeper position at Littell. His family moved to a more expensive rental home, perhaps an unwise action considering the Littell's financial problems.

Church Volunteer Mowll

Social rank did not depend entirely on conditions of employment. Membership in a religious organization of an "evangelistic or ritualistic" nature also contributed to the new middle-class identity emerging in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁹ Mowll and his family attended services at the Third Evangelical Congregational Society or Church, at the northeast corner of South Second Street and Thorndike in East Cambridge, where he also worked as sexton.⁴⁰ His sexton's position was considered by many as respectable manual labor, and the family's church membership offered religious fellowship.

Mowll further served his church by election as collector of pew taxes or rents, a non-paying position putting him in contact with all church members.⁴¹ He served as Door Keeper for church fund-raising efforts, such as the Magic Lantern Show and Church Christmas Fair, increasing his visibility and sense of fellowship.⁴² Mowll appeared to appreciate his sense of involvement gained through conversations and deliberations

within the church, especially selecting the new pastor, Reverend Richard G. Green of Brooklyn, New York.⁴³ These voluntary positions and organizational activities occasioned dealings with more affluent church members and gave Mowll increased social capital when compared to his manual duties of furnace lighting or clearing snow from sidewalks before services.

Mowll's positive interactions with church elders and socially prominent Boston Evangelistic Congregationalists, such as Dr. Edward Norris Kirk, support the theory that class differences did not prevent higher stationed Bostonians from interacting with poorer citizens. Their religion promoted Christian communion with a "like-minded people who lacked their wealth and institutional leadership."⁴⁴ Additionally, the Bank Panic of 1857 reportedly had a leveling influence, causing the somewhat financially secure, but rattled, higher stationed Bostonians to mingle with and offer support to less well-off church members at special prayer and revival meetings.⁴⁵ On the other hand, some scholars questioned whether there was a dual purpose in religious beneficence during these difficult times and suggested religion reinforced the status quo, thereby preempting a social revolution by poor folk.⁴⁶

From Mowll's perspective, the frequent services held in response to the Bank Panic gave him opportunity to mix with Boston's finer citizens. He enjoyed attending prayer meetings held in March 1858 at Old South and elsewhere. He left Littell after his noon dinner and walked down Bromfield St., a short block to Washington St., and up the bustling main artery of Boston to Old South at the corner of Milk St. Mowll reported the size of the crowd, who of note attended and to whom he spoke at the meeting.

In seeking respectability, Mowll dressed the part. He gained power and exerted control over his life by clothing his body in fashionable, though probably less expensive, garments and bending his head in prayer in an historical Boston house of worship.⁴⁷ On the other hand, communion with like-minded worried souls on edge from the Bank Panic probably calmed all who sat serenely for an hour during their workday.

Clothes appeared to give Mr. Mowll self-confidence as he performed in the public realm and served as an affirmation of his potential position in society. In addition, clothing was easily transported during his family's several moves in East Cambridge, unlike other symbols of middle-class status, such as furniture, heavy carpets and lighting fixtures. Clothing was for public display and Mowll seemed to take pride in his appearance while at his job in Boston, as he mingled with middle- and upper-class acquaintances at church and social events, and most likely when he visited Eliza Jane on Beacon Hill.

Mowll had to keep up appearances in his professional role at Littell, due to competition from available younger workers willing to work for less pay, as well as in his other social roles at church and temperance functions. He had an account at N. K. Skinner's, paid clothing bills over time and kept records of payments in his journals. He was measured for numerous items at Skinner's, including a "Franklin coat, pants and trimmings" in February 1859, costing \$11.68, and "a pair of Sunday pants for \$6.50," in September, picking them up four days later.⁴⁸ In December 1859, he wrote, "Got measured for an overcoat at N. K. Skinners," then paid Skinner off in early February 1860.⁴⁹ Mowll bought more clothes in 1859 than in other journal years, probably because

Charley now contributed to household finances. These extra funds allowed Mowll to enhance his appearance in the role of a successful middle-class patriarch.

Mowll also seemed to find clothes a celebration and a lift for his spirits. On a warm first day of May in 1858, with “Splendid times among the May children, Diana came over in the afternoon and we went to Oak Hall and I bought a coat for myself; gave \$10.00.”⁵⁰ Oak Hall, unlike Skinner’s, sold ready-made clothing and shopping at 32, 34, 36, & 38 North Street in Boston provided immediate gratification. The outside of the building looked like a church with arched windows, spires and a large American flag over the main entrance. Inside was a cross-vaulted ceiling, fluted Corinthian columns, suspended gas lighting with glass globes, and rows of long tables filled with merchandise in front of stocked, recessed shelves about fifteen feet high. The owner advertised Oak Hall as “The unrivaled emporium for Gentlemen’s, Youths’, and Little Children’s Ready-Made Clothing,” and created a nearly religious shopping experience.⁵¹

Clothing and accessories had importance to other Mowll family members, too. They marked milestones, such as Charley’s new outfit to celebrate his transition to the adult world of work, or tokens of affection, as the “back hair comb” Mowll purchased for his wife and the new gloves and a “coat for summer use” she bought him.⁵² New clothing also seemed to relieve stress. When meeting Reverend Chickering and his wife at the Boston & Maine Depot in 1859, Diana bought herself a new shawl, perhaps to put on a proper appearance before a social superior.⁵³ Similarly, Mowll bought himself a silk vest on his next to last day of employment at Littell.⁵⁴

Presentation of self is the heart of a “dramaturgical” analysis of interaction in human society.⁵⁵ Probably the Mowlls were not aware of their “performances,” in appearance and social manners, but the impressions, consciously or unconsciously sought, were part of a stage set for middle and upper-class performers. Also, clothing their bodies was akin to putting on armor as the Mowlls faced adversaries. At times clothing was a celebration of success, sometimes a tonic and other times gifts connoting affection. Undoubtedly, clothing carried many messages — status, social acceptance, and self-confidence.

Additionally, some theorists call the upper class a “reference group...to which many aspire and seek to imitate. High social status...is a way of exercising power. It operates by creating respect, envy, and deference.”⁵⁶ In this light, Mowll’s white-collar position as bookkeeper at Littell, his volunteer activities at the Third Evangelistic Congregational Church and his penchant for appropriate attire presented outward signs of desired middle-class status to the community. At the same time, the Mowlls benefited from upper-class Bostonian beneficence, which helped them maintain a semblance of middle-class standing. In fact, these wealthier, higher stationed, Evangelistic Bostonians were Mowll family saviors more than once.

Wrote to Mrs. Safford asking her decision about Eliza & telling her how Eliza denied her parents (two years ago in her house).

C. W. M. Journals, 7 September 1858

Chapter 6

POWERFUL PEOPLE: ADVANTAGE AND DISADVANTAGE

Mowll wrote about the advantages and disadvantages of having powerful people as “friends.” Mowll wanted respect, but respect, like wealth, seemed inextricably linked to power. His benefactors, Mrs. Ann Eliza Safford, Dr. Edward Norris Kirk, Reverend John White Chickering and Governor William George Crosby, had prestigious positions and economic independence. Their lives differed greatly from the Mowll’s, and he clearly understood how these people touched his family in positive and negative ways.

Daniel and Ann Eliza Safford

The Mowll family life altered when Ann Eliza Safford became Eliza Jane’s guardian. Exactly when the wealthy widow of Boston entrepreneur Daniel Safford, became responsible for Eliza Jane’s welfare is not known, but apparently it was during 1856. The Saffords’ Boston home was open to evangelists, foreign missionaries, numerous orphans and misfortunate folk. Ann Eliza Safford documented their beneficence in A Memoir of Daniel Safford by his Wife, published by the American Tract Society, 1861.¹

Daniel Safford came from a Hamilton, Massachusetts, farm family of moderate income, and grew up in a rural home “amid healthy influences, at an equal remove from

poverty and from riches.” He had little formal training and went to work full-time on his father’s farm at age eight. In 1808, at sixteen, he began as an apprentice blacksmith to his older brother, David, in Salem, Massachusetts. After completing his apprenticeship in 1812, and with sixty dollars from his brother, Daniel Safford went to Boston. He sought out the only person he knew there, former neighbor William Adams. They attended Park Street Church together and developed a partnership in the ironworking business, with Adams contributing a larger amount at first, but with Safford’s note as guarantee.²

Safford made his fortune by developing “hot-air iron furnaces for warming dwelling houses and large buildings...[Safford’s was] the first used in the Capitol in Washington.”³ He began with little funds and credited his eventual success to practicing his religious principles in business. Safford invented some items and improved others, but refused to apply for patents, preferring, “to allow all to be at liberty to use my inventions. If the public are benefited, I am satisfied.” Fourteen years later, in 1826, Mr. Safford’s sixty dollars was worth \$25,000 and he donated \$1,000 to the American Education Society.⁴

In 1836, the Saffords met Mary Lyon when she promoted her concept for Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Lyon stayed at Saffords’ Boston home frequently, and Daniel Safford visited the school and worked tirelessly on seminary projects, while serving as a trustee of Mount Holyoke from 1837 until his death. The Saffords’ moral and financial support helped Lyon’s project succeed and Safford Hall, built in 1897, was named for both Daniel and Ann Eliza Safford.⁵

Prior to his death, Safford counseled Ann Eliza that \$45,000 a year was enough

for maintenance expenditures, and proposed any annual surplus be donated to charity. He sold their five-floor “commodious” home at No. 3 Beacon St., and purchased and remodeled the smaller No. 2 Beacon Hill Place for his family’s “convenience,” before he died in February 1856. After services at home and Mount Vernon Street Congregational Church, Daniel Safford was interred at Mount Auburn Cemetery, with other Boston notables.⁶

Daniel Safford exemplified bourgeois success based on hard work and belief in God, and he credited religion, charity and temperance learned early in life. Safford counseled employees that success in business, as in religion, required piety and sobriety. “When I reflect upon my success in business, and upon my social and religious standing, I love to attribute them to the blessing of God upon my exertions. We must not look for his blessing *without* our exertions, but *upon* our exertions.”⁷ Daniel Safford lived the Protestant work ethic, an apparent synonym for the American Dream.

Eliza Jane Mowll entered Mrs. Safford’s care in the aftermath of her husband’s death. Safford provided Eliza Jane an education at Mount Holyoke and a comfortable home on Beacon Hill, which Eliza Jane used to her advantage. Eliza Jane’s parents were indebted to Mrs. Safford, but at the same time expressed anger and sadness over their daughter’s apparent alienation from their affections. Safford’s wealth and power plucked Eliza Jane from tenuous circumstances and she chose to move on, from East Cambridge to Boston, later to California and then to Connecticut. She became wealthy through two marriages and her daughter and granddaughter became millionaires.⁹ From colonial times, fortuitous marriages proved one road to achieve the American Dream; Eliza Jane

Mowll traveled that road with success.

As Daniel Safford succeeded in Boston, C. W. Mowll struggled.¹⁰ What made the difference? They both attended church regularly and appeared eager to work. In 1812, twenty-year-old Safford came to Boston and began a partnership with a friend from home. Safford was young, single and devoted his days to work, prayer and charity, according to Mrs. Safford's memoir, and deferred marriage until his business was established.¹¹ In contrast, Mowll came to Boston in 1849 at the age of thirty-three, with a wife, three children and one soon to be born. His accounting skills were honed by the Royal Navy paymaster position, with no indication of additional talents beyond seafaring experience. His financial standing at the time of arrival in the United States is not known. The Slaver Squadron prize money possibly paid for passage to America or was long gone before the journey, since Mowll's estate owed his father 200£ when the elder's will went to 1870 Probate Court.

Perhaps 1812 was a better time for success, particularly in an innovative iron business. Safford had an important contact in Boston, who became a partner and mentor. Mowll probably had assistance through the Congregational church, but working for someone else at eight dollars a week with many family responsibilities prevented accrual of investment capital. Mowll struggled to maintain his family, borrowed money or took "notes" from powerful people for living expenses, and made time payments for clothing, doctors, and medicine. Safford counseled not to buy on time. Mowll and Safford seemed to be risk-takers, but circumstances of luck, timing (in economics and in the season of their individual lives), creativity, and unique skills seemed to favor Safford over Mowll.

Reverend Edward Norris Kirk, D.D.

Daniel and Ann Eliza Safford first met Dr. Edward Norris Kirk in 1840, when the evangelical preacher and well-known revivalist came to Boston and preached at Park Street Church. The following year Kirk moved into their large home at No. 3 Beacon St. where, in 1842, Safford and Kirk initiated plans for the Mount Vernon Street Congregational Church. With Safford's strong financial assistance, fund-raising skills and political support, Dr. Kirk became the first minister of the new church in 1844.

Kirk's preaching skills and the church's voluntary societies which appealed to young, unmarried individuals flocking to Boston, brought success to this new institution.¹² To facilitate familiarity with the congregation, the Saffords held ladies' sewing circles and men's and youth meetings at their house. This approach circumvented cliques, common in other congregations when only certain station parishioners were invited by subscription to attend meetings in other parishioners' homes. Later, the meetings moved from the Saffords' to the expanded vestry and meeting rooms at Mount Vernon Street Church.¹³ Kirk continued his friendship with his ardent supporter and said at Safford's funeral, "Our intimacy was that of brothers, for sixteen years. We studied, labored, prayed, journeyed, suffered, and rejoiced together."¹⁴

Dr. Edward Norris Kirk was a powerful man, both physically and politically. He received an undergraduate degree from Princeton, where as a senior, he delivered a strong condemnation of slavery.¹⁵ He studied law for eighteen months in New York City, and returned to Princeton for Theological Seminary. After graduation, he oversaw foreign missions, became pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Albany, where he welcomed

abolitionist speakers, and then established a theological school for evangelists in conjunction with Dr. Beman of Troy, New York. In 1837, Kirk resigned his pastorate and toured Europe for his health and became known as a popular speaker. People described him as an accomplished pulpit orator with a “voice, rotund, musical... a figure full, graceful, easy movement.”¹⁶ Edward Norris Kirk clearly demonstrated his educational, social and cultural capital or power when Mount Vernon Street Church was built for him by one of the city’s leading businessmen.

Dr. Kirk stayed close to Mrs. Safford after her husband’s death and played a natural role as counselor in Ann Eliza’s charitable work, which included at least one member of the Mowll family. Possibly, when the Mowlls lived in Boston’s Eighth Ward, they attended services at Mount Vernon Street Church and through the church met Mrs. Safford and Reverend Kirk. Mowll and Kirk clearly knew each other. When Charley turned fifteen in 1859, Mowll asked that Kirk find his son a job. Kirk did.¹⁷

On the other hand, Reverend Kirk literally stood beside Mrs. Safford in her confrontation with the Mowlls over Eliza Jane’s custody.¹⁸ In August 1861, E. N. Kirk married Eliza Jane and Marmaduke Waud, who by 1863 resided at 1 Ashburton Place, close to Mount Vernon Street Church.¹⁹ Mowll’s education and political connections were limited compared to Kirk’s and he had no clout to mold events to his liking, as did this powerful preacher. Money wedded with religion and education was difficult to fight, especially when at times they benefited members of his family.²⁰

Reverend John White Chickering

Custody of a second daughter, Isabella, seemed in the hands of another powerful person, Reverend John White Chickering of Portland, Maine. When Mowll's journals opened in May 1857, Isabella lived in Maine under the care of the Chickerings. Since her sister, Eliza Jane, most likely went to Mrs. Safford's in 1856, maybe Isabella joined the Chickerings at the same time. Possibly there was a serious problem that year causing the family to give up custody of two children, while their son, Charley, who helped Mowll with church duties, and youngest daughter, Ellen, remained at home.

John White Chickering Sr., born in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1808, was a well-known temperance advocate and Congregational clergyman. He served with the Second Congregational Church in Portland, Maine, where he resided from the 1840s into the 1860s.²¹ His son, John White Chickering Jr. followed his father's path and after graduation from Bowdoin College and several years teaching in Maine and New York schools, returned to the Theological Seminary at Bangor, graduating in 1860. The Chickerings had education, social experience and powerful friends, but despite their social standing, C. W. Mowll successfully regained Isabella's custody in September 1857.

Honorable William George Crosby

A former governor of Maine and devout Unitarian, William George Crosby met Mowll at Littell, Son & Company. W. George Crosby came from old money. Born in 1805 to Judge William Crosby of Belfast, Maine, he attended Bowdoin College, and graduated in 1823, as he turned eighteen.²² Crosby wrote and published poetry, studied

law with his father, then practiced for two years in Boston, and returned to practice in Belfast in 1828.²³ Crosby served as the first Secretary of the Board of Education in Maine for three years, then was elected Governor by the State legislature in 1853 and 1854, when upheaval in the political party system prevented a clear winner in state elections.²⁴

After leaving the governorship, Crosby lived in Boston from 1855-1859 while engaged in literary pursuits with Littell.²⁵ Mowll referred to his benefactor by initials most times, as if to keep this ally a secret from an errant journal reader. In 1857, when the Littells called in Mowll's note for \$608, Mowll protested and turned to Crosby. "C. came back from East'd. Brought money to pay my note."²⁶

Earlier that year Mowll wrote, "W. G. C. went down East. Had a new bureau sent home to us."²⁷ In June 1858, Mowll reported, "Hon. W. G. Crosby gave me a bottle of Peruvian Syrup."²⁸ During the turmoil over Eliza's broken engagement, Mowll turned to Crosby again, "Asked Geo. Crosby's advice which he will give me on his return from Belfast."²⁹ Crosby apparently avoided offering free legal advice on this worrisome issue.

A year passed before Mowll mentioned him again, "Wm. C. Crosby arr'd from Belfast," then three days later, "W. G. Crosby ret'd home down East."³⁰ At this time, Littell was under Sheriff's orders and it appears Crosby's literary connection with Littell ended here, although possibly he brought funds from Belfast to assist Littell, as he previously assisted Mowll.

Former Governor Crosby was a powerful, educated and politically connected man, who generously helped the Mowlls with furniture, medicine, advice and money. On

the other hand, perhaps it was Crosby who arranged for Isabella's apparently short-lived stay with the Chickerings in Portland, Maine.

Mowll's journals reveal the consequences of having powerful benefactors, people with higher education, family money, success in business and religious leadership. These benefactors provided jobs, gifts and economic assistance, but were sources of disruption in Mowll family life. Powerful help brought powerful strings.

Robert & myself had a great talk because he said that I was continually insulting him by not saying Sir to him when I spoke to him. Said he would not stand it, that I must alter or leave.

C. W. Mowll Journals September 1858

Chapter 7

ANGST OF BEING ORDINARY

Mowll's reality lay in everyday experiences of personal rebuffs, financial difficulties, and threats of unemployment. He rented from various landlords, but lack of funds forced frequent moves, resulting in no one place to call home. Parish elders were tardy with Mowll's sexton pay, when twenty-five dollars a quarter was important to his family's well-being. Eliakim and Robert Littell warned Mowll he was expendable, and controlled his employment and concomitant distance from poverty. Powerful benefactors brought relief, but also jeopardized his and his wife's authority and independence.

Landlords for Better or Worse

Unlike the Irish, particularly those fleeing the 1840s potato famine, German, French, and English immigrants usually did not live in enclaves separate from other Bostonians. "The great mass of Irish [were segregated] within the narrow limits of old Boston," while other newcomers "secured employment, which their backgrounds enabled them to do more readily."¹ The German, French and English moved throughout the city and later into suburban areas, because they had more resources, work experience and suffered less discrimination.

The Mowlls exemplified this finding through their mobility. At some point before 1857, they moved from Boston's Eighth Ward, near the infamous Fort Hill section, to East Cambridge, where Mowll wrote of four different rental locations in three journal years.² He most likely walked to work in Boston from comparatively suburban East Cambridge.³ He crossed Canal or Craigie's Bridge, which came into Leverett St. in Boston and then probably took Tremont Street, turning left at the Old Granary Burying Ground on Bromfield to Littell's at number forty-six.⁴ Although horse-drawn trolleys were available, it seemed likely he preferred not to pay the fare, but once mentioned getting a ride home on the cart of a wood chips salesman he knew.⁵ The Mowll rentals in East Cambridge seemed dictated by proximity to the church where he worked as sexton, not by his employment at Littell. In the 1860s, Charley's job probably determined the Mowll family's location.

As the journals opened, Mowll had several confrontations with his landlady in East Cambridge, Mrs. Goodnow, who planned to raise their rent at 20 Lowell Street, from \$5.53 to \$12.50 a month.⁶ Apparently Mowll was resourceful in ways to increase his family's income and sublet parts of various quarters he rented, but sometimes with disastrous consequences. Another tenant, Mrs. Obery, and her drunken husband riled Mrs. Goodnow with a "parcel of lies" about Mowll, which probably contributed to the landlady's demand for higher rent.⁷ Instead, Mowll chose to move to 129 Thorndike Street, a "little house," for "\$8.44" a month. It was owned by Mr. Bennett, a fellow parishioner at the Third Evangelistic Congregational Church.⁸ Mowll ceremoniously used the Littell "seale" to sign his three-year lease with Bennett and moved on a "moonlit

night” to the family’s new quarters. All seemed well until Mrs. Goodnow pursued Mowll in person and through a lawyer for rent due. Mowll argued, but eventually lost to this formidable woman, who caused consternation by visiting him at Littell’s to demand payment.⁹ Mowll was angry as he finally paid the debt to an “impudent” woman through her attorney, J. B. Bryant, in Scollays Building, Boston.¹⁰

Mowll faced a series of problems finding affordable housing in the fast-growing region. He soon was unable to pay the rent on Thorndike Street. “Bennett & I agreed to make our lease null and void & that I might tear it up and did so before him.” They agreed on a rent of seven dollars a month.¹¹ The relationship with a church brother facilitated his rent adjustment, whereas the battle with Mrs. Goodnow ended bitterly. Less than a year later, the Mowlls moved again. In March 1859, Mowll leased the upper floor of a house at No. 6 North 3rd St., East Cambridge, and paid Mr. E. Cunningham, apparently the brother of a fellow Congregationalist, six dollars a month.¹² Five months later, Mowll moved to another location in East Cambridge, renting from Mr. Davis, at 36 South Sixth Street for \$136 a year, a higher rate than at the previous three locations. Mr. Davis most likely was Charley’s employer, Fairfield R. Davis, grocer and member of the Third Evangelistic Congregational Church in East Cambridge.¹³ Once again, the social capital of his church connections assisted Mowll with jobs and housing.

Chagrin at Church

While his church provided critical social and financial support, Mowll wrote about the negative aspects of his job as sexton. When the Reverend J. L. Bennett, removed to Lockport, New York in 1857, Mowll wrote to his former pastor that the

congregation, “Seemed inclined to not pay their way and no interest taken in the Church.”¹⁴ The congregation was struggling. Mowll spent numerous volunteer hours going door-to-door collecting pew taxes in all kinds of weather with varied results, kept records of payments in his journal and wrote bills for unpaid taxes to place in pews. He had difficulty obtaining his sexton salary of \$25 per quarter and Mowll needed his pay, which was months overdue.

Clearly, the congregation was affected by the financial hard times. In April 1858, Mowll approached church treasurer Wyman for his salary and received the balance due of eighty dollars.¹⁵ He immediately paid his rent and bought a new hat, a familiar pattern of spending.¹⁶ But the quick payment did not continue, as Mowll wrote in October 1858, “Mr. Wyman told me that I had better take some of the money [from pew rents] to pay myself (likewise Mr. Green that he would go shares with me).”¹⁷ This was a startling suggestion. If Mowll previously was tempted to keep part of the pew rents as pay, he had not. Faced with inconsistent income, the church treasurer now recommended paying the sexton’s and the pastor’s salaries from the pew rents, as they were collected. Mowll preferred to keep the rents clearly separated from his salary. Less than two weeks later, when Mowll paid Mr. Wyman pew rents, Wyman gave back to Mowll, “\$50 as salary (50 pays me for the 1st March to 1st September being 6 months).” The day after receiving his back pay, Mowll purchased boots and shoes for himself, Charley and Diana, and two days later gave Wyman a receipt for his six months salary.¹⁸

Mowll's income problems continued and two weeks later in December 1858 he entered, "Saw Mr. Winchell on Congress Street talking over Church matters. I told him they had not paid me yet & I was badly off just now, when he made me take \$5 of his. He was going to Prayer Meeting at Old South Chapel."¹⁹ Mowll continued speaking to church leaders about his unpaid salary. Then in April 1859 he wrote, "Paid into Mr. Wyman \$61.95. Ask'd for some of my salary but could not get it — told Mr. W. that the Society had better get another Sexton." Finally in May he documented his dissatisfaction, "Sent Mr. Wyman by mail my bill amounting to \$75= the 1st of June." Mowll had not been paid for nine months.²⁰ Apparently the church was still in economic straits, as many Boston businesses were since the Bank Panic.

The church continued to struggle financially, and a subscription was held in June 1859. Mowll probably wanted to appear an equal at church, even while he waited for his sexton salary. With twelve present, "Voted to have a sub'n paper for paying off bank debts. I put my name down for \$5.00. Sub on spot \$165."²¹ Mowll's contribution was not an equal share of the amount raised, but he kept up appearances by pledging money his family most likely needed for living expenses.

In July, a fellow parishioner, Mr. Nute, visited Mowll to ask if he was giving up the sexton position, followed two days later by Mr. Wyman paying Mowll the balance of the previous year's salary.²² The slow pay continued and by December 1859, Mowll asked Wyman for ten dollars but did not receive it until he served as Door Keeper collecting entrance fees at the Church Christmas Fair later that month.²³ As funds were raised, they were dispersed quickly.

As Mowll aspired for higher status amidst tardy paychecks, he bridled at the petty inconsideration he sometimes received from church members. On occasion he was at church as early as 4:30 AM, before heading into Boston, and at night until 10:00 PM, especially when choir rehearsals ran late. When he complained to the church committee about the late evening hours, they told Mowll to have a key made for the choir director, who would lock up after rehearsals. This reply insulted Mowll whose job as sexton placed him in charge of the meetinghouse.²⁴

A particularly embarrassing moment occurred one Sunday in December 1857 when Mowll wrote:

Charley and myself went to work getting the snow off the sidewalk in front of the Church. Fires burnt rather bad & lamps worse in the evening. Dr. Taylor spoke about them and Daniel Tyler upbraided Charley about his clothes at Sabbath School.²⁵

Charley helped his father and had no time to change clothes before attending Sunday School and was criticized for his appearance. At the same time Mowll was admonished for poor lighting, making a demoralizing day for both father and son.

Another instance occurred on Christmas Day 1859. “The grate of large furnace gave out — Dr. Taylor & myself had a few words, because he reprimanded me before the S. School for looking after the furnace — *made no noise.*” Mowll was embarrassed in front of his children’s Sunday School as he again struggled with anger toward authority figures.²⁶

The most infuriating experience for Mowll occurred earlier that year:

The Congregation of the Church surprised Mr. Green, pastor, with a purse of \$110.50 and 2 barrels of flour, potatoes, hams, raisins & in fact almost everything a man wants for his house with a load of coal and wood, and

wanting me (poor as I am) to contribute something and owing me \$50.00
*FIFTY DOLLARS.*²⁷

The concluding affront happened in April 1860 when, “Mr. Green preached in Cambridgeport as a candidate. He intends to leave us not being able to live on Salary of \$1,100 a year.”²⁸ Mowll worked two jobs and volunteered many hours to the Church, but earned less than half the salary Reverend Green said was insufficient for living expenses.

Despite these frustrations, church was an important part of Mowll’s spiritual life and provided many beneficial social contacts. The sexton’s position paid little, when it did pay, and was not white-collar office work, but Littell, Son & Company had disadvantages too.

Littell, Son & Company

Mr. Mowll experienced his subordinate position when he ran afoul of his employers, Eliakim and Robert Littell. Mowll detailed the confrontations of his tenuous position, and tried to avoid termination by keeping “cool.”²⁹ Mowll knew in September 1857 as the Bank Panic took its toll, he better not miss work. He had “Dysentry” [*sic*], and sent Charley, to Littell in his place. Three days later he noted, “Found myself much better but very weak. Managed to get to the office about 12:30 PM & sent Charley home.”³⁰

The following March, Eliakim Littell reminded Mowll how fragile his employment was when Mowll asked to leave early for Isabella’s eleventh birthday celebration. “At 2 PM asked E. Littell to excuse me this afternoon, when he told me if I could not do his work he must get somebody else that would, when several other things he spoke about.”³¹ It was the way things were for clerks at that time, especially immigrant

clerks over forty. There were more than enough would-be white-collar workers or “merchant apprentices,” young and willing to wait for higher wages.³² Mowll’s pique with his bosses increased. Previously, he recorded when the Littells were away from the office, but after this episode he did so with diligence, noting times father and son left early, came in late, or took vacations. Four days after Eliakim told Mowll he was expendable, he wrote, “EL went home at 12 & RSL [Robert Smith Littell] at 2 PM.”³³

A few months later he entered, “RS Littell went down to Mount Desert for vacation but poor me cannot get one unless I give up my situation altogether, that is their motto with all under them.”³⁴ Ironically, without Robert there and after writing on 24 July about his “rather dull forty-second birthday,” Mowll wrote “I find this week is the worst I have had for about 20 years having no one to converse with at the office.”³⁵ The Littells trusted Mowll to run the office alone and, while he sorely needed a vacation, he felt lonely and craved sociability.

Less than two months later, in September, approximately a year after the 1857 Panic and five months after the initiation of the highly touted *Age’s* Third Expanded Series, Mowll had another confrontation with Robert Littell. “Robert & myself had a great talk because he said that I was continually insulting him by not saying sir to him when I spoke to him. Said he would not stand it, that I must alter or leave.”³⁶ In Robert’s eyes, Mowll took liberties and behaved inappropriately in his bookkeeper position. As Mowll’s superior, he expected deference in all their daily dealings. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth century interactions between people of differing stations in America were governed by mutually understood conventions. Deference was shown through

“informal rules and customs governing face-to-face conduct,” but these rules, based on historical interaction between patricians and workers, were changing with the advent of a new middle-class, white-collar work environment.³⁷ Interactions now sometimes depended on individual participants’ values, personalities and circumstances.

Robert was offended by his employee’s familiarity; Mowll used the evolution of new rules for middle-class office work to “poach” on the edge of Robert’s superior position. He gained self-approval by putting himself on a par with Littell through his informality and poked at the boundaries of power. The younger man did not allow his clerk’s tactics to usurp his “proprietary powers.”³⁸ Perhaps the difference in their age encouraged Mowll to take liberties. In 1858, Mowll was forty-two and Robert was twenty-seven.³⁹

Other things probably bothered Robert Littell, since economic times were stressful for business owners as well as workers. Just as jobs became harder to find with the influx of eager potential workers to cities, capital for Littell became harder to amass and protect during the economic downturn.⁴⁰ In addition to being older than Robert, maybe Mowll’s Royal Navy experience and ambition to climb the social ladder played to the insecurities of Robert Littell, heir apparent of the *Living Age*. Probably Robert sensed Mowll thought himself an equal and therefore deserving equal recompense, as Mowll possibly chatted through the day. Perhaps *The New York Times* editor was not alone in thinking Eliakim Littell the only one capable of maintaining the quality of the *Living Age*. Maybe Mowll and Robert both questioned whether Eliakim’s heir could continue his father’s success.

As threats of dismissal loomed in September 1858, other tensions churned through Mowll's ordinary, complicated life. He was working six days a week for Littell and daily for the Congregational Church, and attending three church services, one Friday evening, and two on Sunday. Mowll faced tumult. During August and September, Eliza Jane became estranged from her parents again. Mowll was ill and visited physicians with no successful resolution of his "water complaint." He attended two séances with Mrs. Parmalee, where his mother, grandmother, Samuel and Eliza Jane spoke to him through the clairvoyant. Additionally, his wife, Diana, stayed away overnight with a female friend, much to his dismay; and he took in neighbors who had been put out on the street by their landlord. In this period, Mowll dreamed of being captain of his own ship, "Was out-at-sea taking in the Lower Stud'g Sail,"— which would slow down the ship.⁴¹ Stress pulsed on his journal pages.

Storm clouds continued to build over Mowll's life, but he seemed less aware of them than the daily weather report he religiously entered in his journals. Ominously, in early March 1860, Mowll noted, "RSL [Robert S. Littell] commenced Bookkeeping at French's."⁴² Several weeks later, Robert asked Mowll to do something and he refused:

At about 10 AM RS Littell asked me if I wished to earn 17 cents to copy a letter. Anonymous one to a Mr. Howard. I told him no. I would not do it for \$50.= He asked me if I was afraid of being found out. I told him no. I asked why he did not get one of his sisters to do it. Oh, he said, he would soon find them out.⁴³

Previously, when the Littells were in trouble, Mowll cooperated and "purchased" the printing plates and latest issues of the *Age*, but this time he refused to write an anonymous letter. Helping the Littell Company survive a temporary closure of their

business due to an unpaid loan seemed appropriate, perhaps since he also saved his job. Writing this letter for Robert appeared to violate his principles. When Mowll refused to do it, he conveyed his disapproval of the request and, by implication, of Robert Littell.

Mowll seemed to miss the clues to his own future when Robert took a second job as a bookkeeper, as well as the consequences for not cooperating in Robert's letter-writing scheme. Perhaps he realized he no longer could control his future at Littell by keeping "cool". Fifteen days later, on Tuesday 10 April 1860, Mowll wrote, "Had very high words with Mr. RSL, he speaking to me as if I was a dog. Notified me to leave this day a week." The next day, Mowll commented, "Doing my duty as occasion requires," and the following day, "Nothing further from RS Littell. *He* keeps his distance not speaking on friendly terms. He does not wish me good Evening or morning as was his usual custom." Similarly on Friday 13 April, Mowll entered, "RS Littell still not speaking as was his custom," and again on Saturday, "RSL the same as yesterday."

By Monday, Mowll seemed to forget he was fired. He entered a chatty report, "Fine day. Bought a silk vest for \$2.= Rain latter part. Heard of Mrs. Smith being dangerously ill, not expected to live." On Tuesday, the end of the week's notice given Mowll, the only entry is, "First cloudy with rain. Middle & latter part fine." *Journal No. Seven* ends there. The work for Littell was over.⁴⁴

Fine day Very unwell all day with headache. Nothing new, only I am afraid of having the Fever again tonight.

C. W. M. Journals, 7 June 1859

Chapter 8

HEALTH: A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH

The Mowll family was beset by many concerns, the most insidious being illness. Mowll had a fear of fever, most likely due to his close brush with death from yellow fever in 1839. That memory, combined with deaths from sudden illnesses which took neighbors literally overnight, weighed on Mowll.¹ His journals recounted diseases he and his family experienced, noting costs for treatments and remedies. These costs imposed on the family's precarious finances and the related physical and mental stress taxed Mowll and his family's overall health.

The uncertainty of illness plagued all, but the death of loved ones, especially young children, fostered popular interest in Spiritualism and participation in séances during the mid-nineteenth century.² Spiritualists or clairvoyants contacted the departed, gave solace to those left behind and reinforced the concept of afterlife. In 1857, *The Spiritualist Register* claimed there were 780,000 practicing Spiritualists in the United States, with 75,000 in Massachusetts alone, and optimistically estimated the number was actually 3,000,000, if those who sought spiritualists' advice were included.³ Spiritualists recognized "the fact of Spiritual intercourse between earth-sphere and the world invisible to external senses...without regard to creed, character, or standing."⁴ Boston had one

weekly Spiritual publication in 1857, New England Spiritualist, and a Spiritualist Home, Fountain House, corner of Beach and Harrison Sts. Spiritualist public speakers from Massachusetts included four Reverends and two doctors, and twenty “Test Mediums,” among whom was “C. Main, healing asylum, 7 Davis [St.], Boston.”⁵

C. W. Mowll knew “Dr.” Main, but the *Register* did not list Mrs. Parmalee, who the Mowlls also knew. Diana first visited Mrs. Parmalee concerning an illness in June 1858 and received medication. Mrs. Parmalee was an experienced clairvoyant and Diana and Mowll attended “circles” under Mrs. Parmalee’s guidance. Some of their church friends joined them at the clairvoyant’s home at 1135 Washington St., Boston.⁶ Mowll wrote about a circle they attended in August 1858. “At 8 PM went with Mr. Huggins & family to see Mrs. Parmalee. *Had a circle.*” Mowll reported that his dead son, Samuel “came and spoke to me & spoke through her to me. My mother was present there. Broke up at quarter to eleven.”⁷ The next month, after Diana met Mowll in the city and they had tea with Mr. Huggins, “We went & had a circle at Mrs. Parmalee’s. Samuel, Eliza, and my grandmother were there. We broke up about 10 PM. Paid \$2.00 for examinations.”⁸ Samuel’s appearances through Mrs. Parmalee suggested Mowll’s continuing grief for his deceased son.

The clairvoyant had a facility for determining desired or timely séance communication from deceased family members and issues of import in participants’ lives. In June 1859, the Mowlls had a circle at home and again in August, “Had a spiritual meeting at my house. Mr. Parker, Mrs. Mansise & others. Mr. Parker could not make the table move. Kate told me Mother was dead & in the Spirit land.”⁹ Kate, or Catherine, was

Mowll's deceased older sister. Mowll learned his mother was near death in a letter from his brother, that he received several days prior to the séance. A belief in Spiritualism by Evangelical Congregationalists may seem unusual, but humans tend to look for ways to resolve the past and predict or control future events. After August 1859, there was no more mention of circles, probably because Mowll saw Mrs. Parmalee's circles as a charade rather than proof of communication from the spirit world. His mother survived her dire illness.

Mowll also experienced unusual treatments for his debilitating "water complaint" from Spiritualist healer C. Main of 7 Davis St. in Boston.¹⁰ He first noted his problem in May 1858, when he saw "Dr." Charles Main. The Spiritual healer applied electrical treatments to Mowll and "put a plaster on my loins and gave me some medicine. I paid him \$2."¹¹ At the same time, Mowll bought some Kennedy's Medical Discovery for sixty-seven cents, one of the numerous patent medicines popular in nineteenth century America.¹² With the tenuousness of health and lack of known cures, patent and proprietary medications became a way to assuage the anxiety of illness and were a lucrative business for the likes of Kennedy. Mowll went back in less than a week and Main "applied the Battery to me and gave me some pills and blood medicine." A few days later he noted, "Saw Dr. Maine. Find myself no better."¹³

Mowll visited Dr. Main again in June, and received a prescription for Sweet Oil. Three days later Main advised him to double the dose and continue with other prescribed medicine; Mowll paid him two dollars again. A few days later Hon. W. G. Crosby gave Mowll a bottle of Peruvian Syrup.¹⁴ By the middle of June 1858, he wrote, "Took four

pills. Find myself no better by Dr. Maine's treatment." Mowll was taking a potpourri of drugs and continued to self-medicate, but did not comment further about his water complaint for nearly two months.¹⁵

Mowll's urinary tract problems continued. In July, soon after Ellen's bout with smallpox, he wrote, "Went to see Dr. Lee. Got a bottle of medicine for the gravel. Cost \$3.33 but did not pay." Six days later he paid Lee and also bought senna, a well-known herbal remedy.¹⁶ Mowll saw Dr. Lee three times in September for his water complaint and the doctor, "tried to pass an instrument but could not succeed. [Got] a bottle of medicine."¹⁷ By mid-October 1858, Mowll saw another physician, Dr. Gay, who, "tried to pass an instrument but could not succeed. Fetched blood. Have to see him again on Monday," at which time Dr. Gay wanted him to wait longer before passing the instrument again. In November, Mowll went back and Dr. Gay, "Tried me again. Brought a great deal of blood away — had a bad fever all night." Mowll felt so unwell, he paid someone fifty cents to sweep out the vestry for him the next day.¹⁸

As one of the coldest winters in Boston's history set in, the Mowll family fell ill with severe colds.¹⁹ On 26 November Mowll, reported he saw Dr. Lee, paid him fifty cents and felt a little better, but the next day he was ill again and since it was Sunday, Charley attended the meetinghouse for him. He went back to work Monday, complained of a cough, but there were no more reports of treatments for his water complaint. Perhaps he just gave up on a cure.

Fevers

In addition to his water problems, Mowll continued to experience recurring fevers most likely caused by his bout with yellow fever. Early in June 1859, he had “Strong Fever all night,” for ten nights but went to work during the day. Mowll conveyed his fear in his journal entries. His anxiety was palpable:

Very strong fever came on again...took five pills about midnight; Felt very unwell all day with a headache...I am afraid of having the Fever again; Fever was not so bad last night. Took five pills...got a box of pills; Had strong Fever on me last night which I could not break until 3 o'clock this morning. Feel very weak...Fever again this evening. Saw Dr. Farnsworth, 50c for pills; Took pills 3 different times in night. Fever left about 1 AM but very weak; [and finally] Fever not so strong last night, a little fever came on about 9 PM but did not last only until about 12 o'clock.²⁰

An Accident

Mowll's health problems may have contributed to his employment problems.

In January 1860, he suffered a debilitating accident at work:

At 10 AM whilst at my desk using my pocketknife in repairing a paste brush with the small [blade], slipt off the desk & ran into the inside part of my thigh striking into one of the arteryys [*sic*]. R. S. Littell ran immediately for a Doctor who bandaged it up & went home. Got Dr. Clarke to call and see it & to attend on it.²¹

Mowll did not write in his journal for nearly two weeks, then entered, “At home with my leg until this morning when I again commenced to work—but my leg still pains me. RSL in New York.”²² The accident may have demonstrated to the Littells that they could get by without Mowll.

The Mowll journals covered nearly three years or 1,066 days. Of those days, family illnesses totaled 143 days, 56 of which affected Mowll. Diana was mentioned

ninety times in the journals; forty-five of the entries concerned her health. She at times took to her bed with various unidentified complaints, visited doctors and Mrs. Parmalee, and lived nearly thirty years longer than her husband.²³ Isabella was exceptionally healthy and the thirty-one journal references to her concerned the Chickering's or schooling. Mowll's youngest daughter, Ellen, was mentioned thirty-eight times, twenty of which were about health, including her smallpox episode. Mowll's son, Charley, was mentioned eighty-one times; twenty-two were illness related, usually chest colds and eye infections. Given the family's health issues, it is not surprising that Mowll spent a fair portion of his weekly eight-dollar salary on doctor visitations and remedies.

The Mowlls saw doctors at least sixteen times (not counting the clairvoyant, Mrs. Parmalee), sometimes at two dollars a visit, except for Charley's eye doctor who charged five dollars.²⁴ Mowle also purchased medications from the doctors, patent medicines, and herbs for homemade remedies. His brush with death from yellow fever, loss of his younger son and unsettling deaths from swift-moving illnesses in his midst caused Mowll to pursue cures and medications from a variety of sources, with a variety of results.

On 30 September 1862, soon after his forty-sixth birthday and thirteen years after arriving in America, Mowll died from consumption. This Englishman who became a naturalized citizen, a Royal Navy veteran with family of standing in England, a man who strove to fit in with middle-class Boston society as a white-collar bookkeeper, until fired in April 1860, died as a laborer.²⁵

Above all, the effort here is to portray a human reality and to dignify common lives by respecting daily living.

— Claudia L. Bushman
A Good Poor Man's Wife

Chapter 9

MR. MOWLL'S STORY

In the end, C. W. Mowll was of one of many “little” people who helped make America. His journals, written in spare sentences, open a door on life in mid-nineteenth century Boston and East Cambridge, as he related perceptions of the world around him, filtered by his own circumstances, experiences, emotions and ego. Mowll’s ordinary daily ruminations may be considered minor compared to well-known diarists or journal keepers, but in such everyday things, history lives. As James Deetz wrote, “It is terribly important that the ‘small things forgotten’ be remembered. For in the seemingly little and insignificant things that accumulate in a lifetime, the essence of our existence is captured.”¹ The same may be said for seemingly insignificant people. In the same vein, Henry Glassie advocated looking at “ordinary people from the inside out,” and both Deetz and Glassie called for the now familiar revisionist approach to social history from “the bottom up.”²

Ten years after his Royal Navy Slaver Squadron experience, Mr. Mowll crossed the Atlantic again in search of fortune, this time in Boston. He and his family found an industrializing society, political turmoil brewing over slavery, financial hardships, religious community, health problems, and opportunity. Understanding 1850s Boston,

where Mowll worked and wrote his journals, explains pressures on Mowll, his employers, Littell, Son & Company, and the Third Evangelical Congregational Church. The city was crowded with immigrants and American county folk reaching for the American Dream, resulting in a plethora of young people willing to work cheaply in middling positions. The 1857 Bank Panic created bad economic times; companies failed, including publishers, and many workers lost jobs. The Panic's negative effects remained until the Civil War, making difficult times in the Northeast, particularly for Mr. Mowll.

These same economic circumstances affected the Third Evangelical Congregational Church in East Cambridge, as seen in slow pay for Mowll's sexton services and church subscription efforts to pay debts. The church also lost prominent members who removed from East Cambridge to more affluent suburbs; it even lost its minister, Reverend R. G. Green, to a parish paying more salary.³ Mowll might not have seen the handwriting on the wall, or if he did, was unable to find alternative employment.⁴

Despite financial hard times, which deepened with the Bank Panic of 1857, the Mowll family stayed together, nearly. Eliza Jane took advantage of Mrs. Safford's beneficence and left home, but Isabella returned from a possible similar guardianship in Maine with Reverend Chickering. Charley assisted his father with Littell and church duties, when necessary, and began full-time work at fifteen, which contributed significantly to family finances. Ellen survived smallpox, but little else is known of her except a bit about schooling, church attendance, and less-serious illnesses. The impact of Samuel's death is not known fully, and Diana remained a combination of dependence and

strength. Mowll loved his family, but struggled to support them and present himself in middle- and upper-class Boston society.

Mowll and his family sought to perform on a stage designed by others. He used clothing and office employment to present himself as solidly middle class, while living dangerously close to the edge of poverty. Mowll's tentative hold on middle-class status created humiliating situations concerning landlords and employment, both at Littell and his church. His landlady, Mrs. Goodnow, planned to sue him for unpaid rent, Eliakim and Robert Littell threatened job loss several times and some church leaders complained he failed to perform his sexton duties correctly. Outwardly, his attire, white-collar job and memberships in the Evangelical Congregational Church and Sons of Temperance gave Mowll social capital, but there were precarious undercurrents to this presentation of self, given his shortage of funds.

The powerful people who helped the Mowlls also caused heartaches. The Safford legacy of beneficence and Dr. E. N. Kirk's evangelical outreach probably helped the Mowlls avoid poverty, assisted Eliza and maybe Isabella. But Eliza Jane left home for Beacon Hill and Mount Holyoke, returning only for short visits, hurting her father and mother with her emotional and physical distance. However, the Chickerings in Portland, Maine, relented and released Isabella from an apparent guardianship, when Mowll pressured for her return to East Cambridge. William George Crosby, a former governor of Maine, gave Mowll money to repay a large loan to Littell, as well as furniture, medicine and advice, but his charity underscored Mowll's dependence on others.

These others, Safford, Kirk, Chickering and Crosby, all had more educational, social and economic capital than Mowll and used their political power and influence not only to help, but also to have their own way. Beneficence was multi-faceted. While the powerful provided good works, gave assistance through missionary societies, and attended special prayer meetings open to all, they also calmed and controlled potential social turmoil, reinforced their values, and continued to set society's stage and determine its rules from behind the scenes.

Mowll observed these social and political settings, while abolition was threatening to divide his adopted country and slavers and slave issues churned in the news. His experiences with the Royal Navy gave him insight about slavers, but his feelings about slavery were recorded obliquely in his journals. He was too busy surviving, supporting his family, trying to succeed in middle-class Boston, and facing the threat of illness and sudden death, all issues that plagued many people of the era. His fear of fevers, most likely originating with his bout of yellow fever in Brazil, kept Mowll searching for answers from doctors, patent and proprietary medicines and herbal remedies. But there was no available cure for consumption, which finally took his life.

C. W. Mowll was much like his journals, a work in progress, cobbled together on the sly with other people's materials. He had no power to interpret the past or the future with his writings, as wealthy and politically connected persons did. Instead, Mowll may have been seeking immortality through his journals. At the very least he was following an upper-class fashion, which may have increased his self-esteem. Fothergill posited that writing every day provided predictability through regimen.⁵ Mowll was keeping a log;

when he went off course, he still had his journal to tend. Even if there was “nothing new to report,” his daily writing habit provided a framework for life. Perhaps his journal keeping even gave him a sense of control over prospects that proved to be less than the American Dream.

Mowll’s legacy became his children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and the present generation of descendants. He never knew if his sacrifices — the long hours working for people who at times insulted him; the surrender of Eliza Jane to Boston’s elite society; or his efforts to participate in a religious community — would prove worthwhile. His own relatively early death left his family with straitened resources.⁶

Mowll’s is not a Horatio Alger story; it seems more Dickensian. This everyday man, who wrote about his efforts to maintain his family and gain respect, died intestate at forty-six.⁷ Many factors combined to sink his hopes for economic security and social mobility, as circumstances beyond Mowll’s control collided with his plans for success in America. The economic downturn created by the 1857 Bank Panic and poor health sank valiant efforts. C. W. Mowll’s journals present a valuable perspective, another voice in the story of mid-nineteenth century America, a voice from the bottom up and the inside out. Mowll was one immigrant among many, who sought a better life in America, but did not live to see his American Dream come true. It would be up to his children to make something of the foundations he and Diana had given them.

If there were no Americans living in the United States, there would still be America...[It] is a concept.

— Jean Baudrillard
The New York Times
November 2005

EPILOGUE

Safford, Kirk, Chickering, Crosby and the Littells continued on their own course of predictable success after Mr. Mowll's death. The Mowll family continued too.

Powerful People

Ann Eliza Bigelow Safford died 21 February 1874, eighteen years after Daniel's death. She was remembered for the charitable work her husband initiated and she continued, especially at Mount Holyoke, where Safford Hall was named for both Deacon and Mrs. Safford.¹ The Saffords had no children of their own, accounting perhaps for Ann Eliza's close attachment to Eliza Jane Mowll.

Reverend Edward Norris Kirk died 27 March 1874, about a month after his close friend, Mrs. Safford. Dr. Kirk was remembered for his evangelical work throughout America and in France, Germany and Italy, where he traveled. His Lectures on Revivals were edited and published in Boston in 1874.² He never married and left no off-spring.

Reverend John White Chickering continued his pastorship at the Second Congregational Church in Portland. By 1870 he was living in Wakefield, Massachusetts, where he died in 1888, at age seventy-nine.³ His minister son became a famed botanist and a professor of Natural Sciences at Gallaudet College in Washington, D. C.

After his literary pursuits in Boston with Littell, from 1855 to 1859, William George Crosby returned to Belfast, Maine, where he resided in his family home on Crosby's Hill. He practiced law and in 1866 served as Custom Collector, a political appointment. He retired 1 January 1870 and was awarded a Doctor of Letters by Bowdoin College the same year. W. G. Crosby died at home in 1881, at age seventy-six.⁴

Eliakim Littell died in Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1870, at age seventy-three. Robert Littell, Eliakim's only son, born 1831, lived with his father, mother, three sisters and three servants in Brookline, until his marriage in 1860, the year he fired Mowll. Robert became editor of the *Living Age* on his father's death in 1870. The company name changed to Littell & Gay when Charles M. Gay became a partner in 1868.⁵ In 1870, Robert lived with his wife, two daughters, Lucy and Alice, one son, Philip, and two servants in Brookline, but his job title was "Bookkeeper, Manufacturing Co."⁶ By 1877, widower Robert and his three children were boarding with his unmarried sister, Susan, on Alton Place in Brookline.⁷ He continued as editor of the *Age* until his death in 1896, at age sixty-four.⁸ The *Living Age* publication passed to Frank Foxcroft until 1919, followed by the Atlantic Monthly Press until 1928, and World Topics until its cessation in 1941.⁹ Robert's son, Philip, became a journalist; Philip's son Robert, born in 1897, became a writer, and lived in Manhattan with wife, two children and three servants.¹⁰

Mowll Family

When C. W. Mowll died 30 September 1862, he left Diana, Charley, Isabella and Ellen in East Cambridge.¹¹ By 1863-64, the Mowll family lived at 65 Gore St., East Cambridge, where they remained for several years. Charley was employed as a grocery

clerk, and the Mowlls had a stable home for a time.¹² This continued until Charley married the grocer's daughter, Mary Green Blake, in 1869, at which time Diana went to live with her daughter, Ellen, and Ellen's husband in Brighton, Massachusetts.¹³

Ellen K. Mowll and George W. Taplin married in Cambridge in 1869, when she was age nineteen; her husband, George, a farm laborer, and native of Vermont, was twenty-five.¹⁴ By 1880, Ellen and George lived in Newfield, Maine with their two children, Edith M., age nine, and Charles E., age eight.¹⁵

Diana was then living at 229 Elm St. in Somerville, Massachusetts, with her daughter, Isabella, and Isabella's husband, Levi Scammon Hayes, and their daughter, Edna, born 12 November 1871, in Maine.¹⁶ Isabella was twenty-three and Levi was twenty-six when they married 12 October 1870 in Brighton, Massachusetts, the home at the time of Isabella's sister, Ellen, her husband George, and Diana.¹⁷ Earlier in 1870, Levi lived and worked his father's farm in Limerick, Maine. Perhaps Isabella met him in Maine, through the Chickerings, after her father's death, or perhaps Levi came to Boston in search of a middle-class job and they met there.¹⁸ In Somerville, Levi worked as a grocery clerk until 1881, when he became a conductor for U. R. Co.; Isabella kept house and Edna was at school; mother-in-law Diana Mowll was age fifty-seven.¹⁹

Diana's whereabouts are not known for certain after 1880, but apparently after 1890 she again lived with Ellen and George, who moved to George's home state, Vermont.²⁰ Diana died 12 March 1898, at age seventy-five, in Chelsea, Vermont.²¹ Ellen followed her mother thirteen years later, 12 November 1911, at age sixty-one; George followed Ellen three years later, on 9 April 1916. Their son, Charles E. Taplin, married a

Vermont woman, Mary E. Laird, and had three children, Paul, Theo George and Wayne Charles, all born in Vermont. There were still Mowll Vermont descendants in 2006.

Isabella and Levi Hayes' daughter, Edna Isabel, married William Holmes, a native of Vermont. A childless widow, she moved to California, where she and her parents lived together through 1930.²² Isabella died 9 February 1931 in Los Angeles, California, and was buried in Glendale at Forest Lawn Cemetery. Her husband, Levi, followed her on 2 May 1931, and was buried at Forest Lawn also; she was eighty-four, he was eighty-seven; they were married over fifty years but had no grandchildren.²³

Charles Frederick Mowll continued in the grocery business as a clerk, until his retirement in 1902.²⁴ His children included: Frederick Newell, born October 1870, William Luther, born 21 June 1874, and Philip Waldstein, born 27 August 1884.²⁵

Frederick Newell Mowll married Lillian in 1896. In 1900, he was a railway office clerk in Salem, Massachusetts, where he resided. In 1910, he lived at 48 Balcomb St., and was an assistant paymaster for the Boston & Maine Railroad in Salem, a position he maintained through the 1930s.²⁶ Perhaps Fred collaborated with his father, Charley, on the patent for Car-Couplings, approved 31 March 1891.²⁷ (It is not known at this writing if Frederick and Lillian had children or either spouse's death date.)

William Luther Mowll graduated Cambridge English High School in 1892. He worked for an architect in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, 1892-1894, and while he was attending college. William was awarded scholarship assistance to Harvard, graduated and received a Harvard graduate school scholarship. He traveled for two years in Europe on the Rotch Traveling Scholarship, and became an instructor and then assistant professor at

Harvard in Architecture, from 1903-1910.²⁸ William opened his own architectural firm in Cambridge in 1907 and then Mowll & Rand in Boston. He and Charles Fabens Kelly wrote A Text Book of Design, published by Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1912. Mowll and Roger Glade Rand designed and built the Cameo Theatre in 1939 at South Weymouth, Massachusetts, with “a décor in keeping with local colonial architecture of Boston’s South Shore.”²⁹ William Luther married Lena Russell and had four children, Mildred, Helen, William Luther II and Ruth. The children’s father died in Lexington, Massachusetts, 6 September 1948.³⁰

Philip Waldstein Mowll first attended Cambridge Latin, then Arlington High School, in the town where his parents moved after retirement. Philip was granted a scholarship to Harvard in 1907 and 1908 and graduated in 1909, A. B. cum laude. He went to work in 1910 as an architectural designer in the War Department office of the Quartermaster-General, Washington, D. C. Philip married Clara Worthley; they had one child, Virginia, born 5 February 1912. In 1920, Philip left government service and became Art Director for a Washington firm, then moved on to a New York City advertising firm, until 1933 when he opened his own studio. Philip Mowll eventually became vice-president of Seagren Products, Inc., in Brooklyn until his retirement. His daughter married Carl E. Seagren on 14 April 1939; they had three children.³¹ Philip Mowll died 8 October 1971 in Brooklyn, where he resided from 1925 until his death.

Eliza Jane Mowll found financial abundance in two smart marriages with a daughter from each, but bountiful resources did not save her life. She died 1 June 1873,

five days after her thirty-second birthday, and left a nine-year old, a four-year old and a grieving husband who vowed never to remarry.³²

Eliza Jane, twenty, and Marmaduke Waud of New York, thirty-two, were married by Dr. E. N. Kirk on 15 August 1861 at Mount Vernon Street Congregational Church in Boston. Her parents were listed as Charles W. and Eliza, perhaps a mistake or possibly an acknowledgement of Ann Eliza Safford's role in her life. Waud's parents were listed as Marmaduke and Maria.³³ Waud worked in 1861 and 1862 as clerk at 162 Washington St., but in 1863 he was the owner of M. D. Waud & Co., a military regalia business, at 192 Washington St. in Boston. The couple lived at 1 Ashburton Place on Beacon Hill.³⁴ At some point after 1863, Eliza Jane and Marmaduke Waud left Boston for California, where their daughter, Grace, was born in 1864.³⁵ In 1870, Eliza signed her father's Probate Administration, as Eliza Jane Sheldon. In the interim, she was widowed and married Martin Sheldon of Connecticut, in 1867; she gave birth to daughter, Lola Sheldon, in May 1869 and resided in Suffield, Connecticut, along with Grace Waud, identified as Sheldon's stepdaughter.³⁶ Sheldon was forty-one and Eliza was twenty-six when they married and Lola was Sheldon's only child.³⁷ In the 1870 Census, Sheldon claimed his real estate as \$12,000 and his personal estate as \$100,000, and listed two servants in addition to family members. After Eliza's death in 1873, Sheldon did not remarry. He died in 1917, at age ninety-one, and was buried near Eliza and his family at Woodlawn Cemetery in Suffield.³⁸

After the 1880 U. S. Census, Grace Waud is untraced to date, but Lola Sheldon was easily found. J. Ogden Armour courted Lola, whom he met at an 1891 party in

Chicago, then followed her father, Martin Sheldon, and Lola to Mexico. Despite her father's doubts about the stability of the Armour fortune, Lola married the heir of Armour & Company in 1892. On 24 August 1896, their only child, Lolita Armour was born.³⁹

Lola and Lolita Armour led a very comfortable life with nineteen servants at their home in Chicago, although Lola now preferred to be called Lolita, too.⁴⁰ Everything was not as perfect as supposed. Young Lolita had a physical problem that seemed untreatable. Dr. Adolf Lorenz, an Austrian orthopedist, performed manipulative surgery on Lolita to reduce skeletal deformity in what was called "bloodless" surgery, at a fee of \$200,000.⁴¹

The Armours created a country home designed by architect Arthur Heun, called Melody Farm in Lake Forest on Chicago's north shore, encompassing 1,000 acres or more. From a distance, it appeared like an Italian Renaissance villa, but a closer look revealed the "columns, pilasters, and other classically derived architectural features," were simplified versions of an earlier style.⁴² The Armours also had a sense of philanthropy:

P. D. Armour, Sr.'s...specific beneficence to the city of Chicago came in the founding of Armour Institute, which he established with the intention of making quality education available to young people willing to apply themselves to study. His initial gift of \$1 million in 1890 multiplied several times over as he, his spouse, Malvina Belle Ogden, and their son J. Ogden, each contributed to the growth and support of the college from their own personal wealth for the next thirty years. Continuing a line of monetary support and service, a number of Armour family members have served as trustees of Armour Institute of Technology and later, Illinois Institute of Technology.⁴³

Lola Sheldon Armour was fond of the theater and subsidized artistic endeavors, including the Three Arts Club of Chicago. After his father died at the turn of the century,

J. Ogden inherited the family business and amassed one of the greatest fortunes in America. When the Armours fell into bankruptcy, they lost nearly everything, including Mellody Farm. Lola reportedly came to her husband's rescue with her own funds after the company suffered severe losses, which J. Ogdon Armour claimed were one million dollars a day for thirty days.⁴⁴ In 1927, with most of his fortune gone, Armour set out on his yacht, *Atowna*, to travel around the world. He contracted typhoid fever and died in the Carlton Hotel in London, 6 August 1927, with the King of England's personal physician and two other doctors attending. When Armour's estate settled in Probate Court in 1929, it showed an insolvency of nearly two million dollars.⁴⁵

Lola Sheldon Armour survived and built a house. In 1934, she commissioned David Adler to design a home to be built on Green Bay Road and worked with Adler and his sister, interior designer Frances Elkins, on the twenty-one-room Georgian Revival plans. She named it Suffield House for her hometown, Suffield, Connecticut.⁴⁶ Lola, or as she preferred to be called, Lolita Sheldon Armour, died in February 1953.⁴⁷

Lolita Armour survived, too. She married John J. Mitchell, and in 1930, Lolita Armour Mitchell lived on North State Parkway in Chicago in a home valued at \$150,000; John was thirty-two, she was thirty-three; he listed his occupation as capitalist, his field of work, banking.⁴⁸ Mitchell was a Yale graduate who also owned a 12,000 acre ranch, called *Juan y Lolita*, on the Santa Ynez River in California with a "sprawling, 10,000 square foot hacienda." The ranch was the starting site of an annual horseback and camping expedition begun by Mitchell in 1930. The exclusive club, known as *Rancheros Visitadores*, brought business, politicians and government officials together in an

informal setting, where coalitions born on horseback under the open sky proved powerful. Ronald Reagan was a *Ranchero* prior to his election as United States president.⁴⁹

After John Mitchell's death, Lolita Armour Mitchell remarried in 1969. In 1971, her adopted daughter, Mrs. Lolita Mitchell Lanning, was appointed guardian during divorce proceedings, initiated in 1970, from William Howell Higgason. Lolita Armour Mitchell Higgason died 26 January 1976 in Santa Barbara, California.⁵⁰

Diana, Eliza Jane, Charley, Isabella, Ellen and especially Charles Wills Mowll are not forgotten. Neither are the succeeding "everyday" generations of American Mowlls, who loved and encouraged each other to persevere, to work, to learn, to laugh, to dream and to survive. Each one of them is an American hero or heroine in their own right, as was C. W. Mowll. Their stories are a salute to determination, education and family, over the trials of economics, politics, power, disease and transitory moments of fame and wealth. The family continued and fulfilled Mowll's American Dream; this is the ultimate legacy of *The Private Journals of C. W. Mowll*.

AFTERWORD

“History is not the past. History is a story about the past, told in the present, and designed to be useful in constructing the future.”¹ I strove to tell C. W. Mowll’s story as understood from his journal words and the resources I both was fortunate and compelled to find. My hope is that some of Mowll’s truth is presented, as Hugh Nolan said, “without cluttering emotion. The facts are enough,” and Glassie counsels, “If the facts are wrong, the structure of larger truth holds.”²

ENDNOTES

Foreword

1. Attempts to find the first three journals included searches through the National Catalogue of Manuscripts Collections at the Library of Congress, the Winterthur Library's Joseph Downs Collection and the Congregational Library in Boston, with no success. The first three journals are lost and I believe Mowll did not write after *Journal No. Seven*.
2. See Appendix B, Journal Extracts
3. 1907 Announcement by William Luther Mowll, Architect, Cambridge, indicated he had "taken an office for the professional practice of architecture at No. 1388 Massachusetts Avenue, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Massachusetts." From Harvard Historical Register and Harvard Student Archives, courtesy of Kyle P. DeCiccio-Carey, Reference Assistant, Harvard University Archives, Harvard University.
4. Spelling of Mowle versus Mowll, is explained in the Maritime Mowlls/Mowles as resulting from a falling out between family members. C. W. Mowll's family retained the Mowll spelling, according to the Web site, but some U. K. and most U. S. documents prior to 1861 appear Mowle. For the sake of uniformity, Mowll will be used throughout the paper. See Appendix A for a discussion and examples of the Mowll/Mowle spelling.

Chapter 1: Ocean Journeys

1. E-mails from Charles Archer Mowll, great-great-grandson of Charles Wills Mowll, July, August 2005
2. Royal Navy Anti-Slavery Fleet
3. Letter from Charles Wills Mowll from Rio de Janeiro, to his father, Richard Mowll, Dover, England, June 14, 1839, with translation from script by John Mowll and copy provided by Nicholas Mowll, 16 June 2005. Slaver refers to both the ships and crew illegally carrying slaves.
4. The marriage record reads Southampton County, but Coll (Mowle) MacDonald explained it was Hampshire County, since Southampton is a city. Also he noted in an

e-mail, 21 October 2005, that Portsea may be called a Parish, but it definitely is known as Portsea Island.

5. From the “True Copy Extracted from the Register Book this 29 of August 1856 By me W. H. Kedknap, Curator, Page 123.” Copy provided by Charles Archer Mowll, July 2005; Journal, 2 August 1857; England & Wales Birth, Marriage, Death Index. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 14 March 2006

6. Cinque Port Pilots. “Pilots in the Cinque (Five) Ports were originally high-status seamen...vital to the Channel passage trade ...hired to conduct ships through the dangerous Dover Straits to the ports of Holland, Flanders and France, and to the entrances to the Rivers Thames and Medway.”

7. Maritime Mowlls/Mowles and Mowll/Mowle Family Tree. Mowll’s father, Richard, began as a Cinque Port Pilot in 1815, and moved to Deal from Dover. Mowll’s elder brother and father’s namesake, Richard, served in the Royal Navy and became a sailing master and Commander of the HMS Conway. One of Mowll’s first cousins, Richard Mowle became a Cinque Port Pilot based at Dover, while a second cousin, Thomas Ralphs Mowle also become a Cinque Port Pilot in the 1840s.

8. de Tocqueville, “*from Democracy in America*,” in Hodgkinson and Foley, 122; “Alexis de Toqueville’s version of an antebellum society characterized by a relative absence of both great fortunes and poverty, a rough equality of condition and an incessant movement up and down the social ladder...was based on very little documentation, a product of the brilliant Frenchman’s deductive flair and his lively social imagination.” Pessen, 7

9. Handlin, 238, 243

10. Ibid. 238, 243

11. Ibid. 28-29

12. Ibid. 35-37

13. Ibid. 48-49, 245 In contrast, the Irish in Boston numbered about 50,000 in 1850-1860.

14. United States Census, 1850, Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 30 August 2005; Map of Boston 1848, provided by Henry F. Scannell, Curator of Microtexts and Newspapers, Boston Public Library; Handlin qtd. in Seasholes, 61

Chapter 2: Journal Keeper

1. Perhaps Mowll's comments were limited by the journal format. The "Remarks" section held room for four to five lines of handwritten text in boxes measuring about five inches wide by one inch high.
2. See Appendix B, Journal Extracts
3. Kagle, 5-6
4. Boston City Directory 1853. Mowll is first listed as a clerk at Littell, Son & Company.
5. See Appendix B, Journal Extracts
6. De Certeau, 37-38
7. Martin, Ann Smart and J. Ritchie Garrison, 7
8. Glassie, Material Culture, 19
9. De Certeau, 31
10. Glassie qtd. in Prown, 29
11. De Certeau, 42
12. Bourdieu, "The Aristocracy of Culture" in Story, 11-96
13. Fothergill, 10
14. Glassie, Material Culture, 12

Chapter 3: Family Matters

1. Mowll's father listed his occupation as Cinque Port Pilot in the U. K. 1861 Census. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 14 April 2006. Also, "In 1857, the Head Ports of the Confederation were Hastings, Sandwich, Dover, (New) Romney and Hythe," according to Ian Russell, Registrar of the Cinque Ports in an e-mail, 16 February 2006.
2. See Appendix B, Journal Extracts
3. The likeness was probably a tintype or daguerreotype, since prints were not readily available until the 1870s. Maritime Mowlls/Mowles. Richard Alfred Mowll became a doctor in the Royal Navy.

4. Journal, 15, 27 September 1859 and 10 October 1859
5. Journal, 21 November 1859
6. John is mentioned in Mowll's letter to his father from Rio de Janeiro with the suggestion John join the Slaver Fleet with Mowll to find his fortune. In the 1850s, Liverpool became the most used departure port for America, particularly for Irish immigrants.
7. See Appendix B, Journal Extracts
8. Journal, 9 October 1858; two sisters and their daughters, Eliza Mary Mowll Rutley, age 32 and Susanna Rutley, age 8; and Susanna Mowll Griggs, age 38, and Sarah Griggs, age 7, lived with at their grandparents, Richard and Sarah Mowll in 1861. U. K. 1861 Census. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 14 April 2006.
9. Copy of the Richard Mowll Probate Document provided by Charles Archer Mowll, July 2005
10. Solent. A narrow channel called the Solent lies between the southern mainland of England and the Isle of Wight from which shipping approaches the entrance to the port of Southampton.
11. Journal, 28 July 1859
12. Maritime Mowlls/Mowles and Mowll Family Tree
13. Cambridge City Cemetery Records, provided by Charles Archer Mowll, July 2005
14. See Appendix C for gem tintype picture of Diana Spicer Mowll.
15. Journal, 23, 30 August 1858
16. Journal, 31 October, 16 July and 1 December 1859
17. Journal, 2 August 1858
18. Safford, 123-124; Mount Holyoke History and Safford Correspondence with Mary Lyon. Mount Holyoke was a Safford project. Daniel and Ann Eliza hosted Mary Lyon at their Beacon St. home on many occasions and financially assisted in the development of the Female Seminary. Mr. Safford contributed his time and construction skills as well as money, and served as a Member of the Board of Trustees until his death. An e-mail from Natalie G. Araujo, Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections Assistant, 5

June 2003, related Eliza Jane Mowle was a non-graduating member of the class of 1861.

19. 1850 U. S. Census. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 7 July 2005; Bigelow/Safford Genealogy

20. Mount Holyoke Student Records list her as preferring Jane Eliza.

21. Journal, 5 August 1857; Newspaper clipping (Appendix B, Journal Extracts); Williston History. Ann Eliza Gale married Lyman Richards Williston on 5 August 1857 in Rockport; her father Wakefield Gale officiated. Williston was adopted by Samuel Williston, Easthampton, and prepared at Williston Seminary for a distinguished career in education, including principal of a school for young ladies in Cambridge, 1862-1870; headmaster of Cambridge High School, 1870-1880; supervisor of Boston schools, 1880-1884, master Latin school for girls, Boston, 1884-1890.

22. Journal, 6 August 1858

23. Journal, 12 August 1858. The picture was taken 27 July 1857, when Eliza visited her family for the day. Mowll mailed the picture to her at Mount Holyoke, 16 April 1858.

24. Journal, 6 August 1858. W. G. Crosby, former governor of Maine contributed to Littell publications during the late 1850s. Mowll came to rely on this political, powerful and generous man for assistance.

25. Journal, 7 September 1858. Apparently Eliza was with Mrs. Safford as early as September 1856.

26. Journal, 17, 18 January 1859; Bigelow/Safford Genealogy

27. Palmer Obituary. Eliza Jane married Marmaduke Waud (Jr.), Reverend E. N. Kirk officiating, 15 August 1861. Marriage Register, City of Boston, 1861.

28. Journal, 22 January 1859

29. Journal, 30 April 1859; 2, 4 May 1859

30. Journal, 13, 20, 21 July 1859. No legal record was found in Boston Court Archives for Mrs. Safford's guardianship of Eliza Jane. Guardianships in the mid-nineteenth century often were not formalized through court proceedings, but were settled privately. Conversation with David Allen Lambert, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 3 August 2005.

31. Journal, 4 September 1859

32. Journal, 11 December 1859
33. Journal, 13, 16 December 1859
34. Journal, 17 December 1859
35. Journal, 20 May 1859
36. Journal, 17 January 1859. Rezar is also spelled Rezer by Mowle, one of several examples of changed spelling in the journals.
37. Journal, 20 June 1858
38. Journal, 15 June 1857, 31 March 1860. Three bottles of humor medicine for Charley from Melrose cost Mowll \$1.20.
39. Harvard Student Archives
40. Journal, 20 March; 5, 19 June; 9 October 1858
41. Journal, 28 March 1859. N. K. and S. N. Skinner, Tailor, was located at 37 Washington St., Boston, in the 1857 Boston City Directory. Mowll usually paid Skinner over several weeks and kept a payment record in his journals.
42. It was common practice for father to assist son in obtaining employment at this age. Mowll used a powerful friend to assure success, but he negotiated unsuccessfully with this same benefactor for Eliza Jane's return to her family.
43. Thurston, Miles and Pritchett Cambridge City Directory for 1860 listed Fairfield R. Davis' grocery store at 127 Cambridge St. near 4th (note the middle initial "R" rather than "N"). It appeared Charley continued to work for Fairfield Davis for several years, then worked for E. H. Blake, grocer, 156 Cambridge St. as early as 1869.
44. Journal, 13 September 1859; 19 March 1858
45. Journal, 29 September 1859. Mowll rented four locations between May 1857 and September 1859. Most moves were to less expensive quarters, but the last move to 36 South Sixth St. was for \$136 yearly, or \$11.34 a month, the highest rent paid during the journals' span.
46. Journal, 12 December 1859
47. Journal, 28 May 1859. Charley received his first month's wages of \$12.80 from grocer Davis.

48. Journal, 13, 31 August 1857
49. Journal, 4 September 1857
50. Journal, 12 September 1857
51. Journal, 16 September 1857. The term “up” was used in the 19th century when referring to the trip from Maine to Boston, and the trip from Boston to Maine was described as “down.”
52. Journal, 18 September 1857
53. Journal, 21 September 1858
54. Journal, 1- 3, 6-7, 9 October 1858
55. Journal, 12, 18 November 1857
56. Journal, 3 March 1858
57. Journal, 29, 30 November 1858
58. Journal, 6 March 1860
59. Journal, 30 June through 14 July 1859
60. Mowll mentioned Eliza Jane ninety-five times, Charley, eighty-one times, Ellen, thirty-eight times and Isabella, thirty-one times.

Chapter 4: Citizen Mowll

1. Soper 12; Gusfield qtd. in Soper, 6, 17. Gusfield’s findings dealt with “status in group mobilization” theory. Some theorists contend temperance emerged as a political force in the 1850s, when immigrant cultures presented “an alternative lifestyle where drinking alcohol was customary.” This caused “status discontent,” because the “prestige accorded Evangelical protestants was less than that which the group expected.”
2. Smelser qtd. in Soper, 10
3. Journal, 16 September 1858. Mowll also developed social capital based on group membership, as discussed by Bourdieu.
4. Journal, 27 September 1858, 26 July 1859, 15 March 1860

5. Journal, 5 May 1859

6. Journal, 1 November 1858

7. The third Tuesday of October 1858, Charles Wills Mowll applied to the Judicial Supreme Court at Cambridge for citizenship. He produced evidence and took an oath, “required by law and was admitted to become a citizen of the United States of America...to wit on the first day of November A. D. 1858.” Vouching for him were J. C. Burdakin and Wm. H. Pettingell, the latter a member of standing in the Third Evangelical Congregational Church. (From copy of original naturalization papers provided by Charles Archer Mowll) Although Mowll became a U. S. citizen, he expressed his fondness for England, which he left a decade earlier. He wrote, “QUEEN VICTORIA’S Birthday 40 years old to day,” on 24 May 1859, and “Queen of England’s message came thro the Atlantic Telegraph Cable & the President’s answer went back a great rejoicing throughout the country but not in Boston,” on 16 August 1858. Mowll explains this observation on 1 September 1858, “A Grand Jubilee in New York & other cities in honor of Atlantic Cable, *but none in Boston which I think is not to their credit. Yankee like it would be an expense on the City.*” On 28 June 1859, Mowll noted Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister of England, and 16 August 1859, “A company of artillery here from Montreal with silk Union Jack as colors, looks handsome, felt my heart bound within me on seeing it.”

8. Journal, 2, 3, 4 November 1858. Note the use of “our gaining the victory.” Mowll also wrote on 18 October 1858, “A large delegation of Republicans met in Fauneil Hall, Mr. Burlingame spoke.” Mowll reported on 25 June 1857, “Hon. N. P. Banks nominated for Governor by Rep. & A parties,” (Nathaniel Prentice Banks served as Massachusetts Governor from 1858-1861 for the American and Republican Party). Then T. W. (sic) Lincoln’s re-election as mayor of Boston, on 5 December 1858 (F. W. Lincoln, Jr.); the Independent Citizen Party’s sweep of Cambridge City offices, on 5 December 1859 and the “Republicans carried the State,” on 9 November 1859.

9. Anson Burlingame

10. Know Nothing Party

11. Lecompton Bill. Mowll also wrote, “Lecompton Bill passed” on 30 April 1858 and boxed the sentence. This is curious since the Lecompton Bill did not pass the U. S. House of Representatives in April, despite President Buchanan’s support, and Kansas did not enter the union as a slave state. The Lecompton Constitution was sent back to Kansas for another vote, where it was rejected, August 1858; Kansas was admitted as a free state in 1861.

12. Mayer, xii, xvi

13. Letter from Mowll to his father in Dover, England, from Rio de Janeiro, 1839; British Slave Trade. The Abolition of the Slave Trade bill became law in England on 25 March 1807, forbidding British participation in slave trading. In 1800, the U. S. enacted stiff penalties for American citizens voluntarily serving on slavers trading between two foreign countries and in 1807, the United States passed a law banning the slave trade, although the domestic slave trade remained legal. Penalties for bringing slaves to the U. S. from any foreign place included imprisonment and penalty not to exceed \$10,000. In 1833 the British Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act, forbidding slave trade throughout the British Empire.

14. Journal, 23 July 1857

15. Journal, 31 August 1858 and 20 October 1858; United States Naval African Squadron. The U. S. Naval African Squadron was established in 1843 and extended the Navy's role intercepting slave smugglers. The bounty paid was, "\$25 per slave liberated and 'prize money' ...when the ship was sold at auction, divided among the crew by rank."

16. Journal, 9 November 1857, "Slave case of a woman named "Betty" with her Master & Mistress from Nashville Tenn. She preferred to go back with them to her husband & children."

17. *The New York Times*, 10 November 1857 and *The Liberator*, 13, 20 November 1857, Pro-Quest Historical Newspapers, 4 August 2005, carried reprints from the *Boston Bee*, *Boston Journal*, *Newburyport Herald*, *Traveller*, *Daily Advertiser* and *Providence Journal*. The latter two emphasized the "free air of Massachusetts makes free all men and women who breathe it" and the "sound law" of Judge Shaw's comments on Betty's future freedom if she so wished, but the *Providence Journal* questioned whether anyone dare venture into Tennessee to free a slave in opposition to her master. (Courtesy of Henry F. Scannell, Curator, Microtext and Newspapers, Boston Public Library)

18. *The New York Times*, 11 November 1857, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, 4 August 2005. Lemeul Shaw. Judge Shaw was "praised by abolitionists and condemned by southern slave states for his opinion in *Commonwealth v. Aves*, 35 Mass. (18Pick.) 193 (1836)," a precursor to "Betty." Other important Shaw rulings were *Farwell v. Boston and Worcester Rail Road* and *Commonwealth v. Hunt*. The former limited the liability of employers for work accidents and latter enabled labor unions to function without the "stigma of criminality." (Courtesy of Henry F. Scannell, Curator, Microtext and Newspapers, Boston Public Library)

19. Journal, 2 December 1859. Mayer described the reaction in Boston: "An interracial union service ran all day in the Twelfth Street Baptist Church, when at four in the afternoon the telegraph confirmed that the execution had taken place a little before noon, many business places closed and people put on mourning bands or rosettes with a

likeness of the martyred Brown.” Mayer, 500. O’Connor wrote, “Boston witnessed a tremendous outpouring of emotion. Church bells tolled, minute guns fired solemn salutes, ministers preached sermons of commemoration, thousands bowed in silent reverence for the martyr of liberty.” O’Connor, Civil War Boston, 34.

20. Journal, 4 April 1860; Judge Hoar. Judge Hoar, a pro-abolitionist, infuriated by the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law, in 1854 “charged a Suffolk Grand Jury to look into the militia’s actions that returned runaway slave Anthony Burns to slavery...He resigned from the bench in 1855...returned in 1859 when Governor Nathaniel P. Banks named him to the Massachusetts Supreme Court.”

21. Mayer, 475-477; *West Virginia Historical Society Quarterly*, April 1999. Other members of the “Six” were Thomas Higginson, Dr. Samuel Howe, Theodore Parker, Gerrit Smith and George Stearns. Mayer suggested a total of eight by including Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman in the group raising funds and contributing support for Brown.

22. Mayer, 506; Senator James Mason.

23. Harding, 423-424

24. The University of Delaware Library, Special Collections, February 2005 display, featured one article from Littell’s *Living Age* by a proponent of slavery, entitled “Slavery in the Southern States,” dated 4 December 1852, and noted that it was part of a five-volume collection of excerpts from the *Age* on the subjects of slavery and the Civil War, published between 1844 and 1890.

25. Journal, 1 January 1860; Congregational Missionary Societies. Congregationalists sponsored a variety of volunteer societies including the American Board of Foreign Missions (1810), the American Home Missionary Society (1826), the American Education Society (1815) and the American Missionary Association (1846). The AMA was both a missionary and abolitionist society, which “joined the denomination’s antislavery zeal with its commitments to education and evangelism, and in ...post-Civil War years established many schools across the South for newly-freed slaves.”

Chapter 5: Standards of Living

1. Handlin 248; Boston City Directory, 1853

2. Journal, 7 July 1857; Ford’s Cambridge City Directory, 1857. When a family member in Harriet Robinson’s household became sexton/janitor at the local church in the mid-nineteenth century, “Sid began to notice that male members of the congregation treated him differently, [and] the women required him to ‘dance attendance.’ ” Bushman, 199

3. Holloway and Swartz qtd. in Blumin, 1
4. Blumin, 1
5. Journal, 18 July 1858; 17 February 1859; 4 April 1859; 31 May 1859
6. In comparison, William Lloyd Garrison's salary was \$1,200 a year for two decades as of 1855. Mayer, 459
7. Handlin, 28-29. Two of Mowl's daughters, Isabella and Ellen, married farm laborers who worked on their father's farms, one in Maine, the other in Vermont. The husbands probably migrated to Boston for marriage and employment, as part of the influx Handlin described.
8. Tebbel, 407
9. U-S-History
10. Journal, 18 September 1857
11. O'Connor, Civil War Boston, 4; Today in History: August 24, 1857
12. Sandage, 17, 4-6
13. Ibid. 7-8. Concept of business failures "popularized" in Thoreau's Walden, repeated often and reiterated as a fact about Boston business failures by General Henry Dearborn from his experience as "collector in Port of Boston."
14. Ibid. 17-18
15. Ibid. 17-18
16. Journal, 18 August 1858
17. Blumin, 112
18. Tebbel, 386
19. Handlin, 85
20. Journal, 21 May 1857; 24 June 1857
21. Journal, 26 August 1857

22. Journal, 30 September; 1-3, 9 October 1857. On the other hand, the *Atlantic Magazine*, another monthly publication, began in October 1857.
23. Journal, 23 November and 11 December 1857. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote of the earlier Panic of 1837, "The land stinks with suicide," and Thoreau advised after the Panic of 1857, "The merchants and banks are suspending and failing all the country over, but not the sand-banks, solid and warm, streaked with bloody blackberry vines...Invest in these country banks. Let your capital be simplicity and contentment." Sandage, 276, 271
24. *Living Age*, 3 April 1858, 3-4
25. Ibid. 3
26. Cover page of each issue of *Living Age*, 1857-1860; McGill, 7
27. *Living Age*, 3 April 1858, 4
28. Journal, 16 December 1858
29. Journal, 22 July 1859. Apparently Stanford and Delisser were no longer partners. Delisser and Procter, of New York, began publishing in 1859.
30. Von Frank, 52 in Boston Histories, James M. O'Toole and David Quigley, Eds.
31. Journal, 12 July 1859
32. Journal, 15 July 1859
33. Journal, 16 July 1859
34. Journal, 18 July 1859
35. Journal, 29-30 July 1859
36. Journal, 5 August 1859
37. Remer, 75. The New York Booksellers Association began in 1855, later changing its name to Book Publisher's Association and disbanded 1861-1863. Publishing was under distress from the 1857 economic downturn and the Civil War. Growell, Chapter II, vii
38. Journal, 8-10 September 1859
39. Blumin, 251-253. Mowll also developed social capital or resources based on group membership and connections. See Bourdieu's theory of social capital, "The Culture of

Aristocracy” in An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture, John Story, Ed.

40. The Third Evangelical Congregational Church’s address is from Baldwin’s 1859 Cambridge City Directory and Paige, 327, and not to be confused with the Third Congregational Society-Unitarian, corner of Third Street and Thorndike, East Cambridge.

41. Journal, 14 March 1859. Pew taxes or rents were paid by parishioners to fund the church. A pew located on the middle aisle was more desirable by Mowll’s records. On 11 September 1859, “Mrs. Leland gave up seat on middle Isle & took a seat in the side Isle [*sic*].”

42. Journal, 21-22 December 1859

43. Journal, 15 February 1858

44. Blumin, 236

45. Corrigan in Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century reported, “The founding of a noon prayer meeting at Old South in March 1858 to accommodate businessmen took place against overlapping backgrounds. The first was...the tradition of noon prayer...the large turnout out of male heads of households, whether they were merchants, carpenters, or policemen, made necessary the concluding of a meeting in one hour so the participants could return to their jobs.” 25. See Corrigan’s complete first chapter for an analysis of Boston and New York businessmen and clergy reaction to the economic downturn and Boston revival meetings as a response to the Bank Panic. Scharpff, History of Evangelism presents Orr’s details of 1857-1858 New York City prayer meetings, 171-172. Also, deTocqueville wrote, “In the United States the most opulent citizens are at pains not to get isolated from the people...They know that the rich in democracies always need the poor and that good manners will draw them to them more than benefits conferred.” Alexis de Tocqueville, “from Democracy in America,” The Civil Society Reader, Vol. I, 121, Eds. Virginia A. Hodgkinson and Michael W. Foley

46. Pessin, 302

47. Journal, 11-13, 17, 24, 27, 29 March 1858; O’ Connor, Boston A to Z, 243-244. Old South was where Franklin was baptized and the Tea Party departed. “When attendance dwindled, a new Old South was built on Copley Square, but a group of poets et al. saved [the original] Old South.” Mowll also attended a prayer meeting in the Methodist Church on Bromfield St., just half a block from Littell’s office.

48. Journal, 12 February and 5, 9 September 1859

49. Journal, 12 December 1859, 9 February 1860

50. Journal, 1 May 1858

51. *Oak Hall Pictorial*. Simmons distributed an “Oak Hall Pictorial for Juvenile Patrons” in rhyme, which encouraged children to dress well with clothes from Oak Hall and to learn their alphabet and read. Perhaps Mowll’s children read this advertising piece. (See Appendix D)

52. Journal, 29 August 1859, the day Mowll leased Mr. Davis’ large, more expensive house, he bought Diana a “back hair comb.” See Cedar Imoden Phillips, Tortoise and the Hair Comb, for the variety and significance of such combs. On 16 February 1858, Diana bought Mowll “a pair of gloves in the City for \$2.00” and on 7 June 1858, when Mowll was sick, she bought him a summer coat for \$2.75.

53. Journal, 30 November 1858. Shawls were very popular in the 1850s, the “predominate” wrap for women. Severa, 90.

54. Journal, 16 April 1860

55. Goffman, 22, 27, 30

56. Domhoff, 51

Chapter 6: Powerful People: Advantage and Disadvantage

1. American Tract Society. The American Tract Society was begun in 1825, but traces its roots through the “New York Tract Society (1812) and the New England Tract Society (1814) to the Religious Tract Society of London begun in (1799).” (See Appendix C for Daniel Safford’s picture and signature.)

2. Safford, 19-20. Daniel Safford & Co. listed in the Boston 1847 City Directory with A. W. Smith, S. Jones, & J. Lovett, Blacksmiths, Devonshire.

3. Ibid. 53-54. Safford’s ironworking business was not an ordinary blacksmithing shop. Its products included, “doors, locks, safes, and ornamental fences, verandas and balconies, being the first constructed in Boston.”

4. Ibid. 47, 53-54, 125-128. Weber would see Safford’s success as an example of the “Protestant work ethic in tandem with the spirit of capitalism,” while Thoreau would appreciate Safford’s reluctance to patent his work, preferring “to invent and get a patent for himself.” Sandage, 13; American Society for Educating Pious Youth. The American Education Society, originally called the American Society for Educating Pious Youth for the Gospel Ministry, was incorporated in Massachusetts, 4 December 1816, with its name

shortened in 1820. Its purpose was to aid “indigent young men of talent and hopeful piety in acquiring a learned and competent education for the gospel ministry.”

5. Safford, 123-124; Safford Correspondence with Mary Lyon

6. Safford, 218-238, 335, 370

7. Safford, 26-28, 51-53

8. Lola Sheldon Armour and Lolita Armour Mitchell (Higgason)

9. Charles Archer Mowll suggested C. W. Mowll was “like a fish out of water” when he arrived in Boston. Conversation, July 2005

10. Safford, 31

11. Ibid. 21

12. Mount Vernon Street Church; Congregational Library, Boston Records, 1842-1970.

13. Safford, 162-6

14. Safford, 123, 141, 168

15. Reverend E. N. Kirk

16. Winsor, 412

17. Journal, 12 April 1859

18. Journal, 13 July 1859

19. City of Boston Marriage Register, 186, Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 4 August 2005; Boston City Directory 1863

20. Kirk’s academic and cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu, outmaneuvered Mowll, whose “trajectory” limited his economic, social and cultural capital and therefore his political power and options. Bourdieu in Story, 18, 23, 25, 63

21. United States Census, 1850, 1860. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 22 August 2005; Cumberland County, ME Marriage Records. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 24 August 2005

22. Crosby had economic, social, political and educational capital as defined by Bourdieu.
23. Chase, xxxi
24. Williamson, 400. Crosby was a Whig and in 1844 a delegate to the National Convention, where he supported Henry Clay. In 1852, Crosby was nominated for governor, but the “agitation of the Maine Law and Free Soilers” prevented a clear majority, sending the election decision to the State Legislature, which voted for Crosby. He served as governor in 1853 and in 1854.
25. Ibid. 400
26. Journal, 1 September 1857. (See Appendix C for picture of Honorable William George Crosby)
27. Journal, 22 May 1857
28. Journal, 10 June 1858. This entry helped identify Mowll’s benefactor, Crosby.
29. Journal, 6 August 1858
30. Journal, 2, 5 August 1859

Chapter 7: Angst of Being Ordinary

1. Handlin, 91, 52. “By 1855 there were more than 50,000 Irish [in Boston] — almost all native of the southern and western [poorer] counties.”
2. Mowll wrote of four different addresses from 4 May 1857 to 17 April 1860, all in East Cambridge, close to the church the family attended and where Mowll was sexton. As early as 1856, “Charles Mowle, clerk,” lived in a house on Charles St. Near Third in East Cambridge, according to Ford’s 1856 Cambridge Directory; in 1857, Ford’s Directory listed “Charles Mowle, clerk,” at 57 Gore St., apparently before his rental from Mrs. Goodnow at 20 Lowell St., which he mentioned first in June 1857. Timing of directory information collection affected dates noted. Also, “Charles Mowle, clerk,” was listed at 7 Seventh St. in Thurston and Miles Cambridge City Directory for 1861. This totals seven different addresses for the Mowlls from 1856-1861. In comparison, W. L. Garrison’s wealthy friend, Francis Jackson bought a house on Dix Place, “a narrow cul-de-sac off...Washington Street” in Boston, for the Garrison family in 1852. He rented it to them for \$400 a year, which covered taxes and mortgage, but in 1855, Jackson sold the house to the Garrison Fund Trustees, which reduced Garrison’s home expenses to about \$100 a year for water and property tax. The Garrisons had a comfortable, stable home, while the Mowlls moved frequently. Mayer 458-459

3. Cambridge, MA. History. East Cambridge was developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century on a salt marsh island surrounded by water during spring tides. Cambridge St. was laid out in 1809 to Craigie's Bridge connecting Cambridge to Boston.
4. Bergen, 49. "One of the vital 'ladder streets' connecting Washington and Tremont was Bromfield...a locale of printing and publishing shops...a Tremont Street horsecar passes in front of the Old Granary Burying Ground at the end of the street...Much of the block remains the same." In August 2005, the Suffolk County Law School encompassed 46 Bromfield Street.
5. Seasholes, 61. Horse-drawn trolleys on rails were a relatively inexpensive way to travel in Boston beginning in the 1850s. Mr. Tibbetts also reminded Mowll he owed \$2.75 for wood, making the free ride one with a purpose. Journal, 19 August 1859. Steel rails for horse-drawn streetcars appeared in the 1840s and by 1856 went all the way to Roxbury. O'Connor, Boston A to Z, 313-314.
6. Journal, 4, 12, 29 June and 3, 11 September 1857
7. Journal, 29 June 1857 and 4 July 1857
8. Cambridge, MA. History. Thorndike St. was laid out in 1811, ran between First and Sixth Sts., and was named for Israel Thorndike, an investor with Andrew Craigie in the group that purchased the Lechmere Estate for the development of East Cambridge.
9. Journal, 10, 20 October 1857
10. Journal, 21 October 1857
11. Journal, 12 July 1859
12. Journal, 23 March 1859
13. Journal, 29 August 1859
14. Journal, 19 January 1858
15. Journal, 5, 12 April 1858. Perhaps this was due to heightened awareness of financial stress for poorer folk, reinforced by post-Bank Panic prayer meetings in Boston.
16. Journal, 13, 17 April 1858
17. Journal, 8 October 1858

18. Journal, 21-23 October 1858. (See Appendix B, Journal Extracts)
19. Journal, 12 December 1858
20. Journal, 18 April and 31 May 1859
21. Journal, 13 June 1859
22. Journal, 10 and 12 July 1859
23. Journal, 13, 22 December 1859
24. Journal, 22, 25 May 1858
25. Journal, 27 December 1857
26. Journal, 25 December 1859
27. Journal, 17 February 1859
28. Journal, 1 April 1860. Mowll entered \$11,000 in error. On 27 March 1860, Mowll wrote, " Heard a report that Mr. Green had a call at the Port [Cambridgeport] for \$2000 a year."
29. Journal, 30 September 1857. Robert Littell, "Got into a terrible passion with me for nothing at all. Kept very cool myself & after a while he cooled down."
30. Journal, 22-25 September 1857
31. Journal, 19 March 1858
32. Blumin, 112
33. Journal, 23 March 1858
34. Journal, 23 July 1858. While Mowll worked, the rest of the family went on a church "pic-nic."
35. Journal, 29 July 1858
36. Journal, 18 September 1858
37. Blumin, 28

38. De Certeau, 37

39. John Littell. Robert Smith Littell was born 5 May 1831, and the only son among four Littell children. The pressure to succeed is imaginable.

40. "The Panic of 1857 resulted in a thirty percent drop in profits for Boston's respected publisher, Ticknor and Fields." Michael Winship, qtd. in O'Toole and Quigley, 65. Lydia Maria Child claimed on 22 July 1860, "The market is now glutted with plates sold by booksellers that have failed," qtd in O'Toole and Quigley, 65.

41. Journal, 19 August 1859; Ships and Square Rigging. Studding sails were hoisted on clipper ships to increase their speed.

42. Boston City Directory, 1857, listed French & Foster Accountants. Apparently Robert Littell worked a second job there as bookkeeper.

43. Journal, 26 March 1860

44. Journal, 10-17 April 1860. Robert Littell married in 1860, the same year he fired Mowll. He was editor of the *Living Age* from 1870, the year his father died, to 1896, the year he died. Massachusetts Vital Records. Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 1 November 2005.

Chapter 8: Health Matters

1. Journal, 24, 26 December 1859. One of Mowll's boarders, Mrs. French, caught cold at the church Christmas Fair and died in a matter of days.

2. Spiritualism History

3. *The Spiritualist Register, with a Counting House & Speaker's Almanac; Containing Facts and Statistics of Spiritualism, for 1857*. Uriah Clark, editor, was a Universalist minister, until he was "disenfranchised... for his spiritual activities" and his *Spiritualist Register* "highlighted the leaders of the movement," gave the movement status in the religious community and "functioned as promotional pieces...analogous to...tracts of other denominations." 4-5

4. Ibid. 1

5. Ibid. 6-8, 11. By 1860 the *Register* noted two other Spiritual publications in Boston, *The Spiritual Age*, published weekly, two dollars annually, W. H. Chaney, 14 Bromfield St., and *The Banner of Light*, published weekly, two dollars annually, 3½ Brattle St.

6. Journal, 1 June 1858

7. Journal, 30 August 1858
8. Journal, 2 September 1858
9. Journal, 27 June 1859 and 22 August 1859
10. Charles Archer Mowll suggested Mowll's water complaint was a kidney stone. Conversation, July 2005
11. Journal, 19 May 1858. Charles Main was not listed as a medical doctor, rather a spiritual healer. Mowll also spelled the name, Maine.
12. Kennedy's Medical Discovery. The originator of this patent medicine, Dr. Donald Kennedy, advertised ceaselessly without changing text for forty years.
13. Journal, 19, 24, 25, 29 May 1858. The Galvanic Battery was one of the modern electrical devices used for humans to improve their health. Instead of being "oppressed" by the machinery of the industrial age, more people were using such "medical advances as electrical charges" for health purposes. Thomas-de la Pena, 17
14. Journal, 1, 4, 7, 10 June 1858 Peruvian Syrup was another popular patent medicine of the era; it was used to treat malaria and yellow fever. Source: J Ritchie Garrison
15. Journal, 17, 18 June 1858
16. Journal, 20, 26 July 1858. Senna can be used for medicinal purposes, particularly the dried leaves as a purgative; Mowll also bought 1 lb. of dandelion at the same time.
17. Journal, 4, 14, 20 September 1858
18. Journal, 14, 19 October and 9, 10 November 1858
19. Journal, 26-30 November 1858. Winter of 1858-1859 was extremely cold in Boston and Mowll described buying more blankets, heavy snowfalls and in January 1859, temperatures below zero several days.
20. Journal, 2-11 June 1859. Mowll also purchased boneset for 10 cents and a pound of dandelion for 37 cents on 6 June 1859. Boneset was a composite of several herbs, used in folk medicine. Sometimes night fevers were caused by consumption or mycobacterium tuberculosis settling in the lymph nodes, which enlarged, grew slowly, but usually painlessly. Ormandy, 3-4. Ormandy also discussed the connection between smallpox vaccinations and an increase in consumption or tuberculosis. 64, 215

21. Journal, 12 January 1860
22. Journal, 23 January 1860
23. Cambridge City Cemetery Records provided by Charles Archer Mowll, August 2005.
24. Not all costs of doctors or medication were recorded in Mowll's journals.
25. Cambridge City Cemetery Records provided by Charles Archer Mowll; Middlesex County Death Record of C. W. Mowll (misspelled Moroll). Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 4 August 2005

Chapter 9: Mr. Mowll's Story

1. Deetz, 259
2. Glassie and Deetz qtd. in Yentsch 166, 314
3. Paige, 324-325 and e-mail from Harold Worthley, Librarian, Congregational Library, Boston, 23 May 2003. Deacon George N. Bliss removed to Jamaica Plains and other Deacons left, including John Whipple, John Taylor and William Pettingell; Reverend Green resigned in September 1860. The church itself was torn down and the organization removed to Somerville in 1876.
4. Journal, 26 August 1858 and 22, 26, 28-29 November 1859. It appears Mowll tried to obtain employment from Deacon Taylor and Deacon Bliss.
5. Fothergill, 62
6. The 1860 U. S. Census, taken 9 June 1860 recorded Mowll's personal estate at \$1,000. Possibly Mowll did as some others and inflated his response to protect his social rank. Adjacent neighbors claimed \$100 in this category. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 4 April 2006
7. Charles Wells [*sic*] Mowll, 30 August 1870 and 6 September 1870 Probate Court Record, New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 5 August 2005. Diana Mowll was appointed as Administratrix and the document was signed by Eliza Jane Sheldon and Isabella Mowll. Diana claimed the estate and effects did not exceed \$3,000. The same day a bond guaranteeing payment of debts, listing of "goods, chattels, rights and credits," within a time frame set by the Probate Court, was signed by Diana Mowll, George W. Taplin and Chas F. Mowll. C. W. Mowll's estate had to be settled for the Boston family to receive Mowll's inheritance from his father.

Epilogue

1. Safford Hall at Mount Holyoke
2. Winsor, 412; Safford, 297-322; e-mail, Paula Maloney, Reference Volunteer, 4 June 2003, library@bostonhistory.org
3. U. S. Census 1860, 1870 and 1880. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 12-18 March 2006
4. Williamson, 332-333, 400, 472, 526; William George Crosby
5. Boston City Business Directory for 1868; Correspondence from Eliakim Littell to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1866. Source: Houghton Library, Harvard University; 1874 Boston City Directory
6. U.S. Census, 1870. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 5 March 2006
7. Massachusetts City Directories Record, Brookline, 1877. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 5 March 2006
8. Massachusetts Vital Records, 1841-1910. Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 1 November 2004
9. Living Age History
10. U. S. Census, 1900, 1930. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 5 March 2006
11. The 1860 and 1861 Cambridge City Thurston and Miles Directories listed "Charles Mowle" as a clerk, living at 31 Sixth St., then as a clerk living at 7 Seventh St., respectively, but no longer a church sexton. E. Jane was listed as residing with the "Mowle" family in the 1860 Census also, perhaps a claim of paternity rather than fact.
12. Cambridge City Directories, Fisher and Dudley, 1863-1864, 1865-66, 1866-67, 1868, 1869. In 1869, Charley's employer was Edwin H. Blake, 156 Cambridge St. and Charley Mowll's domicile was Mrs. C. W. Mowll's house, 65 Gore. Note the change in spelling from Mowle to Mowll in the 1863-1864 Cambridge City Directory. It is not determined yet if Isabella and Ellen remained with their mother and brother.
13. U. S. Census, 1870 listed Charles D. Mole (*sic*), as twenty-six, grocery clerk and his wife, Mary E., as twenty-eight, keeping house, and their personal estate as \$1,000.
14. Marriage Record for the City of Cambridge, 1869, 218:117. Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 4 August 2005

15. U. S. Census, 1880. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 7 October 2005
16. U. S. Census, 1880. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 7 July 2005. California Death Index. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 7 October 2005. Bible records in possession of Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Hayes
17. Family Search, International Genealogical Index v5.0, British Isles. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 12 June 2005
18. U. S. Census, 1870. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 7 October 2005
19. U. S. Census, 1880. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 7 October 2005; Somerville City Directory, 1881. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 4 March 2006; Richmond, 439
20. U. S. Census, 1890 for Vermont did not list Diana as living with the Taplins, and the same year census was not available for Massachusetts. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 23 August 2005. The Somerville City Directory listed Levi Hayes at 47 Spencer Av. in 1903, 1905 and 1906. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 4 March 2006
21. City of Cambridge Cemetery Records; Massachusetts Probate Index 1871-1909. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 28 October 2005
22. U. S. Census, 1920, 1930. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 4 February 2006. In 1920, Levi was listed as head of house, but in 1930, Edna was head of house.
23. Family Search, International Genealogical Index v5.0, British Isles. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 12 June 2005
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26. U. S. Census, 1900; Salem City Directories, 1910, 1912, 1924, 1930, 1935, 1937. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 25 February 2006
27. Patent #449.559 Copy provided by Charles Archer Mowll, July 2005. Charles F. Mowll was granted two other patents, Drain Cabinets for Liquid Measures, 7 January 1890, #418.738; Improvement in Wringer Rollers, 23 June 1874, #152.243. Patent copies provided by Charles Archer Mowll, July 2005

28. Harvard Student and Staff Archives (Courtesy of Kyle P. DeCiccio-Carey, Reference Assistant, Harvard University Archives)
29. Cameo Theatre History
30. Harvard Student and Staff Archives (courtesy Kyle P. DeCiccio-Carey, Reference Assistant, Harvard University Archives); Mowll/Mowle Family Tree
31. Harvard Student Archives (courtesy Kyle P. DeCiccio-Carey, Research Assistant, Harvard University Archives); Mowll/Mowle Family Tree
32. Alcorn, 163-164; United States Census 1870 and 1880. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 20 September 2005
33. City of Boston Marriage Record for Eliza Jane Mowle and Marmaduke Waud, 1861, 3146:72. Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 4 August 2005
34. Boston City Directories, 1861, 1862, 1863
35. U. S. Census, 1870. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 5 November 2005
36. U. S. Census, 1870. Online. New England Historic Genealogical Society. Accessed 5 August 2005; Alcorn 161-162
37. Lola Sheldon History
38. Alcorn, 165; Woodlawn Cemetery Records #125-2. Online. New England Genealogical Society. Accessed 5 August 2005
39. Alcorn, 163-64
40. U. S. Census, 1900. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 10 March 2006
41. Dr. Adolf Lorenz. Dr. Lorenz, “was ingenious Austrian orthopedist, who came to the U. S. four winters ago with a slick phrase, ‘bloodless surgery.’ His intentions were to reduce, in clinic, skeletal deformities by manipulative surgery similar to his operation in Chicago 19 years before on Lolita Armour.” The date differs in *Time* article and the *Memoirs*, which stated the procedure was performed in 1896, Lolita’s birth year; *Time* places it about 1902. The fee was specified in the *Memoirs*.
42. “Melody Farm, the Country Home of J. Ogden Armour, Esq.,” Leech and Carroll, 156 and Lake Forest Open Lands. The Armour’s “Mellody Farm (note spelling change) was a lavish 1,000+ acre estate which took four years and \$10 million to construct; it was completed in 1909.” The Italian Renaissance estate home was purchased by Lake Forest

Academy, which now serves as its central building. The gatehouse and surrounding land remained in private ownership until Open Lands purchased the 50-acre property in 1994 with the intention of renovating the gatehouse into an environmental learning center and restoring the lands as a nature preserve. A good portion of the grounds is now the Mellody Farm Nature Preserve under the Lake Forest Open Lands Association.

43. Illinois Institute of Technology History

44. Leech and Carroll, 183

45. *The New York Times*, 13 November 1929. Online. Google. Accessed 7 March 2006

46. Salny, 174, 201

47. Biography & Genealogy Master Index Volume 3: September 1952 through August 1955. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 16 March 2006

48. U. S. Census, 1930. Online. Ancestry.com. Accessed 3 March 2006

49. Rancheros Visitadores. John J. Mitchell, director emeritus of United Airlines, in 1930 was co-founder and President of an invitation-only club for men who enjoyed outdoor adventures and were influential and politically connected. His ranch was the starting point for an annual retreat sixty-five miles north of San Francisco, where protected camps offered privacy for whatever activities the “cowboys on horseback” chose.

50. Lolita Amour Mitchell Higgason

Afterword

1. Glassie, Material Culture, 6

2. Glassie, Ballmenone, 506, 272

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APPENDIX A

Mowll/Mowle Spelling

Examples of Mowll's Writing

Photographs of Mowll's writing courtesy of David Williamson

1. C. W. Mowll signature in Journal
2. Address on C. W. Mowll's letter to his father in England
3. Names of Winchell (corrected by Mowll) and Pettingell in Journal
4. Name of Winchell in Journal
5. Name of Winchell in Journal
6. Word "all" in Journal
7. Word "unwell" in Journal
8. Name of Littell in Journal
9. Name of Littell in Journal

Mowll/Mowle Spelling

After many attempts through the Internet to find C. W. Mowle (as his signature appeared in the journals), in May 2005 I found “The Maritime Mowlls/Mowles” Web site, with Charles Wills Mowll listed. The spelling of Mowle versus Mowll is explained as resulting from a fall out between family members, but the Web site said that C. W. Mowll’s family retained the Mowll spelling. The *Mowll Family Tree*, developed by Dr. Roger Mowll, assisted by Roger Mowll, September 1986, lists Charles Wills and his father, Richard, and his brother, Richard, as Mowll.

There were conflicting interpretations of the spelling of Mowll in documents and public records. C.W. Mowll’s 1839 letter to his father from Brazil appears addressed to Richard Mowle, 96 Snargate St., Dover Kent, but the 1851 England Census Record listed his wife, Sarah Mowll, as living on Snargate St. A copy of C. W. Mowll’s marriage record to Diana Spicer appears to read Mowle with an “l” written over the ending “e”. The England & Wales Birth, Marriage and Death Index for 1837-1983, records Charles Mills [*sic*] Mowle and Diana Spicer marrying in 1840 and Eliza Jane Mowle’s birth in 1841. Mowll’s U. S. 1858 naturalization papers appear Mowle. The 1850 and 1860 United States Federal Census read Mowle, as do the Boston and Cambridge City Directories through the 1850s, and 1860, 1861. Eliza Jane’s Boston marriage record appears Mowle.

On the other hand, the 1861 England Census Record reads Richard Mowll, head of house and Master Mariner; Sarah Mowll, wife; C. W. Mowll’s sister, Eliza Mary, is also listed Mowll in the U. K. 1847 Marriage Record. The 1861 England Census Record

has his brother as Richard Mowll, age 47, widower, Chief Officer, Master RN on the Conway at Sloane Mersey River, Cheshire, England; the England Census Record 1871 has Richard Mowll, age 57 as Commodore on board the Conway; his wife, Eliza (second wife), 47, also on board ship. An even more convincing document is C. W. Mowll's father's probate, promulgated in November 1870, showing the name spelled Mowll for father and son. C. W. Mowll's tombstone reads Mowll, but its date of placement is not known; his death record reads Moroll, and cemetery records read Mowll. The cemetery plot, where several Mowlls are buried in Cambridge, belonged to his son, Charles Frederick Mowll.

It was suggested by Mowll's great-great-grandson, Charles Archer Mowll, that the last "l" in Mowll looked like an "e" because it was written in the cursive manner of the time as a smaller swirl. A search was conducted through Mowll's journals for words that ended with double "l". The most telling was the name of Mowll's employer, Littell. In nine of fourteen "Littell" entries, Mowll ended the employer's name with what appeared to be "le". Other instances included the proper names of Winchell and Pettingell ending with "le" and the words all and unwell ended with "le" a majority of the time. Thus, the spelling of Mowll is used throughout the text.

1

C. L. Nowle

2

W. H. Nowle
96 Margate Street
Dover
Kent

3

Five O'Clock much we
held a special meeting
Minchell, Pettigall & Allen
other business done.

4

Train. Diana a
Mr. Minchell on Court
ters. I told they had
off just now when he
to prayer meeting a
4.00

5

... had to put back with
the 11th Inst. a note of Min
... could get well is first
of Telegraph West. America
Mr. Minchell called
only gave me a receipt
... who is very sick to d

6

blinds in Verby Port 1.
Saw the Barque Crauford Ray
plumber wh
fine day but a shower
fell beds all night
fine day taken very much
1-12-11

7

very unwell about
very unwell ag
sh. Draft Charles

8

hard from the East
to for Little & Co
in Street 1 Man &
it

9

"Arabia" arrived at
me out 5th about 7 P
- Mr. Little fell down
ld. a little milder in

APPENDIX B

Journal Extracts

Photographs of Journal Extracts courtesy of David Williamson

1. Front cover of *Private Journal No. 5* showing the beginning and ending dates.
2. *Journal No. 5* front cover showing the note about where the journals were found.
3. C. W. Mowll's Journals have Date, Weather and Remarks in horizontal format.
4. Close-up look at the Remarks section in Mowll's Journals
5. Mowll kept a record of expenses in his Journals, including pew taxes he collected for the Third Evangelical Congregational Church and submitted to the church treasurer.
6. Mowll labeled each *Private Journal* and yet put instructions about how to read the daily entries on the inside cover of *Journal No. 5*.
7. Mowll's brother, Richard Mowll, apparently lived in Gosport, England, according to the address on the inside cover of *Journal No. 7*.
8. Beneath the address is a print pasted on the inside cover of *Journal No. 7*.
9. Mowll tried to reach his brother John in Liverpool, February 1858.
10. *Private Journal No. 7* has a "Com." date, but no "Endg." date as the other Journals do.
The last entry is Mowll's last day at Littell, Son & Company.

Private Journal
No 5 -
1858 -
Comj - Feb. 10th -
+
Winding Noo 26. 1858
D

1

These are the papers
that we found in the sideboard
when we bought -
The date of the sideboard
is about 1825 -
Private Journal
No 5 -
1858 -
Comj - Feb. 10th -
+
Winding Noo 26. 1858

2

| Date | Day of Week | Winds | | Weather | | Remarks - Events &c. &c. |
|----------|-------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|---|
| | | Dir. | St. | Dir. | St. | |
| 1858 | | | | | | coldest night of the season Ther below zero |
| Sept. 18 | Thursday | W. N.W. | 21 | Cloudy | fine | forenoon cloudy latter part fine strong wind at zero came on cloudy at Noon & took like snow. "Balti" arrived at N.Y. the "Semiathan" was floated on 31 of last month |
| 19 | Friday | N.W. | East 10 | fine | Cloudy | 1 st part fine but very cold. Ther at Sunrise 9.36 P.M. Snow very deep at Church door Choir untill 9.20 P. |
| 20 | Saturday | N.W. | N.W. | 29 | show Snow | Snow Storm all day and evening untill 11.15. Sleet took at 11.45 about 3. Ther. No snow appeared all day. Sabbath School concert in evening |
| 21 | Sunday | W. N.W. | 32 | fine | fine | fine day. Got letters to help me get the snow a Holifer by a great many |
| 22 | Monday | N.W. | N.W. | 30 | fine | fine day cold. Washington's Birth Day kept as |
| 23 | Tuesday | N.W. | N.W. | 30 | fine | fine day but very cold nothing ^{was} done with wood |

3

| Winds | | Weather | | Remarks - Events &c. &c. |
|---------|---------|---------|--------|---|
| Dir. | St. | Dir. | St. | |
| | | | | coldest night of the season Ther below zero |
| W. N.W. | 31 | Cloudy | fine | forenoon cloudy latter part fine strong wind at zero came on cloudy at Noon & took like snow. "Balti" arrived at N.Y. the "Semiathan" was floated on 31 of last month |
| N.W. | East 10 | fine | Cloudy | 1 st part fine but very cold. Ther at Sunrise 9.36 P.M. Snow very deep at Church door Choir untill 9.20 P. |

4

| | | |
|----------|-----------------|--------|
| 6 July | Prima via Myman | 42.40 |
| 19 " | " " " | 50.00 |
| 2 August | " " " | 9.14 |
| 19 " | " " " | 11.59 |
| 27 Sept | " " " | 7.63 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 120.84 |

5

For each day read along the line & then above it
C. L. Moore

6

Richa. Nowle
16 York St.
Crosport
Cuyland

7



8

Mr John Mc Carro
Steam Ship "Canada"
Sept. 10th 1850
to ask for John

9

Private Journal
No-7-
Comm Aug 31. 1859
Endg.

10

APPENDIX C

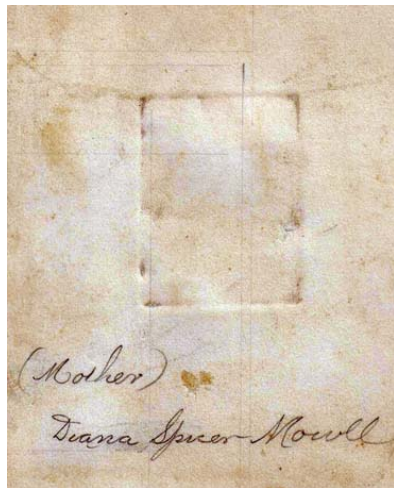
Pictures and Prints

Reproductions of photographs and prints courtesy of David Williamson

1. Gem tintype of (Mother) Diana Spicer Mowll, dated early 1860s by David Allen Lambert and Julie Otto, New England Historic Genealogical Society, and possibly showing Diana in mourning attire.
2. Daniel Safford, frontispiece from Ann Eliza Safford's book, A Memoir of Daniel Safford by His Wife, American Tract Society, 1861.
3. Honorable William George Crosby, former governor of Maine and friend to Mowll. Property of the Maine State Museum.



2



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3

APPENDIX D

Oak Hall Pictorial Advertisement

Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection

1. *Oak Hall Pictorial* cover page
2. Interior view of Oak Hall clothing store with rhyme for children
3. Exterior view of Oak Hall in *Pictorial* advertisement
4. Rhyming plea for clothes from Oak Hall in *Pictorial*

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD THOUSAND.

OAK HALL PICTORIAL.

Like an Acorn small was the original Oak Hall.
BOYS! REMEMBER!
 "TALL OAKS FROM LITTLE ACORNS GROW."
 BY A FRIEND TO AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.
BOSTON:
 OAK HALL, 32 & 34 NORTH STREET.

Entered according to act of Congress, A. D. 1854, by GEORGE W. BROWN, in the Clerk's Office of the District of Massachusetts.
 BROWN & MERRILL, Printers, 11 Devonshire Street, Boston.

1

2

OAK HALL PICTORIAL.

This is the same little boy forlorn,
 Who plead with his father night and morn,
 Because his old clothes were tattered and torn,
 His mother cried, for it touched her pride,
 To see her poor child from his playmates hide.
 Then the father in pity brought his boy to the city,
 And at a very low price, bought a new suit nice,
 At the famous Oak Hall, in North Street.

4

This is the splendid stock in trade,
 Comprising rich clothing, all ready made,
 Of every fashion, rank, and grade,
 Sold by the clerks, who faithfully work
 In the famous Oak Hall, in North Street.

Oak Hall Pictorial.

This is Oak Hall, in North Street, Boston.

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