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Abbreviations, Notes, and Index

Marla R. Miller

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ABBREVIATIONS

Repositories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHS</td>
<td>Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSL</td>
<td>Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FL</td>
<td>Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCMRP</td>
<td>Hampshire County [Massachusetts] Registry of Probate</td>
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<tr>
<td>HHS</td>
<td>Hadley Historical Society, Hadley, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HN</td>
<td>Historic Northampton, Northampton, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHS</td>
<td>Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPHP</td>
<td>Porter Phelps Huntington Papers, Archives and Special Collection, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts *</td>
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<tr>
<td>PVMA</td>
<td>Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, Massachusetts</td>
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<tr>
<td>VHS</td>
<td>Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.</td>
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Publications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>Connecticut Courant</td>
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<tr>
<td>HG</td>
<td>Hampshire Gazette</td>
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Proper Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TNC</td>
<td>Tryphena Newton Cooke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFN</td>
<td>Elizabeth “Easter” Fairchild Newton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPP</td>
<td>Catherine Phelps Parsons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPP</td>
<td>Elizabeth Porter Phelps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EWPH</td>
<td>Elizabeth Whiting Phelps Huntington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD</td>
<td>Rebecca Dickinson</td>
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*Most references to this collection in the notes are to letters between Elizabeth Porter Phelps and her daughter, Elizabeth “Betsy” Whiting Phelps Huntington, all housed in boxes 5 and 13 and filed chronologically. Citations to the PPHP materials assume these locations unless materials from elsewhere in the collection are cited, in which case box and folder numbers are provided as well. The full Finding Aid is available online at http://www.amherst.edu/library/archives/index.html.
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NOTES

Introduction. Early American Artisanry: Why Gender Matters


18. Polly L’Hommedieu Lathrop account book (ca. 1803–17), CHS.


22. Solomon Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.


25. Nathaniel Phelps account book (1730–43), PVMA.


33. Joseph Haynes interleaved almanac, 1762, n.p., MHS.


37. Sarah Pitkin to Frances Pitkin, 10 December 1812, Ms. 69985, CHS.


41. EPP’s memorandum book (referred to by other historians as her diary, though “memorandum book” is her own term and clarifies the record’s purpose), extending from 1766 to 1812, is in PPHP, box 7 (with typescripts and other copies in boxes 8 and 9). Most
Notes to Pages 18–25


42. Sylvester Judd, “Northampton,” 1:326, FL.

43. For a brief biography of Judd and a discussion of the nature and value of his manuscripts, see Gregory H. Nobles and Herbert L. Zarov, Selected Papers of the Sylvester Judd Manuscript (Northampton, Mass.: Forbes Library, 1976). Differentiation of dress for morning and afternoon was firmly in place among fashionable upper- and middle-class Americans by the 1790s; see Marguerite A. Connolly, “Dressing for the Occasion: The Differentiation of Women’s Costume in America, 1770–1910” (master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 1987).


46. Judd, Hadley, 424. In 1790, the first federal census found 143 families living in 132 houses, the population totalling 882.


Chapter 1. Clothing and Consumers in Rural New England, 1760–1810

1. Sylvester Judd, “Northampton,” 1:104, FL. Judd does not name his informant here; the attribution is based on similar topics discussed with Catherine Graves and entered on nearby pages 94 and 101. Other possibilities include Mrs Kingsley (who comments on the Stoddard clothing in “Northampton,” 1:332) and Mrs Samuel Wright (who comments on fashion among the Edwards women in “Northampton,” 1:492).


3. Josiah Pierce almanacs, 29 April and 2 May 1755. HHS.


5. EPP memorandum book, 19 June 1785, PPHR.


10. EPP memorandum book, 27 February 1791, 26 August 1804, PPHR.

11. Rebeckah Ashley inventory, 17 October 1781, HCMRP, 13:550, box 6, no. 5; Elizabeth Gunn inventory, 9 July 1761, HCMRP, 10:117, box 65, no. 27. My thanks to Diane Cameron for providing the information about Katherine Russell.


13. CC, 7 November 1780.


15. CC, 15 August 1780.

16. Ibid., 5 September 1780.


18. CC, 6 November 1786.

19. Samuel Wolcott, Memorial of Henry Wolcott (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1881), 156–57. Wolcott claims to be publishing from an undated text titled “Resolutions of the Ladies of Hartford” in the Governor Oliver Wolcott Papers (now held by CHS), but that document could not be located. Wolcott believed that the resolutions were drawn up in the 1770s, and his version of the text is distinct enough from the 1786 resolutions published by the “Economical Society” to suggest that they may date from a
different time. But given the similarities between the two texts and the absence of evidence that two such associations emerged, I treat Wolcott's transcribed text as related to the documented 1786 association.


21. Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, Mass.: H. R. Huntting and Co., 1905), 326; Polly Wiley account book, 1815–29, JDC. The collections of Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass., include the portrait of Rev. Howe (1764–1837) of Hopkinton, Mass., as well as the wig and cocked hat that he is said to have worn well into the 1820s and 1830s. My thanks to Aimee Newell, Curator of Textiles and Fine Arts, for bringing these objects to my attention.


24. David Selden Jr. to David and Cynthia Selden, 23 March 1807, Ms. 89970, CHS. On men's styles, see also 23 July 1807.


27. *CC*, 14 November 1780.


29. Hawley's appearance was consistent with a practice observed by Robert Blair St. George: "Only part of the Connecticut River Valley gentry's longevity in power was due to their assertions of social difference. The rest was due to their success in assuring their poorer neighbors that they had their best interests at heart." In acts "more practical than altruistic," elites consciously restrained their consumption and display to avoid alienating the members of their communities, the sources of their influence. Hawley then balanced his need to assert his superiority with another to reassure his neighbors of his commonality. St. George, "Artifacts of Regional Consciousness in the Connecticut River Valley, 1700–1780," in *The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820*, ed. William N. Hosley Jr. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985), 33.

30. Carole Turbin, in "Class Dressing: Gender, Fashion, and the Changing Landscape of Class in the U.S., 1860–1940," Tenth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 9 June 1996, observed that in the nineteenth century, the middle and working classes came to be understood linguistically through a metaphor of clothing, as "white-" and "blue-collar" workers. Tappan's reminiscence about the white and blue shirts that marked Northampton's professional and laboring people makes clear that this distinction had firm eighteenth-century roots.

31. [Elizabeth Heath?] to [Susanna Craft Heath?], 24 February 1799, Heath Family Papers, Correspondence, (1736–1887), MHS.


34. Connecticut Valley Clothing File, a database created by the author in spring and summer 2001, documenting almost twelve thousand articles of apparel owned by all decedents whose inventories (taken 1760–1810) enumerated apparel in eighteen selected Connecticut Valley towns. I am grateful to the University of Massachusetts Office of Research Affairs for funding this project and for David E. Lazaro’s capable work as a research assistant. That the number of examples of garments made from home-woven textiles described as “homespun” or “homemade,” though never large, rises as one moves from the 1760s to the 1790s may reflect the effects of the American Revolution and increased use of domestically produced textiles for clothing. Readers should note that this figure does not speak in any way to household textiles (e.g., bed curtains, blankets and other coverings, and table linens, including cloths and napkins) produced domestically; the relative proportion of domestically produced compared with imported fabric surely was markedly different in wardrobes than it was among household textiles. Adrienne D. Hood, in *The Weaver’s Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), postulates a relationship between references to “homespun” cloth and the absence of artisanal weavers (126–37). For useful critiques of probate inventories as sources of historical insight, see Peter Benes, ed., *Early American Probate Inventories*, Proceedings of the 1987 Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (Boston: Boston University, 1989).


36. EPP memorandum book, 23 May 1790, PPHP.


39. EWPH to EPP, 27 March 1803, PPHP.

40. John Ellery will, 1744, Hartford [Conn.] Registry of Probate, 15:544.

41. EPP memorandum book, 22 July 1787; see also July 14, 1814, PPHP.

42. See the day books of the Miles & Lyons firm, PVMA. Among the few scholarly considerations of gravedresses makers in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world is Elizabeth Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 64–71.


44. Miriam Warner inventory, 6 April 1773, HCMRP, 12:83–84, box 154, no. 22.


47. *HG*, 30 April 1788, 5 December 1787.


52. Indenture, Thomas Calkins to Samuel Calkins, 7 January 1763, CSL.


54. Gill indenture, 8 February 1762, Bartlett Family Papers, box 1, folder 1, PVMA.

55. Cotes indenture, 15 September 1761, Nims Family Papers, box 1, folder 25, PVMA.


59. *Greenfield Gazette, or, Massachusetts and Vermont Telegrapher*, 16 April 1795.

60. Lydia Ellsworth inventory, 1 August 1808, Hartford [Conn.] District Registry of Probate, 28:322.

61. Thirty-two percent, or nearly 1 in 3, of the short gowns observed in the Connecticut Valley Clothing File were not described in any way by court-appointed assessors.

62. Ibid. Dark fabrics were favored over light 3 to 1.


65. Thomas Dwight to Mrs Hannah Dwight, 20 January 1799, Dwight-Howard Papers, MHS.


70. Rachel Parmenter inventory, 1 March 1799, Marlboro [Vt.] Registry of Probate, 2, 1795–1804, 186.

71. Abigail Wells inventory, 3 November 1772, HCMRP, box 156, no. 53.

72. Elizabeth Lyman inventory, 13 September 1793, HCMRP 18:197, box 91, no. 15.


74. For another discussion of texture, color, and fit within elite wardrobes, see Bushman, Refinement of America, 69–74.

75. Ibid., 71.

76. Ibid., 70.


78. Carrie Rebra and Paul Staiti, John Singleton Copley in America (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995), 312–14; Kornhauser, Ralph Earl, 188–91. Aileen Ribiero contributed substantive notes on costume to each of these publications.


80. Wolcott, Memorial of Henry Wolcott, 117.
82. Sarah Porter inventory, 12 October 1784, HCMRP, 14:229–30, box 117, no. 30.
83. [Susannah Craft Heath] to Eliza [Heath?], 3 September 1786, Heath Family Papers, Correspondence (1736–1887), MHS.
84. Earle, *Diary of Anna Green Winslow*, 14
87. EPP memorandum book, 17 February 1771, PPHP.
89. Connecticut Valley Clothing File.
91. Elisha Pomeroy inventory, 5 April 1762, HCMRP, 10:11, box 115, no. 43.

96. Sylvester Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 1:146, FL.
97. Memorandum, 25 January 1786, Dwight-Howard Papers, MHS.
98. Thomas Dwight to Mrs Hannah Dwight, 19 January 1795, Dwight-Howard Papers, MHS.
99. Thomas Dwight to Mrs Hannah Dwight, 20 January 1799, Dwight-Howard Papers, MHS.
100. Samuel Eliot to Thomas Williams, 1 January 1774, Papers of Thomas Williams, Williams Family Papers, box 8, folder 6, PVMA. Mourning was proscribed during the political crisis to discourage the accompanying purchases of appropriate cloth and funeral objects.
101. Because of the amount of purchasing that was done on behalf of others, it was not unusual for the selection of fabric to be left up to a merchant, or the surrogate shopper, with some direction from the actual purchaser. For example, in September 1780, David Field wrote to Jos. Barnard, asking him to “go to Doctor Williams’ wife at Roxbury and git four pounds sixteen shillings money she has of mine and git some sort of fashionable silk for gown and gimp for trimming the same. Let it be all of a colour except it be flowered, and you will oblige your humble servant. N.B. The colour must not be black, red or yellow.” Barnard obliged, and purchased nine yards of lustring for ten shillings six pence, and three and one-half yards of gimp at one shilling two pence. See “Buying a Gown 120 Years Ago,” HG, 3 January, 1888.
103. EWPH to Sarah Parsons Phelps, 9 November 1800, PPHP.
104. Patience Langdon to Sophronia Beebe, 22 May 1804, quoted in Judith Knight’s 1995 notes on needlework in the Beebe Family Papers, Old Sturbridge Village. My thanks to Lynne Bassett for making these notes available to me during her tenure as curator of textiles and fine arts.
106. Eliza Southgate Browne to her parents, 14 July 1803, in Browne, A Girl’s Life Eighty Years Ago, 167.
107. Literacy skills were pertinent to the success of artisans as well. Roche, Culture of Clothing, 322–26, notes a high level of literacy among Parisian tailors, dressmakers, and linen drapers and a lower level among journeymen and wage-earners. In part, Roche points out, the difference reflects the educational advantages of urban living but also suggests that this trade, “more than most,” required craftspersons to be able to maintain accounts and correspond with clients.
Kessler observes Abigail Brackett Lyman's taste, and haste, in “Worlds of Abigail Brackett Lyman,” 88–89.

Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 1:146. The years during and after the French Revolution brought large numbers of émigrés from France's working class, including members of the needle trades, as well as dancing instructors and fencing masters, to northeastern cities, amplifying French influence on American fashion; see Michele Majer, “American Women à la Française”: French Influence on Federal Dress,” Costume Society of America, Region I Fall Symposium, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2000.

Judd, “Northampton,” 1:492. An interesting passage in the letters of the Hadley native Sarah Porter Hillhouse suggests the role of such women as arbiters of taste for their communities. Once she had married and moved to Georgia, Sarah Porter Hillhouse received fashion instruction from a relative (perhaps a sister-in-law) in New Haven: “I thought there was no prospect of getting any person of better judgment than Miss Stoddard to select [a hat] if I sent to New York. ... I hope the Leghorn will please you—they are very fashionable.” Stoddard delivered further instruction on whether or not the hat should be turned up. See M. L. H. to Sarah Porter Hillhouse, 22 July 1810, folder 62, Alexander and Hillhouse Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, N.C.

EPP to EWPH, 4 November 1797, PPHP.

EWPH to EPP, 27 March 1803, PPHP.

See also Hannah Williams Heath diary (1771–1832), 27 March 1805, Heath Family Collection, MHS, which describes a spring evening when “Mrs Ingersoll went home at dark [and] the girls went with her to borrow a robe to cut one by.” My thanks to Elizabeth Nichols for passing this citation along to me.

EPP memorandum book, 15 July 1798, PPHP.

The Boston directories for 1796 and 1798, published by Manning and Loring, and Rhoads and Laughton, respectively, together list nineteen women who may have been working in 1797: Lucy Atkins, Maria Ayres, Hannah Boyd, Mildred Byles, Ann Flinn, Elizabeth Goddard, Rachel Hall, Ann Hatch, Anna Hearter, Hannah Hunt, Elizabeth Lanman, Mary Laughton, Hannah Milliquet, Betsy Nichols, Madam Poher, Sarah Snow, Hannah Tileston, Mary Todd, and Sarah Walker.


EPP to EWPH, 4 November 1797, PPHP.

Betsy continued, “If should ever visit Boston again, I should want a good one—I think a green Sattin, made in imitation of those, would look very well.” Elizabeth Whiting Phelps [EWPH] to Charles Phelps Jr., 20 April 1797, PPHP. Elsewhere, Betsy joked to her brother that he would be glad not to have his “country cousins” [his family] visit, suggesting that their rough rural edges might embarrass him. See EWPH to Charles Porter Phelps, 12 July 1797, PPHP.

Elizabeth Whiting Phelps [EWPH] to Charles Phelps Jr., 18 December 1797, PPHP.

124. Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford County*, 595; the maker, Trumbull further suggests, may have been Sally Tripper of Hartford’s Draw Lane, who in 1766 advertised “Female Aprons, for Ladies from eighteen to fifty.”


130. Hannah H. Smith, Glastonbury, to her mother, Abigail Mitchell, Southbury, Conn., 26 April 1796, Correspondence of Smith and Mitchell Families (1796–1819), CSL.

131. Sarah Pitkin to Frances Pitkin, 10 December 1812, Ms. 69985, CHS.

132. Brown, *Knowledge Is Power*, 163–67. Gary Carson has suggested that the advance of the consumer revolution occurred through a number of stages, including “instruction, preparation, rehearsal, performance, acclamation (or not), and acceptance (or rejection),” which always “to a certain extent bowed to local customs.” Carson, “Consumer Revolution,” 619, 650. Clearly, those stages are at work here: Betsy was instructed in the new fashion, prepared and rehearsed it in Boston, and performed it in Hadley. She received the acclamation of others, after which the style was accepted, either directly or with some alteration, into local custom.

133. Elisha Pomeroy, 5 April 1762, 10:118. My attention was drawn to the significance of mirrors by Ann Smart Martin’s insightful paper “Sukey’s Mirror: Consumption, Commodities, and Cultural Identity in 18th-Century Virginia,” Tenth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Chapel Hill, N.C., 9 June 1996; see also Martin, “Buying into the World of Goods; Eighteenth-Century Consumerism and the Retail Trade from London to Virginia (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1993).

134. EWPH to EPP, 20 August 1797, PPHP.

135. My thinking about Elizabeth Whiting Phelps Huntington’s maturing sense of self and her ongoing effort to construct an identity, or identities, for herself in both rural and urban communities in Massachusetts and Connecticut have been greatly influenced by Elisabeth Nichol’s work on gender, reading, writing, and identity in early America; in particular, two conference papers have analyzed Huntington’s correspondence: “Attached and Loving Sister,” “Constant and Unalterable Friend,” and ‘Loving and Dutiful Daughter’: Elizabeth Phelps Huntington Conceptualizes Her Identity” (paper presented at the symposium Through Women’s Eyes: The Porter Phelps Huntington Museum Reinterpretation Initiative, Phase II, Hadley, Mass., 24 September 1995); and “Daughters of the Early Republic: Girlhood and Identity in Rural New England” (paper presented at the Fifth Conference on Rural and Farm Women in Historical Perspective, Chevy Chase, Md., 1-4 December 1994).

1. Isaac Green account book (1800–1801) (Windsor), Nathan Stone Papers, VHS.


3. Isaac Green account book, VHS.


12. Robert Campbell, The London Tradesman (1747; repr., New York: David and
Charles Reprints, 1969) lists twenty trades as appropriate for women, thirteen of which are related to needlework.


14. E.g., Geoffrey Crossick observes that “female access to the formal practice of artisanal crafts was being restricted from at least the fifteenth century in much of Europe, with increasingly precise definitions of which women . . . were acceptable in artisanal trades and the task they might perform.” Crossick, “Past Masters: In Search of the Artisan in European History,” in *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500–1900*, ed. Crossick (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1997), 14.


17. Campbell, *London Tradesman*, 191. The evidence is anecdotal, but there also may have been a relationship between tailoring and disability. I noticed an unusual incidence of crippled children, and men injured later in life, in the tailor's trade. Jacob Lockwood is typical. He earned his living as a sailor out of Rhode Island until a shipboard case of frostbite necessitated the amputation of one foot. Once disabled, he moved near his family in Springfield, Vermont, and learned the tailor's trade, which he then practiced for the remainder of his life. C. Horace Hubbard and Justus Dartt, *History of the Town of Springfield, Vermont* (Boston: George Walker and Co., 1895), 380. Isaac Lane, a tailor in Chatham, Connecticut, had one leg that was much shorter than the other, the result of either a birth defect or a later injury. See *CC*, 24 May 1774. That tailoring often was undertaken by men who could not perform other, more vigorous kinds of labor likely contributed to the disparagement of the trade.


19. Ibid., 4:162.


24. Esther Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.


27. Invoice, box 4, folder 20, PPHP; Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 9:162.


30. Patience Langdon to Sophronia Beebe, n.d. [ca. 1800], as quoted and cited in Judith Knight’s 1995 notes on needlework in the Beebe Family Papers, Old Sturbridge Village. I thank Lynne Bassett for making Knight’s notes available to me.

31. See notes for Burrage Dimock, as well as for John Fairchild, Elisha Hamilton, and William and Eliphalet Hill, in William N. Hosley, *The Great River Archives: Inventories, House Surveys, Manuscript Files, Photo Files, Cultural Histories* (Guilford, Conn.: Opus, 1989). The emphasis on speed may well be related to travel, that one could obtain a piece of apparel while visiting a given community and know that it would be ready by the time of departure.

32. Claudia B. Kidwell and Margaret C. Christman, *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America* (Washington, D.C.: Published for the National Museum of History and Technology by the Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975), 27. Probate inventories regularly contain references to “homemade” garments, to distinguish them from others in the inventory. This word could well refer to the construction of the garment but more likely refers to the production of the cloth. See, for example, the following inventories in HCMRP: Mary Cole, 17 May 1742, 6:189, box 34, no. 45; Hannah Miller, 28 December 1762, 10:153-54, box 98, no 1; Mary Bond, 13 April 1791, 17:53.

33. Though one might assume that a woman’s ability to purchase the services of a needleworker varied in direct proportion to her income, it was not necessarily true that poorer families assumed more of their own clothing-related chores. The social critic Frederick M. Eden recorded in 1797 that the working people of London “content themselves with a cast-off coat, which may usually be purchased for about 5 [shillings] and second-hand waistcoats and breeches. Their wives seldom make up any article of dress, except making and mending cloaths for the children.” The same may have held true for the working people of Boston and of western New England. As we have seen, for example, slaves and servants received cast-off clothing from their employers, as well as clothing procured for them as recompense for their labor. See Eden, *State of the Poor* (1797), 1:554; quoted in Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation*, 186.


38. EPP to EWPH, 27 March 1805, 13 November 1810, 20 April 1815 and 4 May 1815, EWPH to EPP, 21 January 1801 and 15 February 1801, PPHP; "Peggy Browning," clipping from "Old Days in Hartford" series, Mary Kingsbury Talcott scrapbook (1884–85), Ms. 95131, CHS.


42. Nylander, Our Own Snug Fireside, 143–62. Young boys were occasionally tutored in sewing as well, though perhaps more for novelty's sake than to make them productive assets to this aspect of a household's provisioning. On one occasion EWPH records having made a shirt for Edward, "of which he himself did all the sewing up and filing down—and hemming—excepting the bosom." EWPH to EPP, 12 December 1812, PPHP.

43. Elizabeth Fuller diary, April 1791, in Blake, History of the Town of Princeton, 1:311.

44. Sarah Snell Bryant (1766–1847) diary (1794–1835), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., volumes from 1794 to 1804.

45. Spencers were close-fitting, just-below-the-waist jackets with collars and lapels and were among the more complicated garments a tailor constructed.

46. Ibid., volumes from 1794 to 1804, and entries for 22 April 1800, 5 September 1802, 26 and 28 April, 1803, 8 December 1796, 20 April 1798, 17 January 1798, 20 October 1798.

47. Anna Green Winslow, Diary of Anna Green Winslow: A Boston School Girl of 1771, with an introduction and notes by Alice Morse Earle (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1894), 47.


49. EWPH to Charles Phelps Jr., 12 July 1797, PPHP. Likewise, when Anna Williams
Partridge sent her sister Esther Williams Williams five and one-half yards of check linen for shirts, she specified that that yardage, “according to her measure will be sufficient to make two shirts.” Oliver Partridge to Esther Williams Williams, 6 August 1777, Williams Family Papers, box 8, folder 8, PVMA.


52. Snell, Annals, 276–85; Wiesner, Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe, 129.


54. James Richard Farr makes a similar observation about the “relational quality” of skill in Artisans in Europe, 42.

55. RD diary, 9 October 1788, and 26 September 1787, PVMA.


59. For Anna Graham, see Connecticut State Library RG 62, Wethersfield, box 3; for Clarinda Colton, see Burt Family Papers, PVMA.

60. Indenture, 1 July 1770, Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown, Conn.

61. Elizabeth Fisher indenture, 1788, and Lucinda Cone indenture, 1804, Middlesex County Historical Society.

62. Likewise, only 3 percent of the boys (33) went to tailors, while 60 percent were bound to crafts in general, and 40 percent to husbandry. See Lawrence W. Trainer, ed., “The Indentures of Boston’s Poor Apprentices: 1734–1805,” in Transactions 1956–1963, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1966), 43:417–68.


64. See Judd, “Northampton,” 1:101b.

65. The “Directory of Craftsmen in the Connecticut Valley” compiled by Daniel Lombardo and housed at Deerfield’s Memorial Libraries asserts that Margaret Booth was a dressmaker, though I have not been able to locate a source for the attribution. Booth’s account book (1800–1810), is held by the Longmeadow Historical Society. It is also possible that these young women were hired help.

66. In 1770, his estate was valued at £120 14s., when the average in Hadley was £71; the mean value of Hadley estates was just £48 9s. These figures are based on the valuations published in Judd, History of Hadley (Springfield, Mass.: H. R. Huntting and Co., 1905), 423. His probate inventory assessed his wealth at the time of his death in 1802 at over $4,000—a healthy sum by the standards of the day. His house and outbuildings
were alone worth $598, in addition to another lot on Hadley's “back street,” perhaps the site of his shop, worth another $555.

67. See EPP memorandum book, 15 November and 29 December 1799, 26 January 1800, PPHP.

68. Cooke, Making Furniture, 35.

69. EPP memorandum book, 15 July 1798, PPHP.


73. Josiah Pierce accounts, HHS. See also Trautman, “Colonel Edward Marrett,” 76.

74. Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.

75. RD diary, 23 November 1787, PVMA.

76. Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.

77. Ruth Pease diary, 13–14 February 1812, PVMA.

78. E.g., EPP memorandum book, 2 December 1792, PPHP records Tabitha Smith altering a calico gown of EPP’s to fit her nearly fifteen-year-old daughter Betsy.

79. Ibid, 23 May 1790, 27 March 1803.

80. Ibid., 6 September 1801.

81. Ibid., 3 June 1770, 3 August 1788, 12 January 1812, PPHP. Historic Northampton possesses another good example: a gown (accession number 66.197) made in 1762 was re-made in 1805, reviving the life of the garment more than forty years after its construction and probably extending it well over ten years more, since it corresponded loosely to prevailing fashion. The wedding gown of Prudence Punderson, now in the collections of CHS, was also altered many years after its original construction for the wedding of Punderson’s daughter. Though the pattern of the fabric was well out of date by the latter occasion, the exceptional quality of the material would still have been plain to all. Evidence on the garment suggests one or more subsequent alterations as well. I am grateful to Lynne Bassett for bringing this additional example to my attention.


83. Burr to Sarah Prince, 10–11 November 1755, quoted in ibid., 165.


85. Thaddeus Leavitt’s book (1784–94), Kent Public Library, Suffield, Conn.


88. Clare Crowston uses the probate inventories of gown makers in France to describe domestic workspaces in Fabricating Women, 121–23.

89. Robert Corsill inventory, 5 January 1773, HCMRP, 12:61.
92. Thomas Gross, 1773, Hartford [Conn.] District Registry of Probate, #2479.
93. Jonathan Root, 1812, Hartford [Conn.] District Registry of Probate, no file #.
94. Nehemiah Street, 1791, Farmington, [Conn.] District Registry of Probate #2647.
95. See, for example, HCMRP inventories of Peletiah Hitchcock, saddler, 10 December 1761, 10:55, box 72, no. 26; David Bliss, saddler, 12 January 1762, 10:57, box 16, no. 5; and Moses Bliss, shoemaker, 14 May 1762, 10:98, box 16, no. 33.
97. Scissors were even rarer, appearing in only four of three hundred Hampshire County inventories taken between 1760 and 1808. As small goods typically used by women, they are surely underrepresented in probate inventories, but scissors ownership, too, may have been on the rise during the eighteenth century. Elisha Pomeroy’s Northampton shop had more than a hundred pairs of scissors in three grades in its 1762 inventory, but scissors do not begin to appear with any regularity in Hampshire County inventories until 1800.
98. See, e.g., Charles Clapp, 6 August 1791, HCMRP, 11:243–44.
99. This discussion of the processes involved in clothing construction relies heavily on the material cited below as well as extended conversation with Jane Whitacre, who oversees the mantua-maker’s shop at Colonial Williamsburg, and Doris Warren and Brooke Barrows, who staff the shop. I am extremely grateful to them for allowing me to spend a day with them in February 2002 producing a replica of an eighteenth-century mantua. The New England costume historians and curators Lynne Bassett, Pat Warner, David Lazaro, Edward Maeder, and Aimee Newell have also been enormously helpful in helping me understand construction imperatives and techniques.
101. For discussion of how evidence from extant garments reveals construction on the body, see ibid., 11–28.
103. EPP memorandum book, 14 June 1789, PPHP.
104. Ibid., 25 May 1788, PPHP. Thankful would have some gowns altered that fall as well; see 20 September 1789.
106. Baumgarten and Watson, Costume Close-Up, 9, 8.
107. Ruth Pease diary, 13–14 February 1812, Pease-Hyde Family Papers, box 1, folder 8, PVMA.
108. Ibid., 2 June 1812.
Chapter 3. Needlework of the Rural Gentry: The World of Elizabeth Porter Phelps


1. EPP memorandum book, 13 August 1769, PPHP.


3. “In describing a quilting ... Martha [Ballard] mentioned that she ‘helpt break the wool’ that was used to fill the quilt and that a neighbor came to ‘Chalk’ or mark the design to be stitched.” Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 389–90, n. n.

4. Elaine Hedges analyzes the use of quilt imagery, especially among feminist literary critics, in a highly insightful paper entitled “Romancing the Quilt: Feminism and the Contemporary Quilt Revival” (1993), a draft of which I was able to read in the collections of Old Sturbridge Village. My thanks to Sarah LeCount, Curator of Textiles and Fine Arts at the time, for making me aware of Hedges’s manuscript, and to her successors, Lynne Bassett and Aimee Newell, for making it available to me.


6. The 1995 film How to Make an American Quilt (Universal Studios and Amblin Entertainment, 1995), based on Whitney Otto’s best-selling novel by the same title, is among the best-known examples of this particular form of mythmaking: through the quilting circle, women of different races, ages, and backgrounds come together around the quilt frame, their differences receding as they worked. Not surprisingly, the book offers a more sophisticated treatment of these issues than the film. Otto’s narrator, Finn, in the end observes that it was the quilters’s “recognition of their differences that allowed the group to survive, not pretending to transcend them.” She adds, “The impulse to unify and separate, rend and join, is powerful and constant.” Whitney Otto, How to Make and American Quilt (New York: Villard Books, 1991).
7. Hedges, “Romancing the Quilt,” 1–2. Radka Donnell asserts that “quilts counteract separation anxiety” in *Quilts as Women’s Art*, 67. I by no means wish to suggest, however, that all scholarship regarding early American quilting is colored by romantic longing; the American Quilt Study Group, which publishes the journal *Uncoverings*, is an excellent resource for information on the history of this work.

8. In a discussion of quilts and their use in historic tableaux, Jeanette Lasansky writes that “starting first in Brooklyn in 1864 . . . and then going on to New York, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, St. Louis and Poughkeepsie ‘New England Kitchens’ . . . with their regional variations . . . all had certain elements: the large and central fireplace, a gun over the mantel and candlesticks on it, a nearby string of dried apples, a tall clock and a spinning wheel. The women always wore mobcaps and a quilting bee was often part of the view.” Lasansky, “The Colonial Revival and Quilts, 1864–1976,” in *Pieced by Mother: Symposium Papers*, an Oral Traditions Project, ed. Lasansky (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 98.


10. Sally Garoutte, “Early Colonial Quilts in a Bedding Context,” *Uncoverings* 1 (1980): 18–27, esp. 18. Garoutte’s article was first delivered as a paper to the American Quilt Study Group at its 1980 organizational meeting; though the article is now more than twenty-five years old, the myths she describes concerning early American quilts as artifacts of economic need common throughout colonial households still thrive.

11. HCMRP, 1770–1800. Of course, probate inventories are an imperfect source: in several instances, assessors lumped these textiles together as “bed and bedding,” or “bed furnishings.” A handful of inventories listed no textiles at all. Silvia Maulini found similar results in her study of Amherst; while no family possessed more than one quilt, blankets were owned in abundance. That many were homemade is suggested by one assessor’s distinction, “boughten blanket.” Maulini, “Women and the Paradox of Patriarchy in Eighteenth-Century Amherst” (honors paper, Mt. Holyoke College, 1980). In the twenty-four yeoman households Laura L. Tedeschi tracked between 1786 and 1810, nine contained no quilts (of those, four list no bedding of any sort, suggesting that something else had happened to all of these textiles before the inventory was taken). Typically these households owned eight sheets (the most held thirty-three), three blankets (the number ranged from one to thirteen), and two or perhaps three quilts. Some households without quilts possessed a number of coverlets (also called “coverlids”) and bed rugs. Tedeschi, “Yeoman Farmers in Post-Revolutionary Deerfield: Class Status and Material Possessions” (seminar paper, Historic Deerfield, Inc., 1992). See also Roderick Kiracofe, *The American Quilt: A History of Cloth and Comfort, 1750–1950* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1993), 48; Adrienne D. Hood, “The Material World of Cloth Production and Use in Eighteenth-Century Rural Pennsylvania, William and Mary Quarterly 53 (1996): 43–66, esp. 62.

12. Catharine Anne Wilson, “Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood,” *Canadian Historical Review* 82 (2001): 431–64. Wilson points out that most participants in bees “would have been baffled to find twentieth-century writers casting the bee as the embodiment of the communal ideal and the polar opposite of the capitalistic spirit of individualism and material gain. Instead, most farm families understood that the work was a commodity and also a means to foster neighborly relations” (461).

13. The enormously popular book by Pat Ferrero, *Hearts and Hands: The Influence of Women and Quilts on American Society* (San Francisco: Quilt Digest Press, 1987) and ac-
companying film of the same name (San Francisco: Hearts and Hands Media Arts, 1988) associate quilting with the process of democratization, a theme resonant through much quilt scholarship. And quilting has indeed become a site of political action: for example, the NAMES project has produced a gigantic quilt to commemorate the lives of victims of AIDS and to call for greater commitment to defeating the disease. The Boise Peace Quilters have produced dozens of quilts to promote international understanding. But this association of quilting with forces of democratization is a legacy of nineteenth-century quilting traditions and is less appropriately applied to earlier periods; indeed, as a later discussion reveals, quilting in the eighteenth century can be seen as one means by which elite women helped resist those forces. See G. Julie Powell, The Fabric of Persuasion: Two Hundred Years of Political Quilts (Chadds Ford, Pa.: Brandywine River Museum, 2000); Linda Pershing, "The Ribbon around the Pentagon: Women's Traditional Fabric Arts as a Vehicle for Social Critique" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1990).

14. Elaine Hedges makes the excellent point that feminist invocations of quilt imagery often themselves disseminate misinformation about the history of quilts and quilting: "Too few feminist scholars are doing primary research into quilt history," she observes, perhaps because, "despite the appeal of the quilt as metaphor, researching the actual material objects is still seen as low-status work." Hedges, "Romancing the Quilt," 5–6.


17. Abigail Wadsworth's gown is in the collections of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.; two identical panels, supposedly the work of Abigail's mother, reside in the collections of the Webb-Deane-Stevens house in Wethersfield, Conn. See J. Herbert Callister, Dress from Three Centuries: Wadsworth Atheneum (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976), 10. Fragments of Mary Wright Alsop's embroidered gown can be found in the collections of the H. F. du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del.


19. As Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has correctly observed, "Bending over their embroidery frames, little girls added value to themselves as well as to the silk their parents purchased." Ulrich, The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 147.

20. Interesting Family Letters to the Late Mrs Ruth Patten (Hartford, 1845), 18–20, quoted in Suzanne Flynn, Ornamental and Useful Accomplishments: Schoolgirl Education and Deerfield Academy, 1800–1830 (Deerfield: PVMA, 1988), 17.

21. The best starting place is Ring, Girlhood Embroidery.


25. Mary Porter to Jonathan Edwards, 23 September 1770, Edwards Family Papers, folder 1439, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.


27. Jerusha Pitkin’s work is preserved among the collections of CHS.

28. Harry Beckwith of the New England Historic Genealogical Society (hereafter NEHGS) Committee on Heraldry reviewed the needlework and a watercolor image of the Porter heraldry and observed in a letter to Betty Ring, 8 September 1993, that the watercolor appears to have been copied from the embroidery and not the reverse, as has been generally assumed. My thanks to Betty Ring for corresponding about this embroidery and sharing this exchange with me.


31. Ibid., 141–42; see also 81.


34. Sarah Porter Hillhouse to Sarah H. Gilbert, ca. 1795, Alexander and Hillhouse Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, N.C.


37. EPP’s memorandum book (PPHP) contains seventy-nine references to quilting.
Of these, twelve describe petticoats and twenty-two describe bed quilts; the remainder are unspecified. The majority of these references are in the summer months, suggesting that women took advantage of the extended daylight to complete such projects. For a discussion of eighteenth-century quilting in the Connecticut River Valley, including that in the Phelps household, see Nylander, “Textiles, Clothing and Needlework,” 371–413. HN holds several quilted petticoats in its clothing collection like those made by Phelps and her peers, including a pink silk coat worn by Prudence Chester Stoddard (1699–1786), her daughter Esther (1738–1816), or her daughter-in-law Martha Partridge Stoddard (1739–1772).

38. The role of ornamental textiles in defining status has been amply documented. Key works include Swan, Plain and Fancy, and Ring, Girlhood Embroidery. See also Grant McCracken, Culture and Consumption (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1982), 57–70.


40. Connecticut Valley Clothing File, a database created by the author in the spring and summer of 2001, documenting almost twelve thousand articles of apparel owned by all decedents whose inventories (taken 1760–1810) enumerated apparel in eighteen Connecticut Valley towns. Since probate inventories disproportionately record the wardrobe of older women, they likely misrepresent the spectrum of color that would have been present in any gathering of women. Michele Boardman, however, also found a preponderance of black clothing in her study of clothing in New England portraiture. She suggests that the popularity of black stems not only from its practicality, since dark fabrics are less likely to show stains, but also from its connotation of seriousness, and religiosity. She cites prescriptive literature that recommends dark colors for older women, only black for the truly elderly, and white for young women. Boardman, “Picturing the Past: Studying Clothing through Portraits” (research report, Old Sturbridge Village, 1990), 17–18.

41. Connecticut Valley Clothing File.

42. Sally Garoutte, “Early Colonial Quilts in a Bedding Context.”


44. Beverly Lemire, “Redressing the History of the Clothing Trade in England: Ready-Made Clothing, Guilds, and Women Workers, 1650–1800,” Dress 21 (1994): 61–74. A beige quilted silk skirt in the collection of HN (1979.20.80) has been identified as a product of this London trade. The skirt has no batting, and its drawstrings can be either gathered evenly around the waist, producing a bell-shaped silhouette, or gathered all at the sides, producing the wide-at-the-hips appearance also created in the eighteenth century by panniers.


46. E.g., Boston Gazette, 22 August 1757, advertising “Quilted Petticoats, from 4 to 9
Breadths” and “Hoop Petticoats of various dimensions.” Judd records “white quilting for petticoats” available in 1767 and “marseilles quilting for ladies coats” in 1772. “Miscellaneous,” 14300–301.


49. Elizabeth Foote diary, 8 July 1775, CHS; Jonathan Judd diary, 22 June 1772, 20 November 1772, FL.

50. Several such frames with a Hadley, Massachusetts, provenance can be examined at the Hadley Farm Museum. I am grateful to Karen Parsons, then the volunteer curator of the HHS collections, for helping me to examine them.


52. Esther Williams Williams papers, Ashley Family Papers, PVMA; for her 29 May 1799 will, see also HCMRP, box 161, no. 20.

53. The Philadelphia Loyalist and gentlewoman Grace Crowden Galloway recorded being galled at seeing others ride in her family’s confiscated carriage while she walked to quilting gatherings “like a common woman.” Gunderson, *To be Useful to the World*, 161.


55. EPP memorandum book, 13 and 20 May 1770, PPHP.

56. Ibid., 17 May 1795, PPHP; Judd, *Hadley*, 383.


58. Ibid., 384.


60. EWPH to EPP, 9 September 1802, PPHP; and Lynn A. Bonfield, “Diaries of New England Quilters before 1860,” *Uncoverings* 9 (1988): 171–98, esp. 177. According to Orlofsky and Orlofsky in *Quilts in America*, 64, a housewife might participate in twenty-five to thirty bees each year, but Hampshire County sources, including EPP’s memorandum book, suggests that the number there was far fewer. Lynne Zacek Bassett’s research supports the latter finding as well, and suggests, moreover, that quilting in groups was a largely seasonal affair, while solitary quilting was more common during winter months. See Bassett and Jack Larkin, *Northern Comfort; New England’s Early Quilts, 1780–1850* (Nashville, Tenn.: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998), 102–4.

61. Ruth Henshaw Bascom diary, 28 June 1789, AAS.


64. On the comparative time demanded by plain and ornamental quilting, see Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 15:423–24.

66. Sarah was accustomed to supervising slaves; her father, Eleazer Porter, held at one time at least six: Thankful, Tab, Agnes, Boston, Simeon, and Josh, each of whom eventually claimed the surname “Boston.” Eleazer Porter’s January 1758 inventory can be found in the HCMRP, box 117, no. 10.

67. In his 13 November 1753, Chester Williams bequeaths to his wife Sarah a “negro woman, Phillis,” and a “negro girl” appears in his 13 February 1754 inventory; see HCMRP, box 161, no. 8; Bill of Sale, Samuel Kent to Israel Williams, 22 May 1754, and Bill of Sale, Hezekiah Whitmore to Israel Williams, 20 May 1753, quoted in George Sheldon, “Negro Slavery in Old Deerfield,” New England Magazine, March 1893, 58.


69. Jonathan Ashley will, 16 June 1780, HCMRP, box 5, no. 45; Jennifer Moon, “Master and Servant: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Deerfield” (seminar paper, Historic Deerfield, Inc., 1987). See also Sheldon, “Negro Slavery in Old Deerfield,” where Jenny’s last name is given as “Cole,” though as yet that surname cannot be confirmed in other sources. My thanks to Robert Romer for clarifying these naming issues for me.


73. EPP to EWPH, 28 October 1802, PPHP.


78. Considering the probability of omissions, this estimate, based on my analysis of several selected years of EPP’s memorandum book is, I suspect, low. On the character and purpose of EPP’s records, it is worth noting that, though dairying occupied a good deal of EPP’s time and attention, it is never once mentioned in her memorandum book. Phelps apparently had no need to record labor performed wholly within her own household or labor she herself performed; perhaps she recorded them elsewhere, in a document or by some other means that has not survived. The volume was indeed largely a record of women who crossed her threshold, logging productive labor and “social” exchanges.

79. EWPH to EPP, 10 April 1801, PPHP.

80. Ibid., 29 August 1802.

82. Kevin Sweeney suggests that the "quantity of furniture also documents the role entertaining played in the life of the River Gods." On average, these families owned about thirty chairs each, while their neighbors owned, on average, between six and twelve chairs. The number of tables, and specialized forms, such as tea tables, also "attest[s] to a polite style of life." Sweeney, "Mansion People," 246. See also Sweeney, "Furniture and the Domestic Environment in Wethersfield, Connecticut 1639–1800," in St. George, *Material Life in America*, 261–90.


85. Elizabeth Porter/Moses Porter, 10 December 1755 Guardianship, HCMRP, box 117, no. 19. Phoebe Marsh (1719-1779) was widowed in 1760; she lived just below the Middle Highway in Hadley, on the east side of what is now West Street, not far from the Eleazer Porter household. See EPP memorandum book, 26 July 1767, PPHP.

86. Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees," 459.

87. EPP memorandum book, 3 July 1768, PPHP.

88. Likewise, Sarah Snell Bryant of Cummington participated in three to five quiltings a year until 1803, “but none during the next ten years when her house was full of very young children and her elderly parents needed care.” Nylander, *Our Own Snug Fireside*, 228. See also Martha Ballard Moore’s references to quilting, concentrated in the 1790s when Ballard, then in her fifties, helped her grown daughters make bed quilts, discussed in Ulrich, *Midwife’s Tale*, 143–46.

89. Sarah Porter Hopkins, interestingly, was in her early forties when she acquired this quilted petticoat with the help of her young relatives. Biographical information on these women is culled from Judd, *Hadley*; Daniel White Wells, *A History of Hatfield, Massachusetts* (Springfield, Mass.: Published under the direction of F. C. H. Gibbons, 1910); James Russell Trumbull’s “Northampton Families,” typescript in FL; NEHGS, *Vital Records of Conway, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* (Boston: NEHGS, 1943).

90. See, e.g., the EPP memorandum book, 18 August 1793, 7 December 1794, 19 October 1794, 23 July 1797, and 14 June 1799, PPHP. EPP’s second “daughter” was Thankful Richmond, taken in by the family in December 1776 when she was two weeks old; Thankful’s mother had died in childbirth, and Elizabeth had just lost her newborn son. After some agonizing, Elizabeth and Charles decided to keep the child. She stayed with them until her marriage to Enos Hitchcock in 1796. Throughout this work I treat Betsy and Thankful as equal members of the household, as I believe they were treated during their youth, though later correspondence suggests that over the years after her marriage, Thankful drifted somewhat from her former intimacy with the family.

Chapter 4. Family, Community, and Informal Work in the Needle Trades: The Worlds of Easter Fairchild Newton and Tryphena Newton Cooke


1. Mrs. John Barstow recorded this piece of family lore in a paper entitled "Baker's or Cook's Tavern," found in the "Historians Record of the Doings of the Old Hadley Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution," HHS.
2. Josiah Pierce Accounts, Interleaved Almanack, HHS.
3. EPP memorandum book, 28 November 1779, PPHP.
5. See the probate files for Francis Newton in HCMRP, box 105, no. 20; and innholder licenses for Francis Newton (1778–80) and Elizabeth Newton (1781–97, 1808 and 1810). Hampshire County Court of Common Pleas, Northampton, Mass.
6. Elijah Williams account book, 1747, PVMA
8. Apollos King account book (1791–1803), Kent Public Library, Suffield, Conn.
12. See Jane C. Nylander, Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760–1860 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 149–59. I am also grateful to Anne Digan Lanning for sharing with me insights and information from her own work with this source.
13. EPP to EWPH, December 1802, EPP to EWPH, 27 March 1805, EPP to EWPH, 13 November 1810, EPP to Sally Parsons, 17 March 1802, EPP memorandum book, 30 May 1812, 24 January 1813, 16 April 1815, EWPH to EPP, 11 January 1801, EWPH to EPP, 22 October 1802, PPHP.
14. EPP to EWPH, 22 October 1802, PPHP.
16. EWPH to EPP, 16 November 1804, PPHP.

19. EPP to EWPH, 2 March 1801, PPHP; and Dudden, *Serving Women*.

20. EPP to EWPH, 9 March 1803, PPHP.

21. William Stoddard Williams in Stockbridge to Patty Williams in Deerfield, 22 August 1784, in the papers of William Stoddard Williams, Williams Family Papers, PVMA.

22. EPP to EWPH, 17 December 1801, PPHP.

23. Ibid., 13 June 1801.

24. Ibid., 22 October 1802, 1 November 1805.

25. EWPH to Charles Phelps Jr., 12 July 12 1797, PPHP.

26. Ibid., 1 July 1796, [?] April 1797; 19 May 1797; 30 May 1797.

27. Ibid., 12 July 12 1797.

28. Similarly, the only reference in EWPH’s correspondence that makes clear the home of a tailor notes that she came from EWPH’s own community: “Tomorrow your son goes to New Haven. I shall not be quite alone as I expect a girl to help me about sewing—Bethia Mason, she is a very pretty girl the daughter of a farmer in the east part of the town.” EWPH to EPP, 8 September 1803, PPHP.

29. EPP memorandum book, 5 August 1792, PPHP.

30. Aileen Agnew’s investigation of women and their local economies in eighteenth-century upstate New York has yielded some fascinating insights into the economic activities of African Americans living in Albany—a community near the western border of Massachusetts with which Connecticut Valley towns had much commercial intercourse. The black customers who traded with the merchant Elizabeth Schuyler Sanders bought items similar to those purchased by whites and paid for them largely in cash and garden produce. But “no blacks offered work of any kind as a payment,” since, as slaves, their labor was not theirs to sell. In eighteenth-century Albany, at least, “Black women thus never sewed for credit, as white women did.” Aileen B. Agnew, “Silent Partners: The Economic Life of Women on the Frontier of Colonial New York” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1998); I am grateful to the author for sharing her work with me at an early stage in her project. See also Aileen B. Agnew, “The Retail Trade of Elizabeth Sanders and the ‘Other’ Consumers of Colonial Albany,” *Hudson Valley Regional Review* 14, no. 2 (1997): 35–55.

31. William Porter Papers, box 1, folder 6 (1803), Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.

32. Indenture, Simon Baker to Charles Phelps, 1 May 1766, PPHP. Likewise, in October 1802, EPP in her diary recorded that Polly Seymour had come “to make Zerviah’s silk gown” one week before Zerviah left EPP’s employ. See EPP memorandum book, 10 and 17 October 1802, PPHP. In Northampton, when Saul Alvord was obliged to supply the hired man Hendrick Sleighter with two linen shirts, a frock, overall, and a pair of trousers, as well as a woolen shirt, a checked shirt, and a pair of stockings, the needlewoman Sarah King Root Clark provided both the cloth for the frock and checked shirts and the labor to make them up; for the overalls and trousers, she provided at least the labor and thread. See Sylvester Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 11:62, and “Northampton,” 2:244, FL.

33. EPP memorandum book, 24 May 1778, PPHP.


36. Josiah Pierce account book, Moses Gunn account, entry for 13 November 1753, HHS. In November 1754 and November 1759, Gunn’s accounts are once again settled by the making of leather breeches, 12/4 (a pair for Josiah and another for Samuel), and by the making (in 1759) of a banyan for William and cutting out a pair of breeches for Josiah, 1/10.

37. Jerijah Barber Sr. account books (1770–1793), November 1786, Windsor [Conn.] Historical Society.

38. Sylvester Judd, History of Hadley (Springfield, Mass.: H. R. Hunting and Co., 1905), 423. The average value of Hadley estates in 1770 was £70. Judd further records that Bartlett “came from Amherst in 1755, and had the care of the farm of the widow of Captain Moses Porter a few years” (425).

39. Nash Petition, December 1782, HCMRP, box 104, no. 11. It seems possible that Porter’s awareness of the Nash family’s circumstances prompted Lucy's employment at Forty Acres.


43. On Marsh, see EPP memorandum book, e.g., 22 March 1778, 26 December 1779, 15 July 1781, 9 September 1781, 13 July 1782. PPHP; on Kellogg, see 5 January, 19 January, 20 April, 4 May, 18 May, and 2 November 1783. PPHP.


46. These figures are derived from the valuations attached to 104 Hadley heads of household in Sylvester Judd, Hadley, 423.


49. EPP memorandum book, 6 October 1816, PPHP.

50. Francis Newton Widow Allowance, 9 August 1785, HCMRP, box 105, no. 20.

51. EPP memorandum book, 21 November 1779, 18 June, 27 August, and 3 December 1780, 14 October, 11 and 18 November, 23 December 1781, 13 and 27 January, 9 and 23 June, 7 July, 28 December 1782, 5 and 19 January, 2 March, 20 April, 4 and 18 May 1783. See also Josiah Pierce account book and interleaved almanac, March 1771, HHS.
52. EPP memorandum book, 2 March, 20 April, 4 May, and 18 May 1783, PPHP.
53. TNC account book, HHS.
54. William Porter Papers, box 1, folder 3 (1800), Old Sturbridge Village.
55. The source and amount of the Cooke family's debts are not recorded in this ledger, unfortunately, but are carried over from an earlier and apparently no longer extant account.
56. It seems quite possible that the additional labor expended in the early 1790s was related to the expenses incurred during the construction of the Cooke tavern.
57. In June 1791, for example, Parker was charged for fifty yards of cloth, “finding thread,” and the making of two shirts, a pair of trousers, overalls, a fine holland shirt, a coat, a jacket, and one other item that is illegible. The fabric, perhaps produced by TNC, was worth 8 shillings 4 pence. The sewing was together valued at £1 4s. 10d. Cooke account book, HHS, 10.
59. When Epaphrus Hoyt in 1790 traveled from Deerfield to Philadelphia, he records having put up at “Mrs Newton’s tavern at the end of Hadley.” See the Epaphras Hoyt diary, 17 July 1790, PVMA.
60. HG, 12 October 1796.
62. EPP to EWPH, 1 April 1804, PPHP.
63. Ibid., 4 April 1804.
64. EPP memorandum book, 9 December 1804, 2 and 9 June 1805, PPHP.
66. The shirt and bonnet worn by Samuel Cook were examined by researchers in preparation for the Wadsworth Atheneum’s 1985 Great River exhibition by Mrs. Charles Cook. See William N. Hosley, The Great River Archives: Inventories, House Surveys, Manuscript Files, Photo Files, Cultural Histories (Guilford, Conn.: Opus Publications, 1989), reel 6.

Chapter 5. Family, Artisanry, and Craft Tradition: The Worlds of Tabitha Clark Smith and Rebecca Dickinson

1. EPP memorandum book, 20 November 1768, PPHP.
2. RD diary, 10 September 1787, PVMA.
3. See, for example, EPP memorandum book, 23 June 1782, PPHP.


7. Sylvester Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 14:244, FL; Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.


9. Elizabeth Foote diary, CHS.

10. Experience Wight Richardson diary, November 26, 1759, MHS; Susannah Heath to Elizabeth White, 22 October 1797, Heath Family Papers, Correspondence (1736–1817), MHS.


12. Fisher indenture, 13 October 1788, Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown, Conn.


15. Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.

16. EPP memorandum book, 1 August 1784, 11 April 1790, PPHP; see also 19 June 1791.

17. See Judd, “Miscellaneous,” 14:242. No recipient is specified for 25 percent of the entries; adult men are specified as recipients for roughly 10 percent of the entries.

18. Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.


21. Ibid., 245.

22. Wright account book (1787–1810), HN.

23. CC, 8 May and 30 October 1775.

24. Ibid., 27 November 1775.

25. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the founding of the Economical Association.


27. On Mather, see CC, 17 July 1799; on the Lincoln family, see CC, 11 December 1811, 28 April 1812, 6 April 1813, 11 January 1814, 3 January and 7 November 1815; on Barnards, see CC, 8 September 1812, 7 December 1813.

29. RD’s journal records only the very end of her career; when she was a younger and more vigorous artisan, such travels may well have taken up a greater portion of her business.

30. RD diary, 5 October 1787, PVMA.

31. Catherine Phelps Parsons was the first daughter of Nathaniel Phelps and Catherine King, though Nathaniel Phelps had been married once before and had children, including at least one daughter.

32. Because of the scarcity of sources about trades for early American women, I was unable to research further the question of what trades the younger sisters may have learned and practiced. Of RD’s younger siblings, I know only that her sister Miriam was greatly occupied with the running of her family’s tavern.

33. By comparison, Wendy Gamber found that female partnerships accounted for almost 14 percent of Boston women’s businesses between 1853 and 1887, with individual proprietors accounting for 75.9 percent of the trade, and husband-and-wife teams accounting for 10.3 percent. Gamber, Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860–1930 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1997), 32.

34. CC, 8 September 1812.

35. Ibid., 6 April 1813.

36. Ibid., 11 December 1811.

37. Ibid., 28 April 1812.

38. Judd, “Northampton,” 1:332; for the relevant probate materials, see HCMRP, box 83, no. 3, box 83, no. 40, and box 113, no. 45.


40. Wright account book (1787–1810), HN. It is also possible that the Esther Wright, to whom these accounts belonged, was Solomon Wright’s sister, the fifth child and third daughter of Selah and Esther Wright, born in 1763. She never married and died in December 1813 at the age of fifty. It is possible that the gown-making accounts contained in this record are hers, since she was an unmarried woman in her thirties at the time. Another possibility is that the entries recorded reflect the work of both mother and daughter, each of whom was an unmarried woman in need of income at the time the accounts were recorded. At present, it is simply impossible to tell. Because of the relationship of the mother, Esther, to a documented artisan, I have attributed the accounts to her, though of course there is a likelihood that she in turn passed those skills on to her daughter, who may have found them useful as a never-married woman in late eighteenth-century New England.

42. RD diary, 19 April 1789, PVMA.
43. Recent work by Christine Daniels draws important distinctions between trades and helps illuminate more precisely possible relationships between gender and the creation of familial craft identities. Though gender was not a particular focus of her work, she argues convincingly that craft skills were less likely to be passed down through generations in trades like needlework that required little capital investment. In other words, the more difficult to enter, the more likely a given craft was to encourage the development of familial “dynasties,” while comparatively accessible crafts, such as clothing construction, did not demand a comparable intergenerational commitment. Daniels, “From Father to Son: The Economic Roots of Craft Dynasties in Eighteenth-Century Maryland,” in *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850*, ed. Howard B. Rock, Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher, 3–16 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
44. Ibid., table 1.3, 9.
45. For genealogies, see James Russell Trumbull, “Northampton Genealogies,” typescript in FL.
47. EPP memorandum book, 16 July 1769, PPHP.
48. Ibid., e.g., 4 June 1769, 19 April 1772, 4 April 1773.
49. Ibid., 30 April 1775.
52. EPP memorandum book, 1 August 1784, PPHP.
53. Ibid., 11 April 1790; see also 19 June 1791.
54. There is a large literature on this subject; the best place to begin is Thomas Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).
55. EPP memorandum book, 26 February 1792.
57. See, for example, *HG* advertisements on 29 December 1800, 16 July 1800, and 6 January 1802.
58. EPP memorandum book, 15 July 1798, PPHP; see also Chapter One for a discussion of this visit by Gaylord to the Phelps home.
60. EPP memorandum book, 10 September 1809, 11 December 1814, 24 September 1816, PPHP.
61. See bills and receipts from 1792 to 1801 in the Papers of William Porter, box A, folders 1–4, Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass..
63. On the growing relationship between the Phelps girls and Tabitha Clark Smith,
see EPP memorandum book, 2 September 1792, 7 October 1792, 14 July 1793, 27 December 1795, and EPP to EWPH, 28 March 1810, PPHP. Regarding Smith’s possible second marriage, it appears that the mother followed the daughter; in January 1799, the widow Lucretia Smith Gaylord married Samuel Dexter Ward of Brimfield.

65. RD diary, 21 June 1789, PVMA.
68. Abby Wright Allen letterbook, 27 September 1803, microfilm of transcription in the archives of Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
70. RD diary, 26 September 1787, PVMA
72. EPP memorandum book, 14 August 1768, PPHP.
73. RD diary, 22 August 1787, PVMA.
74. See, for example, EPP, memorandum book, 17 July 1768, 14 August 1768, 20 November 1768, 3 June 1770, 11 August 1771, PPHP. For examples of tailoring, see 17 February 1771, 12 November 1775, 26 May 1776, and 26 January 1777. Jonathan Judd Jr. also noted in his diary that, at one wedding he attended, a woman named Lucy Clapp was “there to dress the bride.” Judd diary, 24 November 1774, FL.
75. EPP memorandum book, 11 November 1770, PPHP.
76. Ibid., 15 May 1768.
77. Oliver Smith account book, 27, FL.
78. Polly L’Hommedieu Lathrop account book (1803–17), CHS.
79. RD diary, 23 November 1787, PVMA.
80. Ibid., 5 September 1787.
81. EPP memorandum book, 3 August 1806, PPHP.
82. RD diary, 30 November 1787, PVMA.
83. Ibid., 27 October 1787, [third Sunday in] July 1789.
84. Ibid., 10 September 1787.
85. Ibid., 13 September 1787, and [25 May–8 June] 1788.
86. Wills of Moses, Anna, Samuel, and RD are held in the HCMRP, box 48, no. 3, box 48, no. 13, and box 48, no. 49, respectively.
87. RD diary, 23 November 1787, PVMA.
88. Ibid, 22 November 1787, PVMA.
89. Ibid., 22 August 1787.
91. The name “Aunt Beck” first occurs in a letter from EPP to EWPH, 9 June 1808, PPHP, on the occasion of the death and funeral of Silas Billings, RD’s brother-in-law.

92. See, e.g., Polly Warren to David Wells, Deerfield Overseers of the Poor, Deerfield I-V Town Office, Overseers of the Poor, Indentures L-Z, 1764–1828, PVMA.


94. See, e.g., Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes; or, Thirty Years as a Slave and Four Years in the White House* [1868] (New York: Arno Press, 1968).

95. Karen V. Hansen calls such unmarried women “obviously essential” features of community life. See the discussion of gossip and “the community jury” in her book *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 114–36, esp. 116. RD believed herself to be the subject of vicious gossip because of her status as an “old maid”; perhaps she employed gossip to gain some control over the reputations of those whom she believed gossiped about her, to “equalize social relations” despite a “subordinate position in society” (133).

96. Ibid., n6.

97. RD diary, [15–18] November 1787. RD may have had reason to believe that she, too, was the subject of gossip, since she seems to have been privy to gossip about other unmarried women in the community. Once she recorded having “heard of the death of the aged mrs white of this town. She was formerly hannah meekins an old maid above forty years of age when she married mr white of Sprinkfeald [sic].” Hannah Meekins White was born in January 1698; when she, “an old maid above forty years of age,” was married, RD was a toddler and never knew her as other than married. But clearly her late marriage had been brought to RD’s attention, and it was this sole fact that RD recorded upon White’s death. RD diary, 21 June 1789, PVMA.


99. Wells, *Hatfield*, 256. RD’s “eccentricity” is especially interesting in the light of the tendency in nineteenth-century novels to cast never-married women as peculiar, quirky, or quaint figures. These posthumous characterizations may be as reflective of Wells’s and Partridge’s cultural context as RD’s actual personality.

100. As Wendy Gamber observes concerning nineteenth-century dressmakers, “evidence suggests that customers could confide in their dressmakers precisely because the latter were social inferiors; ‘ladies’ could divulge secrets that pride and propriety forbade them from telling their peers.” Gamber, *Female Economy*, 106.

101. RD diary, 13 July [August] 1787, PVMA.

102. Ibid., 5 September 1787.


105. EPP memorandum book, 8 and 22 July 1787, PPHP.

106. RD diary, 15 November 1787, PVMA

107. Ibid., 3 August 1794.

108. EPP recorded: “Satt: I jest rode to Hatfield to see Becca Dickinson, who has fall[en] down & hurt her hip badly,” on 25 March 1815, PPHP.
Chapter Six. Gender, Artisanry, and Craft Tradition: The World of Catherine Phelps Parsons

This discussion of Catherine Phelps Parsons forms the basis of my article “Gender, Artisanry, and Craft Tradition in Early New England: The View through the Eye of a Needle,” William and Mary Quarterly 60 (October 2003): 743–76.


2. Sylvester Judd records that “for many years after mrs Parsons was married, there was no man tailor in the place; Mr Hodge came before the revolution and was the first which Mrs Graves [Catherine Phelps Parsons’ daughter] remembers.” See Interview with Catherine Parsons Graves in Judd, “Northampton,” 1:94, 101b, FL.

3. Ibid., 1:101b.


5. Whether CPP apprenticed formally is a matter of conjecture. The work Catherine King Phelps performed—making and altering gowns and mantuas, making stays, and making coats for children—suggests that CPP would not necessarily have been able to learn her skills from her mother, or to gain credibility as a local tailor from that training. But since Catherine King Phelps did on one occasion produce a “suit of clothes” for the tailor Samuel Pomeroy, it is possible. See ibid., 2:140.

6. Ibid., 1:101b.

7. Massachusetts would pass legislation to allow feme sole traders (that is, the right to own and operate a business independently from one’s husband, conferred on women under specific circumstances defined by law) in 1787, but the benefits were narrowly construed and limited to women living apart from their husbands for extended periods. On both coverture and feme sole traders; see Mary Lynn Salmon, Women and the Law of Property in Early America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), esp. 45–56.

8. Gloria L. Main, “Gender, Work, and Wages in Colonial New England,” William and Mary Quarterly 51 (1994): 39–66; Sylvester Judd, “Women’s Pay as Makers of Garments For Men,” in “Miscellaneous,” 9:161–63, FL. For Esther Graves, see Deed, 1755; Martha Nash, see Franklin County Registry of Deeds, 1792; Lydia Sawtelle Kellogg, see 1757 deed; Mary Smith, see Deed, 1777; Jemima Woolworth, see Deed, 1778. See also Elizabeth Southwick, New Salem, 1762 Deed; Anne Warriner Ely, New Salem, Deed, 1777, as cited in Daniel Lombardo, “A Directory of Craftsmen in the Connecticut Valley of Massachusetts to 1850,” print-out of database on deposit at Memorial Libraries in Deerfield, Massachusetts.


17. For Anna Graham, see Wethersfield, box 3, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, RG 62; for Clarinda Colton, see Burt Family Papers, PVMA.


19. Ibid., 1:94; see also Trumbull, History of Northampton, 2:615.


21. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos found that among young female craft apprentices in early modern Bristol, nearly half were the daughters of craftsmen. Just under one-fifth were the daughters of merchants or professionals, of which one-third were drawn from the “landed and agricultural classes.” Daughters of gentlemen accounted for 7 percent of the town’s female craft apprentices. Only three girls were drawn from the laboring classes. Ben-Amos, “Women Apprentices in the Trades and Crafts of Early Modern Bristol,” Continuity and Change 6 (1991): 227–52, esp. 230–31.


27. Writ, 24 September 1791, Burt Family Papers, PVMA.

28. Clarinda Colton deposition, Burt Family Papers, PVMA.

29. Diamond Colton deposition, Burt Family Papers, PVMA. Diamond and Clarinda were distant cousins; see Proceedings at the General Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Longmeadow (Longmeadow, Mass., 1884). Interestingly, Coltons were heavily intermarried with Burts, though no direct connection to Ithamar is apparent.

30. Diamond Colton deposition.
31. See James Russell Trumbull, “Northampton Families,” typescript in FL. The work of Esther Wright is documented in the Solomon and Esther Wright account book, HN. Solomon was Esther Lyman Wright’s son; her daughter, Esther Wright, may also have performed the gown making recorded in this volume.

32. EPP memorandum book, 27 November 1791, 8 December 1793, PPHP.


34. Daniels, “From Father to Son,” 3, 15–16.


36. See Judd, “Northampton, Land & Dwelling Houses and Various Owners,” FL. At 1,340 square feet, the Parsons house was well over the median of 1,080, and in the top 15 percent of the 117 houses valued at more than $100 surveyed by Judd. (His records as a surveyor for the 1798 direct tax describe just under half of the 242 Northampton properties for which assessments are found among the surviving official records; for those records, see Massachusetts and Maine Direct Tax Census of 1798, microform compiled by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1979). Although the 17 windows in the Parsons house, comprising 136 square feet of glass, exceeded the medians of 12 and 96, respectively, the amount of glass per square foot was no more than typical for a home of that size, suggesting that the structure itself did not include any unusual accommodations to Parsons’s work as a tailor.


38. Ibid., 1:134.


40. See George Sheldon, History of Deerfield, Massachusetts, 2 vols. (Greenfield, Mass.: Press of E. A. Hall and Co., 1895–96), 623. Orra Harvey Russell eventually shared a shop with the shoemakers Ebenezer Saxton and Lyman Frink; she would live on this lot for some “thirty or forty years.”


44. John Russell account books (1763–91), PVMA; Lane, “Breeches and Rum,” 14.


46. Wiley account book (1815–29), JDC.

48. See ibid., 9:160; Main, "Gender, Work, and Wages," esp. 43. Main examined the ceilings imposed by Westboro and Belchertown. I also use data from the ceilings imposed by South Hadley, recorded in the Judd, "Miscellaneous," 12:26. See also Barbara Clark Smith, "The Politics of Price Control in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1774–1780" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1983).
50. Ibid., 160.
51. Ibid., 1:101b.
52. Russell account books (1763–91), PVMA.
53. Gloria Main finds the same to be true among men and women weavers in "Gender, Work, and Wages," 61.
54. Simeon Wells inventory, 5 April 1774, HCMRP, 12:159, box 157, file 27.
55. HG, 5 March 1800.
57. HG, 2 and 25 March 1803.
58. Ibid., 31 December 1800. See HCMRP, box, 92 no. 22, 7 May 1822, in which Lyman, "a tipler," "who by excessive drinking is so wasting and lessening his estate and thereby to expose himself and his family to want and the Town of Northampton to expense," was appointed a guardian.
59. HG, 29 October 1806. See also 22 November 1815: "Six journeyman tailors can find employment for a few months, by applying immediately, to Sylvester Lyman."
60. Ibid., 23 August 1815.
61. Ibid., 30 May 1810 and 22 May 1811.
62. Ibid., 14 August 1816, 29 October 1817.
63. Lane, "Breeches and Rum, 15–16.
64. HG, 6 November 1799, 28 May 1806, 22 November 1815.
65. Ibid., 29 October 1806, 22 November 1815.
66. Ibid., 27 July 1808. An interesting notice regarding a runaway apprentice appeared in a 1794 edition of HG: "Ran away from Heman Pomeroy, a boy indentured to the Tailoring business, Thomas Curtis, 17 years old, 5' 7", his "complexion rather resembling the American Native, roguish eyes and dark hair." The Native American populations who once flourished in the Connecticut Valley were largely scattered by the end of the eighteenth century, but notices like this one remind us that their descendants lingered in the area. See ibid., 16 December 1794.
67. It is also possible that tailors sought to hire apprentices in the summer months when, in addition to their work in the shop, they might also be able to assist with chores on the farm, suggesting some parallels to the challenge female apprentices faced regarding domestic service. I am grateful to Edward Strong Cooke Jr. for making this suggestion to me.
70. Other Connecticut Valley newspapers include CC, founded in 1764, and the Middlesex Gazette and Federal Advertiser of 1785.
Notes to Pages 177–186

73. HG, 9 May 1798.
74. Ibid., 17 July 1799. Kevin M. Sweeney has observed that in the mid eighteenth century, the orientation of trade switched from Boston to New York, the result of increasing difficulties in currency transactions with Boston merchants and also New York’s influence as the site of a “major staging area for British troops in the Seven Years’ War.” Interestingly, this shift can be in part observed, it appears, in the notices of tailors, whose references to a familiarity with the “latest fashion” of Boston are increasingly countered with references to an ability to provide the same from New York. Sweeney, “From Wilderness to Arcadian Vale: Material Life in the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1760,” in The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820, ed. William Hosley Jr. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985), 23; see also HG, 10 October 1798, 11 September 1799, 10 November 1802.
75. HG, 21 August 1799.
76. Ibid., 10 October 1798.
80. See the Boston city directories published by John Norman in 1789; Manning and Loring in 1796; Rhoads and Laughton in 1798, and John Russell in 1800.

Chapter Seven. Women’s Artisanal Work in the Changing New England Marketplace

2. Smith’s work was excerpted in the Hampshire Gazette, 5 March 1788.
3. EPP memorandum book, 30 May, 21 June 1795; 15 May, 29 May, 10 and 17 July 1796, PHPP.
4. RD diary, 14 June 1795, PVMA.


8. Ibid., 44, 51.


11. Clark, *Roots of Rural Capitalism*.


13. On the expansion of EPP’s dairying, see Anne Poubeau, “‘You did not mention whether you had a cow . . . ’: Cheese Making at the Porter Phelps Farm, Hadley, MA, 1770–1815” (seminar paper, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Fall 1999).

14. EPP to EWPH, 7 February 1803 and 21 May 1807, PPHP.


26. Main, “Gender, Work, and Wages,” 44.


31. Ibid., 6–7.


35. Ibid., 19.
36. For a fuller discussion of both commercial and local quilting, see Chapter Three.


42. EPP memorandum book, 17 July 1796, EPP to EWPH, 13 August 1801 and 19 December 1810, PPHP; Clark, Roots of Rural Capitalism, 181–90.
44. Sylvester Judd “Miscellaneous,” 14:163, FL; for more on outwork in New York, see Christine Sansells, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860 (New York: Knopf, 1986), esp. chap. 6, on the “harrowing truths” of manufacturing.

45. Polly L’Hommedieu Lathrop account book (1803–17), CHS.
46. George V. K. Hunt account book (1846–52), Fairfield County Clothing Trade, CHS.

48. Hunt account book, CHS.


52. Amanda Jones, The Tailor’s Assistant: Comprising rules and directions, for cutting men’s clothes, by the square rule; by which, in a few hours, a person may acquire such a knowledge of the art, as will enable him to cut all sizes and fashions, with the greatest accuracy (Whitehall, Vt.: William Sumner, 1823); Oris Madison and John B. Pendleton, A New system of delineating. Founded on True Principles . . . (Boston: John Cotton, 1829; and Worcester, Moses W. Grout, 1830).
53. Goodenough’s volume is held by VHS; Sheldon’s is housed among the Winchester-Ingram Papers, VHS.


55. Kidwell, Cutting a Fashionable Fit, 12.

56. Ibid.

57. EPP memorandum book, 6 September 1801, PPHP.


63. This discussion of construction challenges is developed from ibid., 19, 21, 24, 26, 104–16.

64. CC, 16 February 1795; 15 January 1803.

65. See, e.g., ibid., 10 December 1807, 26 October 1808, and 26 April 1809, for three different millinery and mantua-making firms.

66. Ibid., 26 April 1809.

67. Ibid., 15 November 1809.

68. Ibid., 2 May 1810.

69. Ibid., 7 November 1810.

70. Ibid., 27 November 1811.

71. Ibid., 22 January 1812.

72. Ibid., 13 October 1812.

73. Ibid., 9 February 1813.

74. See, e.g., Hay, From Paris to Providence. For a close study of one shop, see Amy Simon, “‘She is so Neat and Fits so Well’: Garment Construction and the Millinery Business of Eliza Oliver Dodds, 1821–1835” (master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 1993).

75. Hartford census, 1810; I thank Sharon Steinberg of CHS for providing this information on Filley.

76. Boston Directory (Boston: John Norman, 1789); Boston Directory (Boston: John Russell, 1805); Boston Directory (Boston: Frost & Stimpson, 1820).

77. CC, 10 December 1807.

78. Ibid., 26 April 1809, 15 November 1809, 2 May 1810, 7 November 1810, 22 November 1811, 21 April 1812, 13 October 1812, 9 February 1813. On Lincoln, see ibid., 11 December 1811, 28 April 1812.

79. Ibid., 22 January 1812, 9 February 1813, 16 February 1813.

80. Ibid., 8 September 1812, 7 December 1813.

81. Ibid., 11 October 1815, 19 December 1815.
82. Ibid., 11 March 1817, 18 November 1817, 2 December 1817.
83. Ibid., 27 April 1819, 31 October 1820.
84. Before Williams opened her shop, two women opened what appear to be millinery shops. In 1811, "A. Howard" opened a shop in Sylvester Lyman's former tailoring stand; the following year "Miss Sprague" opened a "Fancy Goods and Milliner's Shop," also in Sylvester Lyman's former space. Sprague also offered "pelices, gowns, coats, habits, spencers and bonnets made in the newest fashion—All kinds of millinery made and plain sewing attended to." See HG, 30 May 1810, 22 May 1811.
85. Ibid., 14 August 1816, 29 October 1817.
86. Ibid., 1 January, 13 May and 16 June 1818, and 12 October 1819. For the change to the newspaper's title, see 26 July 1815.
87. HG, 13 May 1818 and 12 October 1819; for Best, see HG, 1 January and 16 June 1818.
91. CCjulyi799.
93. Ibid., 102.
Conclusion: The Romance of Old Clothes


2. This discussion of Earle’s work is largely informed by Susan Reynolds Williams’s excellent study “In the Garden of New England: Alice Morse Earle and the History of Domestic Life” (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1992).


Some of that number includes young working women who had relocated to the county's industrial centers.


15. As Kenneth L. Ames points out, “the ease with which they could be crafted was a critical factor in their popularity.” Ames, Death in the Dining Room and Other Tales of Victorian Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 143.


21. [Margaret Whiting], “The Deerfield Blue and White Embroidery,” draft of talk delivered to the Woman's Club of Nashua New Hampshire, 1905, in Deerfield Town Papers, Business and Commerce, Society of Blue & White Needle Work, 2—III, box 4, folder 9, PVMA.


24. See Whiting, “Some Observations on Village Industries,” text of a talk, in Deerfield Town Papers, Business and Commerce, Society of Deerfield Industries, 2—III, box 1, folder 9, PVMA. For the time studies, see Margaret Whiting's notebook, on display at the PVMA's Memorial Hall Museum.


38. Ibid., 96. The picture that has emerged from these and other studies is one in which men conceived of their economic interactions as discrete exchanges within the marketplace, while women worked within an informal economy outside the market, grounded in “long-term, reciprocal relationships of mutual aid.” See Nancy Grey Osterud, “Gender and the Transition to Capitalism in Early America,” *Agricultural History* 67, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 11–29, esp. 24. Karen V. Hansen has investigated community life in antebellum New England and observes that “economic relations pervade social activities, overlapping and intertwining with social relations. It was not unusual for social exchanges to be assigned economic value and for economic exchange to be embedded in a social context.” See Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 10.


48. One especially important contributor to this effort has been Michael Kammen. The quotation here titles chap. 4 of Kammen’s *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination* (New York: Knopf, 1978); see also his *Mystic Chords of...*
Notes to Pages 229–236


54. Elaine Hedges suggests that feminist invocations of quilt imagery often disseminate misinformation about the history of quilts and quilting: “Too few feminist scholars are doing primary research into quilt history,” she observes, perhaps because, “despite the appeal of the quilt as metaphor, researching the actual material objects is still seen as low-status work.” Hedges, “Romancing the Quilt: Feminism and the Contemporary Quilt Revival” (1993), 5–6, Curator of Textiles and Fine Arts research files, Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass.


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Marla R. Miller teaches early American history at the University of Massachusetts Amherst and directs the Public History Program there. She attended the University of Wisconsin–Madison and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she earned her Ph.D. in 1997. Her articles have appeared in the New England Quarterly, the Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar on New England Folklife, Dress, and the William and Mary Quarterly. Miller’s work has been recognized by the Organization of American Historians with a Lerner-Scott dissertation prize and by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts with a Walter Muir Whitehill prize. She lives in Hadley, Massachusetts.