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FINAL

Crossing the Threshold:  
Interpreting Women, Work and Community in the Phelps Household, 1770-1816

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for

Through Women's Eyes: A Colloquium Presenting New Research  
on Women at "Forty Acres," 1750-1850  
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“[Mrs Lord is coming] tho I have felt almost afraid to have her, for my situation has been a great deal farther distant from gentility than ever-- & you surely remember that was far eno'.<sup>1</sup> As some of you may recall, during the 1992 counterpart to today's colloquium, Christopher Clark and others suggested that one direction that a reinterpretation effort might take would be to focus on Elizabeth and Charles Phelps' aspirations to gentility, a gentility which, as Clark then phrased it, “depended upon a partly concealed and considerable amount of household production, documented in Elizabeth Porter Phelps's diary and many letters. Interpretation of the house in this period should stress the productive work -- manufacturing, food preparation, and the like -- that occurred in the kitchen, back rooms, attics and outbuildings.”<sup>2</sup> It is that productive work, and the women who carried it out, that I would like to consider this afternoon.

In the years during which Elizabeth and Charles Phelps managed Forty Acres -- 1770-1816 -- dozens of women crossed their threshold to labor for this household. Twenty-eight needleworkers are recorded in Phelps' diary as having journeyed here to ply their trade; half again as many lived in the household, working in the kitchen, the dairy, the yard. Local woman and women from distant communities, English women, African-American and Native-American women all crossed this threshold. Telling their stories will introduce themes like race and class to the history of this household and this community, along with that of gender.

In the time I have this afternoon, I would like to provide an overview of women workers in the Phelps household. My own research considers women who entered the household to perform skilled needlework for the family, and it is with these artisans that I will begin. I also want to touch on two other

kinds of women who crossed this threshold. "Hired girls" formed an important part of the household, and should certainly be incorporated into any telling of its history. Finally, though little is known about them, the labors of African-American slaves and servants was integral to the household, and I would like to share just a few observations about their presence at Forty Acres.

A word or two is in order at the outset as to the work performed by Elizabeth Phelps herself, and to be sure, as Betsy Carlyle has demonstrated, there was no shortage of it. Despite her position as mistress of Hadley's wealthiest family, Elizabeth by no means escaped household labor. As she advised her daughter Betsy, setting up her own household in Litchfield, CT: "you must see to and really do a great deal about the housework yourself." Yet, she was fortunate enough to be able to hire a good deal of help in carrying out her obligations. Though Phelps herself is atypical in that regard, her diaries and correspondence provide insight into domestic work routines familiar throughout eighteenth-century Hampshire County, while the women hired to assist in that work shed light on women's work and the rural labor force, pointing up the real variety of women's work and working lives present in eighteenth-century Hampshire County.

One area where this variety is evident is needlework. Given the pervasiveness of needlework in early America, one might conclude, as has one historian, that "though poor women may darn stockings while rich women net purses, distinctions among women based on their class, their age, or type of needlework they do seem less significant than the fact that they all do it."<sup>3</sup> Yet, to say that all women performed needlework is not to say that needlework served similar functions in the lives of all women. An examination of the household of Elizabeth Porter Phelps reveals that it is precisely those "distinctions among women" that rendered the production of needlework --

itself nearly universal -- a significantly different experience for each woman who took up a thimble. The divergent experiences of women at Forty Acres suggest that needlework at once drew women together, and set them apart.

Of the many and varied chores required of early American women, clothing production was surely among the most labor intensive and tedious. Any woman would have been happy to avoid it, and Elizabeth Porter Phelps was no exception. Though she did spend a fair amount of time with needle in hand, most of the references to Phelps' needlework document largely ornamental sewing; for example, there are 84 references to quilting in her diary, of decorative petticoats and bedquilts, and only a handful to clothing-related chores. But the majority of needlework required to maintain a household was plain sewing. For a housewife, the work consumed time better spent on other activities, and hiring the labor out saved the mistress of the household more time than was actually required of the needleworker. As one diarist noted when her gownmaker completed a gown, cloak and petticoat in two days, "quick work, what I should have been about one week." Sewing kept a woman from other work, and other work kept her from sewing. As Betsy Huntington wrote her mother, "if I do the work of the family, I shall be obliged to hire all my sewing." Betsy however preferred to do her own sewing, and chose to keep a hired girl on longer than otherwise necessary to enable her to do so. Elizabeth seems always to have been eager to escape this work, and when possible, preferred to give the mending chores to her daughter: "when you come, you can sew, & I can do the work." Most often, however, she hired women in the community to come in and "tailor."<sup>4</sup>

There are 160 references to clothing production in Elizabeth's diary alone, recording the services of some 28 needleworkers. Of these, only two seem to have been gownmakers, or women trained in the complex physical

and mental tasks of cutting two-dimensional fabric into the shapes necessary to form fitted three-dimensional garments. The remainder assisted with plain sewing, such as the more tedious assembly of these garments, the assembly of shirts for men, and such needlework as was required to maintain both men's and women's clothing.

The creation of Phelps' gowns first required the services of trained gownmakers like Rebecca Dickinson and Tabitha Clark Smith. While most women's garments required only simple shapes joined together by common seams, the greater complexity of fashionable gowns cut from expensive fabrics required special skill and training. The gownmaker's career depended on her ability to produce fashionable and flattering gowns for her clients, and to make tacit adjustments when the former was not conducive to the latter. As one contemporary phrased it, the successful gownmaker was she who could "bestow a good shape where Nature has not designed it."<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps it was her ability to flatter the short, plump figure of Elizabeth Porter Phelps that rendered Dickinson a favorite tradeswoman at Forty Acres. Happily, because she left her own diary, and because she crossed so often this threshold, Dickinson's life is fairly well documented. I'd like to spend a little time on Dickinson, because she presents a nice opportunity to illustrate the kind of skilled artisanry that some women practiced in eighteenth-century Hampshire county, as well as the experience of never-married women in early America, women who otherwise find little notice in the historical record.

By the late 1750s, Dickinson was already an active craftsperson in the Hatfield area, and she continued to work regularly at her trade through the 1780s. In her own diary she frequently mentioned "invitations" to work in surrounding Hampshire County towns, suggesting that she had no need to solicit clients. That Dickinson was selected to create the gown in which

Elizabeth Porter married Charles Phelps, Jr. may indicate her talent; despite Porter's access to port towns from Hartford to Boston, she opted to have this important gown created by a local woman whose skills were known and respected throughout the county.

For Dickinson, having served an apprenticeship in gownmaking proved crucial to her financial support as she advanced in age without marrying. In fact, her craft may have enabled her to remain single, since she was able to turn down several offers of marriage she found disadvantageous -- including a proposal from Charles Phelps, Sr. Her artisanal skill enabled her to make a considered decision, as the income it produced provided some level of financial independence, and the social interaction to some degree alleviated her often intense loneliness, mitigating her discontent and allowing her to refuse proposals when a woman in more serious financial or emotional straits might have accepted out of sheer desperation.<sup>6</sup>

The real level of financial security gownmaking offered Dickinson is unclear, however. Her diary suggests that she recognized the pitfalls of gownmaking as a source of income. For example, the pronounced seasonal variation of the trade (dressmakers traditionally have been deluged with orders at the start of the fall and spring seasons) posed a constant threat to her security. "How times vary with me," she lamented one November afternoon, echoing the sentiment expressed by another unmarried artisan in an eighteenth-century drama: "What a present is mine, and what a prospect is my future: labor and watchings in the busy season -- hunger in the slack -- and solitude in both."<sup>7</sup> Sickness could also force an unwelcome hiatus from her sole means of support, and as she aged, Dickinson became increasingly apprehensive over her susceptibility to Collick: "have had an invitation to goe to Hadley to work but no Strength to move and must be Content with what is

ready earnt by me since my health and my Strength is gon.”<sup>8</sup> Whatever Dickinson’s income, anxiety over financial security ruled her consciousness both day and night: “was awaked by a dream (she recorded one morning) i thought that i had Stole from mrs hurberd but knew my Self to be innocent but my Credit was a going.”<sup>9</sup>

The threat of poverty – whether real or imagined -- underscores one way in which Dickinson differed from the vast majority of women needleworkers, in that she had only herself to rely on for financial support, while most of the women who entered Forty Acres to perform needlework could count on the support of their parents or husbands. Luckily, as a needleworker of some skill and training, Dickinson could command greater fees for her services. Women with the ability to cut fabric could sometimes make in one operation what would require a week of labor at a low daily wage for a common seamstress.

The assignments given seamstresses were many and varied, and usually involved clothing maintenance. The most elementary tasks of apparel maintenance generally involved the repair of worn or damaged garments. More challenging were alterations. The durability of eighteenth-century silks meant that gowns of this expensive fabric could be made and remade to adapt to changing fashion, or changing figures. Elizabeth Porter Phelps’ own wedding gown was made and remade three times over 42 years. Sewn in large stitches with ample fabric, these garments could be disassembled, altered, or even merged, two damaged or outdated gowns combining to form one complete gown. On other occasions, a seamstress arrived literally with her work “cut out for her,” being called upon to sew together pieces of a new garment only basted together by the tailor or gownmaker whose special skills were unnecessary for this more tedious labor,



Since they could not turn to the local press to find the names of dependable women available for hire, women seeking help with sewing instead turned to friends, relatives, and other needleworkers to make suggestions. In the spring of 1778 a guest staying with the Phelps family "sent and brought up Molly Marsh to taylor," after which both Molly and her sister Mabel began to sew with greater regularity for the Phelps household. Easter, Betty and Tryphena Newton entered the circle of Forty Acres' needleworkers through Elizabeth Phelps' sister-in-law Zipporah. Betty Newton first appears in Phelps' text in the winter of 1780, when she arrived at Forty Acres to sew for houseguests Zipporah and Timothy Phelps. By the following fall, Easter Newton tailored regularly for Elizabeth Porter Phelps, often accompanied by Betty. Following Betty's marriage in 1783 to Moses Kellogg, Betty's sister Tryphena takes her place in Phelps' text. Phelps herself was able to get a cloak repaired while visiting at the home of Reverend and Sarah Hopkins; perhaps the woman working in the parsonage that afternoon was later engaged at Forty Acres as well.

For most of these seamstresses, sewing appears to have been closely linked to the life-cycle; as young women, having gained some level of training and expertise in needlework, they sewed for income until the time of their marriage, after which this activity was exchanged for other labors. Of all the women Phelps' records as having sewn for her family, only a small percentage continued to take in work, or journey to Phelps' home to labor, after they had begun families of their own. More common is the pattern evidenced in the arrival and departure of women like Betty and Tryphena Newton, Molly and Mabel Marsh, Patty Smith, and others who cease to appear in Phelps' journal at the same time they married.



While needleworkers came and went as employees of Elizabeth Phelps, at least thirty women lived in the household for a period of weeks, months, or years -- even close to a decade -- as live-in help for the family. On a farm the size and importance of Forty Acres, there was more work than Elizabeth could herself even begin to tackle, even with the help of her daughters. And then, Phelps' aspirations to gentility required that their daughters receive some formal education; as one contemporary recalled, while other girls were "brought up to work," Betsy and Thankful were sent to school.<sup>10</sup> Phelps then looked to a variety of women workers to assist her with the labor required to run her household. The bulk of this work revolved around the production, preservation and preparation of food, and the care and maintenance of clothing, including sewing, as well as the production of soap, doing the laundry, ironing, and the like. Every day, the routine of the household required that floors be swept, beds made, chamber pots emptied, fires tended, water carried, and dishes washed. And then there were more seasonal tasks, like a thorough spring housecleaning, to be completed.<sup>11</sup> As Betsy Carlyle has noted, Elizabeth Phelps participated in all of these labors, but she had to option to avoid the most back-breaking chores: for example, though she certainly worked hard in her dairy, it was often a hired woman who scoured out the chamber afterwards.

It's hard to say how Phelps secured the help she required, but what does seem clear is that hired girls did *not* tend to be the daughters of neighbors who moved in and out of the household in what one scholar has called "work relationships centered on mutuality;" instead, closely resembling the domestic help in Shrewsbury's Ward family that Holly Izard recently studied, hired girls tended to be "from artisanal and laboring families outside the local face-to-face community."<sup>12</sup> Often, Phelps queried her daughters and daughter-in-

law to find capable women in their own towns willing to come to Hadley and work. Sometimes Charles seems to have found women willing to come to work in Hadley while on his trips to and from Boston. Unlike the largely local women employed to perform needlework, servant girls tended to come from more distant towns -- like Pelham, Spencer, and Williamsburg -- and more rarely from Hadley. The reason for this is unclear, but as Chris Clark has suggested, perhaps this reflects an effort to keep family members at bay, to exert greater control over workers.<sup>13</sup>

What did Phelps look for in her workers? Although she never stated her criteria, she clearly had three general concerns: an even temper, good moral character, and an inclination to and aptitude for hard work. "I never expect to have another girl so kind, and willing to wait on me," Phelps wrote on one occasion; another woman was praised for being "so good f[or] business, and so good natured too." Another finished a "deal of hard dirty work, & did it indeed very well," and Phelps "anticipated a great benefit from her strength and good managment." She appreciated as well the extra effort of one woman who "washed for me this day and done very well, offered to scour afterwards, & wash the floor, all done very well."<sup>14</sup>

What position did these servants hold within the household? Again, it's hard to say. Those who remained with the family for several years -- like Lucy Marshall, who lived in the household off and on for nearly a decade -- were surely almost members of the family. Persis Marsh, who spent four years at Forty Acres, seems to have been particularly popular with the grandchildren, while others maintained less intimate relationships with the family. Though passages in both the diary and correspondence suggest that Elizabeth became genuinely fond of some of the women who worked in her

household in general, it is worth noting that she felt it was important when dealing with servants to "take hold right sharp." <sup>15</sup>

The character of servant life at Forty Acres is only suggested in Betsy's observation that the kitchen at Forty Acres seemed perpetually "full of talk and brawl." Once married and in Litchfield, Betsy exhibited some concern as to the moral climate of that kitchen; in discussing the care of Mitte, a girl taken in by the household, Betsy suggests that she be sent to live with her in Litchfield: "I feel as if she was not in so great danger here, as she was with your girls -- from some things I understood from her, Persis is a poor example for a girl of her years, [and] Meriam was quite as bad." Betsy was especially concerned that Mitte seemed a little too "sociable" in the kitchen with the hired boy Almond, a situation particularly troubling to her since Mitty had already "had the sign" that Betsy and Elizabeth did not get until they were fourteen. Betsy's instincts proved true: in a month's time Persis would be pregnant, by another of the hired boys. Since Elizabeth was genuinely fond of her, this unfortunate situation presented a real dilemma. Though Betsy encouraged her mother to dismiss Persis, Elizabeth was less certain:

Peirces does not seem to have any inclination to quit here, says she can do as much work as last summer, says work does her no hurt, indeed she is as good as ever for ought I see ....yesterday [she] did all of the washing and all the work in that part of the house, cleared out that buttery, which you know is a great job, scoured it and replaced all the things, washed the floor done all and set down to knitting before four. I never expect to have another girl so kind, and willing to wait on me, and yet I know some things are very disagreeable. Your father and I talk, and talk, about it, and leave it just where we begun."

Persis would stay, and have her daughter Dolly here in this house, remaining with the family for two years more -- four years in all -- after which Elizabeth wished her and her child well.<sup>16</sup>

Both illegitimate pregnancies and marriages removed help from the Phelps household, but, despite Elizabeth Porter Phelps' willingness to pay

“almost any rate” to keep good help, other women left for better employment opportunities elsewhere. Persis Leonard quit domestic service to take in spinning, while a hired girl from Pelham, burdened with the care of her elderly aunt and illegitimate child, “could not support a family...and half-cloath herself,” on her wages at Forty Acres, so she exchanged service for outwork, and, along with many women (particularly in and around Amherst), began braiding straw hats.<sup>17</sup> So many young women would be similarly attracted to outwork that in not many years the New England Farmer expressed concern that “housework is going out of fashion,” as hired girls became increasingly difficult to come by.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, race seems to have been more important in late eighteenth-century Hadley than one might think. In Hampshire county, every town had a slave population, albeit a small one, though Hadley in 1765 contained twenty slaves over sixteen, a not insignificant number. Several of the town’s wealthier families held slaves, including various branches of the Porter family, the Russells, the Chaunceys, the Williamses and the Phelpses. Moses Porter owned at least two slaves, and Charles and Elizabeth possessed over time at least four: Caesar, Peg, Phillis and Rose.<sup>19</sup>

New England slavery is not the subject of my own research, and I could not and need not delve into it here in great detail, but one point raised by Elizabeth Porter Phelps’ diary with regard to black women workers at Forty Acres is worth noting. Though there were but a handful of African-American women in eighteenth-century Hampshire County, Elizabeth Porter Phelps preferred in many instances to employ them. On more than one occasion she regretted that, due to the departure of a servant, she “must be her own negro now.” Writing to her daughter-in-law Sally following the departure of a servant, she asks her to keep on the lookout for a woman they might hire, and

specifies further, "if you could find a black girl down there I should be willing to give a good price -- or a white girl, tho' a black one would be best on some accounts for us." When Persis Marsh leaves, again she asks Sally for help, and suggests "a good black girl would suit very well." And again, this time to Betsy: "if you could find a good negro woman for us, I hope we should be thankful, as our present help is nearly worn out" [but not due to age -- this appears to be another out of wedlock pregnancy, and Elizabeth Porter Phelps seems uncomfortable retaining her services].<sup>20</sup>

Phelps also employed Native American women -- and it is worth speculating as to whether this was not also a question of color. Four Native American women are mentioned in Phelps' diary and correspondence. When Persis Marsh left, it was an Indian woman who filled her place. Rachel, another woman, lived with the family for nearly two years before she married Ralf, a hired man, and moved out of town, while Assmiah, an Indian girl, stayed in the family only four months. One Native American woman, from CT, stayed just one week before her husband arrived and took her back home. While there, this woman "did a great deal of hard dirty work, and did it indeed very well."<sup>21</sup> This "hard work" may have been specifically laundry -- at least they often hired black women from the area to come in and do their washing, and one Native American woman is recorded as having labored hard to make soap. The former slave "Old Phillis" washed for them, as did another, unnamed, black woman. Phillis was also hired to wash for the Porters in town. Betsy, too, while in Litchfield specifically mentions hiring black women to wash. It's interesting to speculate that the heaviest, dirtiest labor, even in Hadley, was reserved if at all possible (by women of the local gentry) for women of color.<sup>22</sup>

I'd like to conclude by offering a few thoughts on the ways in which this material might serve interpretation at Forty Acres. Clearly, many women, and many different kinds of women, crossed this threshold. Incorporating them into the story of the household and the valley would facilitate the teaching of a larger women's history. Enslaved and free African-Americans could be addressed through women like "our Peg, gone off free." Women as independent artisans could be discussed through the work of gownmaker Rebecca Dickinson; never-married women (and stereotypical "old maids") could be illustrated through Dickinson as well, discussing her feelings of alienation from a community that perceived women largely as wives and mothers.

The lives of hired women are clearly contained within these walls, and more research could help flesh out their backgrounds and experiences in the Phelps household. In telling their stories, other employment opportunities for women, like spinning and straw hat braiding, could also be indicated by explaining some of the reasons domestic servants left the household. What kinds of domestic help the Huntingtons required while in Hadley I do not know, but would help flesh out this story further, and reveal what happens to service work in the 2nd quarter of the century. Until the 1820s, service work was one of but a handful of occupations available to women; but again, as Holly Izard has observed, "with factory and outwork employment now available, service became one of a number of options. Combined with the increasing emphasis on privacy, service compared unfavorably in the eyes of many young women." 23

Discussion of these workers would help draw a picture of social hierarchy in eighteenth-century Hampshire county, and illustrate the real differences present among early American women based on race, class, skills,



and stages in the lifecycle. At the same time, it would introduce visitors to the idea that women were not simply 'different' from one another, but that those differences enmeshed women in interdependent, asymmetrical relationships.

In sum, many many more women crossed this threshold as employees of this house than as residents of it. Yet, historic house museums often tacitly treat museum visitors as though they were belated guests of the first family, showing them through the front door and through the house itself much as if they were contemporaries, and presumably social equals, of the original occupants. At the same time, then, the architecture of the house acts to keep work spaces hidden, just as it was designed to do all along, conspiring to hide as well the labors of scores of women necessary to the continued success of the household. In addition, the Porter Phelps Huntington house, like many historic house museums, suffers from a further disability in that some of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century work spaces, when showing those spaces to the visiting public was deemed undesirable, were converted into twentieth-century work spaces, making it that much more difficult to bring their experience to the foreground.

Ideally, it would be wonderful if one could restore those workspaces and then reverse the order of the tour, beginning with a rear, service entry and experience the house as someone like Persis Marsh would have. A simpler solution, though, might be to turn the "visitors as guests" problem to advantage, and talk about the symbolic functions of the house itself, the ways in which entrance halls served to define spaces, and so on – here would be a chance to discuss the development of defined spaces that Betsy Carlyle spoke of. For example, were the working girls, like the hired men, denied "liberty of the house?"<sup>24</sup> Pointing out the locks on several of the interior doors might be a way to discuss barriers both social and spatial. The garret provides



another opportunity to introduce the subject of servants and slaves, since it most likely housed their living quarters. The location of front and rear stairs, doorways and pantries all served to direct and obscure the movements of servants, and could spark a discussion of how the architecture of the house itself both shaped and reflected servant life.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, discussion of the numbers of women working in this household present an opportunity to discuss Elizabeth Porter Phelps as both an arbiter of local taste and employer of local labor. Several scholars of the Connecticut Valley have noted the ways in which the patronage of neighboring craftsmen helped the local gentry to secure and maintain their cultural and political dominance, exacting gratitude and deference from the community by employing its labor. Yet if Charles Phelps asserted his family's status when he engaged local labor to construct that new and fashionable neoclassical facade on the house, Elizabeth perpetually engaged local labor to construct and maintain more personal "facades." If Elizabeth Porter Phelps in fact felt herself "far distant from gentility," her constant effort to close that gap relied on the labors of many women both in and beyond her community.

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<sup>1</sup>EPP to EWPH, 10 April 1803, Box 5 folder 5 [hereafter cited as "B5f5"], PPHH.

<sup>2</sup>Chris Clark, "Report for the PPH Foundation: Forty Acres Reinterpretation Initiative" Sept 1992, p. 6

<sup>3</sup>Laurie Leib, "'The Works of Women are Symbolical:' Needlework in the Eighteenth Century," Eighteenth-Century Studies 10 (1986): 288-44, quote, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup>Elizabeth Drinker diary, 28 December 1801, p. 1475; EWPH to EPP, 27 May 1804, B13f8; EWPH to EPP, 1 Nov 1805, B13f9; EPP to EWPH, 22 Oct 1802, B5f4, PPHH.

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<sup>5</sup>Claudia Kidwell, Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), p. 26.

<sup>6</sup>For a discussion of Dickinson's experience as a never-married woman in early New England, based largely on Dickinson's 1787-1802 journal, see Marla R. Miller, "My Part Alone: The World of an Eighteenth-Century New England Spinster," (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991).

<sup>7</sup>Quoted in Krishna Gorowara, "The Treatment of the Unmarried Woman in Comedy from 1584-1921 (Ph.D. Dissertation, Glasgow University, 1961), p. 322.

<sup>8</sup>Dickinson, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup>Dickinson, p. 117.

<sup>10</sup>Judd Manuscripts, Hadley, Vol 3, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup>See Holly Izard, "The Ward Family and Their Helps: Domestic Work, Workers, and Relationships on a New England Farm," Proceeding of the American Antiquarian Society 103 (1): 61-90; Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, At Home, The American Family, 1750-1850 NY: Abrams, 1989; and Jane Nylander, Our Own Snug Fireside: Images of the New England Home, 1760-1860 (NY: Knopf, 1993).

<sup>12</sup>Izard, "The Ward Family and their Helps," p. 67.

<sup>13</sup>Clark, Roots of Rural Capitalism, p.

<sup>14</sup>EPP to EWPH, 27 March 1805, B5f7; EPP to EWPH, 27 March 1805 B5f7; EPP to EWPH, 4 April 1807, B5f9; EPP to EWPH, 4 May 1815, B5f12; EPP to EWPH, November 1810, B510.

<sup>15</sup>EPP to EWPH, 26 Feb 1801, B6f1.

<sup>16</sup>EPP to EWPH, 27 March 1805, B5f7.

<sup>17</sup>EPP to EWPH, 13 Aug 1801, B5f3, and 19 Dec 1810, B5f10; Clark, Roots of Rural Capitalism, pp. 181-190.

<sup>18</sup>Clark, Roots of Rural Capitalism, p. 184.

<sup>19</sup>History of Hampshire County, p. 323.

<sup>20</sup>EPP to Sally Phelps, 4 Nov 1807, PPHH B515; EPP to EWPH, 4 April 1807, B5f9.

<sup>21</sup>EPP Diary 16 April 1815, B7f4; EPP Diary, 6 Dec 1807, B7f3; EPP Diary, 16 Jul 1809, B7f3; EPP Diary 24 Oct 1802; EPP diary, 16 April 1815; and EPP Diary 23 April 1815, B7f4.

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<sup>22</sup>EPP to EWPH, 20 April 1815, Box 5 folder 12; EPP diary, 21 April 1810, B7f3; EPP to EWPH, 28 August 1805; EWHP to EPP, 14 Feb 1801, B13f5.

<sup>23</sup>Izard, "The Ward Family and their Helps," p. 86.

<sup>24</sup>CP to EPP, 30 April 1802.

<sup>25</sup>See Alexander Ormound Boulton, "New England's Slave Quarters," Journal of Regional Cultures (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University, 1985), pp. 6-12.