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Domestic Servants in Philadelphia 1780-1830

DOMESTIC SERVANTS IN PHILADELPHIA
1780-1830

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INTRODUCTION

> The history of the powerless, the inarticulate, the poor has not yet begun to be written because they have been treated no more fairly by historians than they have by their contemporaries.

We in the twentieth century often cast the servants of past societies as Dickensian drudges or as buffoonish pranksters like Don Quixote's Sancho Panza. Such perceptions stem from the often frustrating search through contemporary documents for unbiased and realistic portrayals of servants and their lives. Both written and material resources of the past describe servants in terms of their masters' experience. The servants' own voices are maddeningly silent. Domestics lived in other people's houses and tended other people's families; the mundane nature of their work placed them everywhere and no where. Seen through their masters' eyes, servants often appear to us as one-dimensional, anonymous inhabitants of the past.

Despite their social invisibility however, servants performed a large part of the daily household work in early American society. They provided their masters with creature comforts, thus freeing them to create or conquer. Great exploits and modest endeavors depend, in part, upon freedom from worry over a empty stomach or an ailing child. Servants' historical anonymity belies their contemporaneous necessity;

their work facilitated that of their masters, making both contributors to the shape of history.

And, as cohabitants of individual households and collective neighborhoods, masters and servants shared personal relationships. By chastising their characters and giving them friendship, abusing their persons and aiding their families, masters tried to shape their servants' lives. In turn, servants cajoled and soothed, defied and assisted their masters, always insisting on their own individuality. Based on these experiences of the common everyday and those of extraordinary trial, the master and servant led inextricably intertwined lives. The historical remnants of these lives (what we hear and see in museums), however, overwhelmingly represent the masters' experiences. In order to reweave these remnants into the complete cloth of history, we must discover those missing fragments, the servants. Without them, the "inarticulate," our knowledge of the past remains piecemeal and ultimately too fragile to use.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Jesse Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up," in Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History, ed. Barton J. Bernstein (London: Catto & Windus, 1970), p. 29.

Slaves obey your earthly masters with fear and trembling, singlemindedly, as serving Christ...You masters also must do the same by them...remember you both have the same Master.

Ephesians 6:5-8

Nature made all alike, no Distinction she craves, So we laugh at the great World, its Fools and its Knaves, For we are all Servants, but They are all Slaves.

James Townley, High Life Below Stairs (1763) Act II Scene 1

PART I

"Their warfare is almost without glory:" Masters and Servants in Society

Traditionally, society identified those who served and those whom they attended by prescribing specific obligations for each. Both parties in this arrangement, ideally, knew their duties and responded accordingly to society's expectations. Frequently, however, the relationship between masters and servants went awry of its intended course. The desired products of servitude-- loyalty, deference, responsibility, charity-- often surfaced as insolence, resentment, greed, and cruelty. Even in benign circumstances, the unpredictability of human nature buffeted the structure of servitude and produced a disappointing result.

Masters expressed their disappointment as helplessness in the face of overwhelming odds. Employers frequently characterized servants as a plague from which they knew no escape. Servants, in this view, purposely ignored their assigned subordinate positions by defying their masters. Apparently, such servants perceived their sole duty to be that of ridiculing their masters. Jonathan Swift, a former footman, satirized servants' disrespectful behavior in his Directions to Servants:

> If your master or mistress happens to walk the streets keep on one side, and as much on the level with them as you can, which people observing, will either think you do not belong to them, or that you are one of their companions; but, if either of them happen to turn back and speak to you, so that you are under the necessity to take off your hat, use but your thumb and one forefinger, and scratch your head with the rest.[1]

Eighteenth century commentators believed that this erosion in master-servant relations was due to fluid economic and political conditions. Society itself, men concluded, faced the same pressures. The predicted outcome of this decay in the quality of service was nothing short of social chaos.

Such disorder was rampant in America, said Europeans, and obvious in the irreverent behavior of its domestic servants. Englishman William Priest visited Philadelphia in 1794 and pinpointed the cause of its servant problem:

> I have often heard it asserted that a servant should be born under an absolute monarchy...I know that a republic is <u>not</u> the place to find good servants.[2]

Foreign observers portrayed American servants as running roughshod over their masters. Unruly and defiant domestics demanded exorbitant wages, exercised total disrespect for their masters' possessions, ate and drank to excess. Their unseemly conduct extended to their manner of dress. "On Sunday," wrote Mederic Moreau de St. Mery, "it is difficult to distinguish mistresses from servants. Some are barefoot and at the same time wear hats with large ribbons."[3] Their brazen behavior was contagious. Even properly respectful servants, brought from the old world to the new, underwent a drastic change for the worse. "[B]efore the ship gets on soundings; and, before they have been here a month, : sputtered Englishman William Cobbett, "you must turn them out of doors, or they will you."[4] Apparently America's very air, infused as it was

with democracy, contaminated servants' minds and made them impertinent.

However, despite their atmospheric presence, democratic ideals produced no cataclysmic destruction of traditional social relationships in America. Its hierarchical society resembled those of monarchical Europe. In America a self-proclaimed elite, empowered with natural leadership, directed political, economic and social institutions. Explained a writer in the Pennsylvania Packet, "High birth gives great privileges, and a great ascendance over those of a lower rank."[5] Foreign observers, unable to resist the opportunity to taunt the new democrats for such pronouncements accused Americans of preaching democracy while promoting aristocracy, particularly in regard to their servants. Some attributed the condescension that Americans expressed toward their servants to pompous ambition and greed. Others, conversely, identified the American environment as the culprit. Acknowledging the paradox of American social theory and practice, Alexis de Tocqueville gave masters the benefit of the doubt regarding their attitudes toward servants. He theorized that American masters, faced with the possibility of financial ruin in an everchanging economy, were uncertain of their social authority. Therefore, they pressed their servants more harshly than did Europeans, a more confident group of masters.[6] Whether they considered Americans' attitudes the product of fear in declining fortunes or of preoccupation with

personal aggrandizement, Europeans agreed that social distance existed between American masters and their servants.

Echoing the observations of their European counterparts, Americans described their servants' behavior as "vexatious" and "perplexing". Clearly they perceived their servants as impulsive, illogical, and stubborn. "Our Sall is consumately impudent when she takes it in head, and Peter is very fond of idleness and fun," complained Philadelphian Elizabeth Drinker. Deborah Logan, her patience "exhausted" by her hired man declared, "the moment my back is turned the tricks are renewed with every kind of monkey mischief."[7] At times servants engaged in more than innocent mischief. Masters accused their servants of sloth, theft, drunkenness, and worse. Sally Brant, the Drinkers' teenaged maid, "ogled" the neighbors' gardener and bore her mistress' former coachman an illegimate daughter. Mrs. Drinker saw such behavior as a bad influence on her household's younger staff, and she considered Brant's lack of contrition over it scandalous. This mistress reacted with righteous indignation to the errant maid whom she had, "brought up from her 13th year, with the care and kindness that SB has experienced from our family, [and who] could be so thoughtless and hard[e]ned."[8] Described as ill-mannered and ungrateful, servants exasperated their employers to the point of despair.

The character of these complaints about servants suggests that Philadelphians thought of and treated their servants like

children. When Sarah Logan Fisher's maid Betty (a widow with two adult daughters) left her service to remarry, her mistress criticized the decision as "girlish, inconsiderate conduct.[9] This attitude also surfaced in the pronouncements of religious and civil authorities. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, instructed his fellow Quakers to guard their servants as they would their children.[10] Philadelphia's mayor repeated Fox's call for attention to the potential unruliness among servants. Incidents of "riotous mirth" among unsupervised servants and youth prompted the Mayor to beg with Philadelphians for their help in quelling public disorder. Stronger moral and physical discipline of servants by their masters, said the Mayor, would contribute to the general well-being and to individual peace of mind.[11] Household handbooks available in Philadelphia also informed masters that a firm hand was necessary in dealing with impetuous servants. The manuals characterized servants as simple, impressionable and naturally submissive, and explained that their vulnerability put them in a precarious position.[12] According to the handbooks, servants depended completely upon their masters' bounty for their survival. Food, clothing, shelter, and security descended from the paternal master to his trusting servant:

> You [servants], entirely free from all Incumbrances, all Distraction of Mind, have only to do your Duty quietly in the station God has placed you. Whatever changes happen in public Affairs your Circumstances are unaffected by them. Whether Provisions are dear or cheap is the same Thing to you. Secure of having

> all your real Necessities supplied you rise without Anxiety, and go to Bed without Danger of having your Repose disturb'd.[13]

With similar sanctions by church and state, contemporary moralists released servants from adult responsibility and reduced them to the status of weak, naive children.

Ultimately, masters contributed to their own dissatisfaction with their servants by assigning to them this subordinate position. Unable to see or respond to their servants as adults, Philadelphians were constantly dismayed by their domestics' rebellious behavior. Servants, rather than servitude itself, bore the masters' blame for insolence and inefficiency. And yet, Philadelphians resigned themselves to their servants' misbehavior because they considered it to be unavoidable. Although her cook Beck was "an intolerable oddity," Ann Warder admitted that, as mistress, she felt "no desire to change [her;] assured they all have something."[14] In general, masters held a disparaging view of all servants as members of an undesirable segment of society. "They are, generally, persons both meanly born and bred," cautioned one employer "with very few good qualities, often with none at all; wanton, rapacious and designing."[15] Discouraged by, yet prepared for, such domestic trials, masters attributed their difficulties to servants' social shortcomings. Servants behaved badly because it was in their nature. Considered social inferiors by their masters, servants were part of Philadelphia's 'meaner sort'.

Domestic service attracted people with urgent economic needs and few occupational skills. Possibly as many as two-thirds of Philadelphia's late eighteenth century population were classified by their contemporaries as poor.[16] Of these, the unemployed relied entirely upon public and private charities whose managers despaired at the mushrooming rate of poverty in the city from mid-century onwards. Those with jobs faced natural and man-made disasters--illness, bad weather, inflation--that threatened their subsistence level incomes. The brutality of such a vulnerable existence was quite evident to contemporary commentators:

> Persons who are used to easy labor, or some tradesmen can follow their employments till 40 or even 50 years of age and some longer, yet in this climate most who are used to hard labor without doors begin to fail scon after 30, especially if they have been obliged to live on poor diet that afforded but little nourishment or was unwholesome.[17]

Hard times, punctuated by all-too-brief boom periods like that in the mid 90s, had continued for many Philadelphians throughout the eighteenth century. By 1800, basic living costs were 25 percent higher than those of the previous decade.[18] At this time one-twentieth of Philadelphia's citizenry owned half of the area's taxable wealth (land, buildings, livestock, silver plate, carriages, slaves). A majority of those taxed owned no real property and paid only the occupational and head taxes. More than 10 percent of the population over age sixteen were unable to pay taxes at all.[19] The members of

Philadelphia's population most vulnerable to the harsh realities of this economic situation were those most likely to become servants. Seeking regular meals and guaranteed housing, lacking the skills necessary to succeed in commerce or industry, potential servants came from the bottom of Philadelphia's society. Immigrants, women, blacks, and children performed the domestic work in Philadelphia households.

Domestic servitude, a condition of prescribed economic and social dependence, resembled two other traditional forms of labor--slavery and indentured servitude. Under the latter, an indigent person sold several years of his or her labor in exchange for transport to an underdeveloped area of the British empire. This system of contractural, or indentured, servitude helped populate the British colonies of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century, Britons needed a large colonial labor force in order to support their transatlantic commercial ventures. The disease and Indian attack that reduced these early white settlements eased as the century wore on, but natural population growth proved too slow for anxious British investors. For help they turned to a treatise written on the subject of urban poor relief.[20] In 1582, Sir George Peckham had proposed an organized colonization effort to alleviate the excessive poverty and overcrowding in London. Peckham suggested that officials remove excess population to Ireland in

order to prepare the wilderness land there for cultivation. One hundred years later, William Penn promoted indentured servitude as a means of developing Pennsylvania. After transport to and four years' work in the commonwealth, the indentured servant earned fifty acres for an annual rent of two shillings.[21] The system worked well. At mid-century, Pennsylvania owed more than one-fourth of its 230,000 white inhabitant to the indenture system. By 1775, 50,000 more immigrants, two-thirds of them Irish and the remainder German, had arrived in Pennsylvania.[22] These indenturees filled Pennsylvania's labor needs and, bound as they were to their employers for extended periods, they also represented a large population of servile dependents within the colony.

Indentured individuals obliged themselves and their labor to whomever bought their contracts.[23] During the time of service, usually between four and seven years, the indenturee became the master's property. As such, the servant worked at the master's convenience. This time was the master's money, the loss of which drew a penalty for the servant. According to Pennsylvania law, the indenturee needed the master's consent in order to marry; indentured women who bore illegitimate children lost valuable time in postpartum recovery, and so they owed their masters an extra year of service. Runaways, a perpetual problem for masters, added five days onto their service for every one lost to absenteeism.[24]

However, as his master's chattel, the indentured servant was also his master's responsibility. The fine accruing to any crime committed by an indentured servant fell to his master. And, as in the Bible, Pennsylvania law required masters to treat their indentured servants reasonably. The master provided food, shelter, and medical care. The law also limited the master's use of his indenturee. No indenturee could be forced to work on Sunday, nor could a master sell an unexpired indenture without the servant's consent.[25] Finally, the master's care extended to his servant's future, as well as present, needs. At the end of his service each indenturee received the means of earning an independent living. These freedom dues changed as the commonwealth changed during the eighteenth century. Originally the dues reflected the colony's need for settlers. Each newly-freed indenturee received: one new suit of clothes, one ax, one broad and one narrow hoe, ten bushels of wheat or fourteen bushels of Indian corn. By 1771 Pennsylvania no longer sought great numbers of settlers. At this time, an indenturee's freedom dues consisted of two complete suits of clothing, one of them new. Eventually, the dues evolved from material compensation into cash payments. Indenturees at the end of the century often received "considerations" of fifty to one hundred dollars as their freedom dues.[26] With this development, the indenture system began to resemble wage labor. Such a change heralded

the transformation of Philadelphia's labor force during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

This transformation occurred because indentured labor became less attractive to Philadelphia employers as the city's population grew. By the 1770s the labor shortages of the previous century had ended. The ample labor supply drove wages down to a level affordable to even the most modest employer. Hiring by the day became significantly cheaper than buying several years' worth of a laborer's time and supporting him during lean as well as profitable times.[27] More employers hired labor instead of owning it, and the number of indenturees in Philadelphia declined (see Table 1). By 1800, indenturees made up less that 1 percent of the city's workforce. Although the immigrant indenture system continued in Philadelphia until 1831, wage labor eclipsed it and it ceased to supply the city with large numbers of laborers.

The low number of indentured immigrant servants present in Philadelphia by the end of the eighteenth century precluded their monopolization of the domestic servant population; however the evolution of the indenture system did affect that population. The laws governing indentured servants reinforced the protective and domineering attitudes held toward domestic servants by both European and American masters. Too, the concept of an indenture between servant and master that governed each during a specific time period was later extended

TABLE 1

Composition of Philadelphia's 18th Century Work Force

Year	Bound Labor[a]	Free Labor[b]	Bound Labor as a % of the Total Work Force
1767	1,083	5,334	16.9
1773	1,069	6,367	14.4
1783	666	9,687	6.4
1793	441	11,254	3.8
1800	126	14,336	1.0

SOURCE: Compiled from Sharon V. Salinger, "Colonial Labor in Transition: the Decline of Indentured Servitude in Late Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," Labor History 22 (Spring 1981): Tables 3 and 4, pp. 180 and 182.

[a]Includes slaves and indentured servants of taxable age (i.e. sixteen to fifty years).

[b]Equivalent to the number of adult male taxpayers plus 13 percent (workers aged sixteen to twenty) and 29 percent (female workers). See above SOURCE for further explanation of methodology.

to non-immigrant populations in Philadelphia.[28] Besides these ideological influences, the indenture system affected the composition of Philadelphia's domestic servant population. During the early colonial period, indenturees were predominantly male. In 1750, only one in six Philadelphia indenturees was a woman.[29] This was largely due to the type of work for which indentured servants were needed. Women had no artisanal skills and they were physically unsuited for heavy agricultural labor.[30] What few female indenturees there were in Philadelphia during this early period became domestic workers: seamstresses, washerwomen, and servants. The limited number of these female indenturees suggests that the demand for their labor was relatively low. As the century passed however, the ratio of female to male indenturees increased. By 1775, women made up nearly 40 percent of the indentured labor force, and they remained at that level throughout the century.[31]

The strong presence of women among indentured immigrants in the latter eighteenth century reflected the larger character of domestic service in Philadelphia. During its early development, Philadelphia relied upon male labor to build and maintain its economy. Men were seldom "wasted" in unproductive, domestic service. Women on the other hand, suited domestic service because its skill requirements matched their own. In addition, women's economic vulnerability made the conditions of service attractive to them. Working class women, natives and immigrants alike, depended upon men for

their financial support. Sudden death, incapacitating illness, or lengthy unemployment for men affected their sisters, wives, and daughters.[32] The vicious cycle of poverty drove many women in and out of domestic service for much of their lives. Betty Burrage, the Drinkers' former maid and a woman in her sixties, regularly returned to her past employer for financial aid and work.[33] On the whole, female wage servants dominated Philadelphia's domestic work force. According to the city's 1775 Constables Returns (a house to house enumeration of inhabitants for tax purposes) female wage domestics outnumbered their male counterparts by nearly 100 percent. The returns from two city wards at opposite ends of the economic spectrum illustrate this development [34] (see Table 2). In both Chestnut and East Mulberry Wards the number of indentured women resembled that of indentured men. And the number of women working for wages far surpassed that of men in the same category in both wards. Apparently women, both indentured immigrants and wage laborers, established a near monopoly on domestic service by the end of Philadelphia's colonial era.

Reflecting Philadelphia's changing labor demands, the feminization of domestic service in the city also suggested a shift in the patterns of servant ownership and employment. Before mid-century indentured servant owners belonged to Philadelphia's artisan class and employed their (male) servants in workshops. Fewer than one-fifth of the city's

TABLE 2

Sex Ratios for Philadelphia's Adult Working Population[a] in 1775

Sex	Total Popula. by Sex	Hired Serv'ts	Hired Serv'ts as a % of Total Popula. by Sex	Indent. Serv'ts	Indent. Serv'ts as a % of Total Popula. by Sex	Black Slaves	Black Slaves as a % of Total Popula. by Sex
CHESTNUT WARD							
Female	179	46	25.7	19	10.6	15	8.4
Male	187	2	1.1	22	11.8	15	8.0
MULBERRY WARD[b]							
Female	624	54	8.7	54	8.7	21	3.4
Male	887	11	1.2	69	7.8	24	2.7

SOURCE: Compiled from Carole Shammas, "The Female Social Structure of Philadelphia in 1775," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 107 (January 1983): Tables 1 and 2, pp. 71 and 73.

[a]Aged sixteen to fifty. Living in their employers' homes.

[b]Includes eastern section on Mulberry Ward only.

indentured servant owners were merchants, employers with limited labor needs. By 1775 these proportions had changed. Artisan ownership dropped 23 percent below its earlier level, while merchant ownership rose 21 percent. This trend continued and, by 1791, merchants composed nearly half of all servant owners; artisans made up less that one-seventh.[35] Since, presumably both artisans and merchants had access to the city's growing male wage force, the shift in indenture ownership suggests that the demand for female laborers changed. Possibly more merchants employed indentured servants, now women, then they had earlier because many of them desired domestics.

Obviously, anyone wishing to employ domestics needed a substantial income in order to support these additional members of his household. However, indentured servant ownership was not the exclusive property of Philadelphia's wealthiest citizens. During the last decade of the colonial era, Philadelphia's indentured servant owners were predominantly upper middle class. By 1775 they represented 75 percent of the city's indentured servant owners. The wealthiest citizens made up only 19 percent as their ownership declined during the same period.[36] Taken together, the shifts in occupation and wealth among Philadelphia's indenture owners and the growth of the city's female indentured population as a reflection of women's predominance among domestics suggests that domestic

servants became more affordable and necessary for Philadelphia's moderately prosperous citizens.[37]

Except for a small elite, most Philadelphians who employed servants did so on a modest scale. Foreign visitors to the city found its lack of pretentiousness refreshing:

> Few servants are kept for show owing to every person being of some ostensible profession. For instance, I know of only one professed 'Gentleman', i.e. idle, unoccupied person of Fortune in Philadelphia-Their time in not yet come.[38]

Thomas Webster observed that Americans' self-sufficiency, taught to them at an early age, kept them from indulging in the European habit of hiring large numbers of servants.[39] Most Philadelphians who had servants probable employed at least one but fewer than six to perform the household's cooking, cleaning, child/personal care, and transportation/animal upkeep. Insufficient numerical data on the number of domestic servants or of their employers in Philadelphia prevents a comprehensive statement regarding average household staff size from being made. However, some helpful though selective, literary sources remain. Newspaper advertisements by Philadelphians seeking servants suggest that many households employed small staffs who executed a combination of domestic duties. In all probability, a single maid did most of the cleaning and cooking in the households that employed domestic help.[40] Diaries and account books permit the study of individual household staff-sizes, particularly their change36 over time. Ann Warder lived for a time with her

husband's family and adopted the same staff size as her mother-in-law; approximately three domestics served the family until Ann's death in 1829. Elizabeth Drinker preferred a staff of four, as did her daughters when they managed their own homes. Elizabeth Powel, wife of Philadelphia's mayor, employed around six servants even after her husband died and she moved, childless, to the country (see Appendix A). These households maintained their staffs according to basic, routine needs.

In Philadelphia a few impressive lifestyles existed. William and Ann Bingham returned to the city from France in 1789, bringing with them a taste for European oppulence. The indulgence of their tastes drew criticism for the Binghams from city residents. The architect Charles Bulfinch commented,

> "The house of Mr. Bingham...is in a stile which would be esteemed splendid even in the most luxurious part of Europe...a palace in my opinion far too rich for any man in this county. We are told that his mode of living is fully equal to this appearance of his house..."[41]

Apparently the Binghams' 'mode of living' included a substantial, and rather frivolous, domestic staff. In addition to the menial and managerial servants (maids and a housekeeper) often employed by prestigous Philadelphians, the Binghams hired two coachmen, several footmen, a gardener, a French cook, and a confectioner. Leading Philadelphians frowned on the Binghams' ostentation, particularly the number of servants, but the couple's parties were always well atten-

ded.[42] A large, specialized staff like the Binghams' was relatively rare in Philadelphia. Generally, only those with heavy social schedules employed such servants. As President of the United States, George Washington held numerous official receptions each week in his High Street home. To assist him, he employed twenty-two servants for the regular entertainment season which included: a levee on Tuesdays from three to four in the afternoon, a state dinner on Thursdays, and Mrs. Washington's "Drawing Room" on Friday evenings. As befitted his esteemed person, Washington kept his male servants in rich liveries of cream colored broadcloth trimmed in red with lace.[43] Though impressive, the Binghams' and Washingtons' were hardly representative of Philadelphia's servant-staffed households. Large domestic staffs were the exception to an otherwise frugal rule.

Most Philadelphians' preference for small domestic staffs who performed relatively basic duties fitted the city's available servant pool. Unskilled women provided many of the city's domestics. Other members of the population fit into the same inexperienced category. Like working class women they were economically weak. And, like servants in general, Philadelphians considered them to be socially inept, inconsiderate, and troublesome. Along with poor women, they were Philadelphia's socially marginal citizens: blacks, poor children, and orphans.

"Is it true," asked Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville before his 1788 visit to Philadelphia, "that the only servants available are Negroes?"[44] The Frenchman phrased his question in a general way, but his interests were quite specific. As an abolitionist, Brissot worried about the extent of black slavery in America. Even at its peak in the 1760s, however, slaveholding in Philadelphia never reached large proportions either collectively or individually. There were approximately 1,400 slaves in the city at this time, but the majority of slaveholders owned two or fewer. Following this peak, the number of Philadelphia's slaves declined steadily. Like that of its indentured immigrant servants, the city's slave population fell victim to a losing battle with cheap wage labor during the 1770s.[45]

The financial expense of slavery, rather than its moral implications, governed the extent of slaveholding in colonial Philadelphia. At first, Philadelphians ignored the anti-slavery speeches of men like Quaker John Woolman, and they purchased blacks to replace their free white and indentured laborers who had joined the British war effort against France in the mid 1750s and early 1760s. Philadelphians profited from slavery and, lacking moral imperatives, they seldom freed their slaves. Before 1774, manumissions in the city rarely exceeded one dozen per year.[46]

However, by the beginning of the Revolution, more city residents began freeing their slaves. Antislavery efforts

gained greater influence when the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends specified that any of its members still owning adult slaves after 1774 faced expulsion from the Meeting.[47] As persuasive as the invigorated moral crusade against slavery was, the political and economic reality of life in Philadelphia during the British occupation of 1777/8 probably influenced nonQuaker and Quaker master alike. The Pennsylvania Packet reported that "'by the invasion of this state, and the possession the enemy obtained of this city, and neighborhood, [a] great part of the slaves hereabouts were enticed away by the British army'," with promises of freedom.[48] Philadelphians who freed or sold their own slaves avoided confiscation by the British and retained control of their own estates. Due to these influences on the manumission rates, Philadelphia's small slave population dwindled to insignificance by 1790.[49] Monsieur Brissot's concern over the extent of American slavery was unnecessary in post Revolutionary Philadelphia.

As the number of slaves in Philadelphia declined, the city's free black population rapidly increased. The 1790 Federal Census reported 1,420 free blacks in the city, nearly 50 percent more than were present there at the end of the Revolution.[50] Other than manumitted slaves, this group included those blacks who had immigrated from other areas looking for work or refuge. Pennsylvania attracted these blacks, especially after 1780 when its legislature passed America's first gradual abolition law. Sponsored by anti-

slavery Quakers, the law established limits for slavery in the state. Every child born to slave parents after March 1, 1780 would be freed upon reaching the age of twenty-eight. In addition no negro or mulatto, regardless of age, was to be considered a slave unless his or her name appeared on a special register kept by the local magistrate. If a master failed to register his slaves before the deadline, those slaves gained their freedom. Although the recording of newborns and young children lagged causing the legislature to set a new deadline, many slaves acquired their freedom through their masters' negligence in registering them. By the end of the eighteenth century, free blacks constituted a large potential source of unskilled labor in Philadelphia.[51]

Having gained their freedom and joined the city's free labor pool, blacks faced sharp scrutiny as to their character and dedication to industry. Fifteen years after the gradual abolition act's passage, Dr. Benjamin Rush observed that free blacks had developed few occupational or social skills. He commented sadly that the depraved state of the city's free black population alienated even those whites, like himself, with antislavery sentiments. French visitor Moreau de St. Méry agree that antinegro attitudes prevailed in the city, and he observed that "the color prejudice is more deeply rooted in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania than in any other states of the union, and among the Quakers more than any other sect."[52] Ill-regarded and unskilled, Philadelphia's free blacks

performed unprestigious jobs; many blacks, men and women, became domestic servants.[53]

The low esteem held for blacks and for domestic servants frequently associated the two in the minds of white Philadelphians:

> As for the [white] Americans, none but those of the most indifferent character ever enter into service, which they consider suitable only to Negroes...[54]

Some of this prejudice toward free blacks, particularly as servants, stemmed from the challenge they posed to Philadelphia's white working class. One resident reported that, by the early nineteenth century, black women who accepted lower wages had forced white girls out of domestic service.[55] White animosity toward free blacks occasionally led to violence within individual households. Asked to investigate a charge of abuse committed against a black servant girl, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society questioned the girl's white master. He maintained his own innocence, insisting that any mistreatment of the girl came from the hands of his white domestics. Lesser conflicts between white and black servants grew out of perceived violations of unwritten social practice. Nancy Stewart, the Drinkers' Scottish maid, abruptly quit one morning because she resented having to eat at a table with the other, black members of the staff.[56] As victims of widespread racial prejudice and of their own ill-preparedness for skilled work, free blacks were a permanent component of Philadelphia's low status labor force, its domestic servants.

Masters characterized both their black and white servants as irresponsible and childish; in fact, many domestics were below the age of twenty-one. Young children and unskilled teenagers provided Philadelphia with an inexpensive labor resource. In 1775 alone, minors composed 62 percent of the city's indentured servant population (see Table 3). Many of these young indenturees were apprentices, not immigrants, and the majority of them were boys.[57] Parents apprenticed their sons in order to insure the boys' future financial security and success. Therefore, white boys were not apprenticed as domestic servants.[58] The "mystery" or "trade of housewifery", i.e. domestic service, went to apprenticed girls. A contract between the girls' parents and her master set the terms, duties, and rewards of her service, much like the indenture between an immigrant and her sponsor. These young apprenticed girls lived in their employers' homes and performed simple domestic tasks, often tending the kitchen fire or running errands.[59] Assisting them were slave children and, after 1780, young free blacks. Under the gradual abolition law, slaves received their freedom when they reached the age of twenty-eight. However, many Philadelphians manumitted these youngsters at an earlier age and then indentured them until the time of their legal independence. Possibly, such a practice eased masters' moral consciences over slavery while preserving the institution's economic benefits, in the form of subordinate labor, to them. These indentured black children,

TABLE 3

Age Composition of Philadelphia's Indentured Servant Population in 1775

City Ward	Total Indentured Population	Child Indentured Servants[a]	Children as a % of the Total Indentured Population
Chestnut	42	32	76.2
High Street	41	29	70.7
Dock	269	179	66.5
Lower Delaware	50	33	66.0
North	100	63	63.0
Upper Delaware	53	33	62.3
South	45	27	60.0
Middle	102	61	59.8
Mulberry	182	101	55.5
Walnut	22	6	27.3
All Wards	906	564	62.3

SOURCE: Compiled from Sam Bass Warner, The Private City: Philadelphia in 3 Periods of Growth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), Table I, page 12.

[a]Aged fifteen to twenty according to the Pennsylvania Statutes vol. 6, page 358.

boys and girls, overwhelmingly became domestics. During its first five years of existence, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Committee for Improving the Condition of Free Blacks recorded one hundred and seventy-nine indentures for black minors. Of these boys and girls, 85 percent were bound out as domestics.[60] Working alongside wage-earning adults, black and white children fulfilled their indentures as domestics and spent their youth in the service of another family.

Child labor in the eighteenth century carried none of the negative connotations that it would for later, industrial societies. Since the Tudor period, England's municipal authorities had maintained that the universal employment of both adults and children prevented excessive poverty, immorality, and crime. The Statute of Artificiers (1512) required that all ablebodied citizens, aged twelve to sixty, employ themselves or be incarcerated in the public workhouse. William Penn proposed similar measures in his Frame of Government for Pennsylvania. He urged all citizens to guard against folly by supervising the steady employment of their children.[61] Despite Penn's precautions, poverty and crime troubled Philadelphia. The city's prosperous inhabitants attributed social decay to the flawed characters and indulgent behavior of the poorer segment of society. Late eighteenth century Philadelphians believed that many of their city's indigent people had created their own poverty by refusing to work.[62] Such attitudes included working class children among

society's problems. Critics labeled these children as a potentially dangerous group prone to unproductive activities and destructive mischief. One newspaper contributor directed Philadelphians' attention to the problem he saw arising among idle children:

> Early attempts to enforce such [industrious] habits upon young minds, are of the greatest public utility, as they dispose them afterwards to make better apprentices, better servants, and in every way more useful members of society; on the other hand, to youthful habits of idleness, we must ascribe all the corruption of the lower classes of people.[63]

These aimless children, said authorities, required occupational direction by responsible citizens if the decline in their condition, as well as society's, was to be reversed.

Unfortunately, concerned citizens considered many working class parents as unreliable guardians of their children's welfare. Some simply failed to provide their children with adequate shelter and clothing. Philadelphian Samuel Breck noted the pathetic circumstances of the girl he hired as his daughter's maid:

> Her [mother's] husband is a drunken fellow, and her dwelling the veriest hovel in the country...little Kitty had but one shift, one petticoat and no shoes or stockings.[64]

Other children came from more distressing circumstances. The Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Committee of Guardians recorded the elements of one young black girl's unfortunate homelife. They discovered that the child's mother lived in

the lunatic ward of Philadelphia's Bettering House and her father was in prison, convicted of managing a brothel. Left alone and destitute, the girl applied to the Committee who bound her out as a domestic servant.

Authorities criticized not only some parents' means of supporting their children, but their motivation as well. Primus Stenton incurred the Abolition Society's censure when it discovered his machinations concerning his daughter's employ. He had encouraged her to behave badly in the home of her master that he might terminate her apprenticeship, allowing her father to hire her out for wages.[65] Seen as parental pawns or neglected waifs, Philadelphia's poor children worried prosperous citizens. The municipal authorities shared this concern and attempted to alleviate it. They assumed control of those youngsters most likely to succumb to economic and moral poverty.

To assist poor orphans and abandoned children in becoming better citizens, the Pennsylvania Assemble placed them under the jurisdiction of local Overseers of the Poor and the Orphans Court. These authorities sent impoverished children into service as a means of protecting them and society from poverty's detrimental effects. By law such children were to be taught a trade, as apprentices, with boys serving until age twenty-one and girls until eighteen.[66] However, because these children were poor, they often had no one of consequence to regularly supervise the conditions of their apprenticeships.

The potential for ill-usage of these children by their masters prompted Pennsylvania's Supreme Court to limit the conditions of such servitude. According to the Court's 1793 decision, no child under the age of twelve could be bound out as a domestic servant, either by relatives or by the municipal authorities.[67]

Despite this protective action, very young children (particularly blacks), remained a source of servant labor. And, though they intended to help indigent children by removing them from unsatisfactory homes, local officials callously separated children from their natural parents. After being forcibly and inexplicably (to them) isolated from their families, some children felt a sense of desperation. Scipio Drake ran away from his first master in order to return to his own mother. For this unseemly conduct, the Philadelphia watch jailed the boy, then eight years old. When Henry Drinker hired him out of prison, Elizabeth Drinker worried that the child would bring trouble to her household. Perhaps her fears were justified; two weeks after joining their staff, young Scipio set fire to the Drinkers' stable.[68] Whether accidental or intentional, Drake's action underscored the negative impression that Mrs. Drinker, like other Philadelphians, had of servants. Despite the attentions of public and private concerns, young servants were, after all, still children; their masters could hardly expect them to be mature, thorough, or adept (see Illustration 1).

As the creation of society, servitude only reflected the vagaries of human nature. The nature of the relationship between masters and servants in Philadelphia stemmed from the former's unrealistic expectations and condescending attitudes, as well as the urgent need and unfortunate condition of the latter. Masters, believing that their servants owed them deference, refused to accept their servants as reasonable adults. And servants failed to devote themselves unquestioningly to their masters. Both parties considered servitude a demeaning occupation. The working class women, despised free blacks, and indigent children who were Philadelphia's domestics and the prosperous citizens who were their masters had seemingly little in common. Yet, servitude remained a Philadelphia institution. Apparently it aided its participants despite the mutual distrust it frequently fostered. Although it subjected them to criticism and prejudice, servitude supported those who lacked marketable skills. And their employers, though exasperated by them, needed servants for the domestic work they would or could not perform alone. Masters and servants, then, maintained between them a bond of necessity. Despite each others' failings, masters and servants survived "their warfare [that] is almost without glory."[69]

FOOTNOTES TO PART I

[1]Joseph Low, Jonathan Swift's Directions to Servants, 1745 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), p. 79.

[2]William Priest, Travels in the United States of America Commencing in the Year 1793, and Ending in 1797 (London: J.Johnson, 1802), p. 24.

[3]Kenneth & Anna M. Roberts, trans., Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947), p. 297. Americans themselves commented on the inability to distinguish social class by dress alone. See Pennsylvania Evening Herald 25 August 1787. Occasionally, this confusion reached humorous proportions. Philadelphian Ann Warder recounted such an incident of mistaken identity in her journal: "a Negro Woman came to the Door and asked to speak with the Mistress. I said well what dost [thou] want-- she said are you her I answered yes. She then asked my pardon for disputing it... I could not help laughing hearty at her apology--... I may just add my Dress was not worse than common...." Ann Warder Journals 1787-1789, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Warder Journals): 1 November 1788.

[4]William Cobbett, A Year's Residence in the United States of America (New York: Clayton & Kingsland, 1818), p. 151.

[5]Pennsylvania Packet 1 July 1779 quoted in John K. Alexander, Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980), p. 59.

[6]Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America 2 vols., Bradley Phillips ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), 2:194-5. See also Roberts, p. 298; Henry B. Fearon, Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey of 5,000 miles through the Eastern and Western States of America, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown 1818), pp. 80-1.

[7]Elizabeth Drinker Diaries 1759-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania with typescript at Independence National Historical Park (hereafter cited as Drinker Diaries): 20 August 1802. Deborah Norris Logan Diaries 1815-1839, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Logan Diaries): 2 June 1827. Elizabeth Powel described her footman, Henry Anderson, as "sober, honest, cleanly and a very tolerable Waiter; but instinctable and disobedient." Elizabeth Willing Powel Almanacs 1799-1820, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Powel Almanacs): 25 March 1811.

[8]Drinker Diaries 20 August 1794 When Brant's condition became impossible to hide, the Drinkers sent her to their country estate. The young woman had her baby, with the help of the farm tenant's wife, but lost control of it after the birth. Elizabeth Drinker disregarded the name chosen by the baby s mother and called her Catherine Clearfield after the estate where she was born. Brant, an indentured servant, returned to the Drinkers' and the baby went to a wet nurse. Mother and child never met again, for the baby died several months later. Elizabeth Drinker had considered raising the child in her own family, but decided that concealment was the best way to minimize scandal. See Ibid, 13 November

and 2, 23, 27 December 1794, 14 July 1795.

[9]Sarah Logan Fisher Diaries 1776-1795, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Fisher Diaries): 20 December 1786.

[10]George Fox, The Works of George Fox 11 vols. (Philadelphia, 1831), 8:24.

[11]Matthew Clarkson, An Address to the Citizens of Philadelphia, Respecting the Better Government of Youth (Philadelphia, 1795), p. 20. See also Pennsylvania Gazette 8 August 1787:

> At the last city sessions a negro was tried and convicted for keeping a disorderly house; it appeared upon this occasion, that the offender kept a place of resort for all the loose and idle characters of the city, whether whites, blacks or mulattoes; and that frequently in the night gentlemens servants would arrive there, mounted on their masters horses (for which the landlord had provided a stable in the neighbourhood) and indulge in riotous mirth and dancing till the dawn....

[12]See Mrs. William Parkes, Domestic Duties; or, Instructions to Young Married Ladies (New York: J.& J. Harper, 1828), p. 113; Thomas A. Gisborne, An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1798), p. 202.

[13]Elizabeth Haywood, A Present for a Servant-Maid; or, the Sure Means of gaining Love and Esteem (London: T. Gardner, 1743), p. 30.

[14]Warder Journals 30 November 1788.

[15]Sir John Barnard, A Present for an Apprentice (Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1800), p. 45.

[16]Billy G. Smith, "Down These Mean Streets: The Lives of Laboring People in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," Paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 14 December 1984, p. 3. Racked by postwar economic depression and unemployment, besieged by increasing immigration, Philadelphia saw a growing indigent population in the mid-eighteenth century. City officials reported that, in 1775, thirty out of every one thousand inhabitants received public poor relief. Twenty years before the ratio had been less than seven in one thousand. Gary B. Nash, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," William and Mary Quarterly 33 (January 1976): 9, Table 1.

[17]"Phileleutheros," Pennsylvania Gazette 2 February 1780 quoted in Alexander, p. 12.

[18]The household budget for a family of four in 1800 was double that of the previous generation's. At the same time, unskilled labor saw its wages decline by 50 percent, tailors lost 28 percent, cordwainers and mariners dropped 22 and 15 percent respectively. See Billy G. Smith, "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750 to 1800," William and

Mary Quarterly 38 (April 1981): 173, Table 2; 184, Table 3.

[19]Smith, "Streets," p. 18; Alexander, p. 12; Nash, "Poverty," p. 25, Table 3.

[20]Karl Frederick Geiser, Redemptioners & Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Supplement to the Yale Review 10 (August 1901), (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1901), p. 5.

[21]"Certain Conditions or Concessions, Agreed upon by William Penn... and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province...." in Pennsylvania Archives series 4, volume 1, p. 20. See also Penn's "Information and Direction to such Persons as are inclined to America, more Especially Those related to the Province of Pennsylvania," in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1880): 339.

[22]Geiser, p. 6; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), p. 337. Of the 600,000 English whites who immigrated to the British colonies during the years 1650 to 1780, more than half came as indenturees. See David W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 17. The indenture system provided Pennsylvania with a substantial number of inhabitants. Two-thirds of those arriving in Philadelphia between 1786 and 1804 were indenturees. See Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946), p. 322.

[23]The difference between indentured servants and redemptioners was in the creation of their respective contracts. Indenturees signed their contracts with a ship's captain before leaving England. Once in America, the captain sold the contracts in order to recoup the immigrants' travel expenses. From Germany, redemptioners postponed the contract signing until they arrived in America. Rather than employ the captain as a middleman, Germans sold their own contracts and then used the money to pay for their transport. If they failed to find a master within thirty days after landing, redemptioners forfeited their contracts to the captain, who sold them at his discretion. See Oscar Handlin & John Clive, eds. Journey to Pennsylvania by Gottlieb Mittelberger (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1960), pp. 18-19 for instances of exploitation of redemptioners caught in the system of contracts.

[24]James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, eds., The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682-1809 18 vols. (Harrisburg: Clarence & Busch, 1896-1911), 2:22 and 6-7. The Logan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. 10 pp. 128-9 contain the following cost list incurred by two runaway indenturees:

> Account of James Samuel Gordon and James Logan,
> runaway indentures belonging to Edward Milne,
> 17 July 1769
>
> To Mess[r] Fearis and Le Teliere for 1 day they spent
> looking for you ₤ .10.10
> To their ferryage twice 1/4 and expenses 1/1 .2 .5
> To advertising in Gazette, Journall and Chronicle .15.

To advertising in York paper .5.
To 100 Hand bills in York .7.6
To John Le Teliere for 10 days which he lost in search of you at York @ 3/4 per da. 1. 7.6
To ditto for Cash which you took away from him .17.
To ditto for his Gold Broach [sic] which he lost when he was looking for you .17.
To cash expended by J. Le Teliere in going to New York, while he remained there, and on his way back 3.
To horse hire for ditto 10 da. @ 5/ 2.10.
To Reward charges and Prison Fees at Carlisle as per Rob't Temple's acct. 7.6.
To cash paid waggoner for bringing you home 2.5.
To time lost from the 16th July, the day you ran away til the 21st of August following, the day you were brought back is 1 month and 6 days

Gordon £7.8.0 3 months
1 mo. & 6 day ran away 6 months [see Statutes 2:55]
9 months
Logan to serve beyond his indenture time 15 mo.

[25]Statutes 2:4 and 55.

[26]Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania 1683, p. 153. Statutes 8:31. Cheesman A. Herrick, White Servitude in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: John J. McVey, 1926), pp. 203 and 211. See H.E. Scudder, ed. Recollections of Samuel Breck with Passages from his Notebooks (1771-1862) (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), p. 297 for a twenty dollar consideration paid to an indentured French Swiss woman at the end of three years sevice, and Powel Almanacs 15 October 1810 for a fifty dollar consideration paid to a fourteen year old black boy's father at the beginning and the end of his son's seven year indenture as a waiter.

[27]Indenture prices in Philadelphia during the late eighteenth century amounted to approximately eighty dollars for men, seventy dollars for women, and sixty dollars for boys serving four year terms. See Geiser, p. 45. Skilled workers in 1785 earned about $1.33 and common laborers around $.70 per day. See Sharon V. Salinger, "Colonial Labor in Transition: the Decline of Indentured Servitude in Late Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," Labor History 22 (Spring 1981):191. Since an employer was not responsible for a day laborer's food and other amenities, a distinct savings followed this kind of worker, in addition to his ready dispensibility.

Previously, the converse was true. In 1750, a skilled journeyman earned approximately £35 annually while an indenturee's transport fee cost his master only £3 or £4 per year. See Sharon V. Salinger, "Artisans, Journeymen, and the Transformation of Labor in Late Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," William and Mary Quarterly 40 (January 1983): 68-9. See also Gary B. Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," William and Mary Quarterly 30 (April 1973): 228 n. 12.

28 See below, p. 25.

[29]Sharon V. Salinger, "'Send No More Women': Female Servants in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and

Biography 107 (January 1983): 31 n. 7; see also Galenson, pp. 25 and 32, Table 2.2.

[30]Along with their occupational unsuitability, female indenturees may have posed a moral problem for their masters. Some Philadelphia merchants specifically instructed their ship captains to refuse passage to indentured women. Possibly, illegitimate pregnancies and the subsequent loss of the indenturee's time due to them were also considered a major drawback to accepting female indenturees. See Salinger, "Female," pp. 32-3.

[31]Salinger, "Colonial Labor," p. 169; Salinger, "Female," p. 32 n. 17.

[32]During the years 1787-90, two-thirds of Philadelphia's almshouse residents were women. Ibid, p. 45.

[33]Drinker Diaries 17 October 1796, 12 August 1797, 2 November 1799, 15 November 1800, 4 August 1803.

[34]Carole Shammas, "The Female Social Structure of Philadelphia in 1775," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 107 (January 1983): 72-3. Chestnut Ward, between Market and Chestnut and Front and 2nd Streets, was small but relatively affluent. Mulberry Ward, between Mulberry (now Arch) and Vine and west of Front Street, contained mostly working class Philadelphians. According to Shammas the returns for other wards are not as complete, in regard to gender, as these two. The number of servants per household in those households employing them is not known from Shammas' reporting of the data.

[35]Salinger, "Colonial Labor," p. 187, Table 6. Philadelphia City Directory of 1791.

[36]Salinger, "Colonial Labor," p. 185, Table 5.

[37]Salinger, "Artisans," p. 67. See also Sarah C. Maza, Servants and Masters in Eighteenth Century France: the Uses of Loyalty (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 298; Theresa M. McBride, The Domestic Revolution: the Modernisation of Household Service in England and France, 1820-1910 (New York: Holmes & Meier Pub., Inc., 1976), p. 10.

[38]Thomas Cooper, Some Information Respecting America (London: J. Johnson, 1794), p. 67. See also Fearon, p. 134.

[39]Thomas Webster, Domestic Economy (New York, 1845), p. 365.

[40]See Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser 25 July 1818: " WANTED A middle aged Coloured Woman, to do the work of a small family...." In the Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers is the following certificate of a servant's character reference: "The bearer hereof, Lorette, has my permission to seek a master. She is a good Ironer and washer, and plain cook and is strictly honest and sober. Phila. August 8, 1801 (signed) Wm. Meredith Walnut St. N° 40." See Pennsylvania Abolition Society, House of Employ misc. papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania microfilm, reel 23.

[41]Robert C. Alberts, The Golden Voyage: the Life and Times of William Bingham, 1752-1804 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969), p. 163.

[42]Samuel Breck commented on the Binghams' extravagant parties:

> each guest was announced; first, at the entrance-door his name was called aloud and taken up by a servant on the stairs, who passed it on to the man in waiting at the drawing-room door... This silly fashion of announcing by name did not last long, and was put to a stop by the following ridiculous occurence: On a gala evening an emminent physician, Dr. Kuhn, and his step-daughter, drove up to the door. A servant asked who was in the carriage. 'The doctor and Miss Peggy,' was the reply. 'The doctor and Miss Peggy!' cried out the man stationed at the door. 'The doctor and Miss Peggy!' bawled out he of the stairs, which was taken up by the liveried footman at the door of the drawing-room, into which Miss Peggy and her papa entered amid the laugh and jokes of the company. This and several preceeding blunders caused the custom, albeit a short-lived one, to be surpressed.

See Ibid, pp. 163-4.

[43]Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary, described the President's Philadelphia staff as consisting of fourteen white, hired servants (coachman, two footmen, porter, houseman, cook, two kitchenmaids, two housemaids, two washerwomen, a steward, and a French valet)and seven black slaves (the President's personal slave Billy and his assistant Christopher, Mrs. Washington's maids Oney and Molly, and three young grooms). See "Washington's Household Account Book, 1793-1797," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 29 (1905): 390-1.

Washington ordered his male servants' livery from Charles Lawrence, a London tailor:

> A Livery suit to be made of worsted Snagg of the inclosed colour and fineness lined with red shalloon; and make as follows. The Coat and Breeches alike with a plain white washed button; the Button holes worked with Mohair of the same col'r. A collar of red shagg to the Coat with a narrow Cuff of the same colour of the Coat turn'd up to the bent of the Arm and laced round at that part; the waistcoat made of red Snagg (worsted Shagg also) and laced with the same lace as that upon the Collar and Sleeves.

George Washington to Charles Lawrence, Mt. Vernon, 10 August 1764 in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of George Washington 37 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939) 2:232.

Washington's monthly expenses in Philadelphia included $105.00 for servants' wages and $25.00 for liveries and slave clothing. See Stephen Decatur Jr., Private Affairs of George Washington from the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary (Cambridge, MA: the Riverside Press, 1933; reprint ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 157.

Nevertheless, the President always stressed economy in his household's accounts. See John Adams to Abigail Adams, Philadelphia, 30 December 1796 quoted in Harold D. Eberlein, "190 High Street (Market Street Below Sixth)-- The Home of Washington and Adams 1790-1800," in Historic Philadelphia vol. 43 of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1953): 174.

[44]Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America 1788, Durand Echeverria, trans. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964), p. 58.

[45]In 1767, 57 percent of Philadelphia's slaveholders owned only one black; 26 percent owned only two. Nash, "Slaves," p. 244, Table 5. Philadelphia's slave population declined from 1,392 in 1767 to 672 in 1775. Ibid, Table 4.

[46]Gary B. Nash, "The Black Revolution in Philadelphia," Paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 28 February 1985, p. 8.

[47]Edward Raymond Turner, The Negro in Pennsylvania, Slavery-Servitude-Freedom, 1693-1861 (American Historical Association, 1911; reprint ed. New York: Negro University Press, 1969), p. 75.

[48]Pennsylvania Packet 12 December 1779 quoted in Nash, "Revolution," p. 22.

[49]The United States First Federal Population Census (1790) listed Philadelphia's slave population as 210; see p. 10.

[50]Ibid. See also Nash, "Revolution," p. 33.

[51]See Statutes 10:69-70 for parameters of the 1780 gradual abolition law; deadline extended for registration of slaves to 1 April 1789, see Ibid, 13:54. On the freeing of unregistered slaves, see Nash, "Revolution," p. 45 n. 68.

[52]L.H. Butterfield, Letters of Benjamin Rush 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 2:754. Compare this later criticism to Rush's favorable impression of free blacks in 1785. See Ibid, 1:371. See also Roberts, p. 309.

Samuel Breck noted in his memoirs that after his parents moved from Boston to Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century, "in a few months the 2 most useful [black servant] men were spoiled by the free negro population of Philadelphia (that paradise of the blacks)...." Scudder, p. 107.

[53]In 1838, eight of ten black women in Philadelphia were domestic servants. See Theodore Hershberg, "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia: A Study of Ex-Slaves, Freeborn, and Socioeconomic Decline," Journal of Social History 5 (Winter 1971-2): 199.

[54]Butterfield, Ibid. See also A.F. Francois, Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of North America... in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1799), 2:382. For the opinions of foreign observers regarding Americans'

low esteem for blacks, see Isaac Weld Jr., Travels through the States of North America... during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 2 vols. (London: John Stockdale, 1800), 2:36; also Warville, p. 232. Noted the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in Philadelphia's Federal Gazette 22 May 1800: "Perhaps two thirds of those [blacks] who reside amongst us are waiters or sailors. Their natural propensity to thoughtlessness and amusements is not diminished by such occupations."

[55]Turner, p. 159.

[56]Pennsylvania Abolition Society Committee of Guardians Minute Book v. 1 1790-6, pp. 112-13 Historical Society of Pennsylvania microfilm reel 6. Drinker Diaries 24 August 1804. See also Roberts, p. 302.

[57]Jerry William Frost, The Quaker Family in Colonial America (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), p. 145. Boys constituted 81.9 percent of all the apprentices recorded by the Mayor's Office during 1775. See Ian M.G. Quimby, "Apprenticeship in Colonial Philadelphia," (Masters thesis, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1963), p. 36.

[58]In 1780, the Philadelphia County Court of Quarter Sessions freed an apprentice from his contract when the boy's master failed to instruct him in the baker's trade. His master had, instead, given him to a relative as a kitchen servant. Morris, pp. 379-80 n. 84.

"Spinning, knitting, carding, washing, and all domestic offices of mending, making and adjusting household matters, should be the business of girls...." Pennsylvania Packet 21 May 1787.

[59]See Drinker Diaries 26 December 1794 ("...they are very troublesome when young...."), 6 January 1797, 2 and 5 ("Mary Scott with a little tidy girl between 2 and 3 years old... came to desire I would take her Child till she was 18 years of age,... I told her I had several grand children and was in years myself, it did not suit me to take so young a Child") April 1798, 2 April 1800, 2 February and 19 July 1802. See Fisher Diaries 7:39 ("a little girl is more trouble...[but] cheaper than a hired maid...."), 13 June 1784, 31 December 1785, 7 January 1786, 18 January and 22 March 1790, 10 October 1794, 7 March 1795. See also Barbara Jones, "Deborah Logan," (Masters thesis, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1964), p. 56: "Deborah appears to have filled in with her `damsels,' children whom parents apprenticed, `often quite young,' to live with her until `they were eighteen'."

Some domestic indenturees stayed on as wage servants after their indentures expired. See Drinker Diaries 24 February 1800 when a maid became the cook and Ibid, 14 November 1802 when a kitchen boy became the coachman.

[60]Compiled from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society Committee of Guardians Minute Book v. 1 1790-6, pp. 123-50. See Statutes 4:62 for the mandatory indenture of free blacks until aged twenty-one.

[61]Morris, p. 4. "The Frame of Government Of the Province of Pennsylvania, in America... [1682]," article 28 in Pennsylvania Archives series 4, volume 1, p. 42.

[62]Nash, "Poverty," p. 15; see also Alexander, pp. 48-51.

[63]Pennsylvania Packet 21 May 1787. See also Independent Gazetteer 29 December 1786:

> The morals of the inferiors, the laboring part of the public, is of all things the most essential to the well ordering of society: What impressions would it not rescue the naturally well disposed from receiving, and how many valuable servants of every denomination should we have in store for the rising generation?... I say more attention should be paid to [poor children]....

[64]Scudder, p. 296.

[65]On the destitute child, see Pennsylvania Abolition Society Committee of Guardians Minute Book v. 2 1797-1803, pp. 48-9. See Drinker Diaries 11 December 1804 for a similar case. On Primus Stenton's activity, see Minute Book v. 2, p. 152.

[66]Statutes 2:253 and 8:79; see also Ibid, 15:156 for when the yellow fever epidemic of 1794 created numerous orphans and the Overseers cared for them.

The Overseers' authority extended to adults as well as children. By law any person either drunk, disorderly, or sick (except those married or those over forty) who depended upon the public dole for support came under the Overseers' jurisdiction. As such, they were subject to mandatory labor. The terms of this labor were limited to three years and probably encompassed domestic work. See Ibid, 9:404-5. Newspaper advertisements for such servants appeared occasionally. See Pennsylvania Packet 10 August 1787, Pennsylvania Gazette 8 May 1782, 11 February 1789, 28 January 1801.

Other authoritative attempts to control social undesirables by imposing terms of service on them extended to debtors. If a debtor failed to repay the loans, creditors had the option of requesting reimbursement through the debtor's servitude (for five years, if the debtor was married, or seven years, if single). Those with debts of less than forty shillings could choose to serve until their debts were paid. See Statutes 2:129 and 249-51, 4:211-15. That this debtor servitude provided a significant number of potential indenturees for service in Philadelphia is evident. In the years 1780 to 1790, for example, debtors outnumbered criminals in the city and county jails 4,051 to 3,999. See Federal Gazette 8 October 1790 quoted in Alexander, p. 67. Pennsylvania's law establishing debtor servitude remained valid until 1798. See Statutes 16:98-9.

[67]Respublica versus Keppele, 1 Dallas, 199 (1793). The Drinkers usually hired kitchen help of both sexes aged seven or eight. See Drinker Diaries 22 November 1794 and 23 March 1798.

[68]Ibid, 18 October and 7 November 1794. See also Warder Journals 2 August 1786.

[69]Robert Roberts, The House Servant's Directory (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1827), p. 157.

PART II

"That Necessary Branch of Housekeeping:" Domestic Duties and Household Management

Those Philadelphians faced with their servants' exasperating slowness, immorality, and disrespect probably longed to adopt the aphorist "Poor Richard's" advice: "if you would have a faithful servant and one that you like, serve yourself."[1] Such self-sufficiency provided a possible alternative to coping with troublesome servants, and some Philadelphians turned to the resources of their city other than servants to satisfy their domestic needs. By patronizing area shops, citizens reduced the amount of domestic work done by themselves or in their homes. The twice-weekly markets and local grocers, hucksters, butchers, fishmongers, oystermen, fruiterers, milk sellers, bakers, confectioners, and pastry cooks purveyed food to the city.[2] With this variety at hand, few households tended their own vegetable gardens, slaughtered their own livestock, or baked their own bread.[3] In addition to provisioning its citizens, Philadelphia provided them with specialized, nonresident labor. Seamstresses and mantuamakers came to their employers' homes to measure, cut, and sew garments. Washerwomen picked up and delivered laundry. Soapboilers and tallowchandlers performed the disagreeable tasks of rendering waste products into soap and candles. And, throughout the city, laborers looked for daily work mending a fence or digging a flowerbed.

Despite the conveniences of urban living (with its proximity to commercial processing and specialized labor) domestic work nevertheless remained a perpetual activity in

Philadelphia homes. Although they purchased their raw materials from vendors, members of this technologically unsophisticated society produced much of their own food and clothing, using time consuming and strenuous methods. People went marketing almost daily due to the absence of reliable refrigeration (curing by immersion in sugar, salt, or liquor being the only long-term means of preserving perishables). Hearth cooking, the norm in American kitchens until the middle decades of the nineteenth century,[4] required swinging or lifting heavy pots, carrying wood and enduring skin-reddening heat. The amount of this and other work, particularly needlework, consumed much of the day for most women. Their families' clothing, like their food, required constant attention. Few urban women grew their own flax or raised sheep for wool; however, some spun their own cloth.[5] And most knitted, sewed, and mended all of their families' everyday clothing and linens. Other domestic demands, aside from those for food and clothing, grew out of the family's daily activity. Such chores, like cleaning, comprised an essential part of the household's existence. Many involved continual attendance upon those family members made helpless by age or infirmity. In an era when people perceived hospitals as prisons for the poor or the insane, the home provided a place for the care of children, the sick, and the elderly. Other duties were more occasional; transportation in the city and around the

countryside for shopping, visiting, or business often required a driven carriage or coach.

Ultimately, the incessancy of these and other tasks probably led Philadelphians to question the practicality of "Poor Richard's" advice on servants. Faithfulness in a servant mattered primarily because it affected the completion of domestic tasks. The magnitude of housework necessitated assistance whenever affordable and regardless of its motivation. Speaking for many prosperous Philadelphians, Elizabeth Drinker acknowledged servants' indispensability. There was no question in her mind that, despite their faults, her servants formed an integral part of her household. They were "that necessary branch of Housekeeping."[6]

When running a household, Philadelphians had several resources for finding servants. As references for servants, friends and family were the most reliable.[7] Trading servants between households well acquainted with one another gave both parties in the exchange ready access to knowledge of the servant's job performance. Aside from first hand experience, employers considered oral or written reference to a servant's character an essential part of successful hiring. Though he knew of an agency in Philadelphia created to facilitate the process of hiring servants, George Washington insisted upon individual "testimonials" to the servant's abilities before employing a person unknown to him.[8] Observation of the servant at work also informed the employer of the applicant's

competency. "There is no need of asking the character of a domestic," concluded author Lydia Child, "if you have ever seen her wash dishes in a little greasy water."9 When neighbors and friends had no servants to spare, an employer often placed an ad in a newspaper or scanned the paper's columns for 'position desires' notices. Occasionally, as the Drinkers did, one travelled to the city's working class neighborhoods like Southwark to look for prospective employees. Such searching was usually unnecessary; in a city, mistresses never lacked applicants at their doors looking for work. One enterprising, though unsuccessful, woman solicited Elizabeth Drinker three times in one week hoping to gain a position.[11]

When hiring servants, Philadelphians considered several factors. A servant's demonstrable or, at least, potential skill was critically evaluated. To many masters, only extreme youth marked a prospective employee as ignorant or incapable of household work. Others required detailed references from past employers. Some masters hired their servants for short trial periods on order to measure their ability. In addition to this concern for domestic competency, employers reviewed their applicants' wage demands. Due to the competitive nature of Philadelphia's labor market, servants' wages remained constant during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Appendix B). Most employers, however, graded

their servants' wages according to the employees' duties and responsibilities.

Definition of these servants' duties came directly from the employer's perceived need for domestic help. If given to frequent entertaining, a family required sufficient staff to maintain their home and serve their guests. In those households with young children, servants performed the extra laundry, cleaning and food preparation (as well as nursing and supervision) that youngsters required. Overall, the structure of a household's domestic staff reflected an employer's personal taste (see Appendix C). The numbers and types of servants in Philadelphia homes varied, but they generally reflected the basic needs of all employers for the maintenance of a functional and comfortable environment.

The complexity of managing a large household created the need for a domestic chief of staff. Some wealthy households had a female housekeeper (or, occasionally, a male steward) at the head of their domestic personnel. This person acted as the employer's representative, managing the household's accounts and staff. Checking supplies and marketing were the housekeeper's/steward's responsibility.[12] Close attention to the details of provisions and their use occupied much of this servant's time, particularly when the employers kept a heavy social schedule.[13] During a dinner party, the housekeeper or steward smoothed the progress of food from the kitchen to the dining table, minimizing noise and distraction for the family

and their guests.[14] This position carried both privileged and unpleasant duties. Amy Roberts, Elizabeth Powel's housekeeper for twenty years, had her mistress' complete trust. She collected and deposited rents for her employer and paid fellow servants their wages. Unfortunately, she also had the unhappy duty of firing unsatisfactory staff members.[15] As such, the housekeeper or steward acted as a check upon the behavior of the other servants. After mysterious incidents occurred involving theft and damage of his household property, President Washington instructed his steward to control the staff:

> preventing, as much as possible, the breakage of China, glass and other brittle wares; [and] the bruising and other abuses of the Silver and other things of a similar kind...[16]

Apparently, the President's servants also had dishonest inclinations; they charged goods to Washington's account without permission and contracted their own work out to transients for pennies a day.[17] When Mr. Hyde, Washington's steward, attempted to curb these activities of his subordinates, staff morale plummeted. The President warned him that he must exert his proper authority or experience a domestic coup.[18] The ambiguity of the steward's/housekeeper's position as both an employee and a (substitute) employer tempted him or her to be either too lax or too harsh. For some, this experience proved unsettling. According to Washington, his steward:

> expressed some dissatisfaction; signifying that he could neither enjoy under the conduct of the servants the happiness he

> wished; or render those services he thought might be expected from him...[19]

In accordance with personal convictions, the steward or housekeeper set the tenor of the household. As provisions manager and staff disciplinarian, the chief domestic presided over order and, occasionally, endured chaos.

Unlike the Washingtons' and Powels', most Philadelphia staffs were managed by the mistress herself; few, however, lacked a cook. So essential was the cook's function that she usually confined her duties to the kitchen and seldom assisted with house cleaning or other domestic work, unless no other staff existed.[20] The cook prepared all the meals, washed the dishes (or supervised their washing), and kept the kitchen tidy. Occasionally she received help from youngsters employed to watch cakes, turn spits, and run errands.[21] Employers expected a cook to know the basics of "plain cooking" (i.e. boiling, roasting, and frying); she usually left the making of pies and confections to the mistress.[22] A cook succeeded when she accommodated herself to her employers' taste preferences and daily schedule. Some families suffered considerable inconvenience before they discovered a cook with a compatible personality and a skillful hand. Elizabeth Powel's favorite cook, Phillis Williamson, repeatedly left service to visit her own family. Each time she resigned she caused her mistress trouble in trying to replace her. During one eight month period, Powel hired and discharged three different cooks.[23] All employers depended on their cook's efficiency. George

Washington, necessarily time-conscious due to his hectic schedule as president, appreciated his cook's promptness and reliability. He complimented the kitchen by emphasizing its priorities over those of his guests when he reportedly admonished latecomers to state dinners with the remark; "'Gentlemen (or Sir), we are too punctual for you. I have a cook who never asks whether the company has come, but whether the hour has come'."[24] Obviously the best cooks were those naturally attuned to the product of their labors. Accuracy and heightened sensitivity characterized the model of kitchen efficiency described by Robert Roberts in his handbook for servants.

> "A Cook must be quick and strong of sight; her hearing most acute...her auditory nerve ought to discriminate (when several saucepans are in operation at the same time) the simmering of one, the ebullition of another and the full-toned warbling of a third...her olfactories should be tremblingly alive to mustiness and empyreuma [burned food]...[25]

The ideal cook orchestrated a meal; she highlighted each component's best features, presented the dishes promptly for serving, and accomplished the cleanup with a minimum of trouble.

A cook's sense of cleanliness and order, both in the preparation of food and the maintenance of the kitchen, concerned those whose victuals she handled. Writers of domestic manuals prescribed specific kitchen routines to insure a healthy atmosphere. Before breakfast the cook had swept the kitchen, pantry passages, and stairs; twice weekly

she thoroughly cleaned the area. During the day she kept the hearth neat and the fire under control. After each meal she saw the hearth grates cleared, the ashes transferred to the ash pit in the cellar or backyard, the jack and spits wiped, and water boiled for dishwashing.[26] The careful cleansing of cooking implements and vessels constituted one of the cook's primary responsibilities. Hannah Glasse informed cooks that their duty was clear:

> The Health of your Master, Mistress, and Family is the principal thing you are to take care of, as I do assure you, a great deal of that depends on your care, and every Servant's.[27]

Glasse warned that "verdigrease" (copper poisoning) resulted from overzealous, as well as lackadaisical, dishwashing. It was important to remove traces of food and grease from cooking pots, but not so roughly that the protective layer of tin that coated the inside and rim of the vessels came off as well.[28] The best method for cleaning iron or copper pots, kettles, and saucepans involved: filling them with hot water to loosen food (scraping with the fingernails if necessary), emptying them, and lightly scouring their rims with fine sand or wood ashes. Housekeeping manuals disagreed on the efficacy of scouring pot exteriors; most writers made it optional since the fire blackened the surface with every use.[29] After cleaning, metal vessels drained upside down to prevent the growth of rust. Dishes posed less of a threat to the family's health because their nonmetallic surfaces were less prone to deterioration. Plates and serving dishes were scraped with a

knife, dunked in a tub of hot water, and rinsed in a cold water tub. Drying with a cloth completed the operation (see Illustration 2).[30] The steps prescribed for the cook in dishwashing, as in food preparation, reflected the need for attentiveness and responsibility in the kitchen.

Based as it was upon the fear of accidental poisoning, the concern for clean dishes was quite real in the eighteenth century; Philadelphians worried less, however, about the degree of general cleanliness in their homes. Soap played no part in dishwashing and a limited one in house cleaning. Ann Warder's greatest fear was that she would lack sufficient food to entertain her daily round of visitors, not that her house might look dusty or ill-kept.[31] Apparently the appearance or semblance of cleanliness, rather than its actual existence, sufficed for most people. Philadelphians' selectivity regarding cleanliness annoyed Mèderic Moreau de St. Méry during his 1795 visit to the city:

> Everything that is normally out of sight in their houses is very ugly and little cared for... Just as long as parlor, kitchen, stairs, and entrance are clean, everything else can got along in any old way.[32]

St. Méry's subjective impression implied that standards of cleanliness reflected popular taste. In the eighteenth century, Philadelphians put less emphasis on a consistently clean house than they did on cleanliness in certain areas.

During the early nineteenth century, the development of the home as a social center separate from the public world

created a growing interest in the household's total appearance.[33] The home's cleanness thus became more important because it affected the social environment. Deborah Logan tentatively expressed her preference for cleanliness in 1816: "I hope I do not overvalue myself, but I am glad I am not of that order of beings who can sit down contentedly in the dirt."[34] By 1827 her previously novel priorities apparently reflected a conservative view. She deprecatingly referred to herself as "an old fashioned housekeeper" for cleaning house once a week.[35] At least among Logan's acquaintances, frequent house cleaning now constituted the norm. And, apparently, other Philadelphians had also developed the new concern for household cleanliness. A decade after St. Mery's negative assessment of Philadelphia's housekeeping standards, other foreign observers praised the city for its tidy homes.[36]

Although changing popular standards dictated the regularity and extensiveness of house cleaning, everyone conducted an annual "topsy turvey frolick of whitewashing."[37] Little short of pandemonium, this massive spring, and occasionally fall, cleaning effort included the entire house. It began with the removal of the household furnishings:

> The walls are stripped of their furniture--paintings, prints, and looking glasses lie in huddled heaps about the floors: the curtains are torn from their testers, the beds crammed into windows, chairs and tables, bedsteads and cradles crowd the yard; and the garden fence bends beneath the weight of carpets, blankets, cloth cloaks, old coats, underpetticoats, and ragged breeches...[38]

After the move, servants swept, rolled and removed the carpets, later replacing them with straw matting for the summer.[39] Then the staff scrubbed the walls and floors, cleaned wainscotting and woodwork, and washed the windows.[40] Philadelphians also took the May/June and September/October house cleanings as opportunities to repaint their brick kitchen and parlor hearths with red and black stain in order to cover soot and wear.[41] Next someone whitewashed the unpapered rooms in the house, beginning with those in the upper story and ending with the cellar. Whitewashing required skill, and most Philadelphians hired extra help to perform the job in exchange for wages and supplies.[42] After whitewashing, the staff returned the furniture to its rooms. In the spring they covered upholstery with cloth or paper, and put gauze on mirrors and framed pictures to protect these surfaces from flydirt. They also closed off the fireplaces with decorative screens or floral arrangements.[43] The enormity of the annual housecleaning had, according to Benjamin Franklin, a "'devastating'" effect on the family's regular routine. Author Eliza Leslie recommended that men endure this desecration of household peace and tranquility <u>in absentia</u>.[44] For those unable to escape, the process caused considerable anxiety. One Philadelphia lady suspended her house cleaning for two days while her maid recovered from an illness. After her three days of spring cleaning, Esther Burr felt completely exhausted:

> Wednesday, and Thursday, and Fryday, all up in Arms a cleaning House, white-washing, rubing Tables, cleaning silver, China and Glass, etc. And poor I am almost tired out of my senses...[45]

The thoroughness, and discomfort, of spring cleaning was possible only once or twice a year; at other times maids tidied the house according to their employer's preferences.[46]

The daily house cleaning schedule revolved around the family's activity. Manuals instructed housemaids to be as inconspicuous as possible in the performance of their duties:

> Have no long gown or Coats about your Heels; and be sure always to have very clean Feet, that you may not dirty your Rooms as soon as clean'd, nor make any Noise, but learn to walk softly, and not disturb the Family...[47]

To avoid interfering with her employers' day, the maid completed much of her cleaning before and during breakfast (see Illustration 3). She swept out each hearth, cleaned the grates and andirons (when in use), laid and lit fires to warm the rooms. Then she covered the upholstered furniture and pinned up the curtains before lightly sweeping the carpets or floors with a soft broom. Lastly, she dusted the woodwork and picture frames, let down and brushed the curtains (or dusted the venetian blinds), and cleaned the door locks. She left the rooms and finished by sweeping the stairs.[48] The amount of dusting and sweeping done by the maid reflected the standard of cleanliness set by her employer. The specifics of Ann Warder's directions to her housemaid regarding cleaning probably sprung from her irritation over the amount of dirt in

the air caused by coal burning. She wrote to her sister that, after only six months of use, the furniture covers in the house were visibly impregnated with coaldust.[49] If the maid was not required to wait on the family at the breakfast table, her cleaning continued in the bedchambers. In fair weather, she opened the windows to air each room. Then she stripped the bed and shook out the bedclothes, turning the featherbeds daily and the mattress weekly. She then brushed the bed curtains and dusted the tester canopy once a week. Like dusting, the intensity of this daily cleaning reflected an immediate housekeeping concern, rather than simply an aesthetic. While turning and dusting the beds, the maid looked for bedbugs. Mistresses vehemently attacked these parasites whenever an infestation occurred:

> Sister[,] Sall, Judy and Rose, busy upstairs Bug[g]ing etc., in two of our bedsteads some bugs were found, a very uncommon occurance with us, as we are often for years together, without seeing one, and when any make their appearance we make fuss enough, and make a thorough examination.[50]

Author Eliza Leslie recommended, as a preventative measure against bedbugs, a weekly application of cold suds made of spirits of wine (alcohol), turpentine, oil of vitriol, and camphor to the joints of each bed.[51] After she remade the bed, the maid swept the carpet or floor. Then she changed the towels, refilled the water pitcher, swept the hearth and laid a fire in it. Lastly, she emptied the chamberpot into a bucket which she carried downstairs. This completed the

maid's cleaning duties until early evening when she turned down the beds, drew the window curtains, and lit fires in the bedchamber hearths.

Maids also attended to household cleanliness by laundering the family clothes.

> ...The fine avenue of noble Hemlocks renewed in spring-like freshness, and bright thick foliage and fragrant flowers and everywhere, the Honey suckles and fringe tree perfuming the air, and all set off by a delightful temperature of the air. My linnen, nearly whitened, bleaching on the grass by the House, all making me feel that I ought to be very thankful to my God for his many mercies to me.[52]

This rapturous view of her wash inspired Deborah Logan to praise God, but it scarcely reflected the amount of work involved for the staff in the laundry's processes. The "Multitude of jobs to do for Washing"[53] monopolized time and resources, and it involved heavy, physical labor. Few women considered performing it without assistance from servants and/or hired dayworkers. Even with help, the task seemed endless; Ann Warder, preoccupied by the cycle of washing and ironing, dreamt about her dirty clothes at night.[54] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most Philadelphians did a full wash every two weeks.[55] The job began on Monday morning when the mistress sorted the dirty clothes by fabric type and item size.[56] Small items (like aprons, handkerchiefs and caps) were done separately from larger garments (like "petticoats"--i.e. skirts--gowns, and men's shirts).[57] Sorting also alerted the mistress to any clothing in need of

repair. Ann Warder considered sorting an important responsibility; she refused to delegate the task to her servants.[58] On Tuesday, the extra washerwoman arrived and washing began. The laundry process required bulky equipment and a great deal of space. The tubs, buckets, drying racks, and ironing boards crowded small urban kitchens (see Illustration 4). In addition, doing the laundry meant using large quantities of water, some of which was bound to spill. Areas best suited to the washing duties were the cellar (often with its own hearth), the backyard (in good weather), or a room next to the kitchen.[59] Those who lived in smaller houses probably did their washing in the kitchen. To facilitate the washday activity, Eliza Leslie recommended that mistresses simplify their servants' kitchen work by ordering a basic boiled dinner. She also suggested that baking or coffee roasting be postponed in order to prevent infusing the clothes with cooking aromas.[60] The bulk of the laundry, whites, went through a series of washings and rinsings. Woman submerged the clothes in first one and then a second tub of hot water and rubbed them with soap.[61] Then the maids put the smaller items in a third tub and poured scalding water over them; larger towels or tablecloths went into kettle of water mixed with lye and boiled for half an hour. Someone stirred the clothes constantly with a long wooden paddle to prevent them from burning. After the scalding/boiling, maids rinsed the white clothes twice in cold water and a third time in cold

water tinged with blue (indigo) to whiten them. Colored clothes went through the same washing procedure except for the boiling with lye and the blued rinse.

After washing, some of the wet clothes were starched, and all were then dried. Caps, handkerchiefs and aprons were stiffened with vegetable starch in preparation for ironing.[62] Women made their own starch by soaking unground wheat in water for several days until the chaff dissolved and the kernels became a gelatinous paste which was dried and stored for later use. This "clear starch" set white muslin, lawn, linen, and colored cotton. Dark, heavy fabrics, like mourning chintz or calico, needed a stiffer starch made from coffee.[63] Two or three tablespoons of starch, redissolved and added to a pint of boiling water, served to treat several caps or a few handkerchiefs. Someone strained the boiled starch into a broad earthenware pan, passed the freshly washed item through the starch, and clapped it between her palms a small section at a time. Finally, she pulled the starch-infused item straight and laid it to dry. An easy, though impractical (at least in the city), way of dying clothes involved spreading them over bushes or on the grass.[64] Clothes lines, made of horsehair or twisted sea grass and strung between tall wooden posts, were more space efficient in small backyards. Philadelphia's most common drying method used the roofs of back buildings upon which racks were built.[65] Adverse weather daunted mistresses with clothes to dry: "at the beginning of

the week was a large wash which was all in water because there had not been a good day to dry them."[66] Just as unsatisfactory, drying the clothes inside cluttered the kitchen, adding to the tedium of washday.[67] The inconvenience of washing and drying clothes prompted some Philadelphians to send all their laundry to a washerwoman. For a fee these women picked up, washed, dried and returned the clothes (ready to iron) to their owners.[68]

Pressing was the final step in the laundry process. "Mangling" smoothed out wrinkles in large or simply constructed items.[69] A maid wrapped damp or damp-dry pieces around a wooden rollers, placed the roller on a clean flat surface, and then moved it back and forth under a heavy board.[70] Late in the eighteenth century, the English invented a box mangle for pressing many large items simultaneously.[71] Maids folded small pieces of damp clothing inside table cloths and sheets before winding them around one or two wooden rollers. They placed the rollers across the bed of the mangle and, using a gear or strap, moved a heavy wooden box filled with stones over the rolled items. Large households found the box mangle very useful in reducing the amount of time devoted to pressing.[72] Instead of (or in addition to) mangling, ironing finished the clothes. A large table, covered with a clean blanket and sheet and facing the light, provided the ironing surface (see Illustration 5). Each person ironing had at least a pair of flat, or sad, irons. They propped the irons

face up on trivets before the fire or hung them on hooks in front of a coal grate.[73] After pressing each item the ironer draped it over a nearby clothes horse or folded it neatly.

Although women performed most of the domestic work in Philadelphia, male servants frequently played an important role in daily household activities. As coachmen, they waited on call to transport family members and deliver messages.[74] Such duties required responsibility and skill. Elizabeth Drinker recounted a newspaper story in which a child died after a fall from a carriage. Drinker, the mother of five, blamed the coachman for the child's death.[75] The coachman also cared for his employers' livestock. Every evening George Washington's stable hands slathered the President's horses with whitening paste and swathed them in rags; every morning the men combed and brushed the animals, blackened their hooves, and cleaned their teeth. At times the coachman also tended the yard, keeping it tidy.[76]

In addition to driving skill and personal responsibility, the driver often represented his employer in public. When members of the Drinker family were unable to attend a friend's funeral, they sent their coachman Peter Woodward instead.[77] And, since a driver's frequent travel exposed him (and by association his employer) to public scrutiny, his appearance also proved important. George Washington's coachman John, a German indenturee, presented a strapping, jaunty figure said to resemble Frederick of Prussia.[78] Occasionally wealthy

Philadelphians displayed their coachmen and assistants in distinctive liveries. The uniforms included a coat or jacket, waistcoat, breeches, hat, gloves, and boots.[79]

Aside from his role as coachman, a male servant often worked inside the house. These house duties, like the driver's, had a high degree of visibility. As a footman the servant attended the family during meals, answered the door, and escorted guests (see Illustration 6).[80] In these activities, demeanor rivaled efficiency in importance:

> In many families, the footman is, very properly, not allowed to deliver any small thing, not even a card or letter except on a waiter; and this custom, independent of its cleanliness, begets respect, and displays a propriety of conduct...[81]

A footman's physical presence reflected the quality of his surroundings. Cleaning the household's valuable furnishings and presenting them appropriately comprised one of the waiter's major tasks. China, silver, and glass ornamented the house and impressed visitors; therefore their pristine appearance required fastidious care. The footman carefully polished silver, cleaned flatware, and rinsed glasses.[82] During the latter decades of the eighteenth century, the dining table and sideboard arrangements became quite complex.[83] Employers required their waiters to familiarize themselves with the special forms of plates, glasses, and silverware used by polite society. As instructed, servants organized the table to display its best advantage.

> The best method to have [tumblers] at an equal distance from the edge of the table is, to take a steel fork, hold the prongs in your right hand, allowing about three inches of the handle and prong to be extended from your fore finger and thumb, then press your fore finger against the edge of the table letting the handle of the fork go in on the table; then draw your tumbler so as to touch the handle of the fork; and so on to each tumbler.[84]

Lest they lack such careful service as this, the Warders took their own waiter with them to assist during dinner parties.[85] Male servants such as the Warder's performed largely public duties. Though their work was often less essential to their employers' physical comfort than that of their female coworkers, they assumed some of the repetitive, time-consuming tasks in the household.

By performing necessary household tasks, servants relieved their employers of the drudgery of much time consuming work. The heavy labor of lifting wet clothes, hauling firewood, and lugging full cooking pots generated considerable fatigue.[86] And, along with its physical rigor, some housework had an inferior character, that made it unappealing. London ladies, reported Ann Warder (newly arrived in Philadelphia from England), always left the tedium of ironing to their servants. Although Warder felt the urge to assist in this work, her Philadelphia family would not permit it. Warder revealed that it was "not allowed" a person of her social standing to engage in such subordinate activity.[87]

Housework's strenuous and, at times demeaning, nature led some women to assign all of it to their servants. When Sarah Logan Fisher's maid gave her notice, the mistress plunged into a flurry of unaccustomed activity: "at work very industriously all Day, making a check apron among other matters to do my work in, as I expect when Becky goes to be obliged to do many matters about House that I have not been used to.[88] Seemingly idle women like Mrs. Fisher were the subject of Frances Trollope's caricature "the day of a Philadelphia lady of the first class":

> She rises, and her first hour is spent in the scrupulously nice arrangement of her dress; she descends to her parlour neat, stiff, and silent; her breakfast is brought in by her free black footman...and then perhaps she washes the cups and saucers. Her carriage is ordered at eleven; till that hour she is employed in the pastry-room, her snow-white apron protecting her mouse-coloured silk. Twenty minutes before her carriage should appear, she retires to her chamber... shakes and folds up her still snow-white apron...walks downstairs...steps into [the carriage] and gives the word "Drive to the Dorcas Society"...[upon returning home at three, she] puts on her scalloped black silk apron, walks into the kitchen to see that all is right, then into the parlour, where having cast a careful glance over the table prepared for dinner, she sits down, [needle] work in hand, to await her spouse...[After dinner] the lady receives at tea a young missionary and three members of the Dorcas Society.-And so ends her day.[89]

Mrs. Trollope's unflattering portrait came close to one Philadelphian's description of her own day: "I have not done much, a little clear starching in the morning, a nap, and the

company of my dear Albanus to tea is the sum of what has passed."[90]

The complete lack of participation or interest in domestic employments by women who had servants could bring discomfort to their families. In general, girls learned by observing their mothers or female relatives at work.[91] Without an informed example of housewifery to follow, a young woman began her own household with a considerable handicap. Elizabeth Drinker reported that her daughter lacked proper preparation in childcare: "Molly up stairs, her Nurse was called away [expectedly]...the poor thing knows little how to manage a child never having lived where one was born or tended since she was 7 years old..."[92] Though Molly's mother had borne eight children and her two elder sisters had six children between them at the time of their sibling's laying-in, none of them provided Molly with the firsthand knowledge she needed in order to tend her own baby. In Molly Drinker Rhoads' case, her hired nurse provided the sole source of information. The nurse's value as a servant lay, not only in her performance of mundane tasks, but in her perpetuation of domestic skill.

Despite the fictional and actual domestic failings of some women, the idle mistress was a rarity in Philadelphia. Most women, including those with servants, performed some type of house work on a daily basis. Domestic life was the realm of all women, regardless of their economic status. Though not

yet the mistress of her own household, Nancy Shippen outlined for herself an exacting day which included two hours of "domestic management."[93] Housework, no matter how unpleasant, defined a woman's duty to her parents, spouse, and children. "If I had Not my Father and the children," admitted Elizabeth Graeme, "I hate Housekeep so much that I never would encumber myself with it in any degree..."[94] Some women endured domestic toil in order to enjoy its aesthetic results: "I am involved in much housewifely busine ;, but the pleasure of being clean carries me through the fatigue of cleaning with much cheerfulness."[95] And, no woman could afford to remove herself for too long from the process of work in her home. Servants required supervision by a knowledgeable mistress if the mistress expected them to perform the work to her satisfaction. In Domestic Duties; or, Instructions to Young Married Ladies, the younger of two women despairs over the servant situation in her new home. Because of her timidity and inexperience, her servants take advantage of her and neglect their duties. Her friend, an older and more knowledgeable housewife, encourages her to participate in the housework so that she may learn its procedures and keep an eye on her servants at the same time.[96]

The supervision of servants constituted a major responsiblilty for women. "The attentive eye of a Mistress, who indeed if she does her duty in the Family, has a weighty task," remarked Sarah Logan Fisher, "and where there is

several children and servants, it is a very important one, rightly to discharge those duties."[97] A woman mindful of her servants protected both them and her family from bad habits. Author Eliza Leslie emphasized that, by allowing servants to become derelict in their duties, mistresses created anxiety in their households; lazy servants were awkward and easily confused in front of guests. To avoid this embarrassing situation, Miss Leslie recommended that employers demand proper service from their employees at all times, even during family dinners.[98]

While supervising her servants' work habits, a mistress also oversaw their characters. As moral guardian, the mistress provided her servants with a behavioral example through her regular presence among them. Charity, fairness, industry, and an even temper in a mistress fostered productivity in her servants.[99] Above all else, instructed household manuals, a mistress should concern herself with the state of her servants' morals. The truly Christian mistress sought every opportunity to upgrade her servants' inner motivation. "Would you upon discovering deficiencies immediately part with a servant?" asked author Mrs. Parkes, "By no means, until you have tried to improve her."[100] The price a mistress paid for neglecting this advice was nothing short of allowing sloth, avarice and immorality to invade her home:

> Government in a family is like an electric rod to a house. Where it is wanting, a family is exposed to the attacks of every

> folly and vice that come within the sphere of its attraction.[101]

Like Sarah Logan Fisher, many Philadelphians took on the "weighty task" of directing their servants with much conviction. They felt a strong moral compunction to keep their employees from the pitfalls of idleness. Others had a practical concern for personally directing their servants and providing them with a good example: "the servants constantly lie in Bed if I do," Sighed Deborah Logan, "and consequently all the business of the family is late."[102] Not only a model of Christian propriety, the mistress provided her servants with the initiative to work.

Primarily, women supervised their servants by doing housework themselves. Those with one or two employees shared most of the household duties with their servants, in effect becoming a member of her own staff. Others, who kept larger staffs, delegated the housework according to the skill and responsibility involved in each task. Regardless of staff size, the mistress reserved some duties for herself alone. Marketing and inventorying, due to their financial nature, required the mistress' expertise. As another measure of her housewifely accomplishment, the mistress made her own pies, puddings, and jellies (especially those intended for entertaining).[103] On the other hand, although she knew the principles of roasting and boiling, the mistress seldom turned spits or stirred stewpots. These and other menial duties, principally cleaning, belonged to the servant(s). In par-

ticular washing, a caustic procedure for both the clothes and the laundress, was the duty of the household staff.[104] Women with servants seldom subjected their own hands to the harsh effects of the lye soap and boiling water used in washing clothes.

Although she assigned the heaviest tasks to her servants and kept the skilled ones for herself, the mistress shared work with her servants. Among shared jobs, needlework occupied much of the time. Women spent a large portion of each day making and mending garments and linens. "Plain sewing", the simple cutting and stitching of ordinary clothes (like underwear), and knitting were part of every young girl's childhood education. Servants helped with this work by marking linens with their mistress' initials and by sewing, often working with a seamstress or mantuamaker whom she hired to create fine garments.[105]

In addition to sewing, other multifaceted tasks occupied both the mistress and her servants. Though she refrained from washing clothes, the mistress usually contributed to the laundry work by clearstarching the delicate items. Ann Warder regarded this task as one requiring particular care; she did all of her family's starching herself.[106] The mistress occasionally joined her servants in their menial duties, particularly during periods of intense household activity, in order to facilitate the work. While their servants did the laundry, Sarah Logan Fisher helped in the kitchen and Ann

Warder made beds.[107] And most women helped with the massive cleaning that proceeded whitewashing: "we have been busy today cleaning Baufaits, [i.e.buffets], book cas[es] Desk Drawers etc.," noted Elizabeth Drinker.[108]

The amount of housework a woman with servants performed herself ultimately depended on personal inclination as well as the number of staff she could afford. Some women worked more than others; they spent more time supervising their servants than they did reading or visiting with friends. Others limited their involvement to the barest minimum of visiting the kitchen only occasionally. Regardless of the intensity with which she pursued her domestic duty, a woman had the responsibility to provide for her family's welfare. For most Philadelphia women, this duty required a multitude of skills and considerable time each day, with nondomestic interests squeezed in between tasks:

> Like a notable house wife I rise with the sun
> Then bustle about till the business is done,
> Consult with the Cook, and attend to the spiting
> Then quietly seat myself down to my knitting--
> Should a neighbor step in we talk of the weather
> Retail all the news and the scandal together,...
> The tea things removed our party dis-perses,
> And of course puts an end to my very fine verses...[109]

Household concerns were every woman's occupation, and her servants were the means of accomplishing it.

FOOTNOTES TO PART II

[1]Whitefield J. Bell, ed., Poor Richards Almanacks Published by Benjamin Franklin 2 vols. (Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1970), 2:375.

[2]Occupations listed in The New Trade Directory for Philadelphia, Anno 1800.... (Philadelphia: Way & Croft, 1799).

[3]On the lack of extensive vegetable gardens in Philadelphia see Carl Van Doren, ed., Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings (New York: Viking Press, 1945), p. 669: "Considering our well-furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine... into grass plots and gravel walks...." Benjamin Franklin to Polly Stevenson, Philadelphia, 6 May 1786. Fruit and nut trees, however, were popular with Philadelphians. See the Pennsylvania Gazette 7 March 1787 for John Leithen's advertisement offering fruit trees for sale (as well as "kitchen seeds," i.e. herbs). See also the Elizabeth Drinker Diaries 1758-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania with typescript at Independence National Historical Park (hereafter cited as Drinker Diaries): 23 January 1781-- nectarines, 30 August 1793-- grapevines, 10 April 1796-- figs, 20 May 1797-- apricots, 21 June 1800-- walnuts, 11 August 1800-- plums, 13 December 1800-- cherries, 4 April 1802-- peaches.

On the use of butchers see Elizabeth Willing Powel Pocket Almanacs 1799-1820, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Powel Almanacs): "Thursday the 27th of January 1806 the above Meat [98 pounds of Pork] sent to Gideon Cox's to be smoked, and brought home the 31st of March." Some wealthy Philadelphians had the livestock on their country estates butchered and the meat sent into the city. See Sarah Logan Fisher Diaries 1776-1795, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Fisher Diaries): 21 November 1780, January 1782, 22 November 1785, 29 December 1787, 27 November and 24-8 December 1788, 29 December 1790, and 29 December 1793.

Due to a shortage of kitchen space, most Philadelphia homes lacked bakeovens; Ann Warder had one built into her new house and her neighbors admired it enviously. See Ann Warder Journals 1786-1789, Historical Society of Pennsylvania with microfilm at Independence National Historical Park (hereafter cited as Warder Journals): 14 October 1788. Without the facilities for largescale cooking, many Philadelphians used commercial establishments to bake, roast, and broil prepared foods. In 1799, a loaf of bread cost one penny to bake. See Billy G. Smith, "Down These Mean Streets: the Lives of Laboring People in late 18th Century Philadelphia," Paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, 14 December 1984, p. 47. The perils of toting food back and forth to the bakers are apparent in Charles Willson Peale's 1787 engraving, "The Accident in Lombard-Street," which has this legend at the bottom: "The Pye from Bake-House she had brought/ But let it fall for want of thought/ And laughing sweeps colled around/ The pye that's scatter'd on the ground."

The scarcity of residential bakeovens may also have stemmed from the reluctance to build a potential fire hazard into private homes. Pennsylvania law required all professional bakers to build their ovens of brick or stone arched in brick and isolated from any timbers. See "Acts of Assembly, Number IV (1730-1)" in Ordinances of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Lowber, 1878), p. 16. For insurance

policies on homes containing bake ovens "built according to Law" see Anthony N.B. Garvan, The Mutual Assurance Company Papers, vol. 1, The Architectural Surveys 1784-1794 (Philadelphia: the Mutual Assurance Company, 1976), policies 158, 171, 215, 383. Only 4 percent of the two-hundred and twenty houses insured had bakeovens. See Ibid and also policies 106, 161, 249, 275, 371. For other examples of bakehouse bread see Powel Almanacs 31 December 1811: "Bretz for Bread $75.43." The 1807 City Directory for Philadelphia lists "Jacob Bretz, baker" in Shepherd's Court, two blocks northeast of Mrs. Powel's residence on Chestnut Street. In 1811 Bretz was listed as a "merchant," though he lived at the same address.

Among other conveniences for Philadelphians was the sale of milk by merchants on contract. Elizabeth Drinker paid approximately £1.3 each month for her family's milk. See Drinker Diaries back cover of volume for 1805.

[4]Ruth Schwartz Cowan, More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1983), p. 56.

[5]See Warder Journals 29 June 1787: "Industry only can save the Country it is therefore pleasing to see it we met with several in the country [around Philadelphia] who never had a Coat or some other things but what was spun at home...." See also Frederick B. Tolles, George Logan of Philadelphia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 52-3: "Aside from caring for the baby, [Deborah Logan] wrote to a friend, there was always 'homespun work to do... linseys and clothes to make....'" In accordance with her husband's consuming interest in American manufactures, Deborah Logan spun and had locally woven all the fabric for his clothing. She, however, wore clothes make of imported fabric, as did most Philadelphians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. See also Drinker Diaries 24 February 1803.

[6]Ibid, 29 December 1795.

[7]For inquiries by friends of Elizabeth Drinker about her servants see Ibid, 31 July 1794 and 6 May 1805; for those of Sarah Logan Fisher see Fisher Diaries 30 June 1777 and 31 December 1785. For the exchange of servants between family members see Drinker Diaries 27 May 1799 and Fisher Diaries 13 June 1785, 27 February 1793 and 7 March 1795.

[8]George Washington to Clement Biddle, Mount Vernon, 17 August 1785 in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of George Washington 37 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), 28:222.

[9]Mrs. [Lydia Marie] Child, The American Furgal Housewife, 16th ed. (Boston: Carter, Hendee, & Co., 1835), p. 16.

[10]Drinker Diaries 10 April and 31 July 1802.

[11]Ibid, 17, 19 and 20 July 1802.

[12]Mrs. William Parkes, Domestic Duties; or Instructions to Young Married Ladies...., 1st American ed. adapted from the 3rd London ed., (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1828), p. 127. See also George Washington to James Germain, Philadelphia, 1 June 1794 in Fitzpatrick, 33:390-1.

[13]George Washington to Samuel Fraunces, Mount Vernon, 7 September 1785 in Ibid, 28:257.

[14]Stephen Decatur Jr., ed., Private Affairs of George Washington from the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1933; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 51.

[15]Powel Almanacs 19 May 1806, 12 December 1808 and 25 April 1817.

[16]George Washington to James Germain, Philadelphia, 1 June 1794 in Fitzpatrick, 33:390. How Washington perceived his servants' activities in Philadelphia may have stemmed from his experience as a slaveholder in Virginia. In analyzing southern plantation slaves and their behavior, historian Gerald W. Mullin interpreted vandalism and petty theft as forms of rebellion by slaves against their white masters. See Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in 18th Century Virginia (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 60-2. Washington may have encountered such behavior in the slaves at Mount Vernon, and come to expect it from all servants, free and slave. Whether Washington's Philadelphia servants engaged in extensive vandalism and whether they expressed their independence while doing so is unknown. Clearly, however, Washington thought his servants needed discipline, one of the reasons for which her hired a steward.

[17]The President's servant problem preceeded his move to Philadelphia. While living in New York City, he approved the following cautionary message to local businesses:

> Whereas, all servants and others appointed to procure provisions or supplies for the household of the President of the United States, will be furnished with moneys for these purposes. Notice is therefore given, that no accounts, for the payment of which the public might be considered responsible, are to be opened with any of them....

Decatur, p. 22

[18]George Washington to Tobias Lear, Mount Vernon, 15 June 1791 in Fitzpatrick, 31:297.

[19]Ibid, 5 September 1790 in Fitzpatrick, 31:112.

[20]Robert Roberts, The House Servant's Directory (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1827), p. 158. See also Miss [Eliza] Leslie, The House Book or, a Manual of Domestic Economy (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1840), p. 337; Drinker Diaries 30 October 1798.

In general, women served as cooks. Those Philadelphians with European tastes, like William and Ann Bingham, or visitors from other regions of the country, like Virginian President Washington, occasionally employed men as cooks.

[21]See Drinker Diaries 24 February 1800: "Mary Courtney [wife of the farm's tenant] came this afternoon, she wishes we would take her daughter Nelly to be bound to us... she is about ye age I should wish one, Sally Dawson [aged seventeen] being now fitt for kitchen business [i.e. to

cook], we want a little one to fetch and carry any thing and go about house on triffling errands."

[22]Saran Logan Fisher sent her sixteen year old daughter Hannan to pastry making school. See Fisher Diaries 31 December 1793. Elizabeth Powel paid for a pastry cook to instruct Maria Roberts, possibly the daughter of Powel's housekeeper Amy Roberts. See Powel Almanacs 15 January and 13 April 1810. Hannan Fisher later used her knowledge to her family's advantage by preparing their "Queen cake." See Fisher Diaries 1 July 1794. Maria Roberts may have learned the skill at Mrs. Powel's expense in order to secure a good job elsewhere.

[23]Powel Almanacs: Winifred Calwell-- 6 November to 6 December 1809; Dorcas Clark-- 7 December 1809 to ?; Patty Adams-- 22 March to 8 July 1810. Williamson left Mrs. Powel for good after six years of intermittant service in order to marry. See Ibid, 27 March 1812. See also Drinker Diaries 2 July and 29 October 1804 for problems with cooks.

[24]Quoted in Harold Donaldson Eberlein, "190 High Street (Market Street below Sixth) The Home of Washington and Adams 1790-1800," in Historic Philadelphia vol. 43 of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (1953): 169.

[25]Roberts, p. 176.

[26]Parkes, pp. 128-9.

[27]Hannan Glasse, The Servant's Directory (London: W. Johnston, 1750), p. 64.

[28]For re-tinning worn cooking pots at the Washingtons' see Decatur, p. 298: "Nov. 6 1792 kitchen utensils tinned by Andw. Eisenhult $19.00."

[29]See Glasse, p. 65 and Parkes, p. 129.

[30]See Leslie, p. 223. Glasses and cutlery were often reserved for washing by the steward or footman.

[31]Warder Journals 22 November 1788.

[32]Kenneth and Anna M. Roberts, trans., Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947), p. 264.

[33]On the separation of home and workplace in the early nineteenth century with its effect on women and their work, see Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), chapters 1 and 2. On the association of social activity in the home with the need for cleanliness, see Carole Shammas, "The Female Social Structure of Philadelphia in 1775," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 107 (January 1983): 78.

[34]Deborah Norris Logan Diaries 1815-1839, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Logan Diaries), 1:188 cited in Tolles, p. 311 n. 17.

[35]Logan Diaries 18 March 1827.

[36]See Perrin du Lac, Voyage dans les deux Louisianes (Lyon, 1805) quoted in Charles H. Sherrill, ed., French Memoirs of 18th Century America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 147: "`The cleanliness of the [Philadelphia] house fronts adds to their beauty. Saturdays are regularly devoted to washing them down from top to bottom, and the doorsteps and side walls are sponged off as carefully as the interiors of the dwellings'." See also Avraham Yarmolinsky, Picturesque United States of America, 1811, 1812, 1813, A Memoir of Paul Svinin (New York, 1930), p. 17 quoted in Elizabeth Garrett, "The American home, Part VI: The quest for comfort: housekeeping practices and living arrangements the year `round," Antiques 128 (December 1985): 1211-- "`There is no city in the world where the inner and outer cleanliness of houses and streets is kept up to such an extent... particularly on Saturday afternoons when not only the windows, the outer walls of the houses, the porches, but the very sidewalks are scrubbed with soap'." Eliza Leslie reported that, in 1840, Philadelphians washed their marble doorsteps daily with soap and water. Leslie, p. 199.

[37]For quote see Logan Diaries May 1817. Annual whitewashing at the Fishers' usually took place in late April or early May. See Fisher Diaries 30 May 1777, 22-4 May 1783, 12 May 1784, 31 April to 9 May 1786, 24 April to 5 May 1787, 3 May and 2 June 1788, 22 May 1790, 30 April 1792. At the Drinkers', whitewashing occurred in May or June. See Drinker Diaries 23 May 1796, 27 May to 1 June 1797, 23 May 1798, 6-8 May 1799, 14-15 May 1800, 11-12 and 19 June 1802, 10-13 June 1803, 9 and 23-9 May 1804, 24 May 1805.

The date of whitewashing depended upon the spring weather. Dampness was to be avoided for the sake of the occupants' comfort. One year, Elizabeth Drinker reported that her daughter Sally cleaned and whitewashed too early in the season because the house remained excessively damp. See Ibid, 30 March 1804.

Fall whitewashings were less common than those in spring, possibly due to the weather's unpredictability at that time of year. See Ibid, 2 October 1804; Fisher Diaries 8 October 1788 and 6 October 1789.

[38]Francis Hopkinson to a "friend", Philadelphia, June 1785 quoted in Samuel Hazard, Register of Pennsylvania 16 vols. (Philadelphia, 1829), 3:310-12.

[39]See Powel Almanacs 14-15 June 1819; see also Leslie, p. 184.

[40]See Fisher Diaries 10:66.

[41]See Ibid, 5 May 1787; Drinker Diaries 25 August 1794 and 26 July 1798; Leslie, p. 201. Mrs. Child gave this receipe for reddening:

> Bricks can be kept clean with redding stirred up in water, and put on with a brush. Pulverized clay mixed with redding, makes a pretty rose color. Some think it is less likely to come off if mixed with skim milk instead of water. But black lead is far handsomer than anything else for this purpose. It looks very well mixed with water, like redding; but it gives it a glossy appearance

> to boil the lead in soft soap, with a little water to keep it from burning. It should be put on with a brush, in the same manner as redding; it looks nice for a long time, when done in this way....

Child, pp. 18-19.

[42]See Drinker Diaries 23 May 1796, 27 May and 30 June 1797, 22 May 1798, 9 May 1799, 14-15 May 1800, 19 June 1802, 11 and 13 June 1803, 9 May 1804, 24 May 1805. See also "Washington's Household Account Book," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 31 (1907): 54 (10 June 1795), 321 (10 October 1796). On supplies needed for housecleaning and whitewashing see Ibid, p. 322 (24 October 1796):

> white paint 22/6
> red paint 15.
> rotten stone 8.
> sand 7/6
> whitewashing 32/6
> 2 brooms 4/.
> housecloths 4/.
> wax 8/.

Eliza Leslie included this receipe for whitewash in her book:

> ...put lumps of quick-lime in a bucket of sweet cream milk and stir until dissolved; add 1 pt. of common white varnish. Apply with a long-handled brush in 2-3 coats.

Leslie, p. 337.

[43]See Eberlein, p. 171; Garrett, p. 1221.

[44]Benjamin Franklin, Memoirs 2 vols. (M'Carty & Davis, 1837), 2:498-9 quoted in Edgar de N. Mayhew and Minor Myers Jr., A Documentary History of American Interiors from the Colonial Era to 1915 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), p. 57 n. 57. Leslie, p. 336.

[45]Logan Diaries 2 June 1827. Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker, eds., The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr 1754-1757 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 127.

[46] See Drinker Diaries 24 September 1804.

[47]On the rotation of the housecleaning around a family's schedule see Warder Journals 5 and 8 December 1788, Parkes, p. 140. On the maid's demeanor see Glasse, p. 23.

[48]See Glasse, pp. 23-8 and Parkes pp. 135-9.

[49]Warder Journals 2 March 1789. Certainly, in the eighteenth century as today, housecleaning could be overdone. Mrs. Child cautioned her readers not to sweep carpets too often for fear of damaging the pile. See Child, p. 11. And, the futility of housecleaning for an active family was not lost on Philadelphians. An Englishman in the city relayed the remarks of a visitor to a home in which the servant was polishing brass andirons: "`...to labor and toil about things which can answer no good purpose; certainly these white people must be fools'!" quoted in Robert

Sutcliffe, Travels in some Parts of North America in the Years 1804, 1805 and 1806 (London: C. Peacock, 1811), p. 64.

[50]Drinker Diaries 8 July 1803.

[51]Leslie, pp. 108-9. See Glasse, pp. 38-9 for the receipe and use of a bug bomb made with charcoal, brimstone and India pepper.

[52]Logan Diaries 25 May 1827.

[53]Warder Journals 17 November 1788.

[54]Ibid, 17 September 1788.

[55]For frequency of Philadelphia laundry activity see Drinker Diaries 14 and 27 August, 10 and 22 September, 6 and 21 October 1794; Fisher Diaries 2 and 25 January, 24 April, 22 May, 19 June, 3 July, 14 August, 4 and 29 December 1781; 3 and 23 January, 6 and 20 March, 17 April, 2 and 15 May, 24 July 1787 and 19 February, 4 and 18 March, 29 April, 16 September, 7, 14 and 28 October, 11 and 25 November 1788; Warder Journals 10 to 16 January, 9 to 13 February, and 5 to 10 March 1789.

[56]See Thomas Webster, Domestic Economy (New York, 1845), pp. 363-4; Leslie, p. 8; Warder Journals 18 September 1786.

[57]Warder Journals 6 November 1786, 6, 12 and 19 March 1787, 5 January 1789.

[58]Ibid, 2 September 1786.

[59]The daily wages paid to washerwomen in Philadelphia varied from $.50 to $.75 a day. See "Washington's Account Book," 31:190 (15 August 1796); Powel Almanacs 28 September 1807; Ann Eliza George Fisher Account Books 1809-1815, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 3 October 1811. Some Philadelphians performed their family laundering in a room attached to their kitchens (called the washhouse in insurance policies and estate inventories). The Drinkers had a "hydrant" in their washhouse. See Drinker Diaries 6 June 1807.

[60]Leslie, pp. 26, 229.

[61]"The quantity of soap used in a week's wash," noted Mrs. Parkes, "may be reckoned at the rate of half a pound per head (this includes household linen)." Parkes, p. 141. In the city, many people exchanged their wood ashes and kitchen grease for soap made by soap chandlers. See Child, p. 22.

[62]See Leslie, p. 50 for starch receipes.

[63]Like soap, starch was available in Philadelphia from manufacturers. The City Directory for 1800 lists six starchmakers.

[64]See Warder Journals 16 December 1788.

[65]On clotheslines see Ibid, 18 November 1788; Ann Eliza George

Fisher Account Book 29 November 1815 "a line to hang clothes on" and 1 July 1818 "irons for the clothes line;" "Washington's Account Book," 31:195 (31 October 1796) "for a clothes line... 6/;" Leslie, p. 9. Leaving clothes on the line after dark occasionally caused trouble. Deborah Logan reported that a family in Germantown had a dozen shirts and several linens stolen from their clothesline overnight. See Barbara Jones, "Deborah Logan," (Masters thesis, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1964), p. 52.

On drying racks see Historic Structures Report Part II on the Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House (Independence National Historical Park, July 1960), Chapter 3, Section 1, p. 5. See also Garvan, policies 224, 350, 446.

[66]Warder Journals 5 August 1786. See also Logan Diaries 12 September 1816; Drinker Diaries 9 November 1803: "The cloaths frose on the line to day."

[67]See Fisher Diaries 23 January 1787.

[68]For washerwomen's contracts see Miriam Gratz Account Book 1765-1770, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Etting Collection, 30 March and 22 June 1807. Gratz paid her washerwomen $23.67 to $25.00 quarterly each year.

On sending clothes out to be washed see Warder Journals 6 November 1786, 6, 12 and 19 March 1787. Items sent out for washing and returned home for ironing see Ibid, 28 April 1787.

Some families sent only large towels and linens out for washing and did the rest at home. See Ibid, 5 January 1789.

[69]Leslie, p. 13.

[70]Pamela Sambrook, Laundry Bygones (Aylesbury, England: Shire Publications, 1983), p. 13.

[71]Ann Warder, a Londoner, reported that her mangle greatly interested her Philadelphia neighbors: "Mangling a Curiosity many are anxious to see performed...." See Warder Journals 22 October 1788.

[72]When the Washingtons moved into 190 High Street, the President instructed his staff to use the mangle they found there: "Mrs. Morris has a mangle (I think they are called) for Ironing of Clothes, which, as it is fixed in the place where it is commonly used...." George Washington to Tobias Lear, Mount Vernon, 27 September 1790 in Fitzpatrick, 31:127. The fact that the mangle was "fixed" indicates that it was relatively heavy and probably of the box type. Elizabeth Powel also owned a mangle as listed in her estate inventory: "Northwest room 3rd storey/ mangle Bureau Easy chair mangle mats." Inventory of Elizabeth Powel, 1830, Will Book 9 page 422, Philadelphia Registry of Wills, City Hall.

[73]Leslie, pp. 12, 26.

[74]Matthew Carey observed that carriages were popular in post-Revolutionary Philadelphia: "The number of coaches, coachees, chairs, etc. lately set up by men in the middle rank of life is hardly credible." Matthew Carey, "A Short Account of the Malignant Fever... In Philadelphia...." (Philadelphia, 1793), p. 11. By law, the city of

Philadelphia required all carriage owners to pay a tax on their venicles. See James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1809 18 vols. (Harrisburg: Clarence & Busch, 1896-1911), 11:65. The resulting tax lists provide a base on which to estimate the number of households which might have employed coachmen. During the decade 1783 to 1794, an average of sixty-five carriage owners each year had venicles ("coaches," "chaises," and "chariots") that required drivers. Compiled from "City Tax on Carriages" lists 1783-1794, originals at Philadelphia City Archives, City Hall, microfilm at Independence National Historical Park.

The short list (five) of professional carriages for hire on the City Directory for 1800 suggests that Philadelphians (those who needed and could afford them) preferred private coachmen to hired ones.

For a coachmen carrying orders for dinner see Warder Journals 22 November 1788; on inquiring, via the coachman, about a family member's health see Drinker Diaries 24 January 1803.

[75]Drinker Diaries 14 March 1799. For carriage-related accidents attributed to the coachman see Drinker Diaries 18 April 1796; see also George Washington to Tobias Lear, Spurriers Virginia, 23 November 1790 in Fitzpatrick, 31:160.

[76]On Washington's horses see Decatur, p. 215. Keeping cows in the city was not unusual. See Fisher Diaries 4:45; Warder Journals 18 June 1786; Leslie, pp. 355, 359; and the Pennsylvania Gazette 26 June 1787 for Samuel Powel's runaway cow. On ducks and chickens see Drinker Diaries 1 August 1804.

On the coachman cleaning the yard see Drinker Diaries 7 April 1796. The Drinkers' coachman was not, however, used as a regular gardener. See Ibid, 7 May 1795. The Drinkers hired their gardeners. See Ibid, 15 April 1799, 16 July 1789, 16 August 1800, 26 July and 23 October 1803.

[77]Ibid, 7 September 1804.

[78]Decatur, p. 282.

[79]See Webster, pp. 350-1. Livery expenses were continual for Elizabeth Powel:

> Gloves for Servants...$5.00 [Powel Almanacs 20 December 1808]
> pd for Materials for small clothes [i.e. handkerchiefs, cravats] for Livery... 14.12 [16 May 1810]
> Livery Hatt for the Coach...3.25 [16 June 1810]
> Crape & Gloves for Coachman & Footman...3.25 [1 January 1812]
> Undress Coatee etc. for Robert [the driver]... 20.00 [30 September 1812]
> for making a Coatee & Pantels for Robert...6.00 [2 December 1812]
> Robert for a Livery Hatt...5.00 [30 December 1812]

[80]The number of servants needed to wait adequately on a family depended on personal preference. Elizabeth Drinker remarked that one manservant was not enough for herself, two daughters and three young

granddaughters. Drinker Diaries 10 August 1803. Polish visitor Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz noted that Philadelphia's prosperous citizens always had a servant to answer the front door. See J.E. Metchie Budka, ed., Under their Vine and Fig Tree (New Jersey: Grassmann Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), pp. 36-7.

[81]Parkes, p. 148,

[82]Eliza Leslie recommended that silver in daily use be polished once a week. Leslie, p. 201.

Leslie also suggested that a large mug half filled with hot water be placed on a side table before each meal to receive used silverware. When cleaning the table, the servant plunged the cutlery, blade first into the water to soak. Ibid, p. 213. Robert Roberts considered the footman's duty of cleaning the family cutlery to be his most important: "There is no branch of a servant's business that will gain more credit for him, from ladies of taste, than keeping his knives and forks in primo bono [order]; as they have many spectators." Roberts, p. 19.

Glasses were rinsed in a small tub of water and dried with a cloth immediately after use. Ibid, p. 34.

In Washington's Philadelphia home, these steward/footman's activities probably took place in the small room that adjoined the first floor "state dining room" and provided access to the building's kitchen ell. See George Washington to Tobias Lear, Philadelphia, 5 September 1790, in Fitzpatrick 31:110. Other Philadelphians who employed male house servants may have used the "closets" that often existed between the dining and the front or back parlors in their homes as spaces for cleaning fine tablewares. See George B. Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian: the City House of Samuel Powel and Some of its Eighteenth Century Neighbors (Middleton, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), figure 21.

[83]Household manuals enumerated the extent and variety of tablewares used in a proper household. For the table this included: cloth, napkins, dinner knives and forks, carving knife and fork, tumblers, wine glasses, dinner plates, spoons, gravy spoons, salts, salt spoons, sallads. On the sideboard were: champagne, hawk and ale glasses; cruet stand or casters, water decanters, hand waiters, silver coasters, and finger glasses. On the side table there were: dinner, pudding, cheese, and dessert plates; large and small knives and forks; spoons, sauce ladles, and dessert knives, forks and spoons. See Roberts, pp. 44-63. On the precise placement of meats and other dishes on the table see Ibid, pp. 120-1. Other special knowledge required of those who set the table might involve the placement of table ornaments (with figures, mirrors, and/or candlesticks) called plateaux. Washington required his footmen to wear gloves while handling his plateau. See "Washington's Account Book," 30:173 (29 March 1794).

[84]Roberts, p. 47.

[85]Warder Journals 2 August 1786.

[86]See "Journal of Miss Sally Wister," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 10 (1886): 59-- "FIFTH DAY, Night, June 18th [1777] Rose at half-past four this morning. Iron'd industriously till one o'clock, din'd, went up stairs, threw myself on the bed, and fell asleep...."

The dull, repetitive nature of housework discouraged even the

fastidious Deborah Logan: "I passed an [intellectually] idle kind of day in doing things which will want doing again tomorrow." Logan Diaries February 1817.

[87]Warder Journals 9 August 1786.

[88]Fisher Diaries 19 March 1779.

[89]Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, Donald Smalley ed., (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1974), pp. 281-2.

[90]Logan Diaries 29 May 1827. Logan spent much of her time reading and writing. She studied with historian John Fanning Watson, and she transcribed the correspondence of William Penn and his secretary James Logan (her husband's grandfather). These interests competed with Logan's role as housekeeper: "I got the paper and ruled it fantastically and began my head work in spite of the warning voice that told me I ought to work at the Curtains... who says so?— No, I had rather scribble. The curtains will not be done this week... I have turned Editor...." quoted in Terri L. Premo, "'Like a Being Who Does Not Belong:' the Old Age of Deborah Norris Logan," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 107 (January 1983): p. 101. For similar postponement of domestic duties in favor of "head work" see Drinker Diaries 1 January 1802.

Unfortunately, some women were simply too lazy to do their own housework. Philadelphian Thomas Cope reported visiting with a woman who, despite perfect mental and physical health, had never dressed herself much less performed any domestic duties. Eliza Cope Harrison, ed., Philadelphia Merchant: the Diary of Thomas P. Cope (1800-1851) (South Bend, IN: Gateway Editions, 1978), p. 26.

[91]See Samuel and Sarah Adams, The Complete Servant: being a Practical Guide.... (London: Knight and Lacy, 1825), p. 14: "were [young girls] on all occasions, when at home, under the immediate eye of their mother, to be taught the science of practical economy-- the business of examining and keeping accounts-- and a few other of the leading points in the management of a family, they would imperceptibly become competent...." However, a girl's education was not to be conducted at the expense of the servants. Rather than disrupting the kitchen, girls were to assist their mothers by caring for younger siblings and looking after their own clothes. Child, p. 92.

Predictably, young women often neglected their housekeeping tasks in favor of more exciting pursuits. "I have no help in the House except what is in our Kitchen," wrote Esther Burr, "...our young women are all Ladies and its beneath them to go out [and learn housework]." Karlsen and Crumpacker, p. 192. As a result, contemporaries noted that there was "a universal neglect of either mental or domestic knowledge" among young American women. See Henry B. Fearon, Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of 5,000 Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America 2nd edition (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1818), p. 377. See also Leslie, p.3.

[92]Drinker Diaries 6 November 1798. Molly's mother provided no example for her daughter. Prior to her latest grandchild's birth, Elizabeth Drinker noted that she had dressed her eldest granddaughter Eleanor, "the youngest [two weeks old] I ever performed that office for

before." Drinker Diaries 26 September 1795.

[93]Ethel Armes, Nancy Shippen: Her Journal Book (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1935), p. 220 [October 1784]. Hannah Fisher began instruction in "Family affairs" at age ten so that she would become "a good Housewife & and active Mistress of a Family...." Fisher Diaries 27 September 1788.

On the assignment of all women to general housework see Columbian Magazine 18 April 1787, "To the editor." See also Cott, p. 43 and Karlsen and Crumpacker, pp. 24-5.

[94]Simon Gratz, "Some Material for a Biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Fergusson, née Graeme," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 39 (1915): 387.

[95]Logan Diaries May 1817. Although she spent much of her time in non "housewifely" (i.e. intellectual) pursuits, Logan regularly cooked and spun thread. See Tolles, pp. 52-3. Regarding these domestic employments, Logan's sister-in-law affectionately characterized her as "the humble Dairymaid, the domestic housewife, the affectionate wife, [and] the tender mother...." Fisher Diaries 19:3].

[96]Parkes, pp. 107-8. For other cautions against overtrusting servants see Roberts, p. 147 and Thomas A. Gisborne, An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex (Philadelphia: James Humphreys, 1798), pp. 200-2.

[97]Fisher Diaries 9 April 1795.

[98]Leslie, p. 267. See also A Member of the Phila. Bar, The American Chesterfield... with Alterations and Additions suited to the Youth of the United States (Philadelphia: John Grigg, 1827), p. 227.

[99]See Parkes, pp. 51, 125-6. See also Roberts, p. 155: "...he who has preached integrity to those in the kitchen may be permitted to recommend liberality to those in the parlour; they are indeed the sources of each other...."

[100]Parkes, p. 146.

[101]L.H. Butterfield, Letters of Benjamin Rush 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1:465.

[102]Logan Diaries quoted in Jones, p. 51.

[103]On inventorying see Fisher Diaries 9 December 1788 and 1 December 1791.

On marketing see Ibid, 29 November and 3, 6, 9, 13, 20, 26 December 1788; 3, 7, 10, 17, 24, 27, 31 January; 3, 7, 11, 21, 25, 28 February; and 7, 10 March 1789. The public market along High Street in Philadelphia opened at four or five and closed at nine each Wednesday and Saturday morning. See Ordinances of Philadelphia 1702-1812, microfilm at INHP p. 149. Ann Warder usually marketed around 7:30 a.m. See Warder Journals 1 November 1788. She also remarked that the shopping in Philadelphia was more difficult and time consuming than that in London because the American market stalls were so disorganized. Ibid, 22 October 1788.

On making mincemeat pies see Drinker Diaries 18 January 1805 and Warder Journals 23 December 1788, 2, 3 ("my weekly batch of Pies"), 7 January and 6, 21 February 1789. Warder complained that the food preparations for a party were exceedingly tedious "from our [servant] Man being awkward & [the maid] Sally knowing little of the business." Ibid, 8 January 1789. On puddings made by the mistress see Fisher Diaries 11 November 1784, 28 February ("jumbles") and 7, 12 March 1785, 26 September 1789 ("pies with [daughter] Hannah"), 9 September 1792, 16, 27 and 30 July and 10 August 1793. On working butter see Logan Diaries quoted in Jones, p. 55. For sweetmeats see Armes, Nancy Shippen, p. 204.

[104]Clothes were soaked in lye (an alkaline made from steeping wood ashes in water) to remove dirt and grease. Soap (lye boiled with clarified fat and hardened into cakes by lime and salt) was nearly as harsh as straight lye. Although she avoided the regular clothes washing, a woman might clean a special or delicate gown herself in order to protect it from clumsy servants. See Warder Journals 19 December 1788.

[105]On making handkerchiefs, shirts, baby clothes see Drinker Diaries 9 October 1794, 26 September 1797 and 20 April, 12 and 23 May 1798. On shirts, baby clothes and underwear see Fisher Diaries 3:18, 46; 4:60; 5:18, 71; 7:32; 8:84; 10:18, 26, 64; 11:67; 17 May 1785; 25 May 1787 (chair covers); 17:52 ("engaged with my needle as usual"). On flannel underwear, bed quilts, and a tablecloth see Warder Journals 23 December 1788, 16 February and 9 March 1789. On assisting a mantuamaker see Warder Journals 14 November 1788. Mrs. Child cautioned against sending out sewing to a seamstress unsupervised by her employer. Child, p. 8.

On a girl's sewing education see Susan B. Swan, Plain & Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework, 1700-1850 (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1977), p. 24. Eleanor and Elizabeth Skyrin (Elizabeth Drinker's granddaughters), aged five and seven, hemmed handkerchiefs. See Drinker Diaries 30 July 1800. In later years they attended "sewing school," probably at the home of a neighbor, where they learned fancy and intricate stitches. See Ibid, 1 November 1804.

Sewing, in general, constituted an important skill for young women. Fifteen year old Sally Wister received extravagant praise from a visiting army officer who saw her finely-stitched sampler. He wished aloud that his sisters at home in Virginia had needlework skills comparable to Miss Wister's. See "Wister," 9:478 (2 June 1778). Benjamin Franklin, in looking for a wedding present for his young friend Jane Mecom, decided upon a symbolic domestic artifact: "I had almost determined on a tea table, but when I considered that the character of a good housewife was far preferable to that of being only a pretty gentlewoman, I concluded to send you a spinning wheel [italics original]." See Carl Van Doren, ed., The letters of Benjamin Franklin & Jane Mecom (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 35. Despite the opportunity sewing gave women to impress men, and each other, most of the work they did (especially after marriage) was utilitarian and seldom displayed. See Warder Journals 28 October 1788.

[106]Warder Journals 9 August, 2 November and 22 December 1786, 6 June 1787. Some time in 1788, Warder's sister taught the family maid, Sally, to clearstarch. See Ibid, 10 December 1788. After that time, Sally did the starching but under the supervision of Mrs. Warder. See Ibid, 10 January, 5 February, and 5 March 1789. Mrs. Warder, on one

occasion, thought her clearstarching so important that she chose to miss religious services in order to finish it. See Ibid, 2 November 1786.

[107]Fisher Diaries 22 November 1791 and 30 July 1793. Warder Journals 20 November and 6 December 1788, 5 January and 10 March 1789.

[108]Drinker Diaries 3 July 1797. Deboran Logan regularly helped with putting away breakfast dishes and cleaning closets. See Logan Diaries 18 August 1827.

[109]E.H. Wister to Betsy Wister, Philadelphia, 15 August 1808, American Philosophical Society, Bache Family Papers quoted in Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: the Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1980), p. 21.

PART III

"The family of our Kitchen:" Servants in the Urban Residence, including proposals for the Bishop White and Todd Houses of Independence National Historical Park

The nature of domestic labor made the servant a distinctly different member of the household. Servants' work was necessary, but it had no status compared to that of the master. And, although he depended upon his servants, the master submerged this dependence beneath the prevalent perceptions of servants as naive or willful incompetents in need of strict guidance. For these reasons, servants (perceived as social inferiors engaged in menial activities) held positions of unrecognized intimacy; the ideal servant was ubiquitous but invisible. Nevertheless, most masters expected periodic inconvenience from their servants. They preferred, however, not to be continually reminded of their servants' presence. To deny servants' existence in this way, while depending upon their labor, created a dichotomy in the household. Master and servant were cohabitants of a single house but residents of different spheres.

The definition of these spheres went beyond the nature of their inhabitants' social origin or occupational activity. Each sphere also had specific areas of the house assigned to it. Defined symbolically as "parlor" and "kitchen",[1] a family and their servants (respectively) spent most of their time in a specific area. The parlor(s) and bedchambers belonged to the family; the kitchen, washhouse, cellar, and garret were assigned to the servants. Although the two groups entered each other's appointed areas frequently during the day, their activities there were limited and their presence temporary.

During most work, rest, or leisure, individuals were confined to their appropriate household zones. Masters restricted their servants' work to the kitchen in order to facilitate domestic management and reduce housework's distractions. Ideally, having centralized the servants' activity in the kitchen, an employer need visit it only occasionally in order to direct the servants' progress.[2] In reality, servants often engaged in rowdy behavior while in the kitchen, neglected their work, and thus required frequent supervision.[3] And, because masters expected servants to work in other areas of the house, they found themselves continually confronted by this annoying behavior outside the kitchen as well. Ann Warder related an embarrassing incident in which her maid blundered into the room where the family was entertaining. One of the guests assumed that the maid was another guest or family relation and politely rose from his seat when she appeared. This social faux pas mortified Mrs. Warder; she felt that a maid deserved no acknowledgment from what amounted to her social superior.[4] Similarly, Elizabeth Drinker was appalled when neighbors witnessed her son driving his own cart and her husband answering the front door.[5] Drinker apparently considered these activities, although not particularly onerous, as demeaning and those who performed them lacking in skill, education, and status. The stereotypically bumbling, ignorant servant had another disturbing quality that employers sought to confine to the kitchen. Menial work and, by exten-

sion, the people who performed it were physically ungenteel. George Washington instructed his secretary in Philadelphia to restrict the movements of the family's slovenly washerwomen: "the dirty figures of Mrs. Lewis and her daughter will not be a pleasant sight in view (as the Kitchen always will be) of the principle entertaining rooms...."[6] The untidiness of servants prompted Eliza Leslie to advise her readers to check their servants' beds regularly for lice. Servants' personal contact with the family, cautioned Leslie, made them a likely agent in the spread of parasites.[7]

Keeping the servants in the kitchen not only controlled the negative aspects of their presence--dirt, noise, intrusion--, it also assured masters of finding their servants at a moment's notice. Although servants worked intermittently throughout the day at a variety of tasks, time in between jobs was always subject to their employer's demands. For this reason, servants ate their meals in the kitchen and slept in rooms (garrets, second floor kitchen chambers, stables) near it.[8] These secondary spaces, used for dining and sleeping, combined the social characterization of servants as inferiors with the menial, perpetual nature of their work. Together they reinforced the notion that the servants' sphere was separate from that of their employers.

This designation of rooms for servants' use accompanied developments in domestic architecture that emphasized the existence of distinct areas in the home. During the eighteenth century, service spaces became increasingly formalized as such. House builders contained servants in interconnecting hallways, piazzas, and backbuildings (ells) and isolated the family from servants' work with backstairs and doors between rooms.[9] These additions engendered further architectural developments by hindering interhousehold communication and thus prompting the creation of bell systems.[10] A series of brass bells mounted in the kitchen connected the servant and family areas of the house by means of a wire and pulley mechanism. The bell for each responded to the pull from a lever with a distinct tone. Hence the servant, if unable to see which bell was ringing, could discern from where the summons came. Intended as a connecting device, the bell system actually reinforced the distance between employer and servant. Its mechanical nature depersonalized contact and audibly represented the servants' subordinate status; the bells' jarring sound, indicated author Eliza Farrar, frequently interrupted the privacy of the servants' meal.[11] Clearly, the location of work areas in the house, as well as their structural and mechanical conduits, established an architectural identity for servants similar to that given to them socially as a separate, "kitchen" sphere.

Despite their clear identification with the kitchen, servants slept elsewhere in the house. These quarters, however, contributed no distinct quality to servants' identity other than that defined as work. The character of most servants' quarters was fairly anonymous. Garrets and kitchen chambers were less refined than those rooms used by the family. Having "plaistered" (whitewashed) or "unfinished" (not painted or papered) walls with little or no applied woodwork, these rooms often had low ceilings and small windows.[12] These were not chambers to which people retired for conversation, study, or private reflection. Rather, the nature of this environment suggested that people spent as little time as possible there. Accordingly, the contents of such rooms also reflected their occupants' ephemeral presence. A study of forty-three Philadelphia estate inventories (dated 1780 to 1835 and identified by their evaluators as garrets) reveals that 73 percent of these garrets were used as sleeping quarters (see Table 4).[13] Of these, a large majority contained some sort of bedstead, indicating that the occupants slept off the floor. In general, however, this allotment of bedsteads characterizes the sole attempt to make these garrets into living spaces. Only 18 percent of the garrets with bedsteads also contained other furniture in a way that suggests that the rooms were for private, personal use. Tables or stands, chairs, chests of drawers or bureaus, looking glasses, or a combination of these items were rare.

TABLE 4

Contents of Servants' Quarters, 1780-1835

Room Type	Number Room Type	Number with Beastead[1]	Number with Beastead and Other Furniture[2]	Number with Room Setting[3]
Garret	45	33 (73%)	21 (47%)	8 (18%)
Kitchen Chamber	23	21 (91%)	20 (87%)	7 (30%)

SOURCE: Philadelphia Estate Inventories (INHP microfilm small reels 19-32 and Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House, Independence National Historical Park, December 1961, Appendices A-X). See footnote 13 for explanation of methodology.

[1]Listed variously as: "bedstead;" "low-," "low post-," "stump-," "small-," "white-," "low painted-," "green painted-," "brown painted-," "high post-," "cot-," or "field bedstead;" "feather-," "chaff-," or "sea bed;" or "mattrass."

[2]Defined as chairs, tables, stands, etc.

[3]Defined as a combination (rather than a sole occurence) of bedstead, chair(s), table(s) or stand(s), bureau(s) or chest(s) of drawers, and looking glass(es).

Garrets contained mostly odd, broken, or old pieces of furniture, scraps of metal, bundled Venetian blinds, rolled carpets, chests, and trunks. The majority of these garrets, then, were used primarily as storage spaces. Only secondarily could they be considered areas of habitation, having the servant's bedstead and, possibly, a chest containing personal possessions.[14]

The multipurpose character of servants' garret quarters complemented the defined status of their work areas. The dual sleeping/storage nature of garrets reflected an older tradition of building in which all the rooms in a house served several functions simultaneously,[15] and the personal status of the people in them was not necessarily reflected by the architecture. This undifferentiated quality of garrets represented servants' intended anonymity in the house as a whole, as did their specific containment in the back of the kitchen, stable, etc. The interchangeability of work and rest activities in these areas reiterated servants' subordinate status. The constant state of readiness required by employers placed servants everywhere at all times. By contrast, the work-oriented and impersonal nature of their environment put servants nowhere at any time.

Their masters' strict social and spatial definition of them identified servants with the work they performed. However, no master could humanly expect his servants to spend all their time exclusive of any activity other than work.

And, in reality, housework's episodic nature consisted of alternating periods of labor and leisure.[16] Meal time, washday, and morning housecleaning occurred predictably at specific hours of the day or on certain days of the week. The remainder of a servant's time was subject to the vicissitudes of an employer's demands. Consequently, lulls occurred during the day (particularly in the late afternoon and evening), and during them servants had some opportunity for leisure.

Servants spent their off-time both in the kitchen and away from it. They went on walks and sleigh rides, played pitch penny, and read frivolous novels.[17] On solemn occasions they attended religious services, at other times they dressed up and went to the theatre, circus, parades, and public funerals.[18] The most popular form of leisure for servants was visiting friends employed in neighboring households. Then the kitchen became a parlor where servants entertained their guests.[19] The authors of household books told mistresses to limit these kitchen festivities if they intended to preserve order in their homes. Parties in the kitchen, they said, inconvenienced the family by preoccupying the staff.[20] In addition, kitchen gatherings occasioned the consumption of food and drink at the host's (i.e. employer's) expense. George Washington warned his new steward of the too frequent and excessive "entertainments" that the family's servants had previously conducted. The President cautioned the steward that, if he allowed his fellow servants such liberties with

their master's provisions, he would be committing an act as criminal as that of falsifying the household accounts.[21]

Servants' excess and abandon during their off-time occasionally want beyond appropriating refreshments from the master's pantry. Employers frequently complained of drunkenness among their servants.[22] Licentious behavior, too, was a problem. Henry Drinker Jr. had a coachman, Harry, with an unquenchable thirst for female companionship. The Drinkers hid Harry from his paramours more than once in order to prevent the women from charging him with bastardy.[23] Occasionally servants needed time to recover from their recreation. Elizabeth Drinker's maids ate too much green fruit one summer afternoon and they were sick all the next day because of it.[24] Masters considered this kind of immoderate leisure as evidence of the immaturity that they felt characterized servants' behavior in general.

However, the occasion to leave their work gave servants a personal identity apart from that as simply their masters' unsophisticated employees. With friends, servants performed none of the obeisance or drudgery that their employers expected of them while they worked. And away from work servants had, if not privacy, the opportunity to choose their own activities. Leisure provided an expression of individuality for some servants, an expression they guarded with determination. Despite scalding her hand while preparing supper one evening, the Drinkers' cook dressed up and went out

as she had previously planned.[25] Furthermore, in addition to directing their own leisure time, servants also changed their environment by introducing into it activities and people that had little to do with their work or their employers. Compelled to live in those areas of the house whose sole function was work, servants added to the "kitchen" sphere elements of their own creation and thereby made it their own. In this way, servants temporarily submerged the impersonal status given to them by their work beneath the individuality expressed in their leisure activities.

Just as their recreational activities augmented their limited status in the household, some servants' identity as the spouses, parents, siblings, and children of others further placed their concerns outside the confines of their masters' kitchens. Family added another dimension to servants' personal lives that existed beyond the control of employers. Sarah Logan Fisher's maid of ten years, Betty, was a widow with a young son and two older daughters. Periodically, she left her mistress for days at a time while she tended to her children's illnesses, marriages and childbearing. After a time, she married again and began travelling back and forth between her husband's and employer's households, a distance of over a mile, twice daily. Betty eventually left the Fishers' employ completely.[26] Mrs. Fisher considered Betty's family devotion as an inconvenience. Apparently, the mistress felt the maid owed her primary attentions to her employers, not to

her relations. Similarly, Elizabeth Drinker considered a servant's family concerns as employee disloyalty. She dismissed one of her maids when she found out that the woman was married, and she generally complained about those servants who "lived out" (i.e. went home at night, a common situation in Philadelphia).[27] Other aspects of a servant's family life also bedeviled employers. The proximity of servants' homes to those of their employers provided additional places for visiting as well as sources of potential visitors. Visiting family members monopolized servants' time and took them away from their duties. During prolonged contact, relatives exerted a bad influence on servants, so Elizabeth Drinker claimed.[28]

For employers, the principle problem with servants having their own families was that it divided their attentions. Ironically, this underscored the fact that servants were not considered members of their masters' families. However, although servants did not belong with their employers in the front of the house, they did belong in the places where their own families met. The existence of a home away from work, albeit an impoverished or unhappy one, suggested that servants had a life outside of work. It also implied that servitude was a temporary condition. A job began and ended at some point, but a family continued. Although many of those who went into servitude did so because their own families failed to support them (or failed to exist), many others had impor-

tant ties to relatives elsewhere in the city or the region. These ties gave servants' lives meaning beyond that defined by their performance of domestic work.

The apparent conflict between the identity imposed upon servants by their masters and that asserted by servants themselves produced complex responses in both groups. Consequently, the daily experience of living side by side involved the two in a network of interdependence-- of mutual affection, material gain, and/or emotional loss-- that defies simple definition. In 1836, Englishwoman Harriet Martineau characterized the American master-servant relationship as a business contract.[29] This clinical assessment ignored the situation's human elements, the personalities of its participants. Great depth of feeling, both positive and negative, existed between masters and servants. This precludes an abrupt dismissal of their experience as a one-dimensional exchange of wages or sustenance for labor.

Most masters complied with the social prescriptions for humane treatment of servants, and many went beyond fulfilling the minimum requirements of food, clothing, shelter, and health care. Some Philadelphians provided their young domestics with the basics of literacy. Sarah Logan Fisher devoted herself to the "necessary duty" of educating her younger servants.[30] Other masters also promised to give their child indenturees reading (usually in the Bible), writing, and "cyphering" skills. A study of one hundred and ninety-four

domestic servant indentures, recorded by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in the years 1790 to 1795, indicated that 40 percent of the children expected some schooling at their masters' expense.[31] A child's education frequently included occupational skills in addition to those of literacy. Young girls received the knowledge they needed to become good housewives. And depending upon his master's line of work, a boy might acquire from his employer a trade. Richard Rhoads told his new servant John Bayly that he would teach him the silversmith's trade if the boy became a good waiter and behaved himself.[32] A servant's education might also include lessons in behavior and social poise. Thomas Dawson indentured three of his young daughters to the Drinkers. While the girls were still in service, their father died and left a substantial property settlement, including two frame houses.[33] Apparently Dawson and his wife had indentured their daughters, not because they lacked the means to support them, but because they wanted a different lifestyle for them. Perhaps the Dawsons wished to expose their children to gracious living by placing them in the service of a prestigious Philadelphia family.

The responsibility that employers took for servants by providing them with an education suggests that people like Sarah Logan Fisher felt they owed their servants a better life. For some, this obligation continued to exist long after the servant had left employment. Masters often assisted their

former servants with family and financial problems. The Drinkers received requests from many of their one-time servants for money, jobs, shelter, medicine, and influence. Some of these people had worked in the Drinker household decades before their requests for aid. Sally Gardner Ackin lived as a teenager with the Drinkers for four yours until 1767. Thirty-two years later she approached her former employers for help when her son abandoned her.[34]

The benefactor-supplicant aspect of the relationship between some masters and their servants was accompanied by mutual feelings of concern. As often as people visited their former employers to ask for a favor, they went simply to catch up on family details. Many of the Drinkers' maids later returned to the house with their children for the family to see.[35] Employers, too, followed their servants' later lives with interest. Though they fell out over the latter's marriage, Sarah Logan Fisher and Betty kept in contact with one another until Betty's death.[36] Equally involved with their servants, the Drinkers often recommended their former coachman Benjamin Oliver, now owner of a hackney service, to their friends. Mr. Drinker had loaned Oliver the money to buy his first coach.[37] An employer's concern for an employee occasionally turned to indignation when a master saw his servant being mistreated by others. George Washington rushed to help one of his maids when he saw the girl's virtue threatened by an itinerant house painter. And Margaret Hill

Morris was shocked by the response of her former servant's new employer who neglected the man when he became ill.[38]

By involving themselves in each other's lives, some masters and servants regarded their cohabitants as friends and confidants. Although many masters professed their disapproval of servants' behavior, they also acknowledged their employees' capacity for good. Ann Warder complained that "Domestics are the greatest Trouble in housekeeping," but she appreciated a servant who tried. Similarly, Elizabeth Powel fired her footman Henry Anderson after two years' service but she credited him for his honesty, prudence, and skill.[39] Many masters, like Benjamin Franklin, recognized their servants' shortcomings but frequently looked the other way: "[Peter] has as few Faults as most of them, and I see with only one Eye and hear with only one Ear, so we rub on pretty comfortably..."[40]

The feelings between employer and employee often appeared as genuine affection. Children in particular grew accustomed to servants and considered them members of the family:

> Caty Deacon...went about nine oclock in the Burlington boat to visit her parents. [My six-year-old granddaughter] Mary Downing made more fuss than was expedient for the Absence of Caty, she cry'd and fretted, she knew not for what...[41]

And servants returned their masters' esteem. Amy Roberts, Elizabeth Powel's servant for nearly twenty years, shared her mistress' confidence. In response, she presented her employer on each New Year's Day with a small pocket almanac, lovingly

inscribed: "A tribute of affection from Amy Roberts to her friend Elizabeth Powel."[42] Attachments such as these bridged the social gulf between masters and servants. This, then, made a wide variety of characterizations possible in defining the master-servant relationship.

Various external and internal factors combined to define a person's life while a servant. To a great extent masters, even congenial ones, equated their servants simply with their job performance. The degree to which an employee accepted this characterization influenced the nature of his or her life. Unfortunately, some masters forced compliance from their servants by means of physical abuse.[43] Such debasement was not, however, the norm in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Philadelphia since most servants were not chattel. But a subtler form of degradation may well have taken place in the act of serving. Servitude clearly involved the ranking of individuals. The imposition of separate spheres, one inviolate and the other mundane, established the hierarchy within a particular household. Although they played, visited with, and confided in others, servants generally remained under their masters' control throughout their employment.

For some, such confinement proved unbearable. James Dunning, the Drinkers' Irish coachman, readily earned his employer's approval. However, the man experienced deep, inner conflict during his service. At one point Dunning went to Henry Drinker in tears and begged him to forgive the trivial

error of overfeeding the horses. Later, Dunning left the Drinkers only to be imprisoned for murdering a man. When Elizabeth Drinker heard of his plight, she promoted Dunning's innocence. She attributed his trouble, not to an evil nature,

> but rather [to] what may be called of a tender spirit-- he must have been, we think deranged at the time, having been so with us, at which time he appeared to have no ill will to any one but thought ill of himself...[44]

Perhaps Dunning suffered from true dementia; he may have been homesick for Ireland. Possibly he found the circumstances that sent him into servitude, as well as the conditions of that service (although seemingly benign), confusing. Apparently he considered himself to be a worthless person. His service provided no alternate identity, no escape from his desperation. The Drinkers recognized that Dunning's weak self esteem gained nothing from the experience of servitude. After repeated attempts to help Dunning, Mrs. Drinker realized that he could never be happy in service.[45]

Other individuals thrived despite the limits of service. Sally Dawson lived, first as an apprentice and then as a paid cook, with the Drinkers for ten years. During that time, she repeatedly incurred her mistress' displeasure with her stubborn independence.[46] In 1803, Dawson contracted yellow fever. After a few days, the Drinkers' physician conceded defeat and ordered Dawson to remove to the public hospital. Both the Drinkers and Dawson recognized that she could not expect to survive the disease. Undaunted, the maid "shifted

herself and was dressed rather smartly--[as she] stood at ye kitchen door while her bed and bedcloaths was put into the Carriage....[47] To the end (she died two days later) Sally Dawson regarded herself, not as a drudge but, as a spirited young woman. Her identity was self-made and her servitude was but a small part of it.

CASE STUDIES: THE BISHOP WHITE AND TODD HOUSES

Two of the early Philadelphia residences restored by the National Park Service were once owned by families who employed servants. In the Bishop White and Todd houses, Independence National Historical Park staff convey information to visitors regarding the lives of the former occupants through room displays and through verbal presentations. Although the staff have researched and reconstructed the servants' work center (i.e. the kitchen) in each house, no other areas in the houses reflect the physical presence of servants. Furthermore no guides or actors perform servant roles or demonstrate their tasks in the kitchens. In addition to this dearth of physical evidence, little written material containing details of the White and Todd servants' daily activities currently exists in a form readily accessible to Park staff. As a result of these artifactual and documentary ambiguities, visitors to the White and Todd Houses gain only a vague notion of the servants that shared these residences with their employers.

In one respect, this blurry picture of servants presented in the Park houses imparts an eighteenth century reality; employers indeed wished their servants to be neither closely seen nor clearly heard. This idyllic situation, however, seldom occurred. Therefore, even the unintentional perpetuation of it in the White and Todd Houses misrepresents the nature of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century

domestic life. A better understanding of these servants and of their importance to their respective households begins with attention to the circumstances of the White and Todd families.

Both families had the means and the need for servants. The Todds maintained a modest household on John's income from his well-respected law practice. After a year and a half of marriage, they began a family which consisted of two sons: John Payne, born in February 1792, and William Temple, born in August of 1793. The household may also have included Dolley's younger sister Anna, her brother John, and one of John Todd's law clerks Isaac Heston.[48] Even before the births of her sons and certainly after, Dolley Todd needed help in the kitchen and around the house. Like the Todds', the Whites' home occasioned housework. William White, the first Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania and head of Philadelphia's Christ Church, had a demanding schedule and a large family. When his wife Mary Harrison died in December 1797, the Bishop relied on first his daughter-in-law and then his eldest daughter to run the house and entertain guests.[49] The women directed the staff in specific duties of cooking, cleaning, and caring for the family livestock. Two members of this staff, Mrs. Boggs (a cook/housekeeper) and John (a black coachman) are known for 1793.[50] The names of the other White servants and those of the Todds' have, however, disappeared. Nevertheless, reasonable conjecture (based on an examination of family letters and of other contemporary sources) suggests several possibilities

for the nature of the White and Todd staffs and for representing them in the two houses.

The outlines of the Whites' staff are discernable in the public record. Federal census takers noted the race, sex and age (but not the name) of each occupant in the White household at the beginning of each decade. Through genealogical records, immediate family members were identified on the census by their age and sex. All remaining persons listed as occupants have been labeled servants, unless family records indicated the presence of a boarder in the house. After analysis, the census records clearly show the structure of the Whites' domestic staff and its stability over a period of four decades (see Appendix E): at any one time, the family employed two or three women and one man.

Further analysis, based on the census, also suggests a hierarchy among the Whites' servants. Age distinguished the women; the oldest, regardless of race, served as cook and the younger as maid(s). Those in their early teens acted as kitchen help; quite possibly these were indentured children (see the years 1800, 1810, and 1830). The sole male servant was a coachman/stablehand.[51] He may have occasionally served as a waiter. Less likely was he the Bishop's personal valet. Although White was an important public figure, his lifestyle created no need for a body servant.[52]

Certainly. the census provides information only on those servants who "lived in" with their employers. Others, like

washerwomen or temporary cleaning help, may have worked for the Whites on a day-to-day basis.[53] In view of the modestly proportioned staffs found among the substantial Philadelphia families studied, the Whites probably had no more than two occasional day servants, if any. The staff of four (as revealed on the census) seemed adequate for the family, even during the early years of young children or later when many people shared the house.[54]

The census reveals another characteristic of the Whites' household, the family's preference for black servants. The number of black servants equalled or surpassed that of whites in the Bishop's home. These blacks were free people; according to the census the Bishop owned no slaves. Possible these later census records show a change in the composition of the White family's staff. Prior to the first federal census in 1790, the city of Philadelphia assessed the Bishop's estate and taxed him for one adult male slave and a girl.[55] Black ("Negro") and mulatto slaves over the age of twelve were among the enumerated articles listed as taxable property under Pennsylvania law in the eighteenth century. No free person (regardless of race), however, cost his or her employer any tax.[56] Confusion over the status of the black(s) in the Bishop's household prior to 1790 arises when individual tax assessments for the 1780s are examined. In both 1783 and 1785, the Bishop paid £60 tax on a "Hired Negro" to the city of Philadelphia. However, the county tax for 1785 and the

city tax for 1786 record the assessment as simply "Negro...£45". No black appeared on the 1784 or post-1786 tax lists for the Bishop. A possible explanation for these seemingly contradictory listings, i.e. the phrase "Hired Negro" implying a black person working for wages (not a taxable--property--item) and "Negro" meaning slave, may be that White paid the tax on a slave that he hired from someone else.[57] If there was a slave working for the Whites prior to 1790, the changing racial composition of the household may reflect the attitudes of its head over time.

Very little survives to document the Bishop's personal opinion of slavery. He was not a member of Pennsylvania's Abolition Society. In 1817, he answered a friend's request for assistance in a black colonization venture with reserve.[58] In his letter, White emphasized that the Bible, while prohibiting inhumane treatment of slaves, contributed nothing to the argument for freeing them. The Bishop added that, although slavery hindered the development of American agriculture and industry, sudden emancipation was not the answer to the problem of slavery. That, he feared, would result in a southern slave rebellion similar to the one in Santo Domingo, Haiti that had occurred in 1794 with deadly results. In general, White wrote to his colleague, he was inclined to accept the will of the people ("'Salus Populi suprema lex'") on the issue of slavery. Since the great majority of Philadelphians had sold or freed their slaves following 1780's

gradual abolition law, White himself probably considered slave holding an unnecessary and undesirable activity. However, although he refrained from supporting abolition and colonization movements, the Bishop may have intentionally assisted blacks by hiring them as domestics.

This outline of the Whites' staff rests upon specific written evidence that places servants in the Bishop's home. For effective use as an interpretive tool, this information requires three-dimensional development; visitors must see the servants in the rooms as well as hear of them through the Park's interpreters. In order for servants to assume this role in the Park's interpretation of the Bishop White House proportionate to their importance in the household, several avenues of development are possible. This report presents detailed information on the quality and quantity of domestic work in the homes of the Bishop's contemporaries. Emphasis by Park staff on the appearance of the White home also provides several opportunities for the inclusion of servants in a discussion of the Bishop and his family life.

At present, visitors encounter the Whites' servants briefly when they enter the kitchen. Here interpreters mention servant activities. Evidence of these tasks may take the form of re-creations through the presentation of artifacts to visitors.[59] Furthermore, interpreters may use the physical structure of the entire house as a means of informing visitors about servants. During their tour, visitors progress through

the first floor of the house much as its servants did. They stop briefly at the entrances to the parlor and dining room and then walk through the piazza into the kitchen. Visitors may note that a single door, when closed, conceals the kitchen (and its occupants) from the rest of the house. Emphasis by the interpreter on this architectural feature sets the tone for further discussion of the servants' presence in the house. The interpreter may indicate that a small winding stair leads from the kitchen to the chambers above it. No doorway connects these second and third floor ell chambers with the main house as it does on the first floor. This simple but striking fact succinctly illustrates the dichotomy of servitude: one of necessity combined with anonymity.

In order for visitors to accurately perceive this duality in servants' lives, interpretation of the Whites' house must extend to the areas above the kitchen, the servants' quarters. Here the related themes of house work and its affect on servants' status have considerable opportunity for development. Although the Park has reconstructed these rooms, the problem of visitor accessibility to them has delayed their furnishing and opening to the public. However, limited specialty tours might effectively use this space. While climbing the ell's steep stairs, visitors experience the inconvenience that must have occurred for servants when they ran up or down to their rooms. Principle among these rooms was the cook's chamber. The approved furnishing plan for the

Bishop White House proposes a useful list of artifacts for this room that characterize it as practical yet comfortable (see Appendix F). Installation of these artifacts will establish the cook's presence in this room. Further thematic development of this area may also illustrate its use as a work space.

The closet in the cook's room provides ample space for storing the White family's collection of Chinese Export porcelain. Excavations in the White privy drain recovered fragments of porcelain painted in the Nanking and Canton patterns.[60] The Bishop's combined dinner and tea service consisted of about one hundred and twenty-five pieces, large enough to require storage space other than that provided by the dining room chimney breast closets and sideboard.[61] Possibly, the Whites kept most of their porcelain upstairs in the closet of the cook's room. The maid(s) brought it down whenever the occasion required, and they carried the dishes upstairs again after washing them.[62] Interpreters might discuss the Bishop's social entertaining schedule while pointing out the stacks of porcelain on the closet shelves.[63]

Along with quarters for the cook and storage for the family china, the ell's second floor may have provided additional work space for the servants. The small room adjacent to the main chamber and above the first floor privy offers an ideal place to perform the ironing and mangling of clothes. The Whites' maid(s) probably did the washing in the

cellar with its access to a hearth and a water pump. After drying the clothes, the servants possibly carried them up to the small room for finishing. This procedure kept the clothes out of the cook's way in the kitchen, and it protected them from cooking spills and aromas. In addition, an ironing/mangling room eliminated the need for moving and storing bulky equipment when it was not in use. The proposed contents of this room include:

east wall-
large pine table with single drawer
wooden mangle board and roller

north wall-
wooden clothes bin or large basket
several folded linen sheets, reproduction
2 men's linen shirts, reproduction

west wall-
single wall shelf
6 flat irons
ladder back side chair

The interpreter's remarks in this room might underscore the heavy labor required of domestics while ironing and performing other tasks.

After viewing the second floor, visitors might proceed to the other servant quarters, the maid(s) room in the kitchen garret. The appearance of this room reflects the subordinate status of its occupants compared to that of the cook. The garret's low ceiling, limited light and heat sources illustrate the room's relative unattractiveness as a private chamber. This room's furnishing should emphasize its

utilitarian function; sleeping quarters coexisted with long-term storage:

south wall-
one large box or crate
pile of broken Venetian blinds

east wall-
rolled entry hall carpets
2 small hair trunks

north wall-
single wall shelf

west wall-
2 painted low post bedsteads
2 mattresses, reproduction
2 bolster pillows, reproduction
2 light coverlets

The maid(s) worked most of the day in the kitchen, cellar, or cook's chamber and spent little time in their cramped and remote quarters.

A third example will not be restored for visitors but will serve to complete the interpretive identification of servants with their work as represented by the mundane character of their quarters. Around 1792 the Bishop built a two story, brick stable behind his house on the opposite side of Harmony Street.[64] Although the appearance of this structure is largely unknown, hence its omission from the Park's historic area, the descriptions of contemporary stables occasionally include references to quarters on the second floor.[65] The Bishop's coachman probably slept here. Like the maid's garret, the stable lacked most amenities. The room was probably roughly finished and simply furnished.[66] Because of the potential fire hazard they posed, neither a hearth nor

stove existed in the coachman's quarters. The coachman probably spent most of his time either tending the Bishop's livestock or helping the other servants, and occupied his quarters only at night.

Unlike the Whites', the Todds' servants are completely absent from the historic record. Therefore, the conclusions regarding their individual identity and that of their quarters have a broad scope. When John and Dolley moved to their house on Walnut Street in November of 1791, they may well have had a servant.[67] If they had, the servant was probably a maid hired to cook and clean. Later, she helped with the children.[68] She was certainly an adult; a child servant often gave a mistress more trouble than help, especially when no adult servant existed to supervise him or her. Too, with Anna Payne in her early teens, an older maid had the ability to direct the girl while Mrs. Todd worked elsewhere. Since the Todds enjoyed financial stability, but not great wealth, a young woman unencumbered by children of her own provided them with an affordable type of servant. Possibly, the Todds hired one of Philadelphia's many young women who went into service prior to marriage.

One potential source of such a servant lay with the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Both John and Dolley Todd came from Quaker families with strong anti-slavery commitments. Dolley's parents freed the slaves on their plantation when Virginia legalized manumission in 1783.[69]

John Todd Sr. joined the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and presided over its Electing Committee in 1788.[70] He also took part in the activities of the Society's Committee for Improving the Condition of Free Blacks. One of the Committee's goals was full employment for newly-manumitted blacks.[71] Perhaps the senior Todd arranged for a young black woman to attend his eldest son's family.

The Todds may have used day servants fitting the above description or borrowed those of their families, rather than employing a full-time domestic. While Dolley and her sister cooked and sewed for the family, a woman came in to clean or help. Other services existed in the city that answered the call for domestic help without necessitating the hiring of a live-in servant. The small size of the Todd kitchen probably prompted Dolley to send her family's laundry out to a washerwoman.[72] If they needed someone on a regular basis but the budget left little for a servant's wages, the Todds may have turned to John's younger brother James or Dolley's mother for their servants' help.[73]

If the Todds employed their own full-time maid, she would have lived in the chamber above the kitchen. A small staircase leads to this room from the kitchen and into the cellar. A single step down from the family bedchamber into that of the maid suggests the visitor's presence in a slightly less prestigious area of the house. The room's proposed contents in the Park furnishing plan also indicate a plainer atmosphere

here, but one no less comfortable than others in the house (see Appendix G). In contrast to those in the White home, this servant's room was strictly a private chamber and not an adjunct workspace. Dolley, Anna, and the maid performed the housework in the kitchen or the first floor parlor.

The Todds' maid probably spent more time with her employers than did the Whites' servants. As the sole domestic, close in age to both Dolley Todd and her sister Anna, the maid worked closely with her employers and may have shared their friendship. Possibly she shared their Quaker faith. Dolley may have taken the responsibility to educate her maid both in the basics of literacy and in the tenets of their faith. The Park might represent this potential aspect of the relationship between Dolley Todd and her maid by adding to the proposed furnishing plan for the maid's chamber a copy of Quaker theorist George Fox's letters. In addition, her maid's job performance concerned Mrs. Todd and perhaps she provided the young woman with instructive literature. The inclusion of A Present for a Servant-Maid by Elizabeth Haywood on the bedside table and several of Hogarth's prints in the series "The Good Apprentice" hung over the mantle suggest Mrs. Todd's efforts at building her maid's character.

Contrary to the established plan for the Todd House, this kitchen chamber is currently furnished as Anna's room. In light of the proposal to include a servant in the interpretation, three approaches to this room exist. First the room

may continue as Anna's chamber. In this case, interpreters would characterize the Todds' maid as a hired day laborer who assisted Dolley with the heavier housework. A more complex solution to the interpretation requires the removal of Anna's toys, desk, and chest of drawers from the room. Interpreters would then base their discussion in this room on the assumption that the Todds' maid lived with the family. The final solution proposes the adoption of the approved furnishing plan with the additions previously mentioned. This option also interprets the maid as a regular occupant of the house.

The second and third options for the Todd House kitchen chamber require assessment of the entire installation's efficacy and accuracy as a historic site. The introduction of a maid into the kitchen chamber necessarily displaces Anna Payne from it. This, in turn, alters the assignment of other bedchambers in the house. If the middle second floor chamber became Anna's room, no furnished master bedchamber would exist in the house. Furthermore, no plans for the development of the house's third floor (the probable location of Dolley and John Todd's and of Anna's rooms) is planned for the future. Therefore the first approach to the inclusion of a domestic in the Todd household, the day servant, appears to be the one most readily implemented under current Park conditions. This solution also contributes to the interpretive contrast between the resources of the modest Todd household and those of the more prosperous, populous Whites.

FOOTNOTES TO PART III

[1]For this distinction see Robert Roberts, The House Servant's Directory (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1827), p. 155; Elizabeth Drinker Diaries 1758-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania with typescript at Independence National Historical Park (hereafter cited as Drinker Diaries): 10 October 1803 and 27 January 1804; Sarah Logan Fisher Diaries 1776-1795, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Fisher Diaries): 30 September 1790.

[2]See Miss [Eliza] Leslie, The House Book or, a Manual of Domestic Economy (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1840), p. 227; H.E. Scudder, ed., Recollections of Samuel Breck with Passages from his Notebooks (1771-1862) (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877), p. 299; Elizabeth Willing Powel Pocket Almanacs 1799-1822, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as Powel Almanacs): 8 April 1799.

[3]Drinker Diaries 13 October 1798, 10 August and 8 September 1802.

[4]Ann Warder Journals 1786-1789, Historical Society of Pennsylvania with microfilm at Independence National Historical Park (hereafter cited as Warder Journals): 5 January 1789.

[5]Drinker Diaries 27 June 1803 and 4 November 1795.

[6]George Washington to Tobias Lear, Baltimore, 9 September 1790. in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of George Washington 37 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939), 37:571, see also Ibid, 7 November 1790, 31:149.

[7]Leslie, p. 107. See also Drinker Diaries 28 October, 22 November and 6 December 1794, 3 May 1795.

[8]On servants dining in the kitchen see Margaret Hill Morris to Robert Morris, Philadelphia, 12 October 1793 quoted in Letters of Richard Hill and his Children: or the history of a family as told by themselves. Collected & analyzed by John Jay Smith (Privately printed. 1854), p. 379. Elizabeth Drinker thought it unusual when anyone but the servants ate in the kitchen: "I eat my dinner in my Chamber, Sister being alone would not have the cloath laid, but din'd in ye kitchen I dont remember the like ever before hap'g." Drinker Diaries 10 November 1805.

On servants' sleeping quarters see: (1.) in their masters' bed chambers- Deborah Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, 6-13 October 1765 in Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin 24 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 12:296; Barbara Jones, "Deborah Logan," (Masters thesis, Winterthur Program in Early American Culture, 1964), p. 56. Elizabeth Drinker occasionally had a maid sleep in her room, usually when visiting the country. See Drinker Diaries 11 August 1794, 24 August and 13 September 1797. She also kept her maid with her when her husband was away. Ibid, 31 September 1798. French traveller

Moreau de St. Méry observed that the daughters of Philadelphia's small shopkeepers shared their beds with their families' maids. Kenneth & Anna M. Roberts, trans., Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947), p. 286. In this case, the sharing of family quarters with servants was probably due to a lack of space, rather than the specific need or wish to have servants nearby.

(2.) in back rooms- Drinker Diaries 6 October 1803 (kitchen chamber); George Washington to Tobias Lear, Baltimore, 5 September 1790 in Fitzpatrick 31:110 (back building); Jones, p. 36 (back building, garret). George Washington wrote that he preferred not to house his servants in the lofts above the stables: "for I am certain no orders given to my people w[oul]d restrain them from carrying lights if they were to be in it as lodgers." George Washington to Tobias Lear, Philadelphia, 27 October 1790 in Fitzpatrick, 31:137. As a fire precaution, the city of Wilmington, Delaware forbade the use of stables as tenements in the late eighteenth century (communication to author by Brooke Blades, NPS Regional Archaeologist, March 1985).

[9]On hallways and room doors see, Reed L. Engle, "Historic Structures Report- Stenton: 18th & Windrim Streets, Philadel. Penna.," (National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Penna., November 1982), p. 178; Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Winterthur Portfolio 17 (Summer/Autumn 1982), pp. 104-6. On backstairs see, Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House, a Social and Architectural History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 138. On piazzas see, Anthony N.B. Garvan, ed., The Mutual Assurance Company Papers vol. 1: the Architectural Surveys 1784-1794 (Philadelphia: Mutual Assurance Company, 1976), p. xv. On back buildings see, George B. Tatum, Philadelphia Georgian: the City House of Samuel Powel and Some of Its 18th Century Neighbors (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976), p. 60. Some larger Philadelphia homes further compartmentalized servants by providing them with their own "hall" for dining. See Powel Almanacs 19 June 1802, and George Washington to Tobias Lear, Philadelphia, 5 September 1790 in Fitzpatrick, 31:110.

By the 1840s, architectural handbooks offered designs to builders that specifically labeled the service areas of the house. See Blaine Edward McKinley, "'The Stranger in the Gates:' Employer Reactions Toward Domestic Servants in America 1825-1875," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1969), p. 237. For Philadlephia rowhouse plans with servants' quarters see, Samuel Sloan, City and Suburban Architecture: Containing Numerous Designs and Details for Public Edifices, Private Residences, and Mercantile Buildings (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1859), plates 8 and 91.

[10]House bells became popular in England during the 1760s and 1770s (see Girouard, p. 219), and they were quickly adopted by fashionable Philadelphians. Alexander Smith advertised his services as a bell hanger, lately from London to Philadelphians in the 19 September 1778 issue of the Royal Gazette. Quoted in Henry J. Kauffman, American Copper & Brass (Camden: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1968), pp. 177-8. The Boston Academy of Arts and Sciences related the stories of two Philadelphia homes in which bell systems conducted lightning into the houses and caused fires in 1781. Quoted in Historic Structures Report, Part II on Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House (Independence National Historical Park, July 1960), Chapter III, Section 1, pp. 7-9 and illus. no. 30. This report includes a diagram of the bell system in the home of Dr. Shippen, as well as a

precise explanation of the system's mechanism). Account book and diary entries for having bells repaired are included in "Washington's Household Account Book, 1793-1797," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 31 (1907):330 (12 December 1796) and 342 (27 December 1797), and Drinker Diaries 21 December 1798. The George Read House in New Castle, Delaware (built 1797-1804) has an extant system of ten bells, although the wires and pulleys were removed during the 1980-5 restoration of the house by the Historical Society of Delaware.

[11]Mrs. Eliza Farrar, The Young Lady's Friend (Boston: American Stationers' Co., 1837), p. 238.

[12]Insurance surveys for many of the individual employers studied in this report describe the appearance of garrets and kitchen chambers where their servants lived. See: Contributionship Survey Book 1 (1768-94) p. 140-- Thomas Fisher's house at 142 S. 2nd Street; Contributionship Survey Book 2 (1768-94 cont.) p. 43-- Henry Drinker's house at 110 N. Front Street; Contributionship Survey Book 3 (1794-1809) p. 86-- Jacob Downing's (the Drinkers' son-in-law) at 38 N. 4th Street; Contributionship Survey Book 5 (1824-37) p. 395-- John Warder's house at 12 N. 3rd Street; Mutual Assurance Surveys policy 3568-- Elizabeth Powel's country estate, Powelton. These surveys are on microfilm at INHP (Contributionship Survey Books 1-3, roll 6; Book 5, roll 8; Assurance Survey, roll 30).

[13]From one hundred and ninety-six inventories dated 1790 to 1795 (INHP microfilm, small reels 19-32) and twenty-four inventories dated 1775 to 1836 (Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House, Independence National Historical Park December 1961, Appendices A-X), forty-three separate estates with rooms labeled "Garret" or "Kitchen Chamber/Room over Kitchen" by their evaluators were chosen for this study. Thirty-six of these inventories had a garret chamber (eight of the thirty-six had two, and one had three). Seven inventories had a kitchen chamber (one of the seven had two). Fifteen inventories had both kitchen and garret chambers (one had three kitchen chambers, and one had two). A total of sixty-eight rooms were examined.

A few of these rooms were clearly servants' quarters since they contained "servant bed(s)," or were labeled as servants' rooms. The contents of these quarters, as well as those on Eliza Leslie's 1840 list of prescribed furnishings for a servant's room, are listed in Appendix D of this report.

[14]On servants' personal chests see: Drinker Diaries 23 May 1795 and 25 March 1805; "Memoir of John Ross, Merchant, of Philadelphia" Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 23 (1899): 83. The contents of a London maid s chest were enumerated in an English work, William Hone's Every-Day Book of 1820:

> clothes, two or three song books consisting of nineteen for the penny; sundry tragedies at a halfpenny the sheet; the Whole Nature of Dreams Laid Open, together with the Fortune Teller and the Account of the Ghost of Mrs. Veal; the Story of the Beautiful Zoa who was cast away on a desert island, Showing how etc.; some halfcrowns in a purse, including pieces of country money... a silver penny wrapped up in cotton by itself; a crooked six-pence... two little enamel boxes with looking-glass in the lids, one of them a fairing, the other `a trifle

from Margate'; and lastly various letters....
quoted in Ernest Sackville Turner, What the Butler Saw: Two Hundred and Fifty Years of the Servant Problem (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1962), pp. 101-2.

[15]See Ronald D. Clifton, "Forms and Patterns: Room Specialization in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania Family Dwellings 1725-1834," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1971), pp. 13-15, 31; see also Tatum, p. 55.

[16]The variable nature of domestic work resembled the labor of pre-industrial farmers and artisans; periods of intense activity followed by prolonged idleness characterized work in early Europe. This situation created traditional modes of work that were incompatible with the regular time and production requirements of later industrialism. Such opposing definitions of labor caused conflict between employers and their employees. See E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present (1967):79-80.

[17]For sleigh rides see Drinker Diaries 29 and 30 January 1798, 27 January 1804; Roberts, St. Méry, p. 298. On walks see Drinker Diaries 20 February 1802. For a game of pitch penny with a servant see Eliza Cope Harrison, ed., Philadelphia Merchant: the Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851 (South Bend, IN: Gateway Editions, 1978), p. 45. On novel reading see Drinker Diary 26 July 1797: "read the Contrast a small rediculous [sic] Novel. S. Kidds brother brings them to her, he lives, I believe at a book shop, 'tho I have read some of them myself, I have been talking to her against the practice...."

[18]On the theatre see Drinker Diaries 12 March 1803 and "Washington's Account Books" 29:405 (24 June 1793) and 30:32 (17 July 1793). On the circus see Drinker Diaries 14 November 1796. On servants attending Washington's funeral in Philadelphia see Ibid, 26 December 1799. On general outings by servants see Ibid, 20 September 1798, 9 October 1799, 15 and 22 May, 28 August and 22 September 1803. Elizabeth Drinker's daughter, Nancy Skyrin, fired her maid for staying out late repeatedly (Ibid, 17 July 1804). On servants dressing up to go out see Ibid, 3 January 1799 and Francois A.F. Liancourt, Duke de la Rochefoucault, Travels Through the United States of North America... in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1799),2:386.
On religious meetings for servants see those for blacks (Drinker Diaries 4 August and 4 October 1795, 2 August 1796, 7 February and 7 November 1797, 2 April and 8 May 1798, 6 January 1800, 8 October 1804, 7 May 1805), Presbyterians (Ibid, 7 August 1796), youths (Ibid, 1 September and 7 November 1797, 8 May 1798), and Methodists (Ibid, 5 and 19 August 1804). The Drinkers themselves were Quakers, but they apparently had no qualms about their servants' different denominations.

[19]For servants visiting one another see Ibid, 9 October 1799 and 22 September 1803. For a "kitchen party" see Ibid, 14 August 1803; for "tea" see Ibid, 14 June and 13 October 1799, 17 May 1803; for a "watermelon party" held by Sally Dawson see Ibid, 26 August 1800; and for parties for black servants see Ibid, 1 January and 14 February 1806. See Ibid 17 May 1798 for "black visitors as usual in the kitchen."

[20]See Leslie, p. 283 and Parkes, pp. 113-14.

[21]George Washington to James Germain, Philadelphia, 1 June 1794 in Fitzpatrick in 33:393.

[22]On drunkenness see Drinker Diaries 6 and 18 April 1796; Scudder, Breck, pp. 295 and 300.

[23]On Harry's activities see Ibid, 30 September 1802; 6, 21 and 26 April 1803; 22 March and 15 August 1804. For female servants with relaxed morals see Ibid, 19 December 1777 when the Drinkers' maid ran off with a British soldier, and Ibid, 8 August 1794 when the problem with Sally Brant's illegitimate pregnancy began. Brant apparently never learned her lesson. After the 2 December 1794 birth of her daughter, Brant returned to her employers' home only to resume her extra-curricular activities. On 23 February 1796 Mrs. Drinker fired John Bowing, the family coachman, for dallying with Brant.

[24]Ibid, 26 August 1802, see also 31 October 1800.

[25]Ibid, 28 August 1803.

[26]See Fisher Diaries 2:79-81; 5:16,21,34,58; 10:50; 11:70; 12:30; 29 June- 6 July 1783; 29 January, 17 April and 26 July 1783. On Betty's marriage see Ibid, 30 July and 20 December 1786.

[27]Drinker Diaries 18 November 1799. On hiring servants who were married and lived out see Ibid, 20 June and 9 August 1800, 5 July 1804. For women servants, marriage usually meant leaving a job within a short period of time. See Ibid, 27 March 1799, 14 July 1800 and 4 August 1804.

[28]Ibid, 19 May 1795, 11 June and 25 December 1804. For visiting by servants' families see Ibid, 27 August 1796; 6 March and 17 April 1797; 4 June 1798; 23 February and 12 July 1802.

[29]Harriet Martineau, Society in America quoted in Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans ed. Donald Smalley (1832, reprint ed. Gloucester MA: Peter Smith, 1974), p. 54, n. 2. See also Roberts, Directory, p. 156: "Avoid all approaches towards familiarity, which to a proverb is accompanied by contempt, and soon breaks the neck of obedience."

[30]Fisher Diaries 8 August 1785, see also 1 July 1777, 3 October 1794, 29 July 1795. For her adult servants, Mrs. Fisher offered to write letters when needed, see Ibid, 31 May 1783. See also education of the Drinkers' servants, at formal school (Drinker Diaries 31 October 1796; 15 January 1798; 9 June, 12 September and 9 October 1800) and at home (Ibid, 30 July 1800).

[31]According to the indenture papers, the children received a variety of skills:

9 percent learned to read
40 percent learned to read and to write
5 percent learned to read, write, and cypher (usually "to the rule of three", a system where given three numbers, the fourth

may be determined; useful for clerks, surveyors, etc.)
46 percent received "schooling" ranging from six months ("2/4") to three and a half years ("14/4").
See Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Committee of Guardians Minute Book v. 1 1790-6, pp. 123-60, Historical Society of Pennsylvania microfilm reel 6. Whether or not masters fulfilled these educational obligations to their servants is unknown.

[32]Ibid, p. 27.

[33]Drinker Diaries 10 May 1798. Apparently Mrs. Drinker also felt the Dawson home was not particularly genteel: "S Dawson went to her fathers-- were they what they should be, she might go oftener than she does [i.e. her mistress would allow her to visit there more often]...." 14 January 1798.

[34]Ibid, 28 October 1800.

[35]Ibid, 28 November 1798, 1 June 1802, 10 July, 4 September and 28 December 1804 (all Sally Brant); 18 November 1799, 18 October 1803 (Sarah Needham). For visits of an unspecified purpose see Ibid, 4 March 1795, 10 April 1797, 12 January 1799. 30 June 1802 (all by long removed employees) and 23 July 1796, 22 February 1797, 22 March 1798, 30 January 1799, 15 January 1800, 11 June 1800, 17 May 1803 (all by recently removed employees).

[36]On the Fishers' visit to Betty's deathbed see Fisher Diaries 27, 29 and 31 April, 1 May 1791.

[37]Drinker Diaries 3 January 1799, 31 August 1802.

[38]On Washington see Harold D. Eberlein, "190 High Street (Market Street below Sixth) The Home of Washington and Adams 1790-1800," in Historic Philadelphia vol. 43 of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1953: 172. For Morris see Letters of Richard Hill, p. 380.

[39]Warder Journals 30 November 1788. Powel Almanacs 25 March 1811.

[40]Benjamin Franklin to Deborah Franklin, London, 27 June 1760 quoted in Claude-Anne Lopez and Eugenia W. Herbert, The Private Franklin: the Man and his Family (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1975), p. 293.

[41]Drinker Diaries 4 November 1797. See Ibid, 13 September 1798 for children playing games with the family's young maids.

[42]Powel Almanacs 6 January 1819.

[43]It is possible that many domestic servants were occasionally cuffed, kicked, or pushed by their masters. For example, interpersonal violence was an accepted part of indentured servitude. Pennsylvania's earliest collection of laws, the Duke of York's Book of Laws (1676-1702), forbade masters to kill their indentured servants (page 38) but not to hit or otherwise punish them physically. That Philadelphians beat their servants is known. See Drinker Diaries 19 August 1778 for an incident recounted in which the Drinkers' neighbor, a baker, beat his servant boy in the yard. Some masters committed acts of grave cruelty. Members of

the Pennsylvania Abolition Society's Committee of Inspection investigated a complaint from a black woman of her master's abuse: "she is held by Inden., & is in a pitiable situation, through the inhumanity of her master, who during the severity of the winter, oblig'd her to go out at Nights, nearly destitute of Clothing, into his stable where she lay in a dog kennel; by this Means she has been depriv'd of all her Toes on both of her Feet...." Committee of Guardians Minute Book v. 2 1797-1803, p. 20, reel 6. For other abuse incidents see Ibid, pp. 51-2, 55, 64, 80, 119.

Other Philadelphians were more lenient with their servants. The Drinkers seldom punished their servants physically: "[Sally Dawson, aged twelve] had complain'd that [my son, aged twenty-eight] Billy struck her.- he told [me] it was very true, but it was a week ago, he gave her a blow, the only time he ever touch'd her, in his life that she deserv'd much more then he gave her- It was a new thing to Sall for him to strike her, she has never been beat since she liv'd with us, more than a light slap on her cheek...." Drinker Diaries 20 May 1795; see also Ibid, 12 June 1796.

[44]Drinker Diaries 11 January 1797; for Dunning's problems while at the Drinkers' see Ibid, 5-10 May 1795.

[45]Ibid, see also 4 November 1795.

[46]Ibid, 9 July 1796, 20 September 1798, 9 October 1799, 12 March and 15 May 1803.

[47]Ibid, 29 September 1803.

[48]On the presence of Dolley Todd's siblings in her home see Furnishing Plan for the Todd House (Independence National Historical Park, n.d.), Part D, Introduction, page 1. Heston became John Todd's clerk in the spring of 1793. See "[Jonathan Williams], Notes on Lawsuit JM and Dolley P. (Todd) Madison vs. Edward Heston," original in Indiana University Library, typescript in Independence National Historical Park History Card File.

[49]On his daughter-in-law Maria Heath White's domestic ability, the Bishop wrote, "[she] lived long enough to manifest the excellent properties of her mind, as a wife, as a mother, and in every domestic relation...." (obituary of Maria Heath White, 1814, quoted in William White, "Mary Key Heath", privately bound, April 1933, INHP catalog number 13454). On those of his daughter, the Bishop noted "the present Lady of my Family is my eldest daughter Mrs. [Elizabeth] Macpherson, who became a widow about six months ago...." (Bishop White to Bishop Thomas Claggett, Philadelphia, 28 April 1814. Original in the Maryland Historical Society, copy at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. My thanks to INHP Assistant Curator Anne Verplanck for bringing this letter to my attention.)

[50]Dr. Benjamin Rush wrote to his wife about being summoned to the Bishop's by Mrs. Boggs. Benjamin Rush to Julia Rush, Philadelphia, 3 September 1793 in L.H. Butterfield, Letters of Benjamin Rush 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 2:649. The patient was the Whites' coachman, John, who had contracted yellow fever. See Bishop White to Dr. Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia, 7 October 1793. Original at Library Company of Philadelphia, copy in INHP History Card File. John died of the

fever at the Whites'. See Bird Wilson, Memoir of the Life of the Right Reverend William White, D.D. (Philadelphia: James Kay, Jun. & Bro., 1839), p. 160.

[51]According to the county and city tax assessments, the Bishop owned a variety of livestock: two horses and one cow in 1783,4,5,6; 1792,3; 1800; two horses in 1794,6,9; 1801; one cow in 1789 and 1791. See Tax Assessments of Bishop William White, INHP History Card File.

[52]In his later years, the Bishop suffered a physical decline. During the last decade of his father's life, Thomas White shared a bedchamber with him in order to assist him at night. See Wilson, p. 265.

The Bishop was not on the same level of public scrutiny as President George Washington and later Vice President Thomas Jefferson, both of whom employed valets. White used no help, other than that of his family, for getting dressed, etc.

[53]Laundry, for example, required extra help. The Whites probably had their laundry done at home by the servants; the Bishop's preference for clean collars and cuffs was noted by his contemporaries. See Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House (Independence National Historical Park, December 1961), Part B, page 9, note 25.

[54]See Appendix E. The ratio of servants to family members in the White household at various times was:

1787	1:2
1790	1:2
1800	1:2
1803	1:1
1810	1:2
1820	1:1
1826	1:2
1830	1:3
1836	1:2

[55]See the Pennsylvania Supply Tax for 1783 (South Ward p.78), Philadelphia County Tax Assessment Ledgers for 1784 and 1785 (South Ward p. 5), Tax Assessment Register for 1785 and 1786 (South Ward p. 6 and South Ward p. 5 respectively). Originals at Philadelphia City Archives, typescript in INHP History Card File.

[56]"That the Following enumerated articles shall be, and are hearby made taxable and no other, to wit: The time of servitude of all bound [i.e. indentured] servants above the age of fourteen years; all negro and mulatto slaves above the age of twelve years; [also livestock, silver plate, carriages, land, buildings, mills, forges and factories, merchandise, and occupations]...." "An Act to Raise Effective Supplies for the year [1782]" in The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1809 18 vols. (Harrisburg: Clarence & Busch, 1896-1911) 10:389. The conditions of this law were extended in 1783 and 1785, see Ibid, 11:84 and 12:192.

[57]Evidence of a similar situation occurs in the Cadwalader Papers:

> to hire of a Negro man, Jim, for 1 year at £10 with good strong & substantial clothing, & give him good warm & comfortable lodging & to pay the assessment & every other tax & charge on said Negro....

[Italics added] to Williamina Cadwalader from Moses Briscoe, 4 January 1790. Cadwalader Papers box 11 folder 5, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[58]Bishop White to Rev. Samuel H. Turner, Philadelphia, 24 July 1817, Maryland Historical Society. My thanks to A. Verplanck for uncovering this letter.

[59]See Jane Busch, Philadelphia Kitchens: A Special Report with Recommendations for the Bishop White and Todd Houses (Independence National Historical Park, August 1983), pp. 80-1 for a proposed dishwashing scene in the White kitchen.

[60]See Bishop White Furnishing Plan, Part D, illustration 24 for examples of the excavated materials.

[61]For a proposed list of the Bishop's ceramics prepared on the basis of archaeological findings see Ibid, Part C, pp. 5-6. This list includes creamware and Lowestoft porcelain as well as Chinese export ware. On the storage of primarily silver in the sideboard see Ibid, Part D, Section 3, page 4. According to nineteenth century insurance survey plans, there was a niche or china closet in the west wall of the dining room that opened into the piazza. Its existence during the time of the Bishop's occupancy has not been established. See Ibid. Part D, Section 3, page 3.

[62]"The best dinner-set is often kept in the closet of a spare chamber; so piles of plates and arms full of dishes are seen walking down stairs on company days, and walking up again the day after." Farrar, p. 53.

[63]This closet need not be filled with porcelain; a few pieces will provide the visual reference to larger holdings.

[64]See Historic Building Report on Bishop White House (Independence National Historical Park, April 1958), Chapter II, Section 2, page 3.

[65]See The Todd House Grounds and Neighboring Properties: Fourth and Walnut Streets (Independence National Historical Park, January 1963), Chapter II, Appendix A, page 1 for exerpted list of stable descriptions.

[66]The inventory of Henry Gurney Esq., 1792, lists a stable with "a gardners bedd." Philadelphia Estate Inventories, INHP Microfilm, small reels 20, entry 22.

[67]When Dolley, Anna, and John Payne Todd went to Lucy Payne's wedding to George Stepcoe Washington in 1794 they were accompanied by a maid. Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison edited by Her Grand-Niece (London: Kennikat Press, 1886, reprint ed. 1971), p. 16.

[68]See Drinker Diaries 22 June 1771: "drove up Polly Campbell, whome I have hir'd this day to tind [tend] my little Henry...." The Todds' neighbors, Dr. Samuel and Abigail Griffitts, had two children and one maid, Polly. Draft Todd House Research and Report-Research Materials, Chapter II, Section 2, page 6. INHP Archives, Office of History Files box 26.

[69]Draft report on the Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House, Part C, page 1. Ibid.

[70]Pennsylvania Packet 19 October 1787 and 9 February 1788.

[71]See Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, Committee for Improving the Condition of Free Blacks, Minute Book 1790-96, page 6.

[72]In 1800 the tenant, Stephen Moylan, of the Todds' former home wrote to Dolley's second husband: "...the hearth in the kitchen has been long falling in, it is now completely so. I am getting a new hearth laid... I assure you the dinner for my family was completely cooked in the parlor," quoted in Historic Structures Report, Part II on Dilworth-Todd-Moylan House (Independence National Historical Park, July 1960), Part III, Section 1, page 4. Apparently, there was no hearth in the Todd House cellar for Moylan's family to cook their meals in. This cellar hearth might have made laundering clothes possible at home for the Todds had it existed. Archaeological examination of the cellar has not uncovered any evidence of a such hearth. Ibid, Part III, Section 2, pp. 4-6.

[73]In a letter to her brother-in-law Dolley mentions "Black John" and "the Negro Woman Betty [who] once liv'd here with my Mother." Dolley Todd to James Todd, Philadelphia, late October 1793. Original in INHP collections catalog number 631. James Todd also mentioned servants in a letter to Rev. William Linn, 7 December 1793: "He [John Todd, Jr.] came that Morning to town abt [sic] 14 miles and went to the House where the Nurse and domestics were...." quoted in Paul G. Sifton, "'What a Dread Prospect...' Dolley Madison's Plague Year," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 87 (April 1963):186.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
DOCUMENTED STAFF SIZES OF SEVERAL PHILADELPHIA HOMES

The Warders (Ann, John, their two young children)[1]:
- 1-2 maid(s)
- cook
- waiter

The Drinkers (Elizabeth, Henry, their adult son, Mrs. Drinker's spinster sister)[2]:
- maid
- cook
- kitchen helper
- coachman/waiter

The Downings (the Drinkers' eldest daughter, her husband, their five young children)[3]:
- maid/cook
- kitchen helper
- nurse
- coachman

The Skyrins (the Drinkers' second eldest daughter, her husband, their two young children)[4]:
- 2 maids
- 2 kitchen helpers

The Rhoads (the Drinkers' youngest daughter, her husband, their three young children)[5]:
- maid
- cook
- kitchen helper
- butler
- coachman

[1]Ann Warder Diaries 1786-1789, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 30 November 1788.

[2]Elizabeth Drinker Diaries 1758-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 7 August 1798.

[3]Ibid, 9 October 1799.

[4]Ibid, 9 April 1802.

[5]Ibid, 22 January 1805.

The Fishers (Sarah, Thomas, their five young children)[6]:
maid/nurse
cook
2 kitchen helpers

The Powels (Elizabeth and, occasionally, her niece)[7]:
housekeeper
maid
cook
1-2 footmen
coachman

The Logans (Deborah, George, their adult son)[8]:
2 maids
cook
kitchen helper
washerwoman
coachman

The Washingtons (the President, Martha, Martha's two grandchildren, the President's four secretaries)[9]:
2 housemaids
2 personal maids (slaves)
2 washerwomen
1-2 kitchen maids
housekeeper and/or steward
male cook
butler
personal valet (slave)
4 footmen
coachman
porter
4 stableboys/postillions (slaves)

[6]Compiled from the Sarah Logan Fisher Diaries 1776-1795, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[7]Compiled from the Elizabeth Willing Powel Pocket Almanacs 1799-1820, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[8]Deborah Norris Logan Journals 1815-1839, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 28 June 1827.

[9]Stephen Decatur, Jr., Private Affairs of George Washington from the Records and Accounts of Tobias Lear, Esquire, his Secretary (Cambridge: the Riverside Press, 1933; rpt. ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 12.

Appendix B
PHILADELPHIA SERVANTS' WAGES 1780-1830[1]

	Year	Amount	Source
Maid	1793	$5 per month	GW 29:390
"	1795	8-9 shil. per week	ED 19 April
"	1796	10 shil. per week	ED 4 July
"	1803	$1.50 per week	ED 4 March
"	1804	7 shil. 6 pen. per wk.	ED 6 June
"	1804	£19 10 shil. per year	ED 30 October
"	1806	£19 10 shil. per year	ED 24 May
"	1806	£29 10 shil. per year	ED 9 July
"	1806	£12 - 13 per year	ED - November
"	1810	3 shil. per week	Br page 296
"	1810	$8 per month	EP 31 March
"	1820	$1.25 - $1.50 per wk.	Br page 299
"	1820	$1.25 per week	EP 10 November
"	1822	$1.25 per week	Br page 300
Cook	1786	$3 per day	AJ 10 November
"	1806	£36 per year	EP --
"	1806	$8 per month	EP 19 May
"	1807	$8 per month	EP 17 May
"	1807	$8 per month	EP 17 March
"	1808	$8 per month	EP 6 July
"	1809	$7 -8 per month	EP 6 November
"	1809	$6 per month	EP 7 December
"	1810	$6 per month	EP 22 March
"	1810	$2 per week	EP 26 June
"	1818	6shil 9pen-9shil/wk.	Fn page 160
"	1822	$1.50 per week	Bk page 300

[1] Servants' wage rates fluctuated greatly over time within the city due to the individual nature of duties and the level of skill and responsibility required by an employer. See Elaine F. Crane, "The World of Elizabeth Drinker," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 107 (January 1983):28 for the variety in maids' wages for one employer.

Many foreign observers considered American servants' wages to be quite high compared to those in Europe. See J.P. Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America 1788 trans. Durand Echeverria, rpt. ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964), p. 273 and Kenneth & Anna M. Roberts, trans. Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947), p. 295. This may have been true for women (American housekeepers and maids earned three times the rate, cooks and laundresses twice the rate of their English counterparts in the 1790s) but not for men (English coachmen and footmen earned two and a half times the American rate). See J.Jean Hecht, The Domestic Servant Class in 18th Century England (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), 142-9.

	Year	Amount	Source
Miscellaneous-Women			
washer	1793	$5 per month	GW 29:396
"	1816	$.75 per day	AF 15 October
ironer	1811	$.75 per day	AF 4 October
housecleaner	1815	$1.15 per day	AF 12 December
whitewasher	1799	$1.20 per day	ED 9 May
"	1802	2 shil 4 pen per day	ED 19 July
housekeeper	1793	$11 per month	GW 30:32
"female Servant"	1795	$1 per week	Lt page 382
" "	1818	4shil 6 pen- 9 shil/wk	Fn page 160
Footman	1793	$10 per month	GW 29:385
"	1793	$7 per month	GW 20:38
"	1800	£4 10 shil per month	EP 16 July
"	1807	$14 per month	EP 9 March
"	1809	$11 per month	EP 27 February
"	1809	$12 per month	EP 24 July
"	1811	$13 per month	EP 25 March
"	1818	54 shil-67shil 6pen/mo	Fn page 160
"	1822	$10 per month	Bk page 300
Coachman	1793	$10 per month	GW 30:30
"	1795	75 shil per month	ED 18 May
"	1801	$14 per month	EP - July
"	1810	$15 per month	EP 26 April
Miscellaneous-Men			
Gardener	1808	$25 per month	EP --
"	1822	$11 per month	Br page 300
Steward	1785	$100 - 125 per year	GW 28:258
"male Servant"	1818	£2 14shil-L3 7shil/mo	Fn page 160
Miscellaneous-General			
black servant	1788	$4 - 5 per month	Br page 290
negro domestic	1795	$10 - 12 per month	Lt page 382

KEY TO SOURCES:

AF Ann Eliza George Fisher Account Books 1809-1815, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

AW Ann Warder Diaries 1786-1789, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Bk H.E. Scudder, ed. Recollections of Samuel Breck with Passages from his Notebooks (1771-1862) (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1877).

Bt J.P. Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America 1788, trans. Durand Echeverria (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1964).

ED Elizabeth Drinker Diaries 1758-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

EP Elizabeth Willing Powel Pocket Almanacs 1799-1820, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Fn Henry B. Fearon, Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of 5,000 Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1818).

GW "Washington's Household Account Book, 1793-1797," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 29 (1905), 30 (1906), 31 (1907).

Lt Francois A.F. Liancourt, Duke de la Rochefoucault, Travels Through the United States of North America... in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797, 2 vols. (London: R. Phillips, 1799).

Appendix C
SERVICE PERSONNEL IN A HOUSEHOLD LISTED IN ORDER OF NECESSITY TO AN EMPLOYER

Essential	Useful	Specialized
mistress[1]		
maid[2,4]		
	cook[1]	
	kitchen helper[2]	
	coachman[3]	
	waiter/footman[4]	
		washerwoman[2]
		housekeeper[1]
		butler[4]
		stableboy[3]
		valet[2]
		steward[1]

NOTE: The duties of a household's domestic staff were assigned according to the number of servants available, a product of the employer's wealth. Hypothetically, an employer wishing to increase the size of his staff would move progressively from the bottom of the "Essential" column (maid) to the top of the "Useful" column (cook), down through the "Useful" column, and on to the "Specialized" column. Of course, the employer could stop at the level within any column that best suited his financial resources and need at the time.

[1]Manages accounts, marketing and provisions; supervises kitchen, disciplines staff.

[2]Cleans house, performs personal service including childcare, does laundry.

[3]Drives carriage, transports messages, cares for livestock.

[4]Waits on table, answers door, attends to valuable household goods (furniture, silver, etc.).

Appendix D
CONTENTS OF SERVANTS' CHAMBERS

Inventory of William Turner, 1793[1]

...1 Mulatto Girl time of Servitude 8 years	£0.0.0
Kitchen Chamber	
1 BedStead 1 Bed Boulster & 1 Pillow	7.0.0
12 Sheets & a Coverlid	
7 Chairs (old)	.10.
24 Canisters of Tea	4.10.
3 Table Cloaths	.7.6 ....

Inventory of John F. Mifflin, 1813[2]

...Garrets...

2 Servant Beasteads, 2 feather Beds, 2 bolsters, 6 chairs, 1 Table	
5 Blankets and 3 Rugs	$16.00 ...

Inventory of Benjamin Rush, 1813[3]

...1st front servants chamber Third story	
1 Cot beastead & bedding	$8.00
5 chairs	1.67
1 Pine toilet table	.25
1 Looking glass	2.--
2nd front Servants chamber do	
1 bedstead & bedding	10.--
1 Toilet table	.25
1 Wash stand	.25
4 wooden chairs	3.-- ...
small servants room	
1 bedstead & bedding	5.--
4 Chairs	1.-- ....

Inventory of Thomas P. Anthony, 1792[4]

...Front Room up two pair Stairs	
1 Field Bed Beastead & furniture complete	£17.10.
1 Trundel Bed Beastead &c	6.10.
1 Child's Bed & Beastead	1.10.
6 Mahogany chairs with covers	18.0.0
a Bearue [bureau] Mahogany	4.10.
a dressing Table	.10.
1 Bed Stead & Bed	6.10.
1 dressing glass	.10.
*1 Servants Bed & Bedding	3.0.0
1 Saddle & Bridle	3.15.0
3 Dimijohns Casks &c	2.15.
1 Entry carpet & Stair ditto	3.0.0
1 Bell & wires &c	.15. ....

Inventory of Jacob R. Howell, 1793[5]

...Four windsor chairs stuffed bottoms	£1.13.4
one painted bedstead	1.10.
one bed bolster and pillows	7.10.
one mahogany bureau	4.10.
one looking glass	2.15.
one unit calico curtains	2.0.
one servant beastead	.15. ....

Inventory of Andrew Bunner, 1795[6]

...a Green Beastead & Sackg bottom	
2 Servants Beds & Bolster	£6.0.0
a Cradle	.7.6
a large Hair Trunk	.16. ...

Inventory of Henry Gurney, 1793[7]

...Stable Garden &c...
one bed & Beding at the Gardners one Ladder....

Suggestions for servant's room from Miss Eliza Leslie[8]

"Painted low-post bedsteads are best for the rooms of the domestics...What are called cot-bedsteads are objectionable, on account of the difficulty in keeping them free from bugs. The sheeting may be of strong unbleached linen for summer, and unbleached domestic cotton in the winter. One of the quilts called comfortables will give as much warmth as three blankets. In winter let there be a piece of carpet to lay down by the side of each bed. In summer it will not be necessary. Each servant's room should be furnished with a washing-table, a looking-glass, a table, and several chairs...If there are no closets, let a few shelves be put up and also some pegs or large nooks, on which they may hang their clothes...."

[1]Philadelphia Estate Inventories, INHP microfilm small reel 28 number 120.

[2]Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House, Independence National Historical Park (December 1961), Appendix K.

[3]Ibid., Appendix M.

[4]Estate Inventories, reel 32 number 180

[5]Ibid., reel 24 number 69

[6]Ibid., reel 20 number 16.

[7]Ibid., reel 20 number 22.

[8]Miss [Eliza] Leslie, The House Book. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1840), p. 326.

Appendix E
OCCUPANTS OF THE BISHOP WHITE HOUSE
1787-1836

1787[a]	1790[b]	1800[b]
Bishop White 40	Bisnop White 43	Bishop White 53
Mary Harrison 37	Mary Harrison 40	[died 13 Dec. '97]
Elizabeth 11	Elizabeth 14	Elizabeth 24
Mary 10	Mary 13	Mary 23
Thomas 8	Thomas 11	Thomas 21
William 3	William 6	[died 22 Jan. '97]
Henry 2	[died 17 July '88]	
	FWM 16+ (boarder?)[d]	
		Mary Wilson 28[e]
Mrs. Boggs, cook	FWF- Mrs. Boggs, cook	FWF-Mrs. Boggs?, cook
black girl[c], maid	FWF- maid	FB- maid
		FB- kitchen help
John, coachman	FB- John, coachman	FB- coachman

[a]Bishop White House Furnishings Plan, Part B Page 1.

[b]Federal Population Census 1790-1830.

[c]Philadelphia City Tax Assessments 1783-6.

[d]Possibly one of the Bishop's divinity students or Mary Harrison's favorite younger brother George, 28. George Harrison travelled frequently on business for the Philadelphia firm of Willing and Morris (Robert Morris was BW's brother-in-law). He may have stayed with his sister and her family when in Philadelphia before he married in 1792.

[e]Mary Wilson (born in 1772), daughter of James Wilson, lived with the Whites for two years after her father's death in August of 1798 (Thomas H. Montgomery, "The Descendents of Colonel Thomas White," in Account of the Meeting of the Descendents of Colonel Thomas White of MD [Philadelphia, 1879], 172 note 21). Wilson died in debt, naming White (a boynood friend) one of the executors of his estate.

[f]In April 1814, after his wife's death, Thomas White and his four children left the Bishop's House (BW to Bishop Thomas Claggett, 28 April 1814. Original in the Maryland Historical Society, copies in Historical

1803[a]	1810[b]	1820[b]
Bishop White 56	Bishop White 63	Bishop White 73
[married 9 Mar.'03]	[widowed 5 Nov.'13]	Eliz. McPherson 44
Mary 26	[married 4 Dec. '04]	[widowed 17 Apr'23]
Thomas 24	Thomas[wed 1 Oct. '04]	[at 224 Walnut St][i]
	Maria Heath White 23	[died 23 Mar. '14]
	Mary H. White 5	[at 224 Walnut St]
	Rebecca H. White 2	[at 224 Walnut St]
	William White 3 mos.	[at 224 Walnut St]
	[George H. White b.'12]	[at 224 Walnut St]
	[Richard H. White b. '13]	[died 6 July '14]
	[Esther McPherson]	Esther McPherson 16
	[Eliza. McPherson]	Eliza. McPherson 14
3 servants	FWF- cook 26-45	FWF- cook 16-26
	FWF- maid 26-45	FWF- maid 10-16
	FB- kitchen help	
	FB- coachman	FBM- coachman 26-45

Society of Pennsylvania, Manuscripts). In 1815, they lived at 37 S. 10th Street. Within the year, they moved to 224 S. Walnut where they remained until early 1822 (Philadelphia City Directories 1815-1822).

[g]BW to Bishop Inglis, 11 February 1825 cited by Montgomery, page 158.

[h]George was much loved by his great uncle George Harrison, the purchasing agent for the U.S. naval yard in Philadelphia. Possibly his Uncle Harrison arranged young George's naval commission in 1828. (Montgomery, 176).

[i]Furnishings Plan, Part B Page 2.

1826[g]	1830[b]	1836[i]
Bishop White 79	Bishop White 83	Bishop White 89
Eliz. McPherson 50 [died 17 Nov. '26]	Eliz. McPherson 54	[died 7 Nov. '31]
Thomas 47	Thomas 51	Thomas 57
Mary H. White 21	[married 30 May '27]	[widowed 17 Mar '34]
Rebecca H. White 18	Rebecca H. White 22	Rebecca H White 28
William White 16	William White 20	[married 29 Dec '31]
George H. White 15	[living with his uncle?][h]	George H. White 25
Esther McPherson 22	Esther McPherson 26	Esther McPherson 32
Eliza. McPherson 20	Eliza. McPherson 24	Eliza. McPherson 30
[Mary H. Bronson]	[died 9 Aug. '30]	
[Anna E. Bronson]	Anna E. Bronson 21	Anna E. Bronson 27
[Eliza. W. Bronson]	[either]ElizaW Bronson 18	[married 8 Sept '34]
[Hetta A. Bronson]	[or]Hetta A. Bronson 16	Hetta A. Bronson 22
[William W. Bronson]	William W. Bronson 14	William W Bronson 20
probably 4 servants	FBF- cook 24-36	probably 4 servants
	FBF- maid 24-36	
	FBF- kitchen help 10-24	
	FBM- coachman 24-36	

Appendix F
BISHOP WHITE HOUSE SERVANT'S ROOM OVER KITCHEN
[AMENDED]

North wall, left to right:
Colored engraving of Gen. Washington
Wooden towel rack
2 homespun towels, reproduction
Pair check window curtains, reproduction

East wall, left to right:
Pennsylvania walnut William and Mary or Queen Anne style chest of drawers
Hair comb, English 18th century
Brush, English 18th century
Staffordshire washbowl and pitcher
Small walnut framed looking glass, Pennsylvania early 18th century
Homespun linen bureau cloth, reproduction
Tin sconce with two lights
Pair check window curtains, reproduction
Painted beaside table, Pennsylvania 18th century
Tin chamber stick and candle
Pennsylvania pottery flower pot
Leather bound Bible, late 18th century
Pennsylvania almanac for year 1800
Pennsylvania painted low post bed
Pair homespun linen sheets, reproduction
Linsey-woolsey coverlet, reproduction
Feather bed, reproduction
Sacking bottom, reproduction
Pillow, reproduction
Homespun pillow case, reproduction
Pennsylvania redware chamber pot
Delaware Valley rush seat side chair
Blue glass narcissus vase
Pair check window curtains, reproduction

South wall, left to right:
18th century Pennsylvania hanging wall cupboard
[6 "Patent" medicine bottles][1]
[1 Whiskey bottle, Philadelphia, early 19th century][2]
[1 Whiskey glass][2]
1 barrel
1 wooden crate
1 hair trunk
1 leather trunk
Women's clothing, early 19th century, reproduction

[] Indicates item deleted from original Park furnishing plan for this room.

West wall, left to right:
[Woven splint clothes basket][3]
Wrought iron andirons
Iron fire shovel and tongs
Pine foot stool
Delaware Valley rush seat arm chair
Pine blanket chest, Pennsylvania 18th century
[Sewing basket][4]
[Articles of clothing to be sewn up][4]
[Pin cushion, pins & needles (on chest)][4]
Rag carpet for winter

SOURCE: Furnishing Plan for the Bishop White House, Independence National Historical Park (December 1961), Part D, Section 14, Pages 6-8.

[1]The dispensing of medicine to servants was the mistress' responsibility. See Mrs. William Parkes, Domestic Duties (New York: J.J. Harper, 1828), p. 112; Elizabeth Drinker Diaries 1757-1807, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 28 October and 26 December 1794, 13 September 1799, 17 July 1805.

[2]Servants' recreational drinking was accepted, but not condoned, by employers. The Whites' cook would probably have received a lecture from her mistress had she been caught with a bottle.

[3]Article moved to next room, the mangling/ironing room.

[4]The cook had little time for sewing. The Whites' mending was probably done by the Bishop's granddaughters with the help of the maid(s).

Appendix G
TODD HOUSE KITCHEN CHAMBER

West wall, left to right:
Hair trunk, Philadelphia, 18th century
Pair check window curtains, reproduction
Delaware Valley, 18th century rush seat, ladder back side chair
Pair check window curtains, reproduction

North wall, left to right (in closet):
Cotton shirt, reproduction
Linen summer coat, reproduction
Cotton mobcap, reproduction
Linen work apron, reproduction
Linen dress apron, reproduction
Wool cape, reproduction
Pair wooden rain clogs

(fireplace):
Plain 18th century wrought iron fire tongs
Pair plain 18th century wrought iron andirons
18th century wrought iron fire shovel
Philadelphia 18th century copper hot water kettle
2 stocking boards
Pair of stockings, reproduction
Iron trivet

(in closet):
2 coarse linen sheets, reproductions
Coarse linen pillow case, reproduction
Wool coverlet, reproduction
Pair wool stockings, reproduction
Pair cotton stockings, reproduction
2 cotton handkerchiefs, reproduction

East wall, left to right:
18th century Pennsylvania painted pine bedside table
18th century iron candlestick
18th century pewter water pitcher
18th century pewter wash basin
18th century pewter soap dish
Small 18th century looking glass
18th century painted towel rack
2 linen towels, reproduction
18th century Pennsylvania painted low post bed
Canvas sacking bottom, reproduction
Straw mattress, reproduction
Check mattress cover, reproduction
2 pairs coarse homespun linen sheets, reproduction
Cotton diaper design coverlet, reproduction
Pillow, reproduction
Coarse linen pillow case, reproduction
Redware pottery chamber pot
18th century Delaware Valley rush seat side chair
Small 18th century calf bound Bible

SOURCE: Furnishing Plan for the Todd House, Independence National Historical Park (n.d.), Part D, Section VII, Pages 3-5.

ILLUSTRATIONS

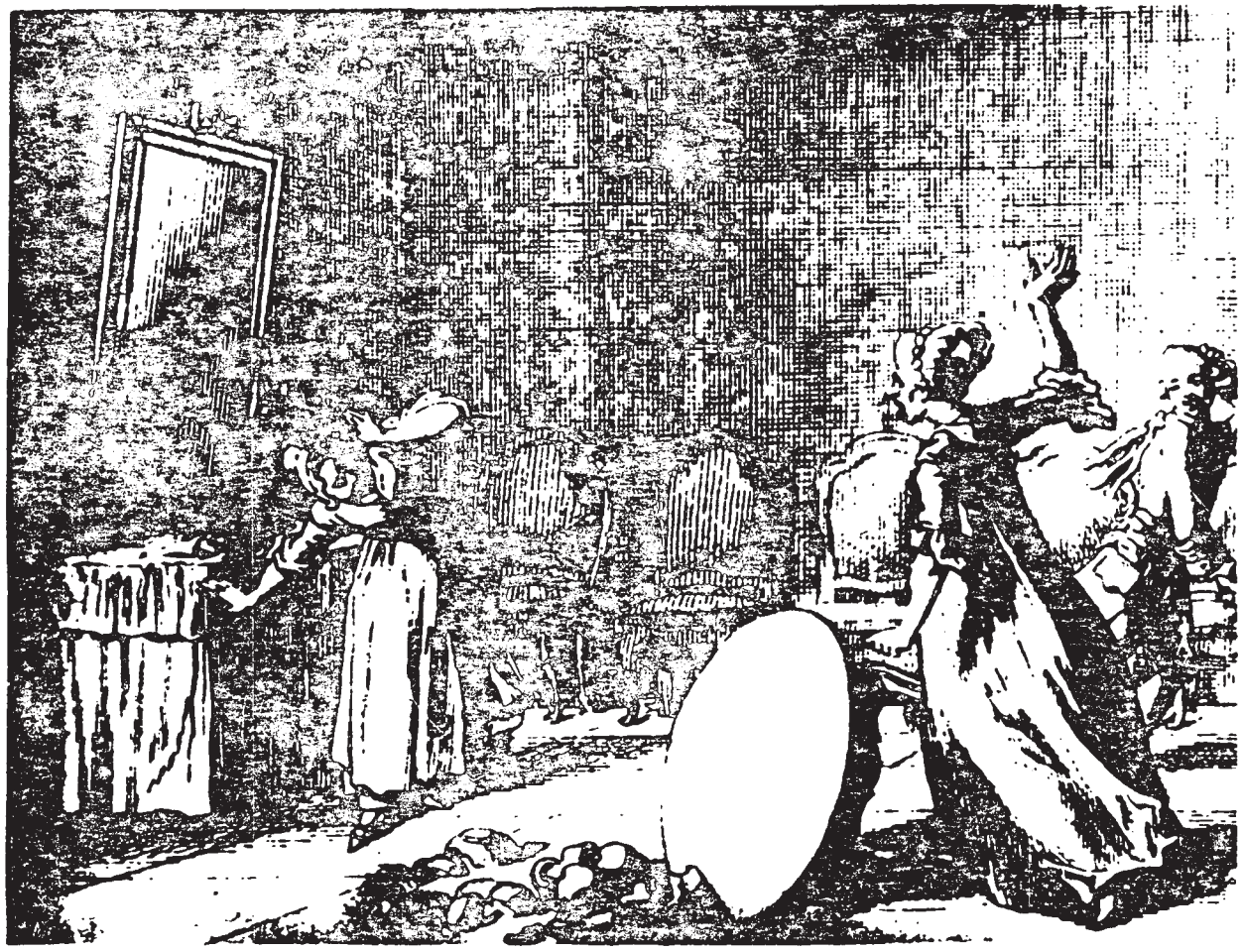


ILLUSTRATION 1 "The maid found out." Elementarwerke für die Jugend by J.B. Basedow, 1774.
Philadelphians frequently accused their servants of intentional clumsiness. Servants (particularly children), who came from the city's working classes, were often unaccustomed to caring for fine furniture and ceramics.



ILLUSTRATION 2 "Life in Philadelphia, Sketches of Character. At Home," by H. Harrison. Sold: W.H. Isaacs, 1830s. Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia.
After scraping off the dinner plates, servants soaked them in hot water. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, soap played no part in the dishwashing process. Pots were rubbed with sand, not soap, to remove food and grease.



ILLUSTRATION 3 "A JORD-N for the DUKE'S Chamber," published by W. Dent, 1781. Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.
Pictured here as commentators on the fickle nature of London politics, these servants carry their housecleaning tools. The chamberpot suggests that the women have paused during their morning duties.



LORD SOPESUDS *Washing foul Linen for the Good of the* NATION.

ILLUSTRATION 4 "LORD SOPESUDS Washing foul Linen for the Good of the Nation," published by [illegible], London, 1782. Courtesy of the British Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.
With the help of one of George III's ministers, Lord North, a conference is underway.



ILLUSTRATION 5 "Woman Ironing by a Window," Jacob Krimmel Sketchbook 5 Plate VIII. Courtesy of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library: Collection of Printed Books.
In a Pennsylvania farmhouse, a woman irons sheets on a table. Her cold sad iron sits on the table to her left and its trivet on the right. The woman, though on the front porch, has her back to the clean, unpressed laundry.



THE MERRY THOUGHT.

Published [illegible] by LAURIE & WHITTLE, 53 Fleet Street, London.

ILLUSTRATION 6 "The Merry Thought," published by Laurie & Whittle, London, 1794. Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

The footman clearing the table wears a fancy livery uniform. Although male servants (other than coachmen) were relatively uncommon in Philadelphia, some prosperous families did employ waiters and butlers.

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