1984

"A Dutiful Obedient Wife": The Journal of Elizabeth Foote Washington of Virginia, 1779-1796

Linda Eileen Parris
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

"A DUTIFUL OBEDIANT WIFE":
THE JOURNAL OF ELIZABETH FOOTE WASHINGTON OF VIRGINIA, 1779-1796

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

---

by

Linda Eileen Parris

1984

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Linda Eileen Paris
Author

Approved, October 1984

Cam Walker
H. Cam Walker

James Axtell
James L. Axtell

John M. Hemphill II
John M. Hemphill II, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. H. Cam Walker and Dr. James L. Axtell, of the College of William and Mary, and Dr. John M. Hemphill II, of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, for their patience with and guidance of this project. Dr. John E. Ingram and the staff of the Colonial Williamsburg Research Center were most helpful during the project's conception and in providing source materials for research. Gail S. Terry, formerly of the Colonial Williamsburg Research Center, served as an unofficial advisor and mentor and shared with me her extensive knowledge of women's history during the colonial era. Mr. George H. S. King of Fredericksburg was of great help in deciphering the Foote family geneaology. The Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, and the libraries of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union and the United States Naval Academy were kind enough to allow me to cite manuscripts in their collections.

Diane P. Frese and Beverly D. Valcovic of the staff of the Maryland State Archives, where I was employed during completion of the project, were very supportive. Dr. Edward C. Papenfuse, State Archivist, generously allowed me to use the Archives' word-processing system to speed my work.

I would like to thank the members of my family for their support and patience, especially during the past year. They have been actively involved in the thesis-writing process, from providing space to write, to proofreading pages of text. The finished product is dedicated to my parents, Jackie and Bill Parris, without whom it would not have been possible.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to study the image of the upper-class southern woman prior to and during the Revolutionary period. After a survey of the secondary literature on the subject, the focus turns to an examination of the life and writing of an individual, Elizabeth (Foote) Washington of Virginia (174?-1812), through whose unique, self-perceptive journal can be seem some of the ways in which women viewed themselves.

The work is broken into three main sections corresponding to the most important concerns in a colonial woman's life. Chapter One, "A Dutiful, Obediant Wife", discusses the significance of the choice of a life partner, the duties of wife to husband, and the roles of wife and widow in colonial society. Chapter Two, "To Housekeeping," discusses the responsibilities of a woman as both mistress and mother. Chapter Three, "Perfect Resignation," examines the role of women in the religious life of colonial Virginia, as well as the role of religion in the lives of colonial women.

As can be seen through Elizabeth's journal, the roles and duties society assigned were often impossible for women to achieve. Elizabeth is used as an example of how easily societal expectations could become individual disappointments.

"A DUTIFUL OBEDIANT WIFE":
THE JOURNAL OF ELIZABETH FOOTE WASHINGTON OF VIRGINIA, 1779-1796

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the study of history has been the study of power. Events and movements of importance were led by or connected with the actions of men, the holders of power. Women were assumed to have supported these actions, but not to have initiated or directed them.[1] With the exception of a few famous women who have risen to attention under unusual circumstances, this assumption has proved true. In recent years, however, historians have come to realize that women's secondary position is important in its own right, and that the image women hold of themselves provides a valuable insight into the ideology of the society of which they are a part. Like men, women are members of families, religious groups, social classes, and economic units, but as women their interpretation of these roles is different.[2] It is the historian's responsibility to document and interpret these differences and thereby to place women in the historical context they deserve.

Historians have in the past focused on four areas in the study of women's history. These include institutional histories of women in organizations, biographies of important women, histories of ideas about women and their roles, and social histories of women in particular places and times.[3]

These studies have also tended to focus on nineteenth-century women's culture. However, and in the colonial period especially, such specialization can be misleading. This is due largely to difficulties with sources. For example, there were no official women's organizations prior to the Revolutionary era, thereby making such a study impossible for the colonial period. And while biography has often been the only way to reconstruct an individual woman's life, essential primary sources are frequently lacking. This is especially true of the colonial South. Where records do exist, they are inherently biased and tend to reflect only the lives of the literate, upper class. Histories of ideas about women and their roles tend to draw heavily on published sources and on accounts written by men. While these sources are useful in establishing the social and cultural context within which women led their lives, they fail to explain why women acted as they did and how women saw themselves. Even those manuscripts left by women, such as diaries and journals, as a rule record only events concerning household and social activities; they reveal little about feelings or motivation.[4] The journal of Elizabeth Foote Washington is an exception to this rule; it is one woman's revealing rationalization of her actions.

In recent years social history has become the most immediately rewarding approach to the problem of a lack of adequate sources. Social history provides an understanding of the context in which lives were lived, and thus serves as

a backdrop onto which the details of an individual life can be projected.[5] Still, the public or local records popular with social historians carry biases of their own. There are often gaps, especially concerning vital statistics, and public records are selective in many of the same ways as are diaries and letters; they extend the historian's access to the literate middle, but not necessarily to the non-literate lower classes.[6] Also, as with personal records, care must be taken in using legal sources; law is not descriptive of reality, but reflective of a social ideal.[7]

This forecast is not meant to be bleak, but merely to point out the problems with various sources, problems that also exist in more traditional male-oriented approaches to history. Once biases and blind spots are acknowledged, efforts can be made to compensate, perhaps by combining sources, or by looking at events and trends from more than one perspective.

Two schools of thought on the position of American women during and after the Revolution emerge from the secondary literature on the subject. One emphasizes the narrowing of the so-called "women's sphere," that circle of domestic concerns such as managing the household economy and raising children, which eventually evolved into the nineteenth-century feminine ideal of the pious, pure, domestic, and submissive woman.[8] Many historians explore this trend towards widely different and strictly defined

spheres of women's influence, while others explore the expansion of women's role in society, claiming that the Revolution was a liberating experience for both sexes.[9] The end result of this debate is ambiguous. For some women the war did result in increased economic and social freedom. The absence of husbands and fathers created opportunities for wives and daughters to assert authority and claim power, claims which were not always or easily relinquished at the close of the hostilities. For others, whose daily lives went relatively unaffected, or who quickly returned to their pre-war subservience, the Revolutionary ideal of liberty was an illusion. Perhaps the historian's best approach is to acknowledge both trends and to see that in the latter part of the eighteenth century society was affected by a complex interplay of circumstances. In addition to the war, these include political and social reforms, religious revivals, the emerging Romantic movement, and the beginnings of industrialization. Revolutions, or social upheavals of any kind, do not necessarily affect all people, or affect everyone in the same way.[10] Some women gained greater freedom; others became more confined. The latter process seems to be particularly apparent among the upper classes, where role definition was a means of maintaining social distance from the relative egalitarianism of the middle and lower classes.[11]

Upper-class southern women during the colonial and Revolutionary periods shared many common experiences.

Marriage, seen as desireable for both sexes for the stability and well-being of society, was especially important for women and became the major focal point of their adult lives.[12] Marriage formed alliances, extended economic networks, and legitimized offspring. In the southern colonies women married young, usually while still in their teens, and most certainly by their early twenties.[13] Children were necessary for the perpetuation of the family. Early deaths of both children and parents were common, as were remarriages and accordingly complex family structures. Despite variations stemming from race, wealth, or place of residence, these universals of female experience made women in many ways more similar than different.[14] The attitudes of colonial women toward themselves, their families, and their world were determined by their daily experiences and by society's expectations.[15] Thus developed the ideal of the loyal, submissive wife, the loving, nurturing mother, and the efficient, Christian mistress. Yet there were regional differences. The plantation structure of the colonial South gave added emphasis to the patriarchalism inherent in the existing Anglo-American order. And the evangelism that shook even the Congregational order of New England during and after the Great Awakening all but replaced the established Anglican order in Virginia by the end of the eighteenth century. To understand the reality of these generalizations about the experiences of women in American history, it is necessary to look at the lives of individuals, and to note that the

ideal--both as society perceived it and as women themselves saw it--and the real were often contradictory.

Elizabeth, or Betsy, Foote (1746-1812) married her cousin, Lund Washington (1737-1796) in 1779. Geneological information concerning the Foote family is available, if sometimes confusing. Elizabeth's birthdate can be found in the records of St. Paul's Parish; therefore her age at marriage can be determined as approximately thirty-three.[16] Her husband was was forty-three or forty-four. The marriage appears to be the first for both. Lund was a distant cousin to George Washington, the two sharing the same great-great-grandfather. From 1760 until his retirement in 1785 Lund was employed by George Washington to manage Mount Vernon. Their social and business relationship is well-documented.[17]

After her marriage to Lund, Elizabeth lived with him at Mount Vernon for five years, during which time she had a stillborn child. When Martha Washington was away from the estate Elizabeth had charge of the household and the care of the Custis children.[18] Curiously, there is no mention of her in standard accounts of family life at Mount Vernon. During the Revolution, due to shortages of funds, Lund drew no salary from his employer; when George Washington returned to his estate in 1781, he "sold" Lund a portion of Mount Vernon land to clear the debt.[19] The estate was known as "Hayfield" for the fields surrounding it, and was at the time of Lund's purchase about forty acres in size. The ruins show evidence

of a large house, sweeping lawns, and a formal garden and boxwood maze. The house was completed in 1784, and Elizabeth and Lund set up housekeeping on their own. A child was born the same year, a daughter named Lucinda, who died before her first birthday. Another Lucinda was born in 1788, only to die a year later after three months' illness. About 1789 Lund began to suffer from an unidentified affliction that lasted seven years, deprived him of his sight, and contributed to his death in 1796, at age fifty-nine. There are several letters from Elizabeth to George Washington detailing Lund's symptoms and discussing doctors and medical treatments.[20] While the tone of the letters is deferential, no doubt a result of the literary conventions of the time, evidently the two families were close enough for Elizabeth to call on her kinsman when in need.

Elizabeth took over Lund's bookkeeping in 1790.[21] Because of his failing eyesight, his last entries, written in 1789, are all but illegible. She annotated her entries with self-critiques of her ability as an accountant, a position she apparently did not enjoy. For example, in 1793 she wrote "I am sorry to say that this is not a proper account [-] having many things to attend to [,] I forget some times to set down the loads in a regular manner - I hope if my dear Mr. Washington should be so fortunate to recover his eye sight he will excuse my neglect." In 1797, the year after her husband's death, Elizabeth's accounts were in an even sorrier state, for "I am totally at a loss in many respects

[-] indeed I scarce know how any thing goes on - or what is made." Her nephew, William Hayward Foote, was her manager, and she doubted his abilities. However, by 1801 the estate was running efficiently, and Elizabeth was able to write, "I now have the hightest expectation that my adopted son [Hayward Foote] will be a capital farmer - although I think he will be buying experience for some time to come."

According to the federal census of 1790, Lund Washington owned sixteen slaves. These, together with his landed estate, made him relatively comfortable financially. His will directed that his slaves be emancipated after his death, a request which Elizabeth honored, retaining only two "servants" until her own death in 1812. Little is known of her life after 1796, when her journal entries stop. George Washington left her a mourning ring worth one hundred dollars in his will, and Martha bequeathed "to my neighbor Mrs. Elizabeth Washington five guineas to get something in remembrance of me."[22] Elizabeth died in 1812, and her estate passed on to William Hayward Foote, who son in addition to being her nephew was also her adopted son.

There are only eleven entries in Elizabeth's journal, occurring at irregular intervals but corresponding to major events in the writer's life--her forthcoming marriage, the birth or death of a child, her imminent removal to a home of her own, and the death of her husband.[23] It is a unique manuscript, its existence and survival signifying an

exceptional woman who had both the leisure and the ability to record her thoughts, and whose descendents appreciated her writing enough to preserve it.[24] Written during the Revolution and in the fifteen years following, the journal is one woman's "reflections" on her roles as wife, mother, and mistress. While the entries are infrequent and personal data sparse, the manuscript is important, first, because so few southern women's diaries exist for this period, and, second, because the diary describes the author's reflections on and reactions to many important stages in her life--young womanhood, marriage, motherhood, and widowhood; it is rare to find an introspective record of such scope for an eighteenth-century Virginia woman.[25]

Originally, the journal was intended for a specific audience, Elizabeth's daughters, so that they might see "what was my thoughts at the time I was going to change my estate;" thus her didacticism must be taken into account. In her writing she strives for an ideal that has little relation to the realities of her life. "I once had a thought of being more perticular & to have kept a journal of my life, - but that I could not have done faithfully - without speaking of all the ill treatment I [ever] met with." It would be interesting to know the nature of the ill treatment to which she refers. Instead of a daily account of her life, Elizabeth left a record of only those incidents and reflections she thought were fit to be recorded. In this way, her writing reflects how she wanted to be remembered,

and thus reveals at least in part how she thought of herself.

Elizabeth's major concerns were the nature of her marriage and her responsibilities as a wife, her duties as a mother, and her methods and ability to manage her servants. In these she was like other women of her time. Despite writing during the heyday of Revolutionary activity and being firmly connected to active participants, she made no mention of the war. It is almost as though it never intruded on her life. Unlike many women whose husbands joined the fighting, Elizabeth was never left alone to fend for herself. Or perhaps she thought war the business of men and believed herself unfit to discuss the details. There is no way to know for certain why she chose to omit any reference to the Revolution, but she apparently was one woman unaffected by the military affairs of men. Perhaps she should serve as an example that historians must be careful when using turning points in traditional, male-oriented history as backdrops for changes in women's culture. There is not always, nor should there be, a direct correlation.

Elizabeth's deep religious belief permeates her writing. Although apparently Anglican, and obviously unhappy over her servants' "Baptistical" leanings, she exhibits an intense piety that is more commonly associated with the nineteenth century. Perhaps this is an individual quirk, or she could supply a link between the restrained piety of the pre-Revolutionary period, already weak from repeated

evangelical attacks, and the emotional spirituality of the next century. But it is dangerous to read too much significance into one life. While Elizabeth appears slightly more religious than her peers, she is still well within the bounds prescribed by eighteenth-century society in which she lived. Having lost three children and her husband, she was entitled to whatever measure of spiritual consolation her religion provided.

So Elizabeth set out to record her intentions. As a wife she would be submissive and loyal. As a mother she would set her children a Christian example. As a mistress she would rule firmly yet with understanding and compassion. Her success, measured largely by the extent to which she fit society's expectations, remained to be seen.

EDITORIAL NOTE: The quotations cited above (unless otherwise identified) and in the following pages are taken from the author's transcription of the manuscript journal of Elizabeth (Foote) Washington (see Appendix). Care has been taken to reproduce the content of the manuscript as accurately as possible. Thus, the ampersand is retained, and capitalization, punctuation, and spelling appear as in the original. Superscript numbers are supplied as reference points only; the manuscript itself lacks pagination. If there is any doubt about the rendition of a particular word or punctuation mark it is enclosed in brackets. Words used

in quotations in the text whose appearance differs markedly from their modern spelling are followed by [sic] to signify a direct translation. Interlineations are brought down to the line of text at the place indicated. As a rule, cancelled words and phrases are omitted unless they would add something of particular interest.

NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1. Bernice A. Carroll, ed., Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. xi.

2. Gerda Lerner, "New Approaches to the Study of Women in American History," in Women and Womanhood in America ed. Ronald W. Hogeland (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), p. 80.

3. Anne D. Gordon, et al., "The Problem of Women's History," in Liberating Women's History, Carroll, ed., p. 76.

4. Jan Lewis, The Pursuit of Happiness Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 213.

5. Gail S. Terry, personal letter.

6. Suzanne Lebsock, The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984), p. xvi.

7. Linda E. Speth, "More Than Her "Thirds": Wives and Widows in Colonial Virginia." Women and History, 4 (Winter, 1982), p. 13.

8. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," in Women and Womanhood in America, Ronald W. Hogeland, ed., pp. 104-109.

9. For works discussing the decline of women's economic position and the narrowing of the domestic role after the Revolution, and during the early nineteenth century, see Mary P. Ryan, Womanhood in America (New York, 1975); Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven, 1977); and Ann D. Gordon and Mari Jo Buhle, "Sex and Class in Colonial and Nineteenth Century America," in Liberating Women's History, Bernice Carroll, ed., pp. 278-300. For an explanation of the theory of expansion, see Barbara J. Harris, Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History (Westport, Conn., 1978); Linda K. Kerber, Women of the Republic Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Williamsburg, Va., 1980); and Suzanne Lebsock, The Free Women of Petersburg, pp. 48-50.

10. Mary Beth Norton, "Eighteenth-Century American Women at Peace and War," in The Private Side of American History, Vol. 1, ed. Gary B. Nash (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1979), p. 207. For a general overview of recent historiography concerning women's culture, see Norton, "The Evolution of White Women's Experience in Early America." American Historical Review, 89:3 (Winter 1984), pp. 593-619.

11. Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Viginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982). Isaac discusses the reactions of the upper classes to and many of the manifestations of the evangelical challenges to the eighteenth century Virginia establishment.

12. Vivian C. Fox and Martin A. Quitt, Loving, Parenting and Dying: The Family Cycle in England and America, Past and Present (New York: Psychohistory Press, 1980), p. 13.

13. Julia Cherry Spruill, Women's Life and Work in the Souther Colonies (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1972), pp. 139-140.

14. Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1980), p. xv.

15. Ibid., p. xiii.

16. As recorded in the St. Paul's Parish Register, Elizabeth Foote was born December 10, 1746, the daughter of Richard and Catherine (Fossaker) Foote. Her family was long and well-established among the landed gentry of the Potomac watershed. Her relationship to her husband was not through Washington ties but through complex Lund and Fossaker family connections. Lund[5] Washington was the fifth child of Townsend[4] (1705-1743) and Elizabeth (Lund) Washington. His family descends from Lawrence, brother of John the Immigrant, from whom George Washington is descended. Lund's brother Lawrence (1740-1799) married Elizabeth's sister Catherine (d. 1799), providing an example of the "sibling" marriage pattern common in the colonial period, although more prevalent in the New England area (see Anne E. Yentsch, "Understanding 17th and 18th Century Colonial Families." M.A. Thesis, Brown University, 1975). I am indebted to George H.S. King of Fredericksburg, Virginia, for his generous help with the Foote and Washington family genealogies. He cites a manuscript by Lund[6], nephew of Lund[5], a photocopy of which is in the posession of the Virginia State Library. This document contains references to many genealogical records no longer extant. Other sources, particularly concerning "Hayfield", include William Buckner McGroarty, "Elizabeth Washington of Hayfield," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 33 (1925), pp. 154-165; and The Diaries of George

Washington (Charlottesville, Va., 1979).

17. See Douglas Southall Freeman, George Washington: A Biography. 7 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954). Frequent references to Lund's business dealings for George Washington are found in volumes III and VI.

18. McGroarty, p. 163.

19. Freeman, vol. VI, p. 7.

20. Letters, Elizabeth (Foote) Washington to George Washington, 1793-1797, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, Library, A-283.

21. Account Book of Lund Washington, Overseer of Mount Vernon, 1762-1784, U.S. Naval Academy Museum.

22. John C. Fitzpatrick, The Last Will and Testament of George Washington and Schedule of his Property, to which is appended the Last Will and Testament of Martha Washington (Mount Vernon, Va.: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1939), p. 57.

23. Elizabeth (Foote) Washington (Mrs. Lund), Journal, 1779-1796, Washington Family Papers, Box 2, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division.

24. Gordon, p. 79.

25. Cott, p. 14.

CHAPTER ONE: "A DUTIFUL OBEDIANT WIFE"

Elizabeth Foote begins her reflections on the institution of marriage just after she agrees to "enter into the holy state of matrimoney." She speaks of the "momentous step" she has just taken in agreeing to change her "state." For a woman of her station in colonial Virginia, the question was not so much whether to marry, but whom and when. While marriage might be a pleasant enough duty for a man, it was a woman's reason for existence; society perceived subordination and submission as her natural state.[1] The choice of a husband was often made for economic or social reasons; marriage was considered an acceptable and even respectable way of improving one's financial situation or social status.[2] However, the decision involved a certain amount of risk, which in turn engendered anxiety.[3] The opinions of family members and female friends were often taken into consideration. Oddly enough, Elizabeth makes no mention of her family or its members' thoughts on her betrothal. Thus it is difficult to say how much or what kind of a convenience was her marriage to her forty-three-year-old cousin.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, in a movement away from strict economic considerations and toward personal or emotional ones, women generally had more

control over the choice of their mates than did their predecessors. While a woman's control did not necessarily extend to determining from which class or occupation a prospective husband could be chosen, the choice of a particular individual within the acceptable group was hers. However, greater freedom of choice made for greater possibility of mistakes. This freedom of choice culminated in the development of the "companionate marriage," in which partners married for love and after marriage shared responsibilities and decision making. The supposed result of such a union for women was increased status, power, and authority, and a more equal voice in family affairs. This equality was not easily achieved, however, since custom, law, and human nature conspired to make the husband vastly more powerful than his wife. Whatever improvements took place within the family, outside of it a married woman had no social or legal autonomy. She became economically passive, except for her dower rights, and thoroughly dependent on her husband.[4] This was an extremely vulnerable state, but where abuses occurred, divorce was only considered as a last resort that often brought scandal and entailed social ostracism.[5]

Thus, when Elizabeth discusses her decision, she calls on God to direct and influence her heart and its affections. Her reference to affections could imply a love match, or merely reflect the diction of the times. There is no mention of love between her and her husband at any point in her writing. Yet it was common among the Virginia gentry

for emotional intensity between husband and wife to be avoided and constraint cultivated.[6] Elizabeth displays a certain amount of concern about her choice and expresses her hope that she has prepared herself for the possibility of a poor match. "I hope I have prepared myself for the worst that may happen - that is - if my marriage should prove a unhappy one." If it should, she would see her fate as the will of God, for nothing in her life happens by chance. "So it is my duty to bear with what the Almighty permits" with resignation.

Not only is Elizabeth anxious about her choice of a husband, but she is also concerned whether she will be able to conduct herself as a "dutiful obediant wife." To this effect she makes "daily petitions to the throne of grace." She plans to make it her "study" to please her husband "in every thing that is not against the divine Laws." Yet even her religious convictions are subject to her husband's approval. Thus, her final hope is that her husband will allow her to be as religious as her inclinations might lead her to be. In her deliberations over the choice of her marriage partner, Elizabeth discusses her duties as a wife but not her expectations. From her perspective the relationship is very one-sided. This is not unusual, as the same viewpoint characterizes the prescriptive image of the ideal wife, an image she was most likely taught to emulate through popular books, sermons, and tracts.[7] A wife owed her husband love, honor, and loyalty. Her conduct alone

determined the happiness or misery of her marriage.[8] Many young women entered into marriage with the hope and intention of pleasing their husbands, but with only an idealized view of what was involved and often with little knowledge of how much actual control of the situation they would command.

Once married, the reality of the wife's situation frequently contrasted with the ideal. Domestic tranquility, the ultimate goal of married life, was not always possible, and there are numerous accounts of husbands and wives who failed to live together peacefully.[9] Elizabeth and Lund Washington were not in this group. After four years of marriage Elizabeth writes, "I can truely say I have never had cause to repent of my marriage." As is typical of her self-effacing attitude, however, her concern lies not with her own happiness, but with her husband's satisfaction. As the focal point of her life, his opinion of her carries all the weight. By her own admission, Elizabeth feels she has been able to conduct herself to the "approbation" of her husband and that "he is perfectly satisfy'd with the choice he has made." She thanks God that her prayers before marriage and since have been granted and that her previous anxieties seem likely to prove unfounded. Still, she is conscious of the continual need to work at being a good wife and never to rest or become complacent. She says little about her actual duties as wife, which must overlap with her roles as mother and mistress of her household. She presents instead an attitude of deference and submission. Her

relationship with her husband, at least as portrayed on paper, is deferential. He is "Mr. Washington" or "Mr. W."[10] About ten years her senior, Lund could exert a paternal influence over his wife that would make her hesitant to indulge in informal terms of address. Her need for his approval is very much in evidence.

Elizabeth observes another form of deference to her husband in her approach to disagreements. "One of my first resolutions I made after marriage, - was never to hold disputes with my husband - never to contend with him in my opinion of things." It would be interesting to know if some particular incident led her to this resolve. She is determined to avoid such situations by bowing to her husband's superiority. She blames the frequency of contention in the married state on the stubbornness of many wives in their refusal to be thought wrong. As for "the Lordly sex - they can never be in the wrong in their own opinion." She does not imply that women are always wrong, but that their role is that of peacemaker, for "it is their business to give up to their husbands." The rationale for this position is based in Scripture, for "Eve when she transgress'd was told her husband would rule over her ... how dare any of her daughters dispute the point?" And in answer to the argument that such an approach was uncomplimentary to the female sex, Elizabeth writes that she never thought it degraded her understanding to give up her opinion for her husband's, "that is, not to contend with him." This

qualifying clause is important, for it advocates a kind of deception, an attitude of condescension that gives satisfaction to both sides. The result is the domestic tranquility without which life is unbearable. Elizabeth, of course, is not guilty of such deception. When once so accused by a "very near male relation," she defended her motives as stemming from her desire to conform to the scriptural directive that "ever has been the ruling principal that had conducted" her actions in the married state.

As much as Elizabeth conforms, at least outwardly, to the ideal of the submissive, self-effacing wife, she clings to the defense that her real motivation derives from Scripture and that the characteristics she displays in her wifely role are not inspired by her husband but by God. "It has also been thought - that I should never have been the woman I am thought to be, had I not had so good a husband." This is not true, she says, because the desire instilled in her soul to do her duty comes out of her religious beliefs, which she would hold with or without Lund as her husband. Elizabeth is not perfectly at ease with the idea that a wife should live for her husband and exist only as he defines her. If she does as her husband wishes, it is not because society dictates that she should but because God does. In this way she can be both submissive in her actions and independent in her motivation for them.

Complementing a wife's duty not to contend with her

husband is her responsibility to present him with agreeable companionship and a pleasing personality.[11] To accomplish this it is important that a wife refrain from nagging or other forms of irritating behavior. This is especially true, for Elizabeth, in her dealings with her servants. Her general manner of treating her servants will be discussed below, but it is important here to note that she feels it is a mistress's duty to deal with her household in a way that presents a positive appearance to the master. When necessary, he should be called on to discipline recalcitrant offenders, but for the most part, the mistress must learn either to handle her own problems or to suffer them in silence. Evidently, Elizabeth does a significant amount of suffering. She rather naively blames the fondness of some men for going "abroad" on their wives' habit of complaining about servants. Anxious that her own husband should always court her company, she is thankful that he has "hitherto appear'd always pleas'd" with being with her and hopes she will never "disgust" him by her conduct. Women who are "troublesome" often find their husbands absenting themselves from their homes to indulge in such vices as gaming and drinking to excess (interestingly, Elizabeth seems to know of only two vices to which men are particularly susceptible). Clearly, before condemning her husband's behavior, a woman should look to her own for possible cause. According to the double standard under which she lives, the burden of guilt for violations on both sides of the relationship falls to the

woman.[12]

Sometimes, however, a woman is unfortunate enough to marry a man unworthy of her, one "who loves the dice or card table dearly" and "will have little shame" in visiting them. Elizabeth feels herself blessed that Mr. Washington is not such a man.

While Elizabeth's attitude toward her husband is deferential, she is not totally honest with him. She never tells him of her writing, nor does she fully discuss her religious convictions with him. Although her "heart has been much taken up with religion, yet very little has (she) talked about it." Her reason is that she never felt herself competent to discuss such things in public. In fact, she lacks confidence to such a degree that her husband gives her "many lectures in his way for being so diffident." However, his attempts at boosting her ego fail, and she continues to be dissatisfied with her ability to converse on topics of importance. Her self-consciousness and her husband's response fit easily into the patriarchal structure of Virginia society; at times she appears more child than wife.

Elizabeth's sorrow at Lund's death is sincere. She is devastated over the loss of her "dear partner and companion." He suffered "seven years in the furnace of affliction" and was so deserving a man she hopes God has "purified him as pure gold." She begs God to give her perfect resignation to yet another act of divine will. It is

as though Lund's death is the final blow, leaving her shaken and guilt-ridden for what she sees as her failure to overcome her "evil nature." Lund's death has also brought to her a sense of her own mortality, and she begins to worry about the condition of her soul.

Elizabeth outlived her husband by eighteen years, but unlike many of her contemporaries she never remarried, although as a relatively well-to-do widow in her fifties, she may have had the opportunity.[13] Perhaps her relative wealth gave her the autonomy, or the courage, to remain unmarried.[14] The last entry in her journal is dated December 1796, five months after Lund's death. In it Elizabeth has become morbid and paranoid, certain that her servants are only marking time until her death, after which they can appropriate her books and manuscripts, the only possessions that she worries about, perhaps the only things she considers her own.

It is rare to find a record of the duration and scope of Elizabeth Washington's journal. Through it can be seen her development from "spinster" to young wife to older, settled wife to widow. Her relationship with her husband, while apparently happy, was based on her sense of duty and submission to his will. Like other women of her day, she worried over her choice of mates, regarded her husband with deference, and saw herself as an extension of his existence. His satisfaction was her reward for proper wife-like behavior. In these ways she appears to reflect accurately

and successfully the view of the ideal wife that was prevalent in eighteenth-century America.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. Spruill, p. 136; Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady from Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 4. While care must be taken when using works dealing primarily with the nineteenth century, Scott's analysis is based on traditional attitudes toward women that were formulated a century before.

2. Lebsock, p. 20; Fox and Quitt, p. 46.

3. Norton, p. 41.

4. Lebsock, p. 17, 28; Cott, pp. 77-80.

5. Fox and Quitt, p. 31; Norton, pp. 47-50.

6. Jan Lewis, "Domestic Tranquility and the Management of Emotion among the Gentry of Pre-Revolutionary Virginia," in William and Mary Quarterly, XXIX (Jan 1892), p. 145.

7. Norton, pp. 61-66. For a detailed discussion of the type of reading materials popular among women in the Colonial period, see "The Lady's Library" in Spruill, pp. 208-231.

8. Scott, p. 6

9. Norton, pp. 43-45; Spruill, pp. 163-184.

10. Norton, p. 64.

11. Spruill, p. 164

12. Scott, p. 11; Norton, pp. 63-65; Spruill, p. 167.

13. Fox and Quitt, p. 52; Norton, pp. 132-133.

14. Lebsock, pp. 26-27; Fox and Quitt, pp. 52-54. All three authors agree that age and wealth were important factors in a widow's decision to remarry. The younger a widow the more likely she was to remarry, especially if she had minor children. Women able to support themselves, as Elizabeth was able to do, could be more selective, and many chose to enjoy the autonomy widowhood offered.

CHAPTER TWO: "TO HOUSEKEEPING"

For the mistress of a southern plantation, "family" consisted of two main parts, her children and her servants. The role of woman being that of childbearer, the best mother was considered to be the one with the most children.[1] In eighteenth-century America, a woman could expect to become pregnant within a year of her marriage and experience that state at approximately two-year intervals for the duration of her child-bearing years. Demographers estimate that a woman of this period could expect to bear between five and seven live children.[2] This generalization obscures regional variations, however, for Chesapeake woman as a group bore less than half as many children as their northern counterparts.[3] It was not uncommon for baby or mother, or both, to die in childbirth, and many women expressed their fears of such death, while at the same time resigning themselves to Providence. Cotton Mather's classic work, Elizabeth in her Holy Retirement. An Essay to Prepare a Pious Woman for her Lying In (Boston, 1710), while probably more widely-read in New England than in the southern colonies, is an example of the type of literature that dealt with these fears.[4] Mather advised expectant women to prepare for death, for with conception, death, too, may have entered their bodies. Certainly, he counselled, "your Pregnant Time

should be above all a Praying Time."[5]

If the perils of birth were survived, parents could then anticipate their child's infancy as an equally precarious time. One difficulty with estimating infant mortality in the eighteenth century is that the majority of those who died in their first year died within the first weeks of life, thereby cheating birth and baptismal records and demographers of their statistics.[6] Reactions to an infant's death varied from mother to father, from family to family, and from one geographical region to another. However, the belief that eighteenth-century parents, especially those in New England, refrained from expressing any deep affection for a child until its survival was secure has recently come under attack. Many historians now explore the shift away from the reserve exhibited early and mid-century to the advent of child-centered families, where affection was freely admitted and given.[7] This trend grew throughout the later years of the eighteenth century as upheavals in the religious and social order culminated in the nineteenth-century era of Romanticism, which brought with it an acceptance of publicly-expressed emotion.

Once an infant's life was secure, the mother's responsibility for the rearing of her offspring began in earnest. In the early years, male and female children were both consigned to the mother's care, as she began their social development, religious instruction, and general

preparation for adulthood. While northern women could turn to several well-known tracts on child-rearing, those ladies' books and magazines popular in the South, although full of advice on home-making and on maintaining conjugal felicity, were unusually silent concerning the subject of children. Southern women appear to have depended upon tuition and the principles of child-rearing passed down to them from their mothers.[8]

Around the age of seven gender distinctions were made, and the care of boys for both informal and formal education fell to their fathers, male tutors, or masters, if apprenticed. Girls remained with their mothers to be initiated into the domestic realm first through imitation and later by more formal instruction.[9] This constant association between mother and daughter often produced a close friendship that lasted until death.[10]

Under the plantation system a woman cared not only for her immediate family but for her servants or slaves as well.[11] The discipline of field hands was left to the master or overseer, but the supervision of the household help fell to the mistress, and the household's efficiency was a reflection of her ability. It seems contradictory for society to demand both submissiveness and stern leadership from the same person. Indeed, many young brides were daunted by the prospect of dominating slaves and in the end were dominated by them.[12] To preserve for her husband the image

of ease and domestic tranquility, a woman had to manage her servants by herself, calling on his superior authority only as a last resort. Though help was never lacking in the form of bodies, willing spirits had to be cultivated through reason, bribery, discipline, and constant attention.[13] Slaves had nothing to gain by their service, while their masters and mistresses had everything to lose without it.[14] The intimacy of life in the great house meant every fault appeared in full view; only model masters and mistresses could refrain from occasional outbursts of temper. The situation could quickly become a test of one's patience and Christian behavior. Few aspects of woman's work contrasted more dramatically with the image of delicacy and submissiveness than the responsibility of managing slaves. Only those gifted in human relations had little difficulty; others were caught in a constant struggle against laziness, blatant defiance, and intimidation.[16]

Many women also found themselves caught between the demands of religious piety and the evils of slavery and had to rationalize the latter through attempts to Christianize their slaves. Thus, religious instruction was extended to the household and the holding of family prayers became largely the responsibility of the mistress. As a further extension of this duty, the mistress often served as a humanizing force in the master-slave relationship, for lacking the physical strength to force servants to obey, she had to cultivate the ability to reason with or manipulate

those under her care.[17] The mistress shared with her slaves a common subservience to the master, a position which perhaps gave her a better understanding of both parties.

As mistress of her household a woman was responsible for the physical maintenance of the home and its occupants, as well as for the entertainment of guests. The tranquility of the family, white and black, depended on her ability to settle petty disagreements, cajole, motivate or threaten her servants into working, and all the while maintain an appearance of fragility and ease. The failure to be a good mistress, a job involving the duties of both a mother and a wife, was a serious breach of gender responsibilities.

Elizabeth did not begin her duties as mistress of her own household until five years after her marriage. During this time she lived at Mount Vernon as part of that family. In 1784, Lund constructed a house on land he purchased from General George Washington, and the couple moved into "Hayfield" during the winter of 1784-1785. Several months earlier, before she had begun her formal duties as mistress, Elizabeth began to record in her journal her "rules to go by" as she and Lund took up housekeeping. At this point her resolutions were largely theoretical, and as she tried to implement them she would find them in many ways inadequate.

Elizabeth's first concern is for her servants, for

she as yet has had no children, barring the stillborn child in 1782. She vows to treat her "domesticks with all the friendly kindness that is possible ... & never to think they were given to me to domineer over." As a means to this end, she decides never to scold a servant if it is possible to avoid it, but instead to point out any fault in a kind way. Thus, her attitude toward her supervisory duties is to rule by reason and example. She plans to be pleasant but strict, "with a steadiness that they may know I will not be impos'd upon." She does not ask that her servants serve her; rather, their efforts should be directed to the service of God, who determined their position in life. Servitude, then, like wifely obedience, is divinely ordained and thus not a measure of submission to man's will but of the acceptance of God's.

Elizabeth's second rule is never to find fault with a servant in front of his or her master. This restraint serves two purposes. First, it allows the servant to save his or her dignity and, in the process, "feel some gratitude towards me for hiding their faults." Second, her hiding of their faults from her husband reinforces the atmosphere of domestic tranquility it is so important to maintain. Whether this subterfuge is for his benefit, by providing a pleasant home life, or hers, by hiding her failures to keep order, is not clear. However, Elizabeth believes wives' habit of constantly finding fault with their servants was a major cause of their husbands "being very fond of going abroad."

As her third rule, Elizabeth promises to avoid hurting her servants' feelings and to tell them of a fault as gently as possible. Thus, she decides against scolding one servant in front of another, preferring instead to wait for an opportunity to speak privately with the offender. Unfortunately, this approach prevents the use of discipline as a public example of what will happen if others misbehave. And by allowing time to elapse between error and correction she decreases the probability of a connection being made between the two. Elizabeth hopes that waiting for an opportunity to deliver a deserved rebuff will teach her patience and forebearance. Exactly what it will teach her servants is unclear.

Her last rule concerning servants is that she will not find fault with them in front of her children, should she have any. By keeping these resolutions, Elizabeth hopes that "when we get to housekeeping our family will be conducted in great peace & quietness."

As part of the management of her servants, Elizabeth acknowledges her duty as their spiritual instructor. Within two years of taking up housekeeping she is conducting family prayers morning and night. Her prayers are of her own creation, which is unusual in light of her Anglican background. In 1792 she admits with great distress that her "family" has become so "Baptistical" that they refuse to pray with her. She keeps at it as long as she can,

"untill it was a mere farce to attempt it any longer." Hoping that God will forgive her for failing, Elizabeth frets over her inability to discharge her duty, as "it is impress'd on my mind that the master or mistress of a family, ought to have daily Prayer in their family."

After much discussion on the merits of privately scolding her servants and maintaining an air of tranquility, so that "our visitors think we have the best of servants, & that I have no trouble, - because I do not talk of the fatigue & trouble of a family," Elizabeth reveals the truth. "If my visitors knew how little my servants did they would not think them good - nay [there] is few would put up with their servants doing so little as mine - & that little I am oblig'd to follow them to get done." Her gentle ways have proved less than effective, and now she "cannot get them to do more without scolding and whipping, - & I cannot do either - therefore am often oblig'd to exercise my patience & try to be contented." Elizabeth does not make clear where she thinks the fault lies, whether with her servants or herself. Still, she is resigned, for despite her disappointment with her servants, "there is nothing but perfect peace & harmony reigns in our habitation." Through her efforts and those of her husband, who in her opinion is the best of masters, "there is no servants who enjoys more of the comforts of life than his does, - for their servitude is made as easy to them as it is possible."

In terms of family, the purpose of Elizabeth's writing is two-fold. First, she records her "intentions reflecting domestick business" so that she may remember her thoughts as she made her resolutions and see in retrospect whether she was able to execute them. Second, she writes so that any children she bears "may see the method I persu'd to live happily with my family." This second purpose will become especially important should she have daughters, for it would be helpful for them to know how she envisions family harmony. Perhaps more important, should she die in childbirth, or before her daughters reach the age of discretion, "whatever Legacy in advice a dead Mother leaves her Daughters, must have great wait [sic] with them" This concern with potential death was common among expectant mothers, especially before the development of modern pre-natal care. Elizabeth intends her journal to stand in her place should she die in childbirth.

It is not Elizabeth who dies, however. She has one stillborn child, a girl, in 1782, while still in residence at Mount Vernon. In mid-1784 she is pregnant again. By November of that year she reports the birth of a fine child named Lucinda. "Should she live - it shall be my true endeavour to bring her up in the fear & love of the Lord," even though such a thing were an "old-fashioned" notion. Thus Elizabeth expresses her maternal responsibility for her child's salvation. Unfortunately, Lucinda dies less than a year later.

Three years later Elizabeth records the birth of another daughter, again named Lucinda, "& if it lives, I will strive to discharge the duty of a parent who wishes to glorify her redeemer." Again, the fear of death surfaces and Elizabeth writes, "should I leave my dear child before she arrives to the year[s] of discresition [sic] - I hope she will read this manuscript more than once." Elizabeth's writing is didactic, not only in domestic affairs, but in spiritual ones as well, for she records, "let me tell my dear child - that there is no real happiness without religion." Still, a manuscript is a poor substitute for a mother's love, and "there is many things that will be necessary to give advice upon that I am not so capable of writing down." In the spring of 1789 Elizabeth plans to end her writing, for "as well as I can recollect I think I have made a memorandum of what I wish a child should know reflecting our domestic affairs, - therefore shall not write much more." Should Lucinda live, "we shall have many conversations upon what I have written." So Elizabeth plans to end her journal, "without any extraordinary thing should happen."

By October 1789 the extraordinary has happened. Her second child dies after "three months extreme illness." Elizabeth has not written in her journal in approximately six months, although for a least half that time she has watched her child sicken and die. During the same time, Lund has developed an inflammation in his eyes that will later result in blindness. It seems odd that Elizabeth did not confide

her fears in her diary, where she previously expressed her hopes. Writing after her daughter's death, she takes some comfort in believing that "the almighty knows it was my Sincere intention to bring my children up to glorify him in all their actions." Like many devout mothers, she feels God has conferred a great honor on her, by thinking her worthy to bear children who he thought fit only to live with him.[13]

By 1792 Elizabeth admits that it is improbable that she will have any more children. She expresses concern for her book, and her other manuscripts, should they fall into the hands of disinterested or unsypathetic relatives or servants. "Some how I feel a greater desire to have had some one to have given this Book to, then I do of any of the others - I suppose the reason is, because this Book is all my own thoughts and reflections." So she makes plans to destroy her other manuscripts, saving only her journal. "What pleasure a child would have taken in reading this after their mother was gone - but let me be dumb - & not say another word, - the dispensations of heaven are all right." Having planned for her own death, Elizabeth does not know how to resolve those of her children. She is deprived of the close companionship of growing and grown daughters and of the chance to fulfill her physical and spiritual duties as a mother.

The roles of mistress and mother were difficult ones for Elizabeth. Despite her best efforts she could not

inspire her servants to provide more than satisfactory service. At the end of her journal she writes as though afraid of them, requesting God's intervention to "influence the hearts of my servants and cause them to treat me with respect." But while her household was not the most efficient, it was peaceful, so her goal was at least partially achieved.

As a mother, Elizabeth conceived three times, brought to full term two daughters, and lost both. If the best mother was the one with the most children, Elizabeth had no claim to the title. Her hopes for a close relationship between mother and daughter were thwarted, and she also failed to provide her husband with a male heir to carry on his name. Her intentions were good, and she had a clear understanding of her role and its responsibilities as society defined it. Unfortunately she was never successful at implementing her plans. But Elizabeth was resigned, for God's will was ever at work, and she had no choice but to accept it.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

1. Spruill, p. 44-45.

2. Norton, Liberty's Daughters, pp. 71-72.

3. Fox and Quitt, p. 213.

4. Cotton Mather, "Elizabeth in her Holy Retirement. An Essay to Prepare a Pious Woman for her Lying in (Boston, 1710)," in The Colonial American Family: Collected Essays (New York: Arno Press, 1972). Catherine M. Schotten, in "Changing Customs of Childbirth in America, 1760-1823," in The Private Side of American History, vol. I, Nash ed., refers to this work and to John Oliver's A Present for Teeming American Women (Boston, 1694) as two popular American tracts on the divinely ordained hazards of childbirth.

5. Mather, C_{verso}.

6. Daniel B. Smith, "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake," in Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 8 (Winter 1978), p. 412.

7. Norton, Liberty's Daughters, p. 88. See also Daniel B. Smith, Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in the Eighteenth-Century Cheseapeake (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), for a discussion of the movement from a society characterized by restraint to one in which affection was freely given, and in which the death of a child was acknowledged as a major emotional loss to its parents. Jan Lewis makes the same observation in The Pursuit of Happiness.

8. Spruill, p. 55. For an example of a tract popular in the northern colonies, see Eleazar Moody, "The School of Good Manners: Composed for the Help of Parents Teaching Their Children How to Behave During Their Minority (Boston, 1775)," in The Colonial American Family. Moody provides advice on table manners, suggestions for catechisms and prayers, and sermons on the vices of lying and cheating.

9. Daniel B. Smith, Inside the Great House, pp. 55-60.

10. Norton, Liberty's Daughters, pp. 100-109.

11. James Curtis Ballagh, A History of Slavery in Virginia (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902), p. 100. John W. Blassingame, in The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Anti-Bellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), discusses the distinction between field hands, from whom the master had to maintain a great deal of social distance in order to support his authority, and the house servants, whose intimate connections to the family lowered some of the social barriers between white and black.

12. Scott, p. 29. Also Nathan Irvin Huggins, Black Odyssey: The Afro-American Ordeal in Slavery (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), p. 135.

13. Ernest P. Groves, The American Woman: The Feminine Side of a Masculine Civilization (New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1974), p. 145.

14. Edmund Morgan, Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1953), p. 42.

15. Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p. 336.

16. Scott, pp. 36-37.

17. Norton, Liberty's Daughters, pp. 88-89.

CHAPTER THREE: "PERFECT RESIGNATION"

By the eighteenth century it was widely accepted that women by nature were more religious than men.[1] The Church of England, the established church in most of the southern colonies, explained this according to the Pauline doctrine, which maintained woman's inferiority in the Creation and thereby justified her exclusion from church office. To compensate, God gave woman a greater capacity for religious sentiment.[2] To women fell the burden for inculcating religious practices in the family; they were expected to follow the rituals more faithfully and to take all matters of faith more seriously than did men.[3] Of the three basic components of Christianity, only piety, encompassing personal devotional life and the public celebrations of ritual, was suited to women's understanding. Theology was too complex intellectually and was thus reserved for the clergy; ethical responsibility required involvement in worldy affairs, so therefore fell to men.[4] The so-called "Second Great Awakening," that period of increased religious fervor just after the Revolution, saw in addition to the rise of evangelical sects an increased devotion to God in the established churches. But even as it became more acceptable for men to express openly their religious feelings, it became less so for women not to. While religion was desirable in

men, it was dispensible. For women religion was a necessity.[5]

Women's religious role offered both opportunity and responsibility. Opportunity came in the form of increased social and emotional interaction with peers, which was a welcome break in the monotony of household duties. Religion also gave women a means or justification for self-indulgent introspection and a chance to explore their individuality apart from husband, father, or family.[6] This self-analysis was encouraged by such English literature, popular in the Southern colonies, as Richard Allestree's two works, The Whole Duty of Man, which explained the role of women in the family, and The Ladies Calling, which reinforced the idea of women's "peculiar aptness" toward piety; and James Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women, which helped young women to accept and prepare for their future, inferior status.[7] Piety was encouraged by the clergy and by society because it did not pose a threat to women's domestic duties and therefore was a "safe" occupation.[8]

Of particular importance was the influence women's piety gave them over membership in formal religious institutions. While forbidden to take part officially in the running of the church, women were active lay participants. They were especially concerned where church and family roles intersected, such as in the religious education of children and servants and the observation of religious rituals within

the family. The role of religious educator was the one significant, officially sanctioned position any woman could hold in the eighteenth-century established church.[9]

The religious responsibilities of women were many and mostly centered around the family. Despite being considered intellectually unsuited for participation in the formal organization of the church, a woman was expected to understand the fundamentals of religion well enough to be able to teach them to her children and servants or slaves.[10] While illiteracy was high among southern women especially, catechism could be both taught and learned by rote.[11] If her husband was an unbeliever a women was expected to try to reclaim him by persuasive argument or, failing at that, through her good example. Also, women were expected to attend church faithfully, and whenever possible to take their families and husbands with them.[12] In their homes women were expected to observe the rituals of family prayers at meals and in the morning and evening. With these responsibilities came the assurance that by observing them families could expect to live together quietly and lovingly.[13]

Eighteenth-century religion served many important functions by binding individuals into communities and tying communities together. It also consecrated the important transitions and traumas in life.[14] For women it served the special function of providing a means to order their lives and to cope with emotional problems, the most serious of

which was the death of a loved one.[15] In a time when many adults and children died for no apparent reason, the acceptance of God's will and the belief that death was one of the manifestations of that will helped ease what would otherwise have been an overwhelming burden.[16] Many women saw the loss of a child as a necessary test of their faith, and many justified death as a sign of God's love or approval, for by taking a child early in life He spared it the trials of living.[17]

Although Anglican, Elizabeth sometimes exhibits in her writing a religious intensity usually associated with one of the evangelical sects.[18] At times her religion so permeates her writing that it becomes questionable whether it is a true reflection of her nature, or an exaggeration for didactic purposes. Her reputation as a pious woman and her own frequent references to the reading of religious works would seem to indicate that her sentiments were genuine.[19] She writes, in part, so that she may tell her children "that there is no real happiness without religion." Yet her references to the "Baptistical notions" of her servants show her to be wary of the rising evangelical influence. Her faith is profound, but at the same time appears rational and restrained.

Elizabeth's religion is extremely personal. She strives for a religion that "effectually touches the heart," for "to conform to the outward cerimonies of religion is

nothing, if it does not proceed from a sincere desire to please the almighty being." She speaks several times against what she considers the hypocritical outward show of religion, devoid of inner faith, "for it has ever appear'd to me, to be the greatest contradiction in the world to be call'd after his name & at the same time not to walk in his steps." Such a contradiction can be avoided by cultivating humility, meekness, and patience. At times Elizabeth's tone verges on the defensive, as when she berates "the world that loves its own, [and] will make great allowances for each other, indiscretions [sic], and even vices, will be charged to the account of human infirmity - but when a person professes to be a believer in gesus [sic], there is no such charity extended to them." Still, she hopes any children she has will understand that they should "never be ashamed of being religious - never suffer your conscience to upbraid for the want of insincerity [sic]." Elizabeth uses her faith to develop her capacity for patience and acceptance and to correct what she sees as faults in her character. Her meditation on "the infinite goodness & mercy of the Almighty towards" her has softened her heart so that she "cannot feel angry two minutes together" and thus has eliminated an undesirable personality trait.

Early in her journal, in her musings on marriage, Elizabeth expresses her hope that her husband "may never be against my being as religious as my inclinations may lead me." Later, she reflects on her inability to express these

inclinations publicly, "for altho' my heart has been very much taken up with religion, yet very little have I talked about it." The reason, she admits, is that she has always thought herself incompetent to speak on religious matters, and "indeed I have ever found a want of words to express my ideas of anything, much more so serious a thing as religion is." She accepts in herself the belief that women are not capable of understanding and discussing religion theologically. Therefore she has "thought it best to say but little, & endeavour to attain the practicle part."

This "practicle part" includes her religious duties, which were two. First, obviously, she tries to lead a religious life herself, following her understanding of the demands of the Christian faith in terms of humility, meekness, patience, and resignation, and thereby to serve as an example to her family. Second, she attempts to insure her family's spiritual well-being through morning and evening prayer and by persuading any who will listen that the Christian life is the best. Her intentions are good, but her success in this area is mixed.

Nothing would give Elizabeth greater happiness than "having a truly religious family - not led away with Baptistical notions - but a religion that effectually touches the heart - no outside shew." To encourage this, Elizabeth institutes a routine of family worship. "Within two years after we came home to live - I had prayers in my family night

and morning - & very constant." At the time of this entry, in the spring of 1789, she notes that her family does not seem overly fond of the practice, but "what is the cause I know not - human nature I believe is naturally averse to any thing that is good." Her understanding of human nature is canny enough to know the pitfalls of routine, however, and so she carefully varies her prayers to prevent boredom through repetition. "It may perhaps be wondered of, why I wrote so many morning Prayers & evening ones, when it is customary to use only one ... through the course of the lives of those who prays in their families." She is afraid that those who repeat the same prayer over a period of time will not think about what they are saying, that their prayers will be reduced to babble, and that human nature being frail respecting prayer, "it will tire with a constant sameness without the heart is much affected with religion." Consequently, Elizabeth draws from her repertoire of nine morning and nine evening prayers. She is unusually determined in that she composes her own prayers, rather than using a standard catechism, and that she takes such efforts in the process and in observing the daily ritual.

In addition to daily prayer, Elizabeth tries to persuade her servants to serve God, to "do their business through a principal of religion," and not merely to satisfy her. Accordingly, she endeavors to "make them think I do not wish they should behave well for my sake ... & that if they will do their business for his sake I shall be well serv'd if

they never think of me."

Elizabeth's intentions are noble, but she is not successful in her efforts to inspire her family. Despite her gentle treatment of her servants and her efforts to convince them to serve God rather than her, she is forced to report that there "is few would put up with their servants doing so little as mine." She is puzzled over the outcome of her experiment and writes, "I think there is servants that was they to meet with the same treatment from their superiors that mine does from me, - they would be better servants." It seems, then, that she sees the problem as lying not in her efforts but in the materials, her servants, that she has to work with.

In 1792, only three years after beginning her program of daily prayer, Elizabeth admits defeat. "I am griev'd greatly to have this to set down - that my family is got so Baptistical in their notions, as to think they commit a crime to join with me in Prayer ... so that I am oblig'd to give out having Prayers - in my family, - which has given me great concern." It is impossible to know for certain just what Elizabeth means by "Baptistical" notions and whether the adjective is to be taken literally as signifying her servants' conversion to the Baptist faith. If so, such an event would correspond with the upswing in the popularity of the Baptist church, which was part of the general increase in evangelical fervor following the Revolution. The Baptist

faith, with its use of an uneducated clergy, its flexible church structure, and its emotional appeal, was especially popular among the lower classes, for it provided an alternative to the formality and impersonality of the Episcopal church. The Baptists were the most willing of the evangelical sects to accept blacks, free and slave, as spiritual equals, and many prominent church members expressed anti-slavery sentiments.[20] This attitude, along with several parallels between Baptist doctrine and African death and rebirth traditions, both using water as a means to their respective ends, helped increase the church's influence among the black population. The Baptists represented a threat to the authority of the established Anglican/Episcopal order of which Elizabeth was a member. For Elizabeth the threat was also a personal one; it was a repudiation of her authority within the household and signified that she had failed in one of her primary functions as mistress.

One of the most important aspects of Elizabeth's religion is its consoling properties. Her resignation to God's will is evident in her thoughts concerning marriage, for when she contemplates the risks involved in her choice of a mate, she writes that "as I believe nothing happens by chance, so it is my duty to bear with what the Almighty permits." When acquaintances are unkind, her faith allows her to rise above them and keep herself from "making such answers sometimes as would [have] been severe". When her servants convert contrary to her wishes, she takes comfort in

the hope that "my gracious God knows the desire I had to serve him daily in my family - [and] that I shall not be answerable for not having family Prayers." But her religion asserts itself most strongly during times of bereavement.

After the death of her first child Elizabeth writes, "it has been the divine will to take my dear Lucinda from me, after two or three days illness, - & if she was taken away for the correction of her parents - God grant the affliction may prosper in the design it was sent for - give me patience oh Lord to submit to thy will as I ought." In her self-effacing way she takes the blame for her child's death, for surely it would not have occurred had she as a mother lived a more Christian life. After the death of her second child, Elizabeth takes comfort in knowing that God realizes her intention was to bring up her children to glorify him in all their actions. She feels something akin to honor, for God thought her daughter worthy enough to enjoy heaven "without experiencing any of the troubles that attends mankind in passing through this vale of misery."

The greatest test of Elizabeth's faith comes after the death of her husband, when she asks God for perfect resignation to his divine will. She begs forgiveness for all her past sins that they might not be held against her in the future and requests the strength to overcome the unfaithfulness of her heart, which she feels played some part in bringing about Lund's death. It can only be hoped she

achieved the perfect resignation she desired, for her journal ends five months after Lund's death, in December 1796, leaving the issue apparently unresolved.

Religion was the strongest influence in Elizabeth's life. She attempted to fulfill her responsibilities for her family's spiritual well-being by proselytizing within her family and by serving as an example. She used her faith to correct flaws in her character, such as anger, and as consolation in times of sorrow, such as after the deaths of her children and husband. At times her writing seems to exaggerate her faith, elevating it to heights unusual in an age known more for caution and restraint. But attitudes were changing, and while the public sphere was still characterized by restraint, in the private sector personal expression was gaining acceptance. Perhaps Elizabeth was part of the link to a new era, a time when the romance of religious sentiment would be cultivated as one of the attributes of True Womanhood and when a woman need never be afraid of being as religious as her inclinations make her.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

1. Alice E. Mathews, "The Religious Experience of Southern Women," in Women and Religion in America, vol. 2, Reuther and Keller, eds. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 198.

2. Spruill, pp. 245-246.

3. Joan R. Gunderson, "The Non-Institutional Church: The Religious Role of Women in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Special Issue: Episcopal Women's History, I:51 (December 1982), p. 349. See also Jan Lewis, The Pursuit of Happiness, p. 47.

4. Samuel S. Hill, Jr., The South and the North in American Religion (Athens, Ga.: The University of Georgia Press, 1980), p. 3

5. Lewis, pp. 43-37.

6. Alice E. Mathews, p. 193; Cott, p. 140.

7. Alice E. Mathews, p. 198; Spruill, p. 245.

8. Cott, pp. 135-136.

9. Gunderson, pp. 347-357.

10. Spruill, p. 246.

11. Gunderson, p. 351.

12. Spruill, p. 246.

13. Benjamin Wadsworth's "The Well-Ordered Family, or Relative Duties (Boston, 1712)," in The Colonial American Family, is an example of the type of advice a literate New England women might have read. While the Southern colonies had in many ways closer ties with English literary culture than with that of their Northern sisters, it is possible this book, or one like it, could have fallen into the hands of someone as widely-read as Elizabeth Washington. See also, Daniel B. Smith, Inside the Great House, p. 41.

14. Donald G. Mathews, Religion in the Old South (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), p. 4.

15. Roberta Tansman Jacobs, "A Woman's Place: Elizabeth Ambler of Virginia, 1780-1823," in Journal of Popular Culture, XX:1 (Summer 1977), p. 215.

16. Scott, p. 13.

17. Anne C. Loveland, "Domesticity and Religion in the Antebellum Period: The Career of Phoebe Palmer," in The Historian 39 (May 1977), p. 457; also Norton, Liberty's Daughters, p. 90.

18. Alice E. Mathews, p. 199.

19. McGroarty, pp. 154-165.

20. Garnett Ryland, The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926 (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, 1955), pp. 151-155.

21. Mechal Sobel, Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith, Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, Number 36 (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1979). See also Genovese, pp. 234-235; and Milton C. Sennett, Black Religion and American Evangelism: White Protestants, Plantation Missions, and the Flowering of Negro Christianity, 1787-1865 (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975).

CONCLUSION

In 1792, after accepting that it is improbable she will have any more children, Elizabeth expresses concern for the future of her journal and other manuscripts. She addresses herself to "who ever you are that they fall into the hands off [sic]" and asks that her writings be given more than a casual reading. "Who knows but what it may please God to cause a thought to arise in your hearts that you may be better for it ever after." She is anxious for her words to live on after her death, and not only that they live, but that they influence their readers. Having no children, friends, or female relatives to pass them on to, she offers them to whomever shows an interest.

By 1796, in her last entry, Elizabeth has changed her mind. "Should any one come across this Book - let me entreat them not to expose it - it is my intention to write it over again - but perhaps I may die before it is done." Obviously, she did not write the book over; if she had, this last passage would have been deleted. But why the change of heart? Perhaps because it had dawned on her that the ideal life she set out to describe was not achieved, and so the work, and by implication the writer, were flawed.

Elizabeth wanted to be perfect. She took to heart

the ideal qualities society prescribed for her. By her contemporaries' definition she was destined to marry, and barring widowhood, to live her life subordinated to her husband. His happiness was to be her main objective. Elizabeth agreed with this prescription, and yet defended her agreement by claiming that her motives lay in her faith. So while it was her duty to serve man, that duty was assigned to her by God, to whom both she and her husband were subordinate.

Society also dictated a woman's role as procreator. Elizabeth had the potential to be a loving, conscientious mother, although at times her musings on the upbringing of children are a bit idealized. She planned above all to rear her children to live Christian lives; beyond that she wanted them to live peacefully in their families. But she never had the chance to implement her plans, for her children died before they were old enough to benefit from them. Elizabeth did not question her losses, however. She saw both birth and death as the will of God, not to be understood or reasoned, merely accepted.

Elizabeth's society also designated a woman's responsibility for the efficiency of her household, and it was here, in her dealings with her servants, that Elizabeth exhibited the most inexperience. The fact that she wrote down her intentions in advance shows she that had spent more time theorizing about than actually managing slaves.

Consequently, she was forced to admit her failings both in the efficient management of her household help and in persuading them to accept her faith. Being so "diffident," she did not possess the strong presence necessary to command her servants, nor was she able to convince them that they should see their servitude as divinely ordained. She was perhaps too considerate of their feelings, at the expense of their productivity.

Thus, for example, at one point Elizabeth writes about her two "girls," apparently slaves and obviously substitutes for the grown daughters she did not have, whom she has taught to read and write, so that "there is few Ladies ever had the same pain taken with them." She is satisfied that she has "done what I could do towards their happiness in this world, & in that which is to come." Yet in the same passage she mentions that despite her best efforts, they are not "such servants as one might expect."

In general Elizabeth's servants do not appear to have been grateful for or appreciative of her efforts on their behalf. And while her family lived in great peace and quietness, she purchased that tranquility by forcing herself to remain silent about her servants' faults; she refused to scold them or to report any misbehavior to her husband. Lund, having managed Mount Vernon's workers for twenty-six years, was no doubt an able master. Perhaps his expertise made Elizabeth even more hesitant to admit her own failings.

So Elizabeth was successful, a relative term, in only one of her three roles. She was a good wife, but an inefficient mistress and an unrealized mother. Unfortunately, as few eighteenth-century women left private, self-revealing accounts like Elizabeth's, it is impossible to know how many others like her tried and failed to live up to their society's expectations. The percentage was probably high, for few ideals translate well into everyday existence.

The late eighteenth century was a time of many revolutions. These began as gradual changes in the religious and social order and culminated in rapid changes in the political sphere. The ongoing evolution of society is difficult to plot, so it is awkward to connect general changes in the position of women in the family and society with specific events occurring in a world dominated by men. While it is true there are great differences between the women's culture of the eighteenth century and that of the nineteenth, the same is true of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of the nineteenth and twentieth. These differences did not develop overnight, or even in precisely measurable periods of time. And although it is important to note the manifestations of change over time, the fact that a society's perception of the ideal woman varies is secondary to the realization that no matter how the definition reads, women continue to try, and many no doubt to fail, to live up to it.

In most respects Elizabeth Washington was no different from other women of her class. Like them she was caught up in a role defined by a society that had no conception of the contraditions contained therein, contradictions such as submissiveness and authority, industry and fragility. Elizabeth was unusual, however, in that she carefully recorded her perceptions of her various roles, and the reasoning, or perhaps more accurately the rationalization, behind her actions. The question is whether she wrote to preserve her thoughts for later self-reflection or sought on a broader scale to preserve a way of life in an era of rapid change. She was careful to avoid all identifiable names and events, thereby making her journal essentially timeless, so perhaps the latter is true. If so, was she recording her life for future generations or justifying it?

Motivation is hard to discern even when dealing with current or recent events. When analyzing things in retrospect, all that can be safely assumed is a basic cause-and-effect relationship. Elizabeth purported to write so that her daughters could learn from her experiences as a young wife, mother, and mistress. When none of her children survived, she was left with a record of arrested usefulness. Yet she continued to write until her husband's death. Possibly the journal had come to mean too much to her; it contained too many hopes to be easily discarded. And there is no way of knowing why she ended her journal after Lund's

death or why she never recopied it in the remaining sixteen years of her life. Whether the diary's survival, despite her stated intention to destroy it, was deliberate or by chance is still another mystery.

In many ways Elizabeth's journal raises more questions about the intricacies of motivation than it answers. Still, it is an important intellectual document, for it helps historians to see beyond the details of daily life. Ample documentation exists to reveal what people did in the past. Accounts like Elizabeth's yield clues as to why. Used in a context of social history, the journal reveals one woman's perceptions of herself and her place in the society around her, and by association, the perceptions of others like her. So while most of Elizabeth's experiences were the universals of her time, her journal provides a unique opportunity to see beyond the image of the ideal woman, to the realities of her existence. They were seldom the same.

APPENDIX

JOURNAL OF ELIZABETH (FOOTE) WASHINGTON

[1]November 1779

I have lately promised to enter into the holy state of matrimoney & may a Blessing of the Almighty attend this momentous step I have taken - may my gracious God direct & influence my heart & its affections, that I may make it my study to please my husband in every thing that is not against the divine Laws - & as there is a probablility of my living in Houses not my own for Sometime - may the Divine goodness assist me so, that I may [2]study to live in peace and friendship with the family where I live, - may it be one of my daily petitions to the throne of grace to conduct myself as a dutiful obediant wife -

I will make a memorandum of these petitions & put them in a little Book in case I should desire any time hence to add more of them, - & that I may remember what was my thoughts at the time of my changing my state, - I hope I have prepared myself for the worst that may happen - that is - if my marriage should prove a unhappy one - I trust I have so sin- [3]cere a desire to please my Savior that I hope I shall be enabled to bear with whatever is the divine will, - & as I believe nothing happens by chance, so it is my duty to bear

with what the Almighty permits with the same resignation as if [knew] he had willed it, but as my gracious God has been infinitely merciful to me, so I humbly hope my marriage may be an happy one - & [that] my husband may never be against my being as religious as my inclinations may lead me, - I pray God -

[4]The Summer 1784

I have now been married better than four years - & I think have had the satisfaction of conducting myself much to the approbation of my husband - & God grant I may continue to do it - hope I shall with the divine assistance - I can truely say I have never had cause to repent of my marriage - so far from it, that I do think there is not another man scarce to be found that would have suited so well as my dear Mr. W. - & I have reason to think [5]that he is perfectly satisfy'd with the choice he has made - which surely ought to make me very thankful to my gracious God for his infinite goodness to me - that my Prayers & petitions before marriage, & since should be so completely granted, - O my gracious God, give me an humble thankful heart for all thy unmerited goodness to me, - - God willing I expect I shall go to Housekeeping before this year is out, - therefore will set myself some rules to go by, - trusting in the divine goodness that I shall be enabled to [keep them], - as it is my sincere desire to walk [wel-]pleasing in the eyes [6]of my dear redeemer, - for it has ever appear'd to me, to be the greatest contradiction in the world to be call'd after his

name & at the same time not to walk in his steps, that is, - not to endeavour to follow the example and [pattern] he has set us, - by cultivating humility, meakness & patience within our hearts, - he knowing we should never get to heaven without we possessed those vertues in an emminent degree, endeavours to impress on his hearers the necessity of having them in all his conversation & sermons while upon earth, - his infinite goodness [7]was so great that he came [down] to shew mankind the way of getting to heaven by taking the nature of man on him & shewing what human nature was capable of doing, - for had he not done that we should never have thought we could have practic'd all the vertues & graces that is necessary, to carry us to heaven - but by his doing them with the human nature about him, - shews us we may do them with his assistance, - for surely if we do not endeavour to be as much like him as we can, - we never shall live with him - for if we are not humble - [8]meek, & of a patient forgiving temper, how can we expect to see the face of one who was all meekness, - who has not only told us we must forgive our enemies, - but we must love them - & yet there are some who will say they cannot forgive those who has offended them, - nor ever visit them - no - never see their faces if they can avoid it - is it not as much as to say they are determined they never will go to heaven if those who has displeas'd should have had the luck to get there before them, - how often does people act as if they [9]thought so, - & perhaps the offence that has been given is the merest trifle in the eyes

of every one who has heard it, - & often times the person that has given the offence never knows what is the cause of their acquaintance not visiting them - I thank God I am not of that disposition, - I have been used extremely ill in time past by more than one or two persons, exceedingly ill indeed, - all that have ever heard or seen in what manner I was treated by those persons was amaz'd, & and wonder'd how I could bear such treatment, - but I must for- [10]ever thank my gracious God - for possessing my heart with a sincere desire to please him - nothing else could have kept my evil nature from making such answers sometimes as would [have] been severe - but my heart has long been so softened, with meditation on the infinite goodness and mercy of the almighty towards me, & al mankind, that I cannot feel angry two minutes together - not even with those who were using me ill - for at the time of their ill treatment - my mind would feel as if it rose above them - & I could look on their behavior to me with indifference [11]- I bless my gracious redeemer for it -

- I have in some measure stray'd from my first purpose of sitting down to write - which was to lay down rules how I would conduct myself in my family - by treating my domesticks with all the friendly kindness that is possible for me to do, - & never to think they were given to me to domineer over - by treating them with harsh expressions, because they are in my power, - such as fool - Blockhead - vile wretches, - & many other [12]names that I hope I shall

ever think myself above using, - but on the contrary I will endeavour to do as follows, - - first -

- never to scold at a servant if it is possible to avoid it, - & I think if I endeavour to refrain from it - I shall be able to resist, - but when they do wrong talk to them in a kind and friendly way, pointing out their fault with kindness, - but at the same time with a steadiness that they may know I will not be impos'd upon - & I will endeavour [13]to make them think I do not wish they should behave well for my sake, but because it will be pleasing in the eyes of the almighty - & that if they will do their business for his sake I shall be well serv'd if they never think of me, - which is truly the case - I do most sincerely wish for their sakes - they may do their business with an earnest desire to please him - - nothing would give me so great pleasure as having a truly religious family - not led away with Baptistical notions - but a religion that [14]effectually touches the heart - no outside [shew] - - -

- rule the second -

- I will never find fault of a servant before their master - never to let them know that their master has the least idea that they [ever] offend me by any neglect of their business, - so that they shall never know he knows any of their faults - only just at the time that he may be oblig'd to speak to them - as I suppose will be the case sometimes - for I do not expect they will always behave so as never to

require his speaking to them - but I expect if they can think I do not tell of all their faults they will be much pleas'd, - because if they see he takes them to task for some of their faults - they would be apt to think what would he not do if he knew of all of them - so that by this method they may be brought to endeavour to please me, - & feel some gratitude towards me for hiding their faults as they will think - I dare say I shall hide many of their faults, - for that way of everlastingly finding fault & complaining of the worthlessness of servants I do abominate, - & it must feel irksome to every man who is ty'd to such women - it is my wish that my husband should court my company - not avoid it if he can - as must be the case with those men who has those teasing kind of wives, - or what else can be the meaning of men being so fond of going abroad - if it was not that they are sometimes tired of their wives company, - mine I thank God has hitherto appear'd always pleas'd with being with me - I hope I shall never disgust him by any conduct of mine - though I know I have known instances of men being very fond of going abroad - or making excuses of business for absenting themselves from their home - when they could have no such excuse to make - that their wives were troublesome - but that it was because they had an itch for gaming - so great that [they] would spend a whole day - or days in play with the most indifferent creatures - what excuses - what contrivances will they not make to blind a wife to get to a dice table - or card table - how much do I truly pity those women who has

husbands that loves the gaming table - how often a fine woman is left at home to lament the loss of her husbands company, who is really not worthy of her - some men who loves the dice or card table dearly, will have a little shame - they will not be forever at it, - yet visit those tables pretty often in the [course] of a week - if they can make any trifling excuse to get from home, - O how much have I to thank Thee for my Graci- [19]ous God - that I should have a husband who despises the card and dice table - what a blessing it is that my husband is not fond of the deversion of gaming a thing I do so mortally despise -

- - It is time now to return to what I was saying [respecting] my conduct towards my servants - - it shall be my endeavour not to hurt the feelings of my servants when I am oblig'd to find fault, I will take care not to find fault of one servant before another - but wait with patience [till I have an] opportunity of doing it alone, - if it [20]should be even a day or two before I have one, - - by that means I shall teach myself patience & forebearance - & avoid hurting their feelings, - & at the same time raise some ambition in their breast, - for certainly it must be a pleasing reflection to a servant if they have committed a fault to think no one knows it but their mistress, - thirdly -

- if I should have children I will avoid if possible ever finding fault of a servant before them, - it shall be my true endeavour never to let them see me angry

with a [21]servant, - & especially to scold - - I hope no one will ever see me guilty of that, - I trust when we get to housekeeping our family will be conducted in great peace & quietness - - am sure shall [strive] after it, - - & am also sure it is Mr. Washington's desire, - & that alone would make me so endeavour after it - if I did not feel a principal of religion in me that causes me to desire it, - because it ever has given me pleasure to please him, - & I can say with great truth - I never took pleasure in any thing [22]that I was not sure he approv'd of,-

- Should this Memorandum Book fall into any ones hands but a childs, it perhaps may be wonder'd why I should be so perticular as to note down what is my intentions respecting domestick business - I have done it that I may remember what was my thoughts at the time I made the foregoing resolutions, & to see whether I put them in execution - & that if it should please God to give me children [23]they may see the method I persu'd to live happily with my family, - & God grant it may make a impression on their minds, -

- - I once had a thought of being more perticular & to have kept a journal of my life, - but that I could not have done faithfully - without speaking of all the ill treatment I [ever] met with, & that I did not wish to hand down, - - therefore whatever Memorandums I have made in time past, I now shall destroy them all & let only this Manuscript

[24]Book remain, - because shou'd I have children, & especially Daughters - it can be no disadvantage to them for to know something of my general conduct in my family - & more especially, if I were to leave the world before they arriv'd at an age to observe my behaviour in my family - or were to young for me to give advice to upon any thing I have mentioned, - Daughters generally are very much attach'd to Mothers - perticu- [25]larly if they lose them when they are young - therefore I think whatever Legacy in advice a dead Mother leaves her Daughters, must have great wait with them, - I trust, & hope - if I have any - whatever I have said may have the effect that is desired by their Mother - I have had a Daughter, but it was a Still Born - & at this time expect another child within a few months to come, - heaven grant it may live - -

[26]November 1784

It has pleased God to give me in august last a fine child - it is a girl - & its name is Lucinda - a healthy looking child as ever I saw - should she live - it shall be my true endeavour to bring her up in the fear & love of the Lord, - though I should be reckoned [ever] so old fashioned for such a notion -

october 1785

- It has been the divine [27]will to take my dear Lucinda from me, after two or three days illness, - & if she was taken away for the correction of her parents - God grant

the affliction may prosper in the design it was sent for - give me patience O Lord to submit to thy will as I ought -

- September 1788

- it has pleas'd my good God to give me another sweet child - it is a girl - & nam'd Lucinda - & if [28]it lives, I will strive to discharge the duty of a parent who wishes to glorify her redeemer in every thought word - & action of her life -

- should I leave my dear child before she arrives to the year[s] of discresition - I hope she will read this manuscript more than once, - & what ever other manuscript Books I leave behind - I hope she will value - for though I have the Books that I have wrote from - yet they being large was not so convenient to carry about me, - therefore have wrote [29]some small manuscripts that I can conveniently carry in my pocket to peruse occaisionly, - which I have receiv'd great comfort from, -

- - & let me tell my dear child - that there is no real happiness without religion, - a religion that effectually touches the heart - to conform to the outward cerimonies of religion is nothing, if it does not proceed from a sincere desire to please the almighty being, - there is no solidarity - no comfort in the outward part of religion - [30]if it does not proceed from a real principal of vertue - a sincere desire to please the Redeemer who has done so much for us, has a very pleasing feel, - & I sincerely hope my

child - should she live, - will make it her study to walk welpleasing in the eyes of her Savior - - never be ashame of being religious - never suffer your conscience to upbraid for the want of insincerity - not only reflecting religion, but of all your actions, - endeavour to live in peace & friendship [31]with every creature, - intertain a good will and fellow feeling for all mankind, - be kind & good to everyone who is in want, - never say or do anything that will give another pain, - though your evil nature should want to do it, - I can with truth say - I have made it my study to avoid saying or doing any thing that would give or cause the least uneasiness to another, - therefore you see I do not advise you to do what I have not practiced myself, - should it please God to preserve my child [32]to me - there is many things that will be necessary to give advice upon that I am not so capable of writing down - nor neither have I time to do it - so that if we both live I shall be much more perticular, - - what I have wrote here in this Book, was done to let my child see, what was my thoughts at the times that her sister & self was born - also my method of behavior to my domesticks - should I not live [33]to give her derection & instruction thereon -

The Spring 1789

We have been keeping house going on five years, - & I think no one could have put the foregoing resolutions more in practice than I have, or taken more pains than I have to perswaid my servants to do their business through a principal

of religion - I have frequently told them that it was my most earnest desire they should do their duty as a [34]servant for their saviors sake - not for mine - have instructed them how they were to do it for his sake, -

as to my two girls - it is needless to say, what pains I have taken with their education, - because I have done every thing that a mistress could do for them, in every respect, - it is impossible to tell what I have done for them - for if they had been my Daughters I could not have given them better advice, - & I shall continue to do so as long as we live together, - [35]I have taught them to read & write - there is few young Ladies ever had the same pain taken with them, - if they should not be such servants as one might expect, - I shall have the satisfaction of thinking I have done what I could do towards their happiness in this world, & in that which is to come, - so that they must stand or fall to themselves - they can lay no blame on any one - I have put good Books into their hands, - I can do no more for them than I have done, but always to set [36]them & the rest of my servants the best example, - which has ever been my study to do, - & I trust I have not fail'd -

within two years after we came home to live - I had prayers in my family night and morning - & very constant - never failing if it was possible to get two or three together - & still continue to do it - but they do not seem fond of it - what is the cause I know not - human nature I believe is

naturally averse to any thing that is good, - - I believe no family could live in more [37]peace & quietness then we do, - I dare believe my servants is much pleas'd with my treatment of them, - I have been very careful in not finding fault of them before their master, - or before one another, - nor ever did I entertain my company with talking of their faults, - we appear to live in so much peace our visitors think we have the best of servants, & that I have no trouble, - because I do not talk of the fatigue & trouble of a family, - & am not talking or telling of every fault they commit, - or repremanding [38]them before company for some neglect that they have just been guilty of, - but if they are neglectful or careless while we have company, it perhaps may so happen that I may not have an opportunity till the company is gone - of speaking to them about it, - indeed it is to me a very painful task to find fault, - & when I am oblig'd to do it, - it is done in as kind a manner as I can -

if our servants are better then others, - it must be from the manner of the treatment they receive, - for [39]when they do wrong, if it is mention'd to them once, there is no more of it, - they are not frequently upbraided with the fault - they have commited - I believe one reason why servants are not better, - is owing to their superiors - people in general has a very teasing way with their servants - they will say every illnatured thing that their evil nature can suggest - (& it can be very provoking when it is suffer'd to be endulg'd) - yet think their servants are to take it all

without one disapproving look, - they expect [40]more perfection in creatures of no education then they have themselves -

if my visitors knew how little my servants did they would not think them good - nay [there] is few would put up with their servants doing so little as mine - & that little I am oblig'd to follow them to get done, - but I cannot get them to do more without scolding and whipping, - & I cannot do either - therefore am often oblig'd to exercise my patience & try to be contented, - [41]I think there is servants that was they to meet with the same treatment from their superiors that mine does from me, - they would be better servants than any I have, - for to consider how mine has ever been treated they are not such servants as a person would expect - for surely they ought to be the best of servants, - which is not the case, - but I believe they might be made much worse by being frequently scolded at, - which certainly is the ruin of servants, - [42]when I consider the blessings the divine goodness has confer'd on me, - it appears as if my heart could never be thankful enough for them, - such a promising sweet little girl as I have - & so good husband, - there certainly cannot be amore truly affectionate & tender husband then I have, - - I believe there never was married people who liv'd happier then we do, - nay - I believe there is few lives so happy, - so entirely free from any kind of disputing - no - [43]- there is nothing but perfect peace & harmony reigns in our habitation, - there cannot be a better

master then Mr. Washington is in every respect, - there is no servant[s] who enjoys more of the comforts of life then his does, - their servitude is made as easy to them as it is possible - were they to do less, they would not live so well - & what they make, they enjoy with comfort, - I am satisfy'd there [44]is no family govern'd in more peace than ours - their master being remarkable steady in his conduct - so that his servants always seeing him the same man from day to day, - they know how to conduct themselves better then when masters is one thing today & and another tomorrow, - one of my first resolutions I made after marriage, - was never to hold disputes with my husband, - never to contend with him in my [45]opinion of things, - but if ever we differ'd in opinions not to insist on mine being right, & his wrong, - which is too much the custom of my sex, - they cannot bear to be thought in the wrong, - which is the cause why there is so much contention in the married state, - - & the Lordly sex - they can never be in the wrong in their own opinion - therefore cannot give up to a woman - but I blame my sex most - it is their business to give up to their husbands - our mother [46]eve when she transgress'd was told her husband should rule over her, - then how dare any of her daughters to dispute the point, - I never thought it degraded my understanding - to give up my opinion to my husbands - that is, not to contend with him, - there is no necessity for a woman appearing to be afraid of her husband - indeed I think they err very much when they are so, - I think a woman may

keep up the dignity of a wife & mistress of a family - with [47]out ever disputing with her husband, - I never could take any pleasure in having my own way, - it ever was more pleasing to have my husbands opinion to coincide with mine - I was once told by a very near male relation - that I only effected to conform to my husbands will, to be thought an obediant wife - but this is not - nor ever was the case, - a much more laudable motive has enfluenced my conduct, - & I hope will always enfluence it, - a desire to do my duty - to conform to the Scripture [48]derection given to wives has been the ruling principal that had conducted my actions in the married state - -

it has also been thought - that I should never have been the woman I am thought to be, had I not had so good a husband, - but that is a mistake, - because the principal that has derected my conduct - I should have had - had I never seen Mr. W. - had - I not had a good husband - my trials I doubt not would have been greater - but I trust the power that instill'd the desire in my soul [49]to do my duty - because it is pleasing in his eyes that I should - would always have given me strength equal to the trials I should have met with, - I do not mean to take any merit from my dear Mr. W. I shall ever acknowledge him a great blessing - he possesses many good qualities - - there is the two following not the least among the number - he is a perfectly sober man - there can be no one who dispises drinking more then he does, - not only those who drink to ex- [50]cess - for the

world in general dispises those kind of men - but he hates to see any one tippleing at the grog or [t]oddy through the day - as there is many who will do it - & without getting drunk, - he disapproves of all drinking except at dinner - & that must be in a very moderate manner, - then no one can dispise the dice or card table more then he does - in short - he disapproves of all kind of gaming, - let it be little or much, - which I look upon as a very great blessing - - it is impossible [51]for me to enumerate all the blessings of Providence, - therefore will not attempt to mention any more of them, - tho' am sure I look on many things as blessings that others do not think of - but I rejoice that I do think of them as blessings - & can give the glory where it is due, ;-

As well as I can recollect I think I have made a memorandum of what I should wish a child to know respecting our domestick affairs, - therefore shall not write much more - without any extraordinary [52]thing should happen - should the divine goodness preserve my child to me we shall have many conversations upon what I have written - because I shall enlarge much upon the subjects - it has ever appear'd to me that the almighty has given me my dear Lucinda to comfort me for the loss of my others - heaven grant she may be a comfort -

October 1789

My God - thou hast thought fit to take my dear

Lucinda from me [53]after three months extreme illness, - surely no woman could have felt more then I have for three months past - to see my dear child lay as she did - & poor Mr. Washington greatly afflict'd with an inflamation in his eyes at the same time, - my gracious Redeemer support my spirits while under the rod of affliction, - & let me take comfort in this [Scripture] of thine - that whom the Lord loveth, - he chastens, - my greatest comfort is - that the almighty knows it was my Sincere [54]intention to bring my children up to glorify him in all their actions - blessed - be the divine goodness - that I can take comfort in thinking that their Redeemer should think them worthy to enjoy heaven, without experiencing any of the troubles that attends mankind in passing through this vale of misery, - my gracious God - thou has confer'd great honor on me - that thou shouldst think me worthy to bring children who thou has thought was [55]only fit to live with thee -

The winter 1792

I have been married thirteen years - & have seen a great deal of trouble in the time - no one knows nor will know - what I have suffer'd in the time - my poor dear Mr. Washington for near a year has been extremely afflicted - & remains very far from being well - indeed I fear he never will be well again, - though he is much more mended then the Doctors ever expected to see him, - to be depriv'd of [56]sight is truly afflicting - which has been the case, almost ever since his indisposition - he has at this time a little sight,

but it is so glimmering - that I doubt whether any one else would strive to walk alone - but himself - he certainly has bore the afflicting hand of Providence with all the fortitude [and] resignation that a creature could do - - gracious Heaven - was there not a hope of a better world then this - human nature could not live under the afflictions of this life - but we are taught to believe that every thing is ordered for the best - that nothing [57]happens by chance - therefore it is my study to reconcile myself to the divine dispensations - endeavouring to trust in this gracious promise - that the almighty will not afflict us more then he will enable us to bear - he knows when it is necessary to lay the cross upon us - then let us be dumb & submit to being made so much like the son of his love, - who has [showen] his poor creatures that there is no way of getting to heaven but through the cross -

[58][12] July 1792

I am griev'd greatly to have this to set down - that my family is got so Baptistical in their notions, as to think they commit a crime to join with me in Prayer morning & evening - I have talked to every one of them separately - & seriously - endeavouring to convince them that they did not commit a crime by joining with me in Prayer - but all I can say, will not convince them - so that I am oblig'd to give out having Prayers - in my family, - which has given me great concern, - but I [59]trust as my gracious God knows the desire I had to serve him daily in my family - that I shall not be

answerable for not having family Prayers, - I persever'd in it as long as I could - untill it was a mere farce to attempt it any longer, - am satisfy'd there was nothing in my behaviour that caus'd them to dislike joining me in Prayer - but the creatures has taken it into their heads, that the Prayers I used was too good for them to use - may the Lord derect them in the right way - as they think they are wrong - how I am to discharge my [60]duty I know not - it is impress'd on my mind that a master or mistress of a family, ought to have daily Prayer in their family - but when their servants will go out of the way at the time when they are going to be call'd to Prayer - it is impossible for them to have it, - & if they are made to come - they appear quite angry - which must be extremely wrong - therefore I think it must be best let alone - O my God derect & enfluence my heart aright - amen - [61]one thing my poor creatures expected was to be the consequences of my having prayers in my family, that I should never find fault of them, nor ever repremand them for anything at all, but when they found that I continued to do it in my way, (which certainly is very different from the manners of most people) they thought my religion was all pretence which is too much the case of the world, the world that loves its own, will make great allowances for each other, indiscretions, and even vices, will be charged to the account of hu- [62]man infirmity - but when a person professes to be a believer in gesus, there is no such charity extended to them, but rather all their words & actions will be sifted,

their mistakes exaggerated, & if any part of their conduct will bear a double construction it will generally be viewed in the most unfavourable light [-] now as it is probable I may not have any children, so of course this Book & all my other manuscripts must fall into the hands of some relative, who may laugh at them and think as my servants, and may not even give them a reading - but throw them [63]into some old drawer as waste paper, or give them to their children to tear up, as is too often the case with many people, they give their children Books to play with & destroy, [tis] certain I have wrote and copied together a great deal, & abundance I have destroyed, but what I have now I shall keep for my own satisfaction & comfort, let them that comes after me think what they will. I do not keep them with an ostentatious [view] I can declare with truth that my dear Mr. Washington has never seen any of them, nor even dont know that I ever wrote any [64]manuscripts, so that was it to please God to restore him to his eyesight & take me from him, he would be surpriz'd when he over looked my papers, though I trust he would set great value on all my scribbles, for altho' my heart has been much taken up with religion, yet very little have I talked about it - - perhaps I may have erred on the other side, & not indicated religion when I ought to have done it - but I always found myself not competant to speake of it as I would wish, therefore thought it best to say but little, & endeavour to attain the practicle [65]part - to hear people everlastingly talking about religion & to see their

actions not corresponding with it - is a thing that my heart has always started at - & indeed I have ever found a want of words to express my ideas of anything, much more so serious a thing as religion is [.] I have ever thought I could think better on any subject when I could express myself - & altho' I have wrote so many letters - yet to this day I never feel satisfy'd with a letter that I write [.] I always think any one could have done it better, which [66]causes my dear Mr. W. to give me many lectures in his way for being so diffident - he says I am too hard to please or that I am too proud - but I do not think it is the case, my family hitherto has been always thought to be remarkably diffident, - I have thought should I meet with a female relation who appear'd to think favourable of religion I might give away my manuscripts before my death, as I do not expect my dear partner will ever see again - but should I not do it - who ever you are that they fall [67]into the hands off, I could wish for your own sakes that you would give them more then one reading - who knows but what it may please God to cause a thought to arise in your hearts that you may be better for it ever after, sometimes it pleases the divine goodness from the merest trifle or accident to work a change in his creatures for the better - - tis certain it would be pleasing satisfaction had I a relation that I could think would set a value on my religious Books of every description, & would [68]read them all through at least once, if not oftener. I feel sorry when I reflect the time will arrive when they will all be thrown by

- when I take up a Book that I am fond of, I think & say to myself, the time will come when you wil be thrown behind some old trunk or desk for the mice to eat - or tossed up into the garret as old lumber, to make room for books that is more agreable to the imperfections of human nature - for among those who is thought very good kind of peope you will find very few of them that has any Idea of [69]reading a religious Book any other time but on a Sunday - even among those that is thought consciencious in many respects - they think they do very well if they do not read any other Book on Sundays, but those that are call'd good Books, but as for the rest of the week they think there is no necessity - but people are as much deceived themselves as they deceive others, who think to use religion as they do their best clothes, only to wear to church on a Sunday, to appear fine & make a shew, & with them (as soon as they come home again) lay [70]aside carefully for fear of wearing it out, - but religion is good for nothing that is made of so slight a stuff, as wont indure wearing, which out to be as constant a covering to the soul, as the skin is to the body, not to be divided from it, division being the ruin of both - religion is a thing much talk'd of, but little understood, much pretended to, but very [little] practised - which is a most lamentable case - but so it is - it may perhaps be wondered of, why I wrote so many morning Prayers & evening ones, when it is customary to use only one morning and evening prayer [71]through the course of the lives of those who prays in their familys - my reason for it is

this, when a person is accustomed to say only one particular prayer of a morning & one of night for a length of time, those who join them will be apt to repeat them & not think of them at the same time, having got them by rote, so that instead of praying it is but mere babbling, therefore I thought to keep up the attention of the minds of the hearers it was best to have a variety, so that they should not always [72]know so well what was coming, besides human nature is so frail respecting Prayer, that it will tire with a constant sameness without the heart is much affected with religion, - I have wrote nine morning Prayers and the same number of evening ones for to use in my family - I have nine Manuscript Books including the three that has the family Prayers in - I have wrote Prayers for a person in private, for I think it is the duty of every creature to pray in private [73]as well as publick, & not only of a morning & evening, but through the day they ought every now & then send up a devout thought to heaven - which no doubt the divine goodness will except as a continual prayer, though a person is not always on their knees - yet that must not be neglected at proper seasons, for although ever member of a family joins in publick Prayer, yet it is the duty of every member of that family to pray in private, if they have time & opportunity, - joining in family prayer is no excuse [74]for a person not to pray alone because every creature who sincerely prays will have petitions to make to heaven that cannot be made so well in publick, & for a person who prays regularly in their familys to think that

will excuse them from going to church, is extremely wrong - but indeed I do not think there can be an instance of one who thought it their duty to pray in their familys that did not think it their duty to go to church - because it is impossible for one who wished to glorify their God in their familys, but what must think of their duty to glorify him by going to church, - I can say with great truth, that I am truly sorry I have not an opportunity of going to church - to hear people say, they can read their Bible, they can read a sermon at home & that is as well as if they went to church, & they often say it is better, because they may read a better sermon then they might hear preached at church - but what right have they to expect a Blessing on their reading at home when they dispise going to church - no - they may relie on it, there never will be a Blessing on any reading practiced at home [76] where there is thought there is no necessity - no occasion ever to go to church - [we] may be certain no one who dispises the priest-hood on earth, can with truth be said to value Jesus Christ, the head of that holy order in heaven,

Some how I feel a greater desire to have had some one to have given this Book to, then I do of any of the others - I suppose the reason is, because this Book is all my own thoughts and reflections - human nature is too apt to be partial to their own things - let them be ever so indifferent in their mind, yet will they be partial - for tho' am sensible there [77] is great imperfections in this Book yet am I desirous some one should have it - ah the weakness of human

nature - is great - but as I do not indeed expect to have children now if I leave this Book behind me after my death, I think I ought before that happens to write it over again, to correct what errors there may be in the diction of it, but whether I shall ever have the time, I cannot say, - - what pleasure a child would have taken in reading this after their mother was gone - but let me be dumb - & not say another word, - the dispensations of heaven are all right, - O Lord let me feelingly feel that it is so, -

78 17th July 1796

My God - what shall I say - O Lord - give me perfect resignation to thy divine will - thou my gracious Lord has thought fit to take the dear partner and companion of my life from me - after being seven years in the furnace of affliction - I trust O Lord thou hast purified him as pure gold, tried seven times in the fire - gracious heaven what perfect resignation did he shew, - not one 79 murmur the whole seven years escaped his lips, - O Lord infinitely merciful, thy very corrections are the effects of thy love, - O my God, give me I most humbly beseech [thee] of thy great mercy, thru repentance for all the errors of my life past, and especially for those which may have been the occasion of this day's Sorrows, - remember not the offences of my youth & in mercy blot out those of my riper years, pardon all my sins of 80 my life past, & grant that they may never rise up in judgement against me, 1 John ii (1.) If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he

is the propitiation of our sins

O most powerful advocate, I put my cause into thy hands, let thy blood and merits plead for me, and by thy mighty intercession, procure for me a full discharge of all my sins - amen -

O my God give me a salutory dread of the unfaithfulness of my own heart -

[dec] 1796

should any one come across this Book - let me entreat them not to expose it - it is my intention to write it over again - but perhaps I may die before it is done -

I strongly suspect my female servants will take every manuscript they can lay their hands on, & many of my other religious Books - tho' it is my intention, if I am in my senses when on my death bed - & I should have a friend with me - to warn them of my servants - because I am certain they will think they have a greater right then any one else - do thou O Lord in mercy look on my [forelorn] state, & influence the hearts of my servants & cause them to treat me with respect -

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division. Journal of Elizabeth Foote (Mrs. Lund) Washington, 1779-1796. Washington Family Papers, Box 2.

Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union. Library, Elizabeth Foote Washington Letters, 1793-1797.

United States Naval Academy. Museum, Account Book of Lund Washington, Overseer of Mount Vernon, 1762-1784.

Secondary Sources:

Ballagh, James Curtis. A History of Slavery in Virginia. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902.

Benson, Mary Sumner. Women in Eighteenth-Century America: A Study in Opinion and Social Usage. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

Berlin, Ira, and Horrman, Ronald, eds. Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983.

Blassingame, John W. The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Calhoun, Arthur C. A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present, vol. II. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1918.

Carroll, Bernice A., ed. Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

Cott, Nancy F. The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

_____. ed. Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1972.

Daniel, W. Harrison. "The Virginia Baptists and the Negro in the Early Republic." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 80 (January, 1972), pp. 60-69.

De Pauw, Linda Grant, and Hunt, Conover. Remember the Ladies: Women in America, 1750-1815. New York: Viking Press, 1976.

Demos, John, and Boocock, Sarane Spence, eds. Turning Points: Historical and Sociological Essays on the Family. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Fitzpatrick, John C. The Last Will and Testament of George Washington and Schedule of his Property to which is appended the Last Will and Testament of Martha Washington. Mount Vernon, Va.: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1939.

Fox, Vivian C., and Quitt, Martin H., eds. Loving, Parenting and Dying: The Family Cycle in England and America, Past and Present. New York: Psychohistory Press, 1980.

Freeman, Douglas Southall. George Washington: A Biography, 7 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948-1957.

Genovese, Eugene D. Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Gewehr, Wesley M. The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965.

Gordon, Anne D., et al. "The Problem of Women's History." Liberating Women's History, Carroll, ed., pp. 75-92.

Groves, Ernest P. The American Woman: The Feminine Side of a Masculine Civilization. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1944.

Gunderson, Joan R. "The Non-Institutional Church: The Religious Role of Women in Eighteenth-Century Virginia." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Special Issue: Episcopal Women's History, I:51 (December, 1982), pp. 347-357.

Handy, Robert T. A History of the Churches in the United

States and Canada. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Harris, Barbara J. Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Hill, Samuel S., Jr. The South and the North in American Religion. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980.

Hogeland, Ronald W., ed. Women and Womanhood in America. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973.

Huggins, Nathan Irvin. Black Odyssey: The Afro-American Ordeal in Slavery. New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

Ide, Arthur Frederick. Women in the American South. Mesquite, Tex.: Ide House, Inc., 1980.

Isaac, Rhys. The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Jackson, Donald, and Twohig, Dorothy, eds. The Diaries of George Washington, 6 vols. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Jacobs, Roberta Tansman. "A Woman's Place: Elizabeth Ambler of Virginia, 1780-1823." Journal of Popular Culture, XX (Summer, 1977), pp. 210-218.

Jordon, Winthrop D. White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1968.

Kerber, Linda K. Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America. Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1980.

Kulikoff, Allan. "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Ante-bellum Southern Culture." Journal of Southern History, XLV (November, 1979), pp. 513-540.

Laslett, Peter, and Wall, Richard, eds. Household and Family in Past Time. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Lebsock, Suzanne Dee. The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860. New

York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1984.

_____. "Women and Economics in Virginia: Petersburg, 1784-1820". Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1977.

Lerner, Gerda. "New Approaches to the Study of Women in American History." Women and Womanhood in America, Ronald W. Hogeland, ed. pp. 15-23.

_____. The Woman in American History. Menlo Park, Ca.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1971.

Lewis, Jan. "Domestic Tranquillity and the Management of Emotion Among the Gentry of Pre-Revolutionary Virgina." William and Mary Quarterly, XXIX (January, 1982), pp. 135-149.

_____. The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Lockridge, Kenneth A. Literacy in Colonial New England: An Inquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West. New York: Norton Publishing Co., 1974.

Loveland, Anne C. "Domesticity and Religion in the Antebellum Period: The Career of Phoebe Palmer." The Historian, 39 (May, 1977), pp. 455-471.

Lumpkin, William L. "Baptist Foundations in the South." Colonial Baptists and Southern Revivals. New York: Arno Press, 1980, pp. 1-166.

McGroarty, William Buckner. "Elizabeth Washington of Hayfield." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 33 (1925), pp. 154-165.

Mather, Cotton. "Elizabeth in her Holy Retirement. An Essay to Prepare a Pious Woman for her Lying In (Boston, 1710)." The Colonial American Family: Collected Essays. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Mathews, Alice E. "The Religious Experience of Southern Women." Women and Religion in America, vol. 2: The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods. Rosemary R. Reuther and Rosemary S. Keller, eds. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983, pp. 193-232.

Mathews, Donald G. Religion in the Old South. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Moody, Eleazar. "The School of Good Manners: Composed for

the Help of Parents Teaching Children How to Behave During Their Minority (Boston, 1775)." The Colonial American Family: Collected Essays. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Morgan, Edmund S. Virginians at Home: Family Life in the Eighteenth Century. Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Inc. 1952.

Mullin, Gerald W. "The Plantation World of William Byrd II." Shaping Southern Society: The Colonial Experience. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, pp. 156-184.

Norton, Mary Beth. "Eighteenth-Century Women in Peace and War." The Private Side of American History, vol. I. Gary B. Nash, ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1979, pp. 207-226.

_____. "The Evolution of White Woman's Experience in Early America." American Historical Revies, 89:3 (June, 1984), pp. 593-619.

_____. Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980.

Ryland, Garnett. The Baptists of Virginia, 1699-1926. Richmond, Va.: The Virginia Baptist Board of Missions and Education, 1955.

Scherer, Lester B. Slavery and the Churches in Early America, 1619-1819. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975.

Scholten, Catherine M. "Changing Customs of Childbirth in America, 1760 to 1825." The Private Side of American History, vol. I, Nash, ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1979, pp. 231-250.

Scott, Anne Firor. The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Sernett, Milton C. Black Religion and American Evangelism: White Protestants, Plantation Missions, and the Flowering of Negro Christianity, 1787-1865. Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975.

Seward, Rudy Ray. "The Colonial Family in America: Toward a Socio-Historical Restoration of its Structure." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35 (1973), pp. 58-82.

Smith, Daniel Blake. Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.

_____. "Mortality and Family in the Colonial Chesapeake." Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 8 (Winter, 1978), pp. 403-427.

_____. "The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems, and Prospects." William and Mary Quarterly, 39 (January, 1982), pp. 3-28.

Sobel, Mechal. Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith. Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, Number 36. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Speth, Linda E., "More Than Her "Thirds": Wives and Widows in Colonial Virginia." Women and History, 4 (Winter, 1982), pp. 1-41.

Spruill, Julia Cherry. Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1972.

Voth, Anne. Women in the New Eden. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1983.

Wadsworth, Benjamin. "The Well-Ordered Family, or Relative Duties (Boston, 1712)." The Colonial American Family Collected Essays. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Wamsley, James S., and Cooper, Anne M. Idols, Victims, and Pioneers: Virginia's Women from 1607. Richmond: Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1976

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood." Women and Womanhood in America. Ronald W. Hogeland, ed. pp. 103-113.

VITA

Linda Eileen Parris

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, January 2, 1961. Attended Severna Park, Maryland public schools. Attended the University of Maryland, College Park, B.A. in English Literature, 1983. In July 1983, the author entered the College of William and Mary as an Archives and Manuscripts Administration Apprentice through the Department of History.