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Eighteenth-Century Annapolis Quilters:

*“She performs all sorts of QUILTING
in the best Manner”*

Heather Ersts Venters

Few details are known about individual quilters in the eighteenth century. Extensive research in probate, court, church, and land records and in newspapers and existing histories provided clues which when woven together illuminated the lives of four mid-eighteenth-century female quilters who lived and worked in Annapolis, Maryland: Sarah Monro, Elizabeth Crowder, Anne Griffith, and Mary Anne March. Combined, the lives of these four women illustrate the trials and opportunities faced by many members of the lower and middle classes of a growing Southern port city—family life, death, financial struggle, and the opportunities and pitfalls of social and economic advancement.

Most information about eighteenth-century quilts used in the American colonies is limited to cryptic phrases like “1 calico quilt” and “1 old bed quilt”—tantalizing tidbits gleaned from household inventories of deceased colonists and merchants’ advertisements. Further, in contrast to the numerous studies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century quilters, few stories of the individuals who produced and owned quilts and quilted goods in the eighteenth century have been unearthed.¹ The works that are currently available for the period are primarily statistical studies of probate records that provide an indication of the pattern of quilt ownership in a region.² These studies are helpful in gaining a sense of a community’s quilt ownership for a broad time period and demonstrating how it changed over time, but they do not provide the personal information that is available about nineteenth- and twentieth-century quilt production and ownership. This



paper explores the life stories of four quilters, who lived and worked in Annapolis, Maryland. It sheds light on their relationships with the production and ownership of quilts and other quilted textiles, such as quilted petticoats and gowns, and their participation in their community and mid-eighteenth-century colonial American society.

Four females placed advertisements announcing the availability of their quilting services in the Annapolis-based newspaper, the *Maryland Gazette*, between 1745 and 1751: Sarah Monro in 1745, Elizabeth Crowder in 1747, Anne Griffith in 1749, and Mary Anne March in 1751. Gloria Seaman Allen and Nancy Gibson Tuckhorn, in *A Maryland Album: Quilting Traditions 1634–1934*, noted that the *Maryland Gazette* “published notices placed by four professional quilters during a six-year period,” but provided no other information or explanation.³ Until now, no one has attempted to unearth the histories of this discrete group of quilters, all living in the small town of Annapolis, Maryland. Through extensive research in probate, court, church, and land records and in newspapers and existing histories, the four quilters’ fascinating lives emerged. It then became possible to place the women within mid-eighteenth-century Annapolis society, and to better understand how they participated in that society, and the opportunities and challenges they faced.

In the winter of 1694–95 Maryland’s colonial capital was moved from St. Mary’s City, in the southern part of the province, to Annapolis, a more central location. This action ensured Annapolis’s growth from a small settlement, comprised in 1695 of about 40 dwellings and 250 citizens, to an active town that encompassed people coming to serve in the legislature and those wanting to fulfill the services required by government officials. As the eighteenth century progressed, the capital city grew. Between 1715 and 1760, government business gradually expanded to include year-round activities, the seaport became more active, and the town’s population increased in numbers and wealth, which further expanded the market for goods and services and attracted more merchants, artisans, and laborers to fulfill the needs of the market. By 1740, Annapolis was home to about 746 people and by 1755 to about 875.⁴

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Annapolis was one of the political and cultural centers of the North American colonies. By this time, Annapolis society supported regular music concerts, theater performances, a newspaper, a bookstore, and social clubs. The town and its



population was continually growing, but it was not yet the site of the grand mansions and affluent society that would come to personify Annapolis's "Golden Age" in the decade before the Revolutionary War. The English vicar Andrew Burnaby described the town in 1759 as follows:

Annapolis is the capital of Maryland; it is a small, neat town, consisting of about a hundred and fifty houses situated on a peninsula upon [the] Severn river. . . . None of the streets are paved, and the few public buildings here are not worth mentioning. The church is a very poor one, the state house but indifferent, and the governor's palace is not finished.⁵

By the mid-eighteenth century, Annapolis's elite began to demonstrate its social position through an increasing emulation of the British upper class by building brick structures and adopting the mannerisms and objects associated with gentility. As early as the 1740s, luxury crafts geared towards the wealthy had increased in the city and displaced the wood- and leather-related occupations prevalent earlier.⁶ Textiles, particularly bed curtains and bed coverings, were luxury goods in the eighteenth century and ranked among the highest valued articles in a household. Thus, an increase in the creation and ornamentation of high-end textiles, including bed-quilts and quilted petticoats, in Annapolis by mid century was in keeping with the increase of other fashionable goods.

Because of the Southern colonists' strong ties with England and the substantial importation of British goods, quilt historians currently believe that the majority of eighteenth-century bed-quilts were imported ready-made. For those willing to pay a higher price, bedcovers could also be custom-ordered through London agents.⁷ Local production of bed covers is thought to be minimal, although one of the main pieces of evidence used to advance the argument for some local production of bed-quilts in the Southern colonies is an advertisement placed by Annapolis resident Sarah Monro (see figure 1).

On August 2, 1745, Sarah advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* that she provided "Quilting of all Kinds, whether fine or coarse, such as Bed-Quilts, Gowns, Petticoats, etc. performed in the best and neatest Manner, by the Subscriber, at her House in Annapolis, [made] as well as [those] in England, and much cheaper. Any Ladies or others, who may have Occasion for Performances of this Nature, may depend on having their Work



Figure 1. Sarah Monro placed this advertisement in the August 2nd issue of the *Maryland Gazette* in 1745. This was the first advertisement to appear in the Annapolis-based newspaper advertising the services of a female quilter.

done in the best Manner, and with the utmost Expedition.”⁸ Although Sarah Monro’s advertisement serves as evidence for the production of bed-quilts in the American colonies, it also serves as an important key in unlocking her personal history and that of her community. In 1745, when she placed the advertisement, Sarah Monro was a twenty-nine-year-old widow of the lower-economic class, struggling to support a household with two young boys and an indentured servant.⁹

From church records we know that Sarah Monro was born Sarah Smith on January 20, 1716, in Annapolis. She was the daughter of John and Elizabeth Smith and the family belonged to St. Anne’s Anglican church. On April 22, 1738, Sarah married Major Monro when both were twenty-two years old. Like Sarah, Major Monro was also born in Annapolis in January of 1716 and his parents, William and Jane Monro, were long-time members of St. Anne’s Church as well. The newlyweds undoubtedly knew each other since childhood. Just eight months after their wedding, Sarah and Major had their first child, William, born on December 30, 1738. A second son, Alexander, followed on March 16, 1740. Tragedy, however, befell the young family in the fall of 1741 when Major Monro died, at the age of twenty-five, leaving his wife a widow with a two-year-old toddler and a one-year-old son to support.¹⁰

Major Monro worked as a tailor in Annapolis before his untimely death. His inventory illustrates the household of a young craftsman’s family, listing the essential furnishings for a moderately comfortable home, yet lacking any inventoried objects to produce light (see Appendix 1). Although



not prosperous, the Monro family did own “A Servant Man 3 Years to serve” who probably worked as an assistant to Major.¹¹

It appears that Major Monro may have had a premonition that the end of his life was approaching because in September of 1741—about one month before he died—Major and Sarah sold property in Annapolis inherited from Major’s father William Monro.¹² The couple received £40 for the property—a substantial amount of money considering their entire household was worth £30—and they must have hoped that this would sustain Sarah and the boys until something, or to be more precise, *someone* came along.

When Sarah Monro advertised in August of 1745, three and a half years after the death of Major that she did “Quilting of all Kinds,” she was still a single mother and was working to support herself and her sons, employing a skill developed since childhood and one that required little overhead costs. To assist with her household industry, Sarah, at some point after Major’s death, purchased an English convict servant woman named Elizabeth Crowder, a quilter.¹³ It is impossible to determine exactly when Sarah purchased Elizabeth, yet it economically makes sense that she did so shortly after Major’s death. The servant man of Major’s inventory, who was worth £14 with three years left to serve, would have been just about equal to the money needed to purchase Elizabeth. It probably cost Sarah about £15 to purchase Elizabeth Crowder, with an indenture of five years, but the move enabled Sarah to double the number of quilted articles she could produce for customers.¹⁴

Elizabeth Crowder was around forty years old when Sarah Monro acquired her. She was “pretty tall, and round shoulder’d, her Hair very grey.” Her wardrobe included such articles as a dark striped cotton and silk gown, a blue quilted coat (probably an example of her own work), blue worsted stockings, black shoes newly soled, a sprigged linen gown, shifts, caps, and aprons. This description of Elizabeth and her wardrobe is available because in April of 1746 she ran away! One can imagine Sarah’s dismay about the loss of her financial investment and the other half of her labor force. Elizabeth was such an important asset, that Sarah decided that the return of Elizabeth was worth a reward of forty shillings—the equivalent of £2 or 4 good quilted petticoats (see figure 2).¹⁵

Elizabeth probably worked for some other colonist for at least one year



Figure 2. Sarah Monro's advertisement from the April 1, 1746 edition of the *Maryland Gazette* announcing that Elizabeth Crowder ran away and that there was a forty shillings reward for her return.

before Sarah Monro purchased her. As a convict servant, the minimum time that Elizabeth could serve was seven years, with the other sentence options being fourteen years or life depending on the severity of the crime committed. Elizabeth would also have had additional time to serve if she made running away a habit. Maryland law was very harsh with regards to runaways and the penalty was an additional ten days added to an indenture for every one day the servant was absent from his or her master or mistress.¹⁶

We know that Elizabeth returned, or was returned, to Annapolis and Sarah Monro because she advertised in her own name in the *Maryland Gazette* in 1747 (see figure 3). The advertisement of October 28, 1747 states: "ELIZABETH CROWDER, Quilter, (*Who lately liv'd with Mrs. Carter, in Annapolis*) Is removed to Mr. Carroll's Quarter, about two Miles from Town, where she performs all sorts of QUILTING in the best Manner and at the most reasonable Rates: Good Petticoats for *Eight and Ten Shillings a Piece*, and coarse Petticoats for *Six Shillings*. Whoever may have occasion to employ her, may depend on being faithfully served by *Their humble Servant, Elizabeth Crowder.*"¹⁷ The Mrs. Carter mentioned in the advertisement is most likely Sarah Monro remarried—who at the age of thirty-one



and with two small children, would have had the desire to do so, although more for social and economic stability than for romance.

Elizabeth Crowder, as a former convict servant, entered Annapolis society in 1747 in the same economic group as her former mistress. The difference between the two women's financial status was that Elizabeth may have never reached the comfort level, afforded by material possessions, that Sarah already had at her first husband's death. Historians Lois Carr and Lorena Walsh have created a list of the household objects that they think Westerners now consider the basic household equipment needed to ensure a minimum level of comfort and cleanliness. The list includes "a mattress, a bedstead, some bed linen, a table, one or more chairs, pots for boiling food, other utensils for food preparation, some coarse ceramics, table forks, and some means of interior lighting." The two historians found that more than half of the households in the Chesapeake region owned less than half of the items on the list until 1775. The Monros had at least one of each of these items, except an object to produce light.¹⁸ In contrast, Elizabeth probably left the Monro household at the end of her indenture with little more than the clothes on her body and her "large Bundle with sundry Things in it, particularly a sprigg'd Linnen Gown, Shifte, Caps, Aprons, and other Things unknown."¹⁹ Elizabeth had quite a

Figure 3. On October 28, 1747, the *Maryland Gazette* included this advertisement placed by the former convict servant Elizabeth Crowder that announced her availability to execute all sorts of quilting and her rates.



way to go to acquire what we would consider the basic necessities for a household.

Elizabeth Crowder's quilting skill may have helped her achieve a decent livelihood and a comfortable lifestyle after her servitude. With her ability to earn money, Elizabeth had the means with which to purchase material objects to increase her comfort level. With her quilting rate of "Good Petticoats for Eight and Ten Shillings a Piece, and coarse Petticoats for Six Shillings," Elizabeth would have had to quilt six good petticoats, petticoats with an intricate design requiring about 150 to 200 hours apiece, to buy a feather bed, bedstead, and covering equivalent to the one Sarah Monro owned, valued at £2 and ten shillings. A lengthy task, but certainly attainable. Another possibility that could have elevated Elizabeth's economic and social status was marriage. In the eighteenth century, successful Chesapeake households required a husband-and-wife team to accomplish all the necessary tasks and few people of a marriageable age remained single.²⁰

The third advertisement that is often cited in histories of eighteenth-century quilts is Anne Griffith's, placed on December 27, 1749 in the *Maryland Gazette*: "QUILTING, Plain or Figur'd, coarse or fine, perform'd by the Subscriber, in the best and cheapest Manner at her House opposite to *Edmund Jening's*, Esq., in *Annapolis*." Anne Griffith was twenty-three and married to John Griffith, a saddler, when she placed her advertisement (see figure 4).²¹

Anne was born on September 3, 1726, the first child of John and Rebecca Lawson. John and Rebecca were members of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis and were married on July 14, 1724. John and Rebecca's second daughter, Henrietta Maria, was born on December 16, 1731. John Lawson died in 1734, leaving his young family to fend for itself—a common occurrence in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake where the majority of households lost at least one parent before all children reached adulthood. Anne's father was probably a tailor, judging from the amount of textiles in his residence when he died—235 yards of ten different types of cloth. It was in her father's household that Anne undoubtedly learned the needle skills that she advertised in 1749.²²

Unlike Sarah Monro, Anne and her husband John Griffith were not having financial difficulties in 1749 when Anne placed the advertisement in the newspaper because she did not sell, as she would later, the Annapo-



Figure 4. The December 27, 1749 issue of the *Maryland Gazette* included this advertisement from Anne Griffith informing the public that she performed quilting at her house in Annapolis.

lis properties she inherited from her father. Instead, the couple may have been working toward and saving for an economic venture—John left for the West Indies in 1753.²³ Two years later, when the available money John left with her was running low and not having heard from him, Anne assumed he was dead and their investment lost. She then married William Perry, a mariner, and mortgaged one of her properties in October 1755 for £50. Anne intended to repay the mortgage within the year and regain legal control of the property, but the ensuing year had other things in store for her.²⁴

Sometime in 1756, much to Anne's surprise, John returned alive to Annapolis! Her marriage to William Perry was annulled, but sadly it appears that her renewed marriage with John was short-lived—he was dead by January 31, 1757. Anne did not remarry William Perry after John's death nor did she marry anyone else before 1764, when once again, probably in need of money, she sold her other inherited property.²⁵

As we have already seen with Sarah Monro and Elizabeth Crowder, the lowest economic group struggled to acquire the basic material items with which to operate a household—tables, chairs, beds, lighting apparatus, and cooking utensils. The delineation between the lower and middling sort is the possession of these fundamental objects for a household. Once acquired, the quality and quantity of those goods marked the divisions between economic levels. Carr and Walsh defined eighteenth-century economic prosperity as “using candles after dark, owning more pewter dining and drinking vessels than poorer people, sleeping in better beds with linens, bedsteads, and hangings, using a greater variety of cooking equipment, and having now and then a picture or looking glass.”²⁶



For middling families, like that of Anne and John Griffith, to acquire the material goods they desired, it was necessary to make economic investments. In order to make economic investments, families had to raise extra money and acquiring those funds sometimes became an activity for the entire family. Anne Griffith is an example of a woman whose family was trying to improve its economic situation and Anne contributed to the cause by taking in quilting. Later, after the death of her husband John, needlework undoubtedly became the means by which Anne supported herself.

Mary Beth Norton wrote in her article, “The Evolution of White Women’s Experience,” that “poor women—especially widows—tended to congregate in the cities because they offered women opportunities to support themselves not available in the countryside.”²⁷ None of the women examined so far specifically came to Annapolis to earn a living. All of the women were already living in the town before they advertised their services in the newspaper. Mary Anne March and her daughter, however, moved to Annapolis in order to support themselves by opening a school and taking in needlework. They advertised on April 10, 1751 that they would, “take in QUILTING, and any NEEDLEWORK, at very cheap Rates” (see figure 5).²⁸

The mother-and-daughter team advertised that at their school they would, “TEACH young misses, all Sorts of Embroidery, *Turkey Work*, and all Sorts of rich Stitches learnt in Sampler Work, at Ten Shillings a Quarter: Likewise teach Children to Read and Spell *English*, at Thirty Shillings a Year.”²⁹ The kind of school that Mary Anne March and her daughter operated in Annapolis was a common type found in all towns and cities in colonial America. It was not a school for the children of Annapolis’s gentry, since they did not offer instruction in the more genteel accomplishments, such as drawing, dancing, and French. Mary Anne March’s school, however, would have been popular with upper-middle-class parents who desired their daughters to know the basics of reading and writing, in addition to the art of fine needlework.³⁰

Mary Anne March and her daughter remained in Annapolis for only a short time. They only advertised once in the *Maryland Gazette* and obtained a short-term lease for their house. It can be inferred that Mary Anne



March was only renting the house in which she and her daughter kept school because of the choice of words in her advertisement. Mary Anne advertised that she was, “*Living in a House opposite to the House of Edmund Jenings, Esq; in Annapolis.*” By comparison, Anne Griffith’s advertisement, that said “at her House opposite to *Edmund Jenings’s, Esquire Annapolis,*” suggests ownership. We know that Anne Griffith owned the property and the house opposite Edmund Jenings’s house because this is the property she sold in October 1755. Mary Anne March’s phrase “Living in,” is similar to the phrase “liv’d with” found in Elizabeth Crowder’s advertisement. Since we know that Elizabeth Crowder did not own property in Annapolis, it is possible to conclude that people who did not own a property referred to a short-term rental of a property as “living in” a house.³¹

Mary Anne March soon moved north of Annapolis to the small town of Baltimore and began to teach there. She taught school until October 1756 when she was forced to quit because she was Catholic. The 1750s was a time of heightened anti-Catholic sentiments and in a effort to curb the teaching of Papist doctrines government officials issued an order in 1757 that required county magistrates to “call before them all Persons keeping

Figure 5. The *Maryland Gazette’s* April 10, 1751 advertisement primarily announced the needlework and academic skills Mary Anne March and her daughter would teach children, but the final segment of the advertisement informed interested persons that the two would also take in quilting and other needlework.



public or private Schools” to take an oath to the government. In March of 1758 Mary Anne March refused to take the oath because of her religion; thus she was prohibited from teaching school—her main means of supporting herself.³²

Denied her primary source of income, Mary Anne March appealed to the Council of Maryland in 1758 for money. This petition revealed that Mary Anne was not a widow, as one might have assumed since she worked with her grown daughter, but that she was estranged from her husband and probably had been since 1751 when she moved to Annapolis. Divorce was very rare in the eighteenth century and for Mary Ann, a Catholic, probably was not even an option. The difficulty of a woman supporting herself in the eighteenth century is poignantly demonstrated in Mary Anne’s appeal to the Council of Maryland. It is also apparent that reconciliation between Mary Anne and her husband was not possible:

After the separation between my Husband and me, I sued according to Law for a Maintenance, the Court of Chancery was pleased to order me to return to my Husband, and in obedience to the honourable Court I did. He immediately answered that he never would cohabit help or maintain me and as I am advanced in years and scarce any other Ways or Means to support me but by the tuition of Children, nay, that even I am deprived of. The County will not allow me any Thing, because my Husband is living, therefore I most humbly pray your Honours will take it unto your wise Considerations to enable me to get a Living.³³

It is unknown whether or not Mary Anne March received her welfare from the Council of Maryland, but it appears that she headed west in search of opportunities and tolerance because she witnessed a will in Frederick County in the 1760s.³⁴

Unfortunately each of the four quilters, Sarah Monro, Elizabeth Crowder, Anne Griffith, and Mary Anne March, quickly fade from the historical record after 1755. Although we are left wondering what became of each of them, the glimpses into each woman’s life story provide new insights on women’s lives in mid-eighteenth-century Annapolis. Combined, the four tales illustrate the trials and opportunities that faced many members of the lower and middle classes of a growing Southern port city—family life,



death, financial struggle, and the opportunities and pitfalls of social and economic advancement—and demonstrates how women employing only a needle and thread and their wits could navigate the rough waters of their society and times.



Notes and References

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2. Gloria Seaman Allen, “Bed Coverings, Kent County, Maryland 1710–1820,” in *Uncoverings 1985*, ed. Sally Garoutte (Mill Valley, CA: American Quilt Study Group, 1986), 9–31 and Linda R. Baumgarten, “The Textile Trade in Boston, 1650–1700,” in *Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby, Winterthur Conference Report 1974 (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1975), 219–73.
3. Allen and Tuckhorn, 27–28.
4. Paul A. Shackel, *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695–1870* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 62–63; Lorena S. Walsh, “Anne Arundel Population” in *Annapolis and Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Study of Urban Development in a Tobacco Economy, 1649–1776*, National Endowment for the Humanities Grant, RS-20199–81–1955, 1983.
5. Andrew Burnaby, *Burnaby’s Travels Through North America Reprinted From the Third Edition of 1798*, with introduction and notes by Rufus Rockwell Wilson (New York: A. Wessels Company, 1904), 80–81.
6. Shackel, 65.
7. Gloria Seaman Allen, *First Flowerings: Early Virginia Quilts* (Washington, DC: Daughters of the American Revolution Museum, 1987), 6.
8. *Maryland Gazette* [Annapolis newspaper], 2 August 1745.
9. Maryland State Archives (hereafter cited as MSA), Prerogative Court Records, Anne Arundel County, 1743, vol. 28: folio 271. Jean Russo, “Economy of Anne Arundel County” in *Annapolis and Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Study of Urban Development in a Tobacco Economy, 1649–1776*, National Endowment for the Humanities Grant, RS-20199–81–1955, 1983, 3. Russo defines the financial divisions of eighteenth-century residents of Annapolis into four groups. Group 1 is the lowest economic group whose estates were appraised between £ 0 to £50; Group 2 is the lower middle class with estates worth from £51 to £225; Group 3 is the upper middle class with estates valued at £226 to £1000; and Group 4 is the wealthy with estates appraised for more than £1000. Following the financial divisions as defined by Russo, Sarah Monro was a member of the lowest economic group because her husband’s estate was appraised at £30.15.6.
10. *Anne Arundel County Church Records of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, compiled by F. Edward Wright (Westminster, MD: Family Line Publications, n.d.), 77, 98, 99.
11. MSA, Prerogative Court Records, Anne Arundel County, 1743, vol. 28: folio 271.



12. MSA, Land Records, Anne Arundel County, 1741, vol. RB1: folio 84.
13. *Maryland Gazette*, 1 April 1746.
14. MSA, Prerogative Court Records, Anne Arundel County, 1743, vol. 27: folio 454. In Robert McLeod's inventory, a servant woman with five years left to serve is valued at £15; a servant man with five years left to serve is valued at £20, and a servant girl with six years left to serve is valued at £12. Robert McLeod's estate was inventoried in 1743 in Annapolis, Maryland.
15. *Maryland Gazette*, 1 April 1746.
16. Brugger, 85–87; Gregory A. Stiverson, "Bound for Lord Baltimore's Colony: White Servitude in Colonial Maryland," Historic Annapolis Foundation Research Files, 6–9. It can be surmised that Elizabeth Crowder probably worked for another colonist for at least a year before Sarah purchased her because Elizabeth is free by 1747—six years after Major Monro's death. If Sarah had purchased Elizabeth immediately after the death of Major Monro, with the minimum indenture of seven years that she could have as a convict servant, Elizabeth would not have been free until, at earliest, the fall of 1748.
17. *Maryland Gazette*, 28 October 1747.
18. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake," in *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and P. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 133.
19. *Maryland Gazette*, 1 April 1746.
20. See *Ibid.*, 28 Oct. 1747 for quotation. Thanks to Ieva Ersts for estimating the hours needed for the quilting of petticoats. Ersts has completed several eighteenth-century-style quilted petticoats. As an indentured servant, Elizabeth Crowder could not marry until she had served her time and was free.
21. *Maryland Gazette*, 27 December 1749; 24 October 1750.
22. Wright, 92, 93, 96. MSA, Prerogative Court Records, Anne Arundel County, 1734, vol. 18: folio 227.
23. *Maryland Gazette*, 5 July 1753.
24. MSA, Anne Arundel County Court, Land Records, 1757, vol. BB1: folio 268.
25. *Ibid.*; MSA, Anne Arundel County Court, Land Records, 1764, vol. BB3: folio 107.
26. Carr and Walsh, 63.
27. Mary Beth Norton, "The Evolution of White Women's Experience," *The American Historical Review*, 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 605.
28. *Maryland Gazette*, 10 April 1751.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Susan Burrows Swan, *Plain & Fancy: American Women and Their Needlework, 1650–1850*, (Rutledge Books, 1977; reprint, Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1995), 50 (page citations are to the reprint edition). John and Mary Rivers advertised in *Maryland Gazette*, 6 November 1755, that they "Teach Dancing, French, Singing, all Sorts of



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Embroidery, and every curious Work which can be perform'd with a Needle, suitable for young Ladies.”

31. *Maryland Gazette*, 10 April 1751 and 27 December 1749. MSA, Anne Arundel County Court, Land Records, 1757, vol. BB1: folio 268. Mary Anne March and Anne Griffith were at least neighbors. There were four separate lots in Annapolis, containing an unknown number of houses, which could be considered “opposite Edmund Jennings.”

32. Pat Melville, “Oath of Teachers,” *The Archivists’ Bulldog: The Newsletter of the Maryland State Archives*, March 2003. Robert Barnes, *School Teachers of Early Maryland*, MSA, Special Collection 5300, online at md.archives.state.md.us/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5300/html/march.html.

33. Barnes.

34. Email from Robert Barnes to Heather Venters, 10 January 2002.