

**TAKING TEA IN THE PARLOUR:
MIDDLE-CLASS FORMATION AND GENDER CONSTRUCTION
IN NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK, 1760-1850**

by

Ann Judith Poole
B. A., Simon Fraser University, 1986

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

In the
Department
of
History

© Ann Judith Poole 2007

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Spring 2007

All rights reserved. This work may not be
reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy
or other means, without permission of the author.

APPROVAL

Name: Ann Judith Poole
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Taking Tea in the Parlour: Middle-Class Formation and Gender Construction in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1760-1850

Examining Committee:

Chair:

Dr. Emily O'Brien
Assistant Professor, Department of History
Simon Fraser University

Dr. Willeen Keough
Senior Supervisor
Assistant Professor, Department of History
Simon Fraser University

Dr. Elise Chenier
Supervisor
Assistant Professor, Department of History
Simon Fraser University

Dr. Lara Campbell
External Examiner
Assistant Professor, Department of Women's Studies
Simon Fraser University

Date Defended:

March 12, 2007



**SIMON FRASER
UNIVERSITY**library

DECLARATION OF PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENCE

The author, whose copyright is declared on the title page of this work, has granted to Simon Fraser University the right to lend this thesis, project or extended essay to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users.

The author has further granted permission to Simon Fraser University to keep or make a digital copy for use in its circulating collection (currently available to the public at the "Institutional Repository" link of the SFU Library website <www.lib.sfu.ca> at: <<http://ir.lib.sfu.ca/handle/1892/112>>) and, without changing the content, to translate the thesis/project or extended essays, if technically possible, to any medium or format for the purpose of preservation of the digital work.

The author has further agreed that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by either the author or the Dean of Graduate Studies.

It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without the author's written permission.

Permission for public performance, or limited permission for private scholarly use, of any multimedia materials forming part of this work, may have been granted by the author. This information may be found on the separately catalogued multimedia material and in the signed Partial Copyright Licence.

The original Partial Copyright Licence attesting to these terms, and signed by this author, may be found in the original bound copy of this work, retained in the Simon Fraser University Archive.

Simon Fraser University Library
Burnaby, BC, Canada

ABSTRACT

Knowledge of tea etiquette was a significant marker of middle-class gentility and contributed to middle-class formation and gender construction in colonial Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Early middle-class settlers brought tea ware and employed the tea ritual to set standards of gentility that determined social inclusion or exclusion. Tea drinking shifted from a predominantly masculine activity in the late eighteenth century, as commercial and political men met in their parlours over tea, to an increasingly feminine ritual by the mid-nineteenth century. Attending this transition was the feminization of the parlour, a quasi-public space important for the display of middle-class gentility — a process that blurred the boundaries of separate spheres as women extended their domestic and communal influence. Increased female control of the tea ritual and the parlour contributed to middle-class men's concerns that their private and public authority was diminishing.

Keywords: middle-class formation; gender identity; separate spheres; gentility; tea drinking

Subject Terms: Middle class -- Canada -- History; Femininity -- Canada -- History -- 18th century; Femininity -- Canada -- History -- 19th century; Masculinity -- Canada -- History -- 18th century; Masculinity -- Canada -- History -- 19th century; Women -- Maritime Provinces -- History -- 19th century

So hear it then, my Rennie dear,
Nor hear it with a frown;
You cannot make the tea so fast
As I can gulp it down.

I therefore pray thee, Rennie dear,
That thou wilt give to me
With cream and sugar softened well,
Another dish of tea.

“Untitled”
Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

Now stir the fire, and close the shutters fast,
Let fall the curtains, wheel the sofa round,
And, while the bubbling and loud-hissing urn
Throws up a steamy column, and the cups,
That cheer but not inebriate, wait on each,
So let us welcome peaceful ev'ning in.

“The Winter Evening”
William Cowper, 1785

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to thank my senior supervisor, Dr. Willeen Keough, to whom I am greatly indebted for helping me to clarify my thoughts and writing. Your support, guidance, and encouragement were invaluable in assisting me to complete the writing of this thesis.

My sincere gratitude is also extended to Dr. Elise Chenier for her insightful comments and suggestions. I am also grateful to Dr. Michael Prokopow for introducing me to the idea of using tea ware to explore colonial Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. I would also like to thank Dr. Ian Dyck for his support and advice. As well, I appreciate the helpful suggestions that Dr. Jack Little gave to me.

The photographic images included in these pages were provided by archivists and curators who answered my pleas for pictures of tea sets. Special acknowledgment is given to Janet Hathaway, Assistant Archivist at the University of King's College in Halifax; Andrea Kirkpatrick, Curator of Canadian and International Art at the New Brunswick Museum; Wilma Stewart-White, Curator of the Mahone Bay Settlers Museum; and Stuart McLean, Archivist at the Yarmouth County Museum.

Finally, thank you to my family. A special thank you to my parents, John and Jill Parker, who encouraged me to go back to school. My deepest appreciation is to my husband, Gerry, and my two children, Sarah and Adam, whose love, patience, and humour have sustained me throughout.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Approval.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Quotations.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
List of Figures.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Middle-Class Formation at the Tea Table.....	25
Chapter Two: Gendered Tea Visits.....	55
Chapter Three: Gender Negotiation in the Parlour.....	80
Conclusion.....	106
Appendix: Tea, Empire, and Identity.....	112
Bibliography.....	115

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Weldon Collection.....	27
Figure 1.2: Chipman Collection.....	38
Figure 2.1: Generational Family Groupings.....	73
Figure 3.1: Yarmouth Museum Collection.....	89
Figure 3.2: Inglis/Quinlan Collection.....	90

INTRODUCTION

In 1842, George Fenety, publisher of the *Saint John Commercial News and General Advertiser*, wrote a short story, *The Lady and the Dress-maker: or, A Peep at Fashionable Folly*, in which he characterized a weekly gathering of women to drink tea as the “*gossip circle*.”¹ Guests attending the fictional tea party included Dolly Blab, Miss Tongue, Mrs. Mouth, and Mrs. Grundy, who evaluated the conduct of their neighbours, with comments such as “she ought to be ashamed of herself,” as tea was being poured.² Fenety located his imaginary circle around a tea table, an essential article of furniture in a middle-class parlour. Display of the tea ritual was a signal of middle-class status, as Fenety set the scene with the hostess, Mrs. Jones, “pouring out a cup of tea, and handing it to Miss Dolly Blab,” and following through with, “Pass over your cup, and let me give you another, Miss Tongue.”³ This mid-century association of female tea drinking and talk reflected a change in the ideological construction of gendered roles in the tea ritual from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth, as the venue shifted from the tavern to the parlour, and as the dominant figure in the tableau shifted from the middle-class man to the middle-class woman.

¹ George E. Fenety, *The Lady and the Dress-maker: or, a Peep at Fashionable Folly, a story founded on circumstances that occurred some time since in this city* (Saint John, N. B.: s. n., 1842), 21.

² Fenety, *Lady and the Dress-maker*, 105.

³ Fenety, *Lady and the Dress-maker*, 22.

The meanings associated with tea sets and, ultimately, parlour furnishings — objects required for conducting the tea ritual — were a significant part of the gendered experience of middle-class formation in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick⁴ between 1760 and 1850. During this period, white middle-class settlers engaged in tea visits to acquaint themselves with other settlers who shared their social identity, to re-affirm their middle-class status vis-à-vis the lower class, and to encourage industry, thrift, and sobriety among middle-class aspirants. Within the same time frame, the gendered nature of the social event shifted from masculine to feminine. Eighteenth-century commercial and political men invited each other to tea, in taverns and in parlours, to discuss business and politics — meetings that contributed to the construction of the middle-class masculine ideal of economic and civic responsibility. But the tavern setting faded while the parlour and the tea ritual became increasingly feminized in the nineteenth century. Parlour tea visits among the white middle class were increasingly dominated by feminine sociability, extending women’s influence into a quasi-public space as displayers of family wealth and enforcers of communal standards. It was this overlapping of spheres, this “encroachment” into the “masculine,” public domain, that concerned middle-class men such as George Fenety and drew satirical fire.

These trends were not unique to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but

⁴ Although I refer to the two colonies as separate entities throughout this thesis, the reader should note that the division is artificial for the early part of my study period. After Acadia was ceded to the British by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, it became part of the colony of Nova Scotia. The colony of New Brunswick was carved out of this larger territory in 1784. Even then, its boundary with the state of Maine remained under dispute until Britain and the United States fixed the border in 1842.

were part of wider imperial cultural developments that were transferred and adapted by middle-class merchants, artisans, and farmers immigrating to the British colonies.⁵ It is this group, overwhelmingly white and predominantly of British descent, that will be examined in this thesis. Colonial Nova Scotia and New Brunswick provide excellent contexts for studying the gendered nature of middle-class formation. The opportunities for freehold land tenure in both colonies and their access to the imperial trading network attracted a significant number of socially ambitious immigrants. Indeed, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were most attractive to middle-class families who closely bound their economic and social lives to emerging capitalism. Some of their experiences mirrored those of their counterparts in Britain. Yet there were differences as well, reflecting a different context and disproportionate sex ratios that only approached one by the end of the study period.⁶

Many of these middle-class mercantile, farming, or artisan families relocated in the latter half of the eighteenth century, choosing to migrate to secure the economic foundation on which their social status rested. Seven thousand New England farmers, called “Planters,” arrived in Nova Scotia

⁵ For a discussion of the wider middle-class culture of gentility, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997). The emerging middle class defined themselves in part through participation not only in the tea ritual but other cultural refinements such as the theatre, operas, concerts, assemblies, balls, art shows, newspapers, books, and fashion.

⁶ Canada Department of Agriculture, *Census of Canada, 1870-71*, Vol. IV (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1876), 70, 72, 224, 232. In 1767, Nova Scotia recorded 3,552 white males and 2,528 white females, while the portion of the colony that later became New Brunswick registered 347 white males and 242 white females. By 1851, Nova Scotia reported 138,612 males and 138,242 females, while New Brunswick claimed 99,526 males and 94,274 females.

between 1759 and 1769, due to the lack of arable land in their home colonies in New England.⁷ Between 1772 and 1775, 1,000 middling Yorkshire tenant farm families settled on the Chignecto Isthmus to escape rent increases and persecution for their Methodist beliefs. Highland kelp harvesters, sensing the early indications of the kelp industry's collapse, founded a settlement at Pictou in 1773.⁸ As well, 30,000 Loyalists — the bulk of them, farming and artisan families — looked to Nova Scotia, and later New Brunswick, to replace their confiscated property that remained in American hands as a result of the 1783 Treaty of Paris.⁹ Each of these early movements of socially and economically ambitious migrants were tempted to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick by the availability of cheap and accessible land.

⁷ Margaret Conrad, ed., *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1988); Margaret Conrad, ed., *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1991); Margaret Conrad, ed., *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1995); Margaret Conrad and Barry Moody, ed., *Planter Links: Community and Culture in Colonial Nova Scotia* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 2001).

⁸ Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 373-97.

⁹ Ann Gorman Condon, "1783-1800: Loyalist Arrival, Acadian Return, Imperial Reform," in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, ed. Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 184; Esther C. Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, N. B.: n. p., 1955); Neil MacKinnon, *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press), 1986. Loyalist refugees were a diverse group that came from all levels of society and from a variety of backgrounds, which included clergymen, government officials, merchants, artisans, farmers, soldiers, labourers, and slaves. Some of the Loyalists had recently emigrated from Britain, while other families had resided in the colonies for a number of generations. Loyalists supported the monarchy for various reasons, ranging from belief in the British parliamentary system and close social, economic, or political ties to Britain to self-interest and misjudgment of the outcome of the war. Most Loyalists, however, feared the spectre of mob rule that they believed republicanism would bring.

The Atlantic colony contained a limited amount of arable land that lay along the shores of the Bay of Fundy, the Minas Basin and the isthmus of Chignecto in Nova Scotia, and the Saint John River valley in what became New Brunswick in 1784. This fertile land was available to the Planters in the form of established farms left by expelled Acadians. It was also offered, upon payment of land fees, to English and Scottish immigrants as part of colonial land policy until 1827 and to incoming Loyalists as land grants provided by the British government in compensation for their confiscated property. As these early immigrant artisans and farmers experienced the beginnings of social and economic uncertainty elsewhere, they were encouraged by land accessibility and economic opportunities in the Atlantic colonies to relocate their families.

After the Napoleonic Wars, thousands of immigrants left England, Scotland, and Ireland because of post-war economic depression and increasing industrialization that displaced many from the land. Between 1815 and 1850, the British government encouraged emigration as a solution to the increasing immiseration of its population. In the 1820s and 30s, thousands of emigrants from the British Isles crowded into the empty cargo holds of lumber ships returning to New Brunswick; and the agricultural crisis of the potato blight in the 1840s brought thousands more, now impoverished and diseased families to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.¹⁰ The limited amount of arable soil was in the

¹⁰ Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Hugh Johnston, *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830: 'shovelling out paupers'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

possession of mostly middle-class farmers and artisans, leaving poor-quality soil at increased land costs for the waves of destitute immigrants.¹¹ Some of the working poor became landless labourers in Halifax and Saint John, while others squatted on crown land or aboriginal territories, eking out an existence and supplementing their family income by cutting timber in the New Brunswick forest. Many Highland Scots arrived in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia because of the collapse of the Scottish kelp industry and were forced to settle on rocky, unproductive backlands, away from the already inhabited, fertile land along the waterways, where they struggled to survive.¹² Meanwhile, by the 1830s, a middle class was firmly established both in the urbanizing centres of Halifax and Saint John and in smaller agricultural communities.

How did these two groups — the petit bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie — interact at the boundaries of class? One of the social spaces in which class was created was at the tea table. The tea ritual, as a class experience, had its British roots in the social evolution of middle ranks in the mid-seventeenth century. The commercialization of agriculture and mercantilism created new opportunities for occupational groups such as merchants, artisans, and farmers to accumulate

¹¹ Rusty Bittermann, "Economic Stratification and Agrarian Settlement: Middle River in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton's History, 1713-1990*, ed. Kenneth Donovan (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 71-87; Debra McNabb, "The Role of Land in the Development of Horton Township, 1760-1775," in *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1988), 151-60; Barry Moody, "Land, Kinship and Inheritance in Granville Township, 1760-1800," in *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter, Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 165-79.

¹² Rusty Bittermann, "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," in *Atlantic Canada Before Confederation*, ed. P. A. Buckner and David Frank, Vol. 1 (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1999), 229-31.

wealth and evolve into the British middle ranks by 1660.¹³ By the mid-eighteenth-century, this middle rank was increasingly known as the “middle class.”¹⁴ Socially ambitious families risked tying their livelihoods to emerging capitalism in the hopes of increasing their financial and social status, while accepting the possibility of bankruptcy.¹⁵ Such risk placed many families in economically precarious positions and likely contributed towards the adoption by the rising middle class of late eighteenth-century Evangelical values of thrift, industriousness, and sobriety. The middle class assumed these ideals to distinguish themselves from the upper class, perceived as dissolute, and the working class, seen as backward and lazy.

The gendered experiences of men and women were as significant in the formation of the middle class as was the expression of moral behaviour. Men and women experienced middle-class formation differently, and this shaped their conception of their social identity.¹⁶ Middle-class occupations drew men further

¹³ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660- 1730* (London: Methuen, 1989); Paul Small, *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁴ Penelope Corfield, “Class by name and number in eighteenth-century Britain,” in *Language, History and Class*, ed. Penelope Corfield (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 114.

¹⁵ Burton Bledstein, “Introduction: Storytellers to the Middle Class,” in *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class*, ed. Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnson (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1-25; Joyce Appleby, “The Social Consequences of American Revolutionary Ideals in the Early Republic,” in *The Middling Sorts*, ed. Bledstein and Johnson, 31-49.

¹⁶ Stuart M. Blumin, “The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals,” *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985): 299-338; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle*

into the public sphere of the market place, leaving women in the private sphere of the home, fulfilling domestic duties that included raising children and supervising housework. The social construction of masculine and feminine ideals stemmed from the middle-class ideology of separate spheres.¹⁷ Middle-class man was aggressive and competitive in the market-place, and his ensuing financial success relieved his wife from labouring in the public sphere; in the private sphere, he combined authority with consideration as both head of the household and supportive husband.¹⁸ The daily activities of the ideal middle-class housewife were centered in the home, providing her husband a place for restful comfort after a harsh day in the business world, and guiding her young children towards moral behaviour. Drawing on Evangelical principles, these

Class 1780-1850, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2002); Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 2 (1986): 1053-1075.

¹⁷ This thesis enters the ongoing debate amongst historians by arguing that the paradigm of separate spheres retains validity for examining the negotiation of gender relations from late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century colonial society, even though the boundaries between the public and private spheres were blurred. The debate regarding separate spheres has, over the past forty years, ranged from the claim that the domestic sphere was exclusively female, to contentions that overlapping occurred between the public and private boundaries, to the more recent assertions that the separate spheres model is inadequate for examining the complexities of gender relations. For a historiography of three decades of separate spheres literature, see Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 9-39. For an example of recent literature calling for the elimination of the separate spheres ideology, see Cathy N. Davidson and Jessamyn Hatcher, ed., *No More Separate Spheres!: A Next Wave American Studies Reader* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2002).

¹⁸ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning about manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth-century America," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 35-51.

women became the “moral regenerators of the nation.”¹⁹ Middle-class values were replicated generationally as children were trained in class and gender experiences which they, in turn, exhibited in adulthood. Yet there was slippage between ideology and practice within middle-class households.²⁰

Atlantic historians are gradually investigating the emergence of the middle class in Nova Scotian and New Brunswick colonial societies. In *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, T. W. Acheson describes middling occupational groups from the late eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century as they grew in numbers, wealth, and political power; yet he does not connect their growth with the emergence of a middle class and a class consciousness.²¹ The formation of the middle class is examined by historian D. A. Sutherland in his discussion of the development of reformation voluntary

¹⁹ Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, U. K.: Polity Press, 1992), 86.

²⁰ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Cross and the Pedestal: Women, Anti-Ritualism, and the Emergence of the American Bourgeoisie,” in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*, ed. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 129-64; Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990); Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Victoria E. Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women’s Place in the Early South, 1700-1835* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998), 170-6; Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995).

²¹ T. W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Judith Fingard suggests that Acheson should have used the formation of the middle class to link his chapters. See Judith Fingard, “The Emergence of the Saint John Middle Class in the 1840’s” [book review], *Acadiensis* XVII, no. 1 (1987):169.

societies in early nineteenth-century Halifax.²² Sutherland concludes that the temperance association was very significant in shaping public order and bringing middle-class women into the public sphere. Richard Henning Field contends that class formation in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Lunenburg was manifested in displayable objects owned by the affluent middle-class merchants and aspiring middle-class yeoman farmers.²³ Matthew Havanty maintains that middle-class identity in Prince Edward Island was manifested in prescriptive advice in farmers' almanacs, borrowing from the middle-class principles of industry, sobriety, and thrift promoted in Nova Scotia almanacs.²⁴ Still, the rise of the middle class in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick has only been studied in piecemeal fashion, creating a fragmentary picture of the process.

The experiences of middle-class women of the Maritimes have also been partially examined by historians. A collection edited by Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton demonstrates the many ways in which nineteenth-century middle-class women negotiated between the private and public spheres in their daily lives, as petitioners and teachers, and in public parades and ceremonies.²⁵

²² David A. Sutherland, "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-Class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax, Nova Scotia," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5, no. 1 (1994): 237-63.

²³ Richard Henning Field, "Claiming Rank: The Display of Wealth and Status by Eighteenth Century Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Merchants," *Material History Review* 35 (1992): 1-20.

²⁴ Matthew G. Hatvany, "Almanacs and the New Middle-Class: New England and Middle Class Hegemony in Early Prince Edward Island," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XXX, no. 60 (1997): 417-438.

²⁵ Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, ed., *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994). See Gail Campbell, "Disfranchised but not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-19th Century,"

In a separate publication, Janet Guildford indicates that middle-class women influenced the public sphere through their published writings.²⁶ These writings represented the ideal middle-class man as aggressive in the business world and companionate in the home. Yet, historian Lorna Hutchinson has found disjuncture between the appearance of an ideal middle-class marriage and the reality of spousal abuse in nineteenth-century New Brunswick.²⁷ Margaret Conrad has investigated middle-class women's domestic daily experiences through the use of private diaries, letters, and memoirs and concludes that women saw their lives through the lens of motherhood and domesticity, and carried their housewifery into the twentieth-century workplace.²⁸ Previously overlooked historical sources have been explored to uncover new perspectives on the lives of women. By examining a nineteenth-century Prince Edward Island housewife's account book, historian Kathryn Carter has discovered that women

39-66; Janet Guildford, "Separate Spheres: The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880," 119-44; Bonnie Huskins, "The Ceremonial Space of Women Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax," 145-60.

²⁶ Janet Guildford, "Creating the Ideal Man: Middle-Class Women's Constructions of Masculinity in Nova Scotia, 1840-1880," *Acadiensis* XXIX, no. 2 (1995): 5-23.

²⁷ Lorna Hutchinson, "God Help Me for No One Else Can: The Diary of Annie Waltham, 1869-1881," *Acadiensis* XXI, no. 2 (1992): 72-89.

²⁸ Margaret Conrad, *Recording Angels: The Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1950* (Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 1982); Margaret Conrad, "'Sundays Always Make Me Think of Home': Time and Place in Canadian Women's History," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, ed., Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman 1991), 67-81; Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw & Donna Smyth, *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women, 1771-1938* (Halifax, N. S.: Formac Publishing), 1988.

played a significant role in their families' economic success.²⁹ Jenny Cook has explored the significance of parlour decoration in the lives of middle-class women as a means to both express their leisure time and delineate themselves from working-class women.³⁰ These studies have brought new understandings of middle-class women's lives,³¹ but further work is required to demonstrate how gender ideals shifted over time and also to understand the contradictions between middle-class ideals and reality.

Similarly, historians have begun to investigate the lives of middle-class men and how they identified their masculinity. Cecilia Morgan has examined the political and religious public discourse in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Upper Canada that helped shape notions of masculinity, defining men as virtuous, hard-working, independent, and self controlled in their roles as husbands, sons, and fathers.³² Morgan has further explored the debate for political reform that occurred in Upper Canada newspapers between conservatives and reformers, which helped craft notions of middle-class manly

²⁹ Kathryn Carter, "An Economy of Words: Emma Chadwick Stretch's Account Book Diary, 1859-1860," *Acadiensis* XXIX, no. 1 (1999): 43-56.

³⁰ Jenny Cook, "Bringing the Outside In: Women and the Transformation of the Middle-Class Maritime Canadian Interior, 1830-1860," *Material History Review* 38 (1993): 36-49.

³¹ See Suzanne Morton, "Separate Spheres in a Separate World: African-Nova Scotian Women in late-19th-Century Halifax County," *Acadiensis* XXII, no. 2 (1993): 74-83. Although not consistent with my focus on the white Nova Scotian and New Brunswick middle class, it is important to note that Suzanne Morton demonstrates that white middle-class Nova Scotian women exercised social authority by publicly rejecting African-Nova Scotian women's appropriation of white middle-class female roles. Yet these black women effectively negotiated the concept of separate spheres within their daily lives.

³² Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

strength and virtue as both groups denigrated the other with stereotypical feminine characteristics of weakness, emotionalism, and irrationality.³³ Colin Howell has studied baseball in the Maritime provinces of the latter half of the nineteenth century, with its expression of male physical competitiveness, as promoted by the medical profession, and Christian manliness, as promoted by religious institutions.³⁴

Indeed, middle-class men promoted muscular Christianity to distinguish themselves from working-class masculinity that was characterized by “brawny physicality, heavy drinking, rough language, and sexual indulgence.”³⁵ Margaret S. Creighton has examined the masculine world of American seamen and found two significant, though not exclusive, masculine identities in the form of the independent and the self-restrained sailor and the unemotional, hard drinking, swearing, and fornicating mariner.³⁶ Steven Maynard has found in his study of gendered experiences in a late nineteenth-century rural Nova Scotian household that the sexual division of physical farm labour shaped men’s social and

³³ Cecilia Morgan, “‘When Bad Men Conspire, Good Men Must Unite!’: Gender and Political Discourses in Upper Canada, 1820s-1830s,” in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, ed. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 12-28.

³⁴ Colin Howell, “A Manly Sport: Baseball and the Social Construction of Masculinity,” in *Gender and History in Canada*, ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 187-210.

³⁵ Howell, “A Manly Sport,” 201. For a discussion on late nineteenth-century working-class masculinity, see, for example, Steven Maynard, “Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History,” *Labour/Le Travail*, 23 (Spring 1989):159-69.

³⁶ Margaret S. Creighton, “American Mariners and the Rites of Manhood, 1830-1870,” in *Race and Gender in the Northern Colonies*, ed. Jan Noel (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2000), 277-302.

economic relationships with other male community members and their families.³⁷ Still, the study of masculinity is a relatively recent subfield of gender studies, and more research on middle-class masculinity and its inter-relationship with middle-class femininity in the Maritimes in the period of early settlement is needed.

This thesis intends to build on these earlier examinations to study the emergence of the middle class as a significant force in colonial communities. The specific lens through which the process will be viewed is the tea ritual. The primary evidence derives mostly from diaries, letters, travelers' accounts, prescriptive literature, and published narratives.³⁸ This textual evidence reveals that tea drinking was both a business and a social event in middle-class circles. An examination of the roles that middle-class men and women played in the tea ritual also indicates how the construction of masculine and feminine identities shifted between 1760 and 1850. While these sources generally do not indicate ownership of tea sets and parlour furnishings,³⁹ patterns of tea drinking can be elicited from these textual sources that show how middle-class men and women shaped middle-class consciousness and class boundaries in their communities. This focus on objects associated with tea drinking can provide insight into how

³⁷ Steven Maynard, "Between Farm and Factory: The Productive Household and the Capitalist Transformation of the Maritime Countryside, Hopewell, Nova Scotia, 1869-1890," in *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950*, ed. Daniel Samson (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 70-104.

³⁸ The grammatical and spelling idiosyncracies of original writings will be retained in this thesis without the use of "sic."

³⁹ An extensive look at estate inventories would be required; unfortunately, this was beyond the scope of my Master's research.

middle-class people acquainted themselves with others and how social relationships were formed and maintained. The objects draw us into the elaborate world of ritual and the sometimes ruthless processes of inclusion and exclusion by which membership in the middle class was determined.

In order to locate the significance that objects hold in peoples' lives, and why the demand for certain goods evolve, material culture theorists have sought to establish how objects both hold and convey meanings.⁴⁰ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood have demonstrated that socially subscribed meanings influence consumer purchases. Repeated social activities or rituals, they argue, establish "visible public definitions" from which societal consensus constructs agreed meanings.⁴¹ This flow of meanings affect consumer choices: a consumer purchases not simply the object, but, according to Arjun Appadurai, "a sign in a system of signs of status."⁴² The way in which an individual uses an object also becomes a non-verbal method of communicating both a self and a social identity. Furthermore, Ann Bermingham has revealed that consumption has been one the most significant means (Bermingham argues the primary means)

⁴⁰ See Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls, (London: Routledge, 1990). Mauss argues that even gifts are not bereft of meaning, as giving objects instills meanings of obligation within the context of the motives of the giver.

⁴¹ Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Alfred Lane, 1979), 65.

⁴² Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value," in *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, U. K.: University of Cambridge Press, 1986), 45.

“through which individuals have participated in culture and transformed it.”⁴³

These material culture theories will inform my work as I examine how the middle class of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick employed meanings signified by porcelain tea ware and parlour furniture to create their social identity and to distinguish themselves from the colonial elite and lower orders.

In the latter 1700s, middling groups in the colonies, like their British counterparts, were still in the process of appropriating the tea ritual as a class marker. By the mid-eighteenth century, England experienced a rapid upsurge in consumer demand for household goods, including tea sets, that was, in part, driven by artisans, many of whom manufactured the desired objects.⁴⁴ Yet in the mid-seventeenth century, when the East India Company had begun importing tea leaves and porcelain tea ware into Britain, tea drinking was very much associated with royalty and the aristocracy.⁴⁵ Drinking tea as a social event became popular among the upper classes in the 1660s, when Catherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II, organized tea parties with her ladies. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the demand for tea ware and the tea ritual had spread to the middle class, including “the lesser gentry, professions, merchants,

⁴³ Ann Bermingham, “The consumption of culture: image, object, text,” in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Object, Image, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 1995), 14.

⁴⁴ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, ed., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of the Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982); Jan De Vries, “The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution,” *The Journal of Economic History* 54, no. 2 (1994): 249-70; Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

⁴⁵ See Appendix, “Tea, Empire, and Identity.”

shopkeepers, farmers, yeomen, husbandmen, and craftsmen.”⁴⁶

Socially subordinate groups who owned and used luxury goods were perceived by the upper class as imitators of the elite, yet they conspicuously displayed their new-found status. Status competition was the basis of Thorsten Veblen’s “imitation thesis” to interpret the consumer behaviour of the late nineteenth-century American nouveau riche,⁴⁷ and has also been offered as an explanation for increased consumption during the Industrial Revolution — a matter of “keeping up with the Joneses.”⁴⁸ However, the imitation theory denies agency to individual consumers. Social relations negotiated through the meanings conveyed by objects rely on emulation rather than imitation.⁴⁹ Both emulation and imitation require a standard on which a recreation of the original is based. The distinction occurs in the degree of agency involved. The process of emulation allows meanings to be employed as a strategy to mediate social relations, while imitation entails unreflective copying, mimicking, or aping of the example. The process of emulation involves reworking an original to achieve personal or social results, while imitation implies an attempt at reproducing the original to obtain the same result. As this thesis will demonstrate, eighteenth-

⁴⁶ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), 13.

⁴⁷ Thorsten Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, rev. ed. (1899: repr., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

⁴⁸ Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London: Routledge 1968), 91.

⁴⁹ Dick Hebdige, “Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle,” in *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things*, ed. Dick Hebdige (London: Routledge, 1988); Daniel Miller, “Appropriating the State on the Council Estate,” in *Reading Things*, ed. Neil Cummings (London: Chance Books, 1993).

century middle-class appropriation of tea drinking as a social event instilled meanings of thrift, industriousness, and sobriety in the ritual — signalling a shared social identity that made them distinct from the upper and lower classes.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the emerging middle class had begun to judge self-restraint and politeness towards others as a mark of civilized behaviour.⁵⁰ The reflection of proper inner thoughts through outer civil behaviour was important to members of the middle class, who defined themselves as “polite,” “civil,” “genteel,” “well-bred,” and “polished,” and aimed to become “simple gentlemen and gentlewomen.”⁵¹ Middle-class business owners appropriated tea drinking into their daily commercial activities. Both coffee and tea were part of middle-class marketplace interactions, and business deals were made over both beverages. In the mid-eighteenth century, coffee was consumed in coffee houses that were open to the public. But tea increasingly became a domestic drink, allowing for more exclusive social gatherings, ideal for keeping the vulgar away from the polite. The exacting rules of the tea ritual and its non-alcoholic content provided the middle class with a way to demonstrate their industry and sobriety. Middle-class tea drinking became associated with business and moral behaviour, which helped to separate them from the aristocracy, whose tea ritual signalled idleness and luxury.

⁵⁰ Norbert Elias, “The History of Manners,” in *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 47.

⁵¹ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 13, 202.

The middle class were emulating aristocratic tea activity as well as aristocratic genteel behaviour. Gentility had originated in Renaissance courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as courtiers cultivated polished manners to express inner self-improvement that was exhibited outwardly in regulated behaviour and courtesy. It was important to present oneself to others as an inoffensive person, both in conduct and conversation. The publication of etiquette books, such as Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*, enabled middle-class aspirants to learn the intricate rules of aristocratic genteel conduct.⁵² Thus aristocratic gentility was a guide to improved behaviour for the middle class. However, they altered the meaning to fit their own class identity and to set themselves apart from the upper class. Middle-class social circles validated their membership through genteel tea drinking but, at the same time, reinforced the exclusivity of their gentility.

Material culture analyses of historical artifacts and inventories have revealed how Nova Scotian and New Brunswick settlers employed objects to manifest their middle-class identity in their new homes. Richard Henning Field examined the estate inventories of German merchants and yeoman farmers who settled in Lunenburg in 1753. His findings indicate that the affluent middle-class merchants employed their displayable household goods to signal their higher economic and social status in the community, while yeoman farmers used such

⁵² Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 96; Richard Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992), chapter 2.

objects to signal their rise to the middle class.⁵³ Museum archivist M. A. MacDonald has compared artifacts owned by pre-Loyalist settlers — the New England trading partners Simmonds, Hazen and White — who opened a trading post at Portsmouth Point located at the mouth of the Saint John River, and the families of Yorkshire tenant farmers who arrived on the Chignecto Isthmus in 1772-74. MacDonald's analysis indicates that the Planters were not as well-to-do as the Yorkshire farmers, arguing that possessions manifested economic and social distinctions between the English settlers and New England migrants.⁵⁴ Ann Gorman Condon has examined the expensive household goods that established Loyalists brought with them to New Brunswick and contends that this small group of refugees hoped to use these objects to signal their intention of joining the Maritime elite.⁵⁵ Household objects played a role in the formation of class in new settlements as settlers attempted to locate their social position as quickly as possible.

Work conducted specifically on Maritime furniture also indicates that

⁵³ Richard Henning Field, "Lunenburg-German Household Textiles: The Evidence from Lunenburg County Estate Inventories, 1780-1830," *Material History Review* 24 (1986): 16-23; Richard Henning Field, *The Material Lives of Lunenburg German Merchants and Yeomen: The Evidence Based Probate Inventories, 1760-1830* (Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1990).

⁵⁴ M. A. MacDonald, "Artifact Survivals from Pre-loyalist English-Speaking Settlers of New Brunswick," *Material History Bulletin* 26 (1987): 27-9; M. A. MacDonald, "Before the Loyalists: The Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English Settlers," *Material History Bulletin* 28 (1988): 15-34; M. A. MacDonald, *Rebels & Royalists: The Lives and Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English-Speaking Settlers, 1758-1783* (Fredericton, N. B.: New Ireland Press, 1990).

⁵⁵ Ann Gorman Condon, *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* (Fredericton, N. B: New Ireland Press, 1984); Ann Gorman Condon, "Loyalist Style and the Culture of the Atlantic Seaboard," *Material History Review* 25 (1987): 21-8.

household furnishings contributed to an emerging class consciousness from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Charles Foss has studied cabinetmakers in New Brunswick and has demonstrated that finer wood crafts were not evident in New Brunswick until a small number of cabinetmakers arrived with the Loyalist migration to Saint John and set up shop to supply established middle-class Loyalists with mahogany furnishings.⁵⁶ Tim Dilworth has investigated cabinetmakers in the early to mid-nineteenth century and has shown that the expanding middle-class customer base in New Brunswick during this time frame allowed the wood craftsmen to establish profitable businesses. Donald Blake Webster has found similar evidence in the wider Atlantic area.⁵⁷ Jane L. Cook examined how each wave of ethnic groups arriving in New Brunswick influenced the type of furniture constructed by cabinetmakers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Cook concludes that mid-nineteenth-century wood furnishings combined high style with vernacular, creating a Maritime style characterized by simpler decoration.⁵⁸ Deryck Holdsworth and Peter Ennals have come to similar conclusions in their work on house styles in Nova Scotia during the study period. Despite the initial

⁵⁶ Charles H. Foss, *Cabinet-makers of the Eastern Seaboard: A Study of Early Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: M. F. Fehely, 1977).

⁵⁷ Tim Dilworth, "Thomas Nisbet's Furniture: Distinctive Style, Design and Workmanship," *Material History Bulletin* 24 (1986): 13-6; Tim Dilworth, "Thomas Nisbet: A Reappraisal of his Life and Work," *Material History Bulletin* 15 (1982): 77-82; Donald Blake Webster, "Furniture and the Atlantic Canada Condition," *Material History Bulletin* 15 (1982): 53-9.

⁵⁸ Jane L. Cook, *Coalescence of Styles: The Ethnic Heritage of the St. John River Valley Regional Furniture, 1763-1851* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 2001).

construction of New England style houses by incoming settlers, by the mid-nineteenth century, housing had become distinctly Nova Scotian, with less decoration.⁵⁹

This study will contribute to that body of material culture work by focusing on tea objects and the tea ritual that shaped understandings of both gender and class. Thousands of tons of English porcelain tea sets were shipped to the British North American colonies as the established colonial middle class and middle-class aspirants enthusiastically embraced the tea ritual.⁶⁰ Increasingly, the colonial middle class required specific tea equipment to signal membership. The complete porcelain tea set included the teapot, tea cups, saucers, cream pot, sugar container, sugar tongs, teaspoons, slop bowl, tea chest, and a hot water urn.⁶¹ The tea ware was laid out on a table crafted specifically for the tea

⁵⁹ Peter Ennals, "The Yankee Origins of Bluenose Vernacular Architecture," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* XII, no. 2, (1982): 5-21; Derryck Holdsworth and Peter Ennals, "Vernacular Architecture and Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces — A Reconnaissance," in *The Acadiensis Reader Volume 1: Atlantic Canada Before Confederation*, ed. P. A. Buckner and David Frank (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1985), 335-55.

⁶⁰ British porcelain, especially from the Staffordshire factories, was in great demand in the northern British North American colonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Elizabeth Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), 163, 170; Stephen A. Davis, Catherine Cottreau and Laird Niven, *Artifacts from Eighteenth Century Halifax: The Central Trust Archeological Project* (Halifax: Saint Mary's University Laboratory, 1987), 43-4.

⁶¹ As the demand for tea and Chinese porcelain tea equipment spread across Europe, European potters attempted to create an imitation porcelain; but they were unsuccessful until kaolin or china clay, the necessary ingredient to make hard paste porcelain, was discovered first in Meissen, Germany, in 1710. In 1747, china clay was found in Cornwall, and by 1770, potters in London, Liverpool, and Staffordshire were manufacturing English porcelain tea sets for middle-class consumers. Staffordshire potter, Josiah Wedgwood's Queensware was the most sought after because he aimed his marketing techniques toward the middle class. See Neil McKendrick, "Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982), 108. European

ritual. The tea table was either a rectangular or square-topped table or a round-topped single pedestal (the most popular) constructed of mahogany or walnut. A table cloth was a necessary item, and the cups were arranged neatly around the teapot, ready to receive the tea.⁶² Performance of the tea ritual with these specific tea items was an indicator of middle-class identity.

This thesis will attempt to bring theories of gender, class, and material culture together in examining the process of “taking tea.” It will demonstrate that a number of immigrants to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were influenced by middle-class ideology of the day. As newly arrived settlers, they participated in the process of constructing relationships with those who shared their social identity, and they employed the tea ritual as one way of creating social boundaries. My study will demonstrate that middle-class families became acquainted with other middle-class families by issuing invitations to tea. The tea ritual enabled the host family to display their own genteel manners, to assess their guests’ suitability for membership in the middle-class social world, and to resist lower-class intrusion. In the eighteenth century, the tea ritual was located in the public sphere of business and politics. Eighteenth-century commercial and political men invited each other to tea and became dominant actors, first in the tavern and then in the parlour, as they employed the tea ritual as one means to

production of porcelain set in motion the process of the westernizing the tea set as handles were added to tea cups and sugar bowls and creamers were included to meet European tastes for sweetened and cooler tea.

⁶² Rodris Roth, “Tea-Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage,” in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 444-53.

extend their economic interests. By the early nineteenth century, the middle-class tea ritual had moved exclusively into the parlour and become more social in aspect; but it also became an important means to display social hegemony, and the middle class continued to reinforce this dominance by training their children in genteel tea drinking.

Members of the middle class no longer looked toward Britain to shape their gentility, but began to incorporate local influences in their tea visits to create a vernacular style of middle-class respectability. High culture was not impervious to vernacular culture and embodied elements of it, despite middle-class colonial attachment to metropolitan gentility.⁶³ By the mid-nineteenth century, strict adherence to the genteel performance at the tea table was diminishing. But while the tea table was no longer the site for the strict enforcement of intricate tea etiquette, it remained a place where moral judgments of neighbours were made. As arbiters of community respectability, middle-class women thus increased their presence and influence in a space that was both private and public, a shift in gender relations that likely worried middle-class men like newspaper publisher George Fenety.

⁶³ Richard Bushman, "American High-Style and Vernacular Cultures," in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 373-4.

CHAPTER ONE: MIDDLE-CLASS FORMATION AT THE TEA TABLE

Planters and Loyalists shaped class relations around the rules and rituals of an Anglo-American middle-class culture of gentility during the settlement process in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They began the process of constructing social circles whose membership was comprised of select people who expressed refinement and gentility. Individuals admitted to inner circles tried to keep those who were unable to adhere to the strict standards of gentility at the outer boundaries of these social networks. Along the peripheries, contests for inclusion occurred, which created class tensions. This chapter will examine how these social contests revolved in part around an important and transportable marker of gentility, the tea ritual. Tea sets were portable and easily set up; they brought individuals together, provided the opportunity to display knowledge of genteel etiquette, and allowed for critical judgement of the manners of other participants. Evidence of the way in which tea was drunk by middle-class colonial officials, craftsmen, and farmers suggests that displaying knowledge of the tea ritual was a factor in middle-class formation in the towns and small communities of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Many middle-class immigrants to these colonial communities carried with them the culture of gentility — the values, beliefs, practices, and material objects that reflected their inclusion in the middle class. Through the process of

accommodation to local social, economic, and political conditions, they re-created as closely as possible their genteel culture to re-establish their social identity and familiar patterns of interacting with each other.¹ Gentility was a transnational condition that was recognizable within various British colonial societies.² The purpose of packing objects that signified gentility was to enable families meeting in New World contexts to construct relationships with neighbours who shared their understanding of social space.³ One example was the Weldon family, one of a group of families who left their prosperous tenant farms in Yorkshire between 1772 and 1775 to settle along the isthmus of Chignecto. Concerned that rising tenancy rates would erode their middle-class status in Britain and looking to escape persecution for their Methodist beliefs, the Weldons, according to family history, packed amongst their domestic possessions a porcelain tea pot.⁴ Most likely, they also brought other pieces of the tea set, although only the porcelain pot has survived to the present day. Regardless, evidence of a tea pot strongly suggests their intention to continue old relationships with their fellow Yorkshire emigrés and create new relationships

¹ Timothy Mahoney, *Provincial Lives: Middle Class Experience in the Antebellum Middle West* (Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54.

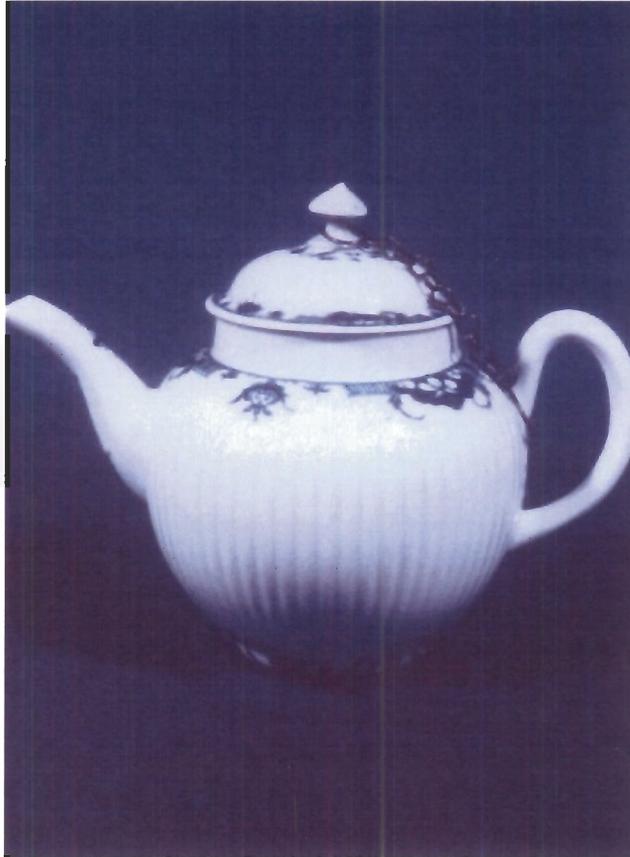
² Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 152.

³ Elizabeth A. Perkins, "The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky," *Journal of American History* 17, no. 2 (1991): 489.

⁴ Susanna Haliburton Weldon, *Specimens of China Brought to the Colonies by the Early Settlers Particularly the Loyalists* (Fredericton, N. B.: n. p., 1880), 8. Only the teapot appears in the Weldon Collection of Pottery and Porcelain held in the University of King's College library in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Figure 1.1: Weldon Collection

Teapot brought from England to Nova Scotia by the Weldon family in 1774



© 2005, Weldon Collection of Pottery and Porcelain, (W22), University of King's College Archives, Halifax, by permission.

with established settlers in their new community.

Possession and ritual usage of genteel objects helped middle-class families to generate social links in an unfamiliar community; yet local conditions of the settlement process affected how their gentility was expressed. In frontier settlements, the re-construction of a genteel environment was difficult because the familiar network of social activities could not immediately be re-established.⁵ However, evidence suggests that, even in the early development of Nova Scotian settlements, the tea table was seen as an essential site for expression of gentility. Two Yorkshire farmers, John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, touring Nova Scotia in 1774, discovered that wilderness farming intersected with gentility when a farm wife served them tea “in china, with silver spoons, and every thing very elegant,” after which she proudly showed them her crop yield.⁶ They observed that Planter farm women went shoeless, stockingless, and capless during the summer, but “at Church, or Meeting, from the mistress to the scullion girl, they have all their fans.”⁷ Daily household tasks in newly settled areas caused women to find alternative ways to dress, but they still managed to wear their “Sunday best and keep up with changing fashions.”⁸ The observations made by Robinson and Rispin suggest that gentility was being incorporated into

⁵ Mahoney, *Provincial Lives*, 138.

⁶ John Robinson and Thomas Rispin, *A Journey Through Nova Scotia Containing A Particular Account of the Country and its Inhabitants* (York, Eng.: C. Etherington, 1774), 8.

⁷ Robinson and Rispin, *A Journey Through Nova Scotia*, 36.

⁸ Sandra L. Myers, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 147.

frontier communities.

Environmental conditions often thwarted settlers' attempts to display their genteel tea etiquette. In the middle of June 1785, Loyalist Anglican Minister Mather Byles reported from his New Brunswick home that "the fog was so thick we could hardly see an inch — and our tea party crowded about the fire. . . as if they were hearing stories of Ghosts in the Christmas holidays."⁹ In 1804, visiting British Methodist missionary Joshua Marsden recorded his disgust with Nova Scotia's climate when "the spilled tea upon the table become cakes of ice."¹⁰ Settlers faced unfamiliar conditions and unforeseen challenges when they left their homes to construct new lives in a frontier environment.¹¹ In spite of such obstacles, however, middle-class settlers seemed determined to structure their new social space around genteel practices.

While the weather was one of many new obstacles to overcome, location of settlement also required new strategies for continuing gentility. The family of Loyalist soldier Lewis Fisher survived the long and bitter winter of 1783 in a tent at Fredericton with few provisions. His wife, Mary, later spoke of her feelings of isolation and deprivation:

[T]he first store was kept by a man named Cairns, who lived in an old house on the bank of a river. He also sold tea at \$2.00 a pound,

⁹ As quoted in D. G. Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786* (Fredericton, N. B.: New Ireland Press, 1983), 47.

¹⁰ Joshua Marsden, *The Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somers Islands, with a Tour to Lake Ontario* (London: J. Kershaw, 1827), 97.

¹¹ Mahoney, *Provincial Lives*, 31.

which to us was a great boon. We greatly missed our tea. Sometimes we used an article called Labrador, and sometimes steeped spruce or hemlock bark for drinking, but I despised it.¹²

Clearly, Mary saw steeping tree bark as a makeshift arrangement. The evidence suggests that, even as these immigrants confronted difficult local conditions, they wanted to employ the tea ritual very soon after their arrival to establish class boundaries.

Still, class was penetrable, and the social fluidity of frontier settlements, with families arriving and leaving, opened possibilities of encroachment into social enclaves that had been constructed by earlier genteel settlers. By 1783, when 35,000 people arrived as refugees from the American Revolution, the small communities that dotted the Nova Scotia coastline — such as Lunenburg, Annapolis, Sackville, and Saint John, along with the commercial centre of Halifax — had organized themselves along class lines. A small minority of the American refugees were affluent, established middle class who had held administrative positions in their home colonies, mostly Boston and New York. These middle-class families intended to maintain their social and economic status in Nova Scotia, and evidence suggests that an important process in achieving this goal was the tea ritual. Participation in the tea ritual enabled “gentlemen and gentlewomen,” as Carol Berkin maintains, “to recognize each other by their

¹² Mary Fisher, “The Grandmother’s Story,” in Peter Fisher, *The First History of New Brunswick*, ed. W. O. Raymond (reprint Woodstock, N. B.: Non-Entity Press, 1980), 129.

manners at the tea table.”¹³ American Loyalist Sarah Winslow demonstrated her gentility through the tea ritual when she arrived in Halifax in November 1783. “I attended the company that dined here, at dinner and at tea,” she wrote to her cousin Benjamin Marston, and “have now left them very cheerfully set down to two card tables.”¹⁴ As a sister of Edward Winslow, a former high-ranking government official in Massachusetts, Sarah was connected to a small close-knit group of prominent Loyalists. Her expression of gentility through her tea etiquette helped her to negotiate successfully acceptance into a select group in her new home.

The Loyalist middle class, of which the Winslow family were members, was comprised of wealthy overseas merchants, professionals, and government officials. Their genteel status was based on wealth accumulation, since colonial society lacked a leisured aristocratic class of ancestral landed families. The socio-economic position of the colonial middle class enabled them to establish close connections to the imperial centre as well as the opportunity to share a culture of gentility with the growing British middle class.¹⁵ After arriving in Nova Scotia, the Winslow family needed to secure a central position to maintain their social prominence and to negotiate their gentility within a new social group. In

¹³ Carol Berkin, *First Generations: Women in Colonial America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 146.

¹⁴ W. O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826* (St. John, N. B.: Sun Print Co., 1890), 150.

¹⁵ Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2001), 4

new social situations, gentility was articulated through “social ritual and public appearance.”¹⁶ Participation in the tea ritual attested to the Winslows’ genteel status, which was further substantiated when Edward’s wife, Polly, received newly manufactured tea objects. Anglican minister Mather Byles notified Edward of the arrival of “a set of new fashioned china for Polly’s tea table, which is so brilliant that I’m sure it must please her.”¹⁷ Polly’s ownership of “new fashioned china” defined her as a trend-setter, an arbiter of colonial tastes, and therefore an agent of social and material change. This social position enabled Polly to help establish both Edward and herself in a desirable Halifax social circle. Knowing the “right” people would help Winslow establish his credibility to those in the Nova Scotia administration who could provide him with the government job he so desperately needed for both economic and social success.

The colonial middle class practised exclusivity and took seriously their responsibilities of keeping out those who pretended gentility. The rules of the tea ceremony were not spelled out, so only those who had been initiated in tea etiquette and practised it “naturally,” not in an awkward or artificial manner, were accepted into middle-class circles. One way of entering established middle-class society was to be introduced by someone who was already a member. Edward Winslow’s cousin, Benjamin Marston, acquainted Winslow with a family arriving in Halifax from Britain by praising the wife’s ability to perform the tea ritual: “I

¹⁶ Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), 47.

¹⁷ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 335.

know her tea table has afforded me many a comfortable dish of tea.”¹⁸

Marston’s reference to a “comfortable dish of tea” provides us with a metaphor for the social environment that members of the middle class created when taking tea: the enjoyment of good company, the reassurance that their social boundaries were secure, and a confidence in the mutuality of values and social identity with their fellow tea drinkers. Following a proper code of conduct while using tea objects conveyed messages of social credibility and helped to cement the tea drinkers’ social worthiness. The tea table was a key cultural space in which character judgments could be made by the middle class.

Middle-class Loyalist immigrants staked a claim to social terrain by establishing social, as well as political, connections to members of the colonial elite in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.¹⁹ One important connection was Sir John Wentworth — previously, Governor of New Hampshire — who had become Governor of Nova Scotia after the death of Governor John Parr. Through their association with Sir John and Lady Wentworth, the Loyalist middle class were able to reinforce their genteel status in Halifax society. British military officer Lieutenant William Dyott was stationed at Halifax in 1788 and reported in his diary the existence of a select Halifax social circle comprised of pre-Loyalists and Loyalists. Dyott, the youngest son of a Staffordshire gentry family, noted that the members of this exclusive group included, as well as Sir John and Lady

¹⁸ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 376.

¹⁹ This thesis differentiates the middle class from a colonial elite that was comprised primarily of colonial governors and administrators, senior British military officers, and Anglican bishops.

Wentworth, Nova Scotian Governor Parr's daughter, New Brunswick Governor-General Thomas Carleton, and other Loyalists, such as a Mrs. Minchin, a Mrs. Dalrymple, and Lady Wentworth's sister, Mrs. Brinley. In the summer of 1788 Prince William Henry, later William IV, arrived in Halifax with the British navy and immediately became an attraction of this Halifax inner circle. Dyott's British gentry status ensured that he would be the channel of social connection between the Prince and the Halifax social group. Dyott accompanied the Prince on his social engagements; and at least one occurred at Mrs. Wentworth's tea table, for Dyott noted, "I attended him [Prince William] to Mrs. Wentworth's, where he drank tea."²⁰ Lady Wentworth's etiquette was impeccable, according to Dyott, and the Prince's acceptance of her invitation to take tea with her validated her position at the heart of the local elite. The evidence suggests that the expression of gentility at the Wentworth's tea table — the demonstration of knowledge of the tea ritual — helped ease the accommodation of some Loyalist newcomers into Nova Scotia's established middle class.

In order to sustain their world of gentility, the colonial middle class relied on the artifacts produced by craftsmen.²¹ The colonial middle class employed their wealth to assert their status as ladies and gentlemen by purchasing luxury goods such as mahogany tea tables and other elegant furniture necessary for demarcating class. Increasingly, these goods would be produced by local

²⁰ William Dyott, *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845*, ed. Reginald W. Jeffrey (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), 51.

²¹ Hunter, *Purchasing Identities*, 125.

craftsmen, for a large number of Loyalist refugees arriving in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick consisted of aspiring middle-class artisans. These craftsmen, many from New York and representing a variety of trades,²² boarded ships with their families for Port Roseway (re-named Shelburne) and Saint John, along with a small group of established middle class. The artisans who headed for Shelburne were attracted by claims that the settlement was to be the new colonial centre of trade for the West Indies shipping route. Loyalist crown surveyor Benjamin Marston recorded the arrival of these artisan families in Shelburne, noting that these “Barbers, Taylors, Shoemakers and all kinds of mechanics, bred and used to live in great towns, they are all inured to habits very unfit for the undertakings which require hardiness, resolution, industry and patience.”²³ Yet, Marston observed the speed with which the smaller group of middle class arrivals recreated their culture of gentility, recording in his diary that “about 50 gentlemen and ladies . . . danced, drank tea, played at cards in a house which stood where six months ago there was an almost impenetrable swamp.”²⁴ However, the Shelburne settlement failed to thrive, in part because most leading Loyalist merchants migrated to Halifax to continue their overseas trading business. This decision caused many of the affluent middle class to

²² Between 1700 and 1739, New York City boasted thirty-nine trades. Some of these artisans achieved enough financial success to purchase landed estates. See Berkin, *First Generations*, 138. Also see Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan For Rent, 1785 - 1850* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 23.

²³ W. O. Raymond, “The Founding of Shelburne,” *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, no. 8 (1909): 214.

²⁴ Raymond, “Founding of Shelburne,” 259.

move from Shelburne, leaving the craftsmen without a wealthier social group to purchase their goods.

Other craftsmen looked to Saint John to start anew. Connecticut shoemaker William Frost, cabinetmaker Sylvanus Whitney, carpenter Joseph Gorman and their respective families left New York in April 1783 on the *Twin Sisters* bound for Saint John.²⁵ Sarah Frost recorded the voyage in her journal. On their first evening on board, she unpacked her tea set and had a tea party, perhaps with the six families with whom they shared a cabin. Sarah wrote:

I left Lloyd's Neck with my family and went on board the *Two Sisters*, commanded by Capt. Brown, for a voyage to Nova Scotia, with the rest of the loyalist sufferers. This evening the Captain drank tea with us. He appears a very clever gentleman.²⁶

Three days later Sarah recorded, "I drank tea and spent the evening with my little agreeable family."²⁷ Sarah and William Frost provide an example of a middle-class Loyalist family who relied upon the standardized script of the tea ritual to bear testament to their membership in genteel society.

Loyalist artisan families, like the Frosts, arrived in hopes of regaining the domestic and commercial lives they had lost in the Revolution. Settlement in what would soon be New Brunswick held promise for Sarah, but her optimism was soon tempered by her first sighting of Saint John. She noted, somewhat

²⁵ Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*, 22, 202.

²⁶ Walter Bates, *Kingston and the Loyalists of 1783; With Appendix — The Diary of Sarah Frost*, ed. W. O. Raymond (Saint John, N. B.: Barnes, 1889), 27.

²⁷ Bates, *Diary of Sarah Frost*, 27.

dubiously, in her journal, “this is to be *the city*, they say!”²⁸ Socially ambitious artisan families continued to experience diminished hopes as the Loyalist refugees began the settlement process. Historian D. G. Bell admirably sets out the class tensions between the established Loyalist middle class and aspirant craftsmen during the formation of Saint John society.²⁹ The drawing for lots on the hill rising from the harbour was skewed in favour of the established Loyalist middle class and their friends, who garnered the better land in the Upper Cove, leaving less desirable property for craftsmen in the Lower Cove. Many of the middle class procured political positions in the new colonial administration of Governor Thomas Carleton after they had used their influence in the British Parliament to partition New Brunswick from Nova Scotia in 1784. The governing Loyalist middle class moved the seat of government from Saint John upriver to Fredericton, where they ran colonial affairs and extended their control over the rest of the colony. During the 1786 assembly election, they used both military and legislative force to impose Upper Cove candidates on Lower Cove residents. As middle-class Loyalists consolidated and exerted political power, they also entrenched their social prestige by obtaining large land grants along the St. John River valley. There, they constructed mansions, such as John Coffin’s “Alwington Manor” and Edward Winslow’s “Kingsclear,” which they filled with furnishings, carpets, and wallpaper ordered from Britain. Situated in the

²⁸ Bates, *Diary of Sarah Frost*, 30.

²⁹ Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*, chapter 6.

Figure 1.2: Chipman Collection

This tea set, 1815-1820, was made by John Rose and Company (Coalport Porcelain Works), Coalport, Shropshire, England and is part of a set of dinnerware originally owned by New Brunswick Loyalist Ward Chipman Sr., 1754-1824.



© 2005, New Brunswick Museum, by permission. Acquisition purchased with the assistance of the Viscount Bennett Trust Fund, the Alice Webster Fund, the MacMurray Foundation and David Vaughn 1991 (991.2).

wilderness, these impressive buildings were strong statements publicly identifying them as gentlemen and gentlewomen who held social and political authority in New Brunswick.

While the New Brunswick colonial middle class carved out their territory in the valley, Saint John became a thriving commercial city. By 1785, Saint John was the home of craftsmen such as tailors, barbers, hatters, cabinetmakers, goldsmiths, silk dyers, silversmiths, a chair-maker, a clockmaker, a hairdresser, and an upholsterer.³⁰ Loyalist Rhode Island cabinetmaker Robert Chillas became one of Saint John's foremost cabinetmakers, crafting elegant mahogany furniture for genteel customers.³¹ In 1785, he received the right to be freeman of the city of Saint John, and in 1790, he became assistant alderman, which enabled him to be known as a "gentleman."³² Loyalist craftsmen aspiring to the middle class brought their past experience of the culture of gentility and actively recreated their social position within this new context, distinguishing themselves from less successful craftsmen and attracting a wealthy clientele to the workshops they established. But the established colonial middle class, somewhat insecure in its social position in the New World, worried that usurpers would invade its social space and took steps to exclude the "vulgar" and "unrefined." The New Brunswick middle class asserted class distinctions to ensure that ambitious

³⁰ Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, N. B.: n. p., 1955), 161.

³¹ Charles H. Foss, *Cabinet Makers of the Eastern Seaboard: A Study of Early Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: M. F. Fehely, 1977), 2.

³² Foss, *Cabinet Makers of the Eastern Seaboard*, 2.

artisans understood and acknowledged their lower social status. But artisan and farming families resisted this effort to put them in their place.

As more people strove to improve their economic and social status, imperial travellers recognized and monitored the spread of Anglo-American gentility throughout colonial society. British traveller John MacGregor observed in 1828 that “the style of living, the hours of entertainment and the fashions, are the same as in England.”³³ On his travels, Captain William Moorsom went looking for the “New Englander” but instead found the inhabitants of Nova Scotia “all designating Britain as ‘the *old* Country,’ and although in most instances never having visited it, yet regarding it as home and respecting those who announce themselves as pertaining to it.”³⁴ Nevertheless, British observers noted that the attempts by socially ambitious artisans and farmers and their families to learn and display genteel rules of behaviour were not always an unqualified success. George Head, travelling through New Brunswick in 1829, stopped at an inn in Saint John, where, “after tea, a great basin of hot water was brought to the hostess, in which she washed the tea cup and saucers” and then “deposited her china in a cupboard.”³⁵ The landlady’s attempt at gentility by serving tea with her porcelain dishes faltered when she washed her used equipment in front of her

³³ J. MacGregor, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1828), 145.

³⁴ Captain William Moorsom, *Letters From Nova Scotia Sketches Comprising of a Young Country* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), 8.

³⁵ George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America* (London: J. Murray, 1829), 45.

guests. In Head's eyes, this consigned her to the periphery of the middle class. A visitor from Scotland would have agreed with Head, as he also noted that fellow travellers to the provinces would not find "the smooth polish of our fashionables."³⁶ Captain Moorsom similarly observed a lack of genteel manners as he travelled "into the little country towns, into the numerous farms in the fields, and cottages along the shore," where "social meetings indicate a stage of luxury rather than refinement."³⁷ Social contests occurred along the border of middle-class gentility as inclusion and exclusion were negotiated. These British travellers were themselves of the middle class and perceived attempts by artisan and farm families to incorporate genteel rituals in their tea drinking as mere imitation of their social superiors — an effort to push themselves into the established colonial middle class. While some rural artisans and farmers may only have aspired to respectability within their own small communities, their social superiors sometimes viewed them as social intruders who had to be resisted to ensure that the boundaries of class were preserved.

Here, a distinction must be made between drinking tea and "taking" tea. Many colonists regularly drank tea informally with their families or friends. Indeed, contemporaries often commented on the amount of tea that settlers drank. Presbyterian Minister James MacGregor was astonished at being offered

³⁶ Anonymous, *Letters From Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Illustrative of their Moral, Religious and Physical Circumstances During the Years 1826, 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1829), 146.

³⁷ Moorsom, *Letters From Nova Scotia*, 96.

imported Chinese bohea tea with every meal at each wilderness farmhouse he stopped at during his journey from Halifax to Pictou in 1786.³⁸ Captain Moorsom observed in 1830 that tea “is used in the poorer cottages at every meal.”³⁹ Moorsom also noted that sometimes the colonists did not drink legally imported tea, recording that the East India Company arranged for one or two ships to import annually tea “direct from China” to counter the quantity of smuggled tea that farmers drank.⁴⁰ Whatever the source of the tea, there was a difference between merely drinking tea and performing the tea ritual. When individuals “took” tea, it became a formalized social event that required specific tea equipment and adherence to ritualized conduct to mark their membership in the middle class.⁴¹ Participants had to invite and be invited to take tea, and they needed to know rudimentary manners used in tea drinking, such as not slurping their tea and waiting to be served. A Scottish traveller, visiting Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the latter part of the 1820s, was invited to a “select” tea party held by the local doctor. The visitor described the doctor as “a man of *ton*: and prides himself upon those graces and accomplishments, which he acquired in his early life, by mixing with the best society in England, as he tells you, ten times an

³⁸ George Patterson, *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1859), 89-90.

³⁹ Moorsom, *Letters From Nova Scotia*, 57.

⁴⁰ Moorsom, *Letters From Nova Scotia*, 56.

⁴¹ Where the primary sources recorded tea drinking, I examined the specific context in which it occurred for indications of these ritualized performative elements to distinguish between “taking tea” and merely drinking tea.

hour. He is therefore an important man in his district."⁴² The doctor's display of gentility, his British connections, and his exclusive tea parties were magnets for settlers of established middle-class status. But not all invocations of the tea ritual were well received.

Class tensions occurred when the established middle class were convinced that their social sanctum was on the point of being breached. Acknowledged members of the middle class were often fearful of encroachment by people who skirted the outer edges of middle-class gentility. Individuals of lower status who obtained enough money could buy luxury items such as tea sets and learn to use the equipment correctly through self-improvement manuals. Wartime prosperity at the turn of the nineteenth century created more opportunities for families to increase their income levels and to either purchase manufactured goods or obtain them on credit. The Napoleonic Wars and War of 1812 accelerated the economic prosperity of the two colonies. The Halifax carrying trade became central to the flow of British manufactured goods, West Indies molasses, and American wheat. New Brunswick lumber was in great demand by the British government when their traditional Baltic supply of lumber became more difficult and expensive to obtain. Farmers had easy access to the forests and cut lumber to increase their family incomes. Farming families used their increased wealth to attempt entry into the middle-class culture of gentility.

⁴² Anon., *Letters from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick*, 148. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word "ton" was used in the mid eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to describe fashionable members of society.

Social tensions arose as the middle class perceived an invasion of their social terrain by “uncultivated” farmers aspiring towards upward social mobility

The established middle class employed ridicule and denounced and rebuked farmers who used their increased incomes for social climbing. An apprehensive middle class may even have perceived usage of genteel items by lower orders as threatening.⁴³ Newly moneyed farmers were learning genteel rules of behaviour and moulding their conduct as closely as possible to required practices. Yet, these aspiring farmers were seen as mere pretenders who copied genteel behaviour without fully understanding the essence of the ritual.

Presbyterian Minister Thomas McCulloch ridiculed such farmers in a series of articles published in 1821 and 1822 in the Halifax newspaper *The Acadian Recorder*. McCulloch created a fictional character, named Mephibosheth Stepsure, to chastise farmers whom McCulloch believed were foolishly deserting their farm work for gentility, where everything “must correspond” so that “fine clothes need a fine chaise, a fine house and a long list of et ceteras.”⁴⁴ In one article, Stepsure described a tea party he had purportedly attended, which would “show you that we have society as elegant and refined as any other part of the province when the children of farmers become ladies and gentlemen.”⁴⁵ The tea party was held in the home of the Sippit family. Mrs. McCackle, the teacher of

⁴³ Russell, “*Wish of Distinction*,” 8.

⁴⁴ Thomas McCulloch, *The Mephibosheth Stepsure Letters*, ed. Gwendolyn Davies (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), 82.

⁴⁵ McCulloch, *Stepsure Letters*, 180.

refinement to local farmers' daughters, led the tea ceremony. A young farmer, Hodge, serving fried pork to invited guests, scraped his hobnail boots against Miss Sippit's shin, sending the fried pork into her lap. This overturned the tea table, sending the tea set all over Mrs. McCackle. After an expulsion of wind sent Hodge off in embarrassment,⁴⁶ the remaining guests decided on some entertainment. The fiddler had incurred a belly ache by drinking too much tea, which prevented him from fiddling, and the piano was out of order; so Mrs. McCackle and Mr. Kickit agreed to entertain the party with singing and dancing. While executing his dance steps, Mr. Kickit's foot ended up in Mrs. McCackle's pocket and they both fell over. This ended the party, the fictional Stepsure recorded, "but scarcely had they left Mr. Sippit's when the violent rain of last week overtook them, and subjected the gumflowers and other finery of the town to a sweeping destruction."⁴⁷ This satire on the rural "tea ritual" illustrated the writer's belief that farmers who participated in the tea ceremony were merely aping the gentility of social elites.

Lieutenant Edward Coke visited four homes in his travels through New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in the early 1830s, where the hospitality offered by three families reinforced his class assumptions, yet the fourth family's emulation of gentility jarred his class sensibilities. In the first home he visited — a "log hut,"

⁴⁶ The middle-class ideal of impeccable refinement was sometimes not attained when natural bodily reflexes caused the tea guest to present him or herself as an offensive person. Only those who held considerable stature in wealth and power (for example members of British royalty, aristocracy, and colonial governors and their wives) could expect lapses in etiquette to be overlooked; other offenders would be seen as boors.

⁴⁷ McCulloch, *Stepsure Letters*, 181-4.

scarcely “distinguishable amongst the blackened stumps” in the New Brunswick forest — Coke found a lower-class family that had neither the pretensions towards nor the means to attain middle-class gentility. Upon admittance, Coke observed:

the room into which we were ushered was scarcely seven feet to the ceiling, and blackened by the smoke of years. A straw mattress and a blanket occupied one corner of the room, the square iron stove, two chairs, a couple of stools, and an old wooden shelf, with an oil-skin hat, and a lamp suspended from the haft of a knife stuck into a crevice between two logs, formed the rest of the furniture.⁴⁸

The evening was spent “enjoying a cheerful chat over the fire for some hours” as the host “sat on a corner of the bed with a thick red Kilmarnock cap upon his head.”⁴⁹ Later, Lt. Coke and Mr. Reid “were shown into a room containing a single bed” to spend the night “dinnerless and supperless.”⁵⁰ The next morning, the hostess filled the travellers’ pockets with pine nuts for their journey, and Coke determined that they were a “worthy couple.”⁵¹ Coke’s first impression of the dilapidated dwelling reinforced his assumptions of the old couple’s class, yet the sincere hospitality he received from them assured him that they were a good but poor family who knew their place.

The next two families encountered by Coke displayed hospitality that

⁴⁸ Coke E. T., *Subaltern’s Furlough Descriptive of Scenes in Various Parts of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia During the Summer and Autumn of 1832* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), 79.

⁴⁹ Coke, *Subaltern’s Furlough*, 79.

⁵⁰ Coke, *Subaltern’s Furlough*, 80.

⁵¹ Coke, *Subaltern’s Furlough*, 80.

fulfilled his notion of class respectability. At the first stop, Coke and his party received “a hearty welcome” and “a cup of excellent tea” from “the hospitable owner of the house,” Mr. Frazer, who had been woken by the arrival of the travellers.⁵² Coke’s assumptions of his host’s status and respectability were reinforced as Mr. Frazer informed his visitors that he also owned land in Lower Canada along the Du Loup River, “situated in a district of which he was Seigneur,” where he was intending to retire.⁵³ The following morning, Coke and Mr. Reid walked to the next house, where the wife produced a “comfortable breakfast,” and the host regaled them with army stories of the War of 1812 at the breakfast table, “where he most gallantly carried the heights of Queenston upon the top of the loaf of bread, and stormed Fort Erie through the spout of a teapot.”⁵⁴ These were middle-class families who offered appropriate middle-class hospitality in Coke’s judgement.

Yet, at the fourth home they visited, Coke and his companion found a social climbing farm family who failed to provide the necessary genteel reception. During a thunder shower, the travellers came “in sight of a respectable-looking farm-house.”⁵⁵ Coke recorded that:

upon entering the house we found half a dozen men and women most earnestly engaged in discussing a substantial dinner, and drinking tea at the same time. The whole party were crowded

⁵² Coke, *Subaltern's Furlough*, 83.

⁵³ Coke, *Subaltern's Furlough*, 83

⁵⁴ Coke, *Subaltern's Furlough*, 84.

⁵⁵ Coke, *Subaltern's Furlough*, 87.

round a little table where there was just sufficient space for them to squeeze their elbows in.⁵⁶

No one paid any attention to the four soaking wet visitors, “nor was any offer made about partaking their cheer, though we were drenched to the skin, and might reasonably be supposed to have no distaste for the good things we saw on the table.”⁵⁷ This denial of an invitation to warmth and food greatly upset Coke, as “these were the first British settlers we had seen since leaving the veteran’s house”; yet “from this specimen we were almost justified in forming but a mean opinion of the New-Brunswickers’ hospitality.”⁵⁸ Coke’s expectations — a respectable-looking house with a parlour, good family, warmth, comfort, and hospitality — so strongly contrasted with his experience that he began to question the respectability of this group of aspirant middle-class tea drinkers. This suggests a disdain for those rural farmers, whom he probably saw as having pretensions towards middle-class status without knowing how to express proper genteel hospitality.

Established middle-class members viewed social climbing farmers as imitating genteel behaviour without understanding the middle-class ideology of self-restraint, industry, frugality, and sobriety. Aspirant farmers were seen as mindlessly copying gentility with the expectation of entering established middle-class social circles. Yet, the primary concern of these farmers was the social

⁵⁶ Coke, *Subaltern’s Furlough*, 87.

⁵⁷ Coke, *Subaltern’s Furlough*, 87-8.

⁵⁸ Coke, *Subaltern’s Furlough*, 88.

and economic improvement of their families. As socially ambitious farm families accumulated capital, they learned the required rules of the tea etiquette to signify their change in status and distinguish themselves from less successful farmers. By emulating (rather than merely imitating) the tea ritual, increasingly affluent farm families were employing a strategy to establish social relations with other rising farm families in order to extend commercial opportunities, secure employment for their sons, and attract advantageous husbands for their daughters. The process of learning gentility was a bumpy one for newly moneyed farmers, and their lack of knowledge and practice was exaggerated by an apprehensive, established middle class who played on the stereotype of the “vulgar” lower orders. Yet, these farm families were determined to appropriate the middle-class marker of the tea ritual to demonstrate personal and familial goals of social improvement.

As ambitious farmers refashioned their identity and claimed middle-class membership, their actions threatened the social status of those who already identified themselves as the genteel middle class. McCulloch expressed his alarm in his articles by describing a town full of exaggerated country bumpkins aspiring to gentility in an unrestrained frenzy of buying, using, and displaying luxury consumer goods that were being bought with profits made from the wartime economy. Polly Gosling would go “see the fashions,” after selling her turkeys; and Mr. Pumpkin shared his unfinished “elegant” home with the pigs and chickens — his daughters’ finery, hung on hooks “amongst articles and smells

useful to the farmer.”⁵⁹ In a more serious vein, Joseph Howe, editor of *The Novascotian*, railed against the corrupting influence that drinking imported tea had on farmers, scolding: “none of your slops of Bohea and Hyson, — or if you must have tea, go and gather some leaves from the hillside and the good woman will make some for you, but as to bring a weed from China to fatten a ploughman in Nova Scotia, there never was a more confounded humbug.”⁶⁰ Industrious farmers, according to Howe, should offer visitors “a clean cloth, a cup of good tea, homemade bread, fresh eggs.”⁶¹ By contrast, socially ambitious farmers wasted their income on “a cursed fondness for dress, and tea parties, and gossipings, which not only [led] to squandering of money, but to squandering of time, which is part of wealth.”⁶² Farmers should remain closely tied to their agricultural labour, according to the colonial middle class. This meant they might have a cup of tea interspersed with their farm work, but they should not stop their labour and employ the tea ritual, or “take” tea, to improve their status.

Yet the middle class slowly expanded as economic opportunities increasingly allowed more people to acquire the income needed to buy luxury articles such as tea sets. After the post-war depression, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick experienced economic prosperity throughout the latter half of the

⁵⁹ McCulloch, *Stepsure Letters*, 8, 104.

⁶⁰ Joseph Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia*, ed. M. G. Parks (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 86.

⁶¹ Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles*, 193.

⁶² Howe, *Western and Eastern Rambles*, 83.

1820s. Wealth still flowed to Halifax merchants from the West Indies trade, and the burgeoning economy provided opportunities for the expansion of other commercial ventures, such as mining, ship building, and fishing.⁶³ These industries provided employment for sons of artisans and farmers. So too, did the timber industry. Post-war demand in Britain for New Brunswick timber allowed farmers to secure their family's financial situation as they continued to alternate winter timber-cutting with the seasonal planting and harvesting of their crops. As timber speculators and American investors took advantage of New Brunswick's vast timber resources, more men found work in lumber camps and in sawmills. Increased wealth, derived from the forest, permitted established farmers to hire farm labourers and gave their sons the opportunity to acquire land and establish farms of their own.⁶⁴ The growing prosperity and occupational specialization that resulted from the market economy enabled socially ambitious families to improve their economic and social status.

Families who wanted to improve their status and provide opportunities for their sons to enter the new occupations of emerging capitalism needed to appropriate the tools and learning necessary to succeed in the "right" circles. These newly emerging members of the middle class, despite discouragement from higher quarters, chose to learn the rules of gentility to better their social and

⁶³ Judith Fingard, "The 1820s: Peace, Privilege, and the Powers of Progress," in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, ed. Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 277.

⁶⁴ Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1981), 80.

economic condition and to improve the social status of their children. One way to accomplish this goal was to make good marriages for their daughters so that they would not have to labour in the fields. The economic ability to hire farm labourers relieved wives and daughters of most of the agricultural work, allowing them to focus on domestic management, with kitchen gardens and dairying becoming the extent of their farm work.⁶⁵ The reduction of heavy agricultural labour gave farm women more opportunity to teach genteel manners and tea etiquette to their children and to engage in the tea ritual with family and neighbours.

Members of the colonial middle class expressed their fear of social encroachment as these aspirants to the middle class trained their offspring in the genteel behaviour required for admittance to the inner circle. In 1825, native son and Loyalist descendant Peter Fisher derided farmers who wanted a better life for their daughters, claiming that “instead of attending to the duties of domestic economy, their days and nights must be employed in reading novels, butchering tunes upon the pianoforte and playing cards.”⁶⁶ McCulloch also denounced the childrearing practices of these farming families in his newspaper articles. Parents

⁶⁵ Berkin, *First Generations*, 140.

⁶⁶ Peter Fisher, *The First History of New Brunswick* (reprint Woodstock, N. B.: Non-Entity Press, 1980), 87. Peter Fisher, the son of Loyalist soldier Lewis Fisher and his wife, Mary, was a lumber merchant and an author of two historical books. He is considered to be New Brunswick's first historian. Fisher's sons included a lawyer and a superintendent of New Brunswick education and his daughter was married to a member of the Dominion Parliament. See Ann Gorman Condon, “Peter Fisher,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume VII, 1836-1850. Despite Fisher's humble parentage, he had risen socially to claim a place in the middle class, a position that his children extended and maintained.

in his fictional town sent their daughters to Mrs. McCackle's boarding school to idle away their time "painting and playing upon the pianoforte"; there, they learned to be "pert idle husseys" who "would visit their companions, and their companions would visit them."⁶⁷ But despite such derision, many farming families persevered in their efforts towards greater refinement. Middle-class gentility demanded that individuals work within its system of rules and practices. Farmers were not merely imitating genteel behaviour, but emulating the tea ritual for their own social and economic advancement. Middle-class aspirant farmers appropriated gentility as a means to improve the lives of their families.

Settlers who arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought a middle-class culture of gentility and established social networks based on principles and practices of genteel behaviour. Local conditions shaped how immigrants transplanted gentility as they faced new experiences and adapted customary social patterns. But there was some continuity between old patterns and new in the symbols of gentility that these immigrants brought with them. For many of these settlers, packing their tea sets provided the ideal means to represent who they were to new neighbours and to assess the character of people whom they met. Those who achieved middle-class gentility were continually on guard against those unable to meet required genteel standards. Middle-class formation occurred at the point where social acceptance was gained or lost. Middling artisan and

⁶⁷ McCulloch, *Stepsure Letters*, 13, 37.

farming households were at the forefront of the challenge to this class boundary, employing their tea sets along with their growing wealth to provide improved social and economic lives for their families.

CHAPTER TWO: GENDERED TEA VISITS

Masculinity and femininity are “ideological constructs” that are tested and modified within specific historical contexts.¹ Between 1780 and 1830, gender relations within middle-class homes in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shifted. Expectations of masculinity and femininity, and familial roles associated with each, evolved into the middle-class ideology of separate spheres. As meanings of masculinity and femininity altered, so did the meanings of the tea ritual. Tea drinking remained a strategy that middle-class families employed to demonstrate their social and economic status, yet it moved from the public spaces of coffeehouses and taverns to the private sphere. Within the home, tea-drinking helped parents to ensure that their offspring took their places in an increasingly urbanized middle-class society. By carefully examining the manner in which two families took tea, we can begin to understand how these transformations took place.

Family enterprise was a pillar of the eighteenth-century colonial middle class. All family members were expected to contribute productive labour to sustain the family’s social and economic status. The Perkins family of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, serves to illustrate the point. In 1762, Simeon Perkins, in

¹ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 29. See also Denise Riley, “Am I That Name?": *Feminism and the Category of “Women” in History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1988); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, U. K.: Polity Press, 1992); Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Feminists Revision History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

partnership with his father-in-law, Ebenezer Backus, and his cousin, Captain Jabez Perkins, left Norwich, Connecticut, and established an outpost of the family mercantile business in Liverpool. As a young man, Perkins had been apprenticed to another cousin, Jabez Huntingdon, and was trained in the family business, trading in fish and lumber for West Indies molasses and rum, and British manufactured goods. He was a productive member in the family's commercial activities, as he helped expand its trading connections to Nova Scotia. Perkins played an active role in the Liverpool community. He was appointed Justice of the Peace and Judge for Inferior Courts in 1764 and also helped to establish a religious meeting house. This description of Perkins' experience as a man in an eighteenth-century family and community defines his masculinity within the context of "communal manhood."² A communal man drew a significant part of his masculine identity from his role within his immediate and extended family and the wider community.

Perkins' masculine identity was largely shaped during the early formation of the middle class in Liverpool. Perkins recorded a diary for more than forty years, and his descriptions of various social occasions in the early years of Liverpool settlement suggests that the middle-class community aspired to a public gentility. Because of skewed sex ratios and because initial settlement required male cooperation in establishing commerce and filling community

² Anthony E. Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 2.

positions, this display of gentility was initially male-centred.³ Middle-class men, whether they arrived with or without their families, constructed relationships and displayed their gentility to other middle-class men in a male-dominated public sphere.

Between 1766, when Perkins began his diary, and 1776, he met with other men, for both business and pleasure, in the local taverns.⁴ In these public sites, he discussed business and socialized with merchants, ships' captains, and high ranking government officials. In a 1766 diary entry, for example, Perkins recorded a visit by Nova Scotian Governor William Campbell, during which "with several gentlemen we [met] at Mrs. Wests [tavern], had a good dinner."⁵ Four years later, in July 1770, Perkins was again visited by Governor Campbell, and with "several gentlemen, we met at Mrs. Drews [tavern], had a good dinner."⁶ In 1773 he accompanied "several gentlemen to the widow Deborah Doggett, to

³ For a similar discussion, see Timothy Mahoney, *Provincial Lives: Middle-class Experience in the Antebellum Middle West* (Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 113.

⁴ A significant number of eighteenth century taverns were run by women, especially widows, as an acceptable way to earn a living; still, they would have been on the margins of respectability. See David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and The Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 132; Daniel B. Thorp, "Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776," *The Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 4 (1996): 680; Peter Thompson, *Rum, Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 40-4; Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 152-72; Willeen Keough, *The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/Keough>), chapter 9.

⁵ Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, ed. Harold A. Innes (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948), 35.

⁶ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, 40.

countenance her newly opened tavern.”⁷ Mrs. Doggett’s tavern was again the site for male socializing when Perkins and Captain Freeman were invited by visiting British naval officers in February 1776 to dine at her establishment. That same year, Perkins’ public homosocial activities extended to Halifax, where he accompanied Lieutenant Governor Aberthnot, General Massey, and the former Lieutenant Governor Michael Francklin to “a public dinner at Mr. [John] Willises Tavern [The Great Pontac]” after a sitting of the legislative assembly.⁸ Perkins’ masculinity was shaped by his commercial activities in the family mercantile business, his public offices, and his social relationships among other men.

Perkins’ positioning of his masculinity began to slowly incorporate the private sphere by the latter 1770s. While he dined with men in the public sphere, Perkins also both invited and accepted invitations from men to domestic dinners. We can detect a change in his behavioural pattern in his diary entry on December 15, 1776. For the first time, he recorded a tea visit in his home, involving a lumber merchant, Mr. Linkletter, and Captain Webb, who came to “dine with me and drink tea.”⁹ Both the public and private dinners that Perkins attended began to decrease at this time, while domestic tea taking with men increasingly appears in his diary entries. Perkins did not enter another tea event in his diary until 1778, but then recorded one in each of the years 1780, 1783,

⁷ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, 59.

⁸ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, 124.

⁹ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, 139.

1784, and 1785. In 1786, the Liverpool merchant reported taking tea twice, and in 1787 he wrote that he took tea four times. Perkins reported an increase in ritual tea drinking in domestic settings around the turn of the nineteenth century, with twelve events in 1796, nine in 1803, and eleven in both 1800 and 1804. Between 1788 and 1812, the year of Perkins' death, Perkins entries of ritual tea drinking become more consistent — with both an average and a median of four times per year. The tea episodes recorded by Perkins took place either in his home or in the home of other men and increasingly took place in mixed gatherings in the domestic sphere.¹⁰

The significance of recording tea drinking behaviour is not that these were the only times Perkins drank tea. Indeed, as a merchant who imported and sold tea, he would have been a regular drinker of the beverage, as were many eighteenth-century men and women of all classes. Rather, these notations in his diary record a specific behavioural pattern with social and economic implications. For Perkins to report that he 'took tea' or 'drank tea' in a specific context indicated his use of the tea ritual as a means to display his gentility. Increasingly, that ritual would take place in the domestic sphere.

By the 1780s, taking tea was an established social ritual in established colonial society. Increasingly, tea was served by either the mistress of the house, the eldest daughter, or the youngest married woman, and the ritual was highly

¹⁰ This changing function of the tavern indicated a shift towards middle-class respectability. The tavern served as both a place for communal and private gatherings, but increasingly middle-class men of business and politics gathered in the domestic sphere to avoid unwanted intrusions by "vulgar" members of the community.

choreographed. The tea ceremony began as family members and guests sat at the tea table and watched as the hostess measured tea leaves from the tea chest into the tea pot. Boiling water from the tea urn was poured onto the leaves in the tea pot. When the tea was ready, the hostess poured it into the waiting tea cups and offered them to the guests. It was impolite of the guest to refuse a cup of tea when it was offered. The hostess then politely asked the guest if cream or sugar was wanted. After the tea was drunk, the hostess emptied the remaining tea and dregs into the slop bowl and rinsed the cup with hot water from the tea urn before refilling it with fresh tea. If no more tea was wanted, the guest turned the cup upside down on the saucer and placed the tea spoon across the bottom of the cup.¹¹ The evidence of Perkins' increasing participation in this type of tea ritual strongly suggests that he was responding to changes in his circumstances.

Perkins faced a confluence of life changes in the mid-1770s that led him to reconstruct his masculine identity. Perkins' close connections with other members of his extended family's mercantile business slowly faded over time. Ebenezer Backus, his business partner and late wife's father, died, ending the partnership. While his cousin Captain Jabez Perkins continued trading, Perkins' brothers Jabez and Hezekiah also captained the ships that carried goods for the family business between Liverpool, the West Indies, and the New England

¹¹ Rodris Roth, "Tea-Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage," in *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 444-58.

colonies, which meant they were away much of the time. This left Perkins in control of the Liverpool warehouse, the sawmill, and the consigning of shipments, all of which secured his personal business reputation in the Liverpool community. The American revolution contributed to the weakening of Perkins' ties to the family commercial activities and also wreaked havoc with his trading activities. After losing four ships to American privateers, he anxiously noted that the losses were "altogether so heavy upon me I do not know how to go on with much more business, especially as every kind of property is so uncertain, and no protection as afforded yet, from Government."¹² His financial concerns were growing because he now had a family of his own to support; he had re-married to a local widow, Elizabeth Headely, in 1775, and the birth of a daughter had followed a year later. Perkins had thus increased his domestic responsibilities. These personal changes occurred in the very early stages of middle-class formation, as the culture of gentility spread across British North American colonies.

Characteristics which defined masculinity were shifting with the rise of the middle class and its concern with the expression of genteel behaviour. The concept of communal manhood was transforming into the ideal of the self-made man, whose notions of masculinity derived from his own economic achievements rather than those of his collateral family. Central to the concept of the self-made man was the economic and social improvement of the individual, and a

¹² Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, 134.

heightened preoccupation with “self-improvement, self-interest and self-advancement.”¹³ The increasing significance of recording tea-taking events in his diary suggests that Perkins re-shaped his masculinity from a traditional extended family context to the family that had formed around his own individual success. His more frequent recording of tea drinking at home after his re-marriage suggests that he was making efforts to pull himself away from the primarily masculine community of the tavern and that these tea-drinking events were particular opportunities to display himself as a self-made man in a domestic setting.

Although the family as a corporate body was losing its appeal to the emerging colonial middle class, the self-made man still required domestic support. The display of hospitality was becoming necessary to establish public authority by demonstrating authority in the home; thus the visible presence of a wife was important.¹⁴ Perkins brought the commercial world into his home by inviting business associates, such as shipper John McMonegal Esq. and “Mr. Andrews, son of Israel Andrews,” to tea on Monday, June 11, 1787. The visit had both social and business aspects: “They seem well pleased with the situation of the Goods, being better than they expected,” Perkins noted. “They Drink tea with me.”¹⁵ Business and pleasure also intermingled over the tea table when Mr.

¹³ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 20.

¹⁴ Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 269-70.

¹⁵ Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, ed. D. C. Harvey (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958), 373.

Lombard, Perkins' lawyer, "[drank] Tea at my house" after settling legal fees.¹⁶ Politically prominent men were also invited by Perkins to take tea with him in his home. Nova Scotia Governor John Parr accepted Perkins' invitation to drink tea at his house, as did his successor Governor John Wentworth and the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia.¹⁷ Government officials also sought Perkins out — people such as legislative assembly representative Colonel Winkworth Tonge, who, upon arrival in Liverpool, as Perkins recorded, "calls to see me" during which "He Drinks Tea with me & We have much Conversation on the Affairs of the Province."¹⁸ British naval officers were also invited to Perkins' tea table, including a Commander in Chief of Nova Scotia, Lieutenant-General Henry Bowyer, as well as lieutenants of both the *Resolution* and of the *Argonet*.¹⁹ As a successful merchant and Liverpool's member of the legislative assembly, Perkins' public successes provided him with the social stature to approach these important men with an invitation to tea.

Perkins was also invited by other men to take tea with them. In 1784, a ship's captain, looking for a merchant to supply lumber, had Perkins, his wife,

¹⁶ Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803*, ed. Charles Bruce Ferguson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1967), 194.

¹⁷ Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1804-1812*, ed. Charles Bruce Ferguson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1978), 50.

¹⁸ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 280.

¹⁹ Simeon Perkins, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1790-1796*, ed. Charles Bruce Ferguson (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1961), 310. Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803*, 329.

and “a Number of Gentlemen and Ladies Drink tea on board the ship.”²⁰ Yet not all Perkins’ tea drinking took place in mixed company at this period. The significance of the homosocial tea ritual persisted. When his commercial activities took him to Halifax, for example, Perkins would “Drink tea at Mr. Cochrane’s,” the overseas Halifax merchant with whom he conducted his mercantile business.²¹ In 1786, Perkins, as Justice of the Inferior Courts, heard a murder trial with the Attorney General and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Sampson Salter Blowers. At the end of the first day of trial, Perkins and the other court officials went to “Drink tea with Mr. Thomas.” The next and final day of the trial, the diarist noted, “Judge Blowers [made] an Excellent Speech to the Prisoner & then Pronounce[d] Sentance of Death upon him” after which, “The Gentlemen [drank] tea at Mr. Tinkham’s.”²² Perkins also accompanied successful men of his community to tea events. In January 1780, Perkins reported taking a trip “with Mr. Torrey, Deacon Hunt, Capt. Howard, & Mr. Cameron”; after dinner they “[drank] tea at Major Freeman’s.”²³ Perkins and the men with whom he shared the tea ritual located their masculinity within the framework of their commercial, political, military, and legal accomplishments. They were self-made men who associated with other self-made men. They expressed their masculine gentility during the tea ritual and secured their acceptance within a select middle-

²⁰ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 230.

²¹ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 178.

²² Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 315-16.

²³ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, 271.

class circle.

As individuals whose aspirations to the middle class had been successful, each man judged the other's self-improvement, in part, across the tea table. Knowledge of the tea ritual was one of the standards by which Perkins and his male tea guests judged the character and credibility of each other. This was important in a context in which the population was in flux. Perkins recorded the continual arrival and departure of ships that brought both familiar and unfamiliar people to and from the small Liverpool harbour. Strangers to the community needed to be judged and their characters assessed. Historian Karen Haltunnn contends that the question "Who are you really?" was significant later, in the mid-nineteenth century, to a middle class that was concerned about the strangers migrating to their urbanizing towns.²⁴ It was this same question that concerned Simeon Perkins and those he drank tea with half a century earlier. When meeting unfamiliar gentlemen in his community for the first time, Perkins made character judgements, such as "He appears a sensible, conversable young man" and "they appear to be very steady, sensible men."²⁵ The tea event provided a space in which gentlemen could assess each other's industriousness, morality, temperance, and frugality — important attributes for success in the public world of business.

²⁴ Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven and London: University of Yale Press, 1982), xv.

²⁵ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 304, 336.

Perkins did this, for example, when a captured American privateer²⁶ wrote to him from the Liverpool jail in October 1781 and requested a pardon on the basis that he was the son of a member of the Massachusetts assembly and related to the Pepperell family, with whom Perkins was acquainted. Perkins recorded the incident in his diary:

I Desired Mr. Mcleod to allow him to Come to my House this evening, which he did. I asked him to Drink tea with me & enquired of him about his relations & find by his account he is Come of a Good Family & has a mourning Ring Given to his Grand Father at the Death of the Late Sir William Pepperell, Baronet.²⁷

Perkins used the tea visit to make certain the privateer was whom he claimed to be. The discussion regarding the privateer's family satisfied Perkins that the prisoner seemed to be honest about his kinship ties. However, during the discussion, Perkins would also have been observing the privateer's tea drinking conduct, evaluating his knowledge of tea etiquette and his expression of genteel behaviour — vital clues that confirmed to Perkins the privateer was telling the truth as to his middle-class status. Perkins' satisfaction was evident a week later when he, along with Mr. Mcleod, pardoned the privateer and two of his men.²⁸

²⁶ Privateer was a term applied to an armed private ship and to the captain of such a ship that was licenced by the government during times of war to attack enemy ships carrying cargo. Privateers were issued with Letters of Marque that gave the privately-owned merchant ships legal permission to attack enemy commercial ships and confiscate the cargo. The captured cargo was sold and the profits were divided between the crew and the ship's owners, while the crew of the captured ship were held as prisoners of war. Without a Letter of Marque, acts of privateering were considered to be acts of piracy. Simeon Perkins himself participated in privateering as a ship owner during the War of 1812. See Daniel Conlin, "They Plundered Well: Planters as Privateers, 1793-1805," in *Planter Links: Community and Culture in Colonial Nova Scotia*, ed. Margaret Conrad and Barry Moody (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 2001), 31.

²⁷ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 96.

²⁸ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, 97.

This evidence suggests that self-made men employed their knowledge of the tea ritual to confirm reputations and determine characters, while, at the same time, signalling their own gentility as a member of the middle class.

While Perkins turned to the tea ritual to reinforce his self-made masculine identity in the public world, he relied upon the genteel accomplishments of his wife, Elizabeth, to uphold his public reputation. Perkins' wife was his business "helpmeet," even though she was not employed directly in his mercantile affairs. As a comfortable widow, she may have brought a dowry to their marriage. However, Perkins never recorded in his diary an instance in which Mrs. Perkins actively helped in warehousing or accounting. Still, Elizabeth did enhance the public face of her husband's mercantile and political activities as hostess to the various high-ranking guests whom Perkins brought to their home. Elizabeth's knowledge of the tea ritual suggests that she also possessed other genteel qualities that would have bolstered their middle-class status — skills such as singing, dancing, playing the piano, and the ability to converse on current events. Thus, Elizabeth Perkins contributed to her husband's business and political affairs by her display of genteel hospitality. The self-made man needed to straddle both public and private worlds, his aggressive and competitive tendencies for business to be tempered in the domestic sphere. The notion of virtue was increasingly identified with femininity and the home by the late eighteenth century.²⁹ The presence of Perkins' wife during tea visits with socially,

²⁹ Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 10.

politically, and economically important guests reinforced Perkins' image as a virtuous man, which in turn enhanced the reputation of the family. Elizabeth Perkins' contribution was vital to Simeon Perkins' standing as a self-made man.

Mrs. Perkins, although operating primarily in the household and environs, was engaged in Perkins' public world as merchant, elected member of the Assembly, political appointee, and judge. As Perkins became more secure in his professional life, recorded tea visits shifted more toward social purposes than commercial ones, even though the display of wealth and status always held a business aspect. Unfortunately, Perkins' diary holds few clues as to Elizabeth Perkins' tea visits with female friends and neighbours, though she must have engaged in the activity frequently. We do, however, gain some insight into the couple's heterosocial tea drinking with genteel neighbours. One evening, Perkins reported, "I Drink tea with Mr. John Allen in Company with Mrs. Snow, Mrs. Bradford and my wife."³⁰ Another evening, he noted, "My wife and I Drink tea at Esq. Hopkins, Hallet Collins & Spouse also came in and Spent the Evening."³¹ Another typical diary entry: "I Drink tea in company with my wife, Mr. Rogers, & wife & Mrs. Callahan, at Col. Freeman's & spend the evening very agreeably."³² What is significant about these diary notations is that Perkins began to record his wife's social role as distinct from her economic identity, separating her

³⁰ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803*, 474.

³¹ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803*, 442.

³² Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803*, 512.

performance during tea drinking initiated for public reasons from that of social gatherings. By the 1800s, entries about Elizabeth were associated more often with domestic settings, where tea visits indicated respite from the public world and the construction of a separate domestic world, where 'agreeable evenings' become the social goal. The evidence suggests that Perkins' masculine identity had shed all vestiges of the communal man and had assumed the mantle of the self-made man within a framework of separate spheres. Elizabeth's performance at the tea ritual may have supported Simeon's public career, but her stage was situated in the home.

By the nineteenth century, labour experiences of middle-class men and women were underscored by the concept of separate spheres. The location of feminine identity shifted as the economic transformations of emerging capitalism created a division of labour based on gender. The short-term, immediate nature of household tasks differentiated women's work from that of men's, whose labour in the public sphere was regulated by the clock. Established middle-class women, like Elizabeth Perkins, increasingly found their activities restricted to their homes while men worked away from the domestic sphere. Woman's primary role was that of housewife whose moral authority ruled in the home. Her duties included providing physical and moral sustenance to the children, cleaning, and organizing the household, and creating and maintaining a calming environment for her husband to replenish himself when he arrived home from the competitive and aggressive workplace. Such women were "helpmeets" no longer in the family business, but rather in the family home. As middle-class women

became increasingly associated with the home, femininity became entwined with notions of comfort, morality, and maternal love.³³ While it is likely that there was some gap between ideology and practice in Elizabeth Perkins' life, we do not see evidence of this in her husband's diary.

However, a somewhat different picture emerges from rural Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in this period. As the work environments of urban middle-class men and women gradually moved apart, the economic labour of middling farm families continued to be intertwined. The sexual division of labour in rural households, including those of the lower middle class, rested on physical strength, with heavier farmwork being carried out by the male family members. Farm wives were responsible for the dairy and kitchen garden in addition to housework and child care. Still, women's work in these farm families tended to be carried out closer to the home, as women's movement away from fieldwork marked increasing status.³⁴

The diary of Louisa Collins, an eighteen-year-old Dartmouth farm girl, provides examples of the gendered division of farm labour. Louisa recorded her daily household and farm activities for the brief period from August 1815 to

³³ Nancy C. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780 - 1835* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977), 84; Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 159; Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge, U. K.: Polity Press, 1992), 60.

³⁴ Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs*, 86-8.

January 1816.³⁵ Most of the labour that Louisa, her sisters, and her mother contributed to household production was centred in the house, with some lighter, outdoor agricultural work. Louisa's particular tasks were butter-making and carding and spinning wool, while her eleven-year-old sister, Phebe, managed the poultry. The Collins sisters and their mother shared in the labour of picking berries and growing peas and beans. Louisa helped with the heavier household chores of laundry and housecleaning. Except for making a cake, Louisa does not mention the daily labour of cooking; most probably, it was the responsibility of Louisa's mother. Mrs. Collins also took charge of the kitchen garden, for Louisa made the point that it was her mother who prepared "her readishes and turnips for market."³⁶ It seems that Mr. Collins took the produce to market to sell, as Louisa records only her father and not her mother going to town on market day. During haying season, Louisa would periodically help to spread and rake the hay.

Interspersed with Louisa's household and farm labour was a lively social component of neighbourhood tea drinking. On Wednesday, August 30, Louisa noted, "I was very bussy making wine neare all day, and butter — in the

³⁵ Louisa Collins, *The 1815 Diary of a Nova Scotian Farm Girl: Louisa Collins of Colin Grove, Dartmouth*, ed. Dale McClare (Dartmouth, N. S.: Brook House Press, 1997); Louisa Collins, "Louisa Collins, 1797-1869," in *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women, 1771-1938*, ed. Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw, and Donna Smyth (Halifax, N. S.: Formac, 1988), 61-78. McClare begins the diary on August 14, 1815, and ends on January 19, 1816, while Conrad starts the entries on August 15, 1815, and finishes them on October 12, 1815. While Conrad's reproduction does not provide as much of the diary as McClare's edition, it retains Louisa's grammatical idiosyncracies. To provide a clearer sense of who Louisa was, where possible, the quotations will come from Conrad's version.

³⁶ Collins, "Louisa Collins," 65.

afternoon I pickd sum berrys, and then went to Mrs. Allens to tea.”³⁷ Louisa, her sisters, and her mother engaged in reciprocal tea visits with friends and relatives. Louisa reported when “Charlotte has gone to drink tea with Sarahann Allen” and when “Eliza Allen and Sally came over to tea.”³⁸ These social visits were part of the domestic work for which the women of the Collins family were responsible. Visiting was social labour whose purpose was to exchange information and gossip, strengthen neighbourhood social relations, and maintain family reputations.³⁹ The Collins family tea visits were also important in maintaining their membership within their middle-class neighbourhood circle.

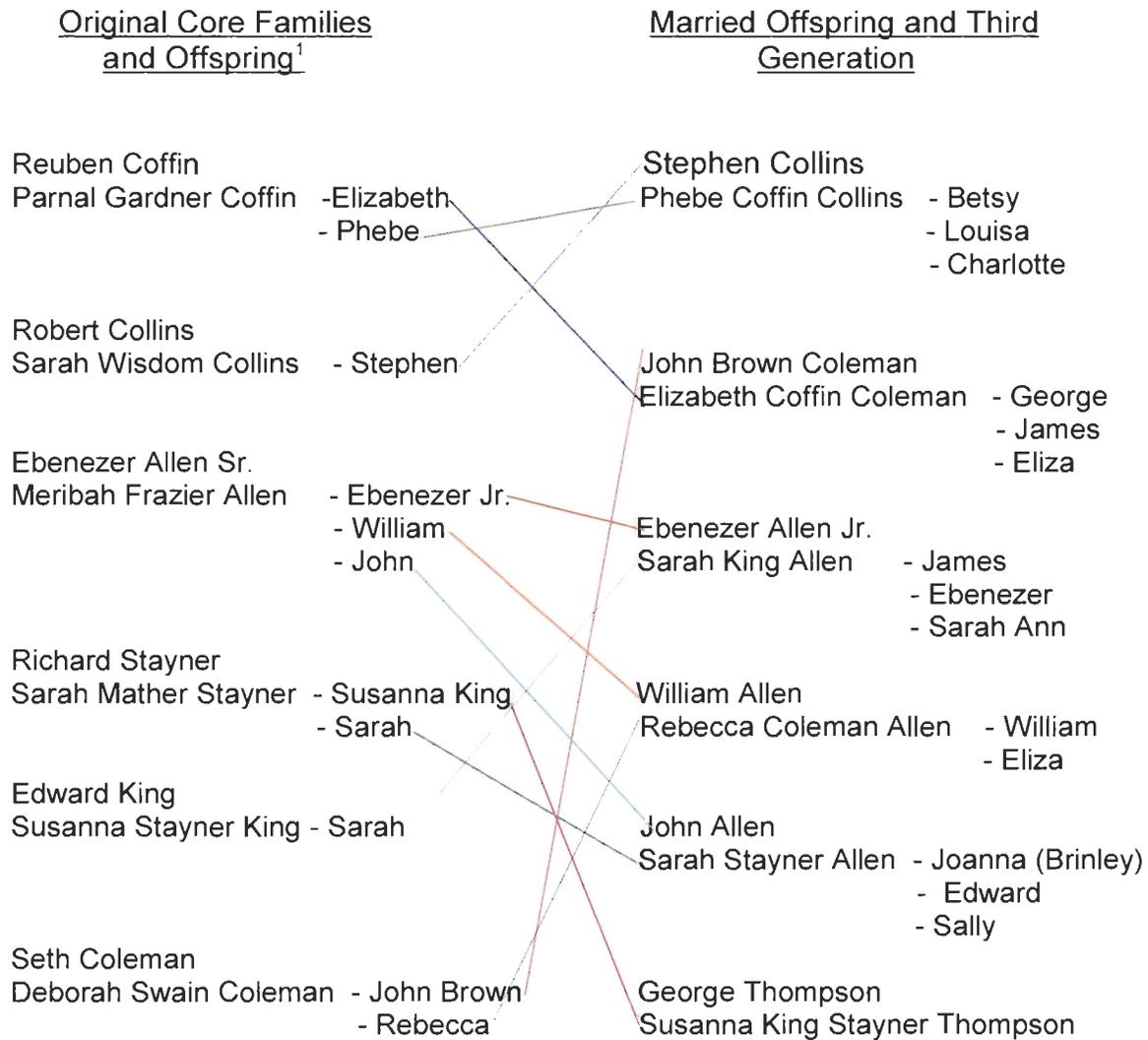
Louisa’s social circle was comprised of middle-class people who were generally native-born descendants of Loyalists and pre-Loyalists. The families with which Louisa had social interaction were closely connected to each other (see Figure 2.1). This neighbourhood group was made up of five core families. The Stayner and Allen families had been part of the 1776 British evacuation of Boston, while the Coffin and Coleman families were members of a large group of Nantucket Quaker whalers who had arrived in Dartmouth in 1785. The Collins family, itself, had settled in 1784 on 300 acres of land it had purchased. Inter-marriage by the offspring of these families created a network of collateral kin and social peers who kept in close contact with one another through tea visits.

³⁷ Collins, “Louisa Collins,” 67.

³⁸ Collins, “Louisa Collins,” 73, 74.

³⁹ Karen V. Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 80, 90.

Figure 2.1: Generational Family Groupings



¹ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 17, 19, 20-3, 25-6, 31, 33-4, 39, 40, 43, 45, 55. These generational family groupings are drawn from Dale McClare's annotated bibliography. The family members shown are mentioned in Louisa's diary as participants in her recorded tea drinking events.

The social group included unrelated families, such as Lt. Edward and Lydia Potts, the daughters of John and Isabella Farquharson, and David and Sarah Harper Frost, who were invited to join the tea-drinking circle. Louisa's mother, Phebe Coffin Collins, made and hosted tea visits within this social network, and Louisa often recorded them. During one week alone, for example, Louisa made the following entries: on Wednesday, "yesterday she [her mother] drank tea at Mrs. Albrows"; on Thursday, "Mama has gone to Mrs. Allens to tea"; and then on Saturday, "Mrs. Thomson and Mrs. Allen took tea here this evening."⁴⁰ Mrs. [Sarah Stayner] Allen and Mrs. [Susanna King Stayner] Thompson were sisters; Mrs. Albros' brother was married to a member of the Allen family.⁴¹ Families not related to the core familial group but deemed sufficiently genteel were also included in the tea rounds. For example, on December 3, Mrs. Collins served tea to Mrs. Allen and her daughter Sally Ann along with Mrs. Potts, wife of an officer of a Loyalist militia regiment.⁴² These tea visits reinforced the select nature of the family group in Louisa's Dartmouth neighbourhood.

This pattern of socializing continued with the third generation, of which Louisa was a member. Louisa's tea-visiting circle included her sisters, cousins, and other members of the interconnected core families. In October, Louisa, her sisters Betsy and Charlotte, and her friend Harriet Beamish, sister of Louisa's

⁴⁰ Collins, "Louisa Collins," 74-5.

⁴¹ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 20, 44, 45. Dale McClare has annotated the genealogy of the people whom Louisa mentions in her diary.

⁴² Collins, *1815 Diary*, 77.

fiancé, Thomas Beamish, “walked to Dartmouth to tea at Aunts [Elizabeth Coffin Coleman, the older sister of Louisa’s mother].”⁴³ A month later, in November, Louisa accompanied her sister Betsy and Harriet’s sister Maria Beamish “to drink tea with Eliza,” daughter of William and Rebecca Coleman Allen.⁴⁴ Louisa visited Mrs. Allen for tea with her sister Charlotte.⁴⁵ A frequent visitor to Louisa’s tea table was Mrs. Joanna Brinley, the daughter of John and Sarah Stayner Allen, who was married to William Brinley, nephew of Lady Wentworth and the cousin of Governor Sir John Wentworth.⁴⁶ Louisa’s sister Charlotte and her cousins Eliza and George Coleman accompanied Edward and John Allen, sons of John and Sarah Stayner Allen, to the Allen house to take tea.⁴⁷ Again, tea visits also included families who were not members of the core five families, as when Louisa and her sisters “walked up to Mr Prescotts to tea” on Saturday and, on the following Monday, “went to Mrs Farquarsons to tea.”⁴⁸ The original five families reinforced their social position through intermarriage and displayed their elevated status in the community through tea visits.

The tea visits that Louisa described in her diary helped strengthen the emotional bonds that women shared through their labour. The emotional

⁴³ Collins, “Louisa Collins,” 76; Collins, *1815 Diary*, 48.

⁴⁴ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 66.

⁴⁵ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 74.

⁴⁶ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 20.

⁴⁷ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 34.

⁴⁸ Collins, “Louisa Collins,” 76, 77.

closeness of middle-class women was particularly strong during the nineteenth century as the domestic sphere of housework and child-rearing fostered homosocial support networks.⁴⁹ Female friendships were special to Louisa, who especially looked forward to notes and visits from her friend Harriet Beamish. Letters between Louisa in Dartmouth and Harriet in Halifax were carried regularly by Mr. Collins and even by the milkman or postboy. The end of a visit by Harriet caused Louisa to reflect, "I feel quite lonely now Harriet is gone, I shall retire early to night as I do not feel well."⁵⁰ The reciprocal tea visits among the women in Louisa's circle helped to reinforce and strengthen the bonds created by shared experiences.

As the tea ritual became more social and domestic, both urban and rural middle-class women like Mrs. Perkins and Mrs. Collins increasingly employed the event to maintain their families' relationship with their social peers. Men drank tea with women, but their commercial and political interests were increasingly subordinated at the tea table to the communal and domestic interests of the women and their households. In this context, female social labour was directed at ensuring that their children would enter into marriages that would retain their economic and social standing. To achieve this goal, mothers instilled tea etiquette in their children. Tea drinking was part of the Collins family's daily rituals. Louisa recorded teatime as part of her day, noting on September 7, "we

⁴⁹ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1, no. 1 (1975): 9.

⁵⁰ Collins, "Louisa Collins," 77.

did not get home till tea time” and the following Monday, “when we got home, tea was ready.”⁵¹ Familial connections were initiated and controlled through tea-drinking activities, and an important way of determining the gentility of a potential son- or daughter-in-law was to invite him or her to family tea. Louisa frequently recorded the presence (or absence) of her fiancé at the tea table: Mr. Beamish “came up to tea,” she often noted; or “Mr. B. did not stop to tea”; and sometimes, “Mr. B. left here after tea.”⁵² Thomas Beamish was a good catch for Louisa. His father was a Halifax merchant and held the post of port warden. Thomas was a victualler and was also one of six heirs to a number of valuable Halifax properties.⁵³ And while the Collinses were weighing his merits, Thomas was also likely assessing the suitability of Louisa and her family at teatime.

The expectation of middle-class women was to marry well and have children. It was important, then, that daughters were trained for both courtship and marriage.⁵⁴ British military officer Captain Patrick Campbell experienced an incident in his New Brunswick travels in which a mother exhibited her daughter’s gentility in the tea ritual. In 1792, he visited the home of Loyalist militia officer Simon Baxter, where he was invited to take tea. Mr. Baxter drank Labrador tea, brewed from the leaves of a local plant. Campbell noted, “his wife would not drink of it because it was found at home; but if it had cost two dollars the pound,

⁵¹ Collins, “Louisa Collins,” 69, 70.

⁵² Collins, *1815 Diary*, 17, 61, 56.

⁵³ Collins, *1815 Diary*, 85.

⁵⁴ Hall, *White, Male and Middle-Class*, 63.

she would be fond of it. I requested the home-got tea be made for him and me, but she and her daughters drank suchong.”⁵⁵ Mrs. Baxter, perhaps, viewed the visiting British military officer as a possible son-in-law and was not going to let the opportunity of displaying her daughters’ genteel tastes slip past.

Training children in the tea ritual was a strategy employed by middle-class families to ensure that the next generation preserved its social position. Some families sent their daughters to female academies to instill genteel behaviour. In 1771, twelve-year-old Anna Green Winslow, daughter of a militia officer, was sent from her home in Chignecto to live with her aunt in Boston to attend a young ladies’ academy. Her genteel education included penmanship, dancing, and sewing. Writing to her parents in May 1772, she informed them of her activities: “Thursday, I danc’d a minuet & country dances at school, after which I drank tea with Aunt Storer.”⁵⁶ While Anna learnt social graces at school, her relatives instructed her in the tea ritual. Although incomes were earned in the public spheres, middle-class families worked within the domestic sphere to maintain their social level and to instill within their children attitudes and behaviours that would enable them to socially reproduce themselves.⁵⁷ Training the family in tea drinking was one way that the families in Louisa’s social circle maintained their alliances and class boundaries. This can also be said of Simeon Perkins and his

⁵⁵ Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*, ed. H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937), 265.

⁵⁶ Anna Green Winslow, “Anna Green Winslow, 1759-1779,” in *No Place Like Home*, 40.

⁵⁷ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 155.

family. In Perkins' later years, much of his tea-drinking activity centred around tea visits with his wife and married children. On Christmas Day in 1805, for example, Perkins recorded a tea party that included his wife, two daughters, a son-law, step-daughter, and his cousin Jabez Perkins, along with middle-class friends. On another occasion, he wrote, "I Drink tea at Doc. Webster's, Mr. Newton, my wife & Daughter Newton".⁵⁸ Parents of both the Perkins and the Collins families ensured their children were well versed in genteel rules of the tea ritual, which allowed the family to continue its selective social status in their respective communities.

For middle-class men and women in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, tea drinking was serious work. As perceptions of masculinity and femininity shifted over time, the tea ritual moved more firmly into domestic space and became more (but not exclusively) feminized. The parlour was a quasi-public space. And the broader goals of the middle-class tea ritual remained the same: to further social, political, and economic interests of the family and to teach the next generation how to meet the increasing social demands that were arising hand-in-glove with the emerging market economy.

⁵⁸ Perkins, *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1804-1812*, 19.

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER NEGOTIATION IN THE PARLOUR

By the 1830s and 1840s, increasing numbers of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick inhabitants were demarcating space in their homes for a parlour as a sign of middle-class distinction.¹ The nineteenth-century parlour was popularly perceived as the centre of female domestic life: there, the lady of the house instilled moral values in family members; there, she distributed tea to friends and neighbours and engaged in polite conversation with them. The increasing separation of public and private spheres contributed to a shift from a strong masculine influence in the parlour to a more feminine domination of this domestic space.² A parallel shift occurred in women's role in middle-class homes from household producer to consumer, reflecting women's increased control of the household budget — a balancing of resources and demands that included furnishing the parlour. A fully furnished parlour was vital for middle-class display. There, female economic activity combined domestic labour and consumer

¹ Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces — A Reconnaissance," in *The Acadiensis Reader Volume 1: Atlantic Canada Before Confederation*, ed. P. A. Buckner and David Frank (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1985), 341, 352. Ennals and Holdsworth contend that by the 1840s the parlour was established in most rural homes; yet it was rarely used by family and close friends but saved for special occasions and visitors. See also Peter Ward, *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), 60-71. Ward maintains that while settlers used all available rooms in their homes, the parlour was still employed as a formal space. The increasing presence of family in the parlour did not detract from the quasi-public nature of the parlour, where visitors were entertained and status was displayed.

² For an example of a late nineteenth and early twentieth-century masculine dominated parlour, see Robert A. J. MacDonald, "'He Thought He was the Boss of Everything': Masculinity and Power in a Vancouver Family," *BC Studies* 132 (Winter 2001/02): 26-7. The Bell-Irving family owned two houses. The parlour in one home reflected masculinity that "ran counter to the fashion of the time," while the parlour in the second home was decorated in a feminine style.

behaviour to create a comfortable environment in which hospitality and respectability could be exhibited. Yet middle-class men increasingly articulated concerns that the space was becoming a source for extravagant female expenditure.³ Male fears of unchecked spending and the incursion of debt by unsupervised wives exposed contradictions in nineteenth-century notions of companionate marriages and male authority in the home. By the mid-nineteenth century, anxious middle-class men were claiming that the parlour required male monitoring — a reflection of the encroachment of female power in this domestic, yet semi-public, space.

Nineteenth-century parlours had evolved from the sixteenth-century hall-parlour homes that had been constructed by emerging middle ranks. The hall-parlour design was a house divided into two rooms that shared a central fireplace. The hall portion of the house was the site of family activities of working, cooking, and sleeping, while the parlour held the marital bed and treasured family possessions. Although the hall was open to public admittance, the parlour

³ For a discussion on male concerns about the undermining of their authority due to increasing female influence, see Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1-25; Jonathon Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), 19-20; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 7, 25, 92; James Eli Adams, "A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England" [book review], *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 4 (2001): 557-59. For examples of men ridiculing women to regain authority, see Mark Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 88; Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England*, (London: Routledge, 2003, <http://troy.sfu.ca:80/record=b3920401a>), 135-39; Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 67-8.

was considered to be the “best room,”⁴ and entry to it was limited to close friends and family. By the eighteenth century, members of the middle class had begun to spatially segregate their homes into kitchen, bedroom, and parlour. The kitchen was moved to the back of the house, sleeping quarters were located upstairs, and the marital bed was removed from the parlour, all of which reflected a growing concern with separating backstage, private family activities from frontstage, public business activities and displays of gentility. By the mid-eighteenth century, London merchants and tradesmen were installing front-room parlours to exhibit formalized ritual behaviour and display porcelain tea sets, mirrors, cupboards, carpets, curtains, and clocks.⁵ Similarly, the eighteenth-century colonial middle class constructed mansions with specialized rooms that separated public formality from family privacy.⁶ This separation of public and private signified an emerging sense of class distinction.

Eighteenth-century middle-class immigrants to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick held expectations of constructing homes that demarcated private and public family life. The two most common styles of house construction were the hall-parlour layout and the Cape Cod style, which included two parlours on either

⁴ Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1979), 4.

⁵ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1600-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), 77.

⁶ Kevin Sweeney, “Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 4 (1984): 234.

side of the front entrance.⁷ Simeon Perkins originally constructed his Liverpool house in 1766 in a hall-parlour format. Perkins' later renovations included dividing his hall into a keeping room⁸ in the front and a kitchen at the back in 1781, and adding a new kitchen to the rear of the house in 1792, thereby creating a private parlour from the space left by the old kitchen.⁹ By the 1790s, Perkins' home had two formal front rooms, the parlour and keeping room, as well as a private family parlour and cooking and sleeping accommodations out of public view. Specialization of function and division of public and private domestic areas was also found in four eighteenth-century Planter houses in King's County studied by Heather Davidson.¹⁰ This trend continued into the nineteenth century, as more middle-class families renovated or built houses with segregated spaces. In 1808, for example, Mrs. E. W. Miller wrote to Edward Winslow from Fredericton, informing him of the progress of their house construction: "We have only a Parlor, Bedroom, Kitchen and Pantry finished."¹¹ Mrs. Miller's slightly apologetic tone for so few rooms suggests that the spatial demarcation of homes

⁷ Ennals and Holdsworth, "Vernacular Architecture," 337, 340.

⁸ Allen Penny, *The Simeon Perkins House: an Architectural Interpretation, 1767-1987* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum, 1987), 185. A keeping room was a public receiving room (similar to a present day front hall) that contained a family's prized possessions to display its wealth and status.

⁹ Penney, *Simeon Perkins House*, 125.

¹⁰ Heather Davidson, "Private Lives from Public Artifacts: The Architectural Heritage of Kings County Planters," in *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1988), 260.

¹¹ W. O. Raymond, *Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826* (St. John, N. B.: Sun Print Co., 1901), 601.

was important to members of the middle class. Between 1810 and 1830, prosperous Lunenburg merchants also built homes that reflected their concern for public and private spaces.¹² The emerging middle class in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick spatially arranged their homes' interiors to demonstrate their class membership and signal social distance from their poorer neighbours.

Late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century parlours were generally still public, male-dominated spaces. Men such as Simeon Perkins met other men in parlours to discuss business and politics. Even though women were admitted and mixed gender tea drinking occurred, men retained their authority in and over the room.¹³ Male control of household expenditure on furnishings contributed to masculine domination of the parlour. Evidence suggests that men decided on what the parlour required and what patterns and colours were to adorn the space. For example, in 1786, Edward Winslow, writing from New Brunswick, asked his friend, Anglican clergyman Mather Byles, to purchase some wallpaper in Halifax for him and sent a sample indicating the desired pattern. Byles wrote back to Winslow, informing him that the pattern was sold out and added, "I was very glad of it, for I thought it precious ugly. I have got you another pattern which I hope, for the honor of my taste, you will like it much

¹² Richard Henning Field, *The Material Lives of Lunenburg German Merchants and Yeoman: The Evidence Based on Probate Inventories, 1760 - 1830* (Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1990), 115.

¹³ Jessica Kross, "Mansions, Men, Women, and the Creation of Multiple Publics in Eighteenth-Century British North America," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 2 (1999): 396.

better.”¹⁴ In 1811, Winslow wrote to his son requesting the purchase of “nine rolls of decent paper hangings for our drawing room with bordering,” adding “you know the kind of assortment which will suit our wants.”¹⁵ While Winslow may have been just passing along his wife’s wallpaper orders, the tone of his exchange seems to indicate a higher level of concern about the decor. Furthermore, as Byles’ input suggests, men also expressed their opinion on how other people chose to furnish their parlour. Captain Patrick Campbell was similarly observant of household decor. During his tour of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1791-2, he observed, “so prevalent is custom, and the desire of emulation, the bane of all society, that many of the gentlemen here, who cannot well afford it, have mahogany furniture in abundance, and despise what can be got at their doors.”¹⁶ Campbell approvingly noted local wood was good enough for “the Governor’s house, the Chief Judge’s house, in Colonel Allan’s house and other gentlemen’s houses in New Brunswick.”¹⁷ Eighteenth-century men considered parlour space to be a domain in which they belonged and should exercise influence.

The male practice of gathering in parlours to discuss political and business concerns was carried forward from the eighteenth century into the

¹⁴ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 336.

¹⁵ Raymond, *Winslow Papers*, 673.

¹⁶ Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*, ed. H. H. Langton (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937), 251-52.

¹⁷ Campbell, *Travels in the Interior*, 251.

nineteenth century. In March 1838, for example, Sherbrooke farmer William Ross journeyed to Lunenburg for an election; in a local parlour, he assembled with other men, including “Robb from the Basin (a Scotchman) Daniel Dimcock, Edward Zwicker, Alexander Zwicker besides our host,” to discuss matters of mutual concern.¹⁸ Middle-class men not only felt comfortable in the parlour setting, but also had expectations of female behaviour in a mixed parlour gathering. The middle-class feminine ideal was expressed in Methodist Reverend Adams’ 1845 remembrance of fellow Methodist and New Brunswick settler Hannah Pickard:

In her countenance modesty and frankness were admirably combined, while cheerfulness and sedateness, beautifully blended, gave to her general manners a charm which I never shall forget. And there was an air of piety and devotion accompanying her conversation that I had not notice formerly; and, withal, a delightful dignity and propriety attending all her movements, whether in the parlor or presiding at the table.¹⁹

Contemporaries viewed feminine “nature” as the embodiment of virtuous sensibility that was enhanced by genteel breeding. This gentility would be manifested by female deference to men during mixed gender parlour sociability.

An ideal companionate marriage acknowledged the woman’s higher moral status but also male authority within the domestic sphere. One way that husbands could soften their authority was by contributing to domestic activities,

¹⁸ As quoted in J. Lynton Martin, “Farm Life in Western Nova Scotia Prior to 1850,” *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 37 (1970): 81.

¹⁹ Rev. Adams in Edward Otheman, *Memoir and Writings of Mrs. Hannah Maynard Pickard* (Boston: David H. Ela, 1845), 131.

such as reading aloud in the parlour and drinking tea.²⁰ In 1841, Ellen Robb, wife of James Robb, a chemistry professor at King's College in Fredericton, wrote to her mother-in-law, Elizabeth Robb, describing a typical evening in the parlour:

“. . . [a]fter dinner James reads to me while I work on copy music or something of this sort and then we have tea, and after tea while he is reading or writing for himself, I play and sing to him, so you see the time cannot appear very long.”²¹

The evidence suggests that James and Ellen enjoyed a companionate marriage, yet James displayed authority in the parlour in his role as husband. Sociologist Daphne Spain contends that gendered spatial constructions stems from “an unequal distribution of socially valued knowledge between men and women” that “contribute to the reproduction of gender stratification.”²² James Robb appropriated authoritative masculine space through the control of knowledge, some of which he apportioned to Ellen by reading aloud, while the rest he kept “for himself.” Ellen, on the other hand, inhabited a subordinate feminine space by employing her knowledge in serving James tea and entertaining him with music. Yet a subtle shift was underway in middle-class parlours.

While the parlour was the site where middle-class housewives exhibited their role as family consumer, it was also an important venue for women to

²⁰ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 59.

²¹ Robb, James, *The Letters of James and Ellen Robb: Portrait of a Fredericton Family in Early Victorian Times*, ed. Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1983), 61-2.

²² Daphne Spain, “Gendered Spaces and Women's Status,” *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 2 (1993): 141.

demonstrate their traditional domestic skills. Food preparation was a significant way for a woman to display her housewifery. Marsden was impressed by one industrious housewife, in whose log cabin parlour he took tea, and noted, “the worthy mistress of the mansion prepared materials for her tea table, which to my utter astonishment was covered with the productions of the sky, the ocean and land.”²³ A similar reaction was recorded in a letter written in 1835 to the editor of *The Weekly Mirror*, the author reporting the abundance of tea tables in Nova Scotia’s inland villages — all “spread out with toast, rolls, muffins, biscuit, jumbles, gingerbread, pound cakes, plumb cake, sponge cake, cheese, dried beef, preserves of two or three kinds, and tea and coffee!!”²⁴ The letter-writer concluded that evidence of the hospitality of rural middle-class families was a “groaning tea table”, a “courteous family,” and a “general invitation and the ever ready welcome.”²⁵ Housewives who supplemented their purchased parlour furnishings with homemade crafts and displayed them to visitors were exhibiting proper middle-class hospitality in their homes. The “comfortable parlour,” then, had become a central domestic space in middle-class ideology; and achieving it required both appropriate furnishings and female labour.²⁶

²³ Joshua Marsden, *The Narrative of a Mission to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somer’s Islands, with a tour to Lake Ontario*, 2nd ed. (London: J. Kershaw, 1827), 35.

²⁴ *The Weekly Mirror*, February 20, 1835.

²⁵ *The Weekly Mirror*, February 20, 1835.

²⁶ A comfortable home that combined physical ease, consumer goods, and domestic respectability became increasingly important to members of the middle class as the nineteenth century progressed. John Crowley, “The Sensibility of Comfort,” *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 282.

Figure 3.1: Yarmouth Museum Collection

This 1820s tea set was a wedding gift from Captain and Mrs. Robert Kelley to their daughter, Mary Richan Kelley, on the occasion of her marriage to Reverend John Ross.



© 2004, Yarmouth County Museum and Archives, by permission.

Figure 3.2: Inglis/Quinlan Collection

This 1840s tea set was owned by Captain Urban Wolfe who brought it back to Mahone Bay, Nova Scotia from a trading trip. The tea ware is placed on a drop front desk constructed in 1790 by a local craftsman for Dr. Peter Zwicker, whose family settled in Mahone Bay in 1754.



© 2005, Mahone Bay Settlers Museum, Nova Scotia, by permission.
Part of the Inglis/Quinlan Collection, collected by Percy Inglis between 1895 and 1950.

Subtly, gradually, women's influence in the parlour was expanding. By the 1830s, the tea ritual was primarily a middle-class social, rather than business, event and took place in the parlour during the late afternoon or evening. It provided not only an opportunity to display status, but also to judge the character of visitors. Guests invited to take tea were expected to follow specific rules that governed all parlour conduct. Each guest arrived exactly at the appointed time and waited for the hostess to give permission to enter the parlour. The visitor greeted the hostess first and then other guests. While watching the hostess perform the tea ritual, the guests engaged in agreeable conversation with each other. As the tea party continued, the guests participated in singing, dancing, and card playing. The rules governing social interaction between the guests and hostess banned behaviours that were overly familiar or physically offensive, as these indicated a vulgar and ill-bred character. Demonstrations of rude or ill-mannered conduct led to being barred from the social group and any future tea parties. Relegating the rude to the social margins was very important to the social group, as each member was expected to uphold the group's expression of gentility.²⁷ Rural hospitality sometimes differed from the urban ritual of formal "calling."²⁸ Neighbours and visitors often arrived unexpectedly in rural homes,

²⁷ Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), chapter 4.

²⁸ Afternoon calls were a social requirement for urban middle-class women that took place early to mid afternoon and were subject to formalized rules. Formal calling included a complex system of card leaving, depending on whether or not the lady was at home, a required duration of the visit (10 to 20 minutes, certainly no more than 30), polite conversation, and the correct procedure for exiting. Any breaches of etiquette resulted in social exclusion, with no further acceptance of the offender's calls. If the hostess approved of the caller's manners, an invitation to take tea at a later

and the great distances between farm houses meant that guests usually stayed overnight, so ritualized etiquette was not emphasized to the same degree in rural parlours.²⁹ Still, sociable hospitality and genteel conversation was part of expected parlour conduct in farm homes as well.

Travellers relied on rural hospitality for rest, food, and warmth, and within their accounts can be found evidence of visitors' assessments of the hospitality and level of comfort they experienced. These types of judgments stemmed from wider cultural assumptions that a parlour reflected the moral character of the family.³⁰ If visitors' expectations of parlour hospitality and comfort were not met, moral condemnation was the result. In 1841, British traveller James Buckingham found fault with the hospitality he received in Woodstock, New Brunswick, observing:

the inn was so dirty, and the hostess so unaccommodating, that we preferred sitting up rather than going to bed; and the night being excessively cold, we had great difficulty in procuring sufficient fire-wood to keep us warm.

He continued with his hope that "a higher and better class" of settler would arrive and "fill it with those who would have means and taste to surround themselves with greater comforts, and be able and willing to furnish them

date may be issued. See Halttunen, *Confidence Men*, 102-103, 112-13; Thomas J. Schlereth *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 118.

²⁹ Sally McMurry, "City Parlor, Country Sitting Room: Rural Vernacular Design and The American Parlor, 1840 - 1900," *Winterthur Portfolio* 20 (Winter 1985): 268.

³⁰ Katherine Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 7.

to others.”³¹ Buckingham linked the lack of expected cleanliness, warmth, and sociability to not only the class, but the moral character of the landlady.

While surveying road access in the New Brunswick forest in 1849, James Alexander also criticized one woman’s parlour hospitality, noting that, “at one place we stopped to eat, . . . a stove stood close to the landlady’s bed, which was in the parlour.”³² While this practice would have been acceptable a century before, it no longer reflected middling status to her visitors. The woman’s deficient hospitality, her failure to offer the warmth of the stove to visitors, and the use of the parlour as sleeping quarters rather than for entertaining were all markers to Alexander that he was in the home of a lower-class family.

By the 1840s, the concept of what a parlour meant to middle-class contemporaries consisted of certain specific elements. People expected to find either a room separated from the private areas of the house, or at least domestic space demarcated for public socialization. Middle-class housewives became responsible for the spatial organization of the parlour for entertainment. Women selected and arranged parlour furniture to encourage guests to converse with each other and to allow people to move easily about the room. Specific furnishings were required for the ideal middle-class parlour. The centre table was the focus of the room and was surrounded by two or three chairs, while a

³¹ James S. Buckingham, *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British Provinces in North America, with a Plan of National Colonization* (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1843), 466-7.

³² James Edward Alexander, *L’Acadie, or, Seven Years Exploration in British America* (London: H. Colburn, 1849), 85.

parlour suite, consisting of a sofa and some arm or side chairs, was arranged for ease of social discourse. Carpets, curtains, wall hangings, such as paintings and portraits, a parlour organ or, later, a piano were essential. The parlour also housed corner shelves, on which books, statues, and family keepsakes were in open view, as well as a fireplace mantel for the display of other genteel objects, such as seashells, dried flowers, and plants.³³ And firmly located at the tea table in the parlour was the lady of the house.

Tea drinking and the parlour environment held a significant connection for middle-class members. In 1843, Hannah Pickard wrote a letter to her sister, describing a tea party she had attended after a religious service held in Sackville, New Brunswick: “[T]he little company remained to tea with us, and through the evening, mutually enlivening and enlivened by the *handsome* drawing-room in which we were assembled.”³⁴ Also significant was the demonstration of a mother’s nurturing, shown in the courteousness of the family. Evidence of the father’s presence was also necessary, as it indicated that a companionate marriage existed in the home. But he was becoming more peripheral to the tea ritual. The parlour juxtaposed eighteenth-century genteel conduct and nineteenth-century domestic comfort.³⁵ And one factor that tied these elements

³³ Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 2-10; Middle-class women learned how to furnish a parlour from auctions and auction catalogues, as well as from commercial parlours on steamboats and hotels. See Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 27-9.

³⁴ Otheman, *Mrs. Hannah Maynard Pickard*, 201.

³⁵ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 2.

together and gave the parlour the most meaning was proof of a housewife's industry. The presence or absence of the fruits of the housewife's labours, such as food preparation or the tending of the parlour fire, influenced visitors' assessment of the respectability of their host family. Buckingham, Alexander, and Coke (see Chapter 1) made judgements by measuring the quality or degree of work that was expended on their comfort. As the middle class expanded, evidence of women's work in the parlour became important in denoting class membership.

Claimants to middle-class membership shared a cultural understanding of domestic industriousness and frugality that was reflected by the respectability of the parlour. While the colonial middle class was predominantly British, other ethnic groups could gain entry, although the "strangeness" of their furnishings could draw comment. For example, in 1828, British visitor John McGregor found the German inhabitants of Lunenburg to be respectable people, although the arrangements of the interiors of their homes were "peculiar, — strong clumsy furniture, old Dutch clocks, looking-glasses, chimney ornaments, and old pictures, which seem intended to outrage the rules of perspective, hold their position among modern English carpets and curtains." Still he found their parlours to be designed with "every regard . . . to substantial comfort," and declared that "the inhabitants are still much the same honest, industrious, and unceremonious people, that their ancestors were."³⁶ As long as housewives

³⁶ John MacGregor, *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828), 98-9.

demonstrated their domestic skills and proper hospitality in the parlour, allowances were made for possible inclusion in the middle ranks. To improve their families' chances of being included in the ranks of middle-class gentility, colonial women found a variety of ways to organize domestic space for entertainment and provide comfortable surroundings, including papering their walls with newspapers.³⁷ The success of their industry varied. Joseph Howe found such efforts amusing during his visit in September 1833 to Antigonish, where he stayed with a hospitable family who "did all they could to make me welcome" even though in "every room in the house smoked." He observed, "there was something about the whole family very pleasing," even though "the walls were plastered with *Novascotians*."³⁸ Still, such evidence of a housewife's handiwork reflected expectations for social advancement.

The ideal aspirant, according to New Brunswick settler Emily Beavan, was the housewife who interspersed consumer objects with domestic production. As an arbiter of middle-class respectability, Mrs. Beavan exemplified a young housewife named Sybel as an excellent candidate for middle-class acceptance.³⁹ Sybel, her husband, and her baby lived in "single apartment" that, according to

³⁷ Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 56.

³⁸ Joseph Howe, *My dear Susan Ann: letters of Joseph Howe to his wife, 1829-1836*, ed. M. G. Parks (St. John's, Nfld.: Jesperson Press, 1985), 133.

³⁹ Sybel Grey was a prolific weaver who provided woollen garments for her Queens County neighbours, including Mrs. Beavan, that brought her family added income. See Judith Rygiel, "Thread in Her Hands — Cash in Her Pockets': Women and Domestic Textile Production in 19th-Century New Brunswick," *Acadiensis* XXX, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 63-4.

Emily, served the family “for parlour, for kitchen and hall.” Still, a “large airy looking couch” was displayed there and “a splendid coverlet of homespun wool, manufactured in a particular style, the possessing of which is the first ambition of a back-woods matron.” This display of gentility, according to Mrs. Beavan, was “a sure mark of industry, and getting along in the world.” Mrs. Beavan noted with satisfaction that “even into this far back settlement has penetrated the prowess of the renowned ‘Sam Slick of Slickville’, [for] one of his wooden-made Yankee clocks is here — its case displaying ‘a most elegant picture’ of Cupid, in frilled trousers and morrocco boots.”⁴⁰ Although Sybel still relied on traditional timekeeping methods, as it was the “accustomed sun mark on the floor, which Sybel prefers to the clock,” the very purchase of the clock indicated to Mrs. Beavan the prospect of family life attuned to the commercial world. Sybel’s demonstrated domestic performance, combined with her consumer behaviour, the presence of her husband, and her insistence that Mrs. Beavan stay for dinner, indicated to Mrs. Beavan’s middle-class standards that this was a companionate marriage and a comfortable home where hospitality was quickly extended. Sybel was ensuring with her domestic production and consumption, that her family exhibited all the requirements for middle-class acceptability.

While the separation of spheres was a powerful prescriptive ideal in the nineteenth century that had shifted middle-class women’s labour into the domestic realm, this transition permitted a new outlet for the housewife’s

⁴⁰ Mrs. Frances Beavan, *Sketches and Tales Illustrative of Life in the Backwoods of New Brunswick, North America* (Boston: Strong and Brodhead, 1845), 31.

expression of influence. Middle-class men's absence from the home left increasing numbers of women in control of the household budget, with primary responsibility for allocating economic resources to feed the family and equip the home.⁴¹ Female responsibility for the domestic economy included purchasing parlour furnishings. Male anxieties about female purchasing power in the domestic sphere led to the construction of an ideal middle-class housewife who would incorporate hand-made items with manufactured goods in the home — reflecting the same values of efficiency and frugality displayed by her husband in the public domain.⁴² A description of this ideal lady of the house was published in the Halifax newspaper, *The Weekly Mirror*, in March 1835:

“Now,” said Harry Williams to his young wife, when they went to housekeeping, “it is my business to bring money into the house, and yours to see that none goes foolishly out of it.”

While Harry was prospering in his business, all went on like clock-work at home; the family expenditures were carefully made — not a farthing was wasted, nor a scrap lost — the furniture was all neat and useful, rather than ornamental — the table plain, frugal, but wholesome and well-spread — little went to the seamstress or tailor — no extravagance in dress, no costly company keeping, no useless waste of time in careless visiting, and yet the whole neighbourhood praised Mary Williams and loved her; she was kind without dissipation — and while a few people lived more comfortably, none lived more economically.⁴³

It is doubtful that all middle-class women aspired to such idealized behaviour in their daily lives. Still the public press continued to push women to embrace

⁴¹ Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), 22.

⁴² Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 60.

⁴³ *The Weekly Mirror*, Halifax, March 20, 1835.

frugal efficiency. Mid-nineteenth-century women's magazines published articles encouraging middle-class housewives to make their own decorative parlour objects from items they were to look for in nature, such as leaves, shells, and flowers.⁴⁴ Yet, by this time, the parlour was increasingly being considered as feminine space, where housewives were actively assuming their role as domestic purchasers and encroaching upon husbands' budgetary authority.

This transition worried middle-class men, who became increasingly concerned about this female power in the domestic sphere and made attempts to trivialize their growing influence — giving rise to a discourse on the out-of-control spending habits of middle-class housewives. The feckless female consumer was a stock character in Nova Scotian Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton's *Sam Slick Series*, first published in 1836. Haliburton created fictional stories about a Yankee clockmaker, Sam Slick, who peddled clocks to gullible Nova Scotians. The housewife was a preferred customer on whom Sam employed his "soft sawder," implying that women were easily led astray with their spendthrift habits and desire for social status. In the tale "The Clock Maker," Sam described the sales technique he used to entice Mrs. Flint into purchasing one of his wooden clocks. Sam placed the clock on Mrs. Flint's mantelpiece in the parlour with instructions to look after it until he returned. Sam announced to his companion, the narrator, "now that clock is sold for 40 dollars — it cost me

⁴⁴ Jenny L. Cook, "Bringing the Outside In: Women and the Transformation of the Middle-Class Maritime Canadian Interior, 1830-1860," *Material History Review* 38 (1993): 40.

just 6 dollars and 50 cents. Mrs. Flint will never let Mrs. Steel have the refusal.”⁴⁵

At face value, Haliburton was lampooning middle-class women who were so driven by social competition that they overspent on parlour objects.

Indeed, Haliburton frequently utilized his Sam Slick character to suggest that an unsupervised housewife could not employ domestic economy and was a threat to the family’s economic and social standing. Yet, underlying this apparent concern with female overspending in the parlour, there may have been a real anxiety about women’s growing role in household budgeting, and Haliburton’s stories may well have been an attempt to diffuse this power by trivializing it.

Take, for example, the story “Fire in the Dairy” about old marm Blake who, when Sam Slick came to visit, was sitting in the dark, as she had used all her candles and food the night before because “she’d had a grand tea party.”⁴⁶ After making more tea and chatting to Sam in her keeping room, Beck, the black servant cried, “Fire in the dairy,” leading to a commotion and resulting in the dog drinking the last of the family’s milk. Haliburton’s satirical portrayal of a spendthrift woman who was unable to manage the household resources may well have been an attempt to belittle middle-class housewives’ control of domestic spending in general.

Haliburton also ridiculed women’s dominance at the tea table, but an alternative reading of these anecdotes also suggests an effort to undermine

⁴⁵ Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *The Clockmaker, Series One, Two and Three*, ed. George L. Parker (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995), 169.

⁴⁶ Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, 16.

female influence in the parlour. This was the theme of his tale "Setting Up For Governor," in which Marm Crowningshield used her tea set to discourage Lawyer Crowningshield from standing for governor. Marm Crowningshield complained of the potential expense of the governor's position; and to prove her point, "when tea was brought in, there was a wee china tea pot, that held the matter of half a pint or so, and cups and saucers about the bigness of children's toys."⁴⁷ Comfort was going to have to be sacrificed, according to Marm Crowningshield, if her husband continued with his plan to be governor. The reward for his change of heart was immediate, for "Presently, in come two well dressed House Helps, one with a splendid gilt lamp, a real London touch, and another with a tea tray, with a large solid silver coffee pot, and tea pot, and a cream jug, and sugar bowl of the same genuine metal, and a most an elegant sett of real gilt china."⁴⁸ The subtext of Haliburton's anecdotes reflected middle-class male apprehension that the power women wielded as consumers threatened male authority in the home.

There was, of course, a gap between Haliburton's fictionalized stories and the reality of women's consumer behaviour. In the eighteenth century, women purchased manufactured goods from their local stores to "facilitate domestic production for themselves, their menfolk and their children."⁴⁹ This pattern of behaviour continued into the nineteenth century as middle-class women

⁴⁷ Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, 118.

⁴⁸ Haliburton, *Clockmaker*, 119.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Mancke, "At the Counter of the General Store: Women and the Economy in Eighteenth-Century Horton, Nova Scotia," in *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1995), 171.

purchased items necessary for the proper functioning of the home.⁵⁰ Their domestic lives were shaped by the demands of the commercial world. Yet most understood the risk of overspending the household budget and saw themselves as efficient housewives and consumers. Industry and frugality were embraced by the middle class as characteristics that separated them from the “decadence” and lack of restraint of the upper class. Middle-class women’s domestic labour and spending habits were focussed on responsibly achieving a comfortable home while still displaying the family’s status and respectability. The parlour was a central stage for this display.

Yet, middle-class women did more than display their family’s status in the parlour as they gathered around the tea table, for they talked of personal, domestic, and communal affairs. Both men and women gossiped about the activities of relatives, friends, and neighbours.⁵¹ But during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, gossip became associated primarily with women, and female talk was denigrated by men as idle chatter. Yet, much of women’s speech rested on their shared experiences and values that helped sustain female social networks.⁵² Furthermore, in colonial settlements, female talk was important to the flow of information, letting people know what was going on in their

⁵⁰ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, 47.

⁵¹ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (reprint New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 57.

⁵² Jennifer Coates, “Gossip Revisited: Language in All-Female Groups,” in *Women in their Speech Communities: New Perspectives on Language and Sex*, ed. Jennifer Coates and Deborah Cameron (London: Longman, 1988), 120.

communities.⁵³ Middle-class women employed gossip as a way to monitor, evaluate, and render judgement about the behaviour of their neighbours, especially activity that deviated from social and moral expectations. Gossip became a means for women to enforce community standards and exert informal power in their community.⁵⁴

Both men and women feared the power of gossip for it blurred the divisions between public and private and had the potential to damage the reputations of both males and females.⁵⁵ Furthermore, when an upstart family threatened the neighbourhood social hierarchy, it became a target for gossip by middle-class women determined to maintain the status quo.⁵⁶ Gossip was important in the maintenance of social circles as women's talk contributed to decisions regarding social acceptance and exclusion.⁵⁷ Women who engaged in gossip wielded influence in the wider power relations of the community; and the more removed women's talk became from patriarchal mediation, the more

⁵³ Karen Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 115.

⁵⁴ Melanie Tebbutt, *Women's Talk? A Social History of 'Gossip' in Working-Class Neighbourhoods, 1880-1960* (Aldershot, Hants, U. K.: Scolar Press, 1995), 11; Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 100; Willeen Keough, *The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/keough>), chapter 5. Willeen Keough suggests gossip had a quasi-legal feature, as the legal system in part relied upon women's talk to elicit information about community activity.

⁵⁵ Kirsten McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 8; Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 6-7.

⁵⁶ Hansen, *A Very Social Time*, 133.

⁵⁷ McKenzie, *Scandal in the Colonies*, 36.

worrisome it became to middle-class men.⁵⁸

As tea visiting became increasingly dominated by women, men expressed their anxiety about the parlour tea table as a site of gossip. Often, this was done through ridicule. Hark back to the writings of George Fenety that opened my discussion. Here is another offering from his imaginary “gossip circle”:

Mrs. Grundy — It may be so, but I can hardly ‘blieve it ; seein’s believin’, but hearin is’nt, now-a-days.

Dolly Blab — I know it! John Smith has come to town on purpose to ‘tend the weddin’. Why, has’nt ‘Lize Smith been seen buyin’ silks and ribbons, every day this week.

Miss Tongue — She ought to be ashamed of herself for the way she deceived young Sprout.

Mrs. Mouth — I think her mother’s not in her senses, for allowing her to behave as she does.

Miss Tongue — Well, I always thought that the Smiths would turn out to be no great shakes ; and I have guessed purty rite, I think.

Mrs. Mouth — That you have, Dolly. That Officer’s no more going to have Eliza Smith, than he’s going to have me. He jist goes to see her for the sake of makin’ fun of her — so he does.

Dolly — Yes! and if she does’nt look out, he’ll make fun of her the wrong way. I’ve heard of officers gettin’ among the gals afore now.⁵⁹

Despite its humorous tone, this passage (and others like it) unwittingly revealed a more serious concern: that reputations could be made or broken by women’s

⁵⁸ Keough, *Slender Thread*, chapter 5. Male anxieties about a possible destruction of their public reputation through gossip indicated women’s participation in power relations in the public sphere.

⁵⁹ George Fenety, *The Lady and the Dress-maker, or, A Peep at Fashionable Folly* (St. John. N. B.: s.n., 1842), 13.

gossip. Male denigration of female talk at the tea table can be interpreted as an attempt to diminish the power of women's speech in this quasi-public space. As masculine authority increasingly diminished at the tea table and in the parlour, men found it difficult to supervise and counter female speech. Thus, they employed ridicule to trivialize gossip while taking tea in an attempt to minimize and diffuse the power of women's talk.

As the eighteenth century moved into the nineteenth, the meanings surrounding taking tea in the parlour shifted from genteel ritual to comfortable sociability. Ritual performance was still in evidence in the manners demonstrated in the parlour, but the display of female industry and frugality repositioned the framework from eighteenth-century gentility to nineteenth-century middle-class respectability. In the process, middle-class women became arbiters of idealized class behaviour; and they also, to some extent, challenged the construction of male authority in the domestic sphere — in terms of budgetary decision-making, the quasi-public display of family status in a ritual that had become increasingly feminized, and women's talk.

CONCLUSION

The possession of tea ware, parlour objects, and knowledge of tea etiquette played an important role in the emergence and maintenance of the middle class in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick between 1760 and 1850. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century genteel behaviour around the tea set contributed to the creation of middle-class social circles in new settlements. Tea-drinking etiquette evolved into a marker of mid-nineteenth-century respectability and helped to maintain class distance as communities became more established. Tea sets and parlour furnishings also helped shape the construction of masculine and feminine identities. Children trained in tea etiquette were an important part of middle-class maintenance as they replicated middle-class values generationally at the tea table and helped to secure their family's social position.

Tea drinking was a widespread activity that most colonial families from all social levels participated in. However, not all families "took tea" or "drank tea" to exhibit a desire to socially better themselves. As the evidence has suggested, middle-class aspirants who decided to conform to tea etiquette in a specific context were employing a strategy to improve their families' social and economic standing. The tea ritual provides a view into daily household life where families manipulated tea equipment and parlour furnishings to demonstrate publicly their appropriation of values that the newly emerging middle class used to define itself. The tea ritual demonstrates how aspiring colonial families translated their

private middle-class values into public middle-class behaviour. The elevation of the everyday activity of tea drinking to a distinct social event offers clues as to how communal middle-class values were articulated.

Middle-class tea drinking groups manifested control of their social territory. They shared a middle-class value system of industry, sobriety, and thrift as well as the notion of separate spheres. The tea ritual, gentility, and respectability were employed by the members of the circle to enforce compliance to this value system and to restrict individuals from the lower class, the vulgar, from intruding into their carefully constructed social space. Ownership and correct usage of tea objects provided middle-class social circles with the opportunity to reinforce their social status regularly, thus sending signals to lower orders to remind them to remain in their place.

The evidence presented in this study has strongly suggested that many middling immigrants packed tea sets among their household belongings in order to demarcate their class. Early arrivals constructed social circles by demonstrating their knowledge of the tea ritual and gentility. Standards of genteel behaviour were strictly enforced, and those who failed to meet them were left outside the group boundaries. The contest for inclusion in the middle class created tensions, especially between more established members and those knocking at the door, such as rural farmers. Still, a number of aspirants were able to negotiate entrée into the middle class, as new opportunities for accumulation of expandible income presented themselves in the colonial context. Emulating the tea ritual became part of that process.

Yet, emulation of tea drinking did not mean everyone wanted to enter urban middle-class social circles. Farmers and artisans, who inhabited rural communities far from the commercial centres of Halifax and Saint John, did not participate in genteel tea drinking to seek entry into urban middle-class groups. As farmers and artisans learned the rules of tea etiquette, their intention was to carve a niche for themselves and their families within the social hierarchies of their own communities. Not all farmers and artisans chose to negotiate the local social layers, but those who did conformed to wider middle-class expectations of self-improvement. They shaped their behaviour privately around their tea sets to indicate publicly their aspirations to create or enter middle-class circles in their neighbourhoods.

The tea ritual allowed middle-class men and women to bridge public and private spheres. Eighteenth-century men entertained commercial and political contacts by inviting them to tea in their homes; this enabled them to reinforce their public reputations by giving the appearance of masculine dominance in the private sphere. Nineteenth-century women employed tea drinking as a way to extend their influence into the community by displaying their family's status and wealth and exerting moral pressure on the lower class to conform to respectable behaviour. The evidence in this study has also suggested that female power to shape communal behaviour through tea visits may have created anxiety in middle-class men, who feared this undermining of their authority in public space.

While the more well-known temperance and agricultural associations encouraged middle-class aspirants towards self-improvement, the parlours in

middle-class homes increasingly became an important model of genteel display for potential members. Although an area of masculine responsibility in the eighteenth century, the parlour increasingly came under feminine influence by the nineteenth. By the mid-nineteenth century, middle-class women in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick controlled the decisions regarding the furnishing and decorating of the family parlour and the moral and physical conduct of family and guests. This feminine sphere of influence extended into the homes of neighbours and the community through reciprocal tea visits and was increasingly influential in shaping and enforcing middle-class standards in the public sphere. The satirical assault on middle-class women by middle-class men such as George Fenety and Thomas Chandler Haliburton may well have reflected male anxiety about growing female power in this setting that straddled private and public spheres. Their barbed narratives marginalized women's role in maintaining class by portraying tea drinking as a frivolous female activity, marked by women's talk and shallow gossip. But the tea ritual in the parlour was a heterosocial event that transgressed gendered spheres of influence and contributed to the shaping and maintenance of community standards and class boundaries in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Tea drinking also enabled middle-class families to maintain their social position by instructing their children in the tea ritual. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century family tea time created a social space where children absorbed the rules of genteel behaviour. By the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of middle-class children learned polite manners and respectability at

the tea tables in the parlours of their homes. Generational transfer of the tea ritual assured the continuation, and possible improvement, of family social status as offspring were included in middle-class social circles and their marriageability assessed.

The rules for drinking tea shifted as capital abandoned eighteenth-century mercantilism for nineteenth-century free trade, spurring the urbanization and industrialization of these two Maritime colonies. The wider economic changes loosened imperial control (as manifested by the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849) and encouraged more active decision-making by colonial officials in response to the political and economic concerns of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Middle-class farmers, merchants, and artisans absorbed these changes and manifested them in their conduct at the tea table. Although initially attached to metropolitan gentility, members of the colonial middle class no longer looked to Britain to shape their gentility, but began to incorporate local influences in their tea visits to create a vernacular culture. This study has shown that the meanings associated with tea drinking objects altered with these wider economic and political transformations, as the tea ritual moved from displaying eighteenth-century gentility to nineteenth-century respectability. The fluidity of meanings ascribed to tea ware and parlour furnishings gave the middle class in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Nova Scotia and New Brunswick an opportunity to adapt to changing conditions and to retain and even improve their social status.

This discussion has also provided a further challenge to rigid

interpretations of separate spheres ideology. In examining gender and class formation through the lens of tea sets and parlour furnishings, it has demonstrated how wider community influences affect inner family workings which, in turn, are translated back into the wider community. In the changing context and nature of the tea ritual, we have seen evidence of an ambivalence toward clearly gendered divisions of public and private spheres.

Appendix: Tea, Empire, and Identity

Between the early eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries the tea trade significantly contributed to the expansion of the British empire due to the tremendous quantities of tea consumed by the inhabitants of Britain and its colonies. Although tea was a beverage first used by the upper class, by the mid-eighteenth century, its consumption by all British classes, both at home and in the colonies, had increased at an amazing pace. The total tea imported by the East India Company in the decades between 1721 and 1760 increased almost fourfold.¹ The high demand for tea was also met with smuggled tea. Estimates for illegally imported tea by 1770 may have been at least equal if not more than tea brought by the East India Company.² Foreign visitors to Britain in the eighteenth century were astonished at the quantities of tea that the British population consumed. The popularity of tea consumption led the British to appropriate tea as their own and the association between tea drinking and a feeling of being British.³

The notion that tea drinking was an expression of Britishness was also

¹ K. N. Chaudhuri, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 388. Imported poundage per decade:

1721 - 1730	8,879,862
1731 - 1740	11,663,998
1741 - 1750	20,214,498
1751 - 1760	37,350,002

²Roy Moxham, *Tea: Addiction, Exploitation and Empire* (New York: Carroll and Graf, 2003), 27.

³James Walvin, "A Taste of Empire, 1600-1800," *History Today* 47, no. 1 (1997): 11.

evident in the North American colonies. The arrival of tea-drinking British settlers increased colonial tea consumption and contributed to a sense of connection to the empire. The colonial association between tea drinking and empire was disrupted in 1773 with Parliament's passage of the *Tea Act*. The act permitted the East India Company to bypass British merchants and sell the tea directly to the colonies and collect a duty to offset their financial difficulties. The direct importation and tea tax were seen by colonial merchants as interfering with their lucrative tea smuggling activities. Protests against the act came in a number of ways, with the Boston Tea Party in 1773 as the first and most well-known.⁴ Other protests included the public burning of tea leaves in communities and boycotting imported tea. Tea protests allowed a large segment of the colonial population, especially women, to participate actively in the rebellion because tea was an imperial good found in most households.⁵ Most importantly, tea protests were seen as an important symbolic, emotional, and psychological break with the mother country.⁶

Yet tea drinking continued to increase in Britain and its remaining North American colonies during the nineteenth century. In the early 1800s, tea was

⁴ Other colonial ports that participated in destroying tea included Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York. William H. Ukers, *The Romance of Tea: An Outline History of Tea and Tea-Drinking through Sixteen Hundred Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), 89.

⁵ In 1774, a group of Edenton, North Carolina women publicly signed a declaration to boycott tea. Carol Berkin, *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 20-2.

⁶ T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 305.

discovered and cultivated in British colonial India. The importation of Indian tea into Britain during the 1830s gradually reduced reliance on Chinese tea, though not entirely. The Chinese government accepted only silver bullion as payment for their tea, and this bullion was becoming increasingly difficult for the East India Company to obtain. Company officials solved this problem by growing opium in India, selling it to Chinese drug smugglers, and using the silver currency accrued from this transaction to purchase Chinese tea leaves. As the increasing demand for tea by British and colonial tea drinkers was met, thousands of Chinese became addicted to opium. Attempts by Chinese officials to ban opium led to British military action against China during the 1840s and 1850s, which opened the previously restricted Chinese ports to more foreign tea traders.

With the loss of their tea monopoly in 1834, the East India Company looked to secure their trade by promoting Indian tea. Mid-nineteenth-century British and colonial tea drinkers were encouraged to view Indian tea as a British rather than a foreign product, which contributed to a stronger association between tea and the British imperial identity.⁷ The concept that drinking tea was a thoroughly British past-time shifted other tea drinking countries, such as China, Japan, and Russia, to the sidelines in the British imagination. The link between the British empire and tea was firmly established.

⁷ Julie Fromer, "A Typically English Brew": Tea Drinking, Tourism and Imperialism in Victorian England in the Nineteenth Century," in *Nineteenth Century Geographies: The Transformation of Space from the Victorian Age to the American Century*, ed. Helena Michie and Ronald R. Thomas (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 107.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Alexander, James Edward. *L'Acadie, or, Seven Years' Explorations in British America*. London: H. Colburn, 1849.

Anonymous. *Letters From Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Illustrative of their Moral, Religious, and Physical Circumstances During the Years 1826, 1827, and 1828*. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1829.

Bates, Walter. *Kingston and the Loyalists of the "Spring Fleet" of A. D. 1783 With reminiscences of early days in Connecticut A Narrative to which is appended a diary written by Sarah Frost on her voyage to St. John, N. B., with the Loyalists of 1783*, ed. W. O. Raymond. Saint John, N. B.: Barnes, 1889.

Beavan, Mrs. Frances. *Sketches and Tales Illustrative of Life in the Backwoods of New Brunswick, North America*. London: George Routledge, 1845.

Bradley, Mary. *A Narrative of the Life and Christian Experience of Mrs. Mary Bradley of Saint John, New Brunswick*. Boston: Strong and Brodhead, 1849.

Buckingham, James S. *Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the other British Provinces in North America with a Plan of National Colonization*. London: Fisher, 1843.

Campbell, Patrick. *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792*, ed. H. H. Langton. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937.

Canada Department of Agriculture. "Censuses of Canada, 1665-1871." In *Census of Canada, 1870-71*. Volume IV. Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 1876.

Coke, E. T. *A Subaltern's Furlough Descriptive of Scenes in Various Parts of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia During the Summer and Autumn of 1832*. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.

Collins, Louisa. *The 1815 Diary of a Nova Scotian Farm Girl: Louisa Collins of Colin Grove, Dartmouth*, ed. Dale McClare. Dartmouth, N. S.: Brook House Press, 1997.

- . "Louisa Collins, 1797-1869." In *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotian Women, 1771-1938*, ed. Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw, and Donna Smyth, 61-78. Halifax, N. S.: Formac Publishing, 1988.
- Conrad, Margaret, Toni Laidlaw, and Donna Smyth, ed. *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women, 1771-1938*. Halifax, N. S.: Formac Publishing, 1988.
- Dyott, William. *Dyott's Diary, 1781-1845: a selection from the journal of William Dyott*, ed. Reginald W. Jeffery. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1907.
- Fenety, George. *The Lady and the Dress-maker, or, A Peep at Fashionable Folly, a story founded on circumstances that occurred some time since in this city*. Saint John, N. B.: s. n., 1842.
- Fisher, Peter. *The First History of New Brunswick*. 1825. Reprinted Woodstock, N. B.: Non-Entity Press, 1980.
- Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. *The Clockmaker, Series One, Two and Three*, ed. George L. Parker. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1995.
- Head, George. *Forest Scenes and incidents in the wilds of North America*. London: J. Murray, 1829.
- Howe, Joseph. *Western and Eastern Rambles: Travel Sketches of Nova Scotia*, ed. M. G. Parks. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- . *My dear Susan Ann: letters of Joseph Howe to his wife, 1829-1836*, ed. M. G. Parks. St. John's, Nfld.: Jespersion Press, 1985.
- MacGregor, John. *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Maritime Colonies of British America*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828.
- Marsden, Joshua. *The Narrative of a Mission, to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Somers Islands, with a Tour to Lake Ontario*. London: J. Kershaw, 1827.
- McCulloch, Thomas. *The Mephibosheth Stepsure Letters*, ed. Gwendolyn Davies. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.
- Moorsom, William S. *Letters From Nova Scotia Comprising Sketches of a Young Country*. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830.

- Otheman, Edward. *Memoir and Writings of Mrs. Hannah Maynard Pickard, late wife of Rev. Humphrey Pickard*. Boston: David H. Ela, 1845.
- Patterson, George. *Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor*. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1859.
- Perkins, Simeon. *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780*, ed. Harold A. Innes. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1948.
- . *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1780-1789*, ed. D. C. Harvey. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1958.
- . *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1790-1796*, ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1961.
- . *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1797-1803*, ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1967.
- . *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1804-1812*, ed. Charles Bruce Fergusson. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1978.
- Raymond, W. O., ed. *The Winslow Papers, A. D. 1776-1826*. St. John, N. B.: Sun Print Co., 1901.
- . "The Founding of Shelburne: Benjamin Marston at Halifax, Shelburne and Miramichi." *Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society*, no. 8, 1909: 204-77.
- Robb, James. *The Letters of James and Ellen Robb: Portrait of a Fredericton Family in Early Victorian Times.*, ed., Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1983.
- Robinson, John and Thomas Rispin. *A Journey Through Nova Scotia containing a Particular Account of the Country and Its Inhabitants*. York, Eng.: C. Etherington, 1774.
- Weldon, Susanna Haliburton. *Specimens of China Brought to the Colonies by the Early Settlers Particularly the Loyalists*. Fredericton, N. B.: n. p., 1880.
- Winslow, Anna Green. "Anna Green Winslow, 1759-1779." In *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotian Women, 1771-1938.*, ed. Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw, and Donna Smyth, 27-42. Halifax, N. S.: Formac Publishing, 1988.

Newspapers:

The Weekly Mirror, Halifax, 1835.

Secondary Sources:

Acheson, T. W. *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Adams, James Eli. "A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England." Book Review. *Victorian Studies* 43, no. 4 (2001): 657-59.

Appadurai, Arjun. "Introduction: commodities and the politics of value." In *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 3-63. Cambridge, U. K.: University of Cambridge Press, 1986.

Appleby, Joyce. "The Social Consequences of American Revolutionary Ideals in the Early Republic." In *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in The History of the American Middle Class*, ed. Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston, 31-49. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Bell, D. G. *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786*. Fredericton, N. B.: New Ireland Press, 1983.

Berkin, Carol. *First Generations: Women in Colonial America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

———. *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for America's Independence*. New York: Knopf, 2005.

Bermingham, Ann. "The consumption of culture: image, object, text." In *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, 1-20. London: Routledge, 1995.

Bittermann, Rusty. "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community." In *Atlantic Canada Before Confederation*, Vol. 1, ed. P. A. Buckner and David Frank, 220-42. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1999.

- . "Economic Stratification and Agrarian Settlement: Middle River in the Early Nineteenth-Century." In *The Island: New Perspectives on Cape Breton's History, 1713-1990*, ed. Kenneth Donovan, 71-87. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1990.
- Blackmar, Elizabeth. *Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Bledstein, Burton. "Introduction: Storytellers to the Middle Class." In *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle-Class*, ed. Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston, 1-25. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Blumin, Stuart M. "The Hypothesis of Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: A Critique and Some Proposals." *American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985): 299-338.
- Branca, Patricia. *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home*. London: Croom Helm, 1975.
- Brebner, John Bartlet. *The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia: A Marginal Colony during the Revolutionary Years*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969.
- Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Breitenberg, Mark. *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*. Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. London: HarperCollins, 1997.
- Brown, Kathleen. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.
- Buckner, Phillip A. and John G. Reid, ed. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Bumsted, J. M. *The People's Clearance: Highland Immigration to British North America, 1770-1815*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982.
- Bushman, Richard. "American High-Style and Vernacular Cultures." In *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, ed.

- Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, 345-83. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- . *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Knopf, 1992.
- Bynum, Victoria. *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- Campbell, Colin. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Campbell, Gail. "Disfranchised but not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-19th Century." In *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*, ed. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, 39-66. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- Carnes, Mark. *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Carter, Kathryn. "An Economy of Words: Emma Chadwick Stretch's Account Book Diary, 1859-1860." *Acadiensis* XXIX, no. 1 (Autumn 1999): 43-86.
- Chaudhuri, K. N. *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*. Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Clark, Anna. *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.
- Coates, Jennifer. "Gossip Revisited: Language in All-Female Groups." In *Women in their Speech Communities: New Perspectives on Language and Sex*, ed. Jennifer Coates and Deborah Cameron. London: Longman, 1988.
- Collard, Elizabeth. *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967.
- Condon, Ann Gorman. *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick*. Fredericton, N. B.: New Ireland Press, 1984.
- . "Loyalist Style and the Culture of the Atlantic Seaboard." *Material History Review* 25 (Spring 1987): 21-8.

- . "1783-1800: Loyalist Arrival, Acadian Return, Imperial Reform." In *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, ed. Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, 184-209. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Conlin, Daniel. "They Plundered Well: Planters as Privateers, 1793-1805." In *Planter Links: Community and Culture in Colonial Nova Scotia*, ed. Margaret Conrad and Barry Moody, 20-36. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 2001.
- Conrad, Margaret. *Recording Angels: The Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1950*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 1982.
- , ed. *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1988.
- . "'Sundays Always Make Me Think of Home': Time & Place in Canadian Women's History." In *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. 2nd ed., ed. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, 67-81. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991.
- , ed. *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1991.
- , ed. *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1995.
- and Barry Moody, ed. *Planter Links: Community and Culture in Colonial Nova Scotia*. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 2001.
- Conroy, David W. *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Cook, Jane L. *Coalescence of Styles: The Ethnic Heritage of the St. John River Valley Regional Furniture, 1763-1851*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Cook, Jenny. "Bringing the Outside In: Women and the Transformation of the Middle-Class Maritime Canadian Interior, 1830-1860." *Material History Review* 38 (Fall 1993): 36-49.
- Corfield, Penelope J. "Class by name and number in eighteenth-century Britain." In *Language, History and Class*, ed. Penelope J. Corfield, 101-30.

- Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.
- Cott, Nancy C. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Cowan, Helen I. *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Creighton, Margaret S. "American Mariners and the Rites of Manhood, 1830-1870." In *Race and Gender in the Northern Colonies*, ed. Jan Noel, 277-302. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2000.
- Crowley, John. "The Sensibility of Comfort." *American Historical Review* 104 (June 1999): 749-82.
- Cummings, Abbott Lowell. *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1979.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle-Class, 1780-1850*. Rev. ed. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Davidson, Cathy N. and Jessamyn Hatcher, ed. *No More Separate Spheres!: A Next Wave American Studies*. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Davidson, Heather. "Private Lives from Public Artifacts: The Architectural Heritage of Kings County Planters." In *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*, ed. Margaret Conrad, 249-61. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1988.
- Davis, Stephen A., Catherine Cottreau, and Laird Niven. *Artifacts from Eighteenth Century Halifax: The Central Trust Archeological Project*. Halifax: Saint Mary's University Laboratory, 1987.
- De Vries, Jan. "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution." *Journal of Economic History* 54, no. 2 (1994): 249-70.
- Dilworth, Tim. "Thomas Nisbet's Furniture: Distinctive Style, Design and Workmanship." *Material History Bulletin* 24 (Fall 1986): 13-16.
- . "Thomas Nisbet: A Reappraisal of his Life and Work." *Material History Bulletin* 15 (Spring 1982): 77-82.

- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- Douglas, Mary and Baron Isherwood. *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. London: Alfred Lane, 1979.
- Earle, Peter. *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660-1730*. London: Methuen, 1989.
- Elias, Norbert. "The History of Manners." In *The Civilizing Process*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.
- Ennals, Peter and Derryck Holdsworth. "Vernacular Architecture and the Cultural Landscape of the Maritime Provinces — A Reconnaissance." In *Atlantic Canada Before Confederation*, Vol. 1, ed. P. A. Buckner and David Frank, 335-55. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1985.
- Errington, Elizabeth Jane. *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1995.
- Field, Richard Henning. "Lunenburg-German Household Textiles: The Evidence from Lunenburg County Estate Inventories, 1780-1830." *Material History Bulletin* 24 (Fall 1986): 16-23.
- . "Claiming Rank: The Display of Wealth and Status by Eighteenth-Century Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Merchants." *Material History Review* 35 (Spring 1992): 1-20.
- Fingard, Judith. "The 1820s: Peace, Privilege, and the Powers of Progress." In *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History*, ed. Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, 263-83. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- . "The Emergence of the Saint John Middle Class in the 1840s." Book Review. *Acadiensis* XVII, no. 1 (1987): 163-69.
- Foss, Charles. *Cabinetmakers of the Eastern Seaboard: A Study of Early Canadian Furniture*. Toronto: M. F. Fehely Publishers, 1977.
- Fromer, Julie. "'A Typically English Brew': Tea Drinking, Tourism, and Imperialism in Victorian England in the Nineteenth Century." In *Nineteenth Century Geographies: The Transformation of Space from the Victorian Age to the American Century*, ed. Helena Michie and Ronald R. Thomas, 99-108. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 2003.

- Grier, Katherine. *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Guildford, Janet and Suzanne Morton, ed. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- Guildford, Janet. "Separate Spheres: The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880." In *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*, ed. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, 119-44. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- . "Creating the Ideal Man: Middle-Class Women's Constructions of Masculinity in Nova Scotia, 1840-1880." *Acadiensis* XXIX, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 5-23.
- Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge, U. K.: Polity Press, 1992.
- Halttunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Hansen, Karen V. *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Hatvany, Matthew G. "Almanacs and the New Middle-Class: New England and Nova Scotian Influences and Middle-Class Hegemony in Early Prince Edward Island." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XXX, no. 60 (1997): 417-38.
- Hebdige, Dick. "Object as Image: The Italian Scooter Cycle." In *Hiding In the Light: On Images and Things*, ed. Dick Hebdige, 77-115. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Howell, Colin. "A Manly Sport: Baseball and the Social Construction of Masculinity." In *Gender and History in Canada*, ed. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, 187-210. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996.
- Hunt, Margaret. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and Family in England, 1680-1780*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Hunter, Phyllis Whitman. *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

- Huskins, Bonnie. "The Ceremonial Space for Women Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax." In *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*, ed. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, 145-60. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- Hutchinson, Lorna. "God help me for no one else can: the Diary of Annie Waltham, 1869-1881." *Acadiensis* XXI, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 72-89.
- Johnston, Hugh. *British Emigration Policy, 1815-1830: 'Shovelling Out Paupers.'* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Kasson, John F. *Rudeness & Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.
- Keough, Willeen, *The Slender Thread: Irish Women on the Southern Avalon, 1750-1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/keough>.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *Journal of American History* 75, no. 1, 1988: 9-39.
- Kierner, Cynthia A. "Hospitality, Sociability, and Gender in the Southern Colonies." *Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 3 (1996): 449-80.
- . *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Kross, Jessica. "Mansions, Men, Women, and the Creation of Multiple Publics in Eighteenth-Century British North America." *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 2 (1999): 385-408.
- Lochrie, Karma. *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999.
- MacDonald, M. A. "Artifact Survivals from Pre-Loyalist English-Speaking Settlers of New Brunswick." *Material History Bulletin* 26 (1987): 27-9.
- . "Before the Loyalists: The Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English Settlers." *Material History Bulletin* 28 (1988): 15-34.
- . *Rebels & Royalists: The Lives and Material Culture of New Brunswick's Early English-Speaking Settlers, 1758-1783*. Fredericton, N. B.: New Ireland Press, 1990.

- MacDonald, Robert A. J. "‘He Thought He was the Boss of Everything’: Masculinity and Power in a Vancouver Family." *BC Studies* 132 (Winter 2001/02): 5-30.
- MacKinnon, Neil. *This Unfriendly Soil: The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791*. Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986.
- MacNutt, W. S. *The Atlantic Provinces The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965.
- Mahoney, Timothy. *Provincial Lives: Middle-Class Experience in the Antebellum Middle West*. Cambridge, U. K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Mancke, Elizabeth. "At the Counter of the General Store: Women and the Economy in Eighteenth-Century Horton, Nova Scotia." In *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad, 167-81. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1995.
- Martin, Ann Smart. "Frontier Boys and Country Cousins: The Context for Choice in Eighteenth-Century Consumerism." In *Historical Archeology and the Study of American Culture*, ed. Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman, 71-102. Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996.
- Martin, J. Lynton. "Farm Life in Western Nova Scotia Prior to 1850." *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* 37 (1970): 67-84.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Trans. W. D. Halls. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Maynard, Steven. "Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History." *Labour/Le Travail*, 23 (Spring 1989): 159-69.
- . "Between Farm and Factory: The Productive Household and the Capitalist Transformation of the Maritime Countryside, Hopewell, Nova Scotia, 1869-1890." In *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950*, ed. Daniel Samson, 70-104. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994.
- McCracken, Grant. *Culture and Consumption: new approaches to the symbolic character of consumer goods and activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.

- McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- McKendrick, Neil. "Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries." In *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, 100-45. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- McKenzie, Kirsten. *Scandal in the Colonies: Sydney and Cape Town, 1820-1850*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2004.
- McMurry, Sally. "City Parlor, Country Sitting Room: Rural Vernacular Design and the American Parlor, 1840-1900." *Winterthur Portfolio* 20, no.4 (Winter 1985): 261-80.
- McNabb, Debra. "The Role of the Land in the Development of Horton Township, 1760-1775." In *They Planted Well: New England Planters in Maritime Canada*, ed. Margaret Conrad, 151-60. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1988.
- Miller, Daniel. "Appropriating the State on the Council Estate." In *Reading Things*, ed. Neil Cummings, 81-113. London: Chance Books, 1993.
- Moody, Barry. "Land, Kinship, and Inheritance in Granville Township, 1760-1800." In *Making Adjustments: Change and Continuity in Planter, Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad, 165-79. Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1991.
- Morgan, Cecilia. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- . "'When Bad Men Conspire, Good Men Must Unite!': Gender and Political Discourses in Upper Canada, 1820s-1830s." In *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, ed. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestall, 12-28. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Morton, Suzanne. "Separate Spheres in a Separate World: African-Nova Scotian Women in late-19th-Century Halifax County." *Acadiensis* XXII, no. 2 (1993): 61-83.
- Moxham, Roy. *Tea: Addiction, Exploitation and Empire*. New York: Carroll &

Graf, 2003.

Mukerji, Chandra. *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983.

Myers, Sandra L. *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.

Osterud, Nancy Grey. *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Penney, Allen. *The Simeon Perkins House: an Architectural Interpretation, 1767-1987*. Halifax, N. S.: Nova Scotia Museum, 1987.

Perkin, Harold. *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*. London: Routledge, 1969.

Perkins, Elizabeth. "The Consumer Frontier: Household Consumption in Early Kentucky." *Journal of American History* 17, no. 2 (1991): 486-510.

Poovey, Mary. *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Riley, Denise. "Am I That Name?": *Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1988.

Riley, Glenda. *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1988.

Rose, Sonya O. *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England*. London: Routledge, 2003.
<http://troy.sfu.ca:80/record=b3920401a>.

Roth, Rodris. "Tea-Drinking in Eighteenth-Century America: Its Etiquette and Equipage." In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860*, ed. Robert Blair St. George, 439-58. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. "Learning about manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth-century America." In *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 35-51. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.

———. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to*

- the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- Russell, Penny. *'A Wish of Distinction': Colonial Gentility and Femininity*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994.
- Rutherford, Jonathan. *Forever England: Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997.
- Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- . *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Rygiel, Judith. "'Thread in Her Hands — Cash in Her Pockets': Women and Domestic Textile Production in 19th-Century New Brunswick." *Acadiensis* XXX, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 56-70.
- Salinger, Sharon V. *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Schlereth, Thomas J. *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915*. New York: Harper Collins, 1991.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-75.
- . *Gender and the Politics of History*. Rev. ed. New York: Columbia University, 1999.
- Shammas, Carole. *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America*. Oxford, U. K.: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Shapiro, Ann-Louise, ed. *Feminists Revision History*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994.
- Smail, Paul. *The Origins of Middle-Class Culture: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in the Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs* 1, no. 2 (Winter 1975): 1-29.
- . "The Cross and the Pedestal: Women, Anti-Ritualism, and the Emergence

of the American Bourgeoisie." In *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*, ed. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, 129-64. New York: Knopf, 1985.

Spacks, Patricia Meyer. *Gossip*. New York: Knopf, 1985.

Spain, Daphne. "Gendered Spaces and Women's Status." *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 2 (1993): 137-51.

Stevenson, Louise L. *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991.

Sutherland, David A. "Voluntary Societies and the Process of Middle-Class Formation in Early-Victorian Halifax, Nova Scotia." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5, no. 1 (1994): 237-63.

Sweeney, Kevin. "Mansion People: Kinship, Class, and Architecture in Western Massachusetts in the Mid-Eighteenth Century." *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1984): 231-55.

Tebbutt, Melanie. *Women's Talk? A Social History of 'Gossip' in Working-class Neighbourhoods, 1880-1960*. London: Scolar Press, 1995.

Thompson, Peter. *Rum, Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Thorp, Daniel B. "Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776." *Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 4 (1996): 661-88.

Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Ukers, William. *The Romance of Tea: an Outline History of Tea and Tea-Drinking through Sixteen Hundred Years*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750*. Reprint. New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Veblen, Thorsten. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. 1899. Reprint, Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1973.

- Vickery, Amanda. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Walvin, James. "A Taste of Empire, 1600-1800." *History Today* 47, no. 1 (1997):11-6.
- Ward, Peter. *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.
- Weatherill, Lorna. *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Webster, Daniel. "Furniture and the Atlantic Canada Condition." *Material History Bulletin* 15 (Summer 1982): 53-9.
- Wright, Esther. *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*. Fredericton, N. B.: n. p., 1955.
- Wynn, Graeme. *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Young, Linda. *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003.

Dissertations:

- Field, Richard Henning. *The Material Lives of Lunenburg German Merchants and Yeomen: The Evidence Based on Probate Inventories, 1760-1830*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1990.