The Social Condition of Women in Early Nineteenth Century Middletown and America

Patricia Head
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The prevailing attitudes of the early nineteenth century concerning women and their social roles are neither unfamiliar nor antiquated. For many, the same convictions which were held in early nineteenth century Middletown are only as vaguely familiar as the ideas of our mothers or, sometimes ourselves. There existed of course an ideal, which few were able to achieve but toward which many undoubtedly endeavored. In this discussion these ideals will be presented; using primary sources such as Charles Butler's The American Lady, and The Good Girl and True Woman, by William M. Thayer. These books, designed to be "of entertaining and instructive reading" to women of all ages, are written by men and advise women of the more effective ways by which to achieve an ideal state. This ideal state is not considered artificial, but does require dedication to be achieved. Butler's and Thayer's accounts contain not only panegyrics to the ideal woman, but diatribes to the antitheses of the ideal. For our purposes, both will be useful.

Another primary source employed will be the account of the petition for divorce to the Connecticut legislature submitted by Sarah Jarvis against her husband Samuel Jarvis, an Episcopalian minister of Middletown. This account is useful because the council of the petitioner attempts to render a picture of Mrs. Jarvis as the ideal wife and mother while the respondent attempts to expose his wife as the very opposite of that which society deems appropriate in women as wives and mothers. The attainment of these ideals of course are directed toward the "ladies" of society, whose social rank and money allow them the time to work toward these ideals. These same features however, usually contribute to the opposite effect, unless
properly counteracted. The sources therefore, deal mainly, and this paper wholely, with the stratum of society in which the male, as father or husband, is the only bread-winner. It must also be predicated that this bread-winner must be successful enough to enable his wife or daughter to have free time with which she can endeavor to become the ideal, or which she will waste or use in the activities which lead to the synthesis of the opposite character.

Perhaps what is special about the society's expectations of women is their seemingly widespread acceptance in most spheres. "Since the great majority of American men and women were conservative, they accepted current ideals as God-given and eternal. In general, the women tried to live up to socially approved patterns of behavior." These patterns of behavior depicted women as moving, uninterruptedly through the roles of daughter, sister, wife and mother. At all times, the woman is defined in terms of another person and behaves accordingly. Throughout all these roles the woman assumes her "natural" duty as caregiver and the regenerator of spirits, morals, and religion.

First: In contributing daily and hourly to the comfort of husbands, of parents, of brothers and sisters, and of other relations, connexions, and friends, in the intercourse of domestic life, under every vicissitude of sickness and health, of joy and affliction.

Secondly: In forming and improving the general manners, disposition, and conduct of the other sex, by society and example.

Thirdly: In modeling the human mind, during the early stages of its growth, and fixing, while it is yet ductile, its growing principles of action. Children of each
sex are, in general, under maternal tuition during their childhood, and girls until they become women.

Women are not able to achieve this "natural" development alone, however. Without concise and continuing supervision the natural deficiencies of the female character can overshadow the better qualities. Women are not capable of making the necessary and proper decision in life alone, and must be continually subject to authority.

Our standard of female character should therefore be elevated. It should require the basis of female education to be laid in religion, virtue, and knowledge. It should require the habits to be formed with strict care and circumspection. It should require the passions and affections to be regulated by Christian principle; the mind to be stored with solid information; the domestic duties to be regarded as ever imperative and inevitable, and the paramount objects of female pursuit to be the attainment of perfection in the characters of a wife, a mother, and a Christian.

In early nineteenth century mentality, the female takes the role of perpetual nurturer. This nurturance is seldom directed toward any other group but men. From early years to old age, the superhuman expectation of total and continuous selflessness is evident. It begins in the role of the female as daughter.

The differences in the role of daughter between different classes is perhaps less distinguishable than in the progressing roles. In fact, the basic personality characteristic, idealized in women, do not vary much from class to class, but their social and functional manifestations do. Thus, the ideal daughter of a wealthy family would not be expected to differ much in personality
from the daughter of a poor family.

Those qualities which are indispensable in a good daughter are particularly suited to the achievement of female success (social acceptance and attractiveness to males). A girl who recognizes her indebtedness to parents and ever accedes to their superior wisdom and experience, who cultivates the spirit of the submission to parental authority, ever ready to aid a loving mother or a devoted father, possesses judgement, wisdom, foresight, and moral principle enough to ensure her success in almost any sphere.  

Apparently, the only way to achieve social acceptance is to begin in childhood to internalize the cultural demands on females; indebtedness for support, the acceptance of the inferiority of the female mind, and the continuous submission to external authority. The mention of foresight in this prescription is extremely appropriate since the woman who does not recognize the internalization of these qualities as essential to the unharrassed attainment of a contented life is probably in for a shock. The early nineteenth century woman had to learn as a child, to maintain subservience, dependence, and extreme submission and humility, and to incorporate these child-life characteristics in order to achieve a semblance of a normal happy life.

Thayer admonishes women never to forget their role as daughters. Although this is an admirable quality in many circumstances, it also fosters a continuance of parental authority which can often be abused and interferes with the normal adult development. "What can be more beautiful than such childlike confidence in a faithful parent?" Adult-like confidence in the self might be considered
more beautiful but would have necessarily interfered with the smooth
transfer of the woman/child from father to husband.

The second role considered essential in the development of the
ideal woman is the nurturing sister. In the early nineteenth cen-
tury, a virtuous sister was the moral regenerator of a deviant
brother and a paradigm against which to compare future mates.

Mark that sister whose unamiable disposition, and utter in-
difference to the feelings and character of a brother, cause
him to seek his pleasure away from home. She never dreamed
that she has duties to discharge to him. Perhaps she is
vain and trifling, also; and he concludes that all the fe-
male sex are like her—a conclusion that destroys his re-
spect for women, and thereby exposes him to more direful
temptations. It is quite evident that the defects of cha-
acter which caused her brother to seek his pastime in other
company disqualify her to make a home of her own attractive
at some future day. If she has not sufficient interest in
the happiness and success of a brother, to lead her to prac-
tice some self-denial and study how to lead him, unsuspected,
in the path of virtue, surely she will not have interest
enough in the welfare of others to exert herself much in
their behalf. Her failure as a sister at home foretells her
failure as a woman abroad.6

The implication, that deviancy in a brother is caused by the personality
faults of the sister, is also an implied threat—unless you reform
your brother, or see to it that he does not veer off the straight
and narrow, no one will marry you. "Women, they insisted, were more
finely organized in body, more sensitive in perception, more spirit-
tual in nature, and closer to God. The influence of women was the
vital regenerating force in perfecting the world."7

The implied threat of unsuitability for marriage is a potant one
since women's social viability virtually depended on marriage. Al-
though women were thought to be purer than men and the weighty re-
sponsibility for the moral health of the world rested on their shoulders, the same brothers whom they were charged with reforming had a great deal of authority over their sisters’ actions and behavior.

Spiritually oriented women were considered as by nature more devout and closer to God than were men. While it was Eve who had pioneered in sin, her daughters now directed mankind toward Heaven. Under Christianity women had been granted the highest place in the history of the world, and it was their obligation to use their influence to advance Christian beliefs and morality: the young, innocent female was considered particularly effective in drawing sinning mankind to God. The influence of the pure woman on man, whether husband, lover, or child, was held to be overwhelming. The fly in the ointment was that women were presumed to be exceedingly suggestible, so that while they might attain the highest piety they might also be led astray, and hence must be guarded carefully.

This presumption of suggestibility and the authority which brothers (even younger brothers) held over their sisters is extremely evident in the correspondence between Enoch Huntington and his elder sister Mary Huntington. In a letter dated March 3, 1816, Enoch, though younger than his sister, advised her on her conduct and the responsibility of choosing a husband. Having arrived at her eighteenth year she is now married, and Enoch admonishes that she concentrate on religion instead of fashion in order to make her a more desirable wife. He continues his epistolary sermons, scolding her with the implication of the suggestibility mentioned above. "You have nothing which you are obliged to do either to (set) yourself for future usefulness or gain a support which employs all your time. I shall hereafter think if you do not write me that you have some frivolous excuse." Much is evident in the tone and content
of this statement. The harrassing tone suggests the authority of a father rather than a younger brother, which implies authority rather than affection. It is also evident that women's days were considered empty and devoid of responsibility because they didn't have to support themselves. Also evident is the emphasis placed on the duty of the sister to nurture and entertain her brother in his lonely sojourn at Yale.

As daughter and sister, the non-working class woman is charged with the duties of elevating, nurturing, and rendering more pleasant the life of (especially male) family members.

But it is not from books alone that a considerate young woman is to seek her improvement and her gratifications. The discharge of relative duties, and the exercise of benevolence, form additional sources of activity and enjoyment. To give delight in the affectionate intercourse of domestic society; to relieve a parent in the superintendence of family affairs; to smooth the bed of sickness, and cheer on the decline of age; to examine into the wants and distresses of the female inhabitants of the neighborhood; to promote useful institutions for the comfort of mothers, and for the instruction of children; to give those institutions that degree of attention, which, without requiring either much time or much personal trouble, will facilitate their establishment and extend their usefulness; these are employments congenial to female sympathy, employments in the precise line of female duty; employments which, so far as the lot of human life allows, confer genuine and lasting kindnesses on those whom they are designed to benefit, and never fail, when pursued from conscientious motives, to meliorate the heart of her who is engaged in them.

The girl and woman is not only responsible for the amelioration of her family and friends but of the rest of society too.

During the interim when the woman is characterized mainly as daughter/sister until the time when she is characterized mainly as wife/mother, her gender receives severe criticism from the promoters of the ideal lady. Disregarding (or ignorance of) the humanity and
inherent in adolescence and the extreme pressure placed on a woman to marry as her only means of social viability, the promoters of the ideal lady ridicule the lengths to which young women go to meet and attract young men. "All social pressures, including home training, education, reading, and sermons emphasized marriage and motherhood as providing a woman's greatest self-realization and her deepest influence on society... The girl absorbed by thought of future marriage was no dreamer, but exceedingly practical. Not only was she looking forward quite properly to love and companionship, but she realized that her personal comfort and prestige both depended upon her marriage."11

Much of the behavior which is criticized by writers like Butler and Thayer is only indulged in because it met with success. They are accused of vanity, being slaves to fashion, feigned fragility and extreme frivolity. But this behavior was deemed necessary to attract a young man and in most cases, probably was. Men are attracted by beauty, consider a fashionable and accomplished wife an asset, and made to feel more virile by weak women, and are entertained by the light rather than the weighty. These defects of personality are exposed as hindrances to a lady's usefulness in her later life. "Women are inclined to be vain. This point is generally conceded. There is so much effort among them to make display, such servility to the demands of fashion, such fondness for dress and ornaments. Such extravagance in possessing the light adornments which the world affords, that they have been said to convert the world into a Vanity Fair. Nor is the allegation altogether unjust... A vain woman cannot be very good or very useful."12 She will how-
ever, probably have more men to choose from as potential husbands, thus increasing her social viability. The premium placed on marriage and marrying "well" does not encourage women to disregard the amelioration of their better assets. The life of the early nineteenth century lady was a mating game in which the bird with the brightest and most beautiful feathers attracted the best and strongest suitors.

Fashionable women are assets to men. In business and social spheres they enhance a man's own prestige. The importance which society placed on fashion is inadvertently emphasized by Thayer in his example of an ideal woman. "She was at full liberty to be extravagant in yielding to the demands of custom and style, but she did not. On one occasion her father made her a present of five hundred guineas, evidently with the intention of having her conform more to the habits of gay life." 13 Obviously her father (a man, with wisdom and authority) deemed it practical for his daughter to participate in fashionable life. "Theaters, dances, and late parties were frowned upon as involving light and inadequate clothes, rich food, stimulating music, and lack of proper sleep. Such advice may well have been good, but it received little favor from the young ladies. The sixteen-year old miss was hard to persuade to skip an interesting party, to wear 'sensible' clothes, to avoid rich food, and to go home early. Not only did she enjoy social gatherings but where else could she meet eligible young men under such favorable conditions?" 14

The charges of feigned fragility are in many cases true but certainly added to the attractiveness of women to men who desired a
confirmation of their own virility. "She realized that her success in life depended in large part upon her marriage, and was convinced that men preferred the fragile, dependent girl over the vigorous, aggressive hoyden. In consequence she made every effort to present at least the appearance of the ideal which she felt would be attractive." Butler rather than denouncing fragility as feigned explains the weakness of women as another God given ordinance.

To man, on whom the culture of the soil, the erection of dwellings, and in general, those operations of industry, and those measures of defence, which include difficult and dangerous exertion, were ultimately to devolve, he has imparted the strength of limb, and the robustness of constitution, requisite for the persevering endurance of toil. The female form, not commonly doomed, in countries where the progress of civilization is far advanced, to labours more severe than the offices of domestic life, he has cast in a smaller mold and bound together by a looser texture. But to protect weakness from the oppression of domineering superiority, those whom he has not qualified to contend he has enabled to fascinate; and has amply compensated the defect of muscular vigor by symmetry of expression, by elegance and grace.

The women of the early nineteenth century capitalized on this natural condition by exaggerating it. One sure-fire way of catching a man was to make him feel extremely masculine and superior. "Feminine weakness and even fragility, as evidenced in pallor and emaciation, was considered very appealing to men—possibly because it emphasized male virility and strength. Such weakness was accepted by women as desirable." Young ladies are also charged with extreme frivolity by the idealists. Common sense seems to suggest that few late adolescent young men would be attracted to or even meet serious women totally
absorbed in religion and charity. Because of the premium placed on a successful marriage, little time could be spared for good works without tempting the direful state of spinsterhood. This is perhaps an extreme rendition of the case, but aptly illustrates the pressure many young ladies must have felt. It is little wonder that with only one really desirable avenue to social viabil-

ity - marriage - young women spent too much time and money making themselves attractive to men. The tone of desperation and mercenary terms evident in a casual letter to Mary Huntington from her cousin Sarah illustrates the pressure felt by young ladies.

Mr. Gardner was here and Mr. Darling. They are still in the market. The latter has visited us frequently this winter. If you were here you might stand a chance of catching him. Mama wants to know if you have chose a helpmate for yourself yet? She thinks it most time; you had better try Mr. Boardman - he is fine looking and rich, those are great recommendations.

Hopefully a woman's early education and training had prepared her for a smooth transition from the authority of father/bro-

ther to that of husband. Butler maintains that this maleability is inherent in women's nature and only needs to be controlled.

Providence designing from the beginning that the manner of life to be adopted by women should in many respects ultimately depend not so much on their own deliberate choice as on the deter-

mination, or at least on the interest and conven-

ience, of the parent, of the husband, or of some other connexion; has implanted in them a remark-

able tendency to conform to the wishes and example of those for whom they feel a warmth of regard.
Obviously, "Providence" has deigned that women never become competent adults, but continually remain subservient and dependent children. Early upbringing and education, especially like that espoused by men like Thayer and Butler, is designed to continue this tradition and make the incorporation of women into the lives of men unmarred by any signs of rebellion. The position of women in marriage is made extremely clear, and again, who can argue with Providence?

Undoubtedly by the method which Providence has adopted[To minimize the struggle for power in human relationships] by assigning to one of the partners in marriage a fixed pre-eminence over the other. If this point be once conceded, there cannot be room for much hesitation as to the only remaining question: to which of the two parties would it be wisest and best that the pre-eminence should be assigned? It is on man that the burden of the most laborious offices in life, of those offices which require the greatest exertions, the deepest reflections, and the most comprehensive judgement is devolved.20

We are supplied with an informative document which relates the story of a Middletown woman who had either not lived up to the ideal standards or was charged with not doing so. In her petition for divorce from a respected clergyman, Sarah Jarvis tried to prove that she was an ideal wife and mother, and that the failure of her marriage was the fault of her husband. Her husband, Samuel Jarvis, in defense of himself, portrays Sarah as a woman of aberrant behavior - not fitting the ideal mold described previously - and in this way justifies much of his own behavior. "Surely the imputation is a libel upon her own
character: for it must have required very bitter and continued
provocation to turn patience into anger, kindness into cruelty,
and gentleness into tyranny!" As in the case of the deviant
brother, the personality flaws of the husband are traced, unques-
tioned, to the behavior of the wife.

As a matter of social survival, women are instructed to
behave in a certain manner toward their husbands. Being in the
state of subservience described by Butler, women have little
control over their own lives and must use what methods they can
to manipulate those who control them.

The young wife was deluged with advice which she
tried with varying success to follow. Deeply im-
planted was the belief that her best tactics were
to bolster her husband's ego. She was told to
avoid criticizing him before outsiders, in part
because such criticism would be an admission of
poor judgement on her part. She should always
greet him sympathetically when he came home, and
give at least outward signs of admiration and
respect for everything he said or did. Regardless
of honesty, she was told that flattery would enable
her by indirect means to obtain everything she wanted,
and that in the last resort, tears, or even faint-
ing, would do the trick.  

If we, (with our twentieth century insight into the human person-
ality) take the worst portrayals of Sarah Jarvis as the truth,
her behavior seems to be that of a woman who can no longer toler-
ate living with a man whom she hates and has no respect for.
But the mentality described above was so ingrained in men and
women alike that Mrs. Jarvis' behavior, if it was described ac-
curately, was considered aberrant if not neurotic. "The respondent
(Rev. Jarvis) freely admits that he has said to the petitioner that she was insane; for it seemed to him the only charitable construction which could be put upon her conduct. 23 It is considered more charitable to imply that a woman's mind has failed than that natural emotions, which stray so far from those of an ideal wife, are dictating her behavior.

In 1826 a settled aversion towards her husband became evident, showing itself in a disposition to quarrel with him on the slightest occasions, to contradict him on every subject, whether important or trivial, and to wound his feelings in the presence of strangers by the exhibition of contempt for his person. She habitually spoke slightingly of the clergy, as being least prized by those who knew them best; spent money unnecessarily, because she saw that he was annoyed by it, wasted and destroyed his property, encouraged in his children disobedience to his commands and in a word, made him as miserable as she had once made him happy. 24

This behavior, (not being docile, humble, maleable, not stroking the male ego, and challenging male authority) strays so far from the norms of behavior prescribed for the social survival of the wife that it is easily construed as a breakdown of the mental faculties.

In various ways the respondent depicts Sarah Jarvis as the very antithesis of the ideal expounded upon by Butler and Thayer. Often this deviant behavior [as related by Samuel Jarvis] consists of episodes in which Sarah was not able to maintain the desired state of child-like obedience and subservience.
He [Jarvis] repeatedly entreated her to be quiet [she was reprimanding a servant] and to leave him in peace. This only rendered her more violent. He then spoke in a tone of authority and told her to go to her room. She replied that she would not. On this he told her that if she would not go quietly, he would oblige her to go... He called his manservant into the parlour, and ordered him to aid him in conducting Mrs. Jarvis to her bedroom.25

This testimony is given by the council of the respondent as proof of the terrible behavior of Mrs. Jarvis. It is obvious that the humiliation women were subject to in the presence of servants and children, under spousal authority was totally accepted.

Her women were there and I said to them 'Put your mistress to bed.' She refused, as I was informed, to go to bed. I sent her word that until she went to bed I should not let my son come in. [He had been locked out for defending his mother.] At this she yielded, and after she was fairly in bed, I sent the cook to let him in.26

Samuel Jarvis goes on to specify the ways in which Sarah's aberrant behavior manifested itself. He justifies his lack of patience with her "condition" by enumerating the ways in which she deviates from the norms of expected female perfection. Thrift, and the proper management of the household are disregarded.

His object was to induce her to practice economy for her own sake, because the more she saved, the more she would have for her own private expenditure. To his great surprise she at once burst from all restraints to which she had agreed... and launched out into expenses beyond the capacity of his income to sustain.27
Sarah is also accused of being defective in the qualities of humility and docility so vital to the ideal woman.

Only when she has attacked his authority, has he been compelled in self-defense to diminish her influence. The petitioner has always affected the character of a person of high rank, and been unwilling to perform the plain and unpretending duties of her household, because in her estimation, they are slavery, inconsistent with her ideas of a fine lady.28

Despite her husband's wealth and the availability of servants, Sarah's feigning an interest in and enjoyment of household duties is a pre-requisite of the ideal lady.

To superintend the various branches of domestic management or, as St. Paul briefly and emphatically expresses the same office, 'to guide the house', is the indisputable duty of a married woman. The task must be executed either by the master or the mistress of the house; and reason and scripture concur in assigning it unequivocally to the latter. 29

Sarah's failure to concede on the points of thrift and house management are seen as the manifestation of a perverse nature or insanity.

The obvious advice to a wife to be neat, orderly, economical, and efficient, and in general to cater to the comfort of her husband was also taken seriously, but again, with varying results. Some women were just naturally disorderly or inefficient, no matter how hard they tried. Some had been spoiled by their parents. Some were badly overworked and found it impossible to keep their husbands' socks darned and to cook their favorite dishes. Some were extravagant and spent money faster than their husbands earned it. In fact, women were human beings and not the angels pictures by romantics.30

However a reconciliation occurred when Sarah was able to submerge her deviant behavior and squeeze into the mold of the
idealists. "For two months this happiness continued without abatement or interruption. She became mild, gentle, and courteous, studying to promote his wishes and administer to his comfort." 31

As proof of Mrs. Jarvis' sanity and her uprightness as a wife and mother, her council endeavors to show that she did not deviate from the ideal.

While you were in Boston with her, was she not remarkable for her neatness, order and propriety in the management of her household? Answer: Yes sir. I could say nothing against her housekeeping at any time.32

Mrs. Jarvis, I considered as pleasing, sensible, and an accomplished lady. She had uncommon powers of conversation, and, as I thought, skill in the management of her family and family concerns.33

She was a person of habits of economy and industry; her temper and disposition cannot be surpassed by any lady whatever... I always found Mrs. Jarvis to be a very amiable and lady-like woman. She was always respectful and kind in her deportment and language toward her husband.34

Devoted, good, and prudent wife as any man ever had... There was a perfect order and economy in her management and household family concerns. She was a very domestic woman, almost always at home, attending to her family. She visited very little. She was very kind to her children but exercised a very thorough government over them. As a wife, as a mother, and as a woman I think I have never met her superior.35

The pattern is obvious. The petitioner claims to be the ideal wife, mother, and woman with a tyrannical husband. The respondent claims to be a model husband with a wife whose abnormal behavior can only be described as insane. It matters little who is telling the truth, or which stories are accurate or exaggerated. The
importance of these testimonies lies in the manifestation of what society values as acceptable and good in a woman and what it shuns as detestable and deviant. The divorce proceeding also shows that the treatises of writers like Butler and Thayer were not taken lightly as the musings of idealists. They were accepted as God-given by men as well as women, as is evidenced by the testimonies of Sarah and Samuel Jarvis. The woman of means of early nineteenth century America was expected to live her life as unobtrusively as possible; making a smooth transition from the role of single girl to that of wife and mother. Throughout her life, the demands of social survival force her to remain in the childlike condition of subservience and total dependence, with a personality characterized by docility and maleability. Her function is that of nurturer, entertainer, and regenerator for those (especially male) around her. This rendition of the female was encultured and ingrained to such an extent that to deviate from it and tempt the onslaught of social rejection, was considered insanity.
Notes


3 Charles Butler, *The American Lady*, (Philadelphia: Chrissey and Markley, 1854) p. 15

4 Ibid., p. viii

5 Thayer, *op. cit.* p. 73-74

6 Ibid., p. 78

7 Riegel, *op. cit.* p. 35

8 Ibid., p. 58

9 Enoch Huntington to Mary Huntington, Dec. 25, 1918

Huntington–Hubbard Papers,

10 Butler, *op. cit.* p. 118

11 Riegel, *op. cit.* p. 84

12 Thayer, *op. cit.* p. 151-2 & 156

13 Ibid., p. 162

14 Riegel, *op. cit.* p. 50

15 Ibid., p. 39

16 Butler, *op. cit.* p. 20

17 Riegel, *op. cit.* p. 36

18 Cousin Sarah to Mary Huntington Jan. 28, 1829, Huntington–Hubbard Papers.

19 Butler, *op. cit.* p. 80
20 Ibid., p. 102-3
21 Council for the respondent, to the Connecticut Legislature, Jarvis Divorce Case, 1854, p. 9-10
22 Riegel, op. cit. p. 99-100
23 Council for the respondent to the Ct. Leg., Jarvis Divorce Case, 1854, p. 12
24 Ibid., p. 13
25 Ibid., p. 20
26 Samuel Jarvis to the Ct. Leg., Jarvis Divorce Case, p. 34.
27 Council for the respondent to the Ct. Leg. Jarvis Divorce Case, p. 15
28 Ibid., p. 21
29 Butler, op. cit. 219
30 Riegel, op. cit. p. 100
31 Council for the respondent, to the Ct. Leg. Jarvis Divorce case p. 14
32 Petition counselor McCurdy and Lucy Osborne to the Ct. Leg., Jarvis Divorce Case, p. 46-7
33 James C. Merrill to Ct. Leg., Jarvis Divorce Case, p. 50
34 John Hart to the Ct. Leg., Jarvis Divorce Case, p. 56-7
35 Anna Russell to the Ct. Leg., Jarvis Divorce Case, p. 57
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