THE HEIRESS

Written by Ruth and Augustus Goetz
Suggested by the Henry James novel "Washington Square"
Directed by Seema Sueko

RESEARCH PACKET
Arena Stage: 18/19 Season

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From *Washington Square* to *The Heiress*
Progression of the story:

Fanny Kemble's story, shared with Henry James

From James' diary:
Mrs. Kemble told me last evening the history of her brother H.' s engagement to Miss T. H.K. was a young ensign in a marching regiment, very handsome ("beautiful") said Mrs K., but very luxurious and selfish, and without a penny to his name. Miss T. was a dull, plain, common-place girl, only daughter of the Master of King's Coll., Cambridge, who had a handsome private fortune (£ 4000 a year). She was very much in love with H.K., and was of that slow, sober, dutiful nature that an impression once made upon her, was made for ever. Her father disapproved strongly (and justly) of the engagement and informed her that if she married young K. he would not leave her a penny of his money. It was only in her money that H. was interested; he wanted a rich wife who would enable him to live at his ease and pursue his pleasures. Miss T. was in much tribulation and she asked Mrs K. what she would advise her to do— Henry K. having taken the ground that if she would hold on and marry him the old Doctor would after a while relent and they should get the money. (It was in this belief that he was holding on to her.) Mrs K. advised the young girl by no means to marry her brother. ("If your father does relent and you are well off, he will make you a kindly enough husband, so long as all goes well. But if he should not, and you were to be poor, your lot would be miserable. Then my brother would be a very uncomfortable companion— then he would visit upon you his disappointment and discontent.")

Washington Square by Henry James

Differences from Kemble's story:
- from the perspective of the Morris figure
- James adds a focus on the father/daughter relationship in the story and what is possible for a woman raised by someone who doesn't love her

From "Can She Be Loved? On Washington Square" by Mona Simpson

"The situation raises many questions: Can one love and also seek to gain? If we doubt the existence of pure motives, what admixture tips into bad faith in such an overdetermined state as love? We all wish to be loved for only ourselves and nothing extrinsic, but what exactly is a self and is that entity sufficiently unalloyed to elicit love alone? Does the attraction to money differ from the awe a person feels in the presence of accomplishment, or the calm an orderly person can bestow upon someone who is congenitally anxious?"

Washington Square was originally published in 1880 as a serial in *Cornhill Magazine* in England and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in America. The story was published in six separate segments released monthly from June 1880 – November 1880 in *Cornhill Magazine* and July 1880 – December 1880 in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.

Henry James had a strong personal connection to Greenwich Village and Washington Square; he was born at 21 Washington Place and wrote *Washington Square* about the neighborhood he grew up in, a place meant for New York City's elite and rife with social hierarchy and Victorian ideals. When he returned to Washington Square in 1904 and found the place of his birth torn down and construction having replaced much of what was there when he grew up, he found Washington Square crude, impersonal, and "having been amputated of half of my history".

Washington Square by Ruth and Augustus Goetz, later rewritten:
The Heiress by Ruth and Augustus Goetz, opened on Broadway in 1947

- the original stage adaptation, called *Washington Square*, opened in Boston – a producer advised Ruth and Augustus Goetz to change the ending to a happier one, where Catherine reconciles with Morris at the end
- the play failed in Boston and the Goetzes rewrote it and restored the original ending before opening on Broadway

> From "Ruth Goetz, 93, Who Co-Write 'The Heiress'" by Mel Gussow:
> "We hadn't put the novel onstage," Mrs. Goetz said years later. "It was a different story -- the daughter's finding herself through her tragedy."

Major differences between *Washington Square* and *The Heiress*:

- **location –** we move to several different locations in the novel (a bar and Mrs. Montgomery's house for example), while *The Heiress* takes place entirely in the house on Washington Square
- **Dr. Sloper's will** – Dr. Sloper actively disinherits Catherine and modifies his will himself, whereas in the play she tries to force him to – the codicil he writes in the novella reads: "She is amply provided for from her mothers side, never having spent more than a fraction of her income from this source; so that her fortune is already more than sufficient to attract those unscrupulous adventurers whom she has given me reason to believe that she persists in regarding as an interesting class" (161).
- **timeline** – in the novella, prior to becoming engaged, Morris courts Catherine for about three weeks, and Catherine leaves for Europe two weeks after their engagement. Catherine and Dr. Sloper's trip to Europe lasts a year, and Morris leaves two weeks after Catherine returns to New York.
- **Lavinia's relationship with Morris** – in the novella, Lavinia pursues a closer relationship with Morris, even meeting with him in secret at out of the way bars to talk about his relationship with Catherine
- **Mrs. Montgomery and Dr. Sloper** – in the novella, he visits her at her home and she feels a lot of pressure to advocate for her brother until she exclaims, suddenly, "Don't let her marry him!" (69).

- **Morris' betrayal** – Morris is more open about leaving Catherine in the novella (he speaks to Lavinia about it extensively), and sends Catherine a letter explaining what he did after leaving for New Orleans; it is still a betrayal, but doesn't take Catherine by surprise in the same way.
- **the ending** – in the novella, some of Catherine's agency is taken away – at the end, Catherine sits down to her embroidery "for life, as it were" (171); in the play, Catherine finishes her sampler and says "I can do anything now!" (106)

Glossary of Terms

collation (p.5)
MARIA: Excuse me. What time shall I serve the **collation**, Doctor?

a light, informal meal

effrontery (p.5)
*(Then embarrassed at her **effrontery**.)*

insolent or impertinent behavior

the Astor House (p.5)
MRS. PENNIMAN: …Now you might not approve of this, but I strolled into **the Astor House** all by myself.

the first luxury hotel in New York City, built by John Jacob Astor, which opened in 1836. The restaurant inside was known as the most stylish luncheon spot for gentlemen, but unaccompanied women were generally not allowed inside.

John Jacob Astor, a German-American businessman, opened a fur trade shop in 1786, often traveling to the wilderness to procure furs himself. In 1808, he merged his fur trade into the American Fur Company, the first American business monopoly, and became massively wealthy through his fur company, real estate investments, and bond deals with the federal government. He frequently exported goods to China in exchange for Chinese silks, and had many real estate holdings in New York City, including the Astor House Hotel. His son and grandson continued his business after his death in 1848, growing the Astor family's fortune to millions of dollars. The Astors were fabulously wealthy for several years and were known as a family of highly successful businessmen and socialites.

an 1867 engraving of the Astor House hotel

Poughkeepsian (p.6)
DR. SLOPER: Could it have been a fellow **Poughkeepsian**?

a reference to Poughkeepsie, New York, known as "The Queen City of the Hudson" and located midway between New York City and Albany, NY.

medical congress (p.6)
DR. SLOPER: Yes. I have been asked to represent our doctors at a medical congress in Paris in December.

a conference where doctors and medical scientists assemble to discuss achievements and challenges in the field

chaperone (p.6)
MRS. PENNIMAN: Help her…? But help her how, Austin? She goes out very little, she hardly needs me as a **chaperone**...

someone who, for the sake of propriety, accompanies an unmarried girl in public

sumptuous (p.10)
DR. SLOPER: Is it possible that this magnificent person is my daughter? You are **sumptuous**, opulent…You look as if you had eighty thousand a year.

splendid and expensive-looking

opulent (p.10)
DR. SLOPER: Is it possible that this magnificent person is my daughter? You are sumptuous, **opulent**…You look as if you had eighty thousand a year.

ostentatiously rich, luxurious, and lavish

samplers (p.10)
DR. SLOPER: Well, that's necessary work. Are you starting another one of those **samplers**?

a piece of embroidery containing several different stitches meant to show one's skill at embroidering; usually contained the alphabet and different mottoes (*sampler by Catherine Kerr, 1850, pictured right*)

gout (p.12)
DR. SLOPER: Ah, I see you are in good health, Liz. You're more respectful to me when your **gout's** troubling you.

a form of arthritis characterized by sudden and severe pain and swelling in the joints, frequently in the feet; symptoms tend to come and go

stolid (p.12)
*(A young man, ARTHUR TOWNSEND, appears in archway. MRS. ALMOND beckons him into room and we see that he is a **stolid** young business man…)*

calm, dependable, and showing little emotion

counting house (p.13)
ARTHUR: Er…yes…the **counting house** with which I am associated thinks very highly of the Square…

the precursor to the modern New York office building; converted rowhouses along the water's edge that served New York City's active port, used as storerooms, stores, and accounting offices for New York merchants. At the start of the 19th century, a "Transportation Revolution" opened up America and made travel and transporting goods easier than ever before. In 1825, New York State completed the Erie Canal, which linked the Hudson River with the Great Lakes and Atlantic Ocean; the Erie Canal captured the bulk of the trade coming from the Midwest and Great Lakes regions, which made New York City the country's most economically important city.

petit-point (p.15)
MORRIS: Ah, Miss Sloper, you are just like the young ladies of Paris. They, too, are always busy with their "**petit-point**."

a type of embroidery consisting of small, diagonal stitches

"the Grand Tour" (p.15)
DR. SLOPER: Did you make **the Grand Tour**, Mr. Townsend?

in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was a custom for young upper-class European men to take a traditional trip around Europe when they came of age as a rite of passage and an essential component to an aristocratic education. Young men traveled in search of art and cultural knowledge, perfected their language skills, and mingled with the upper crust of the Continent. The traditional itinerary for young British men began in Dover, England, then to Belgium, then the Alps and Paris. From Paris, they went to Geneva in Switzerland and made a difficult cross over the Alps into northern Italy. In Italy, they visited Turin or Milan, Pisa, Padua, Bologna, and Venice, which was considered the epitome of culture. Then, young men went to Rome to study the ruins of ancient Rome and Renaissance art. Some made side trips to Mount Vesuvius, Sicily, Malta, or Greece. From there, they visited Germany, Holland, and Flanders, then returned to England.

the red line indicates another suggested route for the Grand Tour

The Grand Tour tradition is thought to have influenced the power of the ruling class through the access it gave young aristocrats to the cultural hegemony that gave them power, and has contributed to modern perceptions of travel and tourism.

pianoforte (p.16)
ARTHUR: Too bad, Morris, no **pianoforte**.

a formal term for the piano

spinet (p.16)
MRS. PENNIMAN: There is a **spinet** in the study.

a small harpsichord (*pictured right*)

alacrity (p.17)
*(MORRIS, with great **alacrity**, gets to small kerosene lamp…)*

brisk and cheerful readiness

charity bazaar (p.18)
MRS. ALMOND: A Mrs. Montgomery, a nice little woman, a widow. I met her once at a **charity bazaar** for needy children. She's got five of her own, by the way.

a market event during which people sold crafts, clothing, and household items to benefit a specific cause

Pleyel's (p.20)
DR. SLOPER: …When I hear that spinet played I remember the day she got it…We were in Paris and she bought it at **Pleyel's**. …

a French piano manufacturer founded by composer Ignace Pleyel (pictured right); Pleyel pianos were prized by many prominent composers, including Frederic Chopin, and were the first pianos to use a metal frame

consolation (p.21)
DR. SLOPER: That is no **consolation**.

comfort received by a person after a loss or disappointment

cotillions (p.22)
MRS. PENNIMAN: Er – well, she receives many invitations. And she always attends the **Cotillions**.

a formal ball at which debutantes are presented

"a retiring nature" (p.22)
MRS. PENNIMAN: She is of **a retiring nature**.

shunning contact with others; shy, reserved

glib (p.26)
MORRIS: Neither am I. I am afraid that is our trouble – I am not a **glib** man, Miss Sloper.

slick-sounding but insincere or shallow

receiving (p.27)
DR. SLOPER: Ah, Catherine, are you **receiving**?

to be visited by someone

bay rum (p.27)
DR. SLOPER: That's an excellent **bay rum** you are using, Mr. Townsend.

a type of cologne and aftershave lotion, also used as a fragrance for shaving soap and underarm deodorant

mercenary (p.33)
MORRIS: He might. He might fear that I am **mercenary**.

primarily concerned with making money, at the cost of ethics

confidante (p.34)
MRS. PENNIMAN: But, Catherine, *I* am your natural **confidante**!

a person whom one trusts with secrets and other private matters

sway (p.39)
DR. SLOPER: He is very good-looking, my dear. Of course, you would not let a consideration like that **sway** you unduly –

to control or influence someone

unduly (p.39)
DR. SLOPER: He is very good-looking, my dear. Of course, you would not let a consideration like that sway you **unduly** –

to an unwarranted degree

hack (p.40)
DR. SLOPER: You had better take a **hack**, both ways. Here you are.

a horse-drawn vehicle for hire

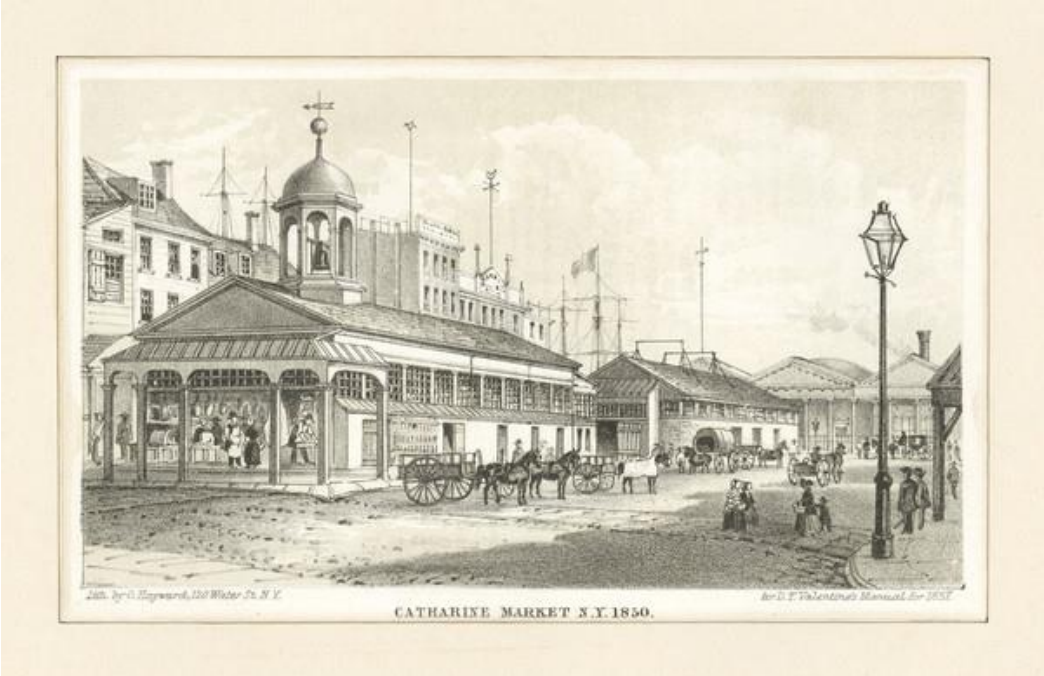
marketing (p.41)
DR. SLOPER: Has Mrs. Penniman gone off on her **marketing**?

to buy or sell provisions in a market.

In the early 19th century, the Industrial Revolution's new technologies enabled America to shift its economy in a more commercial direction – farmers began growing crops for profit rather than self-sufficiency, and the North became populated with cities and factories. This era gave rise to the middle class and some families, like the Astors, began to accumulate enormous personal fortunes. The United States rapidly became more connected as railroads and steamboats made transportation of goods easier. All of this progress came at a cost – the South's dependence on slavery increased, the economy often suffered from sudden depressions, or "panics", and many American laborers became trapped in endless cycles of poverty due to low wages and an unstable economy.

As more ready-made goods (like cloth and eventually clothing) became available, the responsibilities of women shifted from producing goods to purchasing goods; wealthy women were trusted to steward their husbands' money by comparing values and haggling over prices. Women, who traditionally were in charge of the domestic sphere, became

skilled consumers as a result of the market revolution that took hold in America in the early 19th century.



an 1850 engraving of New York's Catharine Market; what markets typically looked like

croup (p.42)
MRS. MONTGOMERY: You saw my oldest girl; she had a very bad **croup**, and you were wonderful.

an infection in the larynx and trachea/the upper airway in children, characterized by a harsh barking cough

chamois (p.48)
DR. SLOPER: …Look at his gloves…the finest **chamois**. Look at yours…

soft leather made from the skin of goats, sheep, or the chamois (a species of goat-antelope native to mountains in Europe)

"follow your own dictates" (p.48)
MRS. MONTGOMERY: You must **follow your own dictates**, Doctor.

act according to your own principles

avariciousness (p.48)
DR. SLOPER: Tell me she is not a victim of his **avariciousness** – tell me I'm wrong.

an extreme greed for wealth or material gain

idler (p.54)
MORRIS: Thank you. You think I am an **idler**?

a habitually lazy person

pittance (p.55)
DR. SLOPER: Just as surely as if you placed your **pittance** on the losing number… It is over. You have lost.

a small or inadequate amount of money

"forearmed himself" (p.57)
DR. SLOPER: So he **forearmed himself** by getting a promise like that, did he? You are beneath contempt!

prepared in advance for danger or an undesirable event

exalted (p.58)
DR. SLOPER: And at the moment you are **exalted** with the feeling of undying devotion to a lover…

a state of extreme happiness

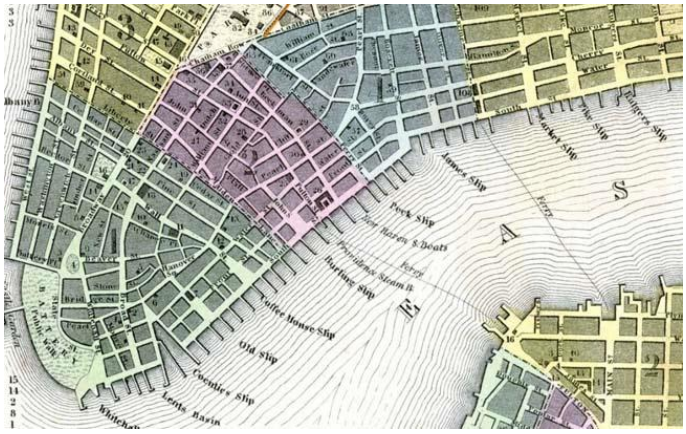
Rectory (p.59)
MRS. PENNIMAN: …they came to the **Rectory** long after supper time, and the Reverend Penniman…

the home of the clergy in charge of a parish

reconciled (p.60)
MRS. PENNIMAN: Why, so it does! You know, we heard later that the father was **reconciled** to the young man, and thought the world of him.

to restore friendly relations between

slip (p.61)
MRS. PENNIMAN: Morris, I shall be at the **slip** at ten o'clock tomorrow morning.



a slope leading into water, used for launching or landing ships; also serves as a place to dock boats between two wharves or piers. New York had several of these man-made inlets where boats could dock and unload goods, and merchants could conduct business. Pictured is an 1850 map of New York City's slips.

circumspect (p.65)
MRS. PENNIMAN: …I have hardly seen him all winter. He had been most **circumspect.**

wary and unwilling to take risks

wastrel (p.66)
DR. SLOPER: You carried the image of that **wastrel** with you every place we went….

a good-for-nothing person

parsonage (p.69)
MORRIS: It is for tomorrow night! In a country **parsonage**, upon Murray's Hill.

a church house provided for a member of the clergy

trousseau (p.87)
MARIAN: Why, it sounds wonderful! It's a **trousseau** for a princess!

the clothes, linen, and other items collected by a bride before marriage

rales (p.89)
DR. SLOPER: …I am ill. It's not just a simple congestion. There are already **rales** in the lungs. I'll need very good nursing…

an abnormal rattling sound in unhealthy lungs; heard through a stethoscope

tanbark (p.89)
DR. SLOPER: …If the street noises make me restless, you'd better have **tanbark** laid…

pictured right; bark of oak or other trees, used as a source of tannin for converting hides into leather; Dr. Sloper is asking Maria to have this mulch laid down in the street so the sound of passing carriages is muffled

jilted (p.91)
CATHERINE: He jilted me!

to suddenly reject or abandon

chivvying (p.93)
DR. SLOPER: I am ill, and you are **chivvying** me!

to tell someone repeatedly to do something

blandish (p.95)
CATHERINE: And, Maria – you are as free in this house as I. When you want a small favor, you need not **blandish** me with false compliments.

to coax with kind words or flattery

implacable (p.101)
MORRIS: You will! Ah, you're not **implacable**! Your aunt feared you might be.

relentless, unstoppable; unable to be placated

forbearance (p.101)
MORRIS: Your expression – your **forbearance** with me. And the fact that I know you pretty well, and I know how deeply you feel.

patient self-control; restraint and tolerance

fatuous (p.102)
MORRIS: Perhaps I sound **fatuous**, but I believe that your nature is such that you will always care for me a little.

silly and pointless

impetuous (p.102)
CATHERINE: You are not as **impetuous** as you used to be, Morris.

acting quickly without thought or care

Demographic Profiles – Characters in *The Heiress*
The following is basic information about each character in *The Heiress* as gleaned from the script – where things are not specified, we have the opportunity to make choices.

Maria

Approx. age:
not specified

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified

Occupation:
parlor maid for the Slopers; how long is not specified
responsibilities would include:

- answering the door, opening the door to visitors, and showing them to the drawing room
- serve and clear afternoon tea; lay the table for lunch and dinner and wait on the table during dinner; take care of dishes after meals
- maintaining the house's linens (sheets, table linens, towels)
- lighting fires and lamps, attending to flowers in the dining and drawing rooms, and making sure the drawing and dining rooms are clean
- waiting upon the ladies of the house and assisting them in dressing

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
16 Washington Square

Family connections:
12 siblings

> MARIA (p.4): That's what my mother said… she had thirteen.

Marital status:
unmarried

> DR. SLOPER (p.4): Maria, when you are married, you must have a lot of children. That way you won't put all your hopes on one.

Dr. Austin Sloper

Approx. age:
middle-aged (born in the late 1790s or early 1800s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
to become a physician in the 19th century, one would:

- apprentice themselves to a practicing doctor until they were ready to begin practicing on their own
- attend medical school either in America or abroad; those who could afford it studied in Europe, which was far more advanced than the U.S. in medical science and education
    - after the apprenticeship, aspiring doctors attended school for one year and earned a bachelor's degree, then spent a year working at a hospital (usually attached to the school)
    - many American medical schools were founded by groups of doctors looking to secure a steady income rather than provide a quality medical education, which led to a number of unqualified doctors who were able to practice on the general public
- attend medical congresses abroad if they could afford it to see people give papers and discuss emerging medical technology and interesting or unusual cases

Occupation:
doctor who runs a free clinic in the city and goes out on house calls

- clinics at this time were privately funded enterprises meant to serve the public and could be very expensive to operate; were also called "dispensaries" because they dispensed medicine and care
- doctors at this time had access to a very limited array of techniques to treat patients – puking, purging, bandaging wounds, setting bones, and amputation; physicians could identify infections but had no way to treat them
- doctors made very little money in the 19th century unless they worked with especially wealthy patients

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
16 Washington Square (has lived there since 1820)

Family connections:
Elizabeth Almond and Lavinia Penniman (sisters); Catherine Sloper (daughter); Marian Almond (niece)

Marital status:
widowed at Catherine's birth;

DR. SLOPER (p.20): [Catherine] killed her mother in getting born.

Lavinia Penniman

Approx. age:
middle-aged (born in the late 1790s or early 1800s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified

Occupation:
helps run the Sloper household; in mourning for her husband

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
16 Washington Square; lived in Poughkeepsie, NY

Family connections:
Austin Sloper and Elizabeth Almond (brother/sister); Catherine Sloper and Marian Almond (nieces)

Marital status:
widowed; husband was the Reverend Penniman

Catherine Sloper

Approx. age:
late twenties (born in the early 1820s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:

> DR. SLOPER (p.19): [Catherine] has gone to the best schools in the city. She has had the finest training I could get her in music and dancing. She has sat here with me evenings on end, and I have tried to make conversation with her, and give her some social adeptness. She has never been constrained in the spending of money, or in the directing of this household.

Occupation:
volunteers on the Hospital Committee

Lives:
16 Washington Square

Family connections:
Dr. Austin Sloper (father); Lavinia Penniman and Elizabeth Almond (aunts); Marian Almond (cousin)

Marital status:
umarried

Misc. Information:

- Marian's maid of honor (p.14)
- has an inheritance of 10,000/year ($323,264.10 in today's dollars) from her mother; will receive 20,000/year ($646,528.21 in today's dollars) more upon her father's death ($969,792.31 total in today's dollars)

Elizabeth Almond

Approx. age:
forties (born in the late 1800s or early 1810s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified

Occupation:
runs her household

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
New York City

Family connections:
Lavinia Penniman and Dr. Austin Sloper (sister/brother); Marian Almond (daughter); Catherine Sloper (niece); Arthur Townsend (son-in-law)

Marital Status:
not specified

Marian Almond

Approx. age:
early twenties (born in the mid to late 1820s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified

Occupation:
getting married; running her household

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
New York City; lives with her family at the beginning of the play, lives with Arthur after they get married

Family connections:
Elizabeth Almond (mother); Dr. Austin Sloper and Lavinia Penniman (uncle/aunt); Catherine Sloper (cousin)

Marital status:
engaged and then married to Arthur Townsend (wedding date November 20, 1850)

Arthur Townsend

Approx. age:
mid to late twenties (born in the early 1820s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified

Occupation:
businessman; works with a counting-house

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
New York City

Family connections:
Morris Townsend and Mrs. Montgomery (cousins)
Arthur is on the royal line –

> MRS. ALMOND (p.18): Now, Arthur, it appears is on the royal line, but his cousin Morris is not.

Marital status:
engaged and then married to Marian Almond (wedding date November 20, 1850)

Morris Townsend

Approx. age:
late twenties (born in the early 1820s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified; used his inheritance to travel through Europe (p.15)

Occupation:
currently unemployed; seeking his fortune; tutors his nieces and nephews

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
on the Second Avenue with his sister

> DR. SLOPER (p.43): Has he always lived with you?
> MRS. MONTGOMERY: Since he was sixteen, Doctor.

Family connections:
Parents (died when he was 16); Mrs. Montgomery (sister); Arthur Townsend (cousin)

Marital status:
unmarried

Mrs. Montgomery

Approx. age:
forties (born in the 1810s)

Ethnicity:
not specified

Education:
not specified

Occupation:
raises her family

Place of Birth:
not specified

Lives:
on the Second Avenue

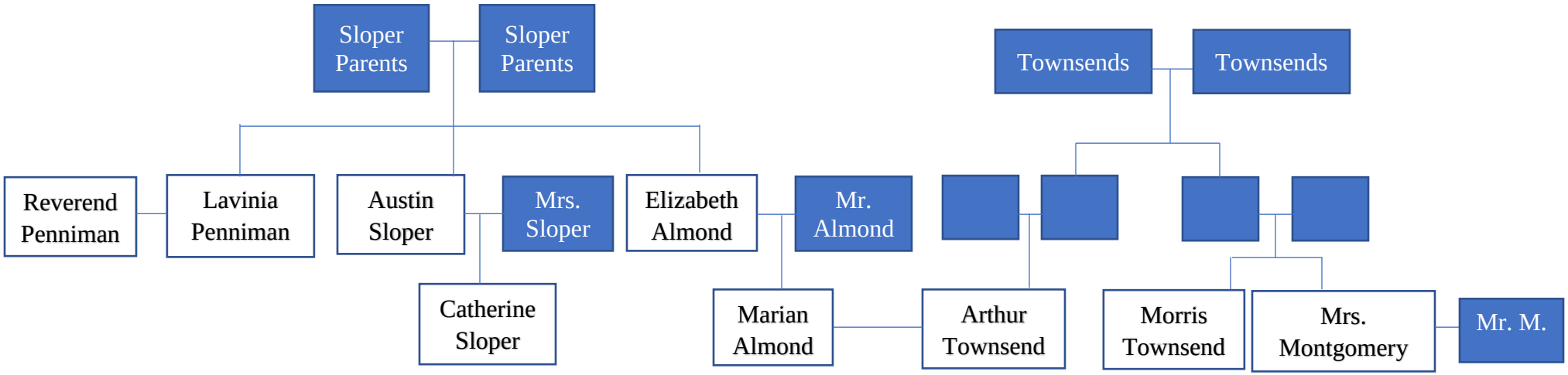
Family connections:
Morris (brother); 5 children

Marital status:
widowed

Misc. Information:

- poor – has patronized Dr. Sloper's clinic when her children were in need
- brought Morris up "as if he were [her] child" (p.44)

Family Tree


Sloper Parents
Sloper Parents
Townsends
Townsends
Reverend Penniman
Lavinia Penniman
Austin Sloper
Mrs. Sloper
Elizabeth Almond
Mr. Almond
Catherine Sloper
Marian Almond
Arthur Townsend
Morris Townsend
Mrs. Montgomery
Mr. M.

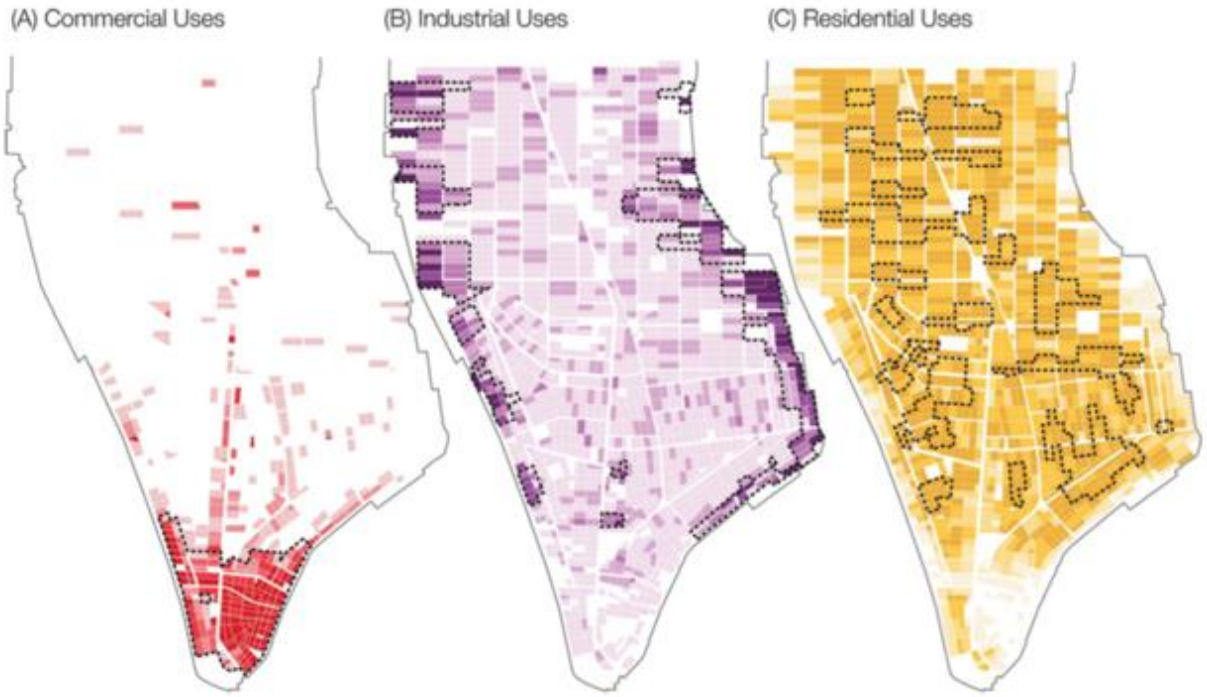
Locations and Travel in *The Heiress*

Poughkeepsie, NY
A city on the east bank of the Hudson River, midway between Albany and New York City and known as the "Queen City on the Hudson". The town of Poughkeepsie incorporated in 1788 and hosted the New York State Convention to ratify the Constitution. Poughkeepsie was best known in the early 19th century as a major center for whaling, dye factories, and grist mills, and its proximity to the Hudson allowed it to become "New York's second seaport". Boat traffic on the Hudson and via canals like the D&H canal brought coal from central Pennsylvania to Poughkeepsie's factories, goods from upstate New York, and connected Poughkeepsie to New York City. The city's population ballooned between 1800 and the 1850s as people fled yellow fever and overpopulation in New York City.

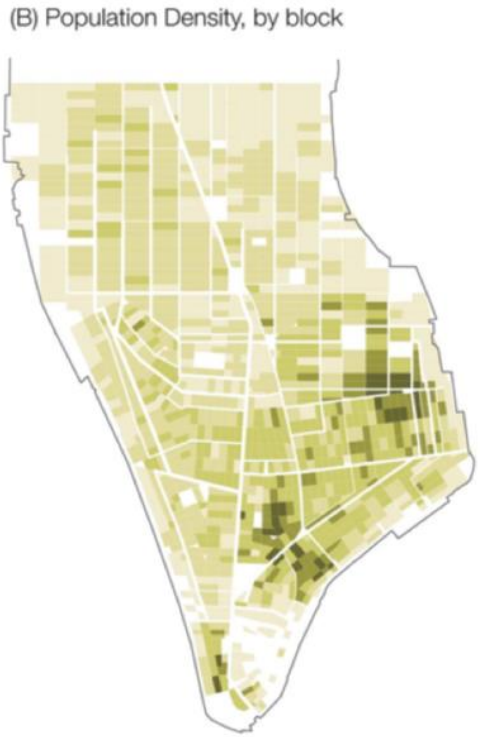
Poughkeepsie was an important site of industry and commerce until after the Civil War, at which point it started to decline because of the nation's growing dependence on freight trains for shipping.

New York City
Excerpted from "Density and Class in Early Manhattan" by Richard Florida

Map of land use in Manhattan in the mid-19th century:



In Manhattan at this time, population density reveals a lot about the characteristics of the neighborhoods; working-class people and immigrants were crowded into the industrial districts and Lower East Side, while upper-class residences had far lower population density, particularly in high-income areas like Greenwich Village and Washington Square. See the map below for an analysis of population density by block (darker green indicates higher population density):



We can conclude from the way land was used and the general patterns of overcrowding in low-income neighborhoods/less intermixing in high-income neighborhoods that class divisions were essential to shaping New York City's development during its early expansion. The study that produced these maps ultimately concluded that "the ability to command distance from undesirable conditions and social groups was a vital commodity in the nineteenth-century city's spatial markets, so much so that it functioned as a key determinant of its geography." – thus, part of the value of real estate in high-income neighborhoods was its lack of proximity to poorer communities.

Click here for an interactive map that compares 1836 Manhattan to modern Manhattan.
Click here for an animation of how Manhattan has developed since the 1850s.

Washington Square
Excerpted from "A Short History of Washington Square Park"

EARLY YEARS (1624 – 1783)
Centuries before there was a park, Indians of the Lenape tribe knew the site as a marshy ground with abundant waterfowl and a fine trout stream called Minetta (long buried).

In 1624, the Dutch West India Company established a trading outpost at the southern tip of Manhattan. To secure enough food for the settlement's growing population, the director of New Amsterdam freed a number of the African-born slaves in 1642 and granted them plots of land to farm in return for a portion of their crops. Some of the land grants overlapped the site of the future Square. The free black farmers later lost the right to own the land under English rule, and their property was incorporated into large estates owned by English and Dutch landholders.

A POTTER'S FIELD (1783 – 1828)
After the Revolutionary War, the city fathers of New York acquired some of this property for use as a potter's field, a public burial place where poor and indigent people, mostly victims of yellow fever, were laid to rest. Epidemics continued to ravage New York's

population and after twenty years of use, the potter's field was filled. Meanwhile city development was fast approaching the site. Pragmatic members of New York's Common Council determined that the former cemetery would be a good location for a much-needed drilling ground for the city's volunteer militia companies. On July 4, 1826 – the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence – the former potter's field was officially declared the Washington Parade Ground. Leveled and landscaped, the new parade ground conferred a privileged status to the area and helped elevate the value of the surrounding real estate.

A RESIDENTIAL ENCLAVE (1828 – 1833)
Within a few years, a prime residential neighborhood had developed around the parade ground. Elegant houses ringed three sides, and on the east stood New York University's first home – the Gothic Revival Building (built in 1833, housed the schools of commerce, law, and pedagogy) where Samuel Morse perfected his telegraph and in later years Winslow Homer could be found painting on the roof. The parade ground soon became known as Washington Square, esteemed for its patriotic associations and genteel society.

In his novel, *Washington Square* (in dramatic form titled *The Heiress*), Henry James wrote that the Square displayed a "riper, richer, more honorable look – the look of having had something of a social history." The house he described was his maternal grandmother's at 18 Washington Square North, which he had visited frequently as a young boy in the 1840s. "I know not whether it is owing to the tenderness of early associations, but this part of New York appears to many persons the most delectable. It has the kind of established repose which is not of frequent occurrence in other quarters of the long shrill city."

THE SQUARE IN THE CITY (1833 – 1870)
The apparent harmony of the district was shattered when the tensions of the city intruded. A labor riot erupted on the Square when stonecutters protested NYU's use of prison labor in construction of their building. Ethnic enmities exploded in violent rioting at the nearby Astor Place Opera House, and the volunteer regiment which usually drilled on the parade ground was called in to quell it. During the Civil War, racial hatred and fear fueled the draft riots of 1863, the bloodiest urban conflict in American history. Troops summoned from Gettysburg camped out in the Square to ensure peace in the vicinity.

Excerpted from "Henry James and Old New York" by Stephen Wolf

"James was born into a wealthy, prominent and educated family residing at 21 Washington Square, perhaps the city's most elegant neighborhood of its day. Soon afterwards the family moved to 11 Fifth Avenue and, in 1848, to 58 West 14th Street. It was this home that "became to me," wrote James, "for ever so long afterwards a sort of anchorage of the spirit," and though traveling through much of Europe in his youth (then educated in Newport before entering Harvard to study law), his world of New York was generally confined — save for a few pleasant visits to the new Central Park — from 14th Street and Fifth Avenue down to his grandmother's house along Washington Square.

The home of Doctor Sloper was actually the home of James's grandmother. This small section of the city (14th down Fifth Avenue to Washington Square) had a refined, established, prosperous air. It provided a sort of buffer to the crowded, miasmic ghettos far downtown."

the Second Avenue
If Mrs. Montgomery lived in the Second Avenue between 14th St. and Houston St., she would have been living in a bustling German immigrant community. In the 1850s, Second

Avenue between Houston St. and 14th St. was part of what had become a rapidly growing German community (Little Germany or Kleindeutschland), as waves of Germans immigrated to the United States to escape famine and political unrest in Germany. These immigrants settled in the Lower East Side in an area that came to be known as Deutschländle by residents and Dutchtown by non-residents.

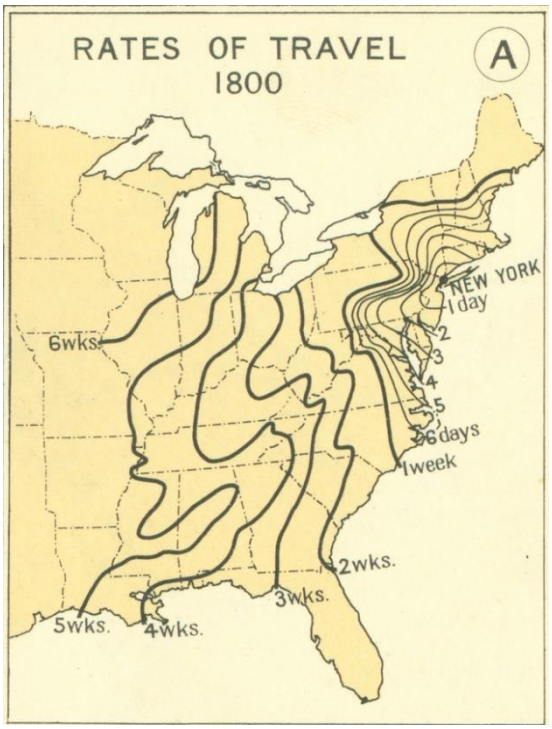
If Mrs. Montgomery lived above 14th St. in Ward 16, she did not live in Little Germany and instead resided in what was a more posh residential district.

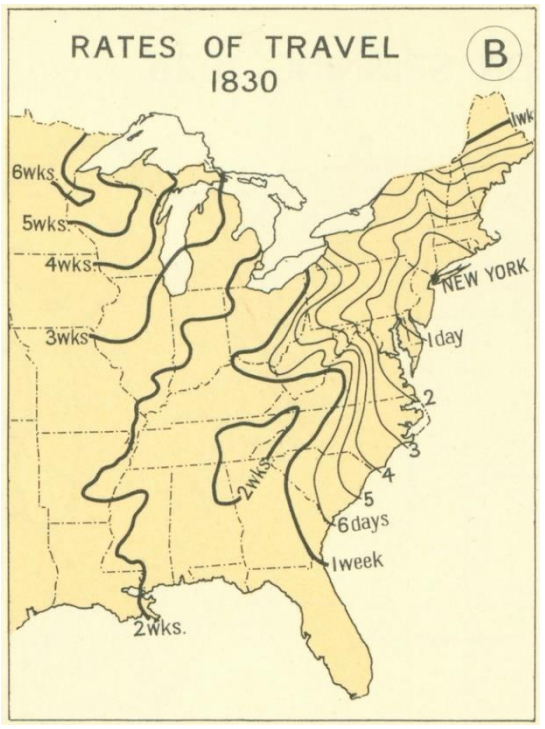
Great Jones Street
Home to Dr. Isaacs; Great Jones Street was one of the most prestigious places to live in New York in the 1840s. The street was also home to aristocrat Philip Hone, a mayor of New York and famous diarist. The Hones are referenced in an early conversation between Catherine and Morris:

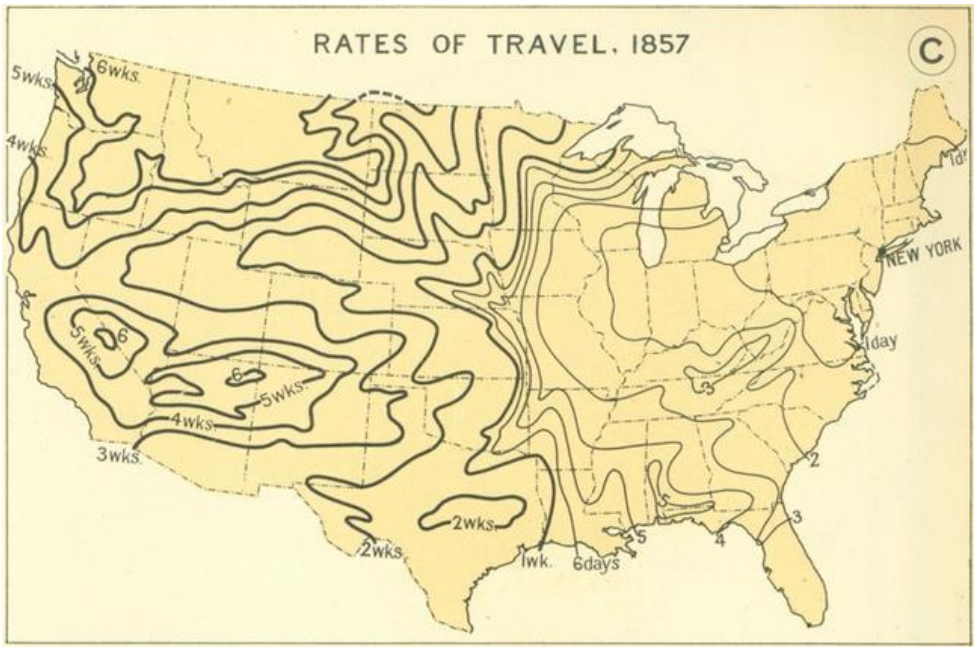
> CATHERINE (p.25) – I am not going to a party. My father and I are dining with **Mr. and Mrs. Hone**. That's all.

Great Jones Street received its name from lawyer Samuel Jones, who donated the land through which Great Jones Street runs.

Travel in 19th Century America:
As the 19th century progressed, America saw massive innovations to travel and transportation – see below to compare travel times between 1800, 1830, and 1857 as canals and railroads developed:

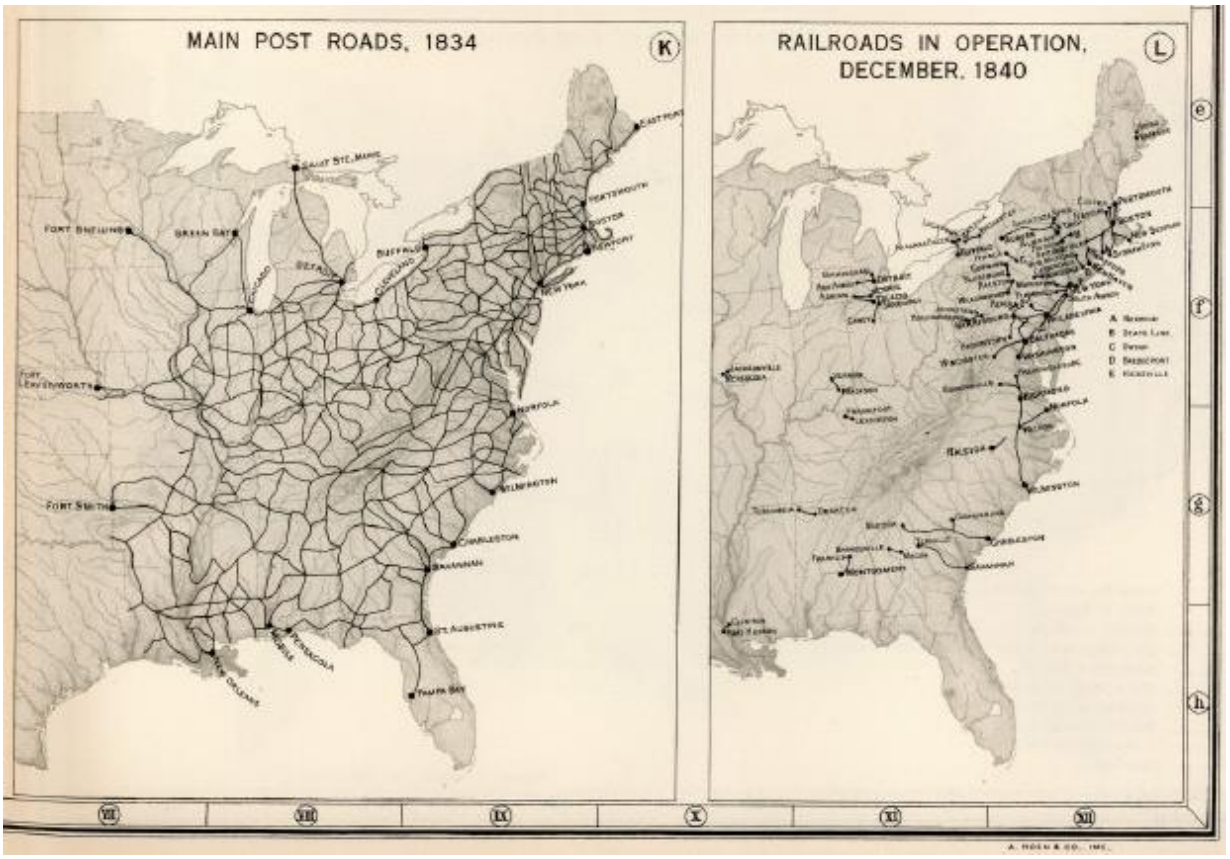






Morris' trip to New Orleans would likely have taken between 1 and 2 weeks, and the trip from New Orleans to California likely would likely have taken about 3 weeks.

The map below marks major roads and railroads available in 1834 and 1840:



Methods of Long-Distance Transportation:

- **the railroad** – in the 1830s, locomotive cars that traveled along metal rails became popular methods of transportation and throughout that decade, more and more track was laid. While stagecoaches could travel 8 or 9 mph at their top speed, railroad locomotives could travel between 15 and 20 mph – this dramatically increased travel speed
- **the steamboat** – in 1807, Robert Fulton constructed the first successful steamboat, called the *Clermont*. These boats were popular for river travel and for shipping goods between cities. Regular steamship ocean crossings didn't begin until the 1840s, and were only accessible to wealthy passengers throughout the 1850s.
- **ship passage** – in the early 1800s, ships shifted to a system of leaving on a regular timetable rather than waiting until they had enough cargo to justify a voyage; this new system of leaving at regular times offered passengers a more reliable form of transportation and led to a boom in shipping goods across the ocean and along coasts. Transatlantic travel on a regular sailing ship could take anywhere between 6 and 14 weeks.

Methods of Transportation within New York City:

- **the horse-drawn omnibus (horsebus)** – an enclosed vehicle meant to carry several passengers at once that became a popular form of public transportation in New York starting in the 1820s; open for service to the general public at a set fare
    - traveled at a rate of between 2 and 5 mph
- **the horse-drawn tram (horsecar)** – a form of public rail transport that dropped passengers off on a regular route, using iron or steel rails that allowed horses to pull more weight; the world's first horsecar line began service in 1832 along Fourth Ave. in New York

    - traveled at a rate of between 4 and 7 mph
- **the hackney coach/hackney carriage (hack)** – a horse-drawn carriage for hire, the taxi of the 19th century
    - traveled at a rate of between 5 and 8 mph
- **the ferry** – in the early 1810s, Robert Fulton established a regular ferry service linking lower Manhattan with Jersey City over the Hudson River and with Brooklyn over the East River.
- **walking**

Approximate Distances between Locations in *The Heiress*:

- between Washington Square and The Astor House – 1.5 miles
- between Washington Square and the slips – 2 miles
- between Washington Square and the Second Avenue – 1-1.5 miles (depending on what intersection)
- between Washington Square and Greenwich Market – 0.5 miles
- between Washington Square and Tompkins' Market – 0.5 miles
- between Washington Square and New York Hospital – 1.5 miles
- between Washington Square and Fever Hospital – 1.5 miles

Timeline

Before the events of the play:

1820 - Dr. Sloper moves into the house at 16 Washington Square with his bride
1822ish – Dr. Sloper and his wife travel to Paris
6 months later – Catherine is born, Mrs. Sloper dies

Passage of time between scenes:

Act 1, Scene 1:
October, 1850, evening – approximately 7 PM

Act 1, Scene 2:
2 weeks later, afternoon

Act 1, Scene 3:
10 AM the next morning

During Intermission: Catherine and Dr. Sloper travel to Europe

Dates of note in the trip to Europe:
Medical Congress, Paris, December
Morris receives a letter from Catherine dated February 14, 1851

Act 2, Scene 1:
April, 1851, 6 months later (Sunday), approximately 9:30 PM

Act 2, Scene 2:
2 hours later, 12:30 AM

Act 2, Scene 3:
3 days later (Wednesday), a rainy morning

Act 2, Scene 4:
a summer evening, 2 years later, 1853

Timeline in *The Heiress*	Major Events in American History
	1765 – John Morgan and William Shippen found the first medical school in the country in Philadelphia, now part of the University of Pennsylvania **September 3, 1783** – the Treaty of Paris ends the Revolutionary War and establishes American independence **April 30, 1789** – George Washington is inaugurated as first President of the United States at Federal Hall in New York City
1790s—1800s – Dr. Sloper, Lavinia Penniman, and Elizabeth Almond are born	**1792** – the New York Stock Exchange is founded **March 4, 1797** – John Adams is inaugurated as the 2nd President of the United States **March 4, 1801** – Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated as the 3rd President of the United States **May 2, 1803** – the United States purchases the Louisiana Territory from France and the size of the United States doubles **May 14, 1804** – Lewis and Clark set out on an expedition to find a route to the Pacific Ocean **1807** – Robert Fulton establishes the first commercial steamboat service up and down the Hudson River in New York
1810s – Mrs. Montgomery is born	**March 4, 1809** – James Madison is inaugurated as the 4th President of the United States **June 18, 1812** – the U.S. declares war on Britain (the War of 1812) **December 24, 1814** – the War of 1812 ends
1820 – Dr. Sloper moves into 16 Washington Square with his new wife	**March 4, 1817** – James Monroe is inaugurated as the 5th President of the United States

early 1820s – Dr. Sloper and his wife travel to Europe **early 1820s** – Catherine Sloper, Arthur Townsend, and Morris Townsend are born **mid-1820s** – Marian Almond is born	
	March 4, 1825 – John Quincy Adams is inaugurated as the 6th President of the United States **October 26, 1825** – the Erie Canal opens **July 4, 1828** – Construction begins on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the first public railroad in the U.S. **March 4, 1829** – Andrew Jackson is inaugurated as the 7th President of the United States **July 1832** – Cholera strikes New York and cities along the eastern seaboard; New York suffers 3,513 deaths and begins planning to bring clean water to the city from a source upstate. **July, 1833** – over 80 stonecutters hired to build NYU's Gothic Revival building in Washington Square stage the first organized labor riot in New York State on 4th St. near the Square. **December 16, 1835 -** A fire in New York City rages (roughly 2 miles from Washington Square), eventually destroying 530 buildings, including the New York Stock Exchange.
late 1830s – Morris and Mrs. Montgomery's parents die	
	March 4, 1837 – Martin Van Buren is inaugurated as the 8th President of the United States **January 24, 1838** – Samuel Morse runs a telegraph wire through Washington Square Park from his window at 22 Washington Square and transmits the first ever telegraph message.

late 1840s – the Reverend Penniman dies	**March 4, 1841** – William Henry Harrison is inaugurated as the 9th President of the United States **April 6, 1841** – John Tyler is inaugurated as the 10th President of the United States following William Henry Harrison's death two days earlier **May 1, 1841 -** The first wagon train to California, with sixty-nine adults and several children, leave from Independence, Missouri. **October 14, 1842** – The Croton Aqueduct provides New York with its first supply of clean water needed to combat disease, fight fires and meet the demands of a rapidly growing city. **March 4, 1845** – James K. Polk is inaugurated as the 11th President of the United States **July, 1845** – the term "manifest destiny" begins to appear, expressing the belief that the U.S. was destined to expand across the continent **May 13, 1846** – U.S. declares war on Mexico (Mexican War) **1847** – The American Medical Association is founded in Philadelphia to deal with the lack of standards and regulations in medical care and education. **January 24, 1848** – James Marshall discovers gold near Sutter's Fort, California **February 2, 1848** – the Mexican War ends **July 19-20, 1848** – Women's Rights Convention held at Seneca Falls, NY (roughly 248 miles from New York City) **1849** – the California Gold Rush

	March 5, 1849 – Zachary Taylor is inaugurated as the 12th President of the United States
October, 1850 – the Almonds and Morris Townsend visit the Slopers; Catherine and Morris meet	**1850** – Lemuel Shattuck urges Massachusetts to form a state board of health, which was not established until 1869
November, 1850 – Morris and Catherine get engaged; Catherine and Dr. Sloper travel to Europe	**July 10, 1850** – Millard Fillmore is inaugurated as the 13th President of the United States following Zachary Taylor's death the previous day
November 20th, 1850 – Marian Almond and Arthur Townsend get married	
December, 1850 – Dr. Sloper attends a medical conference, takes Catherine to Europe with him	
February 14, 1851 – Morris receives a letter from Catherine while she's in Europe	
April, 1851 – Catherine and Dr. Sloper return to Washington Square	
April, 1851 – Morris travels to New Orleans and, then, to California	
Spring/Summer 1851 – Dr. Sloper dies	
Summer, 1853 – Morris returns to New York	
	1880 – Henry James writes *Washington Square* and publishes it in *Cornhill Magazine*.
	1947 – Ruth and Augustus Goetz write *The Heiress*; it opens on Broadway starring Wendy Hiller, Basil Rathbone, and Peter Cookson on September 29, 1947
	September 18, 1948 – *The Heiress* closes on Broadway

	1949 – *The Heiress* opens in London at the Theatre Royal, Haymarket starring Ralph Richardson and Peggy Ashcroft *The Heiress* premieres as a film starring Olivia de Havilland, Montgomery Clift, and Ralph Richardson, with a screenplay written by Ruth and Augustus Goetz, adapted from the play. **February 8, 1950** – **February 19, 1950** – *The Heiress* runs at New York City Center for 16 performances **April 20, 1976 – May 9, 1976** – *The Heiress* runs on Broadway at the Broadhurst Theatre for 23 performances **1997** – Agnieszka Holland directs *Washington Square*, a film version of James' original novel, starring Jennifer Jason Leigh, Albert Finney, Ben Chaplin, and Maggie Smith. **March 9, 1995 – December 31, 1995** – *The Heiress* runs on Broadway at the Cort Theatre starring Cherry Jones, Philip Bosco, and Jon Tenney for 340 performances; the production won the Tony Award for Best Revival of a Play **1996** – *The Heiress* was selected for preservation in the United States National Film Registry by the Library of Congress as being "culturally, historically, or aesthetically significant". **November 1, 2012 – February 9, 2013** – *The Heiress* runs on Broadway at the Walter Kerr Theatre **January 20, 2017** – Donald Trump is inaugurated as the 45th President of the United States

	October, 2017 – the hashtag #MeToo, used originally starting in 2006 by activist and community organizer Tarana Burke, spreads virally on social media to demonstrate the widespread nature of sexual assault and harassment, particularly in the workplace, following the sexual abuse allegations against Harvey Weinstein and many other prominent figures in entertainment, sports, and politics. Victims of sexual assault or sexual harassment were encouraged to share their stories using the hashtag. **January 8, 2019** – *The Heiress* begins rehearsals at Arena Stage!

Changes in Gender Roles and Family Life in the 19th Century
(from *The American Yawp*, Stanford University Press)

In the first half of the nineteenth century, families in the northern United States increasingly participated in the cash economy created by the market revolution. The first stirrings of industrialization shifted work away from the home. These changes transformed Americans' notions of what constituted work and therefore shifted what it meant to be an American woman and an American man. As Americans encountered more goods in stores and produced fewer at home, the ability to remove women and children from work determined a family's class status. This ideal, of course, ignored the reality of women's work at home and was possible for only the wealthy. The market revolution therefore not only transformed the economy, it changed the nature of the American family. As the market revolution thrust workers into new systems of production, it redefined gender roles. The market integrated families into a new cash economy. As Americans purchased more goods in stores and produced fewer at home, the purity of the domestic sphere—the idealized realm of women and children—increasingly signified a family's class status.

Women and children worked to supplement the low wages of many male workers. Around age eleven or twelve, boys could take jobs as office runners or waiters, earning perhaps a dollar a week to support their parents' incomes. The ideal of an innocent and protected childhood was a privilege for middle- and upper-class families, who might look down upon poor families. Joseph Tuckerman, a Unitarian minister who served poor Bostonians, lamented the lack of discipline and regularity among poor children: "At one hour they are kept at work to procure fuel, or perform some other service; in the next are allowed to go where they will, and to do what they will." Prevented from attending school, poor children served instead as economic assets for their destitute families.

Meanwhile, the education received by middle-class children provided a foundation for future economic privilege. As artisans lost control over their trades, young men had a greater incentive to invest time in education to find skilled positions later in life. Formal schooling was especially important for young men who desired apprenticeships in retail or commercial work. Enterprising instructors established schools to assist "young gentlemen preparing for mercantile and other pursuits, who may wish for an education superior to that usually obtained in the common schools, but different from a college education, and better adapted to their particular business," such as that organized in 1820 by Warren Colburn of Boston. In response to this need, the Boston School Committee created the

English High School (as opposed to the Latin School) that could "give a child an education that shall fit him for active life, and shall serve as a foundation for eminence in his profession, whether Mercantile or Mechanical" beyond that "which our public schools can now furnish."

"The Sphere of Woman," Godey's Lady's Book vol. 40 (March 1850): 209. University of Virginia.

Education equipped young women with the tools to live sophisticated, genteel lives. After sixteen-year-old Elizabeth Davis left home in 1816 to attend school, her father explained that the experience would "lay a foundation for your future character & respectability." After touring the United States in the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville praised the independence granted to the young American woman, who had "the great scene of the world . . . open to her" and whose education prepared her to exercise both reason and moral sense. Middling young women also used their education to take positions as schoolteachers in the expanding common school system. Bristol Academy in Tauten, Maine, for instance, advertised "instruction . . . in the art of teaching" for female pupils. In 1825, Nancy Denison left Concord Academy with references indicating that she was "qualified to teach with success and profit" and "very cheerfully recommend[ed]" for "that very responsible employment."

Middle-class youths found opportunities for respectable employment through formal education, but poor youths remained in marginalized positions. Their families' desperate financial state kept them from enjoying the fruits of education. When pauper children did receive teaching through institutions such the House of Refuge in New York City, they were often simultaneously indentured to successful families to serve as field hands or domestic laborers. The Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in New York City sent its wards to places like Sylvester Lusk's farm in Enfield, Connecticut. Lusk took boys to learn "the trade and mystery of farming" and girls to learn "the trade and mystery of housewifery." In exchange for "sufficient Meat, Drink, Apparel, Lodging, and Washing, fitting for an Apprentice," and a rudimentary education, the apprentices promised obedience, morality, and loyalty. Poor children also found work in factories such as Samuel Slater's textile mills in southern New England. Slater published a newspaper advertisement for "four or five active Lads, about 15 Years of Age to serve as Apprentices in the Cotton Factory."

And so, during the early nineteenth century, opportunities for education and employment often depended on a given family's class. In colonial America, nearly all children worked within their parent's chosen profession, whether it be agricultural or artisanal. During the market revolution, however, more children were able to postpone employment. Americans aspired to provide a "Romantic Childhood"—a period in which boys and girls were sheltered within the home and nurtured through primary schooling. This ideal was available to families that could survive without their children's labor. As these children matured, their early experiences often determined whether they entered respectable, well-paying positions or became dependent workers with little prospects for social mobility.

Just as children were expected to be sheltered from the adult world of work, American culture expected men and women to assume distinct gender roles as they prepared for marriage and family life. An ideology of "separate spheres" set the public realm—the world of economic production and political life—apart as a male domain, and the world of consumers and domestic life as a female one. (Even nonworking women labored by shopping for the household, producing food and clothing, cleaning, educating children, and performing similar activities. But these were considered "domestic" because they did not bring money into the household, although they too were essential to the household's economic viability.) While reality muddied the ideal, the divide between a private, female world of home and a public, male world of business defined American gender hierarchy.

The idea of separate spheres also displayed a distinct class bias. Middle and upper classes reinforced their status by shielding "their" women from the harsh realities of wage labor. Women were to be mothers and educators, not partners in production. But lower-class women continued to contribute directly to the household economy. The middle- and upper-class ideal was feasible only in households where women did not need to engage in paid labor. In poorer households, women engaged in wage labor as factory workers, pieceworkers producing items for market consumption, tavern- and innkeepers, and domestic servants. While many of the fundamental tasks women performed remained the same—producing clothing, cultivating vegetables, overseeing dairy production, and performing any number of other domestic labors—the key difference was whether and when they performed these tasks for cash in a market economy.

Domestic expectations constantly changed and the market revolution transformed many women's traditional domestic tasks. Cloth production, for instance, advanced throughout the market revolution as new mechanized production increased the volume and variety of fabrics available to ordinary people. This relieved many better-off women of a traditional labor obligation. As cloth production became commercialized, women's home-based cloth production became less important to household economies. Purchasing cloth and, later, ready-made clothes began to transform women from producers to consumers. One woman from Maine, Martha Ballard, regularly referenced spinning, weaving, and knitting in the diary she kept from 1785 to 1812. Martha, her daughters, and her female neighbors spun and plied linen and woolen yarns and used them to produce a variety of fabrics to make clothing for her family. The production of cloth and clothing was a year-round, labor-intensive process, but it was for home consumption, not commercial markets.

In cities, where women could buy cheap imported cloth to turn into clothing, they became skilled consumers. They stewarded money earned by their husbands by comparing values and haggling over prices. In one typical experience, Mrs. Peter Simon, a captain's wife, inspected twenty-six yards of Holland cloth to ensure that it was worth the £130 price. Even wealthy women shopped for high-value goods. While servants or slaves routinely made low-value purchases, the mistress of the household trusted her discriminating eye alone for expensive or specific purchases.

Thomas Horner, "Broadway, New York," 1836. Smithsonian American Art Museum.

While the market revolution remade many women's economic roles, their legal status remained essentially unchanged. Upon marriage, women were rendered legally dead by the notion of coverture, the custom that counted married couples as a single unit represented by the husband. Without special precautions or interventions, women could not earn their own money, own their own property, sue, or be sued. Any money earned or spent belonged by law to their husbands. Women shopped on their husbands' credit and at any time husbands could terminate their wives' access to their credit. Although a handful of states made divorce available—divorce had before only been legal in Congregationalist states such as Massachusetts and Connecticut, where marriage was strictly a civil contract rather than a religious one—it remained extremely expensive, difficult, and rare. Marriage was typically a permanently binding legal contract.

Ideas of marriage, if not the legal realities, began to change. This period marked the beginning of the shift from "institutional" to "companionate" marriage. Institutional marriages were primarily labor arrangements that maximized the couple's and their children's chances of surviving and thriving. Men and women assessed each other's skills as they related to household production, although looks and personality certainly entered into the equation. But in the late eighteenth century, under the influence of Enlightenment thought, young people began to privilege character and compatibility in their potential partners. Money was still essential: marriages prompted the largest redistributions of property prior to the settling of estates at death. But the means of this redistribution was changing. Especially in the North, land became a less important foundation for matchmaking as wealthy young men became not only farmers and merchants but bankers,

clerks, or professionals. The increased emphasis on affection and attraction that young people embraced was facilitated by an increasingly complex economy that offered new ways to store, move, and create wealth, which liberalized the criteria by which families evaluated potential in-laws.

To be considered a success in family life, a middle-class American man typically aspired to own a comfortable home and to marry a woman of strong morals and religious conviction who would take responsibility for raising virtuous, well-behaved children. The duties of the middle-class husband and wife would be clearly delineated into separate spheres. The husband alone was responsible for creating wealth and engaging in the commerce and politics—the public sphere. The wife was responsible for the private—keeping a good home, being careful with household expenses, and raising children, inculcating them with the middle-class virtues that would ensure their future success. But for poor families, sacrificing the potential economic contributions of wives and children was an impossibility.

The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness **by Florence Hartley (1860)**
CHAPTER XXIII. - ON A YOUNG LADY'S CONDUCT WHEN CONTEMPLATING MARRIAGE.

The chapter below, from Florence Hartley's *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness*, offers advice to women who are beginning to be courted and receive marriage proposals. She counsels women to take their time in deciding whether to marry someone and to consult friends, parents, and mentors but to ultimately choose for themselves. She offers advice for kindly rejecting suitors who are unacceptable for one reason or another, for coping with heartbreak, and for deciding whether someone's flaws are something one could live with in a marriage. **Bolded text** indicates advice that is particularly relevant to *The Heiress*.

The following chapter, met with in a recent perusal of an English work for young ladies, strikes me as so admirable, and so appropriate in this place, that I quote the chapter entire:

"The difficulties and trials of life have only just begun when a young lady fancies herself to be of sufficient importance to become the theme of animadversion. **She knows little of the true importance of self-control, until she experiences the first indications of preference shown her by the other sex.**

"Such indications are often manifested, whilst she to whom they are directed, is wholly unprepared to analyze her own feelings, before her opinions upon what she has seen are by any means developed; before she has even considered adequately, on what her happiness depends; before she has discernment to reject what is frivolous, or wisdom to prefer what is good. This is more especially the case in the highest and lowest classes, in which, by a strange analogy, they either rush into the marriage state whilst children, or wait until the bloom and hopes of youth have forever passed away, in order to form interested matches. The matured period of five-and-twenty to thirty, is passed by the lower classes in the single state in labor to gain subsistence; after thirty, or even forty, we often find them marrying. But the majority have sealed their own fate before the age of twenty.

"In high life, the same haste to dispose of daughters prevails as among the lowest classes. At seventeen, most of our belles of fashion expect to receive proposals. If they do not marry within a few years after their introduction, they have a mortified sense of having lost time—that the expectations of friends and of parents have not been fulfilled; that others have 'gone off' before them. The next ten years are often a period of subdued vexation, and the sweetness and contentment of the original character is impaired. **About seven or eight and twenty, the views of life are sobered—the expectations chastened—a renovation takes place—women again become agreeable; their minds must in the lapse of time, even with a miserable store of observation, have improved. They then often marry—and, if the union be not a mere effort of despair, if it be based on sound and holy principles, and on good sense, there is, for both parties engaged, a great likelihood of happiness.**

"But, it may be naturally contended, that there come not to all young ladies the opportunities of which I write; that indications of preference arrive not to all. I am inclined to believe that, with good temper, pleasing manners, and respectable connections, there exists, in modern society, very few young ladies who have not received under various circumstances, some marks of preference, more or less decided. **Beauty and plainness are arbitrary, not positive, terms. Unless there be any actual deformity, any great**

infirmity, in which case I think it were cruel to pre-suppose the likelihood of such indications, there is no one, that I hardly ever met with, who has not had, on some grounds, her partizans and admirers. The plain are often particularized as elegant; tastes vary: even a sour look I have heard admired as sensible, cold manners eulogized as correct.

Opinion, however it may generally verge to the correct, springs from so many sources, it is so governed by association of ideas, such trifles may guide it, that I am never surprised at the latitude given to personal encomium nor at the endless variety and incongruity of human judgment. **It is well that all have a chance of being approved, admired, beloved, and it remains for them to avail themselves of those possibilities which contribute so much to happiness. For we are sympathizing beings, and a law of our nature makes us look for a return of sympathy. We are sent here to form ties, and to love, and to be loved, whether the term applies to parental, or filial, or fraternal love—or whether it respects the less sure and more fitful experiences of love, in its ordinary sense.**

"I do not blame the parents who instil into their children of both sexes a desire to be married. I think those who teach the young a different lesson deceive them. Marriage, with all its chances, its infelicities, its sacrifices, is seldom so infelicitous, so uncertain, so full of sacrifice, as the single state. Life must have some objects, and those objects must be progressive. The mind is happier and healthier with such interests, even if sorrow comes along with them, than in its solitude, its desolate freedom from care, when having, as the phrase is, no troubles of the conjugal sort to disturb its tranquillity. I therefore do not censure those who desire to see their daughters happily and suitably established in life. It is the indiscreet and vulgar haste, the indelicacy, the low mercenary views, and the equally low ambition to compass a splendid match, which is blameable and revolting in the parental conduct.

"Many are, however, blessed with guides and guardians of very different characters; with parents, whose lofty natures not only reject such unworthy notions, but somewhat incline to the extreme of repelling all advances for their daughters. In either case, the conduct of a young lady may be the same. **It is she who must form her own destiny in points on which none can effectually aid her. It is she who is to be the happy wife, or the wretched victim; and it is to her that these observations of admonition and of warning are addressed. Let us suppose her young, of course, attractive in appearance, of good birth, and some fortune.** I here except heiresses, who, being anomalies, deserve a particular paragraph for themselves. But let us suppose that no obstacle of family or connection interferes to check the approach of a suitor.

"The eyes of her family and of her young friends are upon her, when a young lady receives the first indications of preference. She is generally ashamed of it. This is the first sentiment of a modest and ingenuous mind, and it is one indication, in my opinion, of the impropriety of early marriages. Nature seems still to wish to keep the young and blushing girl apart from that connection which entails grave and arduous duties. But Nature's voice is far less often heard than that of her adversary, expediency. I must, therefore, shape my injunctions to that which exists, not to that which we would wish to exist.

"Almost sinking under this painful sense of shame, this novel disturbance of her usual set of feelings, a young girl catches at the first reed to save herself from observation and detection. I mean detection of her perception of that which others may or may not see. She seizes upon ridicule. She pretends to laugh at one, whom sometimes her youthful romantic fancy dwells upon in a very different sense. She laughs at the foibles, supposed

or real, of her admirer: she plays a dangerous game. If any of those to whom she imparts her witticisms are malevolently disposed or thoughtless, she runs a risk either of wounding the feelings of a man whom she does not like, or of losing the regard of one whom she might in time not only esteem, but love.

"Another effect of such attentions as awaken a consciousness in a young lady's mind, is the gratification of vanity, perhaps until then latent in her heart. The first preference is apt to upset the reason of its object as of him who shows it. The word vanity does not seem to imply danger. Vanity is generally considered an innocent failing; but it is innocent only as some kinds of food are to a healthy subject. On a weak, or even on an inexperienced mind, it acts, sometimes, fatally for the vain. A girl is either carried away by admiration so as to be flippant and foolish, or she is blinded by her vanity to the failings of the man who first admires her. She is intoxicated with the notion of an offer of marriage; she imagines, in her simplicity, effervesced as it is by the infusion of flattered vanity, that she has inspired such an attachment as will never be recovered, should she prove adverse to it. Many an engagement has been formed under this conviction, and fulfilled only to prove its fallacy, for the love which was supposed too strong to survive disappointment, has expired in the fruition of its hopes.

"To guard against either of these risks to happiness, a well-educated girl should endeavor, in this, to exercise her judgment. She should be sincere. She is blameable to ridicule the attentions which are meant as complimentary to her. They ought to be at least regarded with respect.

"Should they not be acceptable, she is inexcusable to requite them with levity and disdain. Let her reflect how she would like such conduct herself. Besides, she is often making a bitter enemy; perhaps she is exciting fierce and unamiable sentiments in one who otherwise might have been regarded as a mild and worthy individual. Let her be undeceived if she supposes that in thus doing she is carrying herself with dignity, or acquiring any added admiration from others. She ceases, in thus acting, to support the characteristics of a gentlewoman, which are mildness, courtesy, and reserve. If she cherishes, in spite of her pretended disgust, a secret partiality for the individual who distinguishes her, if she is lowering the esteem of a man whom she prefers, she not only incurs the hazard of losing his regard, but she is scattering ridicule on one whom she afterwards avows as her choice. In that case, she is lowering herself, or she is sowing the seeds of distrust in the minds of those who know her—she is, perhaps, frustrating and delaying her own happiness.

Let her act with candor, with consideration, with good sense, and all this web which her folly would weave around her will not embarrass her**. Let her not madly and obstinately resist the advice of those on whose affection to her, and on whose good judgment, experience has taught her to rely. Let her be a child in nothing except humility; let her listen to counsels; yet her own heart must decide for her—none can know so well as herself its secret throbs, or the impression of dislike or of regard which has been made upon it.**

"I am, I confess, an enemy to trying to like a person, as I have rarely seen such a mental process end in happiness to either party. If an advantageous proposal offer itself, it is wiser decidedly to refuse it, than to trust to the slow growth of affection, upon a foundation of original dislike. And the trials of married life are such,—its temptations to irritability and contention are so manifold, its anxieties so unforseen and so complicated, that few can steer their difficult course safely and happily, unless there be a deep and true attachment, to contend with all the storms which may arise in the navigation.

"**Deeply impressed with this conviction, should it be the lot of any young lady in whom I were interested to form a real, well-grounded attachment to a man whose circumstances were indifferent, I should counsel her, provided she can depend on the character and exertions of the object so beloved, to risk the event of an engagement — to trust to time and Providence, and to marry whenever means were afforded,— convinced as I am, that patience, and trust, and true affection, raise the character, and are acceptable in the eyes of our Heavenly Father. But in such a case, she must school her mind to meet the anxieties which attend limited means. She must prepare herself, by habits of diligence and economy, to become a poor man's wife. She must learn the difficult art of doing well upon a little.** She must not, be she in any rank of life, think to indulge with impunity to herself in every refinement and luxury when she is single; and, upon her marriage, imagine that she can attain the practice of economy by wishing it. Such metamorphoses are out of reason—out of nature.

She must endeavor before the bond which ties her to poverty is framed, to understand the duties of housekeeping, the mysteries of needle-work. She must lay down to herself rules of expenditure suitable, in part, to her future condition in life. Many a wife, thus commencing, has laid the foundations of future fortune, at least independence, to her husband, by keeping his mind at peace, during his progress up the steep ascent to professional, or clerical, or literary fame. Many a home has been cheered by domestic forbearance, and placid submission to circumstances, even in the higher classes, during the life-time of a father, or in the course of those long expectancies, in which the fortitude and principle of many of the aristocracy are tried and proved. But the self-denial, the cheerfulness, the good management, the strict principle, are formed at an earlier period than that in which a young lady gives her hand to him whom she has chosen, in spite of the frown of fortune, as her husband.

"**Of this let the young be assured; there are few situations in life, in which a man, young, and in health, cannot meliorate his circumstances, if he possess energy and if he be stimulated by a true affection.** The clergyman, with humble stipend, often hopeless from want of interest, has leisure—he has had education. He may, if he desires to assist himself, have recourse to literary labor, or to tuition. If he make not such exertion, during the course of an engagement, what hope can there be of him in future life?

"The young lawyer, however tedious his advancement, however few his opportunities, may also distinguish himself in a literary career. Innumerable are the subjects open to one of such a profession. How few avail themselves of the chance! Upon this rely, the man truly in love will make the effort. To the military man, though perhaps he may be less qualified, the same course is open, in a degree. Some of our best travels, some of our most amusing literary productions, have been the compositions of military men. And the advantage of this mode of aiding a small fortune is, that a man not only does not lower, but he raises his position by it, if his works are moral, written in a gentlemanly spirit, and affording information. However deep the attachment, however agreeable the object, if a man be indisposed to help himself to independence and competence, I should counsel no woman to continue an engagement formed in the expectation of 'times mending.' When I advocate the indulgence of attachment, it is to worthy, not to unworthy, objects.

"I now come to speak of moral character. Hard is the contest between affection and expediency, when it is raised by the question of circumstances. But harder still is it, when its result is to be decided upon an inquiry into moral conduct**. I know not a more cruel situation than that when the heart is bestowed on one whom the judgment could not**

approve. I know not one which should be more strictly guarded against, not only by parents and friends, but (for I would impress on every young lady how much she may prove the best guardian of her own happiness) by the female heart itself.

"With every vigilance, with little to blame, little to repent, such cases will occur in this world. The feelings are interested, but the judgment distrusts. Happy is it for those who know the combat between affection and principle only in single life, and have not the misery of encountering so severe a destiny when it can no longer be remedied—who know not how to fulfill the vow to honor what is proved to be unworthy—and yet still must love,—for the affections once given, are little in our own power.

"In such a case occurring to the young, in, perhaps, a first attachment, I think they must be guided by friends. I am not an advocate for the interference of friends: where it is much a question of a long and contingent engagement—a question of being married at once, or of waiting, in some uncertainty—a question of ease or discomfort, of limited means or luxury—in such instances, **if the moral character be unexceptionable, it is the duty of parents to point out all the risk, all the disadvantages, but to leave the heart to form its own decisions. Let them not seek to wrench the affections from the channel in which they flowed, when fresh from their source. They cannot know how deep the channel is—they cannot know if ever those pure and beautiful waters will flow in peace again when once hastily turned aside.** But in cases of moral character, of right or wrong, the affair is wholly different, and the strictest parental authority ought, upon due inquiry, to be exercised.

"Submission and self-control are then the duty of the young sufferer—for a sufferer she truly is;—no page of her after-history could unfold a bitterer pang. But peace and hope come at last—the struggle, though violent, leaves behind it none of that corroding sorrow, which would have accompanied the acquiescence of parents in a union unblessed by a Providence, whose will is that all should be pure, even as He above is pure. Had your fond wishes been granted, young and trusting being, how fearful would have been your condition! For there is no suspicion so revolting to an innocent mind as that which unseats love from his throne in our affections, and places another in his stead. Be assured of this—little can you know of the moral conduct of the other sex; little is it desirable that you should know. But whenever improprieties are so flagrant as to be matters of conversation; when the good shun, and the pitying forbear to excuse; be assured some deeper cause than you can divine exists for the opprobrium. Think not that your empire over affections thus wasted can be a real one. It is transient, it will not last—it will not bring reformation—it will never be adequately requited. Throw yourself on the judgment of those whose interest in you has been life-long, or of such as you know truly regard your happiness; conquer the unhallowed preference; pray for support and guidance; trust in Him who 'catereth for the sparrow.'

"But, when the commencement of life is chilled by so cruel a sorrow—when the blight has fallen on the bud—we must not only look up to heavenly aid, we must take every means of care for an unfortunate, and, when once the judgment is convinced of the unworthiness of the object, a blameable attachment. How often, in the Psalms, in the Gospels, the word 'Help' is reiterated! We are to help ourselves—we must work for our heavenly peace on earth—the mental discipline, to prosper, must be aided by divine grace, but its springs must be from our own hearts. And, to fulfill the will of God in this, as in the other events of life, let us take such means as may aid us in the work of self-government.

"In the first place, let employment be resorted to by the sorrowing, do not indulge in tears; do not sit alone: abstain, for a time, from music; abstain from the perusal of

poetry, or works of imagination. They still more soften the feelings and open up the sources of grief. Read works of fact—endeavor to occupy yourself with the passing events of the world. And, when the overburdened heart cannot be comforted, or its thoughts diverted—for there will be moments too mournful to be resisted—go forth into the fields, go to the houses of the poor—see the goodness and mercy of God—see too, the patience and long-suffering of the poor, who may often set the rich an example of fortitude. Occupy yourself, if you can, with children; their freshness, their joyful unconsciousness, the elasticity of their spirits, will sustain and draw you from yourself, or have recourse to the soothing calmness of the aged. Hear them converse upon the affairs of life; how they appreciate the importance of each passing event, as a traveler does the ruts and inequalities of the road he has traversed. How their confidence in the effect of time sustains you! and you turn from them, reflecting on all that the happiest of them must necessarily have endured. Be assured of your own recovery, under an influence so certain.

"Avoid young persons of your own age. If possible, except to a sister, whose deep interest in you will probably teach her a superior lesson, never confide in young friends, a similar trial as that to which I have referred. In general, your resolution will be weakened, your feelings re-excited, your confidence in your best advisers will be shaken. For the young usually take the part of the rejected lover—they delight in that dangerous species of sympathy which flatters with hope. They are naturally incredulous as to the delinquencies of a man who is agreeable, and in love; they incline to the notion of the hard-heartedness of fathers, uncles, and elder brothers; and even, if they happen to possess good sense, or to exercise the rare quality of prudence in such matters, the very communication of any sorrow, or the recital of any feelings, gives not only a merely temporary relief, but deadens that sorrow and strengthens those feelings, which grow every time they are imparted. If you wish to recover—and, if you have a sound and well-disposed mind, you will wish to recover—you must, after the first burst of grief is over, speak but rarely of a theme too painful and delicate to bear the contact of rude minds—too dangerous to dwell upon with those of a kindlier and loftier nature.

"To your female relations—to your mother, more especially, too great an openness cannot be practiced on these points, but openness does not imply a perpetual recurrence to a theme, which must wear out patience and exhaust all but maternal sympathy, in time. For maternal sympathy is exhaustless; be generous, and restrain, from that very reflection, the continual demand upon its flow. The first person to consult, the last to afflict—a mother—should not be the victim of her daughter's feelings. Her judgment should not be weakened by the incessant indulgence of a daughter's sorrows.

"**I would, on many grounds, caution the young against hasty engagements. It seems extraordinary that the welfare of a life should often be determined upon the acquaintance of a few weeks. The principles, it is true, may be ascertained from the knowledge of others, the manners may please, the means and expectations may all be clearly understood. But the temper—that word of unspeakable import—the daily habits, the power of constancy—these are not to be known without a long and severe examination of the motives, and a daily observation of the conduct, of others. Very little suffices to mar the happiness of married life, if that little proceed in the character of a man, from a rooted selfishness.**

"It is true, in regard to this defect, that much may be done by a wife to meliorate a vice of character which is, in some, only the result of never having had their feelings developed. But if there exist not this excuse—if, in spite of ties, which are dearer to an affectionate mind than existence; you find a man preferring his own comfort to that of those whom he professes to love—if you find him imperious to his servants, dictatorial to

sisters, on cool terms with brothers, there is little hope that the mental disease will ever be rooted out, so as to leave a healthy character of mind. **Examine well into this point; for a hasty temper may be remedied, and even endured—but the deep, slow, sullen course of a selfish nature wears away hope, imparts a cankering care, and, with it, often disgust. No defect is so little to be resisted as selfishness. It creeps into every detail; it infects the minutest affairs of life as well as the greatest concerns. It depresses the humble sufferer from its baneful effects; it irritates the passions of the unamiable.** Study well the character in trifles; nor venture to risk your bark on the sea of matrimony, unless you know well how far this man, whom you might prefer, is free from this deadly infection. View him, if possible, in his home, before you pledge your faith with his—or, if that be not practicable, reflect upon the general course of his actions, of his sentiments, and endeavor dispassionately to judge them, as best you may."

How Much Did Things Cost in the 19th Century?

A guide to incomes, groceries, and the cost of goods in the mid-19th century; this would have had particular impact on the cost of running a household.

GROCERIES					
QUANTITIES	**ARTICLES**	**AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES (standard gold)**			
		1860	**1872**	**1878**	**1882**
Barrel	Flour, wheat, super-fine	$7.61	$10.75	$8.03	$9.92
Barrel	Flour, wheat, family	$7.14	$12.75	$7.96	$8.57
Pound	Flour, rye	$0.03	$0.03	$0.04	$0.05
Pound	Corn meal	$0.02	$0.01	$0.02	$0.04
Pound	Codfish, dry	$0.05	$0.08	$0.06	$0.08
Pound	Rice	$0.07	$0.11	$0.09	$0.10
Quart	Beans	$0.08	$0.09	$0.08	$0.13
Pound	Tea, oolong	$0.54	$0.69	$0.60	$0.58
Pound	Coffee, Rio, green	$0.21	$0.34	$0.23	$0.19
Pound	Coffee, roasted	$0.23	$0.42	$0.26	$0.29
Pound	Sugar, good brown	$0.08	$0.10	$0.08	$0.10
Pound	Sugar, coffee	$0.09	$0.10	$0.09	$0.10
Pound	Sugar, granulated	$0.10	$0.12	$0.10	$0.11

Gallon	Molasses, New Orleans	$0.50	$0.70	$0.57	$0.67
Gallon	Molasses, Porto Rico	$0.57	$0.76	$0.68	$0.63
Gallon	Syrup	$0.63	$0.75	$0.86	$0.77
Pound	Soap, common	$0.08	$0.08	$0.08	$0.07
Pound	Starch	$0.11	$0.12	$0.10	$0.09

PROVISIONS					
QUANTITIES	**ARTICLES**	**AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES (standard gold)**			
		1860	**1872**	**1878**	**1882**
Pound	Beef, roasting	$0.11	$0.19	$0.14	$0.17
Pound	Beef, soup	$0.04	$0.07	$0.05	$0.06
Pound	Beef, rump steak	$0.14	$0.29	$0.21	$0.21
Pound	Beef, corned	$0.06	$0.10	$0.08	$0.10
Pound	Veal, fore-quarter	$0.07	$0.10	$0.10	$0.11
Pound	Veal, hind-quarter	$0.11	$0.17	$0.16	$0.15
Pound	Veal, cutlets	$0.14	$0.28	$0.20	$0.20
Pound	Mutton, fore-quarter	$0.07	$0.10	$0.10	$0.12
Pound	Mutton, leg	$0.12	$0.19	$0.17	$0.16
Pound	Mutton, chops	$0.13	$0.15	$0.19	$0.18

Pound	Pork, fresh	$0.11	$0.12	$0.10	$0.13
Pound	Pork, salted	$0.11	$0.11	$0.10	$0.13
Pound	Hams, smoked	$0.13	$0.13	$0.13	$0.15
Pound	Shoulders, corned	$0.08	$0.10	$0.09	$0.12
Pound	Sausages	$0.11	$0.12	$0.11	$0.14
Pound	Lard	$0.13	$0.12	$0.11	$0.15
Pound	Mackerel, pickled	$0.09	$0.13	$0.13	$0.13
Pound	Butter	$0.21	$0.39	$0.25	$0.35
Pound	Cheese	$0.13	$0.17	$0.12	$0.18
Bushel	Potatoes	$0.59	$1.02	$0.98	$1.26
Quart	Milk	$0.04	$0.08	$0.05	$0.06
Dozen	Eggs	$0.20	$0.30	$0.25	$0.40

FUEL					
QUANTITIES	**ARTICLES**	**AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES (standard gold)**			
		1860	**1872**	**1878**	**1882**
Ton	Coal	$6.40	$9.25	$6.45	$7.84
Cord	Wood, hard	$6.49	$10.12	$6.74	$8.97
Cord	Wood, pine	$4.42	$7.00	$5.04	$7.09

DRY GOODS					
QUANTITIES	**ARTICLES**	**AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES (standard gold)**			
		1860	**1872**	**1878**	**1882**
Yard	Shirting, 4-4 brown	$0.09	$0.13	$0.08	$0.09
Yard	Shirting, 4-4 bleached	$0.10	$0.16	$0.10	$0.11
Yard	Sheeting, 9-8 brown	$0.10	$0.14	$0.09	$0.11
Yard	Sheeting, 9-8 bleached	$0.13	$0.19	$0.12	$0.14
Yard	Cotton flannel	$0.15	$0.27	$0.15	$0.16
Yard	Ticking	$0.17	$0.24	$0.18	$0.17
Yard	Prints	$0.11	$0.11	$0.08	$0.08
Yard	Satinet	$0.56	$0.59	$0.54	$0.54
Pair	Boots, men’s heavy	$2.75	$3.94	$3.24	$3.19

RENTS					
QUANTITIES	**ARTICLES**	**AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES (standard gold)**			
		1860	**1872**	**1878**	**1882**
Month	4-room tenement	$4.45	$14.75	$5.55	$7.99
Month	6-room tenement	$7.54	$16.00	$9.43	$12.25

BOARDS					
QUANTITIES	ARTICLES	AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES (standard gold)			
		1860	1872	1878	1882
Week	Men	$2.79	$5.62	$4.19	$4.75
Week	Women	$1.79	$3.75	$2.63	$3.00

Occupational Income	Income Per:					
Occupation	Day	Week	Year	Year	Location	Source
Common Labourer	$0.88	$4.40	$228.00	1851	Lake Erie Canal	[15]
Carpenter	$1.50	$7.50	$390.00	1851	Lake Erie Canal	[15]
Common Labourer	$1.00	$5.00	$260.00	1854	Lake Erie Canal	[15]
Carpenter	$1.75	$8.75	$455.80	1854	Lake Erie Canal	[15]
Laborer	$0.41	$2.05	$106.60	1821-30	Philadelphia	[16]
Laborer	$0.43	$2.15	$111.74	1821-30	Philadelphia	[16]
Laborer	$0.44	$2.20	$114.60	1841-50	Brandywine	[16]
Laborer	$0.40	$2.00	$104.00	1841-50	Maryland	[16]
Laborer	$0.50	$2.50	$130.00	1841-50	Massachussetts	[16]
Laborer	$0.53	$2.63	$136.80	1841-50	Maryland	[16]
Trapper	$11.54	$57.69	$3,000.00	1831	Utah	[17]
Trapper	$1.15	$5.77	$300.00	1840	Utah	[17]
Unspecified general labour	$1.92	$9.62	$500.00	1840	Utah	[17]
Unskilled Laborer	$0.75	$3.75	$195.00	1840's	n/a	[18]
Shirtmaker (Paid for each shirt made, female)	$0.18	$0.90	$46.80	1833	New York	[18]
Railroad Contractor (Irish)	$0.55	$2.75	$143.00	1851-1852	New York	[18]
Pony Station Rider [with board and room]	$2.31	$11.54	$600.00	1860	California	[1]
Gold Miner	$10.00	$50.00	$2,600.00	1860	California	[2]

The Union Army:						
Private [Up to 20 June 64]	$0.60	$3.00	$156.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Private [from June 1864]	$0.74	$3.69	$192.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Corporal [Union NCOs were paid at a similar rate to Confederacy NCOs]	$0.60	$3.00	$156.00	1860's	n/a	[19]

'Buck' Sergeants [Union NCOs were paid at a similar rate to Confederacy NCOs]	$0.78	$3.92	$204.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
First Sergeants [Union NCOs were paid at a similar rate to Confederacy NCOs]	$0.92	$4.62	$240.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Engineer Sergeants [Union NCOs were paid at a similar rate to Confederacy NCOs]	$1.57	$7.85	$408.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
First Lieutenant	$4.87	$24.35	$1,266.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Second Lieutenant	$4.87	$24.35	$1,266.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Captain	$5.33	$26.62	$1,386.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Staff Officer	$5.56	$27.81	$1,446.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Major	$7.80	$39.00	$2,028.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Lieutenant Colonel	$8.35	$41.77	$2,172.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Colonel	$9.78	$48.92	$2,544.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
One star General	$14.54	$72.69	$3,780.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Two star General	$21.09	$105.46	$5,484.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Three star general	$34.98	$174.92	$9,096.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
The Confederate Army:						
Private [Up to June 1864]	$0.51	$2.54	$132.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Private [from June 1864]	$0.83	$4.15	$216.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Corporal	$0.60	$3.00	$156.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
'Buck' Sergeants	$0.78	$3.92	$204.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
First Sergeants	$0.92	$4.62	$240.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Engineer Sergeants	$1.57	$7.85	$408.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Colonel (infantry)	$9.00	$45.00	$2,340.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Colonel (artillery, engineer, cavalry)	$9.69	$48.46	$2,520.00	1860's	n/a	[19]
Brigadier General (1 star General)	$13.89	$69.46	$3,612.00	1860's	n/a	[19]

Commodities:		**Cost per X Units: [1], [2]**				
Item	**Unit of Measure**	**1 Unit**	**1000 Units**	**Year**	**Location**	**Source**
Coffee	Kilogram	$0.40	$396.48	1853	Texas	[1]
Beans	Litre	$0.09	$92.45	1853	Texas	[1]
Flour	Kilogram	$0.11	$110.13	1853	Texas	[1]
Hard Bread	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1853	Texas	[1]
Rice	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1853	Texas	[1]
Bacon	Kilogram	$0.33	$330.40	1853	Texas	[1]
Fresh Beef	Kilogram	$0.11	$110.13	1853	Texas	[1]
Pork	Kilogram	$0.24	$242.29	1853	Texas	[1]
Salt Beef	Kilogram	$0.20	$198.24	1853	Texas	[1]
Sugar	Kilogram	$0.18	$176.21	1853	Texas	[1]
Vinegar	Litre	$0.06	$55.03	1853	Texas	[1]
Coffee	Kilogram	$0.44	$440.53	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Tea	Kilogram	$1.65	$1,651.98	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Butter	Kilogram	$0.40	$396.48	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Cheese	Kilogram	$0.31	$308.37	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Eggs	Each	$0.02	$15.00	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Lard	Kilogram	$0.26	$264.32	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Cranberries	Litre	$0.11	$105.66	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Currants	Kilogram	$0.26	$264.32	1861	Wisconsin	[1]

Dried apples	Kilogram	$0.20	$198.24	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Dried peaches	Kilogram	$0.44	$440.53	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Hubbard squash	Kilogram	$0.02	$22.03	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Lemons	Each	$0.03	$30.00	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Potatoes	Kilogram	$0.01	$8.44	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Raisins	Kilogram	$0.44	$440.53	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Squashes	Each	$0.03	$30.00	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Sweet potatoes	Kilogram	$0.07	$73.42	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Barley	Kilogram	$0.01	$9.91	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Bran & shorts	Kilogram	$0.01	$13.22	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Corn meal	Kilogram	$0.04	$44.05	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Indian corn in cobb	Kilogram	$0.01	$5.51	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Indian corn, shelled	Kilogram	$0.01	$7.71	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Oats	Kilogram	$0.00	$4.41	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Rye	Kilogram	$0.01	$9.91	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Rye flour	Kilogram	$0.05	$49.56	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Wheat	Kilogram	$0.01	$14.32	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Wheat flour	Kilogram	$0.05	$52.86	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Beef	Kilogram	$0.07	$66.08	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Codfish	Kilogram	$0.13	$132.16	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Hams	Kilogram	$0.31	$308.37	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Hobs	Kilogram	$0.13	$132.16	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Lake Michigan trout	Kilogram	$0.18	$176.21	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Lambs	Kilogram	$0.05	$51.76	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Veal calves (6 weeks old)	Kilogram	$0.07	$66.08	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Brown sugar	Kilogram	$0.20	$198.24	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Common salt	Kilogram	$0.06	$60.57	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Honey	Kilogram	$0.55	$550.66	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Molasses	Litre	$0.11	$110.06	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Vinegar (cider)	Litre	$0.06	$55.03	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
White sugar	Kilogram	$0.31	$308.37	1861	Wisconsin	[1]
Cheese	Kilogram	$3.30	$3,303.96	1849	California	[2]
Flour	Kilogram	$1.10	$1,101.32	1849	California	[2]
Fresh beef	Kilogram	$0.77	$770.93	1849	California	[2]
Pork	Kilogram	$1.65	$1,651.98	1849	California	[2]
Sugar	Kilogram	$1.10	$1,101.32	1849	California	[2]
Brick	Each	$0.08	$80.00	1849	California	[2]
Lumber	Each	$0.15	$150.00	1849	California	[2]
Coffee	Kilogram	$0.35	$352.42	1849	California	[2]
Teas	Kilogram	$2.20	$2,202.64	1849	California	[2]
Butter	Kilogram	$2.20	$2,202.64	1849	California	[2]
Cheese	Kilogram	$2.20	$2,202.64	1849	California	[2]
Flour	Kilogram	$0.40	$396.48	1849	California	[2]
Rice	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1849	California	[2]
Fresh Pork	Kilogram	$0.55	$550.66	1849	California	[2]
Ham	Kilogram	$2.20	$2,202.64	1849	California	[2]
Blankets	Each	$100.00	$100,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Boots	Pair	$25.00	$25,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Shoes	Pair	$12.00	$12,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Coffee	Kilogram	$0.73	$726.87	1849	California	[2]
Beans	Kilogram	$0.44	$440.53	1849	California	[2]
Potatoes	Kilogram	$0.31	$308.37	1849	California	[2]
Flour	Kilogram	$0.88	$881.06	1849	California	[2]
Rice	Kilogram	$0.66	$660.79	1849	California	[2]

Sugar	Kilogram	$0.66	$660.79	1849	California	[2]
Flour	Kilogram	$0.66	$660.79	1849	California	[2]
Beef	Kilogram	$1.65	$1,651.98	1849	California	[2]
Salt Pork	Kilogram	$1.65	$1,651.98	1849	California	[2]
Molasses	Litre	$0.88	$880.50	1849	California	[2]
Sugar	Kilogram	$1.10	$1,101.32	1849	California	[2]
Mining Cradles	Each	$60.00	$6,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Mining Pans	Each	$8.00	$8,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Mules	Each	$150.00	$150,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Oxen	Each	$150.00	$150,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Wagons	Each	$80.00	$80,000.00	1849	California	[2]
Mocassins	Pair	$1.00	$1,000.00	1849	Utah	[3]
Butter	Kilogram	$0.44	$440.53	1849	Utah	[3]
Cheese	Kilogram	$0.55	$550.66	1849	Utah	[3]
Milk	Litre	$0.09	$88.05	1849	Utah	[3]
Potatoes	Kilogram	$0.04	$36.71	1849	Utah	[3]
Flour	Kilogram	$0.04	$44.05	1849	Utah	[3]
Beef	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1849	Utah	[3]
Sugar	Kilogram	$1.10	$1,101.32	1849	Utah	[3]
Hay	Kilogram	$0.04	$44.05	1850	n/a	[4]
Hemp	Kilogram	$0.11	$110.13	1850	n/a	[4]
Hops	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1850	n/a	[4]
Flax	Kilogram	$0.33	$330.40	1850	n/a	[4]
Maple Syrup	Kilogram	$0.18	$176.21	1850	n/a	[4]
Tobacco	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1850	n/a	[4]
Wool	Kilogram	$0.77	$770.93	1850	n/a	[4]
Butter and Cheese	Kilogram	$0.33	$330.40	1850	n/a	[4]
Beeswax and Honey	Kilogram	$0.33	$330.40	1850	n/a	[4]
Cotton	Kilogram	$0.18	$176.21	1850	n/a	[4]
Rice	Kilogram	$0.09	$88.16	1850	n/a	[4]
Rum	Litre	$0.17	$170.00	1833	n/a	[5]
Beef	Kilogram	$0.07	$66.00	1847	n/a	[5]
Butter	Kilogram	$0.38	$380.00	1848	n/a	[5]
Whisky	Litre	$0.08	$80.00	1848	n/a	[5]
Sugar	Kilogram	$0.19	$190.00	1850	n/a	[5]
Pork	Kilogram	$0.13	$130.00	1850	n/a	[5]
Bacon	Kilogram	$0.20	$200.00	1850	n/a	[5]
Blanket (serape)	Each	$80.00	$80,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Handkerchief	Each	$1.08	$1,080.00	1849	California	[6]
Flannel Shirt	Each	$8.00	$8,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Blankets (bed)	Each	$25.00	$25,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Boots	Pair	$24.00	$24,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Uniform Jacket	Each	$32.00	$32,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Thread	Kilogram	$2.25	$2,250.00	1849	California	[6]
Trousers	Each	$18.00	$18,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Tin of Crackers	Each	$8.50	$8,500.00	1849	California	[6]
Box of Chocolates	Each	$40.00	$40,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Tea Set	Each	$24.00	$24,000.00	1849	California	[6]
Tobacco	Kilogram	$0.06	$60.57	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Feathers	Kilogram	$0.55	$550.66	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Cured Meat	Kilogram	$0.13	$132.16	1846	Kentucky	[7]

Eggs	Each	$0.01	$5.00	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Whisky	Litre	$0.08	$83.63	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Sugar	Kilogram	$0.22	$220.26	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Coffee	Kilogram	$0.28	$275.33	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Pepper	Kilogram	$0.57	$572.69	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Coffee	Kilogram	$0.28	$275.33	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Fine Tooth Comb	Each	$0.15	$150.00	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Tuck Comb	Each	$0.17	$170.00	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Candles	Kilogram	$0.28	$275.33	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Tallow	Kilogram	$0.14	$139.50	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Ball of Candle Wick	Each	$0.13	$130.00	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Candle Molds	Pair	$0.87	$870.00	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Whisky	Litre	$0.08	$83.63	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Whisky	Litre	$0.04	$44.01	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Whisky Barrel (Empty)	Each	$0.50	$500.00	1846	Kentucky	[7]
Pelts	Kilogram	$13.22	$13,215.86	1831	Utah	[8]
Pelts	Kilogram	$4.41	$4,405.29	1840	Utah	[8]
Colt Revolver	Each	$10.00	$10,000.00	1847	n/a	[9]
Colt Revolver (Retail Price)	Each	$25.00	$25,000.00	1861	Missouri	[10]
Springfield Model 1861 Rifle	Each	$20.00	$20,000.00	1861	n/a	[11]
Springfield Model 1861 Rifle (Manufacturing cost at the official armory)	Each	$12.00	$12,000.00	1861	n/a	[12]
Springfield Model 1861 Rifle (Manufacturing cost at private armories)	Each	$14.00	$14,000.00		n/a	[12]
Gatling Gun	Each	$1,000.00	$1,000,000.00	1864	n/a	[12]
Slave ('in the prime of his life')	Each	$1,600.00		1859	Georgia	[14]
Slave (mean average price at the auction)	Each	$708.28		1859	Georgia	[14]
Slave (injured)	Each	$300.00		1859	Georgia	[14]
Slave	Each	$400.00		1850	Southern States	[4]
Slave ('Prime Field Hand')	Each	$1,800.00		1860	Southern States	[12]
Horse	Each	$120		1861	n/a	[12]
Horse	Each	$185		1865	n/a	[12]

Restaurant Food

Item	Unit	Cost	Year	Location	Source
Cup of chocolate (hot chocolate)	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]
Mammoth glass of Mason Celebrated Beer	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]
Clam chowder	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]

Hot oatmeal mush	Each	$0.10	1850's	California	[1]
Beefsteak and onions, with fried potatoes	Each	$0.10	1850's	California	[1]
Boiled mutton with oyster sauce	Each	$0.10	1850's	California	[1]
Chicken pot pie	Each	$0.20	1850's	California	[1]
Pig's feet, soused or in batter	Each	$0.10	1850's	California	[1]
Porterhouse steak	Each	$0.25	1850's	California	[1]
Roast beef with lima beans	Each	$0.10	1850's	California	[1]
Roast turkey and currant jelly	Each	$0.25	1850's	California	[1]
Stewed mutton with bread, butter and potatoes	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]
Baked Apples	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]
Buckwheat cakes with honey	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]
Stewed prunes	Each	$0.05	1850's	California	[1]
Ale (bottle)	Each	$2.00	1850's	California	[1]
Champagne (bottle)	Each	$5.00	1850's	California	[1]
Champagne cider (bottle)	Each	$2.00	1850's	California	[1]
Claret (bottle)	Each	$2.00	1850's	California	[1]
Old Madeira (bottle)	Each	$4.00	1850's	California	[1]
Pale sherry (bottle)	Each	$3.00	1850's	California	[1]
Baked sweet potatotes	Each	$0.50	1850's	California	[1]
Boiled Irish Potatoes	Each	$0.50	1850's	California	[1]
Cabbage	Each	$0.50	1850's	California	[1]
Cheese	Each	$0.75	1850's	California	[1]
Ox tail soup	Each	$1.00	1850's	California	[1]
Squash	Each	$0.50	1850's	California	[1]
Baked trout, white and anchovy sauce	Each	$1.50	1850's	California	[1]
Beef stewed with onions	Each	$1.25	1850's	California	[1]
Curried sausages	Each	$1.00	1850's	California	[1]
Pork & apple sauce	Each	$1.25	1850's	California	[1]
Roast beef, Stuffled lamb or mutton	Each	$1.00	1850's	California	[1]
Stewed Kidney, Sauce de Champagne	Each	$1.25	1850's	California	[1]
Tenderloin lamb, green peas	Each	$1.25	1850's	California	[1]
Apple Pie	Each	$0.75	1850's	California	[1]
Brandy peach pastry	Each	$2.00	1850's	California	[1]
Bread pudding	Each	$0.75	1850's	California	[1]
Jelly Omelette	Each	$2.00	1850's	California	[1]
Mince Pie	Each	$0.75	1850's	California	[1]
Rum Omelette	Each	$2.00	1850's	California	[1]
Stewed Prunes	Each	$0.75	1850's	California	[1]

Sources:

[1] http://www.foodtimeline.org/foodpioneer.html

[2] http://www.kidport.com/Reflib/UsaHistory/CalGoldRush/lifeof49er.htm

[3] http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/pioneers_and_cowboys/index.html

[4] http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/helper/helper.html [page 65]

[5] http://gpih.ucdavis.edu/files/Maryland_1752-1856.xls

[6] http://www.road-kill-cafe.com/forbestown/faq.html

[7] http://www.nkyviews.com/owen/text/store_ledger.html

[8] http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/trappers,_traders,_and_explorers/traderstrappersandmountianmen.html

[9] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_Colt
[10] http://www.civilwarhome.com/potpourr.htm
[11] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Springfield_Model_1861
[12] http://www.civilwarhome.com/potpourr.htm
[14] http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/slaveauction.htm
[15] http://facweb.furman.edu/~benson/docs/wage4570.htm
[16] http://gpih.ucdavis.edu/files/Maryland_1752-1856.xls
[17] http://historytogo.utah.gov/utah_chapters/trappers,_traders,_and_explorers/traderstrappersandmountianmen.html
[18] http://www.yale.edu/ynhti/curriculum/units/1990/5/90.05.07.x.html
[19] www.civilwarhome.com

Footnotes:

Footnote 1:

The metrics from the orginal source data has been standardised for the sake of uniformity, and to allow like for like comparison between items.
lbs are taken as 0.454kg; pints as 0.568 litres; gallons as 4.546 litres; bushels are taken as 36.368 litres; quarts are taken as 1.136 litres;

Footnote 2:

Many of the prices in the source data gave a price range, marked by a low figure and a high figure. If that is the case, then the figures given in this listing are of the higher figure, the higher possible price.

Footnote 3:

As the source data only provided income for one period of time (either day, week, month or year), that piece of information has been listed. If the income data provided by the orginial source was in months, then it has been multipled by 12 to give the income per year, and then divided by 52 to give the income per week, and then 5 to give the income per day. This works out to 260 working days per year.

Backgammon.

Backgammon is fairly simple although it can seem confusing at first. These are the basic rules to backgammon. Unlike chess, there is a certain amount of luck involved with the roll of the dice and it won't take you long to realise that certain dice combinations should be played in certain ways.

The objective:

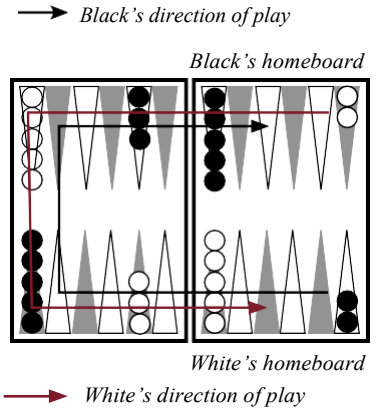
To win by moving all of your checkers to your 'home board' and then 'bear them all off.'

How to move your checkers

Set up

Set up the board like this and figure out which is your 'homeboard' so you'll know where it is that you have to move your checkers to before you can begin to 'bear them off'.

Both players roll one dice each and the higher roll indicates who is to go first. The player throwing the higher number now moves his checkers according to the numbers showing on both dice. After the first roll, the players throw two dice and take alternate turns.

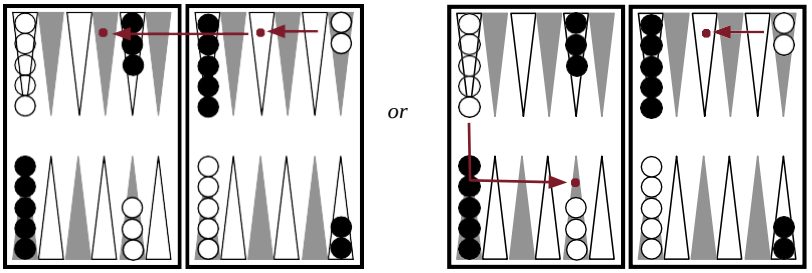


Throwing the dice and moving

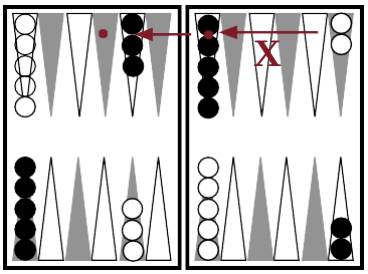
The roll of the dice indicates how many points, or pips, the player is to move his checkers. The checkers are always moved forward in the direction indicated in the diagram above. The following rules apply:

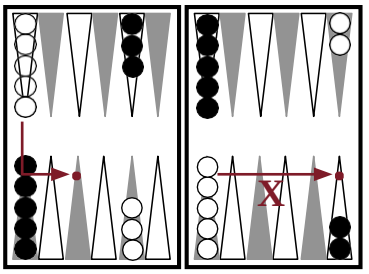
1. A checker may be moved only to an open point, one that is not occupied by two or more opposing checkers.

2. The numbers on the two dice constitute separate moves. For example, if a player rolls 5 and 3, he may move one checker five spaces to an open point and another checker three spaces to an open point, or he may move the one checker a total of eight spaces to an open point, but only if the intermediate point (either three or five spaces from the starting point) is also open.



These would be illegal moves because white is not moving onto an open point.





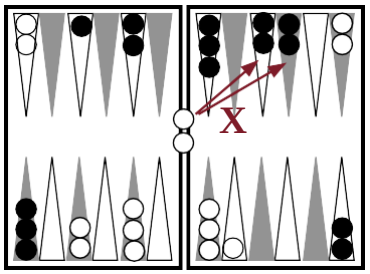
4. If you are lucky you might roll doubles. This is when both dice are the same and means you can move double the amount. For example, if you were to roll 6 and 6 you would be able to move 6 four times and you may move any combination of checkers you feel is best. You luckysod.

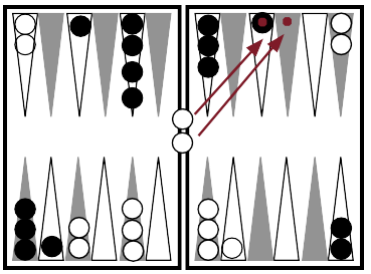
5. A player must use both numbers of a roll if this is legally possible (or all four numbers of a double). When only one number can be played, the player must play that number. Or if either number can be played but not both, the player must play the larger one. When neither number can be used, the player loses his turn. In the case of doubles, when all four numbers cannot be played, the player must play as many numbers as he can.

Hitting and entering

A point occupied by a single checker is called a blot and if an opposing checker lands on it then this checker is removed from the board and placed on the bar. Therefore it's best to try and keep your checkers in groups of two or more so that they cannot be attacked.

If a player has one or more checkers on the bar, they cannot resume playing until they have succeeded in returning their pieces to the homeboard of their opponent. They do this by rolling a number that corresponds to an open point on the opposing home board. If white had two checkers on the bar and rolled a 3 and 4 in the first example they could not move and would lose a turn and in the second example they could return both checkers to play and simultaneously remove an opponents checker to the bar. Yay!



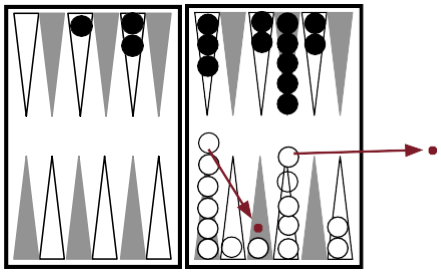


Bearing off

Once a player has moved all their pieces to their home board, they can start bearing off. A player bears off a checker by rolling a number that corresponds to the point on which the checker resides, and then removing that checker from the board. Thus, rolling a 4 permits the player to remove a checker from the fourth point.

If there is no checker on the point indicated by the roll, the player must move instead by moving a checker on a higher point (in the case of rolling a 4, he could move a checker on the fifth or sixth point instead). If there are no checkers on higher-numbered points, the player is permitted (and required) to remove a checker from the highest point on which one of his checkers resides. A player is under no obligation to bear off if he can make an otherwise legal move.

A player must have all of his active checkers in his home board in order to bear off. If a checker is hit during the bear-off process, the player must bring that checker back to his home board before continuing to bear off. The first player to bear off all fifteen checkers wins the game.



In the above example white can begin to bear off but black cannot. If white was to roll a 3 and a 2 they could bear off a counter on the third point but because the second point is empty they would have to move a counter on either the 3rd, 4th, 5th or 6th points.