

Sarah Burd Yeates: A Woman of the Eighteenth Century

By Doris MacPherson

The eighteenth century history of Pennsylvania frequently centers upon accounts of upper class males of British descent. William Penn's colony, founded in order to provide asylum to those who like himself were persecuted for their Quaker beliefs, also welcomed other groups unable to exercise their individual religious persuasion. Penn sought to create a province in order that "an example may be set up to the nations", "a free colony for all mankind."¹ Penn's personal example of respect for all people, native Americans as well as newcomers, drew sects from Wales, Holland and Germany to his haven. The atmosphere of tolerance applied equally to those who wished economic freedom. Thus, Pennsylvania from its beginning was a model of religious and ethnic diversity.

Despite the influx of Welsh, Dutch and Germans, It was the Quakers and others of British background who attained economic and political dominance of the colony. In some sections of the state, this power remained in the hands of these groups through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Evidence of the prominence of the British colonists and their descendants remains visible in the form of institution, place ad street names. Their leading role in the definition of the community contributes to distortions in the history of the region.

The growth and strength of this colony from its very beginning should be attributed to all groups who participated, not only to those who are conspicuous by their prominence or notoriety. With a few exceptions, those who are particularly absent from historical notice are women of all ethnic groups and social strata. When the history does deal with the contributions of the eighteenth century woman, it concerns itself chiefly with heroines of the revolution or with Quaker women who left written records available to students and scholars. Women such as Molly Pitcher, and Betsey Ross had their deeds documented in the history. Quaker women were a unique class because the tenets of the Quaker belief provided them a level of equality and education uncommon at the time. They kept diaries and wrote books some of which survive to the present. These documents provide us with the views of the women of the era.²

Much of what these women wrote centers on their personal lives and

events occurring in and around Philadelphia. The fact is that most people lived in or near the city. Philadelphia was the capital of the colony and the center of Pennsylvania commerce through the eighteenth century.

As new settlers arrived the demand for arable land forced them further to the north and west of the city. By 1729 Lancaster county became a political entity as the fourth county in the state. The town of Lancaster, designated the county seat, was founded in 1730 in response to the need for a courthouse and prison.³ The leadership of the new town was, like Philadelphia, controlled by Englishman. German speaking people began arriving in Lancaster immediately and by 1740 seventy-five percent of the lotholders were of German or Swiss derivation.⁴ Many of these settlers were able to take advantage of the opportunities which the growth of industry provided. This in turn led to economic success and prominence in the community. From its beginning Lancaster was shaped by a social and ethnic diversity which Philadelphia, its model, lacked.

At mid-century, land to the west of Lancaster beyond the Susquehanna River was still considered wilderness. Roads were primitive, if they existed at all, and travelers and settlers alike were at the mercy of hostile Indians. Lancaster, at the eastern edge of the back country, was little more than a frontier town. From the perspective of any Philadelphian of the time, the citizenry of Lancaster, made up as it was of an English speaking minority and German speaking majority, lacked the culture and refinement of his city.

The history of Lancaster and the remote western region was defined by the men who achieved prominence as political and military leaders. Significant events such as clearing the land, building roads and forts, dealing with and fighting the Indians, French and British, made heroes of the men who led these initiatives. Their wives and daughters are less noted. On the frontier as in the cities and towns, Pennsylvania women also served. However their role is nearly invisible in the historical record. It is to correct such omissions that I examine the life of a woman of rural Pennsylvania, Sarah Burd Yeates (1748-1829), who was known to her family as Sally.

It is possible to study her because she was literate and she and members of the family wrote letters to each other. Writing was an important method of communication for this active family, scattered as they were through the western territory by choices of residence or the demands of occupation. This woman, a participant in the development of the heartland of Pennsylvania, left a written record that provides a view of her daily life, her thoughts and susceptibilities.

Sally was a woman of the upper class. She was not only literate, but energetic and intelligent, as demonstrated by the content of her letters. Whether she had formal schooling or not is unclear. Her rural upbringing suggests she may have been taught by her parents, more than likely her mother. Her places of residence were determined for her by the business pursuits of her father, and, after her marriage, those of her husband. This fact placed her, from 1752 on, in the dynamic and growing region in and around Lancaster.

The first child of Sarah Shippen and James Burd, Sally was born in Philadelphia on January 11, 1748. Her father, who experienced persistent business disappointments in the city, moved his family to Shippensburg in 1752, in order to manage and expand his father-in-law's business. Burd hoped to make

his fortune, or at least secure the future of his growing family on the frontier and put his previous failures behind him. Edward Shippen III, the beloved family patriarch, father of Sarah and grandfather of Sally, was proprietor of the newly-founded village. The elder Shippen lived in Lancaster, however, and used Shippensburg both to raise the horses and warehouse the goods used for trade in the western territory.⁵

Shippensburg, west of the Susquehanna River, was sparsely settled and literally a clearing in the wilderness during Sally's childhood. James Burd, while traveling out from the village on a trading trip west, wrote to his father-in-law on September 25, 1754 of a rumor he heard, that the French and Indians intended striking at the "back inhabitants." He could not know at that time that he was providing a warning of impending calamity.⁶ War was a reality in the area by the end of the year.

James Burd's knowledge of the western territory made him a valued resource to the British during the French and Indian War. By the beginning of 1755, Burd was involved in building roads from Chambersburg west through the Tuscarora and Allegheny Mountains and, as a commissioned captain in the Pennsylvania militia, he also built forts in that same vicinity.⁷ Both his appointment to government service, and most of his successes in business after marriage to Sarah can be attributed to the patronage of his father-in-law.⁸ Shippen continually demonstrated his interest in assuming an active role in family affairs. Anxious for the safety of the women and children of the family as rampant Indian attacks routed most of the inhabitants west of the Susquehanna, he sent his wife, daughter Sarah and grandchildren to Philadelphia for their protection until the area was secured from attack.⁹ Grandfather Shippen continued to exert influence on Sally's life until his death in 1781.

Edward Shippen III was also responsible for Sally's meeting Jasper Yeates. Jasper (1745-1817), graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1761 and was apprenticed to the law firm of Edward Shippen IV, also in Philadelphia. Edward Shippen IV was the son of the elder Shippen and uncle of Sally. In 1764, when Edward Shippen III wrote his son that he needed a clerk for his firm in Lancaster, Yeates offered his services and relocated to Lancaster. The town became the base of his business operations for the duration of his career.¹⁰ Sally and Jasper married in 1767, a match which was to last fifty years. The correspondence of each clearly indicates that their affection was mutual and marriage was their personal choice. The marriage yielded benefits for both sides. James Burd, always financially insecure, acquired a son-in-law who showed great promise as a lawyer, and Jasper Yeates cemented his relationship with the powerful Shippen family.¹¹

Lancaster, where Sally and Jasper set up housekeeping, was thriving. It was surrounded by fertile farm country, which provided bountiful annual harvests. In town, merchants and craftsmen busily plied trade and manufacture. In 1770 there were approximately 2,850 inhabitants. The population had virtually doubled in the years since 1746. Many were drawn to the town in search of financial security which the growing region promised.¹² The mixed ethnic background of the population placed Sally and Jasper in the midst of a varied and evolving social structure. The Lancaster of Sally's and Jasper's day provided an egalitarian community which more nearly approximates William Penn's ideas

for the colony. Had they lived in Philadelphia, the Yeateses' wealth and family background would have provided them entree to the upper stratum of society, which by nature and size of the population there consisted exclusively of persons of British descent.

Jasper Yeates' career was one of constant involvement in public affairs. Born in Philadelphia, son of a merchant engaged in foreign trade, he was successful both in the practice of law and his business affairs. As a respected lawyer with a flourishing practice, he joined in the public protest against the unjust treatment of the colonies by England in 1774. Early in the war for independence (1776-1777), he was appointed by the new Congress to negotiate peace with the Indians in the area surrounding Fort Pitt, lest the British use them against the Americans on the frontier.¹³ As a Pennsylvania delegate Jasper participated in the ratification of the Constitution in 1787. During the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion in Pittsburgh, President Washington appointed him to mediate with the rebels in an attempt to gain their cooperation with the taxing authority of the federal government.

The state of Pennsylvania appointed Jasper Associate Justice of the Supreme Court in 1791, a position he held until his death.¹⁴ The demands of Jasper's career made frequent travel a necessity. His intense involvement with his profession, besides depriving Sally of his company, imposed the household management on her.

In 1775 Jasper purchased the house at 24 South Queen as the residence for his family. Sally and Jasper made their home at the house for the rest of their lives. The Philadelphia-Georgian style dwelling, which also housed Jasper's law office, was large and grand enough for the town's most prominent lawyer. The house is just a few hundred feet south of the center of Lancaster, a location which placed Sally in the midst of the bustling community. Just a short walk led to Grandfather Shippen's house and also to St. James Anglican Church where the Yeateses were members.

When construction of Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike was undertaken in 1792, as one of the first civil projects of the new country, Jasper, who had property nearby began construction of a country mansion. The estate, Belmont, is located about ten miles east of Lancaster in the Pequea Valley. It is not clear whether Sally and Jasper ever intended to make Belmont their permanent home. The estate was designated their summer home, but since few of Sally's letters originated from Belmont, it can be assumed that they preferred town life most of the year. John Yeates, only son of Sally and Jasper, became a farmer and made Belmont his home from about the turn of the century on.

Sally bore Jasper ten children, five of who died in childhood. Their sex and names can only be guessed at. In a few of Sally's letters she described events concerning children whose names are not among those who survived. Yet, in none of the letters did Sally discuss the death of her children. The inference and the hope is that Jasper was home during these sad times and they shared their grief and provided solace to one another.

In the quiet graveyard behind St. James Anglican Church, near the two prominent monuments which mark the graves of Sally and Jasper, are five small headstones. Their inscriptions are time-worn and no longer decipherable. Since many other family members lie near and around them, these may be where the

children who did not survive were laid to their final rest.

Although death was a frequent visitor, the demands of the five living children allowed Sally little time to pine. Son John, and daughters Mary, Catherine, Elizabeth and Margaret teased and romped as active children have always done. Since Sally devoted her full time to her family, it was she who dealt the day to day occurrences. She often wrote Jasper of the children's illnesses, accidents or about mundane events that would delight and amuse him during his absence.

Sally did far more than care for the children. She negotiated the purchase of indentured servants, directed craftsmen and laborers working at the house, planted the kitchen garden, negotiated the purchase and delivery of wood for fuel, and arranged for the butchering of cows or pigs. Indeed she was actively involved with every facet of management of the household. In addition to these tasks, Sally maintained a watchful eye on her husband's office and reported on business activities to keep him abreast of happenings. Her life centered on her husband and family. She devoted herself to them. In return they cherished her. When Jasper died in 1817, they were in the fiftieth year of marriage. Sally continued to live in the Queen Street house until her own death in 1829.

Although women of the era have not been the focus of study, Sally is a conspicuous minor player in the history of the revolutionary period. Her life can be examined because of her descendance from the Shippen family and her marriage to Jasper Yeates. Her grandfather, a man of consequence in both business and politics, followed the tradition established by his own grandfather, Edward Shippen I. Edward Shippen steered the lives of his children and grandchildren, when necessary, to encourage their ability to continue to influence and control of political affairs. He was by all accounts revered by Sally and her siblings. It is through the writing of scholars who have studied the Shippens that glimpses of Sally's early life are visible.

Jasper, though he began his career under the wing of the Shippens, achieved prominence in his own right. His service to the state and country in a judicial capacity and his contribution to law scholarship in the form of documented cases and opinions are noteworthy.¹⁵ Jasper's business and personal documents can be found in Yeates, Burd, and Shippen collections, housed in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Lancaster County Historical Society, and the American Philosophical Society. These collections also contain some of Sally's letters and references to her which provide insight to her character and experience. The writer limited her study to manuscripts contained at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Lancaster County Historical Society.

Letters were the primary means of communication between Sally and Jasper when he was away. Sometimes a traveling family member or friend brought news, but that did not substitute for the first-hand account provided by their letters to each other. This was their way of touching each other across the miles, and the quantity of letters did not appear to diminish with the years.

From their content as well as the quantity, the letters provide proof of their mutual devotion. While Sally's letters were concerned with domestic details and community events, Jasper's contained a mixture of personal items and current issues.

Letters to and from other members of the family are another source of

background information. Except for letters to Jasper and their son John, Sally's correspondence was with the female members of the family; her mother, sisters, daughters. Jasper's personal correspondence included his "grandfather" Shippen, his father-in-law James Burd, and his brother-in-law Edward Burd. The warmth expressed by and among members of the extended family affirms a sense of mutual respect and affection.

Social status provided Sally the opportunity to become literate. It also allowed her the time to read and write. Unlike many women of this period, she was not subject to the endless drudgery which sapped their energy and will. Her social class limited her choices for life. She could marry or remain single. To be a spinster invariably meant living with parents until death, then making a home with a married brother. Marriage permitted Sally to exercise leadership and provide direction in the management of her household. The arrival of children enabled her to share in and influence the lives of her offspring.

Sally's life was not one of empty days and idleness. Her life, although private, kept her occupied with family responsibilities and the demands of housekeeping. She took her duties seriously and was by all indications happily absorbed in living. The realities and demands of the developing commonwealth and the fledgling nation could not be ignored, because her husband was directly involved. She was not a direct participant. But, if history is about people, Sally can be considered significant in her own right.

The letters, which the writer examined, provide a view beneath the surface events of Sally's life and provide insight into her feelings and emotions; what were her concerns and fears, how she dealt with day to day events, how she expressed her feelings for her husband and children, how she responded to situations that were beyond her control. These facets of Sally's identity will be examined in the context of the correspondence.

The events which ultimately led to war for independence occurred when Sally was still in her twenties and already had several young children to care for. Jasper's sympathies lay with the colonists and against the tyranny of the British. By the summer of 1776 he was enlisted by the continental government to negotiate peace treaties with Indian tribes in the vicinity of Fort Pitt in an effort to prevent them from being used by the British. Sally showed deep concern for Jasper's safety on the mission. She wrote to Jasper on his way west of her loneliness; "everything in my Share of the World has lost its relish . . . a dinner of Herbs or a piece of bread with your Company is worth the world to me."¹⁶ She disclosed this feeling of personal vulnerability because she feared Jasper's life might be in danger. Of the war she said, "This Rod of Affliction Providence hangs over our head that we may learn to Know Ourselves . . . Who knows if we return to him with Prayer and Supplication he may yet please to withdraw his anger from us."¹⁷ Sally rarely revealed such helplessness.

Jasper himself admitted the possibility of danger, but not to Sally. He kept "Grandfather" Shippen informed of happenings during the negotiations and relayed his own apprehension when he stated. "We have but too great a reason to fear an Indian War may soon take place on the Frontier of the Colony and Virginia . . . We are prepared for the worst. . ."¹⁸ He was candid about the state of affairs to Shippen, but Jasper admonished him not to reveal it to Sally and if

she should hear rumors he requested that Shippen provide her with the facts "in the gentlest manner".¹⁹

Jasper had previously cautioned Sally not to react to rumors. He wrote her that she should "credit no Stories concerning the Indians, unless you have them from the most indisputable authority. . . I am determined on doing my Duty, but will not idly or unnecessarily court Danger."²⁰ He related that he had heard rumors on his way west that later proved unfounded. Jasper's sensitivity to Sally's fears are touching. At the time of these events they were young and had been married for about nine years, but Jasper's attentiveness to Sally did not appear to diminish over the years.

He wrote from another stop on the trip west to Fort Pitt. "Give your dear Children a thousand Kisses on my Account, and I will repay you with interest."²¹ Seventeen years later his closing line in a letter stated, "My Heart & all my Affections are centered in you & the dear Pledges of our Love."²² These are two examples of many such sentiments expressed over the years. Jasper's reassurance of his affection clearly affirmed Sally's sense of personal value and self-esteem. She in return expressed her devotion to him and acknowledged her gratitude for his attention. "I earnestly long for the Happiness of your company which grows more dear to me everyday I live."²³

Sally's letters assumed a direct tone and provide a sense of everything being under control. She kept him up-to-date on family and neighborhood happenings, visits, and the local weather. Reports of the children's activities brought home closer to Jasper. "Yesterday the children entered dancing school. They desire to present their duty to you. Peggy says you are gone on the Horse to buy her Apples new gowns and petticoats she chatters finely."²⁴ Her children were a delight to her. "Our little Betsy is standing by me and chatters so much that I hardly know what I write she wants my pen to write to her Papa and is teasing me about it and will not stir from my elbow."²⁵ The progress of workmen was reported; there were fences to build, wallpaper to hang, shingling to be done, casks and barrels to be repaired. Sometimes there were business matters to call to Jasper's attention. But Sally lamented Jasper's absences, "I am very anxious for your return. I shall never be reconciled to those long absences of yours."²⁶

A new chapter in the lives of the Yeateses began in 1781. Edward Shippen III's death occurred in September, just before the end of war was announced. The elder Shippen had been gravely ill since late spring and although death was expected, when it came it shook the family and left his children and grandchildren deeply grieved.²⁷ A major era ended for the Shippen, Burd and Yeates families.

With the conflict over, Sally and Jasper expressed joy and relief. Although Lancaster was not directly in the line of battle, it was strategic in the fight against the British because it served as a major supply depot for powder, lead and food. It was also one of the centers for the manufacture of the famed Pennsylvania rifles which proved to be superior to those of the British.²⁸ After victory was announced, Jasper affirmed his elation to Sally. "The Surrender of Lord Cornwallis affords me the Dawn of a Peace. This idea is more pleasing to me than any other Circumstance, tho I feel much satisfaction at the rising Glories

of America."²⁹ Sally observed the celebration in the town. "...our town looked Beautiful with the illuminations the colour flying Canon & small arms firing & the young fellows of the Town parading the streets with Laurel in their hats."³⁰

Peace with Britain meant Sally need no longer fear for Jasper's capture by the enemy or the eruption of battle in the Lancaster area. Yet life in the eighteenth century was far less certain. Cures for many diseases were unknown. Travel accidents, then as now, could cause serious injury. Sally on hearing from a family member that Jasper had been injured when kicked by a horse, immediately sought confirmation from him that he was only superficially hurt. Shortly after their marriage, he invited disaster by crossing the Susquehanna River on the ice. Years later, when he was in York she reminded him of the event and gently told him she would rather have him home safely a few days late, and that he should not even think of crossing the river if it placed him in danger.³¹ At other times, when she felt he was tiring himself from overwork, Sally urged Jasper to take time away from his work and enjoy the company of his friends for the sake of his health. It is clear Jasper's well being was always foremost in Sally's mind because she loved him dearly.

It is doubtful Sally influenced Jasper's business affairs. She was expected to, or voluntarily helped Jasper keep up with his personal practice when he was away. "Mr. Hoofnagle desires you will order out a writ on the enclosed and Burckholder will pay the writ."³² She never expresses a political opinion, only concern for the effect of conflict on their life and the lives of other families. The business interests of the males of the family centered, indeed benefitted, from political activity. Perhaps Sally did have opinions but did not express them in writing. More than likely other duties consumed her time and energy.

Sally was adept at home remedies for minor illnesses, as described in the cookbook she kept.³³ But outbreaks of life threatening diseases such as smallpox, measles, and scarlet fever were recurrent. "The measles prove very Mortal in town Three children where burried Yesterday and the same number will be interred today. They take a Case after and carries them off in a few days."³⁴ Although the poor were more susceptible because of lower nutritional standards and crowded living quarters, Sally's frequent mention of family members', particularly children's, contraction of these diseases, underline the fact that anyone could fall victim. Caring for the ill, whether her child or a family servant, was a task she assumed as it became necessary. What a sense of personal helplessness she must have felt when her child weakened and died in spite of dedicated care.

Sally described such an event to Jasper and how it effected the family when a granddaughter died. She wrote mournfully. " I regret exceedingly that I should be obliged to give you such painful intelligence as the loss of our dear little darling... she expired about 10 o'clock this morning we still flattered ourselves she would recover...she was ...twined around our hearts but we must endeavor to be resigned to the will of Providence."³⁵ Sally's two follow-up letters discussed the personal sadness the passing of this child caused. Their daughter, Betsey Yeates Conyngham, the child's mother, was suffering a depression, which added concern to Sally's grief. Sally lost sisters, brothers, sons, daughters and grandchildren. She suffered greater sorrow, but resigned herself to the will of

God. "...happy would it be for us if it would please God to enable us to be prepared whenever he pleases to call us to the same event. We think we can give ourselves and all we hold most dear into the hands of our heavenly father and submit to his will, but how frail we are and how hard when he pleases to put us to the Trial."³⁶

When Jasper fell ill with a severe case of the gout in Philadelphia during the month of December 1806, Sally rushed to be with him. When Margaret Burd Coxe wrote, from Philadelphia,, to her cousin Catherine Yeates she related to Catherine that Sally's arrival in the city was expected imminently. Since Jasper was much better, Margaret hoped Sally would not just turn around and go back home. Of Jasper Margaret Coxe said, he was complaining about being kept in bed so long but, "He talks and laughs as much as usual...Aunt has not been to Philadelphia in twenty years and she has some friends in the city who love her most tenderly."³⁷ Not friends nor family, but only Jasper's illness drew Sally to the city.

Activity well past middle-age attest to Sally's good health. In 1816 she and a group of Lancaster women made plans to begin a Sunday School in town. The school was intended to be modeled on one in Philadelphia, which the women heard was operating successfully. Sally informed Jasper of the objectives of this endeavor, which were to teach children to read and write the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and to memorize certain verses of scripture. The proposed pupils of this class were obviously poor children who had to other opportunity for an education. Sally detailed the plan because Jasper was requested to obtain and send a copy of the "Constitution" of the model Sunday School in Philadelphia. A few weeks later Sally wrote of the two Sunday sessions which had been held and also of the additional weekday classes to teach some of the poor children to read, write, sew and knit.³⁸ Sally at 68 was not yet in retirement.

Even after Jasper's death there is evidence Sally, in her seventies, continued an active interest in life. Son John, at Belmont, maintained a lively correspondence with his mother. John was a professional farmer and discussed planting, harvesting, as well a crop disappointments with his mother. He supplied her with produce for her table and consulted with her on matters of investment. There are no letters in the files from John after October 1825.³⁹

The last letter addressed directly to Sally is from her daughter. Mary Yeates Smith. In it Mary informs her mother that she has a new great-granddaughter. Mary relates, "The little stranger is called after my dear Mother, Sarah Yeates. I hope she may resemble her."⁴⁰

When Sally's nephew wrote to her daughter Catherine in June of 1828, it is clear Sally was into the decline that preceded her death. Edward Burd wrote, "Fine weather will be of service to my Aunt...too great a confinement to the house is frequently the cause of disease in various forms."⁴¹ Sally died on October 25, 1829 in the 82nd year of her life.

Conclusion

Sally Yeates was a private woman who remained at home, but provided

strong support to the professional and political endeavors of her husband. Although she had no place in his professional life, she was his acknowledged partner and their roles complemented each other's. She experienced the growing pains of the colony and the nation, as well as a liberal share of human joys and sorrows. Formal education was out of the question for Sally, but her intelligence cannot be denied. While Jasper was undoubtedly the head of the house, it was Sally who created the refuge Jasper sought from the cares of public life. She was born to an affectionate and cohesive family. Those qualities she valued and sought to emulate as wife, mother, and member of her community.

Endnotes

- 1 Philip S. Klein and Ari Hoogenboom, *A History of Pennsylvania* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973, p. 21.
- 2 Jean R. Soderlund, "Women in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania: Toward a Model of Diversity," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Volume CXV, Number 2, (April 1991): pp. 163-183.
- 3 Jerome H. Wood, Jr., *Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730-1790*, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1979 p. 3.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 5 Lily Lee Nixon, *James Burd: Frontier Defender*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941, pp. 6-20.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 21-43.
- 8 Randolph S. Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975, p. 97.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 Wood, *Conestoga Crossroads*, p. 47.
- 13 Letter, Jasper Yeates to Edward Shippen III, from Pittsburgh to Lancaster, September 22, 1776, (Shippen Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 14 *Dictionary of American Biography*, Volume XX, s.v. "Yeates, Jasper". ed. Dumas Malone.
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to Carlisle, dated July 12, 1776, (Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 Letter, Jasper Yeates to Edward Shippen III, from Pittsburgh to Lancaster, dated August 30, 1776, (Shippen Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Letter, Jasper Yeates to Sarah Burd Yeates, from Tinian to Lancaster, dated July 13, 1776. (Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 21 Letter: Jasper Yeates to Sarah Burd Yeates, from Carlisle to Lancaster, dated July 17, 1776, Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 22 Letter, Jasper Yeates to Sarah Burd Yeates, from Pittsburgh to Lancaster, dated August 17, 1794, (Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 23 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to York, dated July 31, 1782, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 24 *Ibid.*
- 25 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to York, dated February 1, 1781, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 26 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to Somerset, dated October 14, 1808, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 27 Klein, *Portrait of an Early American Family*, pp. 196-199.

- 28 Wood, Conestoga Crossroads: Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1730-1790. pp. 79-89.
- 29 Letter, Jasper Yeates to Sarah Burd Yeates, from Carlisle to Lancaster, dated October 27, 1781, (Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 30 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to Carlisle, dated October 29, 1781, (Yeates Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 31 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to York, dated January 23, 1791, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- 32 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to York, dated August 1, 1781. (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 33 Cookbook of Sarah Burd Yeates, Landis Valley Museum.
- 34 Letter, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates, from Lancaster to York, dated July 26, 1783, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 35 *Ibid.*, January 5, 1810.
- 36 *Ibid.*, January 17, 1810.
- 37 Letter, Margaret Burd Coxo to Catherine Yeates, from Philadelphia to Lancaster, dated December 24, 1806, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 38 Letters, Sarah Burd Yeates to Jasper Yeates from Lancaster to Philadelphia, dated February 13, 1816, July 24, 1816, August 6, 1816, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 39 Letters, John Yeates to Sarah Burd Yeates, from Belmont to Lancaster, dated September 23, 1799 through October 25, 1825, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 40 Letter, Mary Yeates Smith to Sarah Burd Yeates, from Mansfield to Lancaster dated April 24, 1827, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society).
- 41 Letter, Edward Burd to Catherine Yeates, from Philadelphia to Lancaster, dated June 13, 1828, (Jasper Yeates Collection, Lancaster County Historical Society)

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The author wishes to acknowledge the help of Mrs. Debbie Smith, former director of Lancaster County Historical Society for generously offering the use of the Yeates Collection and James Bergquist, Ph.D., Professor of History at Villanova University for his direction and advice.