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Uncoverings: The Research Papers of the American Quilt Study Group - Volume 44 (2023)

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The American Quilt Study Group establishes and promotes the highest standards for interdisciplinary quilt-related studies, providing opportunities for study, research, and publication of works that advance the knowledge of quilts and related subjects.

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COVER IMAGE: *The Cherry Tree* quilt, Charlotte Jane Whitehill, 1936, 82 x 82 inches. Neusteter Textile Collection at the Denver Art Museum: Gift of Charlotte Jane Whitehill, 1955.77. *Photograph courtesy Denver Art Museum.*

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PREFACE

A BOX OF EARLY, DISARTICULATED PATCHWORK BLOCKS IN the collection of the University of Rhode Island's Historic Textile and Costume Collection sparked the interest of Katy Williams-O'Donnell who set out to evaluate the oral history that accompanied the blocks when they were donated to the museum in 2019. After determining that the blocks and center medallion that were located in other institutions and collections were connected at one time, Katy set out to date the patchwork by assembling the object's provenance, collecting observable data, and comparing the existing blocks to extant objects of the time. Using images of the scattered blocks and center medallion, Katy was able to virtually recreate a possible layout for the original coverlet. As is often the case, she was able to confirm portions of the oral history that accompanied the set of blocks at the University of Rhode Island but showed that the likely origin of the coverlet was England rather than British North America.

Through meticulous examination of a popular early chintz design dating to 1761, Terry Terrell was able to document more versions of the Peacock among the Ruins design than previously identified. Her research shows the evolution of that design over time and provides useful information for dating specific examples of the fabric up to and including modern times. Her appendices provide useful summaries of her findings for people working to date fabrics containing the Peacock among the Ruins design.

During a period from the 1850s to 1917, a group of immigrants from Germany formed the Community of True Inspiration in eastern Iowa

and developed a reputation for their blue and white cotton fabrics, which became known as Amana calico. Susan Miller studied the community and the history of their production of resist-printed, indigo-dyed cotton fabrics.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, fabric panels that could be cut out, sewn together, and stuffed to form dolls and other toys became very popular, affordable, and durable playthings. The images on the panels vary from lifelike dolls, cute animals, toy soldier motifs, to racist caricatures that reflect popular culture of the time. Kathy Metelica Cray noticed that these panels sometimes appear in quilts and set out to explore the history of these products and the aggressive marketing techniques behind them.

The purchase of her Cherry Tree Medallion Quilt (circa 1930) inspired Lenna DeMarco's journey to locate related quilts. She was fortunate to find two nineteenth century examples of a design that became popular in the twentieth century. Although we may never know how the two older quilts came to resemble each other so closely, Lenna was able to trace the pattern's evolution in the twentieth century and early twenty-first century.

Berkley Sorrells and Marsha MacDowell were joined by Marsha Music, a community activist and artist, in a mission to learn about an inscribed patchwork quilt in the collection of the Michigan State University Museum. Their work uncovered a community of makers who worshipped at a church that survives and lived in a predominantly African American neighborhood of Detroit that was largely razed during the urban renewal efforts of the 1960s. The study serves as a model of research that actively involves the members of the community as participants in the research.

Joanna E. Evans
Editor

CHERRY TREE AND BIRDS QUILT

Tracing the Roots of a Pattern

By Lenna DeMarco

Four-block red-and-green appliqué was one of the most popular quilt styles of the mid-nineteenth century, produced by the thousands and featuring innumerable patterns. The Cherry Tree and Birds quilt pattern stands out as a distinctive design that incorporates both a folk art motif and traces of early Tree of Life palampore designs from India. Only two nineteenth-century examples are known to exist, and they are remarkably similar. Published as a commercial pattern in 1922, Cherry Tree and Birds has shown an enduring appeal. Although numerous examples have been produced in the last 100 years, the pattern has received only limited manipulation and interpretation. By examining template size, placement, and color choices used to create Cherry Tree and Birds quilts, the author has documented the evolution of a distinctive pattern from an unusual design to a mass-marketed and recognizable design.

RED-AND-GREEN APPLIQUÉ QUILTS ARE ARGUABLY SOME OF the most popular and prized quilts of the nineteenth century. With a heyday around 1840 to 1870, quiltmakers from New York to the Carolinas and from Pennsylvania to Missouri created what often was intended as their masterwork or, at least, a best quilt. Red-and-green quilts were most notably a particular favorite of German American communities.[1] Floral patterns such as Whig Rose, Love Apple, and Oak Leaf and Reel moved from community to community and state to

state as the country expanded, and quilters enhanced, embellished, and reinterpreted popular designs according to their personal tastes. Since there were few commercially published patterns in the early decades of the nineteenth century, quilters improvised their own unique designs. Some were the product of an individual, a family, or a community and never found their way beyond that boundary. However, certain designs struck a chord and were shared and copied by quilters from one region to another. As they traveled, some patterns retained enough similarity in common elements that they were recognizable as a specific block in quilting communities across the country. Scholars have identified numerous red-and-green blocks that have transcended region and era, and their research has provided us with in-depth explorations of their origins and evolutions. Pot of Flowers was documented by Connie Nordstrom in her study "One Pot of Flowers Quilt Pattern—Blossoming through Centuries" published in *Uncoverings 2002*.[2] Carol Gebel presented her research "Princess Feather: Exploring a Quilt Design" in *Uncoverings 2007*.[3] The most in-depth study of red-and-green appliqué quilts can be found in historian Ricky Clark's 1994 landmark publication *Quilted Gardens: Floral Quilts of the Nineteenth Century*.[4]

While rummaging through an estate resale shop more than a decade ago in Redlands, California, I came upon an unusual appliqué quilt that fits the tradition of red-and-green quilts (fig. 1). The medallion format consists of a single cherry or apple tree in the center. Heavy with fruit, the large tree is flanked by two oversized birds at the base. At the top and bottom of the quilt are two pots of whimsical flowers with stalks of unidentifiable buds placed along the sides. A border of appliquéd grape leaves, clusters of grapes, and fat yellow birds encircles the entire quilt. The Nile green and pastel fabrics suggest the quilt was most likely made in the second quarter of the twentieth century. The shop owner identified it as part of the estate of Queenie Smith, a 1930s stage and film actress and dancer.[5] Initially, I assumed the quilt was made from a kit, but research would reveal something quite different. It is this twentieth-century textile that piqued my curiosity and led to several years of research, during which I discovered the two nineteenth-century quilts that inspired this study.

FIGURE 1. *Cherry Tree Medallion Quilt,* circa 1930, 82 × 78 inches, from the estate of Queenie Smith (1898–1979). Collection of the author. *Photograph by Lynn Miller.*

THE TWO NINETEENTH-CENTURY QUILTS

The holdings of two major American museums store a mystery. Like twins separated at birth, two faded, late nineteenth-century, strikingly similar, four-block appliqué quilts rest quietly waiting for their lineage to be discovered. Each of the quilts features four large cherry trees,

FIGURE 2. *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt*, unknown maker, 1820–50, 76⅛ × 75⅞ inches. *Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1919.546.*

fanciful flowers, a central sun motif, and numerous birds flying across the background. A grape-and-vine border with birds encircles each quilt. The quilts are alike in nearly every detail, including template size, motifs, and fabric color choice, suggesting a shared origin, but there is no verifiable evidence of their origins. Even more intriguing is that they are the only two nineteenth-century examples of this pattern currently known to exist.

The Art Institute of Chicago (AIC) and the International Quilt Museum (IQM) in Lincoln, Nebraska, each contain in their collections a nineteenth-century Cherry Tree and Birds quilt. A maker has not been identified for either quilt, but they are so similar it seems likely they were made by the same person, family, or community of quilters. Both quilts likely date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the IQM suggests a possible Lancaster, Pennsylvania, origin for its quilt.[6] Although faded, both quilts are done in the four-block, red-and-green appliqué tradition of the mid-nineteenth century—a style popular with many German American quiltmakers and produced in especially large numbers in Pennsylvania and Ohio.[7] Each quilt features four large cherry trees, whimsical floral designs, numerous birds, and a central sun motif. The entire work is bordered by a thick vine with leaves, grape clusters, and more birds.

The first documented quilt of this pattern was procured by the AIC in 1919. Donated by art collector Emma B. Hodge, it was identified as *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt*, 76⅛ by 75⅞ inches (fig. 2). Initially dated by the museum as circa 1820, the date range has since been revised by the museum to 1820–50 (Appendix Quilt A).[8] No other information is provided. Emma and her sister, Jene Bell, were collectors of decorative arts and had amassed a large collection of textiles, including quilts assumed to have been made between 1820 and the 1860s. The entire collection was donated to the AIC in 1919.[9]

The museum's revised date of 1820–50 is still questionable. Considering contemporary research in organic and aniline dyes, a close examination of the degree and shade of color fading of the quilt's fabrics is key in determining a more accurate circa date. The trees and leaves are a tan shade, and the grapes and vine are brown. The birds, blossoms, and

FIGURE 3. *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt*. Evidence of fugitive green dye. *Courtesy of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1919.546.*

sun still maintain a strong red and orange. Turkey red and chrome orange were commercially produced throughout the nineteenth century. Turkey red was prized by quiltmakers not only for its brilliance of color but also for being quite colorfast. Chrome orange, a vivid mineral dye, tends to "crock" or rub off rather than deeply fade. Referencing the use of chrome orange, historian Barbara Brackman points out, "The striking color is a good clue to a mid-nineteenth century or later origin."[10]

The fabric color that provides the strongest clue to a revised construction date of late nineteenth century is green.[11] For the first three quarters of the century, green fabric was generally produced via a two-step overdye process using Prussian blue and chrome yellow.[12] If the fabric was exposed to harsh detergent or strong sunlight, it generally faded to either a blue or yellow. In the last quarter of the century, textile manufacturers abandoned the two-step process and produced aniline green dyes that were notoriously unstable. Even without exposure to light or detergent, chemically dyed green fabric quickly faded to tan. This appears to be the case with the AIC quilt (fig. 3). The color of the fabric used to create the trees and leaves in the quilt is an uneven tan. It suggests a probable use of an unreliable synthetic green dye and provides support for a construction date of 1875–1900.[13]

FIGURE 4. *Tree of Life,* unknown maker, circa 1860, 96 × 76 inches. *Courtesy of the International Quilt Museum, 2004.16.34.*

The second nineteenth-century quilt is in the collection of the IQM. It is dated circa 1860 by the museum and identified as *Tree of Life,* 96 by 76 inches (fig. 4). Mrs. Linda Giesler Carlson and Dr. John V. Carlson donated it to the museum in 2004 (Appendix Quilt B). Slightly

FIGURE 5. *Tree of Life*. Evidence of fugitive red dye. *Courtesy of the International Quilt Museum, 2004.16.34.*

larger than the first quilt, it too is deeply faded. The major color loss is in the red areas, which have faded to a salmon color that suggests a commercial dye such as Congo red, known to fade to this orangey pink shade.[14] Congo red was not patented until 1885 and was not made stable until 1922.[15] The appliqué thread, however, retains its original red color (fig. 5). The green fabric is fading to a dull grayish tone more consistent with some last-quarter nineteenth-century synthetic green dyes.[16] The presence of fugitive colors in the fabrics of this quilt indicates a use of commercial aniline dyes and, like the AIC quilt, provides additional evidence for a construction date of post-1885.

Although the two Cherry Tree quilts show slightly different placement for some motifs, they are very nearly identical in other ways. Quiltmakers of the nineteenth century often copied or shared patterns but generally added their own personal touches to placement, borders, fabrics, and embellishments. In her 2018 study of the single-vessel vine and floral quilt borders found in Ohio quilts, quilt historian

Xenia Cord discusses how quiltmakers in the mid- to late-nineteenth century studied, shared, and copied quilt patterns.[17] In addition to commercial publications, the influence of agricultural fairs as well as home and public presentations exposed quiltmakers to ever-growing designs and techniques. Cord notes the growing complex of railroad lines and highways enabled increased travel between communities and expanded opportunities for quiltmakers to observe quilting styles outside of their own immediate environs. Friends and relatives often sent designs by mail or, when visiting, brought samples with them. In this way, patterns easily and quickly spread between regions and states.[18] Despite these opportunities, no other comparable nineteenth-century representation of the Cherry Tree and Birds pattern has been located.

In most four-block appliqué quilts, it is the individual block that was generally shared and reinterpreted. Borders, additional motifs, and color choices were left to the discretion and imagination of the quiltmaker. There are scores of variations on traditional blocks like Whig Rose or Rose of Sharon. Conversely, the Cherry Tree and Birds pattern is a specific design and layout that encompasses the entire quilt. Matching or closely matching quilts are not uncommon, but generally, when two or more copies surface, some sort of corroborating information often accompanies them to indicate a relationship. The Cherry Tree and Birds quilts are near mirror images of each other, but unfortunately, no documented connection has been found. They were purchased nearly a century apart and currently reside in museums separated by hundreds of miles. Even casual examination makes it difficult to deny that the two quilts are related and may have at one time shared a home or community.

COMPARISON OF THE TWO NINETEENTH-CENTURY QUILTS

A close analysis of the design and construction of the two quilts reveals not only their remarkable similarities but also indications of a difference in skill levels and a strong case for two makers. The trees in the AIC quilt are a bit slimmer, vary in the number and placement of branches, and bear more fruit. In contrast, the four trees in the IQM quilt each

FIGURE 6. *Tree of Life*. The same template is used for all the trees in this quilt. It is the same template that was used for one tree in the AIC's *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt* and in the *Ladies' Home Journal* pattern. *Courtesy of the International Quilt Museum, 2004.16.34.*

have six main branches and are somewhat thicker and broader. Their "robust" size makes for a more crowded placement of leaves and fruit. It is important to note that the trees of the IQM quilt are identical to *one specific tree* on the AIC quilt, which is found in the lower left corner of that quilt. Specifically, the IQM quiltmaker seems to have used the same template for each tree, while the AIC quilter created four slightly different trees (fig. 6).

In further contrast, the sixteen birds that flit through the branches and around the central sun/wreath motif on the IQM quilt are somewhat plumper and less defined than the birds of the AIC quilt, which are more realistic. The AIC quilt has nineteen flying birds soaring between the trees and around the central motif, including two birds that

carry cherries in their beaks and a pair that seem to be sharing the burden. In each quilt, two back-facing red birds appear on either side of the base of each tree trunk. Like the birds in flight, the AIC birds are a bit more delicate, and the maker has embroidered an eye on four of them.

Both makers place the same pots of five bilaterally symmetrical blossoms at the top and bottom of each quilt, between two trees. The fabric of the pots is green, and their size and shape are virtually identical. The blossoms are also close in shape and size, and, although the fabrics have faded, the color scheme for each is the same. The blossoms are red, with the top and bottom two having cheddar or yellow centers, and the two middle blooms sport green centers. A single stalk with buds and leaves is found in each corner, and the color choices are again the same—green stalks, cheddar/yellow buds, red centers. These buds are arranged slightly differently in each quilt, and the AIC quilt sports five leaves instead of four. Finally, the AIC quiltmaker added an additional blossom motif on either side of the quilt—a stalk of buds like the ones found in the corners but containing only three buds and six leaves. This is the one motif not found in the IQM quilt. As with other design elements on the quilts, the central sun or wreath motif uses the same colors on both textiles—red outer ring, cheddar/yellow inner ring, and a green center. Once again, the maker of the AIC quilt created a more defined design.

Like many quiltmakers of the nineteenth century, neither quilter seemed very concerned about a controlled placement for the surrounding vine. The IQM maker was able to place a cluster of grapes and a fat red bird facing the grapes in each corner. The AIC maker appears to have run out of space in one corner and placed only a few leaves inside the curve.

The vine of the AIC quilt is a definite brown with grapes that have faded from purple to brown. The grapes of the IQM quilt are clustered close together, while the AIC quiltmaker, true to form, leaves a small defining space between each grape. On both quilts, each cluster contains thirteen grapes arranged in rows of one, two, three, four, and three grapes. The same template has apparently been used for the leaves. On each quilt, the grape leaves, originally green and the same color as their respective tree trunks, show the same degree of color loss as the four trees. One interesting difference can be noted on the IQM quilt. The vine and some clusters of grapes and leaves in the border have receded

to a bright chartreuse shade, while other grapes and leaves are the same dull gray green as the tree trunks. It is not entirely clear what the original color might have been, possibly another commercial fugitive green dye or even a domestic attempt at a two-step overdye process.[19]

Unlike many American quilters of this later period who favored straight-line or crosshatch quilting, the AIC maker chose instead to fill her background with stars, hearts, leaves, flowers, crescent moons, and fylfot (pinwheel, swastika) images.[20] German American quilters often used such motifs throughout the nineteenth century.[21] The IQM quilter used diagonal lines across the quilt, including the larger border of background fabric. The quilting pattern choices may be reflective of the skill level of each maker.

Like many red-and-green appliqué quilts of the nineteenth century, the AIC quilt is backed with a plain weave, off-white cotton.[22] In contrast, the maker of the IQM quilt chose for her backing a white broadcloth with red polka dots. It is strikingly out of context. Could the quilt have been backed and quilted later? Dating by the presence of polka dot fabric is not reliable, but it does open the door for consideration of this possibility. Additionally, the maker has applied a bias binding.

The size of the various appliquéd pieces is the same in each quilt, which is a strong indication of the use of the same templates. As noted previously, the trees of the IQM quilt match one of the trees on the AIC quilt. A comparison of the technical needlework skills employed in the appliqué reveals a finer hand with sharper points and smaller appliqué stitches on the AIC quilt. Even the overall design, although more crowded, has a sense of flow and energy. All these details suggest numerous questions. Was the AIC maker the original designer and first to produce the quilt? Did she instruct the IQM maker? The AIC quilt appears better constructed, and the background is densely quilted with folk imagery. The construction of the IQM quilt is less skilled, and the quilting is quite simple. Was this a younger person copying the work of a more experienced quiltmaker? Were the quilts made at the same time and in the same place? The differences are subtle, but they are important, and they encourage more questions.

As noted earlier, there is no provenance or place of origin ascribed to the AIC quilt. The donors of the IQM quilt, Dr. and Mrs. Carlson,

speculate in accession records that their quilt possibly came from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Red-and-green four-block appliqué quilts were made in large numbers among the German American community during the nineteenth century, especially in Pennsylvania and Ohio. But, by the same token, many quilts of this style were the product of non-German quilters. In *Quilted Gardens: Floral Quilts of the Nineteenth Century,* author Ricky Clark notes that while many Germanic quiltmakers in the southeastern areas of Pennsylvania (northern Lancaster, Lebanon, and Berks Counties) used white backgrounds, a large percentage preferred an orange-yellow or a printed fabric background. She cites research by Patricia Herr, who identified numerous classic floral quilts from the same region that were worked on a small blue-and-white-print background.[23] Importantly, Clark refers to Jeannette Lasansky's finding only white backgrounds on the classic floral quilts she documented in central Pennsylvania, a region with fewer Germanic quiltmakers.[24] Independent Pennsylvania quilt historian Barbara Garrett suggests that the quilts may have an origin closer to Ohio. Garrett states that German quiltmakers in eastern Pennsylvania favored floral motifs and that she cannot recall seeing realistic trees used. She notes that Ohio quilters were more likely to use such a realistic image.[25] Consequently, the suspected origin may shift to western Pennsylvania or Ohio.

POSSIBLE DESIGN INFLUENCE

Most nineteenth-century red-and-green four-block appliqué quilts used floral motifs. Geometric designs were more popular toward the end of the century.[26] Trees with birds and fruit were a favorite motif with quiltmakers beginning in the eighteenth century.[27] However, the use of realistic trees in a four-block red-and-green appliqué quilt is unusual.[28] The question becomes what was the inspiration for this design.

There is general agreement among quilt historians that the aesthetics of German American folk art design exerted a considerable influence on the evolution of the red-and-green appliqué quilt style.[29] Red and green were popular color choices in Victorian décor but were especially prominent in the German American community. Bright, bold colors were used to decorate everything from furniture to house-

hold items, from frakturs to textiles.[30] Turkey red and overdyed green, chrome orange and yellow, pink, and blue created a vibrant palette that was used again and again. For the German American quiltmakers of Pennsylvania and Ohio, this vocabulary of imagery and color afforded an endless treasure trove of quilt design.[31] And, although both are deeply faded, the original color choices of the two study quilts fall in line with most quilts of this style.

Imaginary and disproportionate images of birds, animals, people, and flowers were hallmarks of the German folk tradition. Nearly every household item was adorned with a broad array of designs.[32] Tulips, pomegranates, flowers in pots, birds, and hearts were common adornments. One of the most iconic images was that of the *distelfink*—German for thistle finch or goldfinch. Generally depicted perched, with a brightly decorated wing and its head turned to look back, it is often represented in pairs who look away from each other. In the two quilts of this study, the motif choices of a large fruit-laden tree, flanked by oversized birds and fanciful flora immediately call to mind the colorful images popular in German American décor. The backward-looking birds at the base of each tree could easily be identified as distelfinks. These birds can be found adorning hand-painted frakturs, which marked births, marriages, and special events. They frequently appear in the sgraffito designs of the warm yellow glaze of Pennsylvania German pottery. As with the birds, fanciful tulip-like blossoms are a popular motif for redware pottery and tole paintings. Often shown in a vase or pot with one blossom reaching upward and two or more side flowers drooping gracefully downward, the flowers on the quilts are presented in the same manner.

This vocabulary of design was not limited to painted items. Numerous German weavers worked in regions stretching from New York to Indiana, producing complex woven jacquard coverlets. Along with birds and imaginative floral motifs, vines and trees were favorite images. The overall design of jacquard coverlets often resembled quilts, featuring repetitive floral blocks with borders of fanciful trees, vines, houses, or birds. A variation on the iconic American eagle was a frequent choice, but more common was a pair of backward-facing birds standing on either side of a fantastical tree.[33] Weavers, like painters, drew on the familiar distelfink to enhance their creation. If we accept the quilts as being made in the

Pennsylvania/Ohio area, it seems likely that the makers, whether German American or "English," would have been familiar with this plentiful textile and could easily have adapted it to their design.

An indirect influence may have come from the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century Indian palampores.[34] These large hand-printed cotton textiles were created for the European market, but many found their way from India to America, primarily New England and areas around New York. Costly and available only to the very wealthy, they were most often quilted and used as bedcovers. Created in a variety of designs, they generally feature a central image of a large, heavily rooted, mythical tree surrounded by oversized and bizarre flowers and birds. A lush blossoming vine containing fruits, flowers, and animals often encompasses the central panel. Many early nineteenth-century quilters, particularly those in the Carolinas, used cutout motifs from chintz fabric to create their own versions of the Tree of Life.[35] Although refined and elegant, it is possible to see a parallel between these sophisticated coverings and the folky, improvisational Cherry Tree and Birds quilts. Throughout the century, quilters created unique appliqué quilts depicting disproportionate trees, surrounded by fruits and animals in both a medallion and block style. Examples of these quilts could easily have been familiar to the quiltmakers of the study pieces and possibly served as inspirations.

DISCOVERED IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The United States centennial of 1876 sparked a wave of nostalgia for the American Colonial era and what was perceived as a simpler life. Spurred by increased industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, the Colonial Revival movement in architecture and design drew its inspiration from the world of the American Revolution, reflecting patriotism, a veneration of American history, and a romanticized view of the goodness and simplicity of those early years.[36] The height of this period was about 1910–1930. As the country became more populated and mechanized, quilting styles and skills changed dramatically, and quilts, for the most part, were produced with a more utilitarian intent. In 1915, Marie Webster published *Quilts: Their Story and How to Make Them*, and suddenly "old fashioned" quilts became a required item for

the decorating style that was sweeping the country. Although described as "colonial," the quilts designed by Webster and her contemporaries in the first decades of the new century were based on the appliqué quilts of the mid-nineteenth century.[37] However, Webster and other commercial designers added a contemporary twist and embraced a lighter, more pastel palette to appeal to decorating aesthetics of the day.[38]

If the two Cherry Tree and Birds quilts were created in anonymity in the last decades of the nineteenth century, how did they come to be patterned and made available to the quilters of the early twentieth century? Luck seems to have played a hand. Capitalizing on the growing enthusiasm for old quilts, the *Ladies' Home Journal* magazine published an article in January 1922 titled "Old-Time Patchwork and Appliquéd Quilts"[39] (fig. 7). Unwittingly perpetuating traditional quilting myths, the article featured six nineteenth-century quilts. Two were from the Art Institute of Chicago's Emma B. Hodge collection and included the *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt*. This was apparently the first time an image of the quilt had appeared in print. Although printing in color was not as accurate as it is today, the text described the trees and foliage as "grey green," which was borne out by the accompanying photo. The same areas have now faded to a dull tan, which supports the use of a post-1875 fugitive commercial dye and a construction date of the last quarter of the nineteenth century for the quilt. Patterns for all the quilts featured could be obtained through the Home Pattern Company of New York City. Printed on large pieces of tissue paper and selling for seventy-five cents, directions suggested the use of pastel fabrics in keeping with a more modern approach. It is important to emphasize that this design was released as a pattern only and not as a quilt kit. In 1924, the patterns for the featured quilts were again offered through the *Ladies' Home Journal* pattern catalog.

So far, I have identified seventeen quilts produced from or inspired by this pattern between the 1922 publication date and a century later, in 2022. Three have been produced in the twenty-first century, and their construction and publication activities have been well documented via social media. Unfortunately, many of the twentieth-century pieces have little or no documentation, and several have been misdated by dealers and owners as nineteenth-century textiles.

January, 1922 *The Ladies' HOME JOURNAL* 31

Old-Time Patchwork and Appliquéd Quilts

Secured Through the Courtesy of the Guild of the Needle and Bobbin Crafts

Beautifully quilted in alternate squares is the muslin quilt from the Emma B. Hodge collection, at the right, with its baskets made up of cherry-red and white triangles. The handles and the border of full-blown roses and buds are appliquéd. Its simplicity makes this design a good one to copy. The more nicely made quilts usually have rounded corners and are bound with bias strips. Cotton wadding, French flannel or wool makes the best padding.

13009

The quilt at the right was made in pioneer days when the French women settlers watched eagerly for boats to come up the Mississippi bringing new materials from the homeland. It is from the collection of Mrs. Frank Bergen and is of blue toile de jouy—a heavy French cotton goods—and the landscape ramblez in true Watteau style. Lightweight chintz could be used in imitating this quilt. Nearly a century ago the Wreath of Roses design was a favorite; to-day, appliquéd in lovely colors on white muslin, as in Mrs. D. L. B. Smith's quilt at the center below, it will add charm to the most modern boudoir. Because our great-grandmothers loved beautiful things and longed for the bright colors they were forbidden to wear we have in our museums to-day handmade quilts beautiful in design and gay of color. Especially colorful is the Cherry Tree design of 1820, from the Emma B. Hodge collection, shown below; orange and scarlet birds fly through gray-green foliage or peck at bright cherries; the fox grapes and the vine are brown, the tulips, red and yellow.

No pattern offered 13010

The winged circle used on the quilt at the left is the Assyrian feroher, symbol of a winged spirit that hovered protectingly over the heads of Chaldean and Babylonian kings. At the right below is an old trundle-bed quilt from the collection of Mrs. Frank Bergen—enormous in size because it had to cover the high bed under which the trundle-bed was pushed in daytime. The motifs, varied at will, offer fascinating ideas for modern application.

IF YOU have an old patchwork quilt, deep in musty dreams under somebody's wedding dress, dig it out of its hiding place, air it and press it and fling it on your bed. For old-fashioned quilts are the new-fashioned quilts, and there is no touch quite so modern in the present-day bedroom as that lovely relic of grandmother's time.

Or, indeed, of great-grandmother's time, for the story of quilts in America goes away back of grandmother. It is the story of American women from Jamestown and Plymouth down; the story of their thoughts and hopes and dreams, as well as of the skill of their fingers. For a quilt will tell no tales, and into it may safely go all the thirst for adventure and the hunger for beauty that hard-working, secluded women otherwise cannot satisfy. And it is a story that is not finished yet, for to-day, in the mountains and on the plains, where distances are great and lives are lonely, women are still putting all the art that is theirs into the making of beautiful and colorful quilts, devising their own patterns, sometimes even creating their colors from root and berry dyes.

(Continued on Page 102)

13011

13012

No pattern offered

Patterns may be purchased from any store selling Home Patterns; or by mail, postage prepaid, if you address the Home Pattern Company, 18 East 18th Street, New York City.

FIGURE 7. "Old-Time Patchwork and Appliquéd Quilts," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1922, featured the *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt* from the AIC and offered the first commercially produced pattern of the quilt. Collection of the author. *Photograph by Lynn Miller.*

FIGURE 8. *Trees and Flowers* quilt, 1922–1924, 97 × 92 inches. Made by Christina Hansen. *Courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Museum, 1988.188.*

There are several ways to verify if a quilt was made from the commercial pattern and consequently produced after 1922. The pattern reproduced only one tree (as seen in the lower left corner of the AIC quilt in figure 2). The tree has a lower branch on the right side with two cherries dangling from the tip. Sometimes a mirror image of the tree is appliquéd, so a close look is necessary. Another identifying element is found in the vine that encircles the quilt. The commercially produced vine is well controlled with a cluster of grapes in each corner. To the right of the grapes is a bird in flight facing away from the curve, while on the other side is a grape leaf. Fabric color is also an important key. Availability, color palette, and degree of fading can be used to indicate a specific decade. In 2012, Pook & Pook Auctions offered an example of the Cherry Tree and identified it as late nineteenth century (Appendix Quilt K). The trees, vine, and foliage are a dun or khaki color, while the only other colors used are tomato red and buttery yellow. The birds are black. The trees are the same as the published pattern, as is the placement of the grape clusters and birds in the corners of the vine. Two vine-border sides are the same as other twentieth-century quilts. The entire quilt is edged with prairie points, a technique seldom found on nineteenth-century quilts.

Another quilt previously misidentified as predating the 1922 pattern publication date is included in *American Folk Art Quilts* by Maggi McCormick Gordon (fig. 8).[40] The author cites Wisconsin quilter Christina Nicoline

Nelson Hansen's *Trees and Flowers* quilt top as having been made between 1910 and 1912, based on the information that accompanied the quilt from her son Howard Hansen (Appendix Quilt G). Howard said he remembered his mother working on it during that period. The top was later quilted and bound by Elizabeth Moye in 1979. The completed quilt is featured on the cover of Gordon's book. This is a classic example of a family story that does not align with current research findings. Hansen's quilt has a strong, solid dark green. A stable commercial green dye was not available in the United States until after WWI. Prior to this, Germany was the only producer of a non-fugitive green dye, and once the war had ended, as part of reparations, the German government was directed to release dye patents to the Allies.[41] The dark green and the bold red and yellow along with the same appliqué pattern found in *Ladies' Home Journal* indicate a post-1922 date. Hansen's quilt now resides in the collection of the Wisconsin Historical Museum, and the museum has reassigned a date range of 1922–1924 with reference to the 1922 *Ladies' Home Journal* article.

Over the decades, each quiltmaker has given the pattern her own stamp. The twentieth-century quilt that spurred this study is an example of an independent approach featuring only one central tree (Appendix Quilt C). The use of Nile green, tomato red, and bright yellow fall in line with the palette suggested by the *Ladies' Home Journal* publication and hence a date of circa 1930. In 2013, a second single-tree medallion quilt was offered through the online auction 1stdibs and (incorrectly) dated 1890–1900 (Appendix Quilt D). It, too, follows the suggested color scheme but in more muted tones featuring shades that were not favored or even available in the late nineteenth century. A more appropriate date would also be circa 1930. These two quilts are the only examples of a single-tree, medallion format that have been documented by this study thus far.

Arizona quiltmaker Helen Knaack produced the entire quilt in delicate pastels and embroidered "July 1933" on her work (Appendix Quilt I). Naomi Beckwith of Oregon created another faithful reproduction of the original design (Appendix Quilt E). Dated 1925–1930 and in the collection of the American Museum in Bath, England, Beckwith's quilt uses the bright, vibrant colors available post-WWI. The birds and

FIGURE 9. *Appliquéd Cherry Tree and Birds* quilt, possibly Connecticut, 1922–1930, 80 × 70 inches. *Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Jason Berger. 1979.609.3.*

sun in her quilt are orange and gold, and the flowers are vivid yellow. Only four birds, each with a cherry in its beak, fly around the sun.

Colonial Williamsburg also owns a four-block Cherry Tree quilt (fig. 9). The four trees point in different directions (Appendix Quilt F). The maker, possibly from the Byron family of Bethel, Connecticut, used relatively dull colors—lots of brown, a strong blue, red, yellow, and a grayish green. It is possible that the grayish fabric is a fugitive dye because it seems unlikely that a quilter of the period would choose this color. The museum has assigned a date of 1920–1930 to the quilt.

FIGURE 10. *The Cherry Tree* quilt, Charlotte Jane Whitehill, 1936, 82 × 82 inches. Neusteter Textile Collection at the Denver Art Museum: Gift of Charlotte Jane Whitehill, 1955.77. *Photograph courtesy Denver Art Museum.*

In 2011, James Julia Auctions offered a "late nineteenth century" quilt from the Woolworth estate (Appendix Quilt L). Like the AIC design, it featured fewer birds in flight, trees and leaves in Nile green, and birds, fruit, and sun in strong reds, yellows, and purple. Again, circa 1935 would be a more accurate date.[42]

Extraordinary quiltmaker Charlotte Jane Whitehill may be best known for *Indiana Wreath*, which was named one of the top 100 twentieth-century quilts.[43] In 1936, she turned her hand to the Cherry Tree and Birds pattern, using a palette of dark greens, rust, yellow, and black (fig. 10). Whitehill was apparently the first to reinterpret the design in a major way (Appendix Quilt H). Her rust-red birds each sported a black wing. She added more leaves to the floral motifs, and she made the trees slimmer with smaller leaves and fruits. The trunks of the trees no longer ended in a solid, block-like form but flowed outward, suggesting roots. She used fewer yellow birds to flit through a well-controlled grapevine border and added a swirling flock that encircles the central sun motif. In 1955, Charlotte Jane Whitehill donated her entire quilt collection to the Denver Art Museum. It consisted of thirty-five quilts including antiques as well as quilts made by Whitehill and her mother.

In the four decades following the *Ladies' Home Journal* article, most quiltmakers who attempted the pattern remained faithful to the original design. Of the thirteen 1922–1960 quilts in this study, the major variations have been a redesign of the trees, fewer birds, repositioning of some floral motifs, added borders, and a variety of color choices. Quiltmakers seemed to favor either red or black for the birds at the bottom of each tree. In a quilt top offered on eBay in 2017, the midcentury maker opted to discard the grapevine border entirely and instead created a light and lacy surround of cherry branches while retaining most of the original design (Appendix Quilt M).

In 2013, antique quilt collectors Arlan and Pat Christ purchased a circa 1950 summer spread from Pook & Pook Auctions (Appendix Quilt N). The maker freely interpreted the trees, stationed black birds at their base, and replaced the central sun motif with a circle of birds in shades of blue, yellow, peach, and deep wine. The rust fabric in the floral appliqués and the deeper tones are good evidence of a mid-twentieth-century creation.

While pieces produced prior to 1975 often showed varied interpretations of the trees and birds, the grape-and-vine border stayed close to the original. As noted, only one quilter chose a different border design.

FIGURE 11. The Cherry Tree Paragon kit quilt, signed "VM," dated 1962, 96 × 80 inches. Collection of the author. *Photograph by Lynn Miller.*

A DIFFERENT VISION

In the mid-twentieth century, Paragon Needlecraft Company produced various sewing handicrafts, including kit quilts. The Cherry Tree Quilt was a popular 1960s kit. Many quilt kits of the period, whether appliqué or cross-stitch, looked to nineteenth-century quilts for their

inspiration.[44] In this case, the kit, which was designed especially for *Good Housekeeping* magazine, was publicized as having been "inspired by an old appliqué design called *Cherry Tree and Birds*," referencing the AIC quilt featured nearly forty years earlier in the *Ladies' Home Journal* (fig. 11).[45] Softened and simplified, the kit rendered the design almost cartoon-like with fat yellow birds, a simple vine with cherries, and fewer floral motifs. The kit offered the maker two design options—one included more of the original motifs, and the other featured just the four trees, the vine, some chubby birds, and a simple center wreath. The completed quilt comes up for sale with some frequency on online auction sites.[46] Kit quilts are not included in the appendix.

By the last quarter of the twentieth century, quilting was a growing industry and there was a renewed interest in antique quilts. Since 1924, no complete image of the original AIC *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt* had been published. Elizabeth Wells Robertson's 1948 text *American Quilts* featured just a small black-and-white image of a single corner of the quilt.[47] It was once again given a date of 1820. In 1963, the Denver Art Museum published its winter quarterly, an issue dedicated solely to the quilt collection. It included the first published full-color picture of Whitehill's four-block quilt *Cherry Tree*.[48] In 1970, *Quilter's Newsletter Magazine* no. 14 featured a black-and-white image of Charlotte Jane Whitehill's *Cherry Tree* quilt on its cover. Bonnie Leman, the magazine's publisher, probably saw the museum publication allowing her to produce a black-and-white cover image of the quilt. Drawing from the description in the Denver Museum's quarterly, the accompanying article included the misleading statement that "there are quilts in existence of this pattern dating from a hundred years before Mrs. Whitehill's, for it is a favorite old design."[49] The next appearance of the AIC quilt came in 1974 in Patsy and Myron Orlofsky's monumental work *Quilts in America*.[50] Once again, the quilt was printed in black and white and the text perpetuated the date of 1820 and the bride's quilt label.

In 1982, Emporia, Kansas, quiltmaker Hortense Beck produced her own version (fig. 12). Now in the collection of the IQM, the quilt is made with the bright harvest gold, rust, and olive-green fabrics popular in the 1970s and 1980s (Appendix Quilt P). Since the original pattern had been

FIGURE 12. *Cherry Trees* quilt, Hortense Beck, dated 1982, 74½ × 75¼ inches. *Courtesy of the International Quilt Museum, 2008.041.0018E.*

printed on tissue paper, its chances of survival were slim. Only black-and-white images of the original quilt had been produced since 1924. Beck's source for her version appears to be Charlotte Jane Whitehill's quilt. The similarities are obvious, and the fabric color choices are similar. Like Whitehill's, Beck's trees are delicate with slender trunks that spread out at the base. On both quilts, the birds in flight are fat and yellow. Beck's birds at the base of each tree also have black wings, but Beck has chosen to put them in flight and facing each other. And, like Whitehill's, Beck's floral motifs have more leaves than the AIC quilt. While Beck may have seen the black-and-white image in the 1970 issue of *Quilter's Newsletter*

FIGURE 13. *Big Bird and Friends,* Maureen Teager, 2014, 72 × 72 inches. *Collection of and photograph by the maker.*

Magazine, she most likely saw the color image in the 1963 Denver Art Museum Quarterly. From this image she would have had to draft her own pattern. Denver Art Museum staff member Stephanie Albert explained that, although the quilt had been acquired in 1955, it had only been exhibited once. It was loaned to the Rocky Mountain Quilt Museum from September through November 2001—long after Beck completed her quilt.[51]

In 2017, quilt historian Barbara Brackman featured "Four Block Cherry Trees" in her *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog.[52] The post included images and commentary on many of the quilts identified in this paper, including the AIC quilt, the original *Ladies' Home*

Journal article, and the Paragon kit quilt version. Brackman concluded that based on the fugitive element of the green fabric, the AIC quilt was made between 1880 and 1900. She did not reference the IQM quilt, but she did conclude that several quilts offered through auctions were incorrectly dated. The post was the first published discourse on the Cherry Tree and Birds quilt pattern.

Different versions of the Cherry Tree and Birds continued to appear into the twenty-first century. Unlike quilters in the preceding century, these makers used the Internet and social media to draft, research, and document their creations. In 2013–2014, Australian quilter Maureen Teager created *Big Bird and Friends*, a vibrant quilt in brilliant reds and greens (fig. 13). Teager's creation closely resembles the original AIC quilt (Appendix Quilt Q). She notes that in 2013 she first came across images of Hansen's quilt in *American Folk Art Quilts* and Beckwith's quilt in *Classic Quilts from the American Museum in Britain*.[53] She explained that she "liked the naivete but also the busyness of it."[54] Wishing to reproduce the design, Teager was concerned about possible copyright issues so began researching the quilt online. She discovered that there were many more versions and learned of the *Ladies' Home Journal* article and pattern publication. Without a commercial pattern available, Teager drafted her own from the image of Christina Hansen's quilt and used the ratio system until she achieved "a size and look" she liked.[55]

Commercial quilt pattern designer Ellen Rosenbach documented the progression of her version of the quilt on her Facebook page and finished it in 2021 (fig. 14). Instead of solids, she used prints of rust, blue, gold, and purple on a floral background fabric (Appendix Quilt R). She added prairie points and a spikey center wreath surrounding a single bird to give the familiar pattern a new twist. When asked, Rosenbach explained that, like Maureen Teager, she drafted the pattern from the image of Christina Hansen's quilt. She was surprised to learn about the two nineteenth-century quilts and was totally unaware of the *Ladies' Home Journal* article. She had no knowledge of other Cherry Tree and Birds quilts.[56] Her only exposure to the pattern was from Gordon's book. Rosenbach laughingly explained that she created the quilt primarily to use her technique of "Applipops," a tool designed to create perfect circles for appliqué.[57]

FIGURE 14. *Cherry Tree and Birds* quilt, Ellen Rosenbach, 2021, 82 × 82 inches. *Collection of and photograph by the maker.*

In 2017–2018, Dallas quilter Frances Hafer created a wall-hanging-sized quilt titled *Cherry, Cherry, Quite Contrary*. It featured four trees, the central sun image, and both a bird and a cat sitting at the base of each tree (Appendix Quilt S). The quilt is done in vivid batiks and hand-dyed fabrics that are popular in the early twenty-first century. Hafer used the block featured in Barbara Brackman's blog on the four-block Cherry Tree pattern. As with Teager and Rosenbach, she relied on technology to not only aid in drafting the pattern but also to search for other

examples and even located the 1922 *Ladies' Home Journal* article. Like Teager and Rosenbach, she was strongly influenced by Hansen's quilt.[58]

CONTINUING THE SEARCH

In 2017, I came across an unusual quilt that bore a remarkable resemblance to the Cherry Tree and Birds pattern. A grapevine with birds and clusters of grapes surrounded five rather rugged cherry trees, swarming with birds and butterflies (fig. 15). Surely the maker had seen an image of the AIC Cherry Tree and Birds quilt. The owner said that her mother had bought the quilt in the 1960s "by the side of the road" in rural Kentucky.[59] The trees and birds were composed of solid fabrics, but the butterflies all sported circa 1945 prints. The muted Nile green trees, looking more like bramble bushes, had small red fruit at the tips of the branches. Placed in a five-block pattern, the fifth tree took the place of the central sun. Foregoing the flower motifs, the maker let her imagination run, and birds and butterflies with stuffed bodies flew about the quilt. A variety of birds, including a murder of crows, were depicted in skilled appliqué. Birds with long tails perched on the undulating grapevine. Like the nineteenth-century quilts, there were two birds at the base of each tree, but each of the birds faced the tree and they were of different colors. A red-winged blackbird stood just beneath each tree trunk. The overall workmanship is excellent, including quilting that is fine and even. The printed fabrics support a date of circa 1945. This suggests the maker most likely had seen the original 1922 pattern and article or at least a quilt made from the pattern. Possibly she saw the AIC quilt on display. Wherever the Kentucky quiltmaker saw it, the design must have spoken to her, and, like quilters from generations earlier, she answered with her needle and thread and her own sense of creativity.

CONCLUSION

The initial intent of this study was to explore the connection between two unique and remarkably similar nineteenth-century red-and-green four-block appliqué quilts. The path that ultimately emerged was a revealing look at how changes in publications, media, and technology

FIGURE 15. *Kentucky Trees and Birds* quilt, circa 1945, 86 × 80 inches. Collection of the author. *Photograph by Lynn Miller.*

over the last 100 years affected the dissemination of a distinctive pattern from a single isolated creation to a mass-marketed and recognizable design product.

With evidence suggesting the early study quilts were made in 1880–1900, an era when quilt patterns were commercially published and information more easily shared, why have only two nineteenth-century examples emerged? It could be the pattern, a style popular nearly fifty years earlier, was viewed as old-fashioned. It demanded high-level appliqué skills in an era when such abilities were waning. Perhaps it just

took too much time. It is possible the quilts were not shared. There may be more nineteenth-century examples yet to be discovered. We may never know the answer.

The fortuitous publication of *Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt* in the *Ladies' Home Journal* began the century-long journey of the design. The increased availability and impact of printed publications in the early twentieth century allowed national access to what had apparently been an isolated creation initially. Eleven of the documented quilts in this study date to within fifteen years of the commercial pattern publication and were made across the country. Only four quilts made in the second half of the twentieth century have been located. Between 1948 and 1974, only four images of the pattern appeared in print and just one was in color. No pattern was offered after 1924. Hortense Beck did not create her 1982 version until sixteen years after the publication of Charlotte Whitehill's 1936 quilt in the 1963 Denver Art Museum Quarterly. Lack of public exposure, lack of a commercial pattern, complexity of design, skill requirements, and a change in public taste may have played a role in the limited number of quilts produced during this later period. Ironically, the image of the cherry tree flanked by two birds has been commercially produced on tiles, note cards, and even as a cross-stitch pattern during the last thirty years.

In the twenty-first century, the three quiltmakers cited not only used pictures found in books and journals but also drew heavily on Internet research and social media for their inspiration and construction of the pattern. Their quilts were made within an eight-year period (2014–2022) and on two continents.

From the creation and sharing of a pattern between two makers, to using a fragile tissue paper pattern, to drafting by hand from images in a book, and finally to using Internet research, the Cherry Tree and Birds quilt pattern has survived remarkably unchanged. Although each quilter has brought something of her own aesthetic to her work, there appears to be a reverence for the design—enough to keep the original maker's intent intact. Why the pattern never left its original home and lay hidden until decades later remains elusive, but there is no question that Cherry Tree and Birds continues to live and thrive.

APPENDIX: IDENTIFIED CHERRY TREE AND BIRDS QUILTS (KIT QUILTS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THIS SUMMARY.)

Quilt A (Figures 2 and 3)	***Cherry Tree and Robins Bride's Quilt* (AIC)**	**1820–1850 (AIC) 1875–1900 (LD)**	
Collection Art Institute of Chicago, accession #1919.546. Published in: *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1922, 31, 102; Elizabeth Wells Robertson, *American Quilts*, 112; Mildred Davidson, *American Quilts from the Art Institute of Chicago, 1966*, 4, 8; Patsy and Myron Orlofsky, *Quilts in America*, 245; Judith A. Barter and Monica Obniski, *For Kith and Kin: The Folk Art Collection at the Art Institute of Chicago*, 58–59; Barbara Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, "Four Block Cherry Trees," February 2017; Lenna DeMarco, "A Quilt Mystery: Searching for the Cherry Tree and Birds Quilt," *Blanket Statements*, Summer 2020, Issue 144, 1–6.			
Quilt B (Figures 4, 5, and 6)	***Tree of Life* Quilt (IQM)**	**Ca 1860 (IQM); 1885–1900 (LD)**	
Collection International Quilt Museum, Lincoln, NE, accession #2004.016.0034. Published in: DeMarco, *Blanket Statements*, Summer 2020.			
Quilt C (Figure 1)	***Cherry Tree Medallion Quilt***	**Circa 1930**	**Possibly Queenie Smith**
Medallion. Collection Lenna DeMarco. Published in: DeMarco, *Blanket Statements*, Summer 2020, Issue 144.			
Quilt D	***Tree of Life* Quilt**	**Circa 1930**	
Medallion. Originally offered through America Hurrah, NYC. 1stdibs Online Auction. Ref #LU7971816004. Location unknown.			
Quilt E	***Cherry Tree and Birds* Quilt**	**1925–1930**	**Naomi Beckwith, Oregon**
Collection the American Museum, Bath, England, accession #1997.11. Published in: Laura Beresford and Katherine Herbert, *Classic Quilts from the American Museum in Britain*, 76–77. "Expo Quilt Art: Exhibition of the Mona Bismark American Center in Paris, France," *Quiltmania* magazine, March–April 2013, 25.			

Quilt F (Figure 9)	***Cherry Tree and Birds* Quilt**	**1920–1930 (CW)**	**Possibly Byron family, Connecticut**
Collection Colonial Williamsburg, VA, accession #1979.609.3. Published in: Linda Baumgarten and Kimberly Smith Ivey, *Four Centuries of Quilts: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection*, 150–151. Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017.			
Quilt G (Figure 8)	***Trees and Flowers* Quilt**	**Top 1922–1924 (WHM) Quilted 1979**	**Christina Hansen, quilted by Elizabeth Moye, Wisconsin**
Collection Wisconsin Historical Museum, Madison, WI, accession #1988.188. Published in: Maggi McCormick Gordon, *American Folk Art Quilts*, 24–25; Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017.			
Quilt H (Figure 10)	***The Cherry Tree* Quilt**	**1936**	**Charlotte Jane Whitehill Emporia, Kansas**
Collection Denver Art Museum, CO, accession #A-682. Published in: *The Denver Art Museum Quilt Collection,* Denver Art Museum Quarterly, Winter, 1963, 45; Bonnie Leman, "What's New in Quilting," *Quilter's Newsletter Magazine*, December 1970, Cover, 8; Mell Meredith and Heidi Kaisand, eds., *Better Homes and Gardens Century of Quilts*, 2002, 26.			
Quilt I	***Cherry Tree* Quilt**	**July 1933**	**Helen Knaack possibly Arizona**
Quilt Index record 67-EC-46. Documented by AZ Quilt Documentation Project. Published in: Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017.			
Quilt J	***Cherry Tree* Quilt**	**Circa 1930**	
Top only. Live Auctioneers Online Lot 0032. Published on Pinterest. Sold December 2018. Location unknown.			
Quilt K	***Cherry Tree with Prairie Points***	**Circa 1935**	
Pook & Pook Auctions. Published in: Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017. Location unknown.			

Quilt L	***Cherry Tree and Birds* Quilt**	**Circa 1935 (LD)**	
Estate of Robert Fredrick Woolworth. James Julia Auctions; sold 8/25/2011. Published in: Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017. Location unknown.			
Quilt M	***Cherry Tree and Birds* Quilt Top**	**Circa 1940**	
Top only. Cherry branch border. Sold on eBay 2017. Published on Pinterest. Published in: Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017. Location unknown.			
Quilt N	***Cherry Tree* Summer Spread**	**Circa 1950**	
Pook & Pook Auctions. Purchased by Pat Christ, 2013. Text conversations August 28–September 15, 2020. Published in: Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017.			
Quilt O	***Cherry Tree* Quilt Top**	**Circa 1950**	
Possible top only. Collection of Vycki Jackson. Pinterest. Published in: Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* blog, February 2017. Location unknown.			
Quilt P (Figure 12)	***Cherry Tree and Birds* Quilt**	**1982**	**Hortense Beck Topeka, Kansas**
Collection of International Quilt Museum, Lincoln, NE, gift of Hortense Beck, accession #2008.041.0018E.			
Quilt Q (Figure 13)	***Big Birds and Friends* Quilt**	**2014**	**Maureen Teager Narrabeen, Australia**
Collection of Maureen Teager. Published in: *Quiltmania* magazine, Nov–Dec 2014.			
Quilt R (Figure 14)	***Cherry Tree and Birds***	**2021**	**Ellen Rosenbach Los Angeles, California**
Ellen Rosenbach Facebook posting October–November 2021. Collection Ellen Rosenbach.			
Quilt S	***Cherry, Cherry, Quite Contrary***	**2017–2018**	**Frances Hafer Dallas, Texas**
Batik and hand-dyed wall hanging inspired by Brackman's blog.			

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[2] Connie J. Nordstrom, "One Pot of Flowers Quilt Pattern—Blossoming through Centuries," in *Uncoverings 2002*, vol. 23, ed. Virginia Gunn (Lincoln, NE: American Quilt Study Group, 2002), 31–64.

[3] Carol Gebel, "Princess Feather: Exploring a Quilt Design," in *Uncoverings 2007*, vol. 28, ed. Joanna E. Evans (Lincoln, NE: American Quilt Study Group, 2007), 129–64.

[4] Ricky Clark, *Quilted Gardens: Floral Quilts of the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1994).

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[6] "Tree of Life," maker unknown, ca. 1860, International Quilt Museum, #2004.016.0034, https://www.internationalquiltmuseum.org/quilt/20040160034, accessed February 28, 2023.

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[11] Ibid., 58–62.

[12] Susan W. Greene, *Wearable Prints, 1760–1860: History, Materials, and Mechanics* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2014), 191–200, 261.

[13] Brackman, *Clues in the Calico*, 58–62.

[14] Ibid., 62–67.

[15] David Steensman, "Congo Red," Archives of Pathology and Laboratory Medicine, https://www.thefreelibrary.com/%22Congo%22+Red.-a071680946, accessed February 1, 2011.

[16] Brackman, *Clues in the Calico*, 61, 65.

[17] Xenia Cord, "Ohio, the Border State: A Regional Study of Vessel, Vine, and Floral Quilt Borders" in *Uncoverings 2018*, vol. 39, ed. Janice E. Frisch (Lincoln, NE: American Quilt Study Group, 2018), 136–40.

[18] Clark, *Quilted Gardens*, 79–97.

[19] While examining the quilt at the International Quilt Museum in June 2022, Dr. Carolyn Ducey, curator of collections, joined me for a closer look. Both of us were baffled by the

color, and she was not certain what the original color was or the dye process used. She agreed that it might have been a domestic attempt at a two-step overdye.

[20]Most quilt history and state documentation books provide little or no description of the quilting patterns on antique quilts. Often the authors state the quilts are either simply or heavily quilted. I have observed that paralleling the rise of the repetitive block style in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, quilters tended to employ a simple pattern of straight lines or cross-hatching as elaborate quilting does not show well in the busy printed fabric of the period. Many appliqué quilts of the period employ straight-line quilting—perhaps for ease and expediency or following fashion.

[21]Barbara Garrett, email to author, September 7, 2021. This is also consistent with my study of Pennsylvania quilting patterns.

[22]Jeannette Lasansky, "The Typical Versus the Unusual/Distortions of a Time," in *In the Heart of Pennsylvania: Symposium Papers*, ed. Jeannette Lasansky (Lewisburg, PA: Union County Historical Society Oral Traditions Project, 1986), 56–58.

[23]Clark, *Quilted Gardens*, 21, 102. Letter from Herr to Clark, October 9, 1992.

[24]Clark, *Quilted Gardens*, 21, 102. Letter from Lasansky to Clark, November 1992.

[25]Garrett, email to author, September 7, 2021. Garrett concurs that Pennsylvania quiltmakers of the late nineteenth century, and particularly those in the Lancaster area, favored a print background fabric.

[26]Clark, *Quilted Gardens*, 23.

[27]Lacy Folmar Bullard and Betty Jo Shiell, *Chintz Quilts: Unfading Glory* (Tallahassee, FL: Serendipity Publishers, 1983), 28–30.

[28]Garrett, email to author, September 7, 2021. Garrett states that although tree blocks appear in some red-and-green appliqué quilts, realistic trees are unusual, and she cannot recall seeing other examples.

[29]Virginia Gunn, "Appliqué Quilts," in *American Quilts in the Industrial Age, 1760–1870: The International Quilt Study Center & Museum Collections*, eds. Patricia Cox Crews and Carolyn Ducey (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018), 340–44.

[30]Marsha Melnick and Susan E. Meyer, eds., *Americana: Folk and Decorative Art* (New York: Billboard Publications, Inc., 1982), 110, 113.

[31]Gunn, "Appliqué Quilts," 337–44.

[32]National Gallery of Art, https://www.nga.gov/global-site-search-page.html?searchterm=pennsylvania+folk+art, slides 1–24, accessed February 23, 2023.

[33]Numerous texts on American weavers document jacquard coverlets by region. A frequent motif in the Pennsylvania and Ohio areas is the Distelfink and Rose Bush border. Equally popular were a disproportionate Tree of Life and vines with leaves. Clarita S. Anderson, *American Coverlets and Their Weavers: Coverlets from the Collection of Foster and Muriel McCarl* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002). Clarita S. Anderson, *Weaving a Legacy: The Don and Jean Stuck Coverlet Collection* (Columbus, OH: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1995).

[34]Robert Shaw, *American Quilts: The Democratic Art, 1780–2007* (New York: Sterling Publishing Co., Inc., 2009), 24–27.

[35]Bullard and Shiell, *Chintz Quilts*, 20–35.

[36]Briann Greenfield, "Colonial Revival Movement Sought Stability during Time of Change," May 30, 2020, blog post, https://connecticuthistory.org/the-colonial-revival-movement-sought-stability-during-time-of-change/, accessed February 14, 2023. Virginia Gunn, "Perfecting the Past: Colonial Revival Quilts," in *American Quilts in the Modern Age, 1870–1940*, eds. Marin F. Hanson and Patricia Cox Crews (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 227–33. Shaw, *American Quilts*, 221–25.

[37]Anne Orr, "Quilt Making in Old and New Designs," *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, 96, no. 1, (January 1933): 56, 123. Orr states that quilt making is in vogue again and compares contemporary styles with "colonial" times. Featured quilts are made in pastels.

[38]Rosalind Webster Perry and Marty Frolli, *A Joy Forever: Marie Webster's Quilt Patterns* (Santa Barbara, CA: Practical Patchwork, 1992), 19.

[39]Unknown, "Old-Time Patchwork and Appliquéd Quilts," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1922, 31, 102.

[40]Maggi McCormick Gordon, *American Folk Art Quilts: Over 30 Designs to Create Your Own Classic Quilt* (North Pomfret, VT: Trafalgar Square Books, 2007), 24–25.

[41]Brackman, *Clues in the Calico*, 61–62.

[42]This quilt is another example of auction houses incorrectly dating this quilt pattern.

[43]Mary Leman Austin, *The Twentieth Century's Best American Quilts* (Golden, CO: Primedia Special Interest Publications, 1999), 50.

[44]Anne Copeland and Beverly Dunivent, "Kit Quilts in Perspective" in *Uncoverings 1994*, vol. 15, ed. Virginia Gunn (San Francisco: American Quilt Study Group, 1994), 159–61.

[45]An AQSG member shared a photocopy of an undated page from *Good Housekeeping Magazine* that was apparently printed prior to 1963 (because a mailing label did not have a zip code). Paragon Needlecraft copyrighted *Art Needlework Catalog M-12*, including The Cherry Tree Quilt and other patterns on August 10, 1958, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Catalog_of_Copyright_Entries/jrPnAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Paragon+Needlecraft+Company+%22The+cherry+tree+quilt%22&pg=RA3-PA155&printsec=frontcover, accessed March 12, 2023.

[46]In 2016, Jan Vaine, Graham Cracker Collection, published a pattern entitled *Grandpap D's Cherry Tree*. It is a near replica of the Paragon kit. The pattern includes directions for a wool trivet, a wool wall hanging, and a 60" × 60" four-block quilt.

[47]Elizabeth Wells Robertson, *American Quilts* (New York: Studio Publications, 1948), 112.

[48]Lydia Roberts Dunham, *Denver Art Museum: Quilt Collection*, The Denver Art Museum Quarterly, Winter 1963, 44–45.

[49]Bonnie Leman, "What's New in Quilting," *Quilter's Newsletter Magazine*, 1970, no. 14, 3.

[50]Patsy and Myron Orlofsky, *Quilts in America* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1974), 229.

[51]Stephanie Albert, Denver Art Museum, email to author, January 1, 2022.

[52]Barbara Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns*, February 20, 2017, http://encyclopediaquiltpatterns.blogspot.com/2017/02/four-block-cherry-trees.html, accessed February 16, 2023.

[53]Gordon, *American Folk Art Quilts*, 24–25; Katherine Hebert and Laura Beresford, *Classic Quilts from the American Museum in Britain* (London: Scala Publishers, 2009), 76–77.

[54]Maureen Teager, email to author, January 5–7, 2022. She named the quilt *Big Bird and Friends* because the area in which she lived was being invaded by bush turkeys when she was creating the quilt.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ellen Rosenbach, Facebook message to author, November 2, 2021. Rosenbach began Internet research of the quilt following our conversation.

[57]Rosenbach markets a tool for creating perfect fabric circles for appliqué (www.applipops.com).

[58]Frances Hafer, email to author, January 13, 2022. Initially she planned to replicate the quilt in the Colonial Williamsburg collection, but to meet the Dallas Quilt Show entrance deadline, she opted for a pared-down, wall-size version.

[59]Donna Wisnoski, West Valley Study Group, Sun City, AZ, personal conversation with the author, 2017.

"PLAYTHINGS BY THE YARD"

Cut and Sew Doll and Toy Panels of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

By Kathleen Metelica Cray

In the late 1800s to early 1900s, many children's favorite playthings were stuffed dolls, printed commercially and then completed at home. Ranging from animals and puppets to baby doll and tin soldier motifs, the printed-panel creations were representative of the styles and popular toys of the time, including racist caricatures. The development of lithographic printing on cloth eventually led to a cost-effective process for producing dolls and other toys. The first fabric panel doll was patented in 1886 and printed by Oriental Print Works. Later, Arnold Print Works, Art Fabric Mills, Selchow & Righter Company, and Cocheco Manufacturing were a few of the cotton fabric mills manufacturing and marketing cloth dolls and toys. Saalfield Publishing was instrumental in the production of children's cloth storybooks. Through examination of contemporary catalogs and advertising, newspapers, panels and dolls, and quilts, this research reveals the story of these imaginative, artistic, colorful products and the aggressive marketing techniques behind them and their place in quilt history.

FABRIC PANELS PRINTED WITH EXPRESSIVE ANIMALS AND figures have been used in quilting for more than a century, even though that was not the intended use. A cotton crazy quilt made in 1892, for example, features a panoply of whimsical, sweet appliquéd characters (fig. 1). The characters include several elf-like figures and delightful and charming animals that include cats, dogs, and chickens, printed in clear

FIGURE 1. 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt (88 × 88 inches) constructed of sixty-four 11 × 11 inch blocks. All machine stitched (possibly on a treadle machine) and tied at the corners of each block. Arnold Print Works panel dolls and animals appliquéd to the quilt. Collection of the author. *All photographs are by the author unless otherwise indicated.*

and precise detail. Interestingly, both the fronts and backs of the figures were appliquéd to the quilt.

Victorian crazy quilts dominated quilt style in the United States from the 1880s through the late 1890s. Although referred to as "crazy," the quilts were meticulously thought out and planned. The intricate stitches showcased a woman's artistic ability in needlework, and her

imagination and skill were limitless. The quilts were made more for decorative purposes and adornment than as bedcoverings. The 1892 quilt and others like it offer a counterpoint to that standard style. Most crazy quilts were made from velvet, silk, and brocade fabric; cut and pieced in random shapes; and then heavily embellished with elaborate decorative stitches that included feather, herringbone, fly, and chain stitches to cover seam lines. In addition, as can be seen by reviewing examples in both the International Quilt Museum collection and the Quilt Index, high-style crazy quilts incorporated beautiful florals, insects, animals, initials, ribbons, fans, and young children dressed in the fashion of the time. According to Barbara Brackman in *Clues in the Calico,* the crazy quilt fad had gripped the country in the 1880s. By 1900, American mills were producing 66 percent of the world's silk fabric, and it appeared to some that two-thirds of that wound up in American crazy quilts.[1]

The 1892 example is made of cotton and not elaborately embellished, an alternate style that likely originated in the 1890s. Shortly before the turn of the century, women adapted their crazy quilting to other fabrics such as flannel, denim, and cotton broadcloth. These quilts were simply pieced and were not often embellished with extensive decorative stitches. The maker of the 1892 crazy quilt replaced the elaborate images seen on high-style quilts with images taken from manufactured panels that were appliquéd onto the quilt.

The 1892 quilt includes pieces of cut and sew doll panels. As noted in *Playthings by the Yard: The Story of Cloth Dolls,* a book written by Frances Walker and Margaret Whitton in 1973, commercially made cut and sew dolls were introduced during the 1880s and the 1890s and immediately became a booming business.[2] The fronts and backs of these characters were typically printed on plain-woven linen or cotton in several colors. Lines for cutting and sewing and instructions for constructing and stuffing were also printed on the fabric. Filler recommendations included cotton, bran, soft rags, dried peas and beans, and sawdust. Arnold Print Works, Art Fabric Mills, Selchow & Righter Company, and Cocheco Manufacturing Company were just a few of the manufacturing mills of cotton fabrics involved in marketing these highly

detailed cloth dolls and toys. Saalfield Publishing was instrumental in the production of children's cloth storybooks.

These cloth cut and sew dolls provided an affordable alternative to their more expensive high-end counterparts. In the late nineteenth century in America, manufactured dolls reflected the Victorian lifestyle and were heavily influenced by dolls made in both Germany and France. Fashion dolls with flowing hair and eyes made of glass were dressed elaborately. Heads, arms, and legs were constructed from bisque, unglazed porcelain with a matte finish and color tint giving them a realistic skin-like texture and appearance.[3] *The Montgomery Ward & Company Catalogue 1894–1895* presented a wide assortment of these bisque dolls for purchase priced from twenty-five cents to three dollars and fifty cents per doll.[4] According to *Collector's Encyclopedia of Dolls*, bisque limb dolls with natural flowing curling hair, stationary glass eyes, painted shoes, and stockings, in sizes eleven to twenty-two and a half inches were priced seventy-five cents to two dollars and fifty cents per doll in 1880.[5] For many households, the prices of these dolls made them unattainable.

Attractive cloth dolls became possible through an advance in technology. In the mid-nineteenth century, the American textile mills established a printing process used to produce highly detailed, multicolored prints called lithography. According to Florence H. Pettit, author of *America's Printed & Painted Fabrics 1600–1900*,

> A metal plate was fastened around the drum of a roller-printing press which printed with extreme speed and accuracy. The process involved oil-based inks combined with a wet surface on the principle that oil and water did not mix. Lithographic printing on cloth was limited to a few specialties such as bookbinding cloth, towels, handkerchiefs and maps of cloth.[6]

The attention to detail was high quality, and print coverage was deep and vibrant. Several colors could be printed to reflect shades and hues, creating a crisp realistic image on fabric. Although lithography was widespread, it was not used for children's printed textiles for at least another twenty years. Later, the process would be used to produce beautiful doll panels in a cost-effective manner for textile mills.

The production of printed textiles continued to expand rapidly. According to the *Boston Journal of Commerce*, the capacity in the United States in 1880 reached 800 million yards annually.[7] Printed yard goods were plentiful, necessitating the need for textile producers to seek out other product options to stay competitive. In popular, cost-efficient fabric doll panels, textile mills found a product to offer their consumers beyond yardage of printed fabric. The result was a period of abundance within the world of printed cloth dolls and toys.

PATRIOTIC SANTA: THE FIRST PANEL DOLL

The first cloth doll panel patent of record in the United States was granted to Edward S. Peck of Brooklyn, New York, on December 28, 1886, for Patriotic Santa printed at Oriental Print Works in Apponaug, Rhode Island.[8] The lithograph doll may have been inspired by Thomas Nast, an illustrator and caricaturist for *Harper's Weekly* from 1862 until 1886; Nast's depictions of Santa Claus established the image of a jolly old man that is most familiar today. He was sometimes credited for Patriotic Santa because similarities were evident in both men's work.

Edward Peck's Patriotic Santa held an American flag under one arm and carried an assortment of toys including dolls, a horse on a stick, a saber sword on a belt, drums, pinwheels, stuffed animals, a sled, and bells. He wore a two-piece suit with fur trim, a hat, gloves, and black heeled boots. Sporting side-glancing eyes and a big nose, he held a pipe in one corner of his bearded mouth. The words "Patent Applied for Santa Claus Doll" were printed on the sled blade on the earliest doll created and later changed to "Oriental Print Works." The phrase "Make your own Doll. Let everyone in the Country HAVE ONE" and sewing instructions were printed on the panel.

Patriotic Santa images soon found their way onto quilts. Prior to the production of cut and sew Patriotic Santa, this Santa image was printed as Christmas banners and handkerchiefs that were stitched into a quilt top owned by Robert Moore of Moore & Moore Antiques in Newton, New Hampshire. The top shows Patriotic Santa wearing different-colored pants: blue, purple, green, and a light blue.[9] The Patriotic Santa banners and handkerchiefs can also be seen pieced into quilts that include *Ameri-*

FIGURE 2. Detail of Centennial Crazy Quilt (80 × 82 inches), circa 1890, featuring 1886 Patriotic Santa cloth doll banner. Doll measures 15 inches in height. "Oriental Print Works" is printed on the sled's runner. Private collection.

can Crazy Quilt (1880–1890) at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and *Mother Wells Quilt* (1886–1887) made by Sarah Harper Wells.[10]

The Patriotic Santa banner appeared in the center of a circa 1905 children's quilt in J.J. Murphy's book *Children's Handkerchiefs: A Two Hundred Year History*. The actual banner was surrounded by other comic-character handkerchiefs including the popular Foxy Grandpa.[11] A centennial crazy quilt features a Patriotic Santa banner in Sue Reich's book *The Quilter's Night Before Christmas*. The quilt was constructed in a contained crazy quilt block style to include several cotton pictorial fabrics and United States centennial prints. The blocks were separated by a vivid black print on red background sashing and tied with black floss ties to hold the quilt together (fig. 2).[12] Patriotic Santa was the only cut and sew doll printed at Oriental Print Works, and extant examples are scarce.

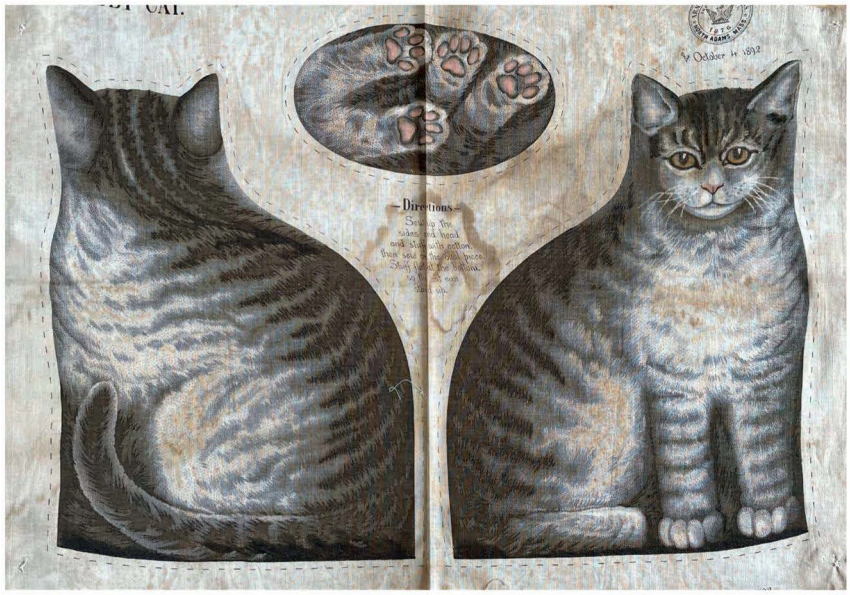

FIGURE 3. Arnold Print Works Tabby Cat cloth panel. Arnold Print Works trademark and patented dates of July 5, 1892, and October 4, 1892, are printed on the panel. Tabby Cat and Tabby's Kittens were designed by Celia M. Smith and Charity Smith. Private collection.

ARNOLD PRINT WORKS: THE LAUNCH OF CLOTH DOLLS

Arnold Print Works, a textile mill located along the Hoosac River in North Adams, Massachusetts, printed cut and sew panels from the 1890s through the 1910s, becoming one of the largest and best-known manufacturers of printed cloth dolls and animals. Celia and Charity Smith, sisters-in-law from Ithaca, New York, designed many of the doll and animal panels printed by Arnold Print Works—the most popular being the Tabby Cat (fig. 3). The Tabby Cat, also known as the Ithaca Kitty, was inspired by a gray tabby named Caesar Grimalkin. The cat's owners, William Hazlitt Smith and Celia Smith, had the cat photographed and had Celia's sister-in-law, Charity Smith, paint a likeness of the cat onto a three-piece pattern designed by Celia. Although Grimalkin was a polydactyl cat with seven toes on each front paw, the Smiths felt that five toes appeared more normal and patented the toy animal figure in October 1882.[13]

The design was sold by the Smiths for one cent a yard to Arnold Print Works, which then sold the printed panel as the Tabby Cat for ten cents in late 1892. The Tabby Cat was successful nationwide, making appearances at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and selling nearly 200,000 dolls that first holiday season. Farmers used the lifelike cat to scare away mice and birds, and both the Central Park police station in New York City and Wanamaker's Department Store in Philadelphia positioned the Tabby Cat in their front windows.[14] Photographs of children posing with their cloth stuffed cats were important additions to family albums. Writer Eugene Field said that the calico cat in his poem "The Duel" was inspired by the Ithaca Kitty. Both the Gingham Dog and Calico Cat appeared appliquéd to crib quilts in the early twentieth century.[15]

The Tabby Cat panel was patented by Arnold Print Works on July 5, 1892, and October 4, 1892, and included a lithograph cat, both front and back sides. The figure measured fourteen inches in height when sewn together. Arnold Print Works introduced Tabby's Kittens at the same time. The directions were printed directly on the panel. "Sew up the sides and head and stuff with cotton. Then sew on the oval piece. Stuff flat at the bottom, so the cats can stand up."[16] An oval piece for the base of the cat was provided on the panel to aid the cat in standing upright when constructed. The company's trademark, a circular seal featuring a phoenix in the center surrounded by the name of the manufacturer, "Arnold Print Works, North Adams, Mass. Incorporated 1876," was printed on the panel to remind customers where they could acquire more panel dolls.

Both Tabby Cat and Tabby's Kittens were advertised in *Ladies' Home Journal* in February 1893, labeled as "This Happy Family." The Tabby Cat panel alone sold for ten cents for a half yard of cloth. Eight kittens on one yard of cloth sold for twenty cents, and four kittens on a half yard of cloth sold for ten cents.[17] The Tabby Cat and Tabby's Kittens were featured for sale in the *Montgomery Ward & Company Catalogue and Buyers Guide Fall and Winter edition 1895–1896* with the phrase "no home is complete without a cat." The ad stated, "Every yard contains two cats. Also have same goods with kittens, 8 to the yard. Price per yard…$0.13½."[18]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, pet keeping was culturally acceptable; it was seen as character building and taught children to be caring and responsible.[19] In 1892, Arnold Print Works patented and printed several panels of other animals that included a pug, a terrier, a cocker spaniel, a monkey, an owl, a rooster, and a hen and chickens.

In the late 1800s, newspaper advertisements were effective and cost-efficient ways to promote products to consumers. By 1897, more than 2,500 companies were conducting large-scale advertising campaigns for many products. The expansion was the result of the increased use of brand names and trademarks and growing newspaper distribution.[20]

Advertisements and newspapers provided lots of information about these early doll and animal panels. A prominent advertisement from Arnold Print Works was featured in *The Youth's Companion* on October 25, 1894 (fig. 4). This advertisement promoted the sale of the Tabby Cat, Bow-Wow and Little Bow-Wow, Jocko and Little Jocko, Pitti-Sing, Bunny, Floss, Rooster, Hen and Chickens, Tatters and Little Tatters, Pickaninny, Owl, Little Red Riding Hood, Our Soldier Boys, Jointed Doll, and the well-known Palmer Cox Brownies. The Arnold Print Works trademark also had a prominent position in this advertisement. With the success of Tabby Cat, it was natural for Arnold Print Works to expand its product line and offer other animals and dolls to the public. The advertisement in *The Youth's Companion* announced:

> The Little Folks can now have their favorite "Brownies" to play with; looking just like real live "Brownies" from different parts of the world; seven inches high when made up; twelve figures to a yard of cloth.
>
> These, **in addition to the other novelties in the toy figures,** as represented by these illustrations, are printed on cotton cloth, in handsome colors, with directions for cutting out, sewing together, and stuffing with cotton. **Any child that can sew can do it.**
>
> They make up so perfectly you would think they were alive.[21]

Many of the figures that appeared in this advertisement were appliquéd onto the 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt. The characters included

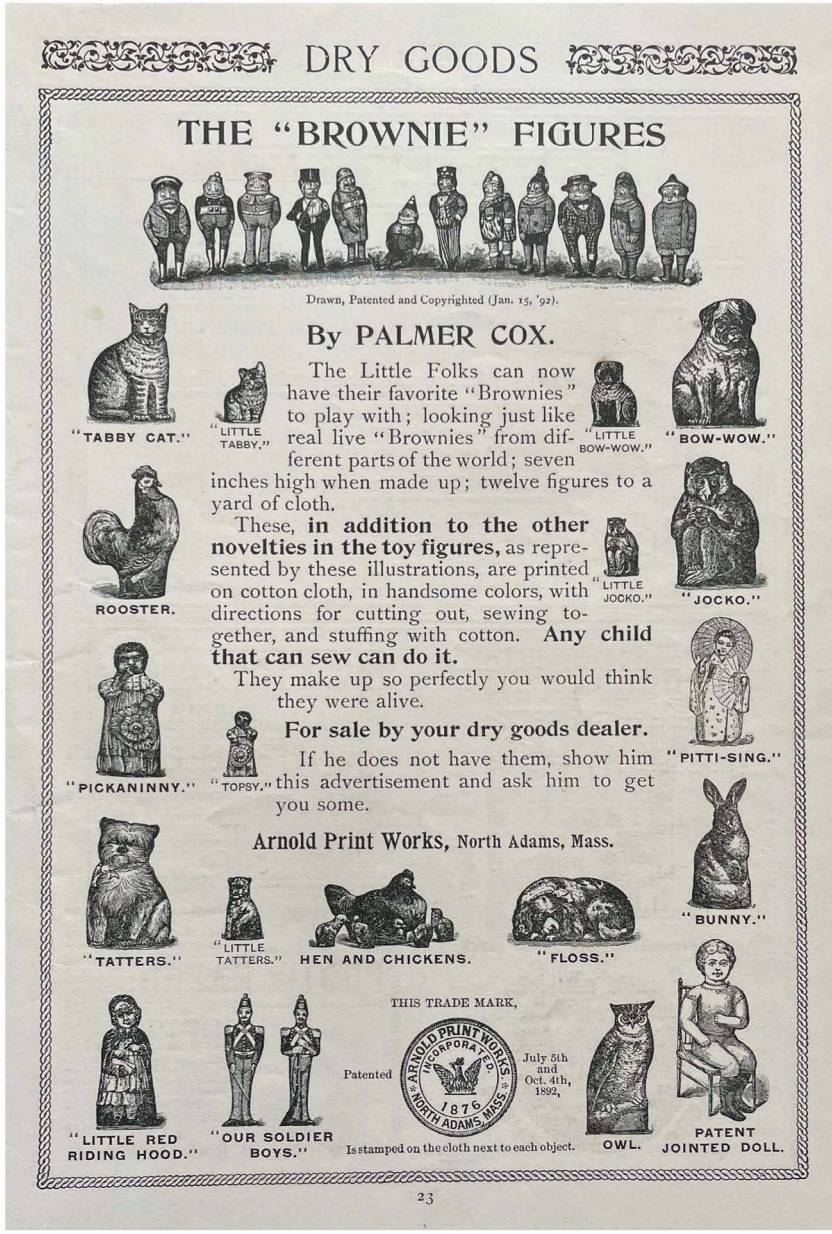

FIGURE 4. *The Youth Companion,* October 25, 1894, page 23. Full-page advertisement (7 × 10 inches) features Arnold Print Works Brownies figures and several other cloth panel dolls and animals and the Arnold Print Works trademark. Private collection.

both the fronts and backs of six Palmer Cox Brownies: Chinaman, Highlander, Canadian, John Bull, Sailor, and German. Also appliquéd on the quilt were the front and back panels of Pickaninny, Rooster, Hen and Chickens, Bow-Wow, and Tabby's Kittens.

Clearly, several of the images and names reflect social attitudes of the times. Based on the idea that white people were superior to black people, formal legal structures and widely accepted social practices resulted in segregation between blacks and whites and relegated African Americans to the status of second-class citizens. Newspapers and magazine writers routinely used a variety of slurs to support anti-black stereotypes. Even children's games and dolls of the late nineteenth century portrayed blacks as inferior beings.[22]

Cuesta Benberry addressed stereotypical references to African Americans associated with quilts in her paper "Afro-American Women and Their Quilts" in *Uncoverings 1980*. Although in some parts of the country many white Americans had never met or even seen an African American person, in the early twentieth century, perceptions were created by the stereotypical information presented by magazines, newspapers, books, and radio.[23]

Doll panels such as Pickaninny produced by Arnold Print Works, Topsy by Art Fabric Mills, and Darky Doll by Cocheco Mills perpetuated these stereotypical caricatures and racist names. Aspects of the African American stereotypes commonly seen on the dolls included bare feet, flimsy or torn clothing, a white apron and a kerchief, and a bandana or straw hat on the head. Most dolls were of medium or dark skin and represented children ages eight to eleven years old. Adult cloth black dolls usually represented subservient roles such as a maid, cook, or chef with the expression of a happy smile—a stereotypical characteristic intended to show that the figure loved their work and position held in society.[24] Racist names of the black dolls were printed in advertisements and across the front of each panel to identify the doll.

Over time, many of these images and names have been changed. For example, the maker of the 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt appliquéd Pickaninny, wearing a blue dress and holding a pink bonnet, in the center of the quilt (fig. 5). Pickaninny, a cut and sew doll created by Arnold Print Works, was represented in *The Youth's Companion* dry goods ad-

FIGURE 5. Arnold Print Works Pickaninny cloth panel (24 × 18 inches) compared to Pickaninny appliquéd to 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt. Arnold Print Works trademark and patented dates of July 5, 1892, and October 4, 1892, are printed on the panel. Private collection.

vertisement on October 25, 1894. A black baby doll, sixteen inches in height, Pickaninny was shown in a pink cotton dress holding a blue straw bonnet in her left hand. She was also available in a blue dress with a pink bonnet. Arnold Print Works patented her on July 5, 1892, and October 4, 1892, and they printed her name, their trademark, and sewing instructions on the panel. But in a reprint by the Toy Works Company, copyrighted in 1977, the doll was renamed Blossom.[25]

Arnold Print Works also printed and sold panel dolls to wheat and flour producers, who would offer the panels to consumers as premiums.[26] The Aunt Jemima Mills Company advertised their Aunt Jemima Pancake flour in 1910 with a doll panel that included Aunt Jemima, Uncle Moses, Diana, and Wade (fig. 6). The Aunt Jemima Mills Company sent the consumer Aunt Jemima's Rag Doll Family printed on one panel for three box tops from Aunt Jemima flour along with ten cents and a filled-out coupon.[27] Over the years, they continued to print

FIGURE 6. Arnold Print Works Aunt Jemima's Rag Doll Family panel (35 × 33 inches) is dated 1910 and includes Aunt Jemima, Uncle Moses, Diana, and Wade. Redemption information and sewing instructions are printed on the panel. All four characters' names are printed on their backs. Private collection.

Aunt Jemima in her white apron and kerchief, but eventually Moses, her husband, donned a top hat, black suit, and shoes. The company also updated her daughter, Diane, with a collared dress, strapped shoes, socks, and a hair ribbon.[28] It was not until June 2021 that the company discontinued the Aunt Jemima brand name and rebranded all products under the Pearl Milling Company brand.[29]

As we study quilts from previous eras, it is essential that we understand the social and cultural context within which they were made.

FIGURE 7. Side view of "Prince" pug dog's head on 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt compared to full side view of "Prince" pug dog on an appliquéd comforter. Private collection.

MYSTERY FIGURES

Two figures appliquéd on the 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt continue to be a mystery. Sections of a pieced sphere were appliquéd to the quilt, but the origin of the textile is still unknown. The Columbian Globe Geographical Toy was constructed of six wedge-style pieces of the sphere, which when sewn together created a ball or globe. Uncut, the globe measured nine inches high, and it measured seven inches in diameter when finished. The globe was printed with the dates of 1492 and 1892 and the land masses of Genoa, Palos, and San Salvador colored in pastels to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World.[30] The panel has no trademark.

The second mystery figure appliquéd on the 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt was a side view of the head of a pug dog with a red collar. On an unrelated cotton comforter, the entire dog appears appliquéd to the top right corner. This dog wore a red collar, and on the side of the dog was printed "Prince."[31] Although the Tabby Cat and Bow-Wow appear on this comforter as well, it is still unknown whether Arnold Print Works produced the dog named Prince (fig. 7).

PALMER COX BROWNIES AND OTHERS

The Palmer Cox Brownies, popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were elf-like characters, imaginary little sprites that delighted in harmless pranks and helpful deeds. Always male, they never allowed themselves to be seen by human beings. Drawn to represent many professions and nationalities, they were mischievous members of the fairy world whose principal attribute was helping with chores while a family slept. Cox's illustrations and verses were created specifically for children, and the Brownies were published in magazines and books to delight and entertain young boys and girls.

The Brownies characters became famous in their day, and at the peak of their popularity, they were a pioneering name brand within merchandising. Beyond print publications, the Brownies were used in many venues of merchandising, promoting games, blocks, cards, dolls, calendars, advertisements, package labels, mugs, plates, flags, soda pop, a slot machine, and so forth. George Eastman applied the brand name in promotion of Kodak's Brownie Camera. In spite of copyright laws, Kodak used the Brownie characters without acknowledgment or payment to Palmer Cox.[32]

Commerce and advertising were attracted to the popular Brownies for two reasons. First, packaged goods manufacturers wanted their advertising to create a bond of trust with the consumer, and second, the marketplace was crowded with product. In 1883, when Proctor & Gamble decided to use the Brownies to advertise Ivory Soap, there were over three hundred other soaps in the market. Associating Brownies made the soap seem "harmless, warm, and friendly."[33] Lion Coffee Company capitalized on the Brownies franchise by offering Brownie trading cards and other premiums with every purchase of a bag of Lion Coffee. Customers were encouraged to save the lion heads from the Lion Coffee packaging and mail them in for premiums, helping to make Lion Coffee the second-largest coffee company in the world at that time.[34]

On July 5, 1892, Palmer Cox patented his Brownies figures with Arnold Print Works, drawing on their established popularity and acclaim. Their panel, printed on one yard of fabric, displayed both the fronts and backs of twelve different Brownies to include: John Bull, Highlander,

Policeman, Sailor, German, Chinaman, Uncle Sam, Indian, Irishman, Dude, Canadian, and Soldier.[35] In 1892, the cut and sew Brownies measured seven inches in height on the panel and "Copyrighted 1892 by Palmer Cox" was printed on the right foot of each doll.[36] The panels were reproduced later in the mid-1900s, but the figures only measured six inches tall, were not as detailed, and did not have the copyright of 1892 printed on the back of the figures' feet. The six Palmer Cox Brownies appliquéd to the 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt all displayed the 1892 copyright and measured seven inches in height (fig. 8).

Since lithographic printing was so effective, it was only natural for Arnold Print Works to use this technology to print a series of six of Palmer Cox's Brownies handkerchiefs. Patented by Palmer Cox on July 10, 1894, for children, Arnold Print Works again capitalized on the success of the Brownies franchise.[37] Arnold Print Works ran an advertise-

FIGURE 8. Arnold Print Works John Bull. The Brownies cloth panel compared to John Bull appliquéd on the 1892 Cotton Crazy Quilt. "Copyrighted 1892 by Palmer Cox" is printed on back of right foot. Doll measures 7 inches in height. Full panel includes fronts and backs of twelve Brownies with sewing instructions, stuffing recommendations, and Arnold Print Works trademark. Private collection.

ment in *The Youth's Companion* on January 10, 1895, promoting the set of six handkerchiefs for five cents each. According to the advertisement:

> These Handkerchiefs are the finest quality of lawn, ten inches square and printed in fast colors with the daintiest designs of the celebrated "Brownie" figures. Each set of six Handkerchiefs comprises of thirty-seven of the principal figures of the "Brownie" band, neatly and delicately arranged on each Handkerchief so as to make them most attractive and useful.[38]

On June 11, 1895, Palmer Cox obtained a patent for a design for printed fabric that featured the Brownies. According to United States Patent Office, Design No. 24,374, Palmer Cox outlined in precise detail the collection of "groups of 'brownies' engaged in various games and pursuits." Cox's descriptions of the characters include "a weird looking brownie strangling a cat with his left hand while his right hand carries a coil of rope,...a thief brownie demanding at the point of a pistol, the money bag carried by another figure," and "a policeman chasing a dude whose right leg is in the grasp of a crab."[39]

Other characters were popular as well. In 1892, Arnold Print Works offered Little Red Riding Hood. Little Red Riding Hood was printed with blond curly hair, a vibrant red-hooded cape, a wicker basket, and flowers. She wore silver bowed shoes and a white pinafore over her dress, and she was seventeen inches in height.

Children's literature panels and handkerchiefs appeared in quilts. Laura Electa Seymour of Bristol, Connecticut, made a commemorative quilt circa 1876 showing four buildings associated with the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. On the back of the quilt, she used fabric panels depicting scenes from children's literature.[40] A quilt owned by the author features a handkerchief of Little Red Riding Hood as she meets the wolf on her way to Grandmother's house, a second as she knocks on Grandmother's door, a third as she talks to the wolf as he lies in Grandmother's bed, and a fourth that portrays the hunter's dog killing the wolf (fig. 9).[41] The Massachusetts Quilt Documentation Project identified another child's handkerchief quilt; this one was from the Cohasset Historical Society. The quilt consists of twelve blocks—each a child's handkerchief and a selection of printed juvenile pictorials. The handkerchiefs

FIGURE 9. Unstuffed Little Red Riding Hood panel doll printed by Arnold Print Works and Little Red Riding Hood Handkerchief Quilt (64 × 58 inches), circa 1900. Private collection.

were printed in blue and navy and set within a Turkey red sashing fabric. The inscriptions on the quilt include "Asleep & Awake," "Please remember the monkey," "The Doctor's Visit," and "The Recruit."[42]

In addition to dolls, military toys were popular at the turn of the twentieth century. Arnold Print Works created a small army of soldiers, named Our Soldier Boys, designed to catch the eye of young boys. During the Victorian period, metal toy soldiers were predominately the toy of choice by small boys, especially among wealthier families.[43] Imported from Germany and France and made of solid metal, the metal soldiers were rather expensive. A cloth version of these toy soldiers created an inexpensive option for boys of all economic classes. Our Soldier Boys, advertised in *The Youth's Companion*, was patented on July 5, 1892, and October 4, 1892. The soldiers were eight and a half inches tall and wore light blue pants and red jackets. A second panel was printed with the little soldiers in blue uniforms. The panel had six soldiers printed on it, one armed with a sword and the other five dolls holding long arm rifles. The uniform attire and weapons were very similar to those uniforms worn by the metal soldiers of that time.[44]

Columbian Sailor was created by Arnold Print Works to provide another cloth doll targeted for a young male audience. The Columbian Sailor measured seventeen inches tall and was patented on January 31, 1893, by Celia M. Smith. Dressed in a bright blue and red-and-white-striped uniform with gold trim, he was well designed in facial features and had curly blond hair. Across the back of his cap was printed "Arnold Print Works."[45] This script did not appear on the cap in the original patent. The doll was printed to commemorate the Columbian Exposition of 1893.[46]

Most cloth panel dolls printed by Arnold Print Works featured a pillow-like appearance when constructed. An advertisement in *The Youth's Companion* on December 13, 1894, promoted a Jointed Cloth Doll; it had been patented on September 26, 1893. This doll was designed by Celia Smith, creator of the Tabby Cat. According to the advertisement, this doll panel could be purchased for ten cents.[47] Once constructed, this doll would bend at the knees with boots pointing forward. The Jointed Cloth Doll was fourteen inches tall and dressed in pretty undergarments with a strand of pearls around her neck. She was originally shown in *The Youth's Companion* advertisement on October 25, 1894.[48]

FIGURE 10. Art Fabric Mills Life Size Dolls (17 and 23 inches in height). Private collection.

ART FABRIC MILLS: THE LIFE SIZE CLOTH DOLLS

Art Fabric Mills, founded in 1899 and located in New York, New York, and New Haven, Connecticut, was another large manufacturer of printed cloth doll panels. Their most popular doll panel was the Life Size Doll, patented by the company's president, Edgar G. Newell, on February 13, 1900.[49] The doll panels were printed wearing white undergarments, a red bow in curly hair, red stockings, and black boots. The arms and legs were sewn separately from the body of the doll, and the boots of the doll pointed directly forward when constructed and stuffed (fig. 10). The company stamped "Art Fabric Mills, New York, Pat. Feb 13, 1900" in ink on the bottom of the doll's right foot.[50]

FIGURE 11. Backing of circa 1900 Churn Dash quilt made entirely of original Punch and Judy panel dolls. Punch and Judy dolls are reproductions from The Toy Works. Private collection.

A full-page advertisement in *The Delineator* in November 1901 advertised several of the Art Mill Fabric dolls to the public as "Rag Dolls, These toys are sold the Entire Year." The Life Size Doll retailed at fifty cents and was featured as "Babies Clothes Will Now Fit Dollie." It was unnecessary for mom to make clothes to fit this doll; she could just donate outgrown baby clothes for the doll to wear. The doll was sold as a panel and would still need to be sewn together. The actual advertisement showed the doll as already constructed. The thirty-inch doll was lithographed on heavy sateen that the company claimed "would not tear."[31]

The Life Size Doll was offered in a variety of sizes to consumers—thirty inches to a mere eight inches in height. A circa 1900 quilt top owned by a private collector in Pennsylvania includes several identical fronts and backs of a smaller Life Size Doll. The dolls are cut out and appliquéd on cream fabric, and the top consists of several blocks of the same doll alternating with blocks of striped blue fabric. The backing

consists of several of the doll backs alternating with striped red fabric blocks. The maker and origin of the quilt are unknown.[52]

In the October 5, 1905, issue of *The Youth's Companion,* Art Fabric Mills placed a large advertisement offering a free rag doll. The advertisement stated:

> Send your name and address plainly written. We will send you the Doll post-paid—free of expense. We want to know how many Youth's Companion readers answer advertisements. We have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in advertising our Cloth Toys, and we want to know just how many readers would respond to the most forceful ad ever written.
>
> There is no catch to this; the Doll will be sent on receipt of your name and address. We ask that you show it to your friends, and that you read our circular of Sanitary Cloth Toys that we send with it. It is expected that this ad will bring over a half-million replies. Each and every one will be filled. If you don't get yours, write us and we will send another. But please don't ask for two Dolls to one address. We can't afford it.[53]

Art Fabric Mills printed a pair of cloth dolls named Punch and Judy and, according to the November 1901 *Delineator,* sold the pair of dolls for a price of fifty cents.[54] They could be sewn and stuffed as dolls or left unstuffed for use as puppets. The cloth panel was patented on February 13, 1900, and the dolls measured twenty-three and a half inches in height. The dolls were printed in bright reds, greens, and blues.[55] A quilt in the author's collection features a full backing of Punch and Judy cloth panel dolls. The maker apparently bought several yards of the fabric and decided to use it as the entire back of the circa 1900 Churn Dash Quilt rather than separate it into individual dolls (fig. 11).[56]

Foxy Grandpa, a comic character drawn by Carl Schultze for the funny pages, claimed a spot in the Art Fabric Mills doll line in 1903.[57] Schultze drew a popular comic strip from 1900 until 1918 featuring an old man and his two young grandsons. In some of his comics, he presented children getting the better of parents and grandparents, but Foxy Grandpa was the smart one, playing pranks on his two grandsons. Foxy

FIGURE 12. Foxy Grandpa cloth doll (18 inches in height), dated 1903. Designed by Carl Schultze and printed by Art Fabric Mills. Private collection.

Grandpa measured twenty inches tall and was almost as broad. A rabbit named Bunny—a childhood nickname, alter ego, and trademark—appeared under his arm. Foxy Grandpa's pocket watch displayed a common Masonic symbol, a carpenter's square and compass (fig. 12), although the Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library has not been able to identify a Masonic connection to the character or to Schultze himself. Directions for sewing Foxy Grandpa came with the panel, and the December 1904 issue of *McCall's Magazine* advertised the doll for twenty-five cents per panel.[58]

SELCHOW & RIGHTER: CLOTH GAMES

Selchow & Righter Company, located in Bay Shore, New York, was not only a distributor for Arnold Print Works and Art Fabric Mills but also a manufacturer of its own line of panel dolls. Selchow & Righter

printed their version of the Life Size Doll panel called Merrie Marie. Merrie Marie was patented on February 13, 1900, and measured twenty-five inches tall when constructed.[59] Like Art Fabric Mills, Selchow & Righter billed her as a life-size doll and used the phrase "Baby's Clothes will now fit Dolly" printed directly on the panel (fig. 13). Merrie Marie was printed wearing undergarments—ready to dress with baby clothes. She was a curly brunette, had a blue ribbon draped through her hair, and wore brown boots.

Selchow & Righter Company also manufactured cloth games. Nerlich & Company, a mail-order company located in Toronto, Canada, featured a full-page advertisement for cloth games in its *Holiday Season Issue, Year 1906–1907*. The cloth games were priced from thirty-seven cents to sixty-three cents each.[60] One of the first games advertised was called Cloth Donkey Party. This game was printed on muslin in the early 1900s, came with twenty-eight tails, and was attributed to Charles

FIGURE 13. Merrie Marie cloth doll panel (26 inches in height), 1900. Printed and distributed by Selchow & Righter Company. Private collection.

Zimmerling.[61] It later became known as Pin the Tail on the Donkey, a familiar party game played at children's birthday parties today.

Foxy Grandpa Hat Party, another cloth game, measured approximately fifteen inches by twenty-nine inches and was printed in color lithograph on cotton cloth. Created in 1905–1906, the game came with twelve cloth game pieces—Grandpa's hats—and was played in the same fashion as Cloth Donkey Party. Directions for playing the game were included on the game box with the statement "The ridiculous pinning of the hats could create such merriment."[62]

Buster Brown was a comic strip character created in 1902 by Richard F. Outcault, an American cartoonist.[63] Adopted as the mascot of the Brown Shoe Company in 1904, Buster Brown and his dog, Tige, became well known to the American public in the early twentieth century. The Cloth Buster Brown Party, a lithograph cloth pinup measuring thirty inches by eighteen inches with twelve black cloth bow ties, came packaged in a paper envelope with game instructions printed on the front. The game retailed at fifty-eight cents.[64] Other versions of cloth party games included Cloth Cinderella Party (1906) and Cloth Fishing Party (1906).

COCHECO MANUFACTURING: MORE INNOVATION

The Cocheco Manufacturing Company established in Dover, New Hampshire, was known for producing both dress and furnishing prints as well as novelty items such as the panel dolls. Although established in 1827, they did not start making panel dolls until 1889. An advertisement printed on December 7, 1893, in *The Youth's Companion* displayed an assortment of cut and sew dolls offered by Cocheco Manufacturing. White Doll Baby, Baby Elephant, Brownie Doll, Japanese Doll, and Darky Doll were all listed in the advertisement with a retail price of ten cents each.[65] The instructions for making these dolls included placing a bit of cardboard in the bottom of each foot. The first doll printed at Cocheco was a sixteen-inch lithograph-printed doll, Doll Baby, designed by Celia and Charity Smith. Celia and Charity were also responsible for designing several doll panels for Arnold Print Works. The panel actually included two dolls, both front and back, for a total of four pieces at a

FIGURE 14. Cocheco Mill Baby Doll (18 inches in height when constructed), 1893. Panel includes Cocheco trademark and sewing instructions. The name of the doll is not printed on the panel but appears in an advertisement in *The Youth's Companion*, December 7, 1893. Private collection.

retail price of ten cents, or five cents per doll. Doll Baby wore shoes with rosettes, unlike the boots worn by most other dolls, and was printed in two color ways—one with gray socks and the other with blue socks (fig. 14).[66]

Baby Elephant was the first animal panel introduced by Cocheco Manufacturing in 1893. The elephant measured nine inches tall when constructed and stuffed. The panel included four pieces, allowing the maker to give the animal four legs to create a lifelike appearance rather than one solid base. Baby Elephant was lithograph printed in beige with a red blanket embellished with "BABY" and gold stars, much like a circus animal would have worn. The panel included both cutting and sewing instructions as well as the Cocheco trademark.[67]

Ida A. Gutsell, who resided in Ithaca, New York, as did the Smith sisters, was granted a United States patent for her cloth doll on August

15, 1893. The design included the panel doll and clothing stamped on a piece of fabric with cutting and sewing lines for making the doll at home. In her patent, Gutsell described existing cut and sew dolls as being unrealistic in appearance with their out-turned feet and flat faces. Her design included a seam down the center of the face and directions for turning the feet forward during construction, which produced a "highly realistic and an extremely attractive dressed doll, which was readily salable and formed a constant source of pleasure."[68] Gutsell was responsible for designing dolls with clothing for Cocheco Manufacturing known as the Gutsell Boy, which measured sixteen inches tall, and Darky Dolls, which measured thirteen and a half inches in height.[69]

SAALFIELD PUBLISHING COMPANY: CLOTH BOOKS

The Saalfield Publishing Company of Akron, Ohio, was also a leading source of cut and sew dolls in the early twentieth century. Panel dolls included Goldenlocks, a blond girl wearing undergarments; the doll measured twenty-five inches in height and was printed using a five-color process from 1909 through 1915. Another doll panel, the Greenaway Doll, inspired by drawings of author and artist Kate Greenaway, was also printed in five colors and sold for twenty-five cents. Dottie Dimple, introduced in 1909, was created by Grace Drayton, whose artwork was used widely in advertisements and children's books from 1900 to the 1930s. Drayton was notably famous for the Campbell Kids, which she first drew for the Campbell Soup Company in 1900.[70]

Saalfield Publishing Company was predominately known for publishing children's books from 1900 to 1977 and became one of the largest publishers of children's materials in the world. Around 1902, the Saalfield Company introduced a new type of children's book with text and images printed on cloth, a format intended to withstand enthusiastic use. The popularity of the company's cloth books was demonstrated by the fact that close to 100 titles had been issued by 1925.[71] Hardbound books were subject to tearing and required gentle handling. These cloth books were targeted for children ages three and up, and fabric made them durable and long lasting.

FIGURE 15. Detail of Story Book Quilt Top (circa 1910), featuring cloth pages from three books: *Furry Coats*, *Furry Friends*, and *Nursery Pets*. Collection of Mary Reddick and Tom Reddick. *Photograph courtesy of Tom Reddick.*

Antique collectors Tom and Mary Reddick own a pieced quilt top made with several pages of cloth storybooks alternated with redwork-embroidered animal blocks (fig. 15). The quilt top features pages from three cloth books published by Saalfield Publishing in 1906: *Nursery Pets*, *Furry Friends*, and *Furry Coats*.[72] Similarly, a small child's doll quilt in the author's collection was constructed of pages from *Mother Goose ABC*, printed by Saalfield in 1914.[73]

CONCLUSION

Cloth panel dolls were extremely popular for several decades, but few examples of them exist on quilts in museum and historical society collections today. The marketing strategy of the textile mills in the northeastern United States to produce and sell cloth panel dolls and animals was simple. The characters were fun and popular with children, and

mothers appreciated the ease of construction of an unbreakable doll. More importantly, the panel dolls and animals could be printed for pennies, making them accessible to consumers everywhere. The retailer simply offered the printed yardage, thus creating the perfect recipe for selling cloth panel dolls and toys to the American public. Both Arnold Print Works and Art Fabric Mills advertised their fabrics and panel dolls throughout the United States. Advertisements were featured in *The North Adams Transcript,* North Adams, Massachusetts; *The Weekly Examiner,* New York, New York; *The Boston Globe,* Boston, Massachusetts; *The Oregon Daily Journal,* Portland, Oregon; *The Chronical Telegram,* Elyria, Ohio; *The Minneapolis Journal,* Minneapolis, Minnesota; and *Oklahoma Farm Journal,* Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.[74]

Other mills that printed these cut and sew panels included Elms and Sellon Company, E.I. Horsman Company, Shackman Mill, Spring Mill Company, Cranston Mill, and The Toy Works. The majority of these companies are no longer in operation. Arnold Print Works, Art Fabric Mills, Selchow & Righter, Cocheco Manufacturing, and Saalfield Publishing have all closed their doors as well. After World War II, rubber, plastic, vinyl, and plush velour took over the doll industry, and the minds of young girls and boys changed to reflect a more grown-up attitude. The Ideal Novelty and Toy Company took advantage of both situations and produced a plastic doll named Miss Revlon in 1956, paving the way for Barbie in 1959.[75] Hasbro Company introduced G.I. Joe in 1964.[76] The National Negro Doll Company was founded in the early twentieth century. Black dolls with respectable black bodies instead of racist caricatures were now being manufactured by black men and women.[77]

This study included searches of quilts listed in the International Quilt Museum collection and extensive quilt views in the Quilt Index, Michigan State University, to identify other quilts with panel characters appliquéd to them. Research included quilt and textile collections of both large and small historical societies and museums within the northeastern United States and across the country. No quilts beyond those noted in this paper were identified.

Despite their popularity, the North Adams Historical Society in North Adams, Massachusetts, home of Arnold Print Works, has only one panel of a cloth doll produced at the textile mill. Her name is Pitti Sing, a young girl dressed in a pink and blue kimono, which measures eight and a half inches tall.[78] No examples of panel dolls stitched into quilts were found among in the historical society's collection.[79]

Today, the early cut and sew dolls and panels are hard to find and bring high prices for a doll or panel in good condition. Their popularity may have led to their scarcity today—most of them, it seems, were soiled, ripped, and even loved to extinction by children.

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AMANA CALICO AND AMANA QUILTS

By Susan Price Miller

From the 1850s to 1917, members of the Community of True Inspiration produced and sold patterned indigo-dyed cotton cloth to support their closed communal society in Iowa, known as the Amana Colonies. Past published accounts of what is now called "Amana calico" lack an understanding of indigo-dyeing processes, use various labels for the patterned textiles, and skim over the evolution of production. This paper adds new information about the history of the Amana cotton fabrics by reviewing indigo-dyeing methods, searching online archives of newspapers for articles and advertising, and examining fabric samples, artifacts, and documents at the Amana Heritage Society Museum. The greatest production and sales of Amana cotton fabrics occurred in the 1890s at a time when many quilters across the country pieced blue and white quilts.

An investigation of textiles used for bedding found a few remnants of traditional blue wholecloth German-style featherbeds and comforters. However, even before the calico factory closed in 1917, Amana women began to buy solid-color pastel sateen fabrics for their covers, stitch the layers together in large original patterns, and apply the term "quilt." The larger history of American textiles should include the Amana fabrics and the distinctive twentieth-century quilts from the Colonies.

INTRODUCING THE AMANA COLONIES

THE AMANA COLONIES CONSIST OF SEVEN VILLAGES IN THE IOWA RIVER valley seven miles north of exit 225 on Interstate 80 between Iowa City and

Cedar Rapids in eastern Iowa. In the 1850s, a pietistic religious sect called the Community of True Inspiration bought land that would eventually total 26,000 acres and named the site "Amana," meaning "remain true." The incorporated Amana Society collectively owned the land, buildings, shops, and factories; provided food, clothing, shelter, jobs, and care for everyone on an equal basis; and directed all aspects of religious life. In the twentieth century, dissatisfaction with the arrangement grew until a vote to separate religion from the economy ended communal living in 1932, the year of the "Great Change." The new Amana Church Society guided religious matters, while the profit-sharing Amana Society Corporation continued to own the farms, shops, and factories, and individuals found jobs, bought homes, and started their own businesses. The giant Amana Appliance company, maker of Radarange microwave ovens, quality Amana kitchen appliances, and Amana heating/cooling units, grew out of a small electric company that began installing walk-in coolers in 1934.[1]

Today, the Amana Colonies are a National Historic Landmark and the largest tourist site in Iowa. Outsiders had always been curious about the isolated residents who dressed in dark clothing, ate meals together, and rotated work assignments according to the needs of the group under the guidance of divinely inspired leaders. However, after World War II, the historic setting, typical Amana foods, and traditional handcrafts attracted thousands of tourists, who increased the need for lodging, meals, shops, and entertainment that took on a more stereotypical German character. The local calendar now includes celebrations of Maifest and Oktoberfest with Bavarian-style music and costumes. An analysis of Amana in 1988 described it as part communal, part German, and part American.[2]

Current visitors, like those in the past, can see brief references to calico production by the Community in free guides to the Amanas.[3] They can also find a few details at the Amana Heritage Society Museum, where carved wood printing blocks, artifacts, fabric, samples, and signs explain briefly how Amana calico was an indigo-dyed cotton cloth treated in several ways to leave designs on blue backgrounds (fig. 1). The 2020 adaptive reuse of the former woolen mill buildings in Main Amana brought images related to the indigo fabrics and textile mills front and center. A huge replica of an old 6-by-7½-inch label for indigo "blueprints" hangs in the lobby, a dark blue accent color appears on

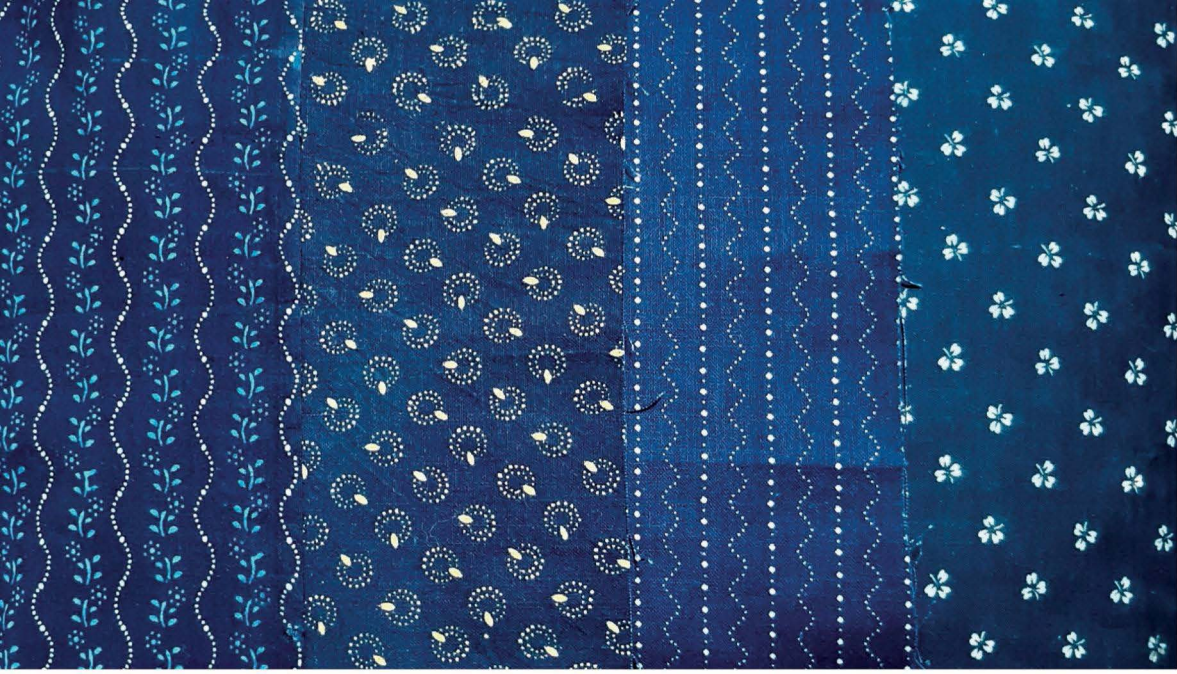


FIGURE 1. Four Amana indigo fabrics collected 1990–2013 by the author. *Photograph by the author.*

walls, and dining takes place in the Indigo Room. Questions about the blueprints and calico are likely to elicit directions to two brick buildings that were once part of a larger complex but now house the furniture- and clock-making shops and show no evidence of their former use.

Several factors have contributed to the scarcity of information about Amana calico. Many of the records in the Amana Heritage Society Library and Archives are handwritten in Old German script or printed in Fraktur (German typeface). Some documents have been transcribed but not translated into English. When the calico factory closed, nothing was done to preserve its contents, the wooden print rollers deteriorated, and children sold the copper rollers for scrap.[4] The structure of the communal society also hindered the accumulation of information. Except for a few experienced dyers, millhands were humble Inspirationists rotating through various jobs or anonymous hired men from the outside.[5] Due to the desire of the group to remain isolated from outside influences, and thus a lack of public access to factories, an occasional outside reporter could only observe external appearances.

Understanding Amana calico depends on knowing the unique nature of indigo dye itself, the multiple steps for dyeing and making patterns on the fabric, and the changes over time in the various processes. Origi-

nally, "calico" simply meant a cotton cloth but later denoted small-scale colorful printed designs.[6] The methods used with indigo to make patterns appear involve, not the direct printing of colors, but the application of substances that prevent or remove the indigo color. This study considers when and how the term "calico" was used throughout the history of the Community and whether other words might be more meaningful.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY OF TRUE INSPIRATION

The roots of the Amana Community go back to the German pietist dissenters in the eighteenth century who wanted to replace the formalism, theology, and extravagance of the established Lutheran Church with personal faith experience through Bible study, simple worship, and pious Christian living. One sect believed God communicated through inspired individuals to deliver his will through spoken or written "testimonies." The Community of True Inspiration began officially in the liberal Wetterau region near Frankfurt in Hesse, Germany, in November 1714.[7]

Early leaders, or "instruments," traveled throughout Europe, gave testimonies, and supported scattered believers. Some were persecuted by the Church and state and moved to the Ronneburg Castle in the Wetterau. After the early leaders died, a decline in spirituality occurred until Christian Metz, a carpenter who had grown up in the Ronneburg Castle, became the sole inspired leader in 1823.[8] A gifted leader in both spiritual and temporal matters, Metz revived the faith among followers whose refusal to serve in the army, send children to public schools, and be baptized incurred new sanctions. From 1826 to 1834, he leased four abandoned convents or estates in Hesse where exiled members became "used to living and working together . . . [and] to submitting to the authority of the [leader] and elders in secular as well as in spiritual matters."[9] A spinning mill established on one estate in 1829 and a large weaving factory built on another by Moerschel, Winzenried and Company in 1840 provided income for the whole community.[10]

No record has been found of indigo-dyed fabric production on the estates, although the Amana Heritage Society Museum has carved printing blocks brought from Germany and the untranslated dyebook written by eighteen-year-old Wilhelm Haeusslein in 1839, the year he

moved to the rented convent of Engelthal.[11] Born near Strasbourg in eastern France, an area famous for its textile factories, he may have apprenticed to a dyer there for a couple of years and perhaps reached the level of journeyman, which would have required traveling and working for others.[12] In 1842, as German authorities continued to persecute the Inspirationists, a drought threatened farm production, and landowners demanded higher rents. Christian Metz issued a testimony that the community should move to the New World. "Your goal and your way shall lead towards the west to the land which still is open to you and your faith."[13] Haeusslein arrived in New York in 1845 with one trunk, his dyebook, and perhaps other tools of his trade.[14] A review of indigo dyeing in Germany provides a glimpse into his dye shop in New York.

INDIGO DYEING IN GERMANY

In the 1700s, European traders became wealthy by importing dried cakes of indigo dyestuffs extracted from *Indigofera* plants grown in India and on new plantations in the Western Hemisphere.[15] The upper classes developed a passion for the marvelous but expensive colorfast blue color for their clothes and furnishings, although governments and churches banned its use, calling it dangerous and the "food of the devil."[16] The characteristic of indigo that made the color permanent on fabric also prevented the dry dyestuff from dissolving in water. To reduce it to a soluble form, European dyers experimented throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with various methods and substances that would remove the oxygen molecules from the indigo in a vat of water. A major improvement occurred in the nineteenth century when, instead of having to heat the vat, iron sulphate and lime along with finely ground indigo powder in cold water greatly simplified the process. The dyed wet fabric looked green when it came out of the vat, but as oxygen in the air recombined with the indigo, the color almost magically changed to blue and became insoluble and colorfast again.[17] Each additional dip in the vat added another layer of dye and darkened the shade of blue.[18]

Making white figures appear on indigo-dyed cloth was not a direct printing process. Instead, a resist paste to prevent the penetration of the indigo dye had to be applied to clean white cloth from the surface

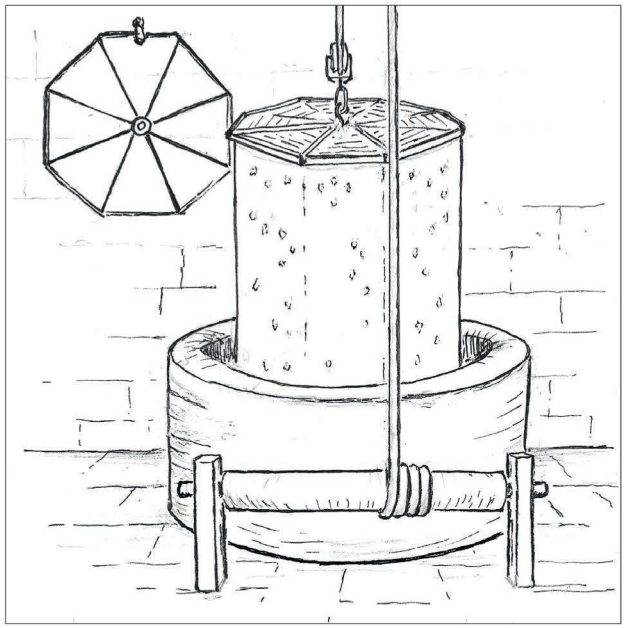


FIGURE 2. A traditional German indigo-dye vat for making *blaudruke*, or "blueprint," with a dye-resistant paste stamped on cotton fabric. *Drawing by the author.*

of a carved or metal-embedded wood block. After an entire length of fabric had been stamped, dyed, and washed to remove the resist, white designs appeared on the blue.[19] Another dip in the dye bath at this point colored the white areas light blue. To make the designs take on another color, the dyer could add a specific mineral salt, called a "mordant," to the resist paste that stayed in the fabric through dyeing and rinsing but combined with its companion dye to fill the resisted area.[20] Master dyers had to know how to prescribe and care for the various substances used in the indigo vats, resists, mordants, and dyes.

For centuries, hundreds of small shops in Europe practiced the art of resist-printed indigo-dyed cotton cloth called "blueprint," or *blaudruck*, in German.[21] Today one can see images online of the setup and equipment at the Blue-Dye Museum in Pápa, Hungary. Until 1956, seven generations of the Kluge family operated the shop, which still has cement-lined stone vats and ropes and pulleys to raise and lower by hand an octagonal metal frame. The selvedges of resist-printed fabric would be hooked to the top and bottom spokes of a frame, starting at the center and spiraling around to the outer edge so that no surface touched another and all paste remained intact (fig. 2).[22]

A well-equipped shop needed a cannonball rolling around in a mortar or some other method to thoroughly grind the cakes into a fine powder and a sifter to remove remaining debris, because successful dyeing depended on an uncontaminated vat.[23] Other equipment included tubs for washing and rinsing, long tables for stamping the resist, several vats for various stages of dye exhaustion, and space for the fabric to hang and dry—all items the carpenters, millwrights, and mechanics could provide in New York.

THE EBENEZER SOCIETY, EBENEZER, NEW YORK

After Christian Metz's testimony to leave Germany, he and three others sailed in September 1842 for the United States and eventually arranged to buy 5,000 acres from the Buffalo Creek Indian Reservation near Buffalo, New York. The new settlement became "Ebenezer," meaning "hitherto the Lord has helped us."[24] As a temporary measure to pay for land and other expenses, everyone turned over their assets, except for personal and household items, to the Society, which would own the land and industries and provide food, housing, and work for all. In 1846, the members approved a constitution that made the communal system permanent and organized the "Village of Ebenezer" as a legal corporation in the state of New York.[25] Eventually four small self-sufficient villages in New York—Middle, Upper, Lower, and New Ebenezer—and two in Canada were established. Each had several communal kitchens and dining halls for six to eight families, individual homes with gardens, large barns, and essential craft and machine shops, all surrounded by fields for crops and animals.

In December 1843, fire destroyed the Moerschel woolen mill in Germany but spared all the equipment. Believing the survival of machinery to be a sign from God that the mill should go to America, the owners shipped seventy crates of parts to a new factory in the main village of Middle Ebenezer. In 1846, the woolen mill was spinning yarn; women and children were knitting mittens, stockings, gloves, and wristlets; and yards of flannel were rolling off the looms.[26] Ebenezer wool products reached retail outlets from St. Louis to New York City.[27]

The Society dug a 1.7-mile millrace in Middle Ebenezer and located a building for the dyeing of indigo near where the water flowed in from

Buffalo Creek. In 1847, H. A. P., a reporter from Buffalo, praised "the neatness, order, and perfection" of the farms and mentioned "a calico printing establishment."[28] A sketch based on an 1850 map labeled the establishment as a "shop for printing calico cloth."[29]

> Raw cotton cloth for the production of calico was not woven here but purchased on the outside. The pattern was printed in paste upon the cloth and after the same had been dyed in indigo and the color set, the paste was washed from the goods leaving the pattern in white upon a blue ground. Wood blocks were used for the printing which was done by hand. Cloth for upholstery was printed in the same manner.[30]

Inspirationist elder William Noé owned a sofa with Ebenezer fabric upholstered across the seat.[31] Four different carved print blocks from Germany printed the resist to make the white patterns. At least two of the four blocks remain in Amana and have not been connected to the sofa until now.[32] Nor have they been associated with a cover for a side table donated by descendants of William Noé to the Amana Heritage Society that used the same four blocks to make white and chrome yellow designs (fig. 3).[33]

Several long, narrow, carved wood blocks in the collection of the Amana Heritage Society may have printed resists for borders on aprons, shawls, and kerchiefs in Germany and remained in use for textiles in the community. However, the dye shop mostly produced indigo blue fabrics with small overall white designs for members' clothing and the outside market. These patterns were made with rectangular and square blocks embedded with metal pins and various small metal shapes that were likely made in Ebenezer.[34] By 1850, the high-quality patterned yardage had earned a good reputation when one Indiana newspaper advertised "A few pieces of the favorite Ebenezer Blue Calico."[35]

The occupation of one family differed greatly from all others in Ebenezer. Joseph Prestele, a gifted artist and lithographer whose botanical prints had been published in Germany before he joined the Inspirationists in 1837, was allowed to continue his work in New York. With the help of his son Gottlieb, he printed and colored many plates for Asa Gray, professor of botany at Harvard, and turned the income over to the Community.[36] Joseph's oldest and youngest sons left Ebene-

FIGURE 3. Half of a side table cover, 76 × 33 inches, Amana Heritage Society Collection, catalog number 140. Each design element needed two blocks. The block for the white part of the leafy center is in the Amana Heritage Society Museum, while the block for the yellow part of the border appears in the book *Amana Style*, location unknown. The same two blocks in a similar layout made white patterns on indigo for the upholstered seat of an Ebenezer sofa. *Photograph by John H. Miller.*

zer, joined the Union Army, and became artists who supplied plates for nurserymen. The middle son, Gottlieb, moved with his parents to Iowa, assisted his father until his death in 1867, and continued to make and sell images of plants and flowers until about 1875.[37]

In the mid-1850s, dwindling initiative by some members, the need for more land, and the worldly influence of nearby Buffalo troubled the elders, whereupon Christian Metz issued a new testimony in 1854, directing the people to look west again. A search committee bought the first tract of land that would eventually total 26,000 acres along the Iowa River twenty miles west of Iowa City in June 1855. Almost immediately, a small party of workers left New York and began constructing houses and barns at the first village, named "Amana," a biblical word meaning "remain true." During the next five years, more settlers arrived from Ebenezer and built five more villages nearby—West, South, High, East, and Middle Amana. Finally, in 1861, the Society bought the existing town of Homestead to obtain access to a railroad.[38]

Although the Society's transition to Iowa basically ended before the beginning of the Civil War in 1861, creating a new indigo-dyeing facility took a few more years. John George Erzinger tried farming in Meigs County, Ohio, in the early 1860s but was in Amana in 1863 when he enrolled for the draft and gave "dyer" as his occupation.[39] That same year, William Haeuslein registered for the Civil War draft in New York, making him among the last to arrive around 1864.[40] By that time, a large new woolen mill was already buying wool in Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana and selling products to a New York customer.[41] Haeuslein and his staff probably began working in a frame building first used for the temporary woolen mill.[42] In 1867, a reporter for the Davenport, Iowa, *Morning Democrat* observed a "factory" where "white cotton cloth, brought hither from the East, is dyed blue and printed with different patterns."[43]

A few years later, production moved to a complex of buildings next to a branch of the main millrace that powered the woolen mill. The first known photograph of the site taken in the 1870s showed seven different rooflines, several chimneys, and a smokestack. The back of a *carte de visite* (photo card) identified the subject as the "Old dye works, Blue Prints."[44] The new factory, under the management of John George Erzinger after Haeuslein's death in 1875, had machines that printed resists with wood and copper rollers and made the patterns with a different method using a discharge paste. In 1826, James Thompson had discov-

ered a mixture that could be printed by blocks or rollers to remove the indigo color from already dyed fabric. The discharged spaces could be filled, or "illuminated," with color, such as yellow or orange, if the mordant for a dye had been included in the printed paste.[45] Practically, the results looked the same as resist-printed fabrics, were cheaper to make, and were also called blueprints. Although common Amana prints for clothing consisted of simple lines and small figures in white, sample books also show some patterns with graceful curves and delicate florals in various combinations of colors (fig. 4). Gottlieb Prestele, who was assigned to the printworks about 1875, may have designed some of the patterns.[46]

During the 1870s and 1880s, newspapers and other publications often used the term "blue prints" instead of "calico." In 1877, the *Chicago Tribune* ran a long feature that mentioned "the peculiar indigo-blueprints, noted for their value and color."[47] Two years later, an advertisement in the *Des Moines Register* referred to "extra width, very heavy indigo Blue Dress Prints."[48] The 1881 *History of Iowa County* reported, "The Calico Print Mills color and print from 800 to 1,000 yards daily. The heavy cotton goods are manufactured in the East and sent here for the finishing touches. They are called 'blue prints,' and enjoy a high reputation for the superior manner in which the work is done."[49]

In the late 1880s, the elders transferred John George Erzinger to the Amana store and named Gottlieb Christen to oversee more changes in operations.[50] Brick buildings faced the street, a tall brick smokestack rose against the skyline, and a steam engine powered new equipment. "The expansions represented not only the Society's improving economic stability but also an advance in technology and a desire to expand production."[51] Many developments in the science of synthetic dyes had taken place since 1856 when Englishman William H. Perkin accidentally discovered a purplish "mauvine" derived from coal tar, a by-product of the gasification of coal.[52] Researchers experimented with cheaper, more consistent chemical dyes in new industrial facilities and succeeded in producing a good aniline black by 1890, followed by a reliable synthetic indigo in 1897.[53] Amana dyers became dependent on German companies that held the secrets for making the dyes.

FIGURE 4. Samples pasted in a folder for green figures on blue. The low numbers could indicate early patterns. Amana Heritage Society Collection, catalog number 4965. *Photograph by John H. Miller.*

The Amana Heritage Society Collection includes examples of colorful fabric labels for blueprints with the letters *A*, *B*, and *C* (fig. 5). Until now the purpose of the labels has not been addressed. However, similar labels were often used in the textile industry. Manufacturers pasted "bolt labels" on their fabrics to identify the company, brand name, and other features of the product.[54] The Amana labels would have been pasted on the end of a finished "piece" of goods after an employee had noted the pattern number, measured the length of the fabric, and entered the figures in the spaces provided. Each piece had at least forty-

FIGURE 5. Fabric labels for Indigo Blue "A" and "C" Prints and Twills attached to full-width cloth samples in the Amana Heritage Society Collection, catalog number 3532. When glued to finished yardage, a label provided information about its source, quality, pattern number, and exact length. *Photographs by the author.*

five yards; the exact number determined the price the buyer paid and figured in the production costs.

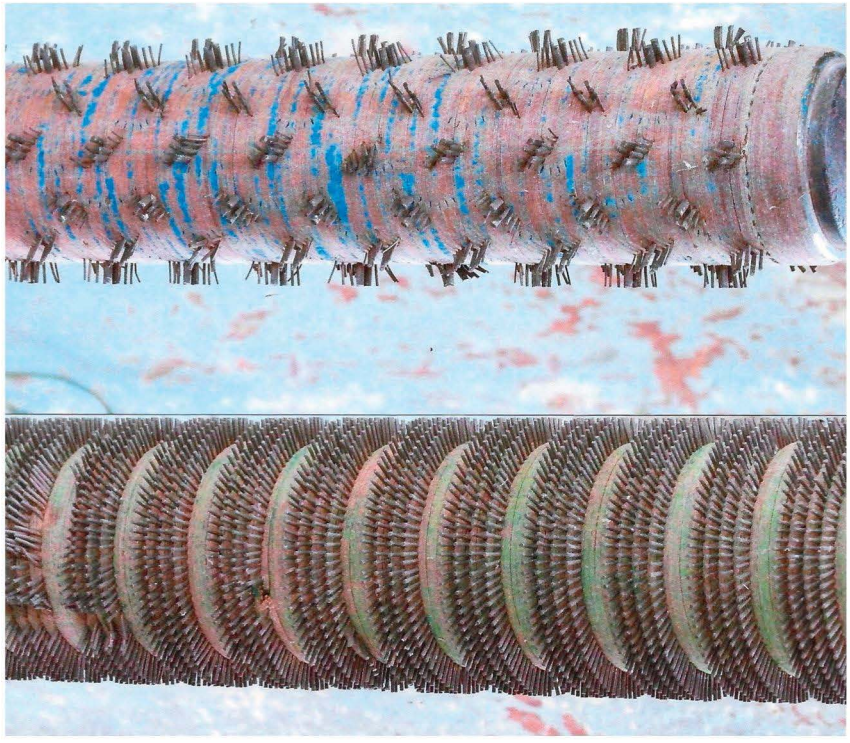
Several sources provide previously unknown information about the use of the letters *A*, *B*, and *C*. The earliest date found so far is on a postcard written January 18, 1888, with a request for samples of A, B, and C prints.[55] The *Chicago Dry Goods Reporter* in 1890 noted that prices ranged from nine and one-half to eight and one-half cents in half-cent increments and widths were 36 inches for A and 34 inches for B and C.[56] In 1892, the Steffen's store in Davenport, Iowa, advertised Amana Blue Prints in three weights.[57] The lower-priced lines made the Amana products more competitive with the large factories in the Northeast that produced less-expensive indigo-dyed fabrics. In the 1880s, Amana also began using a heavier twill fabric with basic, simple line or dot patterns for work clothes and gave twills their own colorful label (fig. 5).[58]

In 1891, Gottlieb Christen told a visitor that a Townsend, Massachusetts, company made their copper printing rollers, which were then

engraved in Newark, New Jersey. He added, "Other rolls, and those of the latest patterns, are made at Amana."[59] He may have been referring to rollers with embedded pins or studded rings separated by wood discs (fig. 6). Christen also stated that production averaged "eighty pieces of print per day, at 45 yards each."[60]

About 1893, William Ackerman, a dyer and Christen's brother-in-law, began keeping a journal of recipes for dyes and other compounds, production figures, costs, and profits that reveal other bits of information. For example, he noted that in 1893, sheeting from "Ozark" was one-fourth of a cent per yard higher than that from Columbia and had only forty yards per piece.[61] After the Civil War, textile mills opened in the South, where costs of production undercut the old northern factories. Although no information has been found about either name, the Colonies did switch to a southern source.

FIGURE 6. Two print rollers from the Amana Print Works owned by Renate's Antique Gallery, Amana, Iowa. *Photograph by John H. Miller.*



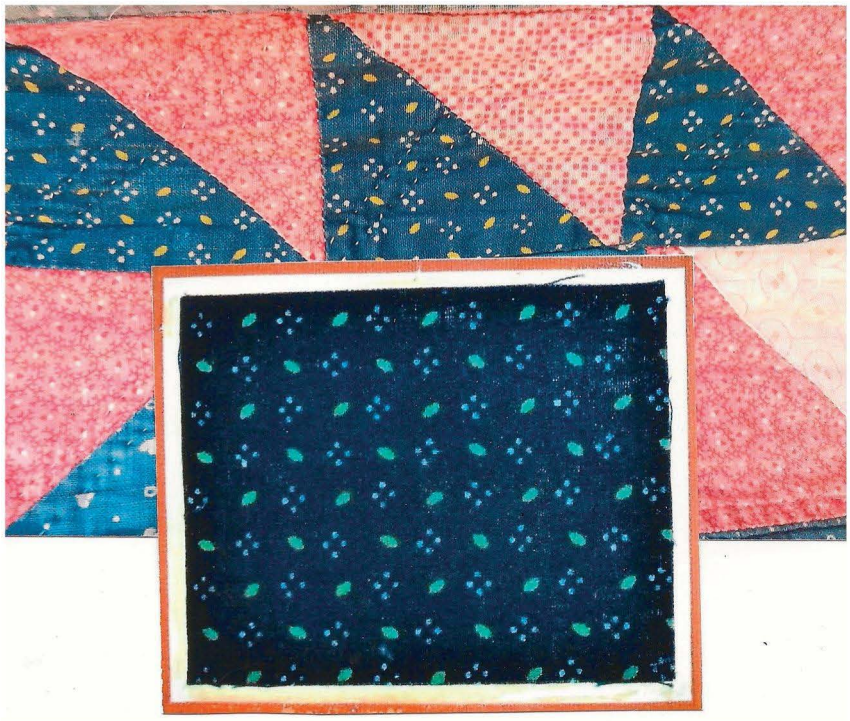


FIGURE 7. A sample of a pattern in the Amana Heritage Society Collection, catalog number 3531, that appears in a different colorway in a quilt made in the Zoar, Ohio, Community. *Photographs by the author.*

In 1894, the factory dyed 30,669 pieces of indigo, the highest total that Ackerman recorded. Through the remainder of the decade, the number of pieces fluctuated in the 20,000s. By 1899, black had been introduced to the Amana product line with the purchase of 5,256 pieces intended for that color.[62] In the second decade of the twentieth century, Amana produced a few hundred pieces of white on black and fewer than 100 pieces of black on white each year. At the same time, the demand for blue prints steadily declined to fewer than 10,000 pieces a year. The total number of pieces of all fabrics produced in 1915, the last year figures are available, amounted to 8,011.

Not all yardage went to retail stores across the country. Clothing manufacturers bought Amana cottons and had them sewn into house dresses, wrappers, work shirts, and firemen's shirts.[63] The Hutterite

Colonies in South Dakota, the Zoar separatist communal village in Ohio, and the Icarians in Iowa ordered fabrics.[64] Zoarites made pieced scrap quilts, one of which on display in April 2023 contained a piece like samples in the Amana Heritage Society Collection (fig. 7). A Zoar bonnet made from a similar fabric cannot be identified for certain without finding an identical piece in documented sample books.

In 1914, the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand touched off a war that engulfed Europe and caused the British navy to blockade Germany and prevent the export of 80 percent of the world's synthetic dyes. However, in 1916, a German U-boat submarine fitted out as a cargo vessel carrying 125 tons of dyes evaded the blockade and reached Baltimore on July 9.[65] Some of the shipment from I. G. Farber went to Amana and enabled the factory to run for another year before it closed for good in 1917.

In 1908, Bertha Shambaugh published *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration* based on her observations and experiences during many visits to the Colonies, where she was welcomed and allowed to take photographs. Her few lines about the "*calico*-printing establishment" (author's emphasis), including the production number or 4,500 yards a day, became just about all that anyone knew about the whole history of the cotton fabric production.[66] Shambaugh realized, however, that one word was not quite enough when referring to the fabric and added in another sentence: "The Amana calico, particularly the 'Colony Blue,' is quite as favorably known as the woolen goods."[67]

AMANA TICKS, COMFORTERS, AND QUILTS

Feather ticks, also called feather beds or comforters, were the essential components of traditional German bedding. The word *tick* came from ticking, the tightly woven cotton or linen fabric sewn into a sack to contain feathers that shifted around since there were no stitched channels or pockets to keep the contents in place. Nineteenth-century travelers often commented about their trials with such covers. For example, Professor Fishburn of Washington College, Virginia, wrote about his experience in Germany in 1855: "[T]here is a hair or straw mattress with a feather tick on it, for you to lie on; two large soft pillows for the 'weary head,'—and—it makes me perspire to mention it—a genuine feather bed to cover one's

self with! Hot or cold weather you must regulate these feathers to suit the temperature, which is a feat I have never been able to perform."[68]

Those accustomed to feather beds found them to be practical and adaptable. Inspirationists used their traditional bedding on board the ships sailing for New York in the 1840s. Elder Johann Phillip Beck, who had already crossed the ocean, wrote from Ebenezer to future immigrants back in Germany in November 1843: "One can prepare the bed [on board ship] the same as at home, with a straw mattress undercomforter, sheets, pillow and feather bed, this is necessary, for when it is cold you can keep warm in the bed. . . . The feathers are just as dear as at home. What we packed between the bedding did not break."[69]

In the Ebenezer villages, furniture makers copied the traditional long, narrow German bedstead. A photograph of a black walnut Ebenezer bed shows a mound of bedding between the matching headboard and footboard.[70] Early on, ropes wrapped around pegs crisscrossed the space between the bed frame to hold the mattress. Later, slats were used. Instead of one long mattress, horse or hog hair usually filled three separate sections made of ticking. Mattress covers encased each section and closed with buttons and buttonholes like present-day duvets.

Although early casual observers often considered the interior of Amana homes rather plain and dull, one writer in 1888 had a more positive opinion.

> The living rooms are neat and pretty in their primitive style. Light chintz curtains part gracefully at every window, and potted plants form pleasant bits of color upon the deep, unpainted sills. High-backed, wooden rocking chairs are placed here and there, and a lounge, with a bright calico cover and much-gathered flounce is luxuriously suggestive of ease. . . . The bedrooms are curious places, utterly devoid of any toilet luxuries. Two beds are placed in every room. The beds are high and narrow. Calico pillow-cases cover very bulky pillows, and bright comforts are neatly tucked in around bulging feather ticks on top of the comfort. There are large, chintz-covered feather squares, like gigantic sofa cushions.[71]

In 1908, Bertha Shambaugh described a "bedroom equipped in true German fashion with two single beds, each with its feather tick covered

FIGURE 8. Emil Miller holds quilts sold at the 1932 auction of Society goods. Amana Heritage Society Collection, catalog number 192.002. *Photograph by Rudolph Kellenberger. Courtesy of Rebecca Simpson, curator.*

to match the comforter."[72] At the turn of the twentieth century, "comfort" and "comforter" were being used for the thick top cover filled with wool from the woolen factory or directly from sheep on the farms. Ties or large stitches worked through from the top to the backing held the filler in place. Fabric about a yard wide from the calico factory made the wholecloth top and back. Amana women refurbished comforters by quickly removing ties or stitches, having the wool filler recarded at the woolen mill, and adding a new cover if necessary.[73] They rarely, if ever, pieced covers, American style. Current Amana residents concur that piecing would have been too wasteful and time consuming. Instead, they cut worn textiles into long, narrow strips; wound them into balls; and had them woven into rugs. The thrifty recycling of old comforters has left few examples to study. Catherine Schuerer, who was about thirteen years old in 1900, recalled how girls in her family practiced their stitching in simple wavy lines "on quilts [i.e., traditional comforters] for the hired hands."[74]

In 1932, Rudolph Kellenberger photographed an auction of communal goods that included two comforters covered with narrow-striped dark fabric (fig. 8). Straight lines of quilting spaced some distance apart

FIGURE 9. Blue Cherry pattern wedding quilt made for Henrietta Roemig Erzinger, 1914, cotton sateen and wool batting, 67 × 84 inches. *Photograph by Steven Ohrn; copyright 2023 from the Estate of Steven Ohrn. Permission granted by Deb Ohrn.*

parallel the edges, and a few curved lines, some in a row of large scallops, cross the remaining surface in simple geometric patterns.[75] However, even before the Great Change, Amana women had begun to modify the traditional comforter into what is now recognized as the Amana quilt. The earliest documented example, made for Henrietta Roemig before her wedding to John George Erzinger Jr. in 1914, is surely not the first one to have been completed in the new style (fig. 9). The quilting pattern with a wide border filled with giant graceful leaves, stems, and cherries that contrast with a geometric star in the center reveals a fully developed pattern. However, the most surprising feature of Henrietta's Blue Cherry pattern quilt is the solid pastel color. Although the textile retains many aspects of the traditional German comforter—wholecloth fabric front and back, puffy wool filler, large stitches, large-scale patterns, and turned-in edges—the larger format consisting of two widths of bright pastel sateen makes it radically different.[76] Two examples of the new wholecloth comforter style with solid pastel colors and quilting designs identified by name are a 1929 pink wedding quilt with the Sweetheart pattern and a 1927 green quilt with a Rose pattern.

Large, simple floral designs such as Clematis, Forget-Me-Not, Tulip, and Sunflower would also be combined with fields of straight diagonal or crosshatch lines marked with a chalked string (fig. 10).[77]

Evidence for the new format and large quilting designs before the 1914 Blue Cherry quilt comes from a 14-by-17-inch stencil for grapes and leaves signed "Miss Magdalena Elizabet Graichen." The wide slits had been cut from heavy cardboard before 1908, the year she married Henry Schmeider. While early stencils were very likely made by individuals, later ones may be the work of experts who sold copies, such as one like the Blue Cherry quilt (fig. 11).[78] The botanical prints created by Joseph and Gottlieb Prestele that hung on the walls of Amana homes could have inspired the plant and floral motifs used for the borders of the quilts, laid out much like the borders on fabric made with the early carved print blocks.

FIGURE 10. Portions of quilts from Catherine Schuerer's family. Top, l. to r., Pink Rose (1930s), Sweetheart (1929). Bottom, l. to r., Forget-Me-Not (1933), Green Rose (1932). *Photographs by Steven Ohrn; copyright 2023 from the Estate of Steven Ohrn. Permission granted by Deb Ohrn.*

FIGURE 11. Amana quilting stencils, 15 × 17 inches to 18 × 25 inches, with floral patterns. Author's collection. *Photograph by the author.*

Several factors contributed to the change in bed coverings. Around 1900, Society rules about acceptable embellishments in the home became less strict. Women subscribed to national magazines for home and family, including the German language *Die Hausfrau*, which had articles about faraway places, modern dress patterns, and instructions for handcrafts, and they especially liked *Needlecraft* magazine.[79] The new fabrics in Amana quilts reflected changes in textiles in the outside world. Prior to the end of blue prints in 1917, stores in Iowa City and Cedar Rapids were selling ready-made sateen comforters as well as patterned "comforter sateen" fabric.[80] A sampling of Sears spring catalogs at five-year intervals from 1900 to 1925 shows an increasing number of colors, grades, and types of sateen offered over time. By 1925, American dyers had improved their formulas for new colors, many obtained

from Germany after the war, making orange, orchid, peach, and purple sateens available.[81]

Barbara Yambura, who was born in 1917, wrote in her 1960 memoir that some women preferred to quilt alone, but more often quilting was "an excuse for the only form of social life known to the women of Amana."[82] After the Great Change in 1932, the *Amana Society Bulletin* often reported on quilting "parties," as the gatherings were called, and sometimes listed the names of all the participants, thus giving public recognition to individuals, unlike the practice during communal years. Some quilt makers even chose to put bold prints on the backs of their quilts. "Yards and yards of flowery cretonne or glistening sateen find their way into the homes. Then the women of the neighborhood gather for an afternoon of stitching and fun. The intricate designs and tiny stitches do credit to the seldom praised talents of these women who do their share at home."[83] Working together on a quilt reflected old values. "Such gatherings show the real spirit taken over from the old corporation, implanted into our generations long ago, and should be preserved for others to come."[84]

Quilting remained an in-home activity for the most part until the 1970s when interest in various traditional crafts revived during the country's bicentennial, and quilters brought out their family quilts, set up frames at public events, and made quilts to sell to the public. In 1975, the *Cedar Rapid Gazette* pictured Mrs. Harvey Oehler of Main Amana tracing a stencil with a "real Amana quilt" next to her at a craft show.[85] Carrie Shoup, who was born in 1900 and learned to quilt at age fifteen, received the Friends of the Arts Award "for contributing to the revival, interest and education of the arts and crafts in the Amana Colonies" in 1982. She taught quilting classes, organized quilting parties in homes, designed her own patterns, and had orders for fifteen to twenty traditional quilts a year.[86] Caroline Trumpold made quilts, became head of the Amana Church Guild, and was chosen one of the 100 Iowa participants in the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife in 1996.[87] Her gold *Peacock* quilt toured China and the United States in 2013–2014 as part of a cultural exchange program. In 2017, the second issue of *Quiltfolk* magazine devoted six pages to traditional

FIGURE 12.
Caroline Trumpold with her Water Lily quilt in her Amana home, 2018. *Photograph by John H. Miller.*

Amana wholecloth quilts, featured Caroline and her cousin Marlene Trumpold, and included several photographs of women around the quilting frame.[88] Caroline sat for a photograph with her latest creation in her lap in 2018, a year before she died (fig. 12).

Today the Amana Colonies have two quilt shops that cater to all types of quiltmakers. Heritage Designs began in 1976 and now offers a full range of fabrics, classes in the latest techniques, and patterns by local designers and national artists. The Better Homes and Gardens *Quilt Sampler* magazine featured it as one of the ten best quilt shops in North America for 2009. The shop is also the main force behind the Quilt Amana quilt show that includes several exhibits, vendors, quilts for sale, and demonstrations of traditional Amana quilting.

CONCLUSION

Even though the members of the Community of True Inspiration sought to live simply without distractions from unnecessary material possessions, they did not suffer shoddy workmanship in their houses, barns, shops, and factories. Many of the immigrants had practiced handcrafts in Europe or were able to learn them in their new villages in the United States. They excelled at making high-quality wood items such as chairs, beds, clocks, and toys, or iron locks, hinges, hooks, and hoes. Many of these pursuits continued up to the present or were revived because of new interest and demand through the work of the Amana Arts Guild and books such as *Amana Style: Furniture, Arts, Crafts, Architecture & Gardens* that honor "the high quality of hand craftsmanship that has traditionally been an earmark of all the arts and crafts in [the] seven villages."[89]

However, one important enterprise that began as a handcraft in Germany has disappeared. This study has added new and more complete information about the resist-printed, indigo-dyed Amana brand of blue print cotton fabrics. An understanding of the process and its significance as a vital part of traditional German culture might bring the craft back to the Colonies. Moreover, the extraordinary achievement of the isolated men in rural Iowa who guided a very successful enterprise through a short period of rapid technological changes should be recognized and appreciated not only in the history of the Midwest but also in the wider world of indigo itself.

As for the issue of what to call the Amana cotton product, the research shows that industry, advertising, and writers often used the traditional term "blue prints." However, the word "calico" also appeared throughout the nineteenth century in connection with the fabric and the factory, and around 1900, it became appropriate for the few black designs printed on white. Since Bertha Shambaugh's 1908 book solidified the use of "calico" for more than 100 years, it cannot be abandoned. Perhaps the addition of "blue print" between "Amana" and "Calico" would suggest that "Amana Blue Print Calico" was more than an ordinary printed cotton.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although I heard graduate student Peter Hoehnle present programs about Amana at the Iowa State Historical Society Museum around 2000, serious research did not begin until after I left the state in 2011. By then, many archives were online, and Dr. Hoehnle had published several books and papers about his community, using sources no one else could have accessed. I am deeply grateful for his willingness to answer questions and read a draft of this paper. I also appreciate the willingness of Jon Childers, Rebecca Dickman, and their predecessors at the Amana Heritage Society Museum to give access to collections and documents and respond to my emails. The biggest thank-you goes to the chauffeur, photographer, and cook—i.e., my husband, John—without whom I would not have been able to pursue this study.

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[2]Jonathan G. Andelson, "Tradition, Innovation, and Assimilation in Iowa's Amana Colonies," *The Palimpsest 69*, no. 1 (Spring 1988), 3–15.

[3]Recent examples of such references include "the production of wool and calico supported the community," in "Amana Colonies: Remaining Faithful to a Dream," *2018 Visitor's Guide*, 4; and "a calico works" in *Willkommen*, Spring 2018, 1, a free advertising paper.

[4]"Information from Henry Leichsenring," Darlene Fratze Papers, Summer 1976, Amana Heritage Society Collection, catalog number 677 Fra.

[5]Marjorie K. Albers and Peter Hoehnle, *Amana Style* (Pella, IA: Pella Printing, 2005), 30; Bertha M.H. Shambaugh, *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration* (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1988 reprint of 1908 edition), 182.

[6]Barbara Brackman, *Clues in the Calico: A Guide to Identifying and Dating Antique Quilts* (McLean, VA: EPM Publications, 1989), 89; *Random House Webster's College Dictionary* (New York: Random House, 1961), s.v. "calico." Florence H. Pettit discusses definitions of "calico" in *America's Indigo Blues* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1974), 49–50.

[7]Hoehnle, *The Amana People*, 11.

[8]Ibid., 12–13. For more details about the most important leader of the Community of True Inspiration, see F. Alan DuVal, *Christian Metz: German-American Religious Leader & Pioneer*, ed. Peter Hoehnle (Iowa City, IA: Penfield Books, 2005). Duval had access to

manuscripts in German held by the Amana Church Society for his PhD dissertation at the University of Iowa in 1948. Hoehnle corrected factual errors and grammar issues for the recent publication of the book.

[9]Hoehnle, *The Amana People*, 14–15.

[10]Peter Hoehnle, "Machine in the Garden: The Woolen Textile Industry of the Amana Society, 1785–1942," *The Annals of Iowa 60*, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 26–28; DuVal, *Christian Metz*, 31, 33.

[11]"Wilhelm Haeuslein [sic]," Family Tree of Richard C. Eichacker, www.ancestry.com, accessed January 2023. Different spellings of the dyer's name appear in various documents.

[12]Martin Kitchen, *Cambridge Illustrated History of Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 137. Johann Ludwig Stifel is said to have been an apprentice, a journeyman, and a foreman at Kaisaelautern southwest of Frankfort, Germany, by the time he immigrated to Maryland in 1833 at the age of twenty-six. Two years later, he founded the J. L. Stifel Co. for indigo-dyed and printed cloth in Wheeling, West Virginia. See "Biography: Johann Ludwig Stifel," Ohio County (WV) Public Library, at *www.ohiocountylibrary.org, accessed January 2023.*

[13]DuVal, *Christian Metz*, 40.

[14]Entry for Wilhem [sic] Haeusslein, New York, Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists, 1820–1957, Ancestry.com, accessed May 2018.

[15]Florence H. Pettit, *America's Indigo Blues* (New York: Hastings House, 1974), 32–38. The author describes the plant and the process for turning the dye matter into solid cakes.

[16]Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 176.

[17]This paper focuses more on what happens and not a lot on the chemistry that makes it happen. For more information about the history of the chemistry and the additives prescribed in various "recipes" over time, see Pettit, *America's Indigo Blues*, 98–106; Thomas Cooper, *A Practical Treatise on Dyeing and Callicoe Printing* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1815), iv–v; reprinted by Forgotten Books (London: FB & Ltd., 2015); Martin Bide, "The Secrets of the Printer's Pallette," in *Down by the Old Mill Stream*, eds. Linda Welters and Margaret T. Ordoñez (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000), 89–91.

[18]Cooper, *Practical Treatise*, 371.

[19]Pettit, *America's Indigo Blues*, 102–120; Cooper, *Practical Treatise*, 361–376.

[20]Bide, "Secrets," 92–94. For example, a lead salt mordant in a dichromate (chromium compound) dye bath produced chrome orange.

[21]UNESCO/Germany has named indigo blue dyeing as an essential part of Germany's intangible cultural heritage.

[22]http://www.museum.hu/museum/702/Museum_of_Blue_Dyeing?f, accessed January 2023; see also Facebook page at Pápai Kékfestő Múzeum. Two active shops in Austria that carry on the tradition today are at https://www.thetextileatlas.com/craft-stories/austrian-blueprint-workshops-koo-and-wagner, accessed January 2023.

[23]Pettit, *America's Indigo Blues*, 99.

[24]DuVal, *Christian Metz*, 50.

[25]Ibid., 52–55, 71–73; Hoehnle, *Amana People*, 18.

[26]Hoehnle, "Machine in the Garden," 27–28.

[27]Ad for Ebenezer Flannels, *Daily* (St. Louis) *Missouri Republican*, January 12, 1859, at www.newspapers.com, accessed April 2022; Lord & Taylor ad for Ebenezer Flannels, *New York Tribune*, November 30, 1858, at www.newspapers.com, accessed May 2018. See ads for the "celebrated white [undyed] flannels" sold by the Ebenezer Society in the United States *Economist*, and *Dry Goods Reporter* (New York City), July 5, 1856, at www.genealogybank.com, accessed October 2017.

[28]H. A. P., "The German Ebenezer Society," (Montpelier) *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, September 16, 1847, at www.newspapers.com, accessed October 2017. The feature appeared in newspapers around the country.

[29]Frank J. Lankes, *The Ebenezer Community of True Inspiration* (Buffalo: Kiesling Printing Co., 1949), 84–85, 87. The author sketched his own version of an 1850 drawing made by William Noé, an elder and close associate of Christian Metz.

[30]Ibid., 54. Dr. Charles Noe, the grandson of William Noé, provided the information. According to Peter Hoehnle in an email to author, June 21, 2013, the Ebenezers purchased muslin fabric from the Boott Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts.

[31]Ibid., photograph between 56 and 57.

[32]One of the blocks now in the Amana Heritage Society Collection is said to have been used before 1842. The other "used in the early days before production was mechanized" appears in Albers and Hoehnle, *Amana Style*, 111.

[33]Object number 140. The cover measures 33 by 76 inches, and the length of the repeat in the border is 10¾ inches. It may have been made later in Amana.

[34]The print blocks 00053, 00055, and 00059, observed in the Amana Heritage Society Collection, measure from 7 to 10 inches on a side. They are made from two layers of wood and appear quite different from the thick wood blocks from Germany.

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[36]Charles Van Ravenswaay, *Drawn from Nature: The Botanical Art of Joseph Prestele and His Sons* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), 23–52.

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[38]Hoehnle, *Amana People*, 22–24, 29; DuVal, *Christian Metz*, 85–92.

[39]U.S. Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedule, 1850–1880, Ohio, Agriculture, 1860, Meigs, Chester: John Erzinger and farm with cash value of $1,000; www.ancestry.com, accessed March 2022; U.S. Civil War Draft Registrations Records: 1863–1865, 4th Congressional District of Iowa, recorded June/July 1863: John George Erzinger, age 26, unmarried, from Switzerland, image at www.ancestry.com, accessed May 2018.

[40]William Hauslein [sic], age 41, work unknown. U.S. Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863–1865, 30th Congressional District of New York, recorded May/June 1863, www.ancestry.com, accessed May 2018.

[41]"Something Novel in Iowa," *Daily Democrat and News* (Davenport, IA), June 26, 1863, at www.genealogybank.com, accessed April 2023.

[42]Peter Hoehnle, "Machine in the Garden," 35. An 1858 sketch of the proposed plan for Main Amana shows the temporary site for the woolen mill with a separate dye house nearby. In an email to the author, October 20, 2022, Hoehnle wrote: "The building on the left, 'alte factory' is the structure that contained some woolen production and, possibly, some calico production in the early years."

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[44]Email from Peter Hoehnle to author, June 21, 2013. Hoehnle dates the photograph by William H. Masters based on the years he was in nearby Marengo, Iowa, in "Two Early Photographs of Amana," *American Communal Societies Quarterly* (January 2011): 20–26, at https://digitalcommons.hamilton.edu/acsq/vol5/iss1/6, accessed April 2020.

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[51]Hoehnle, "Machine in the Garden," 39.

[52]Simon Garfield, *Mauve: How One Man Invented a Color that Changed the World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000).

[53]Bide, "Secrets," 101; Brackman, *Clues*, 73.

[54]Barbara Brackman's Material Culture blog of February 19, 2020, provides pertinent information for the Amana labels. She included many illustrations of "bolt labels" that manufactures attached to their fabrics. Although Amana did not use the term "bolt," the labels served the same purpose. http://barbarabrackman.blogspot.com/2020/02/bolt-labels.html, accessed May 2023.

[55]Author's collection. A large cache of documents from 1888 were sold in an Amana antique shop in 2018 and on eBay in 2022.

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[57]*Daily Times* (Davenport, IA), October 21, 1892, at newspapers.com, accessed April 2022.

[58]Twill, also called drill, is a strong cotton fabric with a diagonal appearance to the weave. In April 1888, Liddle & Carter, a wholesale business in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, ordered twelve pieces of Indigo Blue Drill, postcard in author's collection.

[59]Special Correspondent, "The Amana Society," Cedar Rapids (IA) *Evening Gazette*, March 2, 1891, at www.newspaperarchive.com, accessed April 2018.

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[69]*The Inspirationists, 1714–1932*, Vol. 2, ed. Peter Hoehnle (New York: Routledge, 2015), excerpts at books.google.com, accessed April 2018. The book contains a large collection of documents translated from German and published for the first time. The quotation is presented here with brackets as they appear in the text. However, Dr. Hoehnle agrees that perhaps a comma should be between "mattress" and "under comforter." Email to author, April 21, 2018. Unfortunately, access to the publication is limited.

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[74]Ibid.

[75]"One Man's Record: The Amana Photographs of Rudolph Kellenberger," *The Iowan* (Fall 1984): 49.

[76]Ohrn, Remaining Faithful, 20–21.

[77]Ibid. See also Steven Ohrn, "Conserving Amana's Folk Arts—A Community Remaining Faithful: Quilting," *The Palimpsest, 69*, no. 1, (Spring 1988; State Historical Society of Iowa): 26–27.

[78]Ben and Lucile Taylor of Fairfield, Iowa, had acquired sketches and cut and uncut stencils that are now in the author's collection.

[79]Twelve issues for 1929 of *Die Hausfrau*, published in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and bound into one volume at the bookbindery in Amana for the subscriber, Mrs. Charles Hergert, author's collection; Barbara S. Yambura, *A Change and a Parting* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1960), 102.

[80]*Iowa City Citizen*, June 15, 1917; *Cedar Rapids* (IA) *Republican*, December 13, 1913, at www.newspaperarchive.com, accessed April 2018.

[81]*Historic Catalogs of Sears, Roebuck and Co.*,1896–1993 at Ancestry.com.

[82]Yambura, *A Change*, 104. Quiltings were the only times women could enjoy companionship when they were not working together at assigned jobs.

[83]*Amana Society Bulletin*, February 3, 1938, at www.newspaperarchive, accessed May 2018.

[84]*Amana Society Bulletin*, January 12, 1939, at www.newspaperarchive, accessed May 2018.

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[89]Albers and Hoehnle, *Amana Style*, 29.

THE 1697 COVERLET

Tracing the Origin of an Early Patchwork Coverlet

By Katy Williams-O'Donnell

In the spring of 2019, the University of Rhode Island's Historic Textile and Costume Collection (HTCC) accessioned a grouping of disarticulated patchwork blocks that were once part of a coverlet. According to oral tradition, the coverlet was created in British colonial America in 1697. If true, this would make it the oldest firmly dated patchwork currently known to exist in America and place this art form in the North American colonies fifty years earlier than previously documented. However, the HTCC only received sixteen of the sixty-six pieces, with companion patchwork blocks spread among four other collections. It was crucial to analyze all the blocks in depth to understand if this origin story was authentic or if it had been manufactured later.

The authentication was based on a three-phase material culture methodology. First, the provenance was reconstructed from documentary evidence and combined with interviews of object stewards to explore where the coverlet may have originated. During the second phase, observable data were collected, establishing a detailed physical description of the patchwork. In the third phase, the patchwork was digitally reconstructed and compared to extant samples originating from the seventeenth century. Results of this authentication process confirmed that the patchwork is the oldest firmly dated example of patchwork currently in North America. However, based on comparative data, it is likely that the patchwork originated in England rather than British North America, demonstrating the impact of narrative construction on our understanding of patchwork history.

INTRODUCTION

IN THE SPRING OF 2019, THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND'S Historic Textile and Costume Collection (HTCC) received a group of sixteen disarticulated patchwork blocks that had once been a part of a larger collection that was divided and dispersed among multiple institutions (fig. 1). The oral history stated that the blocks had originally been part of a larger bedcover that contained a central medallion panel that was removed and sold. A picture of the central medallion embroidered with the letters "S + W" and the date "1697" accompanied the donation. The presence of this date was striking, because, if genuine, it would make the patchwork coverlet the oldest firmly dated example currently known to exist in North America. Additionally, the oral history asserted that the coverlet was made in British colonial America, placing this art form in the North American colonies fifty years earlier than previously documented. However, it was unknown if the patchwork pieces and the medallion were genuinely connected because the blocks and the coverlet had been disassembled and dispersed. It was crucial to analyze the entire patchwork in depth to determine if this origin story was authentic or had been manufactured later.

The material culture methodology to date the patchwork involved a three-phase process: assembly of provenance, collection of observable data, and comparison to extant objects. Findings from this study verified the connection between the dated central medallion and the patchwork blocks but were unable to confirm that the coverlet originated in British North America. When placed in social and historical context, this study demonstrates how the construction of an object narrative over time impacts our understanding of patchwork and its historical significance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A material culture analysis that combined methodological approaches as outlined by R. Elliot et al. and Jules Prown was essential to the project (Appendix A).[1] The first phase of research centered on tracing the provenance of the patchwork. Documentary evidence, such as auction

FIGURE 1. Collection of disarticulated patchwork blocks from the 1697 patchwork coverlet, unknown maker, miscellaneous measurements. Historic Textile and Costume Collection, University of Rhode Island. *All photographs by the author unless otherwise indicated.*

records and personal correspondence, was combined with written and oral interviews of current and previous object stewards to inform the reconstruction of provenance. This provenance was then examined in conjunction with the patchwork's accompanying oral history to form an object narrative that followed the history of the blocks as they moved through time and space.

The second phase of research required cataloging observable data to establish a detailed physical description of the patchwork as it currently exists. This process included in-depth analysis of material components, object construction, and design elements using macro and microscopic visual observation. All blocks were examined in person at their respective repositories to record the measurements, construction methods, materials used (including the number of fabrics, fiber content, weave structure, and type of thread), and block patterns or designs. These observations were then recorded in custom-built databases along with digital photographs of each block, allowing for further statistical analysis of findings.

In the third phase, the information gathered during observation was used to produce a suggested digital reconstruction of what the coverlet may have looked like in its original form. This reconstruction, coupled with the evidence gathered through observation, then served as a basis for comparison to other extant examples. Previously published works, museum catalogs, and online collections databases were used to identify examples of patchwork quilts and coverlets from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries created in Britain or British colonial America. These works were then compared to the patchwork to look for similarities or differences in provenance, construction, material components, and design.

ORIGINS

In 2019, Newbold Richardson, a dress and textile specialist working in private practice in Virginia, donated sixteen disarticulated patchwork quilt blocks to the HTCC. Richardson was disseminating textiles from an anonymous private collection when she uncovered a box of sixty-six disarticulated patchwork blocks that she speculated had originated

from the baroque period. Rather than allowing the entire collection to be transferred to a single institution, she decided to break up the grouping and distribute blocks to various textile and quilt collections, assuming that a heightened awareness by multiple institutions would lead to an increased possibility of research being conducted on the pieces.[2] In addition to the sixteen blocks donated to the University of Rhode Island, Richardson donated seventeen to the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City; nineteen blocks to the International Quilt Museum in Lincoln, Nebraska; one block to the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum in Washington, DC; and thirteen blocks to the Fashion Institute of Design and Merchandising in Los Angeles, California.

Attempting to Establish a Provenance

Documents Richardson found stored with the collection provided a limited provenance for the blocks.[3] One of the documents was a black-and-white photocopy of a pieced medallion. The medallion portrays two human figures, a man on the left and a woman on the right, standing in an oval with the letters "S + W" at the top and the date "1697" at the bottom. The inclusion of this photocopy suggested that the blocks and medallion may have once been part of a larger contiguous patchwork bedcover originating from the seventeenth century, a stunning revelation that would establish the blocks as the earliest dated example of a patchwork bedcover in North America. However, the central medallion was not located with the blocks, eliminating the ability to easily investigate this theory.

Richardson found another document—a letter dated August 27, 1986, to Colleen Callahan, from renowned textile and costume dealer Cora Ginsburg, who operated a gallery in New York City beginning in 1971.[4] When interviewed, Callahan explained that Ginsburg had been inspired to give her the patchwork blocks after she had written an article about the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection of early quilts.[5] Callahan did not research the blocks and, around late 1986 or early 1987, passed them along to the collector for whom Richardson was working.

The association between Ginsburg and the patchwork established that the blocks had once passed through the Madison Avenue gallery,

Cora Ginsburg Inc., and raised the possibility that Ginsburg had perhaps sold the medallion in her gallery with the photocopied picture being the only remaining record linking the blocks with the panel. Titi Halle, Ginsburg's protégé and current owner of the gallery, was able to confirm the sale of the medallion and remembered that Ginsburg had purchased the pieces from antique dealers Rockwell and Avis Gardiner.[6] Although Halle was unable to confirm whether Ginsburg disassembled the bedcover, she stated that it was highly probable Ginsburg deconstructed it due to the poor condition of many of the blocks.

Rockwell (aka Rocky) and Avis Gardiner owned a successful antique shop in Stamford, Connecticut, that operated from the 1940s until Rocky died in 1986. Rocky, the primary face of the business, was an avid antiquarian who had a reputation for finding "fine and unusual things."[7] According to sources who knew him, Rocky would scour the newspapers for listings of antique sales, estate sales, and small "junk shops" to find interesting pieces for his shop.[8] Then he and Avis would go on road trips, filling their station wagon to the brim before returning to their business. A newspaper retrospective on Rocky estimated that in 1979 the Gardiners drove over 33,000 miles touring much of the United States to pick up new inventory. During the 1970s, they went on a round-the-world trip that ended with more than thirty pieces of luggage returning to their shop.[9] Information about transactions within the Gardiners' antique business has since been lost; thus, when and where the Gardiners obtained the quilt, in the United States or overseas, is unknown, ending the ability to investigate the provenance further.

Finding the Central Medallion

In a serendipitous turn of events, after a nearly forty-year hiatus from the public sphere, the medallion resurfaced at Massachusetts-based Skinner Auctions in October 2019 (fig. 2).[10] Listed as lot number 533 under the American Furniture and Decorative Arts Department sale number 3278M, the item was described in the catalog as an "Early Quilt Panel Depicting a Courtier and His Lady, possibly Massachusetts, initialed 'SW' and dated '1697,' worked in appliqué, 18½ × 15½ in., framed"

FIGURE 2. The central medallion panel from the 1697 patchwork coverlet. *Photo courtesy of Skinner Auctions with permission of the owner.*

with a provenance of Cora Ginsburg, 1980. The auction website also aligned the medallion with other patchworks created in British North America, noting that "according to Cora Ginsburg, there is a quilt from the Saltonstall family of Massachusetts, dating to 1705, at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which contains a similar panel." Despite the unusual nature of the piece, the item did not sell on the block and was returned to the owners.

Through contact with the auction house, the owners, who wish to remain anonymous, confirmed that they purchased the medallion from Ginsburg in August of 1980.[11] The medallion is housed in the same frame as pictured in the photocopied document accompanying the blocks. A receipt provided by the owners of the medallion includes the notations reported on the Skinner Auctions website along with the initial purchase price of the panel from Ginsburg.[12] The owners' handwritten notations at the bottom of the receipt provide information about the Saltonstall Quilt (discussed later), then endorsed as the oldest quilt made in British colonial America. The Saltonstall Quilt was located at the Essex Institute (now the Peabody Essex Museum) rather than the Massachusetts Historical Society as stated by Ginsburg. However, in recent years the creation date of the Saltonstall Quilt, which was initially based on dates printed on the paper backings, has been questioned by multiple quilt historians, and the quilt is now believed to have been made between 1750 and 1800.[13] Current research in the Peabody Essex Museum online collection found no connection between the 1697 patchwork and the Saltonstall Quilt.

Dead Ends and More Questions

The auction house staff also said the medallion was "possibly" from Massachusetts, which raised questions about where the patchwork blocks and medallion were originally made. Were they made in British colonial America, or were they made elsewhere, eventually finding their way to the Gardiners' antique shop via one of Rocky's expeditions abroad? The origin of the coverlet will be addressed in a later portion of this paper.

CATALOGING OBSERVABLE DATA

While the oral history suggested that the medallion and blocks belonged together, further investigation was required to confirm that they had once been parts of a contiguous object rather than simply being associated through happenstance. The construction methods, materials used, and designs of the patchwork and the medallion were observed,

cataloged, and compared to ascertain if there was any relationship. Additionally, the data collected in this phase of research helped to confirm the patchwork's age.

The Patchwork Blocks: Construction

Sixty-six different loose patchwork pieces were analyzed, ranging from double, single, and partial blocks to individual patches.[14] All pieces were constructed using the piecing-over-papers method with the papers left in place as an added insulating layer.[15] An inlay technique similar to reverse appliqué was also used in several blocks, most prominently shown in the construction of square-in-square blocks, in which the center square was framed by one continuous patch of fabric.

While measurements varied greatly between complete and incomplete blocks, most single blocks measured between 9 and 10 inches square. Frayed whipstitches, holes in the fabric edges from removed seams, remnants of other fabrics, and cut marks along edges demonstrated where units were separated from each other. Three blocks were determined to be edge blocks because they had one edge folded underneath with remnants of backing fabric, including one block that had two different backing fabric layers. Four more blocks also were likely edge blocks, having similar folded edges but without remnants of backing fabric attached. Fiber samples from the seam between the edge blocks and backing fabric were analyzed for the presence of batting. Likewise, the patches were examined for evidence of quilting stitches used to secure batting. No evidence of batting or quilting stitches was present in any of the patchwork blocks, suggesting that the original work was a coverlet.[16]

The Patchwork Blocks: Materials

Three categories of materials were used in the construction of the patchwork: paper, thread, and fabric. The papers used for foundation piecing were plain heavy-weight, rag-pulp paper in two tones, brown and light gray. No laid lines or watermarks from the paper-making process were noted, although examination was limited to the visible surface only;

no papers or basting stitches were removed from the patches.[17] Based on the coloration and because the papers contain no visible writing, printing, or decoration, it is likely they were originally manufactured as dry goods wrapping or packaging paper and were reused as paper templates.[18]

Numerous types of threads were used throughout the patchwork, with basting completed with linen thread and seams secured with various colors of silk threads. Several patches that lacked paper backings were sewn in place using black mercerized cotton. The different construction techniques coupled with the different threads revealed that the blocks were repaired during the late nineteenth or twentieth century, as the process of mercerizing cotton fibers was not invented until 1844.[19]

The fabrics contained within the sixteen blocks housed at the HTCC were analyzed in depth.[20] Within these blocks alone, more than 100 different dress-weight and upholstery-weight fabrics were identified.[21] Photographic review of blocks housed in the other collections revealed that they contain additional fabrics not present in the HTCC sample, including several fabrics used in repairs, making the total number of fabrics present in the coverlet greater than 120.

Fiber analysis of the fabrics at the HTCC showed that almost all were 100 percent silk, with less than 10 percent being half-silks containing cotton wefts. Only three fabrics contained no silk fibers; two were printed all-cotton fabrics used for backing, and the third was an all-wool twill used in a repair. Additionally, six fabrics were also identified as containing metallic supplementary yarns with five containing two-ply silk-core filé yarns and one containing a flat lamella with a paper backing.[22] A preliminary investigation using a scanning electron microscope with X-ray diffraction identified the metal as silver; more research is warranted to identify where these yarns may have been manufactured.

Based on the Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens (CIETA) definitions, both simple and compound weave structures are present in the patches, with a variety of different patterning (Appendix B).[23] Approximately 75 percent of the sample consisted of simple weave

FIGURE 3. Two layers of cotton backing fabric dyed with indigo. The larger print most likely originated from India and was exported to England during the seventeenth century. The top fabric is most likely a print made during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Fashion Institute of Technology, accession group GCS 2021, NR#25.

structures and included tabby (balanced), twill, satin, self-patterned fabrics (damasks and spot weaves), and self-striped (colored warp yarns). Compound weave structures were less common and included lampas, pile weaves (velvet), weft patterned, and double weaves. Weft-patterned and lampas weaves rely on either continuous or discontinuous weft-faced brocading floats to provide "bizarre" and floral figural motifs.[24]

In addition to the patterning imparted by the weave structure, the patchwork blocks contain four printed textiles. The first fabric was an all-silk tabby printed with reddish-brown and blue pigments in a floral pattern similar to Indian chintz. The second fabric was a half-silk (cotton weft) with an oak leaf and dot pattern block printed in dark brown.[25] Due to the fine lines present in both printed designs, these were likely printed using etched copperplates.[26]

Unlike the first two prints, which were found in numerous patches on the front of the blocks, the remaining two prints were used as backing for the completed coverlet, with one layer being replaced later by a second layer (fig. 3). These two backing fabrics were resist-printed with indigo dye on an all-cotton tabby weave. The lower layer consists of a coarse weave with a dark indigo background and a large resist leaf and vine design in white, most likely accomplished using a wax-resist block-printing method common during the seventeenth century.[27] The top layer consists of a finer weave with a print of a smaller scale, portraying diapered (diagonally gridded) floral sprays, most likely produced using a roller-printing method that was introduced in 1785.[28] Additional coloration in the form of a yellow flower tinted with mineral color suggests that this textile was produced in the early nineteenth century and acted as a replacement for the original backing fabric.[29]

While the more common fabric designs, such as the self-spotted and damask fabrics, could not be linked to a specific production time or location, some of the more unusual fabrics provided clues to possible dating for the coverlet. Apart from the repaired areas and the secondary backing layer, all the fabrics appeared consistent with those imported to or produced in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Several fabrics, such as a deep-pile green velvet that was most likely produced in Italy, can be linked to trade in the Mediterranean region.[30] Additionally, two fabrics (the large-scale indigo print backing from India and a hand-painted silk fabric produced for export in China) were imported by the English East India Company (fig. 4).[31]

In addition to imported fabrics, textiles most likely manufactured in England were also identified. One dark brown velvet, known as a caffoy, consists of a silk warp and weft with a cut wool pile. This type of fab-

FIGURE 4. Remnant of a painted silk most likely originating from China and imported by the East India Company. International Quilt Museum, accession #2019.103.0013.

ric was introduced to England by Dutch immigrants and was primarily made in Norwich (England) during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.[32] A second fabric, the block-printed silk chintz, was linked to a patent for printed calicoes taken out by William Sherwin of West Ham (London) in 1676.[33] In response to the increasing demand for calicoes, Sherwin developed his new printing technique to provide a less expensive alternative to those imported by the East India Company. Between 1676 and 1696, his company produced enough of these printed fabrics that he was considered a leader in the fabric printing industry.[34]

The Patchwork Blocks: Designs

Because they were disarticulated, the patchwork pieces were analyzed in terms of individual block designs or construction patterns rather than the overall design of the coverlet. Two different design groups were used in construction: pieced square block units with distinctive

patterns and larger areas consisting of smaller units pieced together randomly filling a space between block units. These blocks and fillers were later studied to determine the structure and potential placement within the coverlet design scheme for reconstruction.

Analysis of whole blocks classified nine distinct patterns with each pattern repeated at least twice, possibly suggesting a symmetrical arrangement. Incomplete blocks were also found, but patterns were identified from the remaining pieces. Block patterns were then categorized by how the patches within were divided and their component subunits (Appendix C).[35] The most common category is a Nine Patch with variations in the divisions and arrangements of subunits. Subunits consist primarily of simple geometric shapes, such as half-square triangles, diamonds, squares, and rectangles, and are reminiscent of forms used as heraldic devices, such as the saltire, lozenge, and moselle.[36] A Double Nine Patch pattern containing undulating lines appears similar to a wavy cross, a symbol of the landed gentry, while another pattern indicates a possible connection to French barons by portraying an oval shield surrounded by four fleurs-de-lis.[37] Due to the stylized nature of the forms, however, these motifs could not be connected to a specific British registered coat of arms.[38]

In addition to the patterns, coloration also served as a distinctive design element throughout the coverlet. Upon comparison of the fronts and backs of the fabrics, it was apparent that many of the textiles had experienced light fading consistent with their age and appeared less vibrant than they would have been at the time of the coverlet's manufacture. What once was bright pink had faded to pale peach, and light purple changed to taupe. Close examination of fabrics also showed that certain dyes, particularly black and dark brown tints, caused deterioration of the silk fibers. The scope of the project did not allow for identification of dyes used in fabric coloration, and further research is warranted. Despite these damages, it was evident that four colors—red, white, green, and black—were repeatedly used in large quantities throughout the different block patterns with other colors such as pink, blue, yellow, and brown used less consistently and in smaller quantities. The shield block, square on point, Xs and Os, strip squares, framed four-pointed star, and middle subunits of each pinwheel block con-

tain a combination of at least two of the commonly used four colors. Although it is unknown why these four colors were used repeatedly, their juxtaposition is a purposeful design element that may have had a specific meaning to the maker, including representing tinctures, colors used within heraldic armory.[39]

The Central Medallion

The central medallion is composed of a rectangular panel depicting two figures, a female and a male, standing within a blue oval that contains the embroidered letters "S + W" at the top and the date "1697" at the bottom. The panel is currently housed in a flame maple frame with a glass front and a brown paper backing as depicted in both the black-and-white photocopy from Ginsburg and the later image taken by Skinner Auctions. At the owners' request, the central medallion was examined within its frame, limiting analysis to visual means only.

The Central Medallion: Construction

The visible portion of the medallion measures 16⅜ inches in height by 13⅜ inches in width.[40] The central figures occupy a blue oval ground with four-patch blocks at the corners forming a rectangle measuring approximately 12⅜ inches in height by 9⅜ inches in width. This is surrounded by a 2-inch border of red and ocher damask connected in a mitered corner. This construction method is not present anywhere else in the medallion or the patchwork blocks, suggesting that the border may be a later addition.

Like in the patchwork blocks, the central medallion was apparently constructed with the piecing-over-papers method. Although the back of the medallion could not be analyzed, the support papers were visible from the front due to areas of fiber loss and seam splitting, particularly in the four-square corner blocks. However, the construction technique may have varied in the production of the two figures. Like other parts of the medallion, the figures were constructed using paper templates to create the form, as evidenced by papers visible through multiple splits. However, it is unknown whether the figures were applied on top of the blue oval in a

FIGURE 5. A split in the male figure's breeches reveals the edge of the foundation paper below the central medallion. The paper is printed and colored in contrast to the plain papers present in the remaining patchwork.

traditional appliqué method or were inlaid. An area of repair on the female figure's overgown shows the blue was possibly cut away from the back, suggesting that it was completed using an inlay technique. Further research is needed to confirm this because the back could not be examined.

The Central Medallion: Materials

Paper, thread, and fabric were used in the construction of the medallion, similar to the patchwork blocks. Two different paper backings are visible under the fabrics: plain brown paper and white paper. The plain brown paper's granulation and color appear consistent with that seen in the patchwork blocks; however, the white paper is found only under the figures in the medallion (fig. 5). Visible through splits in the male figure's waistcoat, the white paper appears to have black printing or engraving on it as well as a reddish/orange tinting. The presence of a different paper backing suggests that the figures were likely made separately from the patchwork.

It is unknown how many kinds of threads were used in the construction of the medallion, although a few are visible. A brown thread, consistent in appearance with that used in the construction of the patchwork blocks, can be seen along the seams between patches. A second thread, a thicker cream-colored thread similar to that used in basting the patchwork blocks, can be seen in a repaired part of the female figure's overskirt. In addition, the medallion contains areas of embroidered embellishment. The "S + W" and "1697," the depictions of such dress accessories as the man's jabot, shoe buckles, and cane and the woman's fan and choker are worked in embroidery with metal-wrapped threads. Applied decorations include metallic looped fringe, and metal spangles are present on the female figure's dress. Based on the tarnish on the metal threads and spangles, it is likely that they contain silver similar to the fabrics containing metal threads in the patchwork blocks; however, further chemical analysis is necessary to confirm this.

Thirteen different fabrics of unknown fiber content were found in the construction of the medallion. Four of these were identical in appearance to fabric patches seen in the blocks analyzed from the HTCC, including a white satin half-silk with a cotton weft and a dark purple faille (a ribbed and slightly stiff fabric) used in areas of repair. The presence of the apparently identical fabrics suggests that the medallion and patchworks once belonged together as parts of the same coverlet.

The border fabric, a coarse woven red and ocher damask, is visually distinct from the rest of the coverlet. Stereoscopic analysis of splits along the seams revealed at least three different fabrics hidden underneath the border fabric, as if sections of patchwork remain below. The splits revealed several fabrics that are identical to those noted in the analysis of the patchwork blocks. These visual clues suggest that the red and ocher damask fabric was a later addition, possibly put in place during the time of framing. Additionally, splits along some of the center seams of the medallion reveal fabrics underneath as if remnants of patchwork were folded underneath the medallion. Further analysis is warranted and could provide more information as to the medallion's placement within the patchwork.

Notably, the figures of the central medallion contain several fabrics (including the woman's stomacher and underskirt) that do not match any found within the HTCC collection sample. A review of the photographs taken at alternate institutions also failed to identify matching fabrics among the patchwork blocks; however, further analysis of fabrics is required to confirm they are not duplicated. If the fabrics contained within the figures are unique, this would provide additional evidence that they were produced separately from the rest of the medallion.[41]

The Central Medallion: Design

The overall composition of the medallion is symmetrical with the alignment of the figures vertically along the major axis of the oval. Four sets of four-square patches and right triangles with curved hypotenuses surround the oval, yielding a rectangular shape. In general, the use of ovoid shapes is unusual within patchwork. Yet, here the use of the oval as a central medallion is comparative to the complex ovoid shield shapes seen in the patchwork blocks, suggesting this particular form was a specialty of the maker.

The depiction of the male and female figures is consistent with that commonly viewed in English portraiture during the late seventeenth century. Although fading made precise comparisons difficult, examination with a handheld stereoscope showed that both of the figures had, at one point, hand-printed or -painted faces similar to those seen in British miniatures common during the seventeenth century (fig. 6).[42] Additionally, the clothing worn by both figures is similar to that portrayed in paintings. The female figure wears a series of layered garments including a petticoat or underskirt and a mantua-like overgown secured at the waist and swept to the back. A stomacher is visible under her bodice, which has a slightly dropped shoulder. Layered sleeves with puffs are depicted as pinned or tucked, with jewels represented by spangles. Accessories such as a fan, a choker-style necklace, and pointed-heeled shoes complete the ensemble. The man is dressed in a waistcoat and coat with large cuffs over breeches and stockings. His accessories include a walking stick, square-toed shoes with heels, and a jabot. Analysis of the hairstyles depicted on both figures was incom-

FIGURE 6. Although faded, evidence of painted details remains on the male figure's face in the central medallion.

plete due to the presence of a later repair, but outlines are consistent with the hairstyle silhouettes prevalent during the latter part of the seventeenth century. The clothing worn by both figures is reflective of the fashionable dress worn by Charles II and his loyalists during their exile in France.[43] After Charles was restored to the throne, these fashion trends were popularized among the English elite through the distribution of media such as fashion plates. The clothing depicted in the central medallion is strikingly similar to fashion plates printed in France during the 1680s and 1690s (figs. 7 and 8) and might be constructed from templates made from such printed materials as suggested by the use of the white paper beneath.

The Assemblage

Upon close examination and comparison of the patchwork blocks and the central medallion, it is evident that these pieces are related to one another and once belonged together as a contiguous coverlet. The construction methods and the presence of identical papers and

FIGURE 7. Henri Bonnart or Jean Baptiste Bonnart, *Recueil des modes de la cour de France, 'Dame en Robbe,'* 1683. Hand-colored engraving on paper, 10⅞ × 7¾ inches. *Courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art, accession #M.2002.57.18.*

FIGURE 8. Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Recueil des modes de la cour de France, 'Homme de qualité en Surtout d'Esté,'* 1684. Hand-colored engraving on paper, 11¼ × 7⅞ inches. *Courtesy of Los Angeles County Museum of Art, accession #M.2002.57.8.*

fabrics demonstrate this relationship. The only differences appear in the papers and fabrics used to construct the male and female figures and the addition of the border fabric in the central medallion. This suggests that the figures were likely commissioned and purchased by the maker to include in this work, with the border added later at the time of framing. Additionally, the materials used in construction and the designs contained within the patchwork and the medallion support a late seventeenth-century origination date.

RECONSTRUCTION

After establishing that the patchwork blocks and the medallion were likely parts of a single coverlet, it became necessary to reconstruct the object to understand how it compared to contemporaneous patchwork.

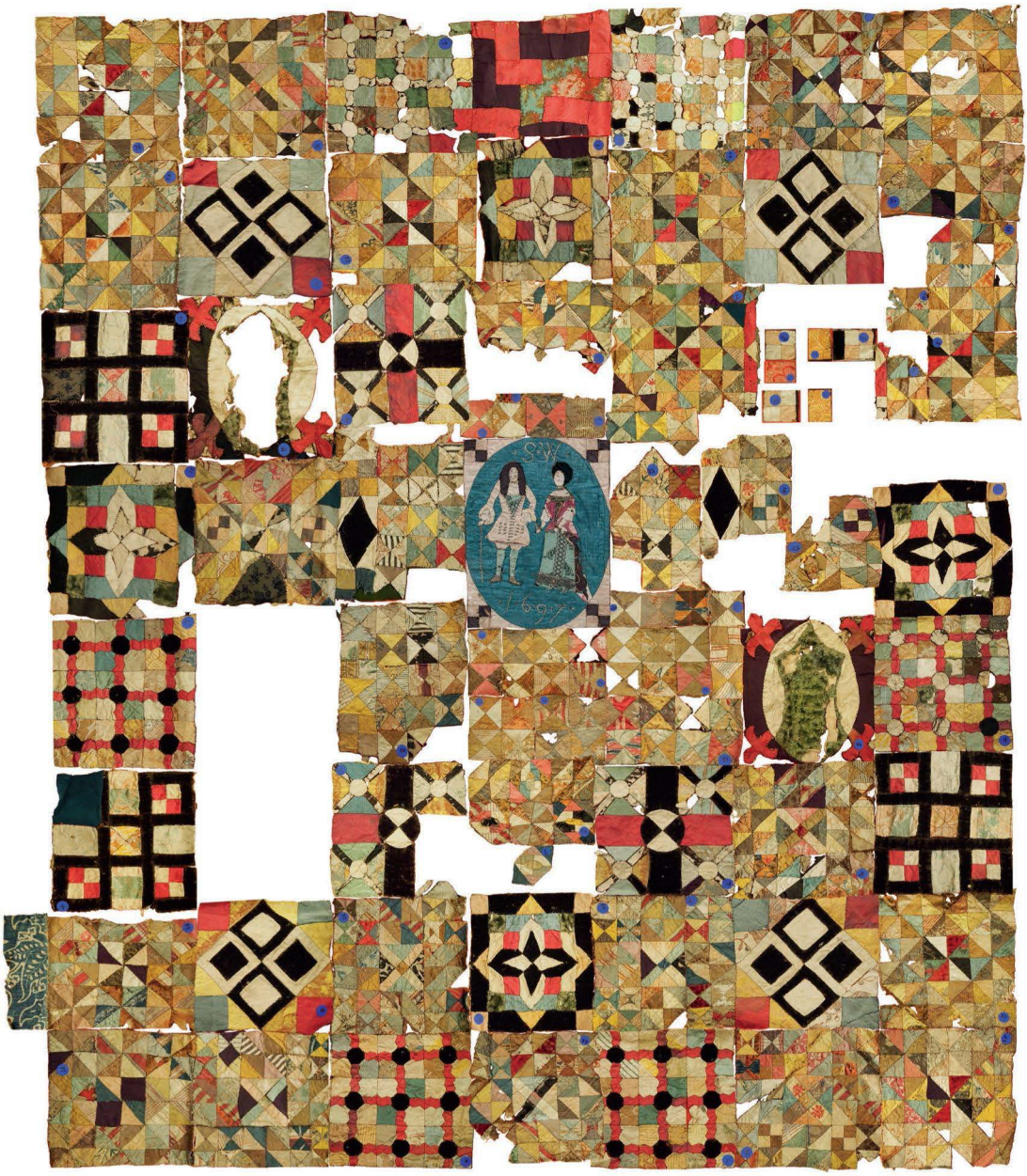

FIGURE 9. A possible reconstruction of the 1697 patchwork coverlet, England, unknown maker, approximately 76 × 66 inches. *Photos courtesy of Newbold Richardson and the author.*

Cut fragments and remnants of fabrics were used to identify which blocks were originally joined. Additional clues, such as folded areas, repair locations, and matching holes left from securing threads were used to determine where blocks may have been located.

Many of the blocks could be matched via these clues; however, some could not be placed. The even number of each block design suggested that blocks in the original coverlet were arranged symmetrically. The assumption was made that if a particular block, such as a wavy cross, appeared next to a second type in one corner, such as a Danish Star block, it was most likely repeated in an opposing corner. By process of elimination, blocks were then sorted into a possible arrangement that revealed that there were additional losses of whole blocks, as seen by fragments of green velvet and large areas of repair (fig. 9). Based on this reconstruction and the projected size of missing areas, it is estimated that the original piece contained fifty square blocks with areas of fill and measured approximately 76 inches by 66 inches.

While reconstruction using these techniques offers a glimpse into how the patchwork may have originally been structured, it nonetheless is an incomplete view of the past. For example, the original coverlet would have been much brighter in coloration, with bold colors that now appear only in seam allowances. The pile of velvet fabrics included throughout would have had a higher loft that has since diminished due to fiber loss. Additionally, the coverlet was repaired multiple times, with some areas being rejoined incorrectly due to missing or disintegrating patches. It is important to note the limitations of this digital reconstruction technique and that an alternative arrangement is possible. Increased accuracy is limited without further investigation of the central medallion, discovery of the missing patchwork, or reexamination of all the objects simultaneously in a single location.

EXTANT COMPARISONS

Although patchwork existed in other regions of the world, with the earliest examples dating back to 1,000 BCE, it seems that silks pieced together over papers and used to create bed coverings developed as a British aesthetic because all extant examples originate from seven-

FIGURE 10. Bed hangings, unknown maker, 1730–50. *Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, accession #242 to G-1908.*

teenth-century England.[44] It should be noted that while seemingly utilitarian because of their usefulness in interior decoration, these objects did not arise from frugality or a shortage of available materials. Instead, patchwork was used by women of the upper classes to denote their familial wealth, education, and connections, reinforcing social status through the adoption of an emergent fashionable art form.[45] It is generally surmised that these extant pieces are representative of a much deeper past of the art form, with physical examples being lost over time.[46] The conformity of construction methods, the complexity of stitchwork present in extant patchwork, along with other long-standing needlework traditions such as embroidery, have been cited as evidence to support this theory.[47]

There are very few early silk patchwork bed coverings for comparison to the 1697 patchwork, and those that do exist have been documented thoroughly in previous publications and online catalog systems.[48] Generalizations about the nature of early patchwork can be made upon a comparison of these extant works (Appendix D).

Construction

It appears that almost all English or British colonial American patchwork in the late seventeenth century featured the piecing-over-papers method. The exception to this is a set of eighteenth-century decorative bed hangings made in England and held at the Victoria and Albert Museum that are pieced onto marked and precut pieces of linen, providing improved draping of the material (fig. 10).[49] Decorative patchwork items that were not used as bedding, such as the Danvers hand-screen in Massachusetts, sometimes used alternative backings such as cardboard to provide support to the fabric.[50]

During the seventeenth century, paper was a rare and expensive commodity and was often recycled within the home from magazines, leaflets, and packing materials, as demonstrated through the variety of papers used in the construction of extant bedcovers (fig. 11).[51] Similarly, printed books were not immune to being recycled, as seen in the papers used in the construction of the Saltonstall Quilt (fig. 12).[52] The presence of multiple dates (i.e., 1702, 1705, and 1706) printed on the foundation

FIGURE 11. Detail showing piecing over papers. Bed cover, unknown maker, England, 1700–1750, approximately 75½ × 53½ inches. Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, accession #1475-1902.

papers of the Saltonstall Quilt led early historians to erroneously conclude that the item was constructed at least thirty years prior to the date suggested by the fabric evidence.[53] Confusion over the dating of extant works has occurred in numerous instances, thus dates sewn onto

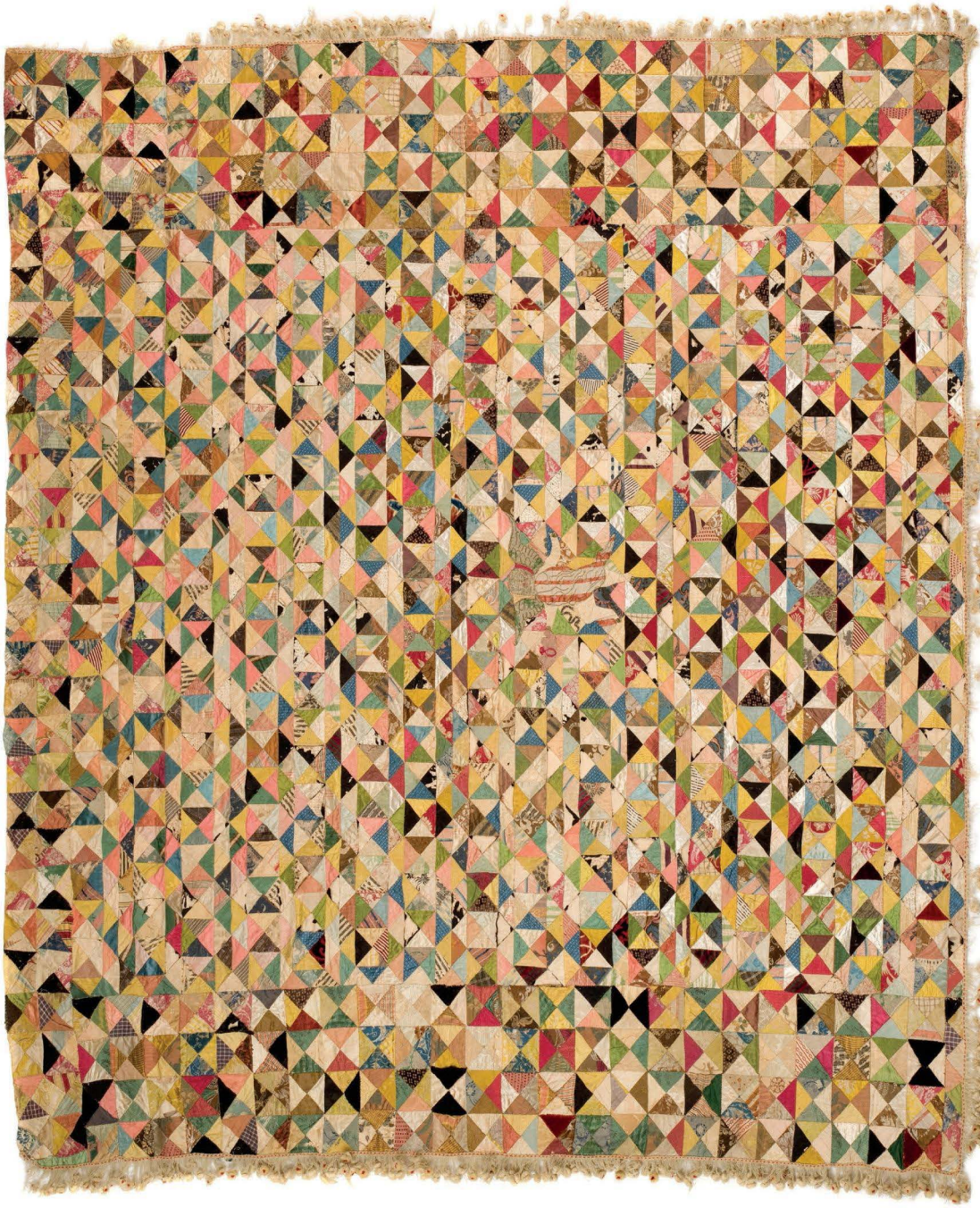

FIGURE 12. The Saltonstall Quilt, Sarah Sedgwick Leverett, Massachusetts Colony, circa 1750, 83 × 81½ inches. The quilt is often shown rotated clockwise ninety degrees so that the cherub in the center is right side up. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum, accession #134358.

FIGURE 13. The 1718 Coverlet, unknown maker, Aldbourne, England, 1718, 73 × 66½ inches. *Courtesy of The Quilters' Guild Museum, York, England.*

a quilt at the time of manufacture are significant, reducing inaccuracies. Only two of the quilts in this study have been reliably and definitively dated due to the presence of the date worked on the quilt front: the 1718 Coverlet analyzed by the British Quilt Studies Group (fig. 13) and

FIGURE 14. The 1726 Quilt, unknown maker, likely made in England, 1726, 79½ × 75½ inches. *Courtesy of the McCord Stewart Museum, accession #M972.3.1.*

the 1726 Quilt held by the McCord Museum (fig. 14). Both patchwork bedcovers have been identified as being produced in England.[54] Other quilts and coverlets have date ranges spanning from 1690 through 1750 associated with them, based on such evidence as weaving patterns, print technology, and provenance records.[55]

Materials

Like paper, many fabrics used in the construction of patchwork bedcovers were reused or repurposed from other items, such as upholstery or clothing, because cloth was labor-intensive to create and costly to obtain. Patchwork bedcovers such as the 1718 Coverlet contain a large variety of scraps from dress-weight fabrics. Patchwork made during this time contained an assortment of silks that varied in weave structure from the simplest form of plain weave to the most complex brocaded patterning using expensive metallic-wrapped silk yarns. These fabrics were representative of some of the luxury fabrics that were available at the time, with increased quantities of high-end fabrics serving as indicators of the maker's economic status.[56] Only one patchwork stands apart from this generalization, that of the Bishop's Court patchwork, which was made from high-quality fabric yardage instead of scraps to create continuity of design (fig. 15). Coupled with the complex design, the purchase of fabric yardage specifically for the making of patchwork suggests that the Bishop's Court piece was most likely created in a nearby professional workshop, rather than in the domestic sphere.[57] Because this would have been a commissioned work, it is representative of the costliest type of patchwork present in the domestic interior.

Designs

Of the patchwork bedding with an English provenance examined for this study, the majority used a medallion design, beginning with a block in the center encompassed by concentric rows of patchwork blocks. The concentric rows could contain simpler geometric forms or complex blocks, as in the Bishop's Court bedcover.[58] While the central medallion design was popular in England, it may have been more popular in the British colonies, as evidenced by all three early colonial quilts following this format.[59] A less common design in England used a repeated shape or single block all over. However, all-over designs appear to have been limited to suites of bedding materials, as seen in the scallop shells bed hangings example from the Victoria and Albert Museum.[60] The only extant patchwork for comparison that does not fit into these design

FIGURE 15. Bed cover, unknown maker, Bishop's Court, Devon, England, 1690–1720, 92 × 84 inches. Courtesy of Victoria and Albert Museum, accession #T.201-1984.

categories is the 1718 Coverlet, which contains a symmetrical placement of patchwork blocks vertically oriented along a central axis.[61]

In terms of block designs, geometric forms are present in all the extant patchworks, with increased variety and complexity demonstrated in works originating from England. The 1718 Coverlet contains a range of designs including basic Half-square triangle blocks as well as circles divided into eighths, heart shapes, and Fleurs-de-lis. The Bishop's Court bedcover includes scalloped shapes and pointed ellipses encompassed by triangles. Many of these designs have been linked to heraldry, with patchwork used to display allegiance to the king and social position within the noble classes.[62]

In contrast, patchwork originating in British colonial America shows less variety in block format, with triangular forms predominating. The most common blocks used in colonial patchwork include Hourglass (also known as Yankee Puzzle), Windmill, and Half-square triangles (Sawtooth).[63] Heraldic forms are absent in these works, perhaps because the physical distance between England and her colonies coupled with emergent political differences reduced the need for such visual reminders of social connections.

Comparison of the 1697 Coverlet

Although within the time frame of other patchworks from the Victoria and Albert Museum, the date embroidered at the top indicates that the 1697 patchwork assemblage is likely the oldest firmly dated grouping currently known, predating the 1718 Coverlet and the 1726 McCord Quilt. Additionally, there is compelling evidence to suggest that the 1697 coverlet was made in England. Review of the construction methods, materials, and designs of those works made in England corresponds closely to that of the 1697 coverlet. In contrast, items made in British colonial America are dated later to the mid-eighteenth century and lack the variety of block construction seen in those produced in England, with scant attention to heraldic forms. Thus, it is unlikely that the 1697 coverlet was made in colonial America as suggested by oral history.

SUMMARY

Although disassembled and housed in multiple institutions, the 1697 patchwork coverlet represents a significant addition to our understanding of early patchwork and quilting practices. The presence of apparently identical fabrics supports the claim that the medallion and disarticulated patchwork pieces once belonged together as parts of the same coverlet. Examination of construction materials supports the 1697 manufacture date and thus places the patchwork as the oldest firmly dated example currently known in North America. While limited knowledge of the provenance has allowed different narratives to develop around the patchwork, these narratives are not supported by the physical evidence found through material culture analysis. Instead, materials and construction methods suggest that the roots of this item lie outside of British colonial America. As seen through the comparison of the reconstruction and extant English quilts, this set of patchwork blocks most likely originated in England in 1697, moving to North America later.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This paper is drawn from a master's thesis completed at the University of Rhode Island and funded through a grant provided by the University of Rhode Island Center for the Humanities. Many thanks go to Linda Welters and Sean O'Donnell for their assistance with editing. Additional thanks go to my colleague Susan Day for uncovering the location of the central medallion.

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AS APPLIED TO THE 1697 PATCHWORK

Analysis Procedure*†	Provenance*	Material*	Construction*	Function*	Value*
Observable Data* (examination of single artifact) and Description†	• Initials and date present on central medallion • Auction records • Personal interviews with object stewards • Oral histories about object stewards	• Detailed analysis and description of all items used in construction	• Description of assembly and design	• Present: art object (medallion) and teaching collection (blocks) • Original: bedcover	• Quantitative: monetary value as described in auction records
Comparative Data* (comparison to similar artifacts)	• Published works on British and North American quilts, patchworks, and coverlets dating from 1600 to 1760	• Catalogs and published works on British and North American fabrics, threads, and papers from 1600 to 1760	• Catalogs and published works on British and North American quilts, patchworks, and coverlets dating from 1600 to 1760	• Catalogs and published works on British and North American bedcovers and beds dating from 1600 to 1760	• Qualitative: historic and social value as seen in preservation
Supplementary Data* (other sources of information)	• Miscellaneous historical records about object stewards	• Interviews regarding fabric identification and manufacturing processes	• Designs present in other forms of decorative arts • Oral history of disarticulation	• Published works on the changing social function of the bedroom	• Qualitative: research value with dissemination of parts
Deduction† (interpretation)	• Tracing the movement of the patchwork through time and space	• Materials in social and historical context	• Relationship to larger artistic movements and social change	• Changes in function over time	• Changing social valuation

*Modified from R. Elliot et al., "Towards a Material History Methodology," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), 109–24.

†Modified from Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), 133–38.

APPENDIX B: NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF SAMPLED FABRICS BY TYPE

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="9">Woven
119 (96.7%)</td><td rowspan="6">Simple
92 (74.8%)</td><td rowspan="2">Plain
21 (17.1%)</td><td colspan="2">Balanced (Tabby)
17 (13.8%)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Warp-faced Rib
4 (3.3%)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Float
71 (57.7%)</td><td colspan="2">Twill
9 (7.3%)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Satin
11 (8.9%)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Self-patterned
51 (41.5%)</td><td>Damask
28 (22.8%)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Spot weave
23 (18.7%)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Compound
27 (22.0%)</td><td rowspan="2">Single face
22 (17.9%)</td><td colspan="2">Weft patterned
3 (2.4%)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Lampas
19 (15.4%)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Double face (double weave)
1 (0.8%)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Pile weave
4 (3.3%)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Printed
4 (3.3%)</td><td rowspan="2">Simple
4 (3.3%)</td><td colspan="3">Plain Balanced
3 (2.4%)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Float Satin
1 (0.8%)</td></tr>
</table>

APPENDIX C: BLOCK PATTERN CATEGORIES AND QUANTITIES

Block Name	Block Shape	Pattern Category	Subunit Types	Quantity	Example
Wavy line double Nine Patch	Square	Equal Nine Patch	Unequal Nine Patch with center circle	6	
Framed four-pointed star	Square	Stars	Danish Star	4	
Strip squares	Square	Unequal Nine Patch	Square in Square	4	
Center circle	Square	Equal Nine Patch	10-piece wheel, Four Patch	4	
Center X	Square	Equal Nine Patch	Nine X, Half-square triangles	8	

Block Name	Block Shape	Pattern Category	Subunit Types	Quantity	Example
Xs and Os	Square	Unequal Nine Patch	Nine X	3	
Pinwheels	Square	Equal Nine Patch	Half-square triangles	12	
Square on point	Square	Four Patch	Square in square	4	
Shield	Rectangle	Realistic	Fleur-de-lis	2	

APPENDIX D: EXTANT COMPARATIVE PATCHWORK

NAME	CATALOG NUMBER	REPOSITORY	LOCATION	ORIGIN	DATE	SIZE	CONSTRUCTION METHOD	MATERIALS	OVERALL DESIGN
Patchwork bedcover	T.615-1996	Victoria and Albert Museum	London, England	Kent, England	1690–1720	42 × 39 inches	Pieced over papers	Silk	Central medallion
Bedcover (Bishop's Court)	T.201-1984	Victoria and Albert Museum	London, England	Devon, England	1690–1720	92 × 84 inches	Pieced over papers	Silk, velvet, etc.	Central medallion
Bedcover	1475-1902	Victoria and Albert Museum	London, England	England	1700–1720	75½ × 53½ inches	Pieced over papers	Primarily silk, some cotton	Central medallion
The Levens Hall bedcover & hangings	N/A	Levens Hall	Cumbria, England	Cumbria, England	1708–1800	Various	Pieced over papers	Cotton	Single patch all over
The 1718 Coverlet	N/A	Quilters Guild Museum	York, England	Aldbourne, England	1718	73 × 66½ inches	Pieced over papers	Silk	Vertically symmetrical
Patchwork bed hangings	242 to G-1908	Victoria and Albert Museum	London, England	England	1730–1750	Various	Pieced over linen	Cotton, linen, fustian	Single patch all over
The 1726 Quilt	M972.3.1	McCord Museum	Montreal, Canada	Likely England	1726	79½ × 75½ inches	Pieced over papers	Silk, linen, cotton	Central medallion
Deborah Hobart Clark Handscreen	1893.49.1	Danvers Historical Society	Massachusetts, United States	Massachusetts, United States	1730–1750	11¾ × 10¼ inches	Pieced over cardboard	Silk	N/A (hand-screen)
Saltonstall Quilt	134358	Peabody Essex Museum	Massachusetts, United States	Massachusetts, United States	1750–1800	83 × 81½ inches	Pieced over papers	Silk, cotton	Central medallion
Tuels Quilt	1967.75	Wadsworth Atheneum	Connecticut, United States	New Hampshire, United States	1785	81 × 86 inches	Pieced over paper	Silk, wool, cotton	Central medallion
Martha Agry Vaugh Quilt	57.48	Winterthur Museum	Delaware, United States	Maine, United States	1805	100 × 104 inches	Pieced over paper	Silk, wool, cotton	Central medallion

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1]R. Elliot et al., "Towards a Material History Methodology," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), 109–24; Jules Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce (London: Routledge, 1994), 133–38.

[2]Email correspondence with Newbold Richardson, August 30, 2019.

[3]A copy of these documents resides in the object accession files at the University of Rhode Island Historic Textile and Costume Collection.

[4]"About Cora Ginsburg LLC," Cora Ginsburg Gallery LLC, at https://www.coraginsburg.com/gallery.html, accessed February 17, 2022.

[5]Phone interview with Colleen Callahan, May 27, 2020.

[6]Email correspondence with Titi Halle, May 19, 2020.

[7]Email correspondence with Titi Halle, May 19, 2020.

[8]R. Scudder Smith's article "Rocky" published in the *Newtown Bee*, November 16, 1979.

[9]Scudder Smith, "Rocky," November 16, 1979. See also correspondence between Henry F. du Pont and Rockwell Gardiner that describes some of Rocky's travels in Europe: Rockwell Gardiner to H. F. du Pont, 1939–1955, AD22, Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library, Winterthur, Delaware.

[10]Personal conversation with Susan Day, October 10, 2019.

[11]Email correspondence with the anonymous owners, February 28, 2020.

[12]Email correspondence with the anonymous owners, March 16, 2020.

[13]Deborah E. Kraak, "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts," in *Textiles in Early New England: Design, Production and Consumption*, eds. Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 1997), 7–28. See also Paula Bradstreet Richter, "Saltonstall Family Quilt" in *Massachusetts Quilts: Our Common Wealth*, ed. Lynne Zacek Bassett (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), 9–12.

[14]A full listing of all the pieces can be found in Katherine E. Williams-O'Donnell, "The 1697 Project: Unraveling a Mystery Surrounding a Set of Patchwork Blocks" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Rhode Island, 2022), Appendix D, available after May 17, 2024, at https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/theses/2165/.

[15]Janet Rae, *The Quilts of the British Isles* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1987), 62.

[16]Linda Eaton, *Quilts in a Material World: Selections from the Winterthur Collection* (New York: Abrams, 2007), 122.

[17]Dard Hunter, *Papermaking through Eighteen Centuries* (New York: William Edwin Rudge, 1930), 185–223.

[18]Mark Kurlansky, *Paper: Paging through History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2016), 189.

[19]Charles F. Goldthwait, "New Values in Mercerizing Cotton," in *1950–1951 Yearbook of Agriculture* (United States Department of Agriculture, 1950), 427–30.

[20]Further analysis of the fabrics contained in other blocks is warranted but was not completed due to travel constraints from the COVID-19 pandemic.

[21]One hundred twenty-three unique fabrics were identified in the URI blocks and are described in Williams-O'Donnell, "The 1697 Project," Appendix E.

[22]A filé yarn consists of a small strip of metal wrapped around a fibrous core; in this case, a silk core of two strands is twisted together in the opposite direction of the metal wrapping. A lamella yarn is a flattened piece of metal, sometimes backed with paper or leather, and contains no twists. See Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens (CIETA), Vocabulary, English, at https://cieta.fr/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/English-Vocabulary_6August2021.pdf.

[23]According to the Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens (CIETA), a simple weave refers to a woven structure having only one set of warp threads and one weft. Compound weaves have either multiple sets of warps, multiple strands of wefts, or a combination of both.

[24]Bizarre silks were fashionable fabrics produced in Europe from approximately 1690 to 1720 and featured oversized, asymmetrical designs emphasizing diagonal lines. They often contained stylized floral or Oriental motifs inspired by imported goods from the Far East. See Natalie Rothstein, *The Victoria and Albert Museum's Textile Collection: Woven Textile Design in Britain to 1750* (London: Canopy Books, 1994), 11.

[25]Linda Eaton, *Printed Textiles: British and American Cottons and Linens 1700–1850* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2014), 152.

[26]Ibid, 17.

[27]Ibid, 17.

[28]Ibid, 31.

[29]Susan Meller and Joost Elffers, *Textile Designs: Two Hundred Years of European and American Patterns for Printed Fabrics Organized by Motif, Style, Color, Layout, and Period* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991), 80–81.

[30]Judith M. Bolingbroke, *Carolian Fabrics* (Leigh-on-Sea, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Ltd., 1969).

[31]Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), 40; Rosemary Crill, *The Fabric of India* (London: V&A Publishing, 2015); Verity Wilson, "Chinese Painted Silks for Export in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Orientations* 18, no. 10 (1987): 30–35.

[32]Ursula Priestley, *The Fabric of Stuffs: The Norwich Textile Industry from 1565* (Norwich, United Kingdom: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1990).

[33]Many thanks to Annabel Westman of the Attingham Trust for helping to connect this fabric with William Sherwin's patent. As noted in Peter Floud, "The Origins of English Calico Printing," *Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists* 76, no. 5 (1960): 275–81.

[34]Floud, "The Origins of English Calico Printing."

[35]Barbara Brackman, *Encyclopedia of Pieced Quilt Patterns* (Paducah, KY: American Quilter's Society, 1993).

[36]Heraldic devices have been defined by Beatrice Bolandrini as "allegorical and emblematic figures glorifying the deeds, origin and name of a member of the house or an entire dynasty." See Bolandrini, "Devices of the Visconti and Sforza Families" in *Silk Gold Crimson: Secrets and Technology at the Visconti and Sforza Courts*, ed. Chiara Buss (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2009), 178. Intriguingly, many of these forms have been linked to the female gender and matrilineal inheritance, a potential nod to the feminine identity of the maker or makers. See Stephen Slater, *The Illustrated Book of Heraldry: An International History of Heraldry and its Contemporary Uses* (London: Hermes House, 2004), 112.

[37]Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 201, 206.

[38]Email correspondence with Adam Tuck, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant, at the College of Arms, London, July 15, 2021.

[39]See Slater, *An International History of Heraldry*, 72, and Bolandrini, "Devices of the Visconti and Sforza Families," for the use and repetition of colors in heraldic designs.

[40]The whole medallion inclusive of the frame measured 18½ inches in height by 15½ inches in width.

[41]Dororthy Osler, *Traditional British Quilts* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1987).

[42]See Nicholas Hillard's "Portrait of a Young Man" as featured in Katharine Baetjer, "Portrait Painting in England, 1600–1800" in *The Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2003, at https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bpor/hd_bpor.htm, accessed December 20, 2022; Gustave Schaefer, "Medieval Cloth Printing in Europe," *Ciba Review* 26 (October 1939): 921–32.

[43]Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg Publishers / Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003).

[44]Schnuppe von Gwinner, *The History of the Patchwork Quilt: Origins, Traditions and Symbols of a Textile Art* (West Chester, PA: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 1988), 19, 54; Osler, *Traditional British Quilts*, 82–87.

[45]Sue Prichard, *Quilts 1700–2010: Hidden Histories, Untold Stories* (London: V&A Publishing, 2010), 15; Williams-O'Donnell, "The 1697 Project," Appendix B.

[46]Osler, *Traditional British Quilts*, 82; Patsy and Myron Orlofsky, *Quilts in America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 22.

[47]Osler, *Traditional British Quilts*, 82–83.

[48]Bridget Long, "Anonymous Needlework: Uncovering British Patchwork 1680–1820" (PhD diss., University of Hertfordshire, 2014); Kraak, "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts."

[49]Victoria and Albert Museum, Bed Hangings, accession #242 to G-1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115514/bed-hangings-unknown/, accessed December 15, 2022.

[50]Lynne Zacek Bassett, *Massachusetts Quilts: Our Common Wealth* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), 7–9.

[51]Victoria and Albert Museum, Bed Cover, accession #1475-1902, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O148231/bed-cover-unknown/, accessed January 15, 2022.

[52]Bassett, *Massachusetts Quilts*.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Kraak, "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts."

[55]Kraak, "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts," 14; Bridget Long, "A Comparative Study of the 1718 Silk Patchwork Coverlet," in *Quilt Studies*, no. 4/5, ed. Dorothy Osler (Halifax, England: British Quilt Study Group, 2003), 54–78.

[56]Deryn O'Connor, "The Dress Show: A Study of the Fabrics in the 1718 Silk Patchwork Coverlet," *Quilt Studies*, no. 4/5, ed. Dorothy Osler (Halifax, England: British Quilt Study Group, 2003), 79–93.

[57]Victoria and Albert Museum, Bed Cover, accession #T.201-1984, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O164347/bed-cover-unknown/, accessed January 15, 2022. See also Prichard, *Quilts 1700–2010*, 172.

[58]Victoria and Albert Museum, Bed Cover, accession #T.201-1984, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O164347/bed-cover-unknown/, accessed January 15, 2022; Victoria and Albert Museum, Patchwork Bed Cover, accession #T.615-1996, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O89094/patchwork-bed-cover-unknown/, accessed January 15, 2022.

[59]Kraak, "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts," 10.

[60]Victoria and Albert Museum, Bed Hangings, accession #242 to G-1908, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O115514/bed-hangings-unknown/, accessed December 15, 2022.

[61]Tina Fenwick Smith and Dorothy Osler, "The 1718 Silk Patchwork Coverlet: Introduction," in *Quilt Studies*, no. 4/5, ed. Dorothy Osler (Halifax, England: British Quilt Study Group, 2003), 24–30.

[62]Prichard, "Introduction," 9–18; Long, "Anonymous Needlework."

[63]Kraak, "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts," 10.

THE HISTORY AND MEANING OF AN INSCRIBED QUILT FROM AN AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN

By Marsha MacDowell, Berkley Sorrells, and Marsha Music

In 2016, the Michigan State University Museum acquired a unique redwork quilt with twenty embroidered blocks containing the names of women, streets, numerical addresses, and telephone numbers. The addresses trace back to what were once vibrant, predominantly African American neighborhoods in Detroit that were decimated by urban renewal actions in the 1960s. A research team involving museum faculty and staff, community historians, and congregants of a church used object-based research, online digital sources, the collections of Michigan State University Museum, social media, and oral histories to uncover the history of the quilt, its makers, and the urban religious, cultural, and social communities in which the makers lived. This study revealed that the quilt was made by women closely connected to the Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ on Mack Avenue in Detroit, and the quilt is now valued as an important document of history.

IN 2016, AN INTRIGUING QUILT IN GOOD CONDITION CAME TO THE attention of the curatorial staff of Michigan State University (MSU) Museum (fig. 1). Offered for sale online by a quilt dealer in Oklahoma, the quilt featured twenty blocks with embroidered names—all but four prefaced by the word "Sister"—followed by street names and numerical addresses from Detroit, Michigan, and local telephone numbers (fig. 2, Appendix). The only information the seller could provide was that the quilt had come from an estate sale in Long Island, New York.[1]

FIGURE 1. Zion COGIC Quilt, 65 × 90 inches, Michigan Quilt Project, Michigan State University Museum; Michigan State University Museum Collection, object number 2016:50.1 (https://quiltindex.org/view/?type=fullrec&kid=12-8-6640). *Photograph by Pearl Yee Wong.*

FIGURE 2. Zion COGIC Quilt block detail, Michigan Quilt Project, Michigan State University Museum; Michigan State University Museum Collection, object number 2016:50.1. *Photograph by Berkley Sorrells.*

Curators thought the honorific "Sister" might indicate that the quilt was connected to a group of African American women and, using the Google Maps tool, made a quick check of several of the addresses. Their initial findings supported this supposition. The addresses were in

what had once been vibrant multicultural and predominantly African American neighborhoods, including neighborhoods known locally as "Black Bottom" and "Paradise Valley." These communities had been largely decimated in the 1960s by urban renewal programs.[2] In fact, the sampled addresses on Google Maps revealed images of empty, grassy lots with remnants of sidewalks, driveways, and alleyways (fig. 3). Using the Google Maps tool to scan in all directions, only a few extant buildings could be seen dotting the landscape where the houses once stood. The curatorial team was familiar with Michigan's African American quilt history because of projects by Michigan State University Museum and the Michigan Traditional Arts Program; they knew that there had not been much study of historical quilting in this particular part of Detroit. Because the Michigan State University Museum's collecting priorities included searching out quilts with at least basic provenances that included origins in Michigan and those made by African American quiltmakers, the museum decided to purchase the quilt for its collections. The quilt, now known as the Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ Quilt (Zion COGIC Quilt), was added to the museum collection, and digital images and basic information about the quilt were added to the Quilt Index.[3]

In late 2020, the Zion COGIC Quilt became a focus of in-depth research by MSU undergraduate student Berkley Sorrells and MSU Museum Curator of Folk Arts and Quilt Studies Marsha MacDowell.

FIGURE 3. The 3000 block of St. Aubin Street, Detroit, Michigan, 2022, from Google Street View.

For one year, Sorrells and MacDowell used a variety of COVID-compliant remote research strategies and resources to investigate basic questions about the women whose names were on the quilt and when and why was this quilt made. In 2021, they were joined in this quest by a Detroit community historian and activist named Marsha Battle Philpot (known professionally and hereafter here as Marsha Music) and her fellow members of Detroit's Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ (hereafter referred to as "Zion COGIC"). This paper describes the research journey, what was learned about the quilt and its makers, and, ultimately, why this kind of research investigation, especially with community engagement, is important for museum practice and for quilt studies.

THE QUILT

Measuring 80 by 65 inches, the quilt features twenty machine-pieced blocks rendered in the pattern most often referred to as Chimney Sweep in solid-blue and solid-white cotton fabric. Each of the blocks measures 15½ inches square. The blocks are placed in five rows of four blocks each, and there is no sashing between the blocks. A two-inch solid-blue cotton border is placed on either side of the set of blocks; there is no border on the top and bottom of the quilt.

Red-colored cotton embroidery floss was used on nineteen blocks for the inscriptions in the central white cross section of the pattern. Addresses are listed with variations of the following information: street name, house number, and the words "Detroit," "Michigan," or "Mich." Thirteen of the blocks also include a telephone number with both alpha exchange designations and the line numbers. One block carries only one woman's name and is the only one with an inscription rendered in cursive script and in blue-colored embroidery floss. Except for a few letters here and there, all text on the other blocks is in block letters, and several blocks appear to have similar handwriting and embroidery stitches. Blocks are set on point with some of them placed so that the writing is angled to the right; in other blocks, the writing slants to the left.

The batting is of thin to medium-thick cotton; the backing is solid-white cotton. The quilt is hand-quilted in four to five stitches per inch in the elbow and parallel line quilting designs with one-half to three-quarters of an inch between each line of quilting. White quilting thread was used throughout—except for a few lines of quilting with blue thread. The quilt is bound with a separate binding of white cotton measuring one-half to one inch wide. The quilt is in good physical condition with little indication of use.

RELEVANT LITERATURE ABOUT INSCRIBED QUILTS, AFRICAN AMERICAN QUILTING AND QUILT STUDIES IN MICHIGAN, AND DETROIT HISTORY

Based on a review of the existing literature on inscribed quilts, this quilt could have been made by a group of family or friends, conceivably associated with an organization that was situated geographically near the inscribed addresses. The quilt might have been made as a fundraiser, to honor an individual, or to mark a special occasion. Although there was no evidence to support it, the authors wondered if the one block that contained just one name and was rendered in a different color might indicate that the quilt was made for that person by the others.

Next, the authors reviewed literature on quilts made by African American makers in Michigan.[4] Extensive work has been done since the mid-1980s by Michigan State University Museum-based folklorists, textile historians, and quilt specialists working with African American individuals and organizations in Michigan communities of historically black settlements and predominately black populations. Information about scores of African American makers in Michigan and their quilts has been recorded on Michigan Quilt Project forms and added to the Quilt Index; artists and their work have been photographed; their stories have been audio-recorded in interviews; and major collections of quilts and quilt-related documents have been developed at the MSU Museum. A search of the Quilt Index and in museum records for each of the names inscribed in the Zion COGIC Quilt did not yield any matches.

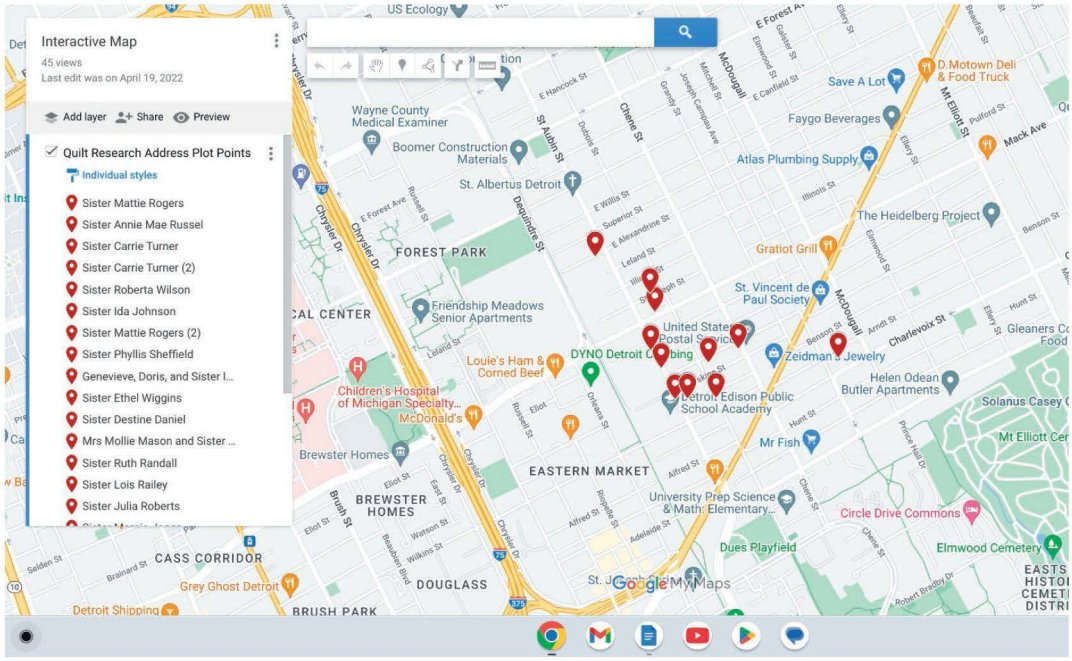

FIGURE 4. Google My Maps Plot created by Berkley Sorrells, January 2021. (Accessible via https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/0/edit?mid=1RqMm2LJFlFjayFTldRd9Am5lWbwgf6qI.)

THE SEARCH OF ONLINE RESOURCES AND DIGITAL TOOLS

The Google interactive map feature called "My Maps" was enlisted to plot each of the addresses stitched on the quilt onto a modern map of Detroit (fig. 4). The Google algorithm recognized street addresses even if the physical house was no longer standing, which was the case with most of the addresses. The plotting of the addresses allowed for a more visual engagement with the physical neighborhood and community represented on the quilt. It aided in determining how close the residences were to one another and provided a more tangible extension of the community it embodied.

Because the quilt could have been made by a group of African American women possibly affiliated with a church, the map was consulted to determine if there had been a nearby church. The Zion COGIC building was still standing within walking distance of most of

FIGURE 5. Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ, 2022. *Photograph by Marsha MacDowell.*

the addresses on the quilt, and the church's 2135 Mack Avenue address was listed on one of the blocks (fig. 5). Google searches revealed the church maintained only a basic online presence. Because calls to the listed number went unanswered and because COVID protocols set by the university prohibited physical visits to the church, the authors turned their attention to research that could be done remotely.

The telephone numbers provided clues to when the quilt was made. The first phone line in Detroit was established in 1877.[5] It is not clear when phone numbers came into use, but the numbering systems changed as the number of telephone users increased and the communication technology and businesses matured. Up until the 1940s, Detroit assigned telephone numbers that were alphanumeric with a two-letter, five-digit system that identified the region in which the telephone exchange operations existed and where human telephone operators physically made the connections at switchboards.[6] For many people growing up in Detroit, the exchange name, sometimes shortened to the first two letters of the exchange name, defined their neighborhood location. Beginning in the early 1950s, the city began using a seven-digit dialing system with the first two numbers coinciding with the place on a rotary telephone dial where one would have found the first two letters of the exchange name. Individuals who had become accustomed to the

FIGURE 6. House at 2303 St. Aubin, Detroit, Michigan. A group of young people stand on the corner near the house, September 5, 1950. This photograph was taken about ten blocks from the homes of quilt signers like Sister Ruth Randall and Sister Carrie Turner, who lived on the 3000 block of St. Aubin. Accessed via https://digitalcollections.detroitpubliclibrary.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A139748. *Courtesy of Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Libraries.*

alphanumeric system often continued to write or say their phone listing that way, and, until the early 1970s, telephone directories still carried listings with the exchange initials followed by five digits.

On the Zion COGIC Quilt, some telephone listings were shown as only four digits, some with only five digits, one with full exchange name (Melrose) and four digits, two with a two-letter abbreviation of exchange name (MA for Madison, ME for Melrose) followed by four digits, and one with a two-letter abbreviation of an exchange name (TY for Tyler) followed by five digits. None of the listings was presented with seven, all-numerical digits. Thus, the quilt was likely made during the time of a transition of assignment and use of telephone listings around the late 1940s or early 1950s and before the 1960s era when many of the homes were razed. Also, the quilt likely predated 1972, when the all-numeric listings became the standard.

A variety of online tools and resources proved useful for locating information about the women whose names were listed on the quilt and might have been living in or before 1972. Both the street addresses and the names of women were input into each resource. Searches of US Censuses of 1930, 1940, and 1950 revealed data about some of the women, including their occupations, financial situation, racial or ethnic designation, and marital status. In addition, the census records listed the names and ages of other household members residing at each address. Ancestry Library Edition resources provided access to birth and death certificates that corroborated the ages or family members of some individuals on the quilt. Google searches of addresses revealed that some archives held a few historical photographs of the homes and businesses on the streets listed on the quilt, but no historical photographs of any of the exact residential addresses on the quilt were located (fig. 6).

The ProQuest online newspaper archives proved a crucial source of relevant information because it held digitized issues of the *Michigan Chronicle*, Detroit's predominant African American newspaper. First published in 1936, the *Michigan Chronicle* contained numerous articles that not only provided a sense of general community life in the Black Bottom neighborhood but also documented and promoted a variety of quilt-related activities, including afternoon quilting circles, fairs, contests, and fundraisers. For example, one article told of a quilt raffle and party held by the Sepia Club on September 29, 1939, in which the holder of the winning ticket won a quilt made by the club's members. The event included refreshments and live music, and named community members were seen "jittin' and jiving."[7] Importantly, some articles in the *Michigan Chronicle* linked some of the names on the quilt to the Zion COGIC.

Clearly, the quilt was made by women who had, in common, an affiliation with the Zion COGIC, but only a little was known about a few of the named individuals on the quilt and nothing was known about some of the people named. It also was not evident when or why the quilt was made.[8] The authors initiated a search for someone still living whose name was on the quilt or who closely knew someone listed on the quilt.

ENGAGING THE COMMUNITY IN DISCOVERING QUILT HISTORY

In May of 2021, upon discovering a COGIC History Facebook page, the authors posted a photograph of the quilt, a list of the inscriptions on the quilt, and a call for help in uncovering the history of the quilt to the Facebook page.[9] The post proved to be a breakthrough moment in making a connection to those with living memories of the Zion COGIC and the women on the quilt. Within a couple of days, the post received dozens of responses from members of the Zion COGIC and people who recognized and were related to women on the quilt.[10] One respondent was Marsha Music, who is a community-based historian and a Zion COGIC member.[11] Deeming the quilt a very important piece of Detroit history, Music joined authors MacDowell and Sorrells in researching the quilt. Together, they contacted all those who had responded to the Facebook post and encouraged each respondent to become part of a collective research effort. Because the pandemic still prohibited travel to conduct on-site interviews, the team experimented with conducting a recorded interview over Zoom with some of the respondents but encountered difficulties with Internet access and auditory clarity. The group discussed holding a community event at which the quilt could be shown to members of the church and where stories about the quilt and its makers could be shared and recorded. Music shared this idea with current Zion COGIC pastor James Hall and first lady Brenda Hall, who gave their enthusiastic endorsement. The continuation of the pandemic through 2021 and the reticence of older congregants to travel during winter months meant that the event could not take place before late spring of 2022. Because the Zion COGIC was undergoing renovations, the event could not be held at the church, and Music worked closely with the Halls and MacDowell to find a Detroit venue that would be affordable, available, and easily accessible to congregants.

On April 30, 2022, the Zion COGIC Quilt Story Sharing Event was held at the MSU Detroit Center, a university-operated facility located only a few miles from Zion COGIC. Music and the Halls handled invitations to the one-day event, took special care to invite church historians, and encouraged all attendees to bring any documents they thought

FIGURE 7. Elder Bruce Clifton shares a photocopy of the historical photograph he brought to share, using a red pen to identify several quilt contributors in the photo, April 30, 2022. From left to right: Berkley Sorrells, Robbie Green, Elder Bruce, and First Lady Brenda Hall look on. *Photograph by Marsha MacDowell.*

might be connected to the quilt. MacDowell and Sorrells transported the quilt, on temporary loan from the MSU Museum, to the center and hung it where it could be safely and easily viewed. During a nearly four-hour period, the attendees were actively engaged in learning and sharing information about this quilt. They examined the quilt closely, often sharing anecdotes about the women listed on the quilt or memories triggered by looking at the quilt. They took photographs of the quilt and of themselves in front of it. During lunch (provided by the museum), they laughed, reminisced, shared more stories about the quilters and church-based quilting activities, and sang church hymns together. One church elder brought in a photocopy of a historical photo of the congregation that allowed for the identification of several quilt signers; another elder brought in a printout of his working document on the Zion COGIC history. With participants' permission, Sorrells and MacDowell were able to audio-record stories, photograph the event, and obtain copies of documents that the attendees brought (fig. 7).

FIGURE 8. Zion Congregational COGIC members pose with the photo poster of the quilt, April 30, 2022. From left to right: Robbie Green, Minister Bruce Clifton, Gwendy Darty, Reather M. Quinn, Elder Leon White, First Lady Brenda Hall, and Marsha Battle Philpot (Marsha Music). *Photograph by Marsha MacDowell.*

Because the church did not have the physical or security conditions required by the MSU Museum for venues that want to temporarily borrow and display museum-owned objects, the museum denied a request by the church to borrow the quilt. However, Sorrells and MacDowell presented the Halls with a large photographic poster reproduction of the quilt for future installation at the church (fig. 8).[12] Within a week, Music posted more than fifty photographs and a report about the event on Facebook, and within a month, the posting had been "liked" by 163 individuals, shared nine times, and had seventy comments, many including testimonies about the importance of the quilt and offering additional information about the makers of the quilt.[13]

FINDINGS: UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY WHERE THE QUILT WAS MADE

Detroit occupies the contemporary, traditional, and ancestral homelands of the three Anishinaabe nations of the Council of Three Fires:

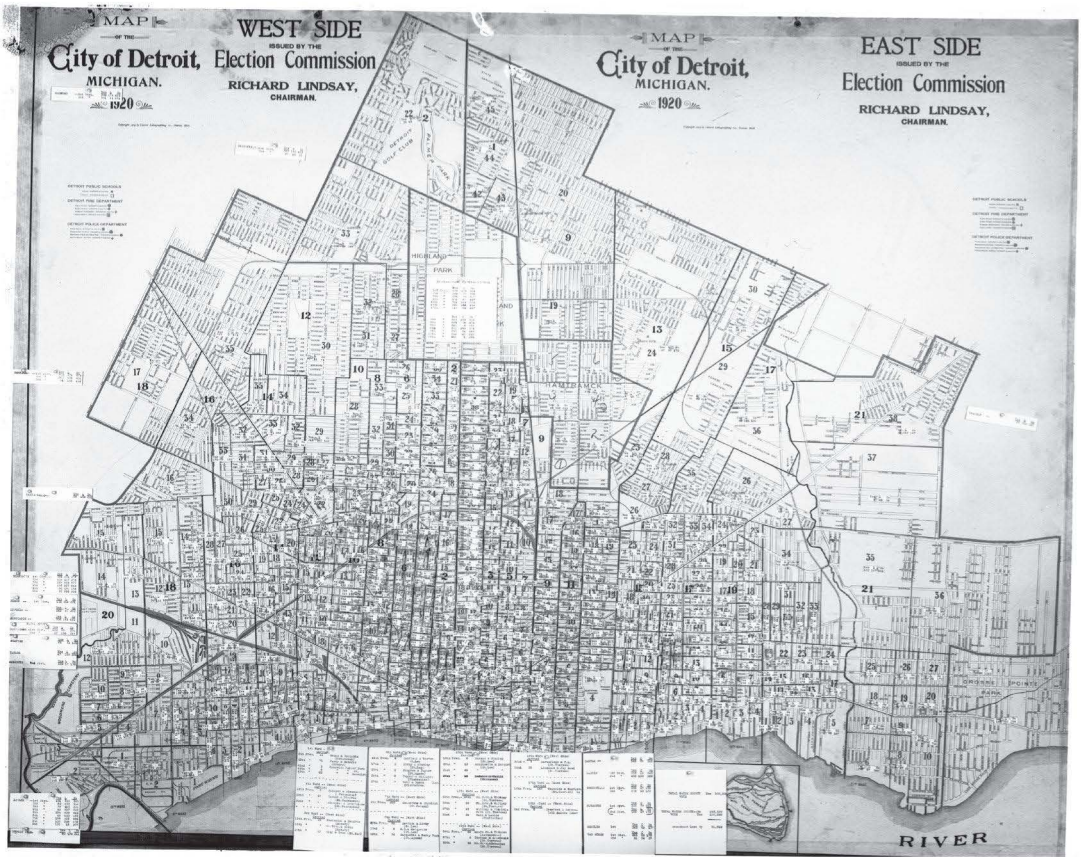

FIGURE 9. Map of greater Detroit, Michigan, ca. 1920. *Courtesy of Burton Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.*

the Ojibwe, Odawa, and Potawatomi. Through the Treaty of Detroit, these three nations, along with the Wyandot, ceded land in 1807 that is now occupied by the city.[14] One area of Detroit became known as Black Bottom, so named because of the area's once rich, dark soil.[15] Attracted by the soil, early French settlers established what were called ribbon farms—narrow lots fronting the Detroit River but extending one and a half miles inland (fig. 9).[16] As settlement increased and the farmlands were replaced by streets and developments, the memory of those early French settlers was retained in the names of landmarks and streets, including the streets St. Aubin and Chene that run through the neighborhood where the women named on the quilt lived.

Mainly due to the growth of the automotive industry, by the early to mid-twentieth century, Detroit had developed into the fourth-largest city in the country.[17] This industry demanded a large workforce and

drew new immigrants, newly settled immigrants from other regions in the US, and notably a major migration of African Americans from the US southern states. While men found employment in factories, domestic labor outside the home was the most common profession for African American women in urban areas, north or south, in 1930.[18]

Zion COGIC was in one of many robust areas of greater Detroit that was settled primarily by this workforce, and the surrounding area supported hundreds of homes, schools, businesses, and civic, social, and religious organizations. In 1940, all the addresses listed on the quilt were locations of single-family homes. Many individuals or families, often unable to afford to purchase a home due to either finances or redlining, resided as lodgers within households owned by others.[19]

The neighborhoods surrounding Zion COGIC were greatly disrupted by Detroit urban renewal programs that began in the 1940s to address "decay" and to build urban highways. As many white families moved out of the city and into newly developing suburbs, the urban renewal efforts focused on areas in which lower-income, non-white residents were living in structurally impoverished and redlined neighborhoods like Black Bottom. As portions of their neighborhoods were abandoned and later razed, remaining community members were left bereft of many of their community spaces, connections, and relationships. Local employment was impacted, remaining housing values plummeted, and the area continued to struggle to retain viable housing stock. As one example of enduring impact, notice of foreclosure was reported in 2003 for the home of Adell Anderson, one of the individuals named on the quilt, for $523.69.[20]

FINDINGS: ZION CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF GOD IN CHRIST

When MacDowell and Sorrells first recognized that the quilt might be linked to a church group and then specifically to the Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ, they sought out historical information about the Zion COGIC. Researching the church proved a challenge. Many churches built for European American congregants are of architectural significance and have well-documented histories.

Those structures serving African American congregants are often more modest, and many historical churches were destroyed in reconfigured and bulldozed neighborhoods; their histories are generally missing from the city's records. Fortunately, a nomination for Zion COGIC to be designated part of a Detroit historic district was available online and provided some background.[21] Later, Music was able to provide her own lived experience as a congregant of Zion COGIC and encouraged Zion COGIC elder and historian A. Leon White to share portions of his unpublished history of the church.

The Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ in Detroit is affiliated with the Church of God in Christ, "a Holiness-Pentecostal Christian denomination, and the largest Pentecostal denomination in the United States. Although an international and multi-ethnic religious organization, it has a predominantly African-American membership based within the United States."[22] The Zion COGIC in Detroit was founded in 1919 when southern preacher Elder I. W. Winans traveled to Detroit from Mississippi and opened a church at 1420 Clinton Street.[23] This first church was sometimes referred to as the "Clinton Street," a colloquialism common in Detroit circles, wherein churches were referred to by the street on which they were located.

According to White, "Elder Winans' fame for his strict preaching of both spiritual and practical matters increased his reputation for being extremely orthodox. He taught that one's spiritual life qualities could not exceed the integrity and diligence exemplified in the quest for everyday life. . . . [He also] was keenly aware that most of his congregation had migrated from the south for employment reasons . . . [and that he] was most conscious of the difficulties members of his congregation had to embrace because of racism."[24]

Under the stewardship and leadership of Winans, the Clinton Street congregation soon outgrew their initial building. Winans and his congregation determined to build a new church of their own, rather than "inherit" a church structure from Jewish or white religious groups who were moving, along with their congregants, to locations outside the downtown area. They attempted to find a location outside of Black Bottom geographical area but were limited by racial segregation and redlining to locate in a nearby neighborhood. Winans ended up buy-

ing two lots on Mack Avenue that were just outside Black Bottom but would continue to be convenient to those who lived in the area. A white contractor agreed to build a structure only if it was designed as a multiuse/industrial-type building—a hedge against what the contractor anticipated would be an inevitable inability of Zion COGIC to raise the necessary building funds or even to sustain a congregation. Winans took the deal, and the opening service at the new two-story church at 2135 Mack Avenue was held October 2, 1929.[25] According to White, "it had a seating capacity of approximately 1200 and [at the time] was the largest and first brick constructed Church of God in Christ building and the most modern in Michigan."[26] The large size of the church was expected to accommodate the annual state COGIC Convocation.[27]

In 1942, the church became an independent congregation, and the name of the church was changed to Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ, although it was still locally referred to as "Mack Avenue." As of 2022, the church continues to offer an array of worship and support services for the faithful congregation.[28]

Church historian White's research and writing provided a foundation of the church's historical beginnings, but the articles in the *Michigan Chronicle* proved particularly helpful in providing historical information about the activities of the church when the quilt was made. For instance, one article documented the Golden Age Club's turkey and lamb dinner held at the Zion COGIC. The church's pastor, Elder I. W. Winans, was in attendance. Three of the people named on the quilt—Phyllis Sheffield, Iverleaner Parker, and Ethel Wiggins—were also mentioned in the article. Sheffield was about seventy-seven years old when she attended the event, which was likely in celebration of the elders of the church community.[29]

An article from January 25, 1958, well after when the quilt would have been completed, reported that Adell Anderson and her husband, Reverend A. L. Anderson, attended the Ministers' Wives Circle banquet, an event in which wives of various ministers within Detroit COGIC congregations "entertained their husbands and friends."[30] Anderson likely no longer attended Zion COGIC at that time since her husband was then pastor at the Rose of Sharon COGIC on Chene Street.[31] One month after the banquet, in May of 1957, the Ministers'

Zion Congregational COGIC Opens Building Program

REVIEWING PROGRAM—The Rev. Jesse T. Stacks Sr., (third from right) pastor of Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ, 2135 Mack, reads program with members of the deacons' board preceding the entrance into church for the opening of a building fund feature held Sunday. Also (from left) are Samuel Wiggins, William Howze, Gussie Tillman, Arthur L. Daniels and Thomas Vann Houston.

Elder Jesse T. Stacks Sr. Presides at Ceremonies

"For the People Had a Mind to Work" Is General Theme For $25,000 Project

Elder Jesse T. Stacks Sr., newly-elected pastor of Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ, 2135 Mack, led a mammoth program which officially opened a building fund drive in the church on Sunday.

The purpose of the program is to modernize the interior and exterior of the church building.

Preceding the Rev. Mr. Stacks was the late Elder I. W. Winans, who served as overseer and pastor. He was the founder of the church which is the oldest Church of God in Detroit.

The church is the headquarters for all of the Congregational Churches of God in Christ throughout the country, with churches in Detroit, Muskegon and Flint, Mich.; Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana and West Virginia. The newly-elected overseer is Elder J. W. Porter of Pennsylvania.

According to the Rev. Mr. Stacks, the remodeling program will cost over $25,000. It will include a new church front, nursery, modern ladies and men's lounge, modern dining hall and kitchen. The work is expected to be completed by August, 1968.

Members of the steering committee are Deacons Floyd Lemon, Eugene Sims, Arthur L. Daniel, Gussie Tillman, William Howze, Samuel Wiggins and Thomas Vann Houston, junior deacon.

Others are Elders Carvin Winan, son of the late overseer I. W. Winans; Cato Weatherspoon Jr., Dr. Samuel Skinner, James Stewart and ministers Hosea Evans and Joseph Anthony.

Irene Clifton is the church secretary; Iantha Pinkney is the corresponding secretary; Mrs. Denise Stacks, wife of the pastor, is the public relations secretary; Ethel Wiggins is church mother; and Iverlean Parker is the assistant church mother.

CONGRATULATING PASTOR — Samuel Skinner (third from left), congratulates the Rev. Jesse T. Stacks Sr. (left), pastor of IZion Congregational Church of God in Christ, 2135 Mack. Also from left, are Elder Cato Weatherspoon and Elder Carvin Winan.

AT CHURCH SERVICE — Among women, who played an important part in the opening of a building fund program at Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ, 2135 Mack, were (from left) Mrs. Ethel Williams, Mrs. Evelyn Winans and Mrs. Iantha Pinkney.

FIGURE 10. "Zion Congregational COGIC Opens Building Program: Elder Jesse T. Stacks Sr. Presides at Ceremonies: 'For the People Had a Mind to Work' Is General Theme for $25,000 Project," *Michigan Chronicle*, November 4, 1967.

Wives Circle was photographed for the *Michigan Chronicle* with baskets full of goods they assembled to donate to the local children's hospital.

As a community leader in her own right and also the mother of nine children, Anderson was celebrated by the young women of the COGIC community as a pillar of the church and role model for the next generation of women in the congregation.[32] In May of 1959, she received a special citation at the first annual reception of the Teenage Club of the COGIC chapter of Northeastern Michigan.[33]

In a later *Michigan Chronicle* article, three women named on the quilt were singled out for leadership roles at Zion COGIC. Ethel Wiggins, whose funeral was announced in the *Michigan Chronicle*, was church mother. Iverleaner Parker was the assistant church mother.

Iantha Pinkney was the church secretary. The women were praised for the "important part" they played in the opening of the Zion COGIC's building fund program (fig. 10).[34]

Many congregants at the Quilt Story Sharing Day shared memories about growing up in Zion COGIC around church elders, including some of the women named on the quilt. For example, Church Mother Brenda Hall distinctly remembered watching Iantha Pinkney pray with the congregation. "Everybody would be on their knees praying and she would be too," she remembered, but Pinkney always prayed with her eyes open and watched over the others while they prayed. "The Bible says watch as well as pray, which fit her, because she would always sit up, whenever you came in upstairs."[35]

FINDINGS: MORE ABOUT THE WOMEN WHO MADE THE QUILT

The 1930, 1940, and 1950 Censuses confirmed that the women named on the quilt, except for Genevieve and Doris Parker, were of similar ages, background, and physical circumstances around the time the quilt was created. In 1940, Phyllis Sheffield, born in Tennessee about 1882, lived at 2145 St. Joseph Street, the same address recorded on the quilt. A widow, she lived with her forty-one-year-old daughter, Ethel Sanders, who was denoted as married, even though her husband was not listed as an inhabitant in the home with them.[36] In the 1930 Census, Sheffield's address was listed as nearby 8842 Canfield Avenue along with her husband, Clay, who was born in Mississippi about 1863, before the end of slavery in the American South.[37] Sheffield was employed as an in-home worker for a private family, whose ethnic or racial identity is not indicated but was most likely white. In 1940, she was listed as a seamstress, indicating she was working on sewing projects for income and had skills to possibly participate in the making of the Zion COGIC quilt.

In 1940, Roberta Wilson was a resident at 1988 East Alexandrine Street, her address listed on the quilt. Born in Mississippi about 1896, she worked as a domestic worker in a private home. Her husband, Thomas Wilson, was born in Louisiana about 1895 and worked as a construction laborer.[38] Geneva and Samuel Parker lived at 2212 Pierce

Street in 1940 with their four children, including Genevieve and Doris Parker, aged three and one year old, respectively. The children's names are listed with that address on the quilt. Samuel worked as a construction laborer. Geneva, born in Georgia, took care of the children.[39] Ruth Randall was listed in 1950 living at the address documented on the quilt with her seventy-five-year-old grandfather and two siblings. The census indicated that she was only twenty years old and "separated" from her husband, and her occupation was listed as "keeping house."[40]

The story of Church Mother Ethel Wiggins exemplifies the common path of northern migration for African American families. Wiggins, a native of Moscow, Tennessee, married John Henry Davis in 1902, and they had thirteen children together. Wiggins first moved to Detroit in 1926 and then relocated to Youngstown, Ohio, with her family. By 1950, she was back in Detroit living as a seventy-year-old widow with multiple tenants at the address stitched on the quilt.[41] When Wiggins passed away around the age of ninety-eight, Reverend Jesse Stacks presided over her funeral at Zion COGIC. She had forty-two grandchildren, seventy-seven great-grandchildren, and three great-great-grandchildren.[42]

It was only at the Quilt Story Sharing Day that firsthand stories connecting the women directly to quiltmaking and to quilting activities associated with the Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ emerged. Several attendees knew that their friends or relatives listed on the quilt were affiliated with the church's sewing circle. Minister Bruce Clifton remembered displayed quilts being for sale to raise funds at the church's annual Convocation, which brought in members of various COGIC houses of worship.[43] Gwendy Darty, who grew up in the church, shared this story.

> My mother's name was Adell Anderson, and when I was a child, maybe four or five years old, I remember my mother being a member of the sewing circle at Mack Ave. Congregational Church of God in Christ, and she was a very faithful member, very crafty. And at times the sewing circle would meet at different . . . homes where different members would have patches of the quilts that they would make and then come together, somehow, and put the quilt together to be

> displayed at the annual Convocation, which is a time of gathering of the saints at a particular time of the year. And it was also a time of fellowship where the various quilts were placed on display for viewing and for purchase. I don't have a memory [of quilts] past that time, but I knew my mother was a very crafty person. Not only did she make quilts, but, as she was a seamstress, she also made our girls'—when we were younger—clothing. But the most profound memory I have of my mother was that she was a faithful member of that particular sewing circle.[44]

The attendees at the Quilt Story Sharing Day discussed the potential dates that the quilt could have been made. By comparing what they knew of the ages and, in some cases, death dates of the women whose names were on the quilt, they determined it was probably made in the early 1950s—likely in 1953, a date they recalled when one of the Convocations took place at the church.[45] This would have corresponded with the estimate provided by the dates of the telephone exchange history and the fact that Doris and Genevieve Parker, whose names were on the quilt without the honorific "Sister," would have been too young to have been accorded the more adult "Sister" title.

As the Sharing Day, the physical presence of the quilt, and the names listed on it prompted spiritual reflections from some of the attendees, First Lady Hall shared a prayer she remembered from founding pastor Bishop I. W. Winans that resonated with her while she looked at the quilt. "His prayer was 'Now Lord, these are your people, all by your name.'" She continued, "I'm excited. I feel it in my spirit . . . that's why I think God is in this and it's just turning in the wheel of time, and [the names on the quilt] are coming back into history."[46]

Many of the women whose names were on the quilt had lasting impacts on the lives of those in the church who attended the event. Robbie Green shared that Iverleaner Parker (named on the quilt) "saved her life" one day in the church.

> My mom was an usher. And she would never let children just go all over the place. She was so strict about that. We had a good foundation. But one time, my mom found me downstairs in the little church, and she was going to whoop me because I shouldn't have

been down there. But Sister Parker hollered from the kitchen, 'Don't whoop her, bring her in here . . . send her in here to me.' And from that, working in the kitchen with the saints, I went to culinary arts school and became a chef.[47]

SUMMARY

Why has researching this quilt been important? The Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ Quilt research project, centered on one inscribed quilt, has yielded information about a group of African American women whose life stories have not otherwise been very visible in historical records. *Although all the signers are no longer living and the homes at the addresses listed on the quilt no longer exist, the quilt exists.* In this instance, the quilt is the primary record that documents the connection of women who were part of the history of a unique area of Detroit and of a church that has long anchored that community. The names on the quilt are now more than just embroidered script on a textile; they are conduits to the histories of specific individuals who participated in the church and lived in or nearby Detroit's Black Bottom neighborhood. Through the quilt, the stories of the women and their church community are being documented and remembered. As Robbie Green expressed, "Growing up [in Zion COGIC], with a lot of these saints, I was a little child, and they were old. . . . You keep [these women] in your memory by talking about them over and over again."[48]

While it still is not known exactly when or why this quilt was made, we know that, with the information derived from archives, oral history, and social media research activities, the quilt was one of many made by these and likely other women affiliated with the church to help sustain and broaden the reach of the church. The quilt stands as a tangible reminder and enduring proof of a close-knit community that provided and cared for others in the name of faith and goodwill, which is continued and maintained by members of the church today.

The Zion COGIC Quilt research project has also been important in a variety of ways to the museum's collections-based activities. It has enabled student engagement in a mentored, object-based research learning experience. It has resulted in more data to add to the museum's collection

catalog records, making the object even more valuable for use in teaching, future research inquiries, and education. In 2022, MacDowell and Sorrells curated a small exhibition about the quilt and the research project at the MSU Museum and held associated public engagement activities (fig. 11).[49] Importantly, the quilt stimulated community engagement in research based on an object in the museum collection, connecting that object to the community from which it emanated, and establishing what is hoped will be an ongoing sense of connection between the museum and this Detroit urban community. Already the Halls are planning to hold a special event to install the poster of the quilt in the church when church renovations are completed, and members of the Zion COGIC Quilt research project team, along with other members of the community, will be invited. Jena Baker-Calloway, the director of the MSU Detroit Center, was present at the Quilt Story Sharing Day and has volunteered to host additional Quilt Story Sharing Days. On these days, other quilts from the MSU Museum will be shown and community members can bring in their quilts to be documented in the Michigan Quilt Project. Baker-Calloway has also requested that another copy of the poster version of the Zion COGIC Quilt be installed at the MSU Detroit Center and would like a temporary installation of poster versions of other quilts in the MSU Museum collection.

As for the importance of this project to the community, one has only to peruse the comments that were posted on the Facebook page report of the Quilt Story Sharing Day. A few examples follow.

> Wowwwww . . . such history . . . can u imagine what love n thoughts were in these Ancestors hearts and minds while performing this labor of love.
>
> What lovely memories. . . . such a great opportunity to honor the ancestors.
>
> Wow this is dope!
>
> Thank you for sharing a wonderful account of our history. The importance is immeasurable. The beauty of the quilt speaks.
>
> This is so precious. My grandmother Mother Ethel Wiggins was on the quilt and so many former beloved saints of Zion.

FIGURE 11. A family explores the exhibition *Discovering African American Detroit Community Histories through One Signature Quilt* at the MSU Museum, January 3, 2023. *Photograph by Marsha MacDowell.*

> This was a blessed event. You could just feel the love and the presence of the Lord. Thank you again to all who participated.
>
> Oh, my goodness! What a beautiful work and honoring of these women!
>
> What phenomenal provenance. Just think . . . Little did Carrie Turner ever fathom that in 2023 her name and their historic work of heritage art . . . would be so properly and justly honored and to be seen by thousands across the country, the world on . . . [electronic] devices. Magnificent.[50]

APPENDIX: INSCRIPTIONS ON THE ZION COGIC QUILT

Sister Roberta Wilson 1988 E. Alexandrine Detroit, Michigan Te. 13457	Sister Ethel Wiggins 9134 Delmar Street Detroit Michigan	Sister Adell Anderson 3429 Chene Street Detroit Phone Melrose 9835	Sister Irene Grean 4108 Horatio St. Detroit TY 4-0078
Iantha Pinkney	Genevieve Parker 2212 Pierce Street ME 2711 Detroit Michigan	Sister Ruth Randall 3118 St. Aubin Detroit, Michigan	Sister Margie Jones 2180 Waston Detroit Mich Te 12988
Sister Carrie Turner 3537 St. Aubin Street JE.20985 2135 Mack Ave. Detroit Mich.	Sister Phyllis Sheffield 2145 St. Joseph Street Detroit Michigan	Mrs. Mollie Mason 3429 Chene Street Detroit Michigan.	Sister Julia Roberts 13593 Lumpkin Street Detroit Michigan TO 7-4684
Sister Annie Mae Russell 3133 St. Aubin Detroit, Michigan Te-23312	Sister Mattie Rogers 3118 St. Aubin Detroit Mich Phone TE.30199	Sister Destine Daniel 8029 Russel Street Detroit Mich MA 7612	Sister Iverleaner Parker 2212 Pierce Street ME.2711 Detroit Michigan
Sister Mattie Rogers 3459 St. Aubin Detroit, Michigan	Sister Ida Johnson 1789 Canton St. Detroit, Michigan	Doris Parker 2212 Pierce S ME2711 Detroit Michigan	Sister Lois Railey 2928 Arndt St Detroit Michigan.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1]Sales receipt, acquisition document file, MSU Museum.

[2]The actual boundary of what was considered Black Bottom was technically a mile south at Gratiot Street, but the addresses on the quilt were within what was culturally considered an African American enclave.

[3]The Quilt Index, https://quiltindex.org//view/?type=fullrec&kid=12-8-6640, accessed December 4, 2022.

[4]See Marsha MacDowell, ed., *African American Quiltmaking in Michigan* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press with Michigan State University Museum, 1998).

[5]"Michigan Bell Telephone Co. History," FundingUniverse, http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/michigan-bell-telephone-co-history/, accessed December 5, 2022.

[6]From direct experience of two of the authors. Also see "A Little History & Fun Facts about Phone Numbers," TalkRoute, https://talkroute.com/a-little-history-fun-facts-about-phone-numbers/, accessed December 5, 2022; and "Telephone Exchange Names," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Telephone_exchange_names, accessed December 5, 2022.

[7]"Sepia Club in 'Quilt Raffle' and Party," *Michigan Chronicle*, October 7, 1939.

[8]In spring of 2021, Sorrells reported on the initial findings in "Stitched Together: Documenting the Vibrancy of Black Bottom Detroit through Redwork Quilting," at the MSU undergraduate research symposium; see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ssOd4wSkWI&ab_channel=[secondary author][secondary author].

[9]Marsha MacDowell, "The COGIC History Page," Facebook, May 19, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/groups/COGICHistoryPage/permalink/968817003659758.

[10]Ibid. Note: the comments have since been removed by Facebook, but fortunately we took screenshots of the names and comments before they were removed.

[11]Marsha Music, "Hidden in Plain Sight—The Invisibility of the Mies van der Rohe Community—Lafayette Park, Detroit," *Marsha Music—The Detroitist Blog*, https://marshamusic.wordpress.com/hidden-in-plain-sight-the-invisibility-of-the-mies-van-der-rohe-community-lafayette-park/, accessed December 4, 2022. Her late father, Joe Von Battle, owned an important music store on nearby Hastings Street and had recorded the gospel, sermons, and jazz of, among others, the Reverend C. L. Franklin, father of Aretha Franklin.

[12]Lynne Swanson, MSU Museum Cultural Collections manager, provided the photography and coordinated the production of the poster.

[13]Marsha MacDowell, "Zion/MSU Quilt Project," Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?vanity=marsha.philpot&set=a.10221129760935144, accessed May 24, 2022.

[14]Jade Ryerson, "Native American History in Detroit," National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/native-american-history-in-detroit.htm#:~:text=Detroit%20occupies%20the%20contemporary%20and,by%20the%20city%20in%201807, accessed December 5, 2022.

[15]Ken Coleman, "The People and Places of Black Bottom, Detroit: Remembering a Neighborhood in Michigan," *Humanities* 42, no. 4 (Fall 2021), https://www.neh.gov/article/people-and-places-black-bottom-detroit, accessed December 5, 2022.

[16]Paul Sewick, "Detroit's Ribbon Farms: Shaping the Future Metropolis," *Detroit Urbanism Blog*, February 15, 2016, http://detroiturbanism.blogspot.com/2016/02/detroits-ribbon-farms-shaping-future.html, accessed December 5, 2022.

[17]Katharine Q. Seelye, "Detroit Census Confirms a Desertion Like No Other," *New York Times*, March 22, 2011, https://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/23/us/23detroit.html?_r=0, accessed December 5, 2022.

[18]Robert L. Boyd, "Race, Self-Employment, and Labor Absorption: Black and White Women in Domestic Service in the Urban South during the Great Depression," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 71, no. 3 (2012): 639–61.

[19]"Redlining" refers to the practice of physically zoning those who live in lower economic neighborhoods and hence were deemed a financial risk. Families who lived in "redlined" neighborhoods were less likely to receive mortgage or business loans or insurance. This practice by lenders and insurance agencies was based on racism and perpetuated structural inequality and a lack of intergenerational wealth for many.

[20]Classified Ad 3, no title, *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, March 12, 2003.

[21]Historic Designation Advisory Board, City of Detroit City Council, *Proposed Zion Congregational Church of God in Christ Historic District Final Report*, June 23, 2009, https://detroitmi.gov/sites/detroitmi.localhost/files/2018-08/Zion%20Congregational%20Church%20of%20God%20in%20Christ%20HD%20Final%20Report.pdf, accessed December 5, 2022.

[22]"Church of God in Christ," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Church_of_God_in_Christ, accessed December 5, 2022. See also Ithiel C. Clemmons, *Bishop C. H. Mason and the Roots of the Church of God in Christ* (Lanham, MD: Pneuma Life Publishing, 1996); C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 1990); and Anthea Butler, *Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

[23]This street was closed in the 1960s when Lafayette Park, an urban renewal district, was built, largely to the detriment of the historic Black Bottom neighborhood. The Lafayette Park complex contains the largest collection of residential buildings designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and was designated a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service in 2015.

[24]A. Leon White, untitled and undated typescript manuscript, MSU Museum, Michigan Traditional Arts Research Collections, p. 3.

[25]White, 5.

[26]Ibid.

[27]*Proposed Zion Final Report*, 5.

[28]Note: the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Elder I. W. Winans were world-renowned gospel performers and, for a number of years, would gather on important holidays

for gospel concerts at the church. "The Winans," Encyclopedia.com, https://www.encyclopedia.com/education/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/winans, accessed December 5, 2022. David Glenn Winans Sr. and his wife, Delores, performed with their ten children: Benjamin ("Bebe"), Priscilla ("CeCe"), Deborah, Angelique, Daniel, David, Michael, Ronald, and fraternal twins Carvin and Marvin. Marsha Music's maternal grandmother, Virgie Baker, was the Sunday school teacher of the Winans' children and godmother to CeCe Winans.

[29]"Golden Age Club Has Dinner," *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, March 28, 1959.

[30]"Ministers' Wives Circle Aids Children," *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, May 25, 1957.

[31]"Anderson Rites Saturday," *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, April 27, 1968.

[32]1950 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, enumeration district 85-678, sheet no. 12, lines 19–29, household 3429, Adell and Arthur Anderson. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition, accessed December 20, 2022.

[33]"Teen-Age Club Honors Mothers," *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, May 30, 1959.

[34]"Zion Congregational COGIC Opens Building Program: Elder Jesse T. Stacks Sr. Presides at Ceremonies 'for the People Had a Mind to Work' Is General Theme for $25,000 Project," *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, November 4, 1967.

[35]Brenda Hall, interviewed by Marsha MacDowell and Berkley Sorrell, April 30, 2022, Detroit, Michigan, Michigan Quilt Project Files, MSU Museum.

[36]1940 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, enumeration district 84-419, sheet no. 10B, lines 66–67, household 2145, Phyllis and Cube Sheffield. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition.

[37]1930 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, enumeration district 82-674, sheet no. 9A, lines 21–22, household 8842, Phyllis and Cube Sheffield. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition.

[38]1940 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, sheet no. 5B, lines 67-68, household 1988, Thomas and Roberta Wilson. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition.

[39]1940 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, enumeration district 84-416, sheet no. 6b, lines 57–62, household 2212, Geneva and Samuel Parker. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition.

[40]1950 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, enumeration district 85-766, sheet no. 2, lines 19–22, household 3118, Ruth Randall. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition.

[41]1950 US Census, Wayne County, Michigan, population schedule, Detroit, sheet no. 1, enumeration district 85-364, lines 24–27, household 9134, Ethel Wiggins. Online source accessed via Ancestry Library Edition.

[42]"Mrs. Wiggins Funeral Held," *Michigan Chronicle (1939–2010)*, September 28, 1968.

[43]Bruce Clifton, interviewed by Berkley Sorrells and Marsha MacDowell, Detroit, Michigan, April 30, 2022, Michigan Quilt Project Files, MSU Museum.

[44]Gwendy Darty, interviewed by Berkley Sorrells and Marsha MacDowell, Detroit, Michigan, April 30, 2022, Michigan Quilt Project Files, MSU Museum. Darty grew up in the Zion COGIC and is the daughter of Adell Anderson, whose name is on the quilt.

[45]Multiple individuals, interviewed by Berkley Sorrells and Marsha MacDowell, Detroit, Michigan, April 30, 2022, Michigan Quilt Project Files, MSU Museum.

[46]Brenda Hall, interviewed by Berkley Sorrells and Marsha MacDowell, Detroit, Michigan, April 30, 2022, Michigan Quilt Project Files, MSU Museum.

[47]Robbie Green, interviewed by Berkley Sorrells and Marsha MacDowell, Detroit, Michigan, April 30, 2022, Michigan Quilt Project Files, MSU Museum.

[48]Ibid.

[49]*Discovering African American Detroit Community Histories through One Signature Quilt*, exhibition at MSU Museum, East Lansing, Michigan, May 2022–January 2023. The exhibit was promoted as "Voices from Black Bottom, Detroit Community History."

[50]From comments in response to posting by Marsha Music of report and photographs of Quilt Story Sharing Event, "Zion/MSU Quilt Project," Facebook.

PEACOCK AMONG THE RUINS

The Evolution of a Textile Design

By Terry Tickhill Terrell

In 1761, Robert Jones & Company produced Peacock among the Ruins, considered one of the first and finest copperplate-printed textiles ever made in England. It was subsequently adapted by other textile printers over a period of about 260 years. The object of this research is to clarify and document the differences among the original and various versions of the Peacock among the Ruins design. Previously, the original and four subsequent versions were commonly recognized. This study identifies the original and nine subsequent versions based on detailed examinations of the literature, collection information, and images of examples. It provides detailed descriptions of each of the original and subsequent versions and furnishes images of key motifs to assist quilt historians to correctly classify and approximately date each version.

INTRODUCTION

IN 1761, ROBERT JONES & COMPANY PRODUCED PEACOCK among the Ruins, considered by some as one of the first and finest copperplate-printed textiles ever made in England.[1] Over the approximately 260 years since the creation of the original design, there have been many versions. The object of this research is to clarify and document the differences among the original and various other versions of the Peacock among the Ruins design. This elucidation of the design's evolution provides a firm basis for quilt historians, collection curators,

FIGURE 1. The flute-player panel from the original version of Peacock among the Ruins as designated by the Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter V&AM), 442-1897. © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

textile collectors, and vendors to correctly identify which version of the design they have or are viewing.

Peacock among the Ruins has been called at least four different names: Peacock among the Ruins, Peacock and Hen Toile, Pastoral

FIGURE 2. The peacock panel from the original version of Peacock among the Ruins as designated by the V&AM, 442-1897. © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

Scene with Peacocks and Poultry, and the Jones Toile.[2] The latter seems inadequate as R. Jones & Company printed at least one other inscribed toile entitled "Hunting and Fishing Scenes," and in 1955, "in an Exhibi-

tion of English Chintz assembled by the Victoria and Albert Museum . . . two pattern books from Mulhouse showed seventeen hitherto unknown designs from Robert Jones of Old Ford."[3]

The original Peacock among the Ruins is composed of two separate but related scenes. The flute-player scene shows a flute player and spinster amid classical ruins and surrounded by a cow, dog, and sheep (fig. 1). The peacock scene shows a peacock, ducks, chickens, and predatory bird flying overhead with a chick, all surrounded by classical ruins (fig. 2). The two scenes are separated by a vignette of a stag being harried by hounds. There are two unobtrusive inscriptions in the design. One on the masonry below and to the left of the seated flute player's left foot reads, "R Iones/1761," and a second on the masonry below the hen and to the right of the chicks reads, "R I & Co/Old Ford/1761." While integrating the name of a printing company and brief additional details into the textile design was not a standard practice at the time, it was occasionally done.[4]

The arrangement of the components in the original textile design itself was novel, but many of the individual images in the design came from well-documented, previously published print sources. Victoria and Albert Museum (V&AM) Curator Peter Floud explained, "The pastoral scene [was] taken from an etching by Nicholas Berchem dated 1652; the peacock and poultry from an engraving by Josephus Sympson, published London 1740, after the painting by Marmaduke Cradock; the stag and dog from plate 18 of *Animals of Various Species Accurately Drawn* by Francis Barlow."[5] From printed sources to a textile design and further to a number of subsequent textile design variations, the Peacock among the Ruins design has evolved to serve a number of different tastes, times, and purposes.

METHODS

The twenty-five examples on which this study was based came from an extensive search of published sources as well as Internet-based collection images, vendor offerings, and an in-person visit to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF) textile collection facility. Appendix A lists all the examples examined with details of ownership, object

description and/or number, textile content, color, country of origin, date, size, and study classification. Some examples were listed as English, some French, and some as "French?" In addition, there were several different dates. The dates and countries of origin described by museums and collections for their objects were taken as correct except when they fell outside the range of the dates and locations assigned to all the other examples of the same version. For this study, the original against which all other examples were compared was the V&AM's furnishing fabric by Robert Jones & Company, accession number 442-1897.[6]

No museum or collection has representatives of the original design and all subsequent versions. Thus, a significant part of this research was based on examinations of photographs of the textiles rather than on the pieces themselves. Photographic comparisons were necessary because it would not have been possible to examine examples of all versions side by side. Minute visual examinations of images provided the information to identify and differentiate each of the examples. This resulted in the identification of ten distinct versions. In-person examinations of four textiles in the author's private collection (three of which were subsequently donated to CWF) and five pieces during a research trip to the CWF textile collection facility on September 21, 2021, tested observations made from photographs of seven of the ten different versions of the design.[7] These in-person examinations verified that the observations made from photographs were accurate.

Additional comparisons allowed for the classification of pieces that were fragmentary and lacking one or more key traits. This was important because the original and various subsequent versions have a repeat length up to about 82 inches. Many were used for upholstery or coverings for small objects, resulting in numerous fragments surviving. For at least one version, there are only two small fragments currently known, and a second is represented by a small scrap. Using the GIMP image manipulation software program, a semitransparent, same-scale layer of the photograph of the unknown fragment was overlaid on the same portion of known versions.[8] If the unknown layer matched perfectly with one of the known versions, it was identified as the same. If not, it was a new, unrecognized version. Given that each version was printed with a somewhat different design, and in some cases a very

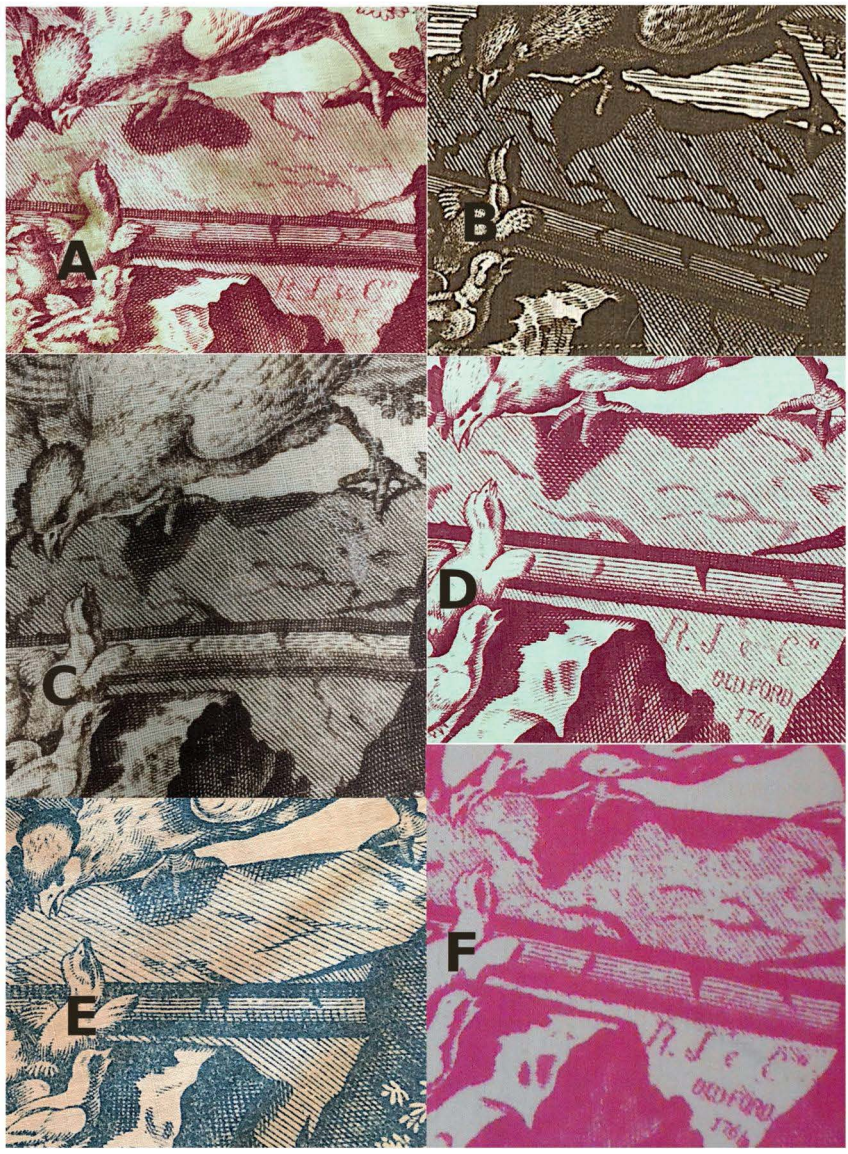

FIGURE 3. Comparison of the hen's shadow. Note the presence of an inscription on the masonry below the hen in images A, D, and F. (A) version 1, the original, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1963-36,12; (B) version 2, the mystery version, V&AM, T.411-1919, © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London*; (C) version 4, the "French copy," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1953-138,1; (D) version 4, the mid-nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1951-390,1A; (E) version 6, the late nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-60(S); (F) version 8, the 1953 Schumacher reproduction, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-62(S).

different manner of printing (e.g., copperplate versus cylinder printing), it was relatively clear whether the unknown fragment matched a known version to which it was compared.

RESULTS

Version 1: The Original

The V&AM online collection website lists ten pieces with all or a part of the original Peacock among the Ruins design. Of these, accession number 442-1897 shows the complete design, is madder red on a white background, and is designated as the original version by the V&AM. The pattern repeat is 79.9 inches (203 cm) long by 34 inches (86.3 cm) wide and was printed using two engraved plates.[9] "RI & Co/Old Ford/1761" is inscribed on the masonry below the hen and to the right of the chicks, while the hen has a small, two-lobed shadow (fig. 3). A second inscription, "R Iones/1761," is located on the masonry on which the flute player is seated, below and to the left of his foot (fig. 4).

In addition to the hen, chicks, rooster, and inscription, the peacock panel includes a peacock facing to the left looking toward a large urn sitting on a chunk of masonry. The left sides of the urn and masonry are truncated by the edge of the panel. Behind the peacock on the right side of the piece is a part of a ruined building or monument with two full columns and the left half of a third column. There is a predatory

FIGURE 4. Comparison of the position of the flute player's legs and the presence or absence of an inscription below and to the left of his feet or on the masonry below the water bucket by his side. (A) version 1, the original, V&AM, 442-1897, © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London*; (B) version 4, the "French copy," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1953-138,1; (C) version 5, the mid-nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1951-390,1A; (D) version 6, the late nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-60(S); (E) version 7, the 1930s version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-61(S); (F) version 8, the 1953 Schumacher reproduction, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-62(S); (G) version 9, the circa 1980s Schumacher reproduction, *photo courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*


A
B
D
R.JONES
1761
C
F
R.JONES
1761
E
G

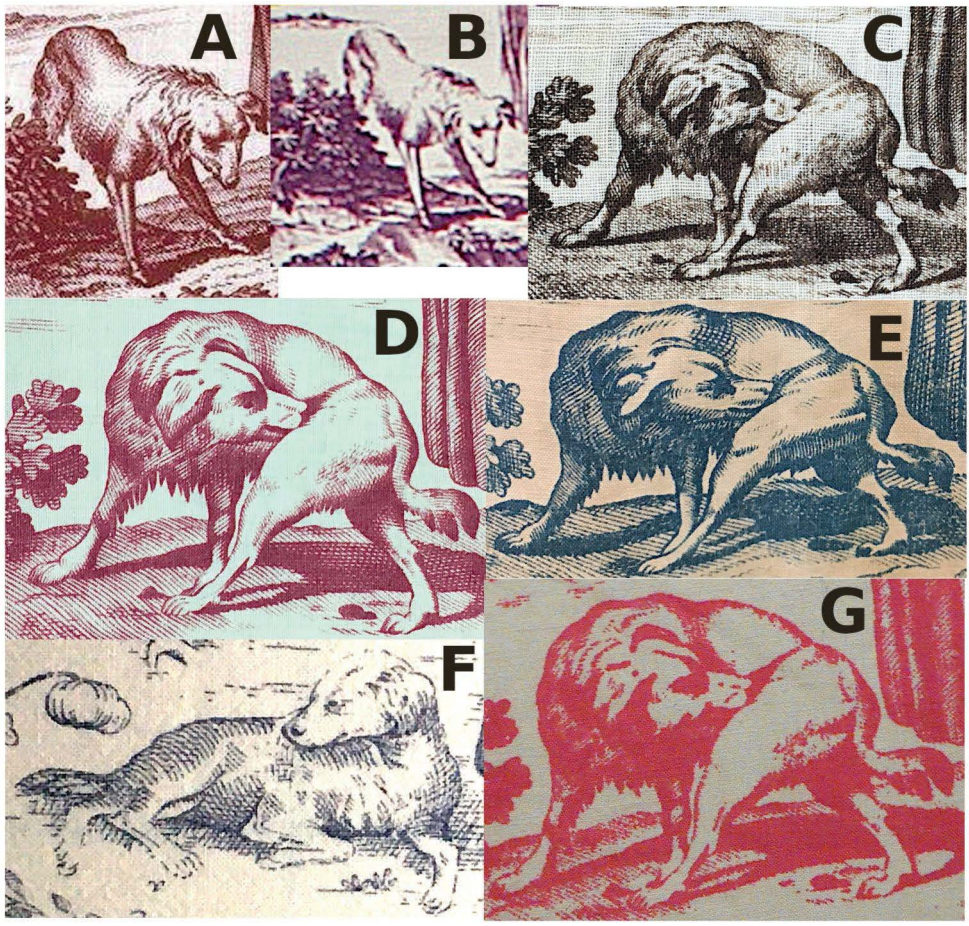

FIGURE 5. Comparison of the dog's various configurations. (A) version 1, the original, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1963-36,10; (B) version 9, the circa 1980s Schumacher reproduction, *photo courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*; (C) version 4, the "French copy," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1953-138,1; (D) version 5, the mid-nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1951-390,1A; (E) version 6, the late nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-60(S); (F) version 7, the 1930s version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-61(S); (G) version 8, the 1953 Schumacher reproduction, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-62(S).

bird flying off with a chick in its grasp. There is also a pond with cattails, other marginal plants, and two ducks with a smaller aquatic bird. Small trees, rocks, and assorted other vegetation frame the various parts of the scene. A few distant birds fly in the sky. In the background of the scene are an apparently ruined aqueduct and a building with a low circular tower (fig. 1).

The original's flute-player panel shows a flute player sitting beside a wooden bucket on a ruined piece of masonry with his right leg crossed over his left knee and with his right foot very close to the left knee. The inscription "R Iones/1761" is located on the piece of masonry below and to the left of the flute player's foot (fig. 4). A spinster with a drop spindle is to the left of the flute player with her back turned to the viewer. To her left is an emaciated dog of unknown ancestry with its body straight and with its head facing to the right (fig. 5). To the left of the dog is a cluster of what appears to be three columns and a broken piece of a column from a ruined structure and a small tree. To the right and below the flute player are three ewes, a ram, and a cow with one downward-facing horn and one frontward-facing horn. It is apparently in the process of standing up since one leg is extended, and its shoulder is at an awkward angle (fig. 6). To the right of the cow is a ruined monument with a curved top and a tree with a broken branch. There is additional low vegetation. In the background of the scene are a farmstead with a house with a circular portion, a bridge, trees, low mountains, flying birds, and a distant, smaller house. A motif of a stag being harried by hounds below the flute-player scene separates it from the peacock scene (fig. 2).

Nine of the V&AM examples, accession numbers Circ. 359A-1955 through Circ. 359I-1955, are sepia printed fragments that appear to be the related pieces from one object or group of objects. They are as otherwise described in the previous paragraphs, but the images provided in the V&AM's online collection website (https://www.vam.ac.uk/collections) appear to have even finer engraving with tiny differences from those seen in accession number 442-1897. This may indicate unevenness in the quality of provided online images, uneven printing quality dependent on dyeing, use of older worn printing plates after lengthy use, or that one is a very excellent (probably contemporaneous) copy


A
B
C
D
E
F
G

FIGURE 6. Comparison of the orientation of the cow's horns, the geometry of its face, and the configuration of its shoulder and left front leg. (A) version 1, the original, V&AM, 442-1897, © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London*; (B) version 4, the "French copy," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1953-138,1; (C) version 5, the mid-nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1951-390,1A; (D) version 6, the late nineteenth-century version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-60(S); (E) version 7, the 1930s version, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-61(S); (F) version 8, the 1953 Schumacher reproduction, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-62(S); (G) version 9, the circa 1980s Schumacher reproduction, *photo courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*.

of the other, possibly to replace a worn-out set of printing plates. If one is a copy, based entirely on the fineness of engraving with the logic that copies are of very slightly lesser quality than the original, these nine examples appear to be better candidates for the originals, with accession number 442-1897 being the possible copy. This is a situation that only a very detailed side-by-side examination of the pieces in question can resolve. At this point, all should be regarded as originals.

Pictures and descriptions of CWF object numbers 1963-36,10 and 1963-36,12; Metropolitan Museum of Art's (Met's) accession number 24.200; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston's accession number 60.177; Art Institute of Chicago's reference number 1958.2; and Cooper Hewitt's accession numbers 1947-17-12-a through 1947-17-12-d demonstrate that these pieces are also originals.

Version 2: The Mystery Version

Version 2 is represented by only two known fragmentary examples, both owned by the V&AM, furnishing fabric, accession numbers T.411-1919 and T.173-1912. Accession number T.411-1919 shows most of the peacock scene (fig. 7). It appears to have a wide unprinted selvedge on the left side to facilitate matching in the French style as opposed to the very narrow printed selvedges in the English style. Both pieces have extremely fine engraving. Accession number T.173-1912 shows a smaller part of the peacock scene with the hen, rooster, chicks, part of

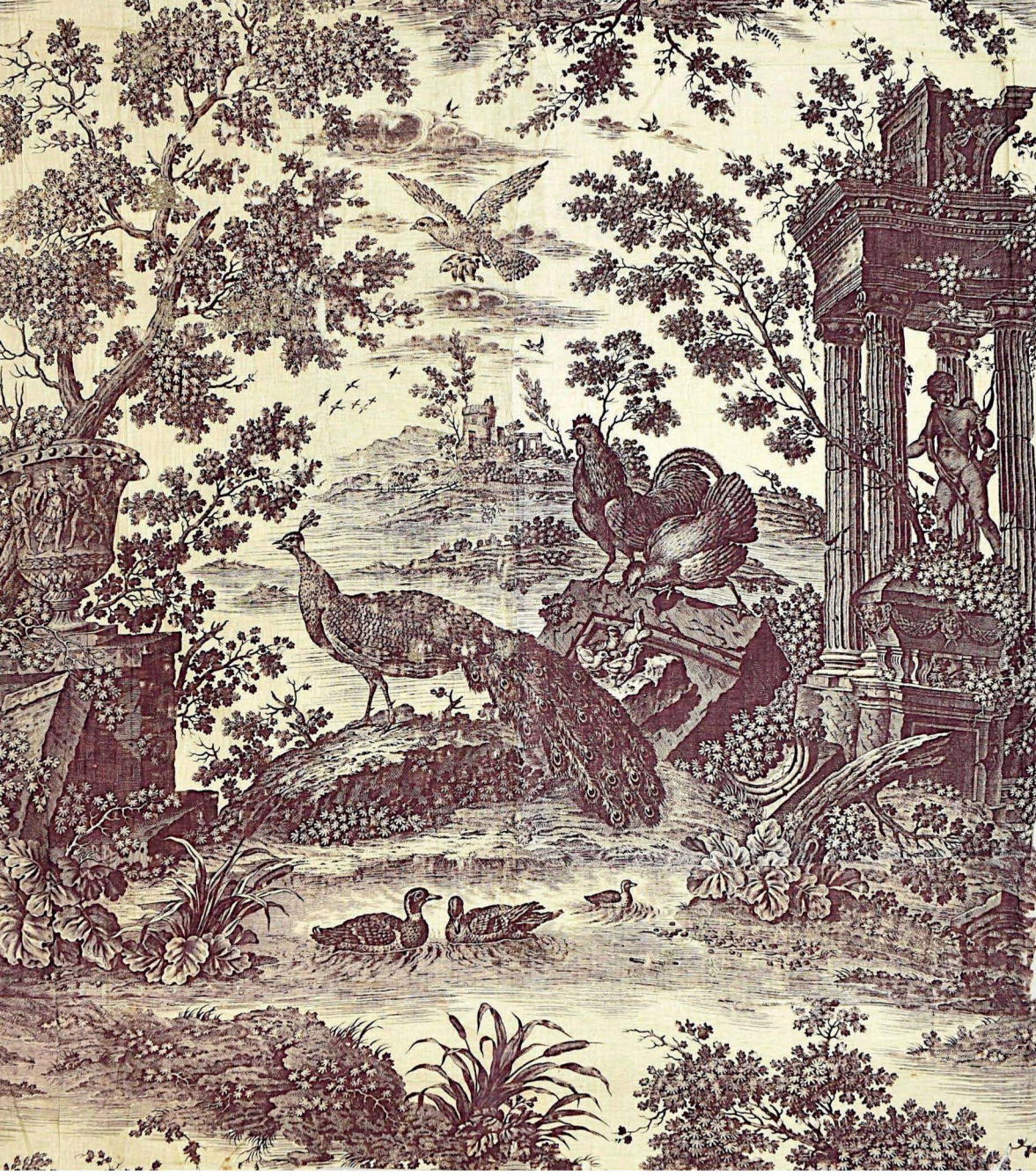

FIGURE 7. Version 2, the mystery version, as illustrated by the most complete fragment known, V&AM, T.411-1919, © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*

the peacock, and the scenery immediately behind these figures with sufficient detail to determine it is the same design as accession number T.411-1919. The V&AM's online collections search describes accession

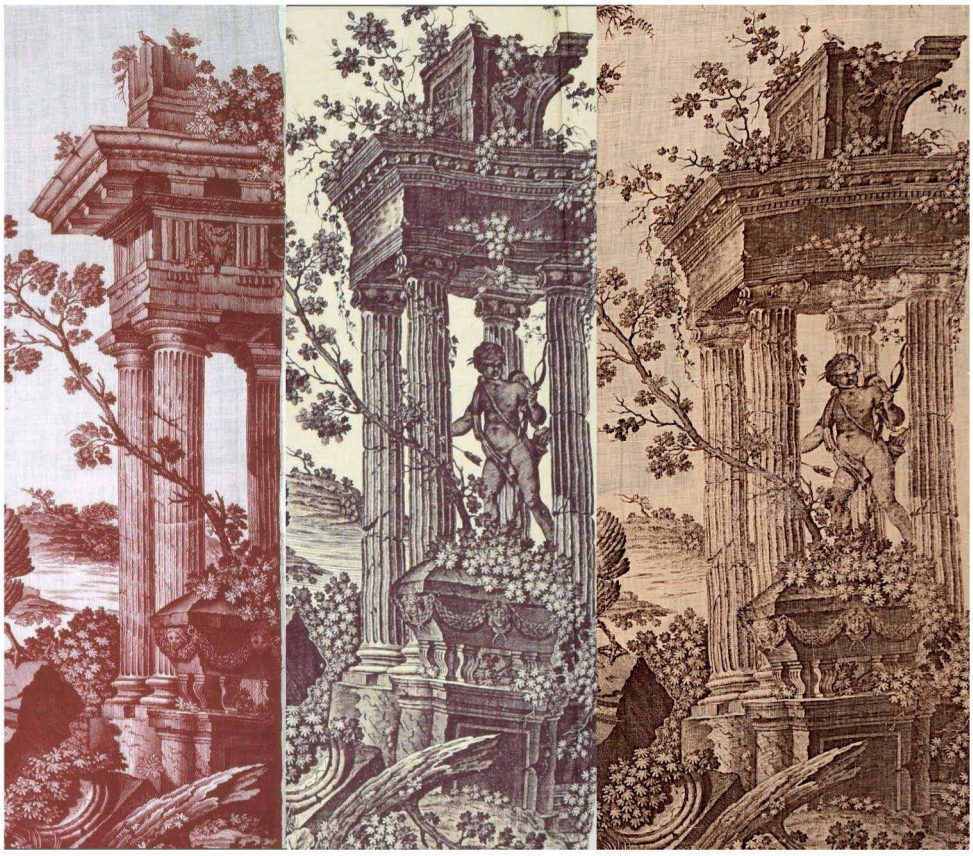

FIGURE 8. Comparisons of the number of columns to the right of the chickens and the presence or absence of a statue within them as represented in the peacock panel of version 1, the original, V&AM, 442-1897, © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London* (left); version 2, the mystery version, V&AM, T.411-1919, © *Victoria and Albert Museum, London* (center); and version 4, the "French copy," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1953-138,1 (right).

number T.411-1919 as "French?" and made between 1760 and 1769, while accession number T.173-1912 is described as English and made in 1760, but a close comparison of pictures of the two samples recognizes both as examples of the same design.[10] Both pieces have considerably more detailed design than the original version, including vines partially covering many of the ruins and clouds in the sky around the bird carrying off a chick. In addition, the hen's shadow under her right foot is shaped like her head with a very sharp beak, the hen's body casts a small sliver of a shadow on the broken piece of ruin below, and there is a statue

of Cupid and a column added to the partial ruin to the right of the scene (figs. 7, 3, and 8). Altogether the scene seems more decorative, romantic, and full of detail—much more in the French taste—than the spare, cleaner-lined, classically inspired original. Importantly, the design lacks the "RI & Co/Old Ford/1761" inscription on the masonry below the hen (fig. 3).

Version 2 could be an English or French version by an unknown printer or a second version by R. Jones & Company, possibly an attempt to appeal to a different portion of the buying public. The design is similar to the original design but modified to appeal to French tastes. Further, version 2 appears to have inspired most of the remaining French and other versions that followed, but subsequent designers simplified some of the rococo changes made in version 2. There are only two fragmentary surviving examples suggesting it was not as popular as the original or as subsequent versions.

Version 3: The Fragmentary Undated French Version

The Musée de la Toile de Jouy has in its collection a "chef de pièce," or manufacturer's trademark, that reads, "DE HARTMANN ET FILS ASSOCES DE MUNSTER HAUT RHIN," documenting that this version of Peacock among the Ruins was printed by Hartmann et Fils of Munster in Alsace (fig. 9).[11] Unfortunately, the object is a small fragment of the peacock panel and shows only a bird flying off with a chick, a few bits of vegetation, and part of the top of the pillar ruin from the right side of the panel. Overlaying an image of this piece on examples of the other versions from the nineteenth century indicates that this version was most similar to, but not an exact match to, version 2, the mystery version. Version 3 lacks much of the detailed cloud structure while displaying similar vegetation to that of version 2. Hopefully, larger additional examples of version 3 will be found in the future, allowing a more accurate description, dating, and comparison with the better documented examples described here.

FIGURE 9. Version 3, the fragmentary undated French version, a "chef de pièce," or manufacturer's trademark, that reads, "DE HARTMANN ET FILS ASSOCES DE MUNSTER HAUT RHIN." *Photo courtesy of the Musée de la Toile de Jouy, Inventory Number M T J 009.1.3.*

Version 4: The "French Copy"

Version 4 is fairly well represented in public collections and is likely the one often referred to as the "French copy" in the past (fig. 10). It appears to be quite similar to version 2 and lacks the "RI & Co/Old Ford/1761" inscription. Also, it is somewhat simplified and less detailed than version 2. It is very well engraved, although perhaps not quite as fine as the engraving in version 2. The lines crowding the background behind the chickens and peacock, many of the ripples in the duck pond, and the clouds in the sky around the bird carrying a chick found in version 2 are not present. The vegetation around the ruins in the background of the peacock panel is less lush and has fewer branches. The tree tilting to the left in front of the ruin containing the Cupid statue has fewer branches and leaves (fig. 8). Comparison of the column area from the right side of the peacock panel of the original, version 2, and version 4 illustrates the evolution from simplicity in the original, the substantial increases in detail and romanticism in version 2, and the lessening of the most rococo elements but retention of many additions and modifications seen in version 4.

Because no examples of the flute-player scene have been identified for version 2, it is impossible to differentiate version 4 from it based on that scene. There are, however, significant differences in version 4 from the

original design in the flute-player panel. Version 4 lacks the "R Iones/1761" inscription below and to the left of the flute player's foot. In the original R. Jones scene, the flute player has his right leg crossed with his ankle on his left knee. In version 4, the flute player's legs are crossed at the ankles (fig. 4). The dog in the R. Jones original appears emaciated and is standing with its body straight and facing to the right. The body of the dog in version 4 is facing left, although it has twisted its head back to the right as if to nip at its back leg, and its tail has a bushy end (fig. 5). The cow's horns on the R. Jones original are not aligned with the one on the cow's left pointing forward and the right pointing downward, and the cow's shoulder seems awkwardly drawn. In version 4, both of the cow's horns are pointed upward, its face has become longer and narrower, and its shoulder has been smoothed as compared to the original (fig. 6).

Prior to this research, this piece was likely the one called the "French copy" based on the style and lack of the inscriptions. However, French manufacturers did not start making copperplate prints on cotton until 1770 when textile printer Christophe-Philippe Oberkampf introduced copperplate printing on cotton to France.[12]

Oberkampf's factory, Manufacture Oberkampf, printed its first woodblock-printed piece in 1760.[13] Toile historian Starr Siegele reports, "In the 1770s, . . . Oberkampf . . . began making frequent reconnaissance trips to England, where he had some designs printed and where he collected examples of English prints from which to copy and learn. At Old Ford, he succeeded in hiring a principal designer (a Swiss Protestant like himself) away from Robert Jones."[14] That designer was Peter Lemeunie, whom Oberkampf hired in 1774.[15] Using the information that Oberkampf hired one of Robert Jones's principal designers, studied pieces of Jones's textiles, and pioneered copperplate printing on cottons in France shortly after the popular original version of Peacock among the Ruins was printed, Siegele theorizes in a paper entitled "Old Ford Forgery" that Oberkampf pirated Jones's design and was the producer of a supposed French version.[16] There was a long history of French and English copying of each other's designs.[17]

FIGURE 10. Version 4, the "French copy" overview, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, museum purchase, 1953-138,1.

In contrast, Dr. Alexia Fontaine, curator of collections at the Musée de la Toile de Jouy, suggests a different interpretation of the information. Fontaine also cites the manuscript entitled *Mémorial de la manufacture de Jouy*, written by Gottlieb Widmer, Oberkampf's nephew, and held by the Musée de la Toile de Jouy.[18] She interprets the information as follows: "In . . . [the] 1770s, while Oberkampf was developing the copperplate printing in Jouy, he had it . . . printed . . . by Robert Jones. . . . These toll-manufactured toiles are not well known . . ."[19] In other words, Oberkampf commissioned R. Jones & Company to print a version of the original design to be sold in France by Oberkampf. There is no information as to whether a designer working for Jones or for Oberkampf was the source of the design used for the version if Fontaine's interpretation is correct.

Although Siegele's and Fontaine's explanations both cite the same facts from Widmer, Widmer's text does not specifically state either that Oberkampf printed a Peacock among the Ruins textile version or that he commissioned Jones to print a version of that specific piece. Neither Siegele nor Fontaine cite a definitive statement as to who printed the piece. Either explanation could be correct, or neither could apply to version 4. The printer of version 4, the "French copy," remains a mystery.

However, Fontaine's explanation appears the more likely of the two if it were applied to the creation of version 2, which also would likely have been aggregated into the "French copy" before this research due to its lack of inscription. It explains the date range (1760–1769) and the confusion as to printing location (French?) as stated in the V&AM description of their printed textile accession number T.411-1919. It also would support the 1760 date and English origin as stated in the V&AM description of their printed textile accession number T.173-1912. There are examples of version 4 in sepia at CWF (1953-138,1 and 1953-138,2) and Cooper Hewitt Museum (1957-180-104-b).

Version 5: The Mid-Nineteenth-Century Version

Little published information is available on the supposed mid-nineteenth-century copy. This version appears to be less well known than the supposed "French copy," based on differing countries and dates

assigned by museums. There are four examples of this version, two curtains owned by CWF (1951-390,1A and 1951-390,2), one piece at the Met (67.141), and one in the author's private collection.

Version 5 generally follows the romanticized appearance of versions 2 and 4. There is an inscription, "R Jones/1761," on the stone below the bucket beside the flute player, and the flute player's legs are crossed at the ankles like those shown in version 4 (fig. 4). There is also an inscription, "RJ & Co/Old Ford/1761," below the hen. The hen's shadow is somewhat well defined, but its beak is not as sharply pointed as on version 4 (fig. 3). The dog is similar to that shown in version 4 (fig. 5). The columns and statue are like those of version 4, although they are less detailed (fig. 8). The cow has an elongated face like that in version 4, but it is less well defined, and the cow's knee is not as knobby as in version 4 or the original (fig. 6). The engraving on these pieces is much less detailed than on the previous examples.

CWF describes their pieces as being from nineteenth-century England, while the Met describes theirs as circa 1800 and probably French. The piece from the author's private collection is fragmentary, showing only a portion of the peacock scene. The vendor who sold the piece described it as originating in mid-nineteenth-century France. The piece owned by the Met has no description of color, while the other three are printed in red on white.

There appears to be no documented information on the exact date or country of printing for this copy other than conflicting views by the museums that own the examples and vendors offering pieces for sale. More research needs to be done to clarify when, where, and by whom the piece was printed.

Version 6: The Late Nineteenth-Century Version

Version 6 is represented by one known example owned by CWF (2022-60[S]). It measures 112 by 55 inches and is composed of two pieces of unequal width, seamed and matched so that the pattern continues across the vertical seam line. The wider piece is about 37 inches wide. There is a 12-inch tear extending from the top of the piece down along the seam line. The piece is medium blue on a cream background. There

is a very small round shadow below the hen's right foot and a slight crescent shadow below the hen's belly (fig. 3). The flute player's legs are crossed at the ankles, and there is no inscription (fig. 4). The columns and statue are like those of version 3, although they are less detailed (fig. 8). The dog is like that shown in version 5, but the shadow lines on its back above its head are in the shape of a grid (fig. 5). The cow's face is short in proportion to its width. Its horns point upright and are longer in proportion to its head than on other examples (with the possible exception of version 7). Its leg is smooth rather than knobby (fig. 6). This piece was purchased from Wendy Lewis, doing business as the Textile Trunk; she listed this piece as medium-weight cotton printed in France and dating from the mid-1800s to 1900. The repeat length is 75¾ inches.

Version 7: The 1930s Version

Version 7 is represented by one example owned by CWF (2022-61[S]) and one example offered for sale on Etsy in 2021 (fig. 11).[20] The latter was listed as having been printed in the 1930s. Both pieces feature only a part of the flute-player scene. It is substantially modified and surrounded by other scenes unrelated to the original Peacock among the Ruins. Each scene is separated from the others by chains of flowers. This design shows the flute player sitting beside a bucket on a fairly substantial masonry wall. His right ankle is crossed on his left knee, but there is no inscription on the masonry below him (fig. 4). The spinster and a dog are shown to the left, while two sheep and a cow are to the right in the picture. The dog has become a rather well-fed golden retriever or spaniel-like animal lounging on the ground in contrast to the original's emaciated standing dog (fig. 5). The cow's horns tip upward. The cow also appears to be well-nourished, and it is lying in a comfortable position. This contrasts to the much more realistic Jones version that showed a cow with an awkward-looking front shoulder and with crooked horns, with one pointing downward and the other forward (fig. 6). The whole scene appears to represent an idyllic, almost cartoon, image of country life rather than depicting the greater realism of the original Peacock among the Ruins in keeping with the simplistic, cheerful style of most printed cotton fabrics in 1930s. The oval-shaped

FIGURE 11. Version 7, the 1930s version overview, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-61(S).

flute-player scene measures about 13½ inches high by about 15½ inches wide, and the piece was printed in both green-and-white and blue-and-white colorways.

Version 8: The 1953 Schumacher Reproduction

In 1953, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation licensed Schumacher & Company to reproduce the Peacock among the Ruins as a cotton furnishing fabric 41 inches wide with a 77-inch repeat.[21] It was copied after CWF's mid-nineteenth-century curtain panels (1951-390,1A and

1951-390,2). This copy was printed in five colorways: purple, blue, or charcoal on a white background, and raspberry red or charcoal on a cream background (fig. 12).

In creating version 8, Schumacher retained the general appearance of version 5, the mid-nineteenth-century version, but it did not look like it was made from an engraving. Most motifs were illustrated using blocks of color with widely spaced and broken "faux" engraved lines where shading was needed. Inscriptions are present on the masonry below the hen and on the masonry under the bucket beside the flute player (figs. 3 and 4). The columns and statue in the peacock panel resemble those shown for version 4 (fig. 8). The dog is similar to the dog in versions 4 and 5, although it is less well delineated (fig. 5). The cow's knee is smooth as shown in version 5 as opposed to the knobby knee of the cow in version 4 (fig. 6).

There are two examples of version 8 in the collection of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (object numbers 1969.3855 and 1969.3890) and one piece owned by CWF (2022-62[S]). The statements in the Winterthur's online collection for their two objects list a repeat length of 61 inches, due to the lack of the stag and hounds motif below the flute-player panel on object numbers 1969.3890 and 1969.3855. Other than the difference in repeat lengths, the Winterthur examples are clearly version 8. If their examples included the missing part of the design, the repeat length would have been reported as about 73 inches as in the CWF 2022-62(S) example.

Version 9: The Circa 1980s Schumacher Reproduction

Around 1980, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation licensed Schumacher & Company to reproduce a different copy of Peacock among the Ruins based on the original English version, rather than on the nineteenth-century French-style versions. Contacts to Schumacher & Company have failed to produce information regarding production of this print. CWF staff members suggest it was produced in more than

FIGURE 12. Version 8, the 1953 Schumacher reproduction overview, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, gift of Terry Tickhill Terrell, 2022-62(S).


ADJUST GAUGE
JOHNSON'S WILLIAMSBURG "JONES TOILE"

one colorway. The copy is 40 inches wide and has a repeat length of 77 inches. CWF "commissioned a special order of the purple for the Palace refurnishing project" on December 22, 1980.[22] Version 9 displays both inscriptions in the same forms and in the same locations as the original.[23] CWF provided a picture of version 9 used as bed dressings from the Governor's Palace (fig. 13). The photo clearly shows the cow's horns to be in the same orientation as the R. Jones original (fig. 6). Additional CWF photos of the bed curtains from the Governor's Palace show the dog-facing-right motif and the flute player with his right ankle on his left knee, also in the same orientation as the original (figs. 4 and 5). The hen and the inscription on the masonry below her in the additional CWF photos reveal that it is based on the original. Version 9 is not as finely detailed as the original because the printing methods available during the 1980s could not reproduce the detail and precision of copperplate printing in the 1760s.

Images of CWF's bed dressing pieces, including a tourist picture from a private website, were the only examples of version 9 examined during this study.[24] An exhaustive search of the Internet and questions to curators and textile professionals did not reveal any other version 9 examples.

Version 10: The Casadeco Version

In 2021, the French company Casadeco offered both textile and wallpaper versions of the Peacock among the Ruins. The textile version was available on an 80 percent cotton, 20 percent polyester fabric in pale blue print on a white background (product name Tissu Paon) and on a 50 percent cotton, 28 percent polyester, 22 percent linen fabric in three colorways: black, blue, or red on a white background (product name Tissu Paon Lin). Instead of being printed conventionally with the vertical axis of the scenes printed lengthwise of the fabric, in this version the scenes are oriented with the vertical axis of the scene printed horizontally. The top

FIGURE 13. Version 9, the 1980s Schumacher reproduction as used to drape a bed in Colonial Williamsburg Governor's Palace circa 1980. *Photo courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

of the scene is toward the left selvage and the bottom toward the right selvage. There are four columns and a partial fifth column from selvage to selvage. The column closest to the right selvage, third closest to the right selvage, and the fifth partial column from the right selvage are composed of repeats (or partial repeats) of the peacock scene. The second column and the fourth column from the right selvage are composed of repeats of the flute-player scene (fig. 14). The scene of hounds harrying a stag is missing. The useful width is 110 inches. The horizontal repeat is 25 inches, and the vertical repeat is 50 inches when both scenes are present and oriented vertically. The smaller size and the alternating row distribution of the scenes on the Casadeco textiles make them easy to differentiate from earlier versions. The price in 2021 was 57,10 ($57.10 on 11/4/2022) euros per meter of the fabric containing linen and 51,90 euros ($51.90 on 11/4/2022) per meter of the 80 percent cotton, 20 percent polyester fabric.[25] The design appears similar to version 4 or later 1800s versions, but shading of the images is less detailed and the images are less crisp.

COMPARISONS

Prior to this research, there were five generally recognized versions of Peacock among the Ruins: the original, the "French copy," the 1800s or mid-1800s copy, the 1953 Schumacher copy, and the circa 1980 Schumacher copy. The commonly recommended characteristic for telling the difference among the versions was the presence or absence of the inscriptions. With the delineation of ten different versions in this research, one characteristic is inadequate to differentiate them. Examining a few key motifs of the images on the various versions of the Peacock among the Ruins simplifies distinguishing the newly enumerated versions. Two of the key motifs on the peacock panel are the shape of the hen's shadow and the inscription or its absence on the masonry below it (fig. 3). The third and fourth key motifs are the number of columns on the right side of the panel and the presence or absence of a statue among them (fig. 8). For the flute-player panel, the key motifs include the appearance of the dog, the position of the cow's horns, the flute player's leg position, and the position and/or presence of an inscription near his legs (figs. 4, 5, and 6).

FIGURE 14. Version 10, the Casadeco version, from the author's collection showing a full width of fabric with unprinted selvages to the left and right in image A. Image B shows the first and second columns above the right unprinted selvage. Image C shows the Casadeco maker's mark on the right selvage.

Some of the versions lack a key motif or even an entire panel. In such cases, the figures showing comparisons among the different versions lack example photos for the missing motifs (figs. 3, 4, 5, and 6). Version 10, the Casadeco version, has been omitted from the illustrations because its much smaller size and the orientation of the motifs make it so different as to be immediately recognizable. However, version 7, while completely lacking the peacock panel and significantly smaller than most of the other versions, has been included in the images to show the evolution of the stylistic differences from the original.

Appendix B summarizes the most significant differences in various key motifs. Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 allow pictorial comparisons of

some of those key differences where pictures of them are available. This research focuses on several of the more easily identified key differences among the original and subsequent variations to create more opportunities to identify some of the fragmentary pieces. However, this is not an exhaustive list. There remain a substantial number of small unspecified differences among the original and the subsequent versions. After the original, most versions were more detailed and romantic—more in keeping with French style preferences. Only the 1980 Schumacher reproduction attempted to replicate the clean lines and simplicity of the original.

The appearance of engraving has evolved from the original's exceptionally fine engraving to later versions in which engraving or the facsimile of it in the images became progressively less detailed as printing methods changed. By the 1953 Schumacher version, most areas originally shaded by many extremely close lines of engraving had become solid, or nearly solid, patches of color.

Changes to subsequent variations from plate printing to more modern forms of printing, as well as less detailed, more stylized, and ultimately more cartoon-like designs, following popular tastes and reducing manufacturing costs, have done a great deal to change the overall impact of the design. Undoubtedly unknown versions of the Peacock among the Ruins remain to be found, and new versions will be made in the future. It is a tribute to the outstanding vision of the original textile designer that his or her design has remained recognizable and popular for more than 260 years.

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ries regarding the Gottlieb Widmer *Mémorial de la manufacture de Jouy* manuscript held by the Musée de la Toile de Jouy and helped me obtain a picture of the Hartmann et Fils *chef de pièce*. Kim Ivey, of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, answered questions, allowed me to examine examples in the CWF collection, and gave permission to use pictures of those pieces. Liza Gusler of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and Natalie Larson, owner of Historic Textile Reproduction, provided helpful information regarding the circa 1980 Schumacher reproduction of Peacock among the Ruins. The Victoria and Albert Museum allowed use of their pictures.

APPENDIX A: LIST AND DESCRIPTIONS OF TEXTILES EXAMINED

Holding Institution	Description of Object	Object Number	Textile Content	Colorway	Country of Origin	Date Attributed	Size (in inches)	Version Determined
Victoria and Albert Museum	Furnishing fabric	442-1897 (This is the original against which all other pieces were evaluated.)	Cotton	Red on white background	England	1761 (made)	Repeat 79.9" × 34"	V.1, original
Victoria and Albert Museum	Furnishing fabric	Circ. 359A-1955 (A through I)	Cotton	Sepia on light background	England	1761 (made)	No information	V.1, original
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	Cushion cover for easy chair	1963-36,10	Cotton/ Linen	Red on white background	England	Dated 1761	Top measures 22" × 32"	V.1, original
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	Slipcover, Jones copperplate print	1963-36,12	Cotton/ Linen	Red on white background	England	Dated 1761	26" × 38"	V.1, original
Cooper Hewitt Museum	Textile, England	1947-17-12-a through 1947-17-12-d	Cotton	Red on white background	Old Ford London, England	1761	No information	V.1, original
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	Length of furnishing fabric	60.177	Cotton	Red on white background	Old Ford London, England	1761	35 1/16" × 78 9/16 "	V.1, original
Art Institute of Chicago	Panel (furnishing fabric)	1958.2	Linen and cotton	?	Middlesex, England	1761	83⅛" × 52¾"	V.1, original
Metropolitan Museum of Art	Printed cotton	24.200	Cotton	Sepia on light background	Old Ford, London, England	1761	110½" × 82"	V.1, original
Victoria and Albert Museum	Furnishing fabric	T.173-1912	Cotton	Sepia on light background	England	1760 (made)	No information	V.2, mystery version
Victoria and Albert Museum	Furnishing fabric	T. 411-1919	Cotton	Purple(?) on white background	French(?)	1760–1769 (made)	No information	V.2, mystery version

Holding Institution	Description of Object	Object Number	Textile Content	Colorway	Country of Origin	Date Attributed	Size (in inches)	Version Determined
Musée de la Toile de Jouy	*Chef de pièce*	M T J 009.1.3	Cotton	Red on white background	French	No information	No information	V.3, fragmentary undated French version
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	Copperplate print	1953-138,1 and 1953-138,2	Cotton	Sepia on light background	France	Circa 1761	40⅞" × 108"; 40⅞" × 20"	V.4, "French copy"
Cooper Hewitt Museum	Textile, Old Ford	1957-180-104-b	Cotton	Sepia on light background	Reported as Old Ford, England	Mid- to late eighteenth century	No information	V.4, "French copy"
Offered by Eurodecor on eBay 4/20/2020	Antique toile de Jouy quilted fabric	Oberkampf Late 1700s Urn, Peacock Motifs	No information	Purple on white background	"Oberkampf Toile de Jouy" (France)	Circa 1750	35" × 25"	V.4, "French copy"
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	Curtains	1951-390,1A and 1951-390,2	Cotton	Red on white background	England	Nineteenth century	38 ¼" × 109 ½"; 104" × 37"	V.5, mid-nineteenth-century version
Private collection	Peacock and hen copperplate print fragment		"Linen"	Red on white background	French toile de Jouy	Mid-nineteenth century	19" × 21"	V.5, mid-nineteenth-century version
Metropolitan Museum of Art	Panel	67.141	Cotton	No information	Probably France	Circa 1800	142" × 55"	V.5, mid-nineteenth-century version
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	Mid- to late 1800s; copy of "French copy"	2022-60(S)	Cotton	Blue on white background	French?	Mid- to late nineteenth century	55" × 112"	V.6, late nineteenth-century version

Holding Institution	Description of Object	Object Number	Textile Content	Colorway	Country of Origin	Date Attributed	Size (in inches)	Version Determined
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	1930s version	2022-61(S)	Cotton	Blue on white background	United States?	Circa 1930	15" × 13⅜"	V.7, 1930s version
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	1953 Schumacher reproduction of Colonial Williamsburg panel	2022-62(S)	Cotton	Red on white background	United States	1953	73" × 36" on 41" wide fabric repeat 73"	V.8, 1953 Schumacher reproduction
Winterthur Museum	Textile, printed, reproduction	1969.3855	Cotton	Red on white background	United States	1969–2000	37" × 75½"; vertical repeat 61"	V.8, 1953 Schumacher reproduction
Winterthur Museum	Textile, printed, reproduction	1969.3890	Cotton	Red on white background	United States	1969–2000	38" × 62"; vertical repeat 61"	V.8, 1953 Schumacher reproduction
Colonial Williamsburg Foundation	Bed dressings from the Governor's Palace circa 1980		Cotton	Purple on white background	United States	Circa 1980	Repeat 40" × 77"	V.9, circa 1980 Schumacher reproduction

Holding Institution	Description of Object	Object Number	Textile Content	Colorway	Country of Origin	Date Attributed	Size (in inches)	Version Determined
Offered by Casadeco 2021	Tissu paon lin, Collection Fontainebleau		50% cotton, 28% polyester, 22% linen	Black, red, or medium blue on white background	France	Offered by Casadeco in 2021	Repeat 25.2" × 50.4"; useful width 110"	V.10, the Casadeco version
Offered by Casadeco 2021	Tissu paon, Collection Fontainebleau		80% cotton, 20% polyester	Pale blue on white background	France	Offered by Casadeco in 2021	Repeat 25.2" × 50.4"; useful width 110"	V.10, the Casadeco version

APPENDIX B: KEY MOTIF CHARACTERISTICS BY VERSION OF THE PEACOCK AMONG THE RUINS TEXTILES

Version	Repeat Length	Hen's Shadow and Inscription	Flute Player's Leg Position and Inscription	Dog	Cow
V.1, original	79.9"	There is a small bi-lobed, blob-like shadow below the hen's right foot. Inscription reads, "RI & Co/Old Ford/ 1761."	Flute player's right leg is over left knee with foot near knee. Inscription is below and to the left of the flute player's foot and below the spinster's drop spindle. It reads, "R Iones/1761."	The dog appears emaciated and is standing with its body straight, facing to the right. Its tail is not shown.	The cow's horns are not aligned, with the one on the cow's left pointing forward and the right pointing downward. Its shoulder seems awkwardly drawn. Knobby knee. Head wide and nose relatively short.
V.2, mystery version	No information; the pieces are fragmentary.	The hen's shadow is a hen-shaped head with pointed beak; below hen's right foot and adjacent to the right is a narrow, semi-lunate shadow. No inscription.	No flute-player panel currently known for this version.	No information; the fragments do not include the dog.	No information; the fragments do not include the cow.
V.3, fragmentary undated French version	No information currently available.	No information currently available.	No information currently available.	No information currently available.	No information currently available.
V.4, "French copy"	76⅜"	The hen's shadow is a hen-shaped head with pointed beak; below hen's right foot and adjacent to the right is a narrow, semi-lunate shadow. No inscription.	Flute player's legs are both hanging downward and crossed at the ankles. No inscription.	The dog's body is facing left, although its head is twisted back to the right as if to nip at its back leg. Its tail has a bushy end.	The cow's horns point upward. Its shoulder appears smoother. Knobby knee. Head longer and narrower than in the original.
V.5, mid-nineteenth-century version	76¼"	The hen's shadow is a somewhat indistinct hen-shaped head with short, rounded beak; below hen's right foot and adjacent to the right is a narrow semi-lunate shadow. Inscription reads, "R.J & Co/Old Ford/1761."	Flute player's legs are both hanging downward and crossed at the ankles. The inscription is on the masonry below the bucket to the right of the flute player and reads, "R. Jones/1761."	The dog's body is facing left, although its head is twisted back to the right as if to nip at its back leg. Its tail has a bushy end.	The cow's horns point upward. Its shoulder appears smoother. Smooth knee. Head long and narrow.

Version	Repeat Length	Hen's Shadow and Inscription	Flute-Player's Leg Position and Inscription	Dog	Cow
V.6, late nineteenth-century version	75¾"	The hen's shadow is an approximately half-circle shadow; below the hen's right foot and adjacent to the right is a narrow semi-lunate shadow. No inscription.	Flute player's legs are both hanging downward and crossed at the ankles. No inscription.	The dog's body is facing left, although its head is twisted back to the right as if to nip at its back leg. Its tail has a bushy end.	The cow's horns point upward. Horns appear longer and face shorter than in previous versions. Its shoulder appears smoother. Smooth knee.
V.7, 1930s version	Not applicable	This version has no peacock-panel motifs.	Flute player's right leg is over left knee with foot near knee. No inscription.	The dog is lying down with its body facing right and its head turned back to the left. It looks much better nourished than in other versions and may be a golden retriever or spaniel.	The cow's horns point upward. The cow is lying down with front legs tucked under it. Its face is relatively short.
V.8, 1953 Schumacher reproduction	77"	The hen's shadow is a somewhat indistinct hen-shaped head with short, rounded beak; below hen's right foot and adjacent to the right is a narrow, semi-lunate shadow. Inscription reads, "RJ & Co/Old Ford/1761."	Flute player's legs are both hanging downward and crossed at the ankles. The inscription is on the masonry below the bucket to the right of the flute player and reads, "R Jones/1761."	The dog's body is facing left, though its head is twisted back to the right as if to nip at its back leg. Its tail has a bushy end.	The cow's horns point upward. Its shoulder appears smoother. Smooth knee. Head long and narrow.
V.9, circa 1980 Schumacher reproduction	78"	There is a small bi-lobed, blob-like shadow below the hen's right foot. Inscription reads, "RI & Co/Old Ford/1761."	Flute player's right leg is over left knee with foot near knee. Inscription is below and to the left of the flute player's foot and below the spinster's drop spindle. It reads, "R Iones/1761."	The dog appears emaciated and is standing with its body straight, facing to the right. Its tail is not shown.	The cow's horns are not aligned, with the one on the cow's left pointing forward and the right pointing downward. Its shoulder seems awkwardly drawn. Knobby knee. Wide head and relatively short nose.
V.10, twenty-first-century Casadeco version	50.4"	The hen's shadow is a somewhat indistinct hen-shaped head with short, rounded beak below hen's right foot and adjacent to the right is a narrow semi-lunate shadow. No inscription.	Flute player's legs are both hanging downward and crossed at the ankles. No inscription.	The dog's body is facing left, although its head is twisted back to the right as if to nip at its back leg. Its tail has a bushy end.	The cow's horns point upward. Its shoulder appears smoother. Smooth knee.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1]Timorous Beasties (aka Alistair McAuley and Paul Simmons), "Textile," *Jaguar Magazine*, no. 8 (2020): 14.

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[3]Mildred Davison, "Printed Cotton Textiles," *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (December 1, 1958): 84.

[4]For example, see a copperplate-printed textile from the National Museum, Ireland, shown in Plates I and II with a mark "Robinson, Balls Bridge." Ada K. Longfield, "Printed Cotton from Robinson's of Ballbridge," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 76, no. 1 (April 1946), Plate II: facing pp. 14 and 15.

[5]Victoria and Albert Museum, Peter Floud (compiler), *English Printed Textiles 1720–1836* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1960), 9.

[6]"Furnishing Fabric by Robert Jones & Co," Victoria and Albert Museum, December 15, 1999, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O17855/furnishing-fabric-robert-jones, accessed February 18, 2022.

[7]The gifted pieces are listed in Appendix A as Colonial Williamsburg object numbers 2022-60(S), 2022-61(S), and 2022-62(S).

[8]GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP) 2.10.32.

[9]"Furnishing Fabric by Robert Jones & Co," Victoria and Albert Museum.

[10]"Furnishing Fabric," Victoria and Albert Museum, June 24, 2009, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O259322/furnishing-fabric, accessed November 19, 2021; "Furnishing Fabric," Victoria and Albert Museum, June 24, 2009, https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O259516/furnishing-fabric, accessed November 19, 2021.

[11]Musée de la Toile de Jouy, inventory number: M T J 009.1.3. The precursor company that would become Hartmann et Fils was founded in 1776 according to Mary Schoeser and Kathleen Dejardin, *French Textiles from 1760 to the Present* (London: Laurence King Ltd., 1991), 128.

[12]"French Toile Fabric: What It Is and Where to Get It," Dream Home Decorating.com, www.dreamhomedecorating.com/french-toile-fabric.html, accessed April 25, 2021; Gillian Moss, *Printed Textiles 1760–1860*, in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1987), 23.

[13]Davidson, "Printed Cotton Textiles," 84.

[14]Gottlieb Widmer, *Mémorial de la manufacture de Jouy*, Copie conservée à la bibliothèque du musée de la Toile de Jouy, Jouy-en-Josas, as summarized by and cited in Starr Siegele, "Old Ford Forgery," *Rotunda* 34, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 20, 75.

[15]Siegele, "Old Ford Forgery," 4.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Philip Anthony Sykas, *Material Evidence: Nineteenth Century Calico Printers' Pattern Books* (Manchester, England: Manchester Metropolitan University, 2000), 256, 269.

[18]Widmer, *Mémorial*, page number(s) not provided. Because the manuscript was given to the museum under the condition it be used only by museum staff or for on-site examination, the exact wording is impossible to evaluate. "The Amazing Tale of Christophe Philippe Oberkampf," Toile de Jouy International Foundation, 2017, https://www.tdjifoundation.org/christophe-oberkampf, accessed November 22, 2021.

[19]Alexia Fontaine, email correspondence with the author, June 4, 2021.

[20]"French antique TOLE de JOUY cotton Fabric Pastoral romantic Green 19" × 35" remnant from France," offered by InMyFrenchHome, Etsy, https://www.etsy.com/listing/1099015770/french-antique-tole-de-jouy-cotton?ref=user_profile&frs=1, accessed November 25, 2021.

[21]Palmer, *Toile*, 15.

[22]Kim Ivey, email correspondence with the author, April 1, 2022; Liza Gusler, email correspondence with the author, March 8, 2022.

[23]Natalie Larson, owner of Historic Textile Reproduction, personal communication with the author, December 16, 2021. She provided information from the Colonial Williamsburg's 1982 Craft House Journal and her responsibility for Colonial Williamsburg's Governor's Palace bedroom decorations during the period.

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Kathy earned her BBA from Grand Valley State University in Marketing and had an extensive sales management career with Kraft Foods, Georgia Pacific, and Kimberly Clark for more than thirty years. Later, together with her husband, she became co-innkeeper of a historic inn in Southern Vermont and co-owner of Grafton Village Quilts, a retail shop for antique quilts and textiles. Today, Kathy operates Kathy Cray Quilts independently giving quilt lectures and workshops, curating exhibits, and selling antique quilts.

Lenna DeMarco, a former professional dancer and choreographer, retired after thirty-five years as a professor of dance. She currently spends her time researching and writing about quilt history as well as presenting lectures, workshops and trunk shows. Additionally, she is busy as a quilt restorer. She is a past president of the American Quilt

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Joanna E. Evans holds a BA in biology and education and an MEd, both from Smith College in Massachusetts. She is a freelance writer and editor and First Lady of Peru State College in Nebraska. She has written and edited quilt books, patterns, articles for *Blanket Statements*, and previously served as editor of *Uncoverings* in 2006, 2007, 2020, 2021, and 2022. Evans has been a member of the American Quilt Study Group since 1995 and is a founding member of the Midwest Fabric Study Group and a member of the New England Quilt Study Group and the Heritage Needlework Guild of Nebraska City.

Marsha MacDowell, PhD, is Professor and Curator of Quilt Studies and Folk Arts, Michigan State University Museum and Department of Art, Art History and Design; Director, Michigan Traditional Arts Program; and Director, The Quilt Index (www.quiltindex.org). Her work, as a publicly engaged scholar, is grounded in an interdisciplinary approach to material culture and is informed primarily by art historical, folkloristic, and ethnographic theories and methodologies. The majority of her work has, by design and philosophy, been developed and implemented in collaboration with representatives of the communities affiliated with the foci of projects. Over many years, her work has been largely focused on documentation and analysis of the production, meaning, and use of traditional material culture (particularly quiltmaking and especially that of Hmong American, African American, Native American, South African, and Southwest Chinese

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Marsha Music is a self-described "primordial Detroiter" and a "Detroitist." She became an activist in her early teens in the social tumult of the late sixties and was a founding member of the iconic League of Revolutionary Black Workers. She was later a labor union president—the first Black, first woman, and youngest person in her local union's history. After years in Lafayette Park—designated a National Historic Landmark—she now lives in the historic Palmer Park district. In addition to her writing, she pursues a life of fiber arts, cultural activism, and style. She writes about music and Detroit on her website and Facebook page, both eponymously named Marsha Music, and in 2019 she published her inaugural book, *The Detroitist*.

Berkley Sorrells graduated with a bachelor's degree in arts & humanities and history from Michigan State University in 2022. She has worked in collections, education, and programming at the MSU Museum, the first Smithsonian affiliate institution in the state of Michigan. She currently lives in Detroit, Michigan, with her partner.

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Katy Williams-O'Donnell is a recent graduate from the University of Rhode Island where she earned her MS in textiles, merchandising, and design, specializing in textile conservation. Her thesis, titled *The 1697 Project: Unraveling a Mystery Surrounding a Set of Patchwork Blocks*, was funded by a grant through the URI Center for Humanities and received URI's Outstanding Master's Thesis Research Award for 2022. Additionally, she holds a BA in anthropology from Mount Holyoke College and an MA in anthropology from the University of Oklahoma, in which she focused on Native American studies, material culture analysis, and museum studies. It was while pursuing her first graduate degree that she realized her passion for quilting and decided to marry her love of textiles with museum work.

Katy is the proprietor of KWO Textile Conservation in Rhode Island and has worked as an independent conservator for various museums, including the Newport Historical Society, the Audrain Automotive Museum, and the Historic Pensacola Trust.

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IN APPRECIATION

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