

## **Distribution Agreement**

In presenting this dissertation as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree from Emory University, I hereby grant to Emory University and its agents the non-exclusive license to archive, make accessible, and display my dissertation in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known, including display on the world wide web. I understand that I may select some access restrictions as part of the online submission of this dissertation. I retain all ownership rights to the copyright of the dissertation. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of this dissertation.

Signature:

Lynn C. Tinley

July 18, 2012



Learning and Godliness Cultivated Together:  
Early Eighteenth-Century Samplers from Boston, Philadelphia,  
and the South Carolina Low Country

By

Lynn C. Tinley  
Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts

---

Cristine M. Levenduski  
Advisor

---

Jonathan Prude  
Committee Member

---

Catherine Nickerson  
Committee Member

Accepted:

---

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.  
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

---

Date

Learning and Godliness Cultivated Together:  
Early Eighteenth-Century Samplers from Boston, Philadelphia,  
and the South Carolina Low Country

By

Lynn C. Tinley  
B.S., Indiana University, 1979

Advisor: Cristine M. Levenduski

An abstract of  
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the  
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts  
2012

## Abstract

### Learning and Godliness Cultivated Together: Early Eighteenth-Century Samplers from Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina Low Country

By Lynn C. Tinley

This dissertation explores influence and meaning in early eighteenth-century samplers worked in Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina Low Country. Particular emphasis is placed on the impact of each region's foundational religion on the design and content of the samplers, which were worked by elite girls under the tutelage of women in a schoolroom setting. The overall pattern uncovered in the samplers on a regional basis supports a strong connection between denominational influence and sampler design. The ultimate conclusion is that female education, as evidenced by samplers, maintained a strong relationship with Puritanism in Boston, Quakerism in Philadelphia, and, to a lesser degree, Anglicanism in the South Carolina Low Country.

The design and content of 69 samplers were thoroughly studied for this dissertation. In addition to the actual samplers, the colonial history of each region and the social and religious affiliations of the sampler makers' families were also incorporated into the analysis. The samplers reveal several layers of influence and meaning: as an educational tool they demonstrate religious, social, and technical training; as a religious exemplar they signify the piety of the stitcher and teacher, and the religious heritage of the region; as an object of display they provide evidence of elite status. As a part of the formal process of colonial female education, the samplers functioned as a training mechanism for passing on particular attributes valued as educationally pertinent, denominationally important, and culturally acceptable.

Despite vast surveys and research on American schoolgirl samplers, little work has been done on the potential for denominational-specific religious influence on these important educational tools. The religious nature of samplers has heretofore been described in only the most general terms and not with reference to specific elements (such as design motifs and stitched verses) or regional characteristics of samplers. I show how overall patterns, both visually within the samplers and in terms of non-visual considerations such as who worked the samplers and the demographics of the area in which they were worked, exemplify female education as preparation for respectable, virtuous, and practical adult womanhood.

Learning and Godliness Cultivated Together:  
Early Eighteenth-Century Samplers from Boston, Philadelphia,  
and the South Carolina Low Country

By

Lynn C. Tinley  
B.S., Indiana University, 1979

Advisor: Cristine M. Levenduski, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the  
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in  
Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts  
2012

## Table of Contents

Chapter One: General Introduction	1
Chapter Two: The First Marriage That Ever Was: Salvation and Original Sin in Boston Samplers	28
The Samplers	31
Early Boston Demographics	42
Puritan Theology	47
Colonial Boston Schools	51
Adam and Eve Samplers	54
Non-Adam and Eve Samplers	87
Conclusion	97
Chapter Three: Nurturing the Inner Light: Quaker Influence in Early Philadelphia Samplers	102
The Samplers	106
Quakerism	122
The Friendly City	128
Education in Philadelphia	133
Quaker Female Education	136
Eighteenth-Century Quakerism	140
Building a Hedge Around the Children	143
Plainness and Sampler Design	145
Education Which Nurtures the Inner Light	147
Non-Marsh School Samplers	154
Conclusion	159
Chapter Four: See How the Lilies Flourish White and Fair: Samplers from the South Carolina Low Country	160
The Samplers	167
Early Low Country Education	182
Low Country Colonial Culture	191
Anglicanism in Samplers	201
Conclusion	204
Epilogue	209
Appendices	

Appendix A: Boston Family Characteristics, Adam and Eve Group	223
Appendix B: Boston Family Characteristics, Non-Adam and Eve Group	225
Appendix C: Boston Sampler Common Elements, Adam and Eve Group	229
Appendix D: Boston Sampler Common Elements, Non-Adam and Eve Group	235
Appendix E: Detail of Boston Common Design Elements	240
Appendix F: Boston Community and Church Affiliations, Adam and Eve Group	241
Appendix G: Boston Community and Church Affiliations, Non-Adam and Eve Group	243
Appendix H: Boston Church Ministers	245
Appendix I: Philadelphia Samplers and Family Characteristics	246
Appendix J: Philadelphia Family Affiliations	250
Appendix K: Marsh School Common Design Elements	251
Appendix L: Detail of Marsh School Common Design Elements	252
Appendix M: Marsh School Verse Summary	253
Appendix N: Early Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics	260
Appendix O: Later Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics	263
Appendix P: Low Country Sampler Summary	266
Appendix Q: Charleston Schoolmistresses	267
Appendix R: Sampler Verse Summary	272

#### List of Figures (Samplers)

Figure One: Mehetable Done	289
Figure Two: AP	290
Figure Three: Martha Butler	291
Figure Four: Ann Peartree	292
Figure Five: Lydia Hart, 1744	293
Figure Six: Rebecca Owen	294
Figure Seven: Ruth Rogers	295
Figure Eight: Mariah Deavenport	296
Figure Nine: Mary Parker	297
Figure Ten: Margaret Mansfield	298
Figure Eleven: Mary Dowrick	299
Figure Twelve: Mary Emmons	300
Figure Thirteen: Lydia Hutchinson	301
Figure Fourteen: Lydia Hart, 1731	302
Figure Fifteen: Lydia Dickman	303

Figure Sixteen: Elizabeth Holland	304
Figure Seventeen: Sarah Hill	305
Figure Eighteen: Hephsebah Baker	306
Figure Nineteen: Lucretia Keyes	307
Figure Twenty: Margaret Palfrey	308
Figure Twenty-one: Ann Wing	309
Figure Twenty-two: Lydia Kneeland	310
Figure Twenty-three: Martha Decoster	311
Figure Twenty-four: Hannah Storer	312
Figure Twenty-five: Sarah Lowell	313
Figure Twenty-six: Hannah Trecothick	314
Figure Twenty-seven: Ruth Biles	315
Figure Twenty-eight: Sarah Logan	316
Figure Twenty-nine: Ann Robins	317
Figure Thirty: Sarah Howell	318
Figure Thirty-one: Margaret Sandiford	319
Figure Thirty-two: Elizabeth Rush	320
Figure Thirty-three: Hannah Trotter	321
Figure Thirty-four: Prudence Dunbar	322
Figure Thirty-five: Mary Keasby	323
Figure Thirty-six: Rebecca Jones	324
Figure Thirty-seven: Elizabeth Gibbes	325
Figure Thirty-eight: Elizabeth Hext	326
Figure Thirty-nine: Martha Motte	327
Figure Forty: Ann Wragg	328
Figure Forty-one: Ann Clark	329
Figure Forty-two: Dorothy Waring	330
Credit Page	331
Glossary	333
Bibliography	335

## Chapter One General Introduction

Twelve year old Martha Butler finished her sampler, which included a prominently-placed embroidered image of Adam and Eve, in 1729 in Boston. In the same year South Carolinian Elizabeth Gibbes finished her sampler; two years earlier Philadelphian Ann Marsh had finished her sampler. Neither Elizabeth's nor Ann's samplers included an image of Adam and Eve. In fact, the three samplers look very different from each other, even though they stemmed from the same English precedent and were all worked in the same basic environment: a school for girls. Samplers had been worked by girls in a schoolroom setting since the sixteenth century in England. The tradition of including samplers and other forms of needlework as a component of the female curriculum migrated to America along with the migration of the first British settlers in the seventeenth century. The samplers which are the focus of this study were worked by girls in British colonial Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina low country in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Simply put, samplers are designs stitched on linen. The mention of this type of embroidery most often evokes the endearing image of a little girl, linen in hand, carefully stitching at the feet of her attentive mother, who was teaching her daughter how to embroider through the careful execution of the letters of the alphabet in silk thread. The embroideries researched in this study, however, represent work done under the tutelage of a schoolmistress in a school setting. Indeed, alphabets and numbers were commonly worked on virtually all types of samplers, representing their enduring association with



rudimentary literacy. Samplers also frequently included verses extracted from contemporary literature, representing supplementary literacy training. Further, the great majority of samplers included decorative elements in the form of pictorial images and design bands which were embroidered in different stitches, leading to the conclusion that the primary function of decorative elements on samplers was that they served as embroidery lessons.

This study considers samplers beyond the scope of their usefulness as instruments of rudimentary education and embroidery tutorials. I utilize the samplers to explore ways in which they were reflective of the communities in which they were worked, specifically how denominationally-specific religion influenced their design and content. Further, I show how overall patterns, both visually within the samplers and in terms of non-visual considerations such as who worked the samplers and the demographics of the area in which they were worked, exemplify female education as preparation for respectable, virtuous, and practical adult womanhood. I focus on the three major colonial centers of Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina low country in the early eighteenth-century. Samplers from each region are characterized by distinct designs, including motifs and verses. The content of the samplers demonstrated different educational focuses, influenced by different denominational religions and cultural norms. Schoolgirl samplers worked in Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina low country represented more than the mere transference of embroidery skill and the ability to read and count; they were material objects which embodied the influence of religion. Additionally, but to a

lesser degree, they also reflected how the role of adult women could differ between the regions.

The religious nature of samplers has heretofore been described in only the most general terms and not with reference to specific elements or regional characteristics of samplers. For example, in her landmark study of American embroidery, Betty Ring described the various inscriptions found on seventeenth and eighteenth-century samplers as simply “moral.” Others have added little in terms of a constructive description by noting that verses reflected female piety and generally-prescribed moral character.<sup>1</sup> With respect to religiously significant imagery such as Adam and Eve, Ring considered the motif as relevant to categorizing samplers by school but made no attempt to demonstrate a possible rationale for including the imagery on the samplers.<sup>2</sup> No work has previously addressed specific religious significance of either sampler motifs or verses. I show, however, how the otherwise decorative motifs and pious verses of samplers were relevant to and representative of the religious dynamic of the communities in which the samplers were worked. The roles of wife and mother were consistently viewed as the positions girls would assume as they matured into adulthood; religion and piety were central to female nature and conduct for proper assumption of those roles. Beyond the practical religious inculcation of female education, the Philadelphia and Carolina low country samplers suggest an education which prepared girls to function beyond the traditional domestic sphere. In total, the content of samplers (their otherwise aesthetic conceit)

---

<sup>1</sup>Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 36-43.

represented a deliberate choice on the part of each schoolmistress and/or sampler maker which reflected specific regional religious and cultural influences.<sup>3</sup>

The largest collection of samplers for this study were worked in Boston between 1719 and 1754, they have been divided into two groups, those with Adam and Eve imagery and those without. The overarching theme of sampler imagery and verse inscriptions for Boston samplers was Christian salvation, more specifically the importance of personally valuing and ultimately achieving salvation. Generally speaking, if a sampler included the image of Adam and Eve, it alone, without a corresponding theme via sampler verse, was the means of identifying with the message of salvation. For samplers which did not include this imagery, the message of salvation was conveyed through either alternative imagery or verse selection. For example the verse which included the phrase “Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation” was a common way of relaying the importance of personal salvation. An emphasis on the importance of salvation was distinct to the Boston samplers compared to Philadelphia and the South Carolina low country. Boston was settled by British subjects who predominantly held allegiance to the Puritan religion; personal salvation was a fundamental concept for seventeenth and eighteenth-century Puritans.

In contrast to the Boston samplers, Philadelphia samplers did not include any pictorial imagery and were comprised of a large number of verses representing a wide range of themes and meanings extracted from a variety of literary sources.<sup>4</sup> The design

---

<sup>3</sup> I use the term “conceit” in this paper to refer to the overall pattern or composition of a sampler.

<sup>4</sup> The absence of imagery on samplers designed and worked by Quakers was not by chance. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, preached against the making or use of pictures and images in any way, believing they could lead to vanity. H. Larry Ingle, “George Fox, Millenarian,” *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Summer, 1992), 276.

conceit of the Philadelphia samplers suggests a great deal of latitude was given to the sampler makers in the selection of verses. A limited number of decorative bands were consistently worked on the samplers; they were developed by the schoolmistress and used by the sampler makers without exception. Thus, the limited repertoire of prescribed decorative elements (which had no symbolic or religious significance) were combined with wide a range of sampler verses, seemingly limited only by the available literary sources. The Philadelphia verses can be considered as generally addressing spiritual sentiments; it is not in the verse meanings but the latitude accorded their selection which corresponds to the foundational religion of the region. A fundamental tenet of Quakerism, the foundational religion of Philadelphia, was the doctrine of the Inner Light.<sup>5</sup> The vital conviction embedded in this belief was that every person was charged with experiencing God directly in order to receive personal spiritual guidance. The distinct lack of consistency in sampler verses provides the correlation between religion and sampler design for the Philadelphia group of samplers. The individual identity of each sampler maker, representing their exploration of Inner Light, is evident through the verses they each selected, while the identity of the religious community is apparent in the latitude provided the girls in the selection of their verses.

The South Carolina low country samplers were distinct from both Boston and Philadelphia with respect to decorative motifs and verses in a number of ways which correspondingly illustrate how religion and culture influenced female education in the region. Decorative motifs, in stark contrast to the Boston and Philadelphia embroideries,

---

<sup>5</sup> Quakers developed four testimonies intended to help members live faithful lives. The four testimonies were Truth, Peace, Equality, and Plainness.

were significantly downplayed in low country sampler design. Only one sampler included a group of motifs which had some visually decorative value, but there was no symbolic or religious relevance to the motifs. Likewise, the verses on the entire group of samplers would fall under the ubiquitous description of pious and moral sentiments. The low country was originally settled by Englishmen who held allegiance to the Anglican faith. The samplers, however, were more reflective of regional culture than religion. The limited degree to which Anglicans claimed identity through their faith was partially responsible for the rather generic nature of their samplers. Further consideration must also be given to the plantation culture of the region, which was distinctly different from the cultures of Boston and Philadelphia. The relationship of samplers to regional culture becomes clear when the number of samplers worked and the social circumstances of the girls who worked them are considered. Low country elite culture, heavily weighted with white, slave-owning plantation families, dictated who made samplers, where they were made, and where they fit in the the scheme of educating girls to be responsible members of society. For daughters of the low country elite, religion was important but accorded less emphasis than the impartation of a practical (social/domestic) skill set given the cultural focus of preparing girls for their intended destiny of plantation owner and manager. This reality was reflected in the samplers worked in the region in the early eighteenth century. Very different cultural impulses interacted in distinct ways which resulted in samplers, as well as an educational paradigm, which varied significantly from the northern model.

What follows is a summary of sampler history and an overview of the eighteenth-century cultural setting in which the samplers were worked. The sampler history section describes samplers and how they have been studied in the past. The overview of the cultural setting provides a background of eighteenth-century religion and education.

### Summary of Sampler History

While colonial American samplers were modeled on British precedents, samplers already had a long and geographically broad history. Throughout the world, embroidered samplers were initially created and valued as records of patterns and stitches. Several Coptic textiles worked in the thirteenth century have been identified as samplers which would have served such a purpose.<sup>6</sup> The earliest known reference to a European sampler is in the account book of Elizabeth of York on July 10, 1502, when payment for an yard of linen cloth for the working of a sampler for the queen was recorded.<sup>7</sup> Literary references to needlework of this type also date to the early sixteenth century. English poet John Skelton, in *The Goodly Garlande of Laurell* (1523), noted that the women who had stitched him a garland of silk, gold, and pearls worked a “saumpler to sow on.”<sup>8</sup> The earliest extant English sampler of this type was worked by Jane Bostocke and is dated 1598.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Marianne Ellis, *Embroideries and Samplers from Islamic Egypt*. (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 2001), 12. The earliest sampler has been radiocarbon dated between 1105 and 1205.

<sup>7</sup> Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 6.

<sup>8</sup> Oxford English Dictionary Database, entry 3a. for “sampler;” A piece of embroidery serving as a pattern to be copied, accessed via Emory Online Databases 1/4/2012.

<sup>9</sup> There are numerous references to this sampler. For one of the most recent see Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 122-123.

Samplers evolved to eventually function, by the sixteenth century, as a beginner's embroidery exercise worked by girls in a schoolroom setting. This practice probably originated in Catholic convents, where daughters of the elite were sent for educational purposes and learned to embroider via samplers taught by nuns.<sup>10</sup> Early sixteenth-century literature also makes reference to this type of sampler. John Skelton suggested, in *Phylyp Sparowe* (1505), that schoolgirl Jane Scroop stitched a sampler as a memorial to her dead bird while she was a student in a Catholic convent.<sup>11</sup> Shakespeare, as well, mentioned a sampler in *Titus Andronicus* when he offered that Philomela, in her "tedious sampler," sewed her mind when she had been deprived of her tongue.<sup>12</sup> Samplers worked as a schoolgirl exercise are the focus of this dissertation.

While samplers had been worked as pattern and stitch records for some time, the English practice of working samplers as a schoolroom exercise flourished beginning in the early to mid-seventeenth century. There was an extraordinary output of needlework of all kinds in the seventeenth century in England. Not only were more samplers worked, but a new type of sampler was developed - the band sampler. This type of embroidery was first worked at boarding schools for girls, the number of which also increased exponentially during the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> The area of Hackney, north of London, became a popular and fashionable location for girls' boarding schools during this period. The extraordinary output of samplers in seventeenth-century England was paralleled by

---

<sup>10</sup>See Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 2-3 for a late fourteenth-century Spanish image which depicts young girls showing what appear to be needlework samplers to their teacher.

<sup>11</sup> Oxford English Dictionary Database, entry 3b. for "sampler;" A beginner's exercise in embroidery, accessed via Emory Online Databases 1/4/2012. Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 118-119.

<sup>12</sup> Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 14.

<sup>13</sup> Band samplers were undertaken between the ages of eight and thirteen.

the gradual growth of female literacy. As both sampler production and opportunities for female education developed simultaneously, samplers became associated with the education of girls.<sup>14</sup>

Three forms of needlework can be identified in samplers of the early modern period in England: the pictorial embroidery, the spot motif sampler, and the band sampler.<sup>15</sup> Pictorial embroideries were intended for display in a variety of ways such as framed and hung on a wall, as decoration surrounding a mirror, or as decoration for a small cabinet (today referred to as a casket). Regardless of the ultimate function of pictorial embroideries, they were designed to convey a story, often from the Old Testament, and were embroidered such that the dense stitching left little of the ground fabric exposed.<sup>16</sup> Spot motif samplers were not organized as an intentional design to be visually pleasing or meaningful. Instead, the randomly placed motifs functioned as a record of patterns and stitches, which were later referred to for working pictorial embroideries as well as personal and household items such as purses and cushions. Band samplers were comprised of bands, or rows, of text and/or decorative motifs which progressed within the sampler from the easiest to the most complex and difficult

---

<sup>14</sup> Mary M. Brooks, "The Early English Works" in *Micheal & Elizabeth Feller: The Needlework Collection, I*, Mary M. Brooks, Elizabeth Feller, Jacqueline Holdsworth (Needleprint, 2011), 14-15. Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 126-132.

<sup>15</sup> Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 117.

<sup>16</sup> In the seventeenth century embroidered pictorials were sometimes referred to as Hebrew samplers. Many of these embroideries focused on Old Testament stories such as the *Sacrifice of Isaac* and *Susanna and the Elders*. Susan Frye suggests that early modern women related to the Jewish female figures they embroidered as representative of female agency throughout history. The needleworkers found "reservoirs of significance within even brief biblical passages" which they embroidered. The stories were concurrently reinforced and enlarged in sermons and through the reading and discussion of the stories among themselves. Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 120-121.



techniques and designs.<sup>17</sup> Band samplers functioned as embroidery practice pieces and were generally worked as a school exercise.

Two different types of band samplers appeared in the seventeenth century: whitework and polychrome. Whitework samplers were worked in white thread and most often included designs for which threads of the ground fabric had been removed and motifs were worked by intricately weaving threads within the remaining voided areas. Satin (straight) stitch designs were also frequently used to work designs on whitework samplers. Polychrome band samplers were comprised of bands of designs worked in different colors of silk thread. It was not uncommon that both types of samplers were combined into one sampler, one part containing bands of whitework and the other part containing bands of design worked in bright colors of silk thread.

Band and pictorial samplers were worked in the popular boarding schools which flourished during the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. Spot motif samplers were generally the work of adult women and professional (often male) embroiderers. Band and spot motif samplers worked during the seventeenth century were rolled and stored, and not framed. Many examples of these types of samplers exist today, exhibiting the brilliance of the original colors they were worked in because they were stored and protected from harmful elements such as light and dust.

Band samplers followed a general pattern, whether they were whitework or polychrome samplers. As previously noted, they were organized such that the easiest

---

<sup>17</sup> Whereas pictorial embroideries were rectangular and horizontally-oriented, band samplers were long and narrow; they were most often a full width of linen fabric with the design worked such that selvage ends were at the top and bottom of the sampler. The approximate dimension of seventeenth-century band samplers was 8 inches wide and 33 inches long.

stitches and designs were finished before progressing to those that were more complex and difficult. Polychrome samplers in particular, but sometimes whitework samplers, often included one or more alphabets. Three alphabets were most frequently worked, but it was not unusual to include between one and four alphabets on a sampler. If three alphabets were included on a sampler they were almost always worked in three different stitches: marking cross, satin, and eyelet. Design bands tended to be wider and more complex as work on the sampler progressed. The majority of design bands worked on samplers during the seventeenth century were floral in nature, as opposed to geometric or figural. Design bands were often set apart by dividing bands which were sometimes simple design bands and sometimes simple combinations of stitches used to create a division between the more visually important design bands.<sup>18</sup> One example of a dividing band formed by a combination of stitches would be cross stitches worked such that they resembled a Greek key design.

As the seventeenth century progressed a set pattern of preferred band sampler elements evolved. The personalization of samplers is one component which changed over time. Samplers worked during the first half of the century seldom included a name or, at the most, only occasionally included the stitcher's initials. Examples exist where the stitcher included her whole name, but they are rare.<sup>19</sup> As a rule, samplers worked during the last decade of the seventeenth century included the full name of the stitcher as

---

<sup>18</sup> There was a relatively common repertoire of band designs worked on seventeenth-century samplers. Some of the bands (for both whitework and polychrome work) can be traced to contemporary pattern books. The majority of pictorial designs can be traced to either pattern books or contemporary engravings.

<sup>19</sup> The earliest extant dated English sampler does include the name of the maker. Frances James worked a whitework and polychrome sampler in 1627. Dorothy Bromiley Phelan, Eva-Lotta Hansson, Jacqueline Holdsworth, *The Goodhart Samplers*. (England: Needleprint, 2008), 142.

well as the date the sampler was finished. Another component of sampler design which became part of the set pattern during the seventeenth century was moral inscriptions, which first appeared around the middle of the century in very simple form, like “Fear God.” By the last quarter of the seventeenth century sampler verses started to become more complex:

When I was young I little thought  
that wit must be so dearly bought  
but now experience tell me how  
if I would thrive then I must bow  
and bend unto anothers will  
that I might learn both art and skill  
to get my living with my hands  
And my own dame that I may be  
And free from all such slavery.<sup>20</sup>

Anglo-American sampler format and design continued to evolve with the advent of the eighteenth century. Samplers became shorter and wider, with the content being framed by a stitched border. Whereas seventeenth-century samplers averaged approximately 8 inches wide by 33 inches long, eighteenth-century samplers averaged approximately 12 inches wide by 18 inches long. Alphabets became an increasingly popular element of the design conceit, but the letters tended to be worked only in cross stitch. With rare exception, sampler-makers stitched both their name and the date the needlework was completed. Verses and moral inscriptions became a ubiquitous element of samplers; the topics they addressed and the sources from which they were extracted eventually became quite diverse. Also, early in the eighteenth century sampler design materialized into a more picture-like conceit contained behind glass in a wooden frame.

---

<sup>20</sup> Clare Brown and Jennifer Wearden, *Samplers from the Victoria and Albert Museum*. (London: V&A Publications, 1999), 54. This was stitched on a polychrome sampler dated to the second half of the seventeenth century.

Many of the early eighteenth-century samplers in museums remain in their original frames. Whether the design changed to accommodate framing or samplers were framed because they were now small enough to be framed remains a topic for future investigation. Nonetheless, samplers finished by schoolgirls during the eighteenth century were placed in wooden frames and displayed in their homes along with other framed pictures.

Previous studies of samplers as social documents have limited their investigations to how samplers functioned as educational exercises which emphasized domestic skill and, to a lesser degree, female literacy. My close analysis of samplers significantly expands previous sampler scholarship, showing how they are evidence of more than just domestic training and limited literacy. Samplers are cultural objects which exemplify how the regional cultures differed and how the education of females varied because of those cultural differences.<sup>21</sup> The number of samplers worked by girls in schools in the eighteenth century increased more rapidly than it had in the seventeenth century. In addition to literacy and embroidery skills, schoolmistresses addressed the religious and social sensibilities of the regions in which they taught. Samplers reflected a girl's preparation for her adult role by serving as proof that she had been educated beyond the

---

<sup>21</sup> Mary Brooks notes that the needlework produced at the seventeenth-century English boarding schools was decorative, as opposed to practical, in nature. Focus on embroidery as a subject at the boarding schools echoed the contemporary argument that needlework was equated to intellectual learning for women, a challenge suitable for their gender. However, the argument was increasingly being made that needlework was a frivolous and unproductive activity. The actual reception of that argument is debatable, however, because needlework was of such importance to the female curriculum that few, if any, schools rejected it as a part of their "course" offerings. Bathsua Makin, an influential educational reformer and schoolmistress, maintained needlework in her advertised curriculum even though she strongly supported the teaching of subjects commonly considered unnecessary and even inappropriate for females, such as Latin and Greek. Thomas Rogers, in his memorial to Elizabeth Dunton in 1697, accorded needlework and "the life of the mind" as complimentary activities. He expressed the argument that women could achieve virtue through combining virtuous reading and needlework in equal measure when he noted that Elizabeth "loved her Bible and her Needle too." Even though the utility of women's needlework was scrutinized, samplers remained a consistent component of female education. Brooks, "The Early English Works", 16.

rudimentary level in an environment which had navigated the delicate balance between intellectual learning and gender suitability.

The eighteenth-century samplers which are the focus of this dissertation represent a continuation of the sampler-making tradition which originated in England in the seventeenth century. They are all polychrome band samplers worked by adolescent girls in a schoolroom environment. Whenever possible they have been grouped according to different schools; schools are delineated based on consistency of sampler design. This separation was helpful for my study because it facilitated the process of documenting a consistent emphasis of educational focus by schoolmistress. My first assumption is that samplers are indicative of what was being taught in the classroom. They were certainly not the only subject, but teachers would have used the slow and tedious process of working a sampler to reinforce, whenever possible, other lessons. At a minimum it is safe to assume the samplers would not have included any visual or textual content which might undermine other lessons. The most obvious example from the embroideries in my study of a sampler element as a vehicle of inculturation is the image of Adam and Eve on Boston samplers. If the story of Adam and Eve had been contrary to other lessons taught at the school or learned in the more informal aspects of a child's education, it would not have been selected for an embroidery exercise which represented a significant amount of time, effort, and financial investment.

A further assumption is that sampler design and content would have been carefully thought out by the teacher prior to having been introduced to the students. The samplers would have to have been designed in a way that would have been agreeable to

the parents, who were not only paying for the education and materials to make the sampler, but also for the framing upon its completion, and the ultimate display of the embroidery in a public room of their home. Because of the scrutiny of the parent, as well as the practical value of consistent lessons, the content of the classroom was necessarily reinforced in embroidery exercises.

Thirdly, and particularly *because* the samplers were being displayed in the homes of the students, the teacher would have recognized the opportunity to, in a sense, advertise her suitability for presenting a curriculum which reinforced the sensibilities of the community around them. The most obvious skill set on display was her ability to teach the technical aspects of needlework. Perhaps more important, although less immediately obvious, would be the teacher's power to form the student's character toward the expected social norms. This would have been apparent to the viewer when considering the content of the samplers. The component of the samplers which was crucial to this consideration were the verses and imagery selected by the teacher. These components provided an overview of what the students spent their time learning while they were under the guidance of the schoolmistress. Displayed samplers constituted an enduring testimony to the educational priorities and skill of each schoolmistress. The fact that sufficient numbers of samplers exist from identifiable schools strongly suggests the schoolmistresses were successful in their approaches.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>There could be a variety of reasons for a limited number of samplers which show a consistent design, or the isolated appearance of unique designs with no counterpart. One option would be that a schoolmistress did not receive sufficient community support to continue teaching, resulting in only a few samplers having been made at her school. Also, many schoolmistresses taught for short periods of time which were defined by periods in their lives when they needed to work for the income; they chose not to continue working once alternative sources of support were found. They may have been successful and well received for short periods of time, another possibility for the existence of a limited number of samplers attributable to one (in this case probably otherwise successful) schoolmistress.

More important, however, than classification by school, this study categorizes samplers according to the region in which they were worked. Grouping the samplers in this way highlights predominant regional religious and cultural idiosyncrasies. Colonial America provides an opportunity to study samplers in this way because of the hegemonic nature of denominational religion according to region during this period. Each city (Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston) experienced a continued influence of the predominant religious denomination from the region's earliest settlement: Puritans in Boston, Quakers in Philadelphia, and Anglicans in Charleston.<sup>23</sup> There had been an indivisible relationship between religion and education long before these colonies had been settled, and the relationship remained relevant as the colonies matured. Further, the marked cultural differences between the north and the south, primarily due to the fact that the South Carolina low country was a slave society, provided a unique opportunity to explore how female education accommodated society and prepared girls for their participation as adults in such a society. It was my goal to determine what evidence the samplers could offer to demonstrate the degree to which female education served as a means of religious and cultural inculturation.

Sampler scholars, however, have historically grouped colonial American samplers by schools within cities or regions. I have continued to group samplers by school to provide continuity with earlier studies, as they form the foundation from which I have built my research. Early sampler studies, while an invaluable resource for me, restricted their focus to first locating samplers, and then assigning them to schools. They

---

<sup>23</sup>While this was certainly the case, people of virtually all Judeo-Christian faiths lived throughout colonial America in both urban and rural settings.

considered the needlework as primarily decorative and thus studied technique and materials. The first large-scale survey of American samplers was undertaken by Ethel Bolton and Eva Coe in 1921. Their canvas of fellow members of the Society of Colonial Dames of America produced the first published list of extant samplers. They relied on sampler owners to provide descriptions of and attributions for the published samplers, along with the name of the current owner of each sampler. The association between female education and religion was loosely identified, but an attribution beyond a generic pious or moral value was not been attempted. Further, any relationship between sampler content and how it was reflective of regional cultural norms for adult women was not considered.

While Bolton & Coe's publication has proved invaluable as a starting list of samplers, its usefulness beyond that function is limited because descriptions are unreliable, sampler locations are untraceable, and images are unavailable. The few images provided by the book were poor quality black and whites. The next large-scale survey was not undertaken until Betty Ring published *Girlhood Embroidery* in 1993. Ring found an impressive number of the samplers first identified in Bolton and Coe's *Samplers*. She presented most of the samplers in high quality color photos and identified a number of previously unknown schools. Ring also provided the first genealogical information for the makers and schoolmistresses. Again, however, her primary focus was on cataloguing the samplers and identifying makers, embroidery techniques, and materials.



The sampler images analyzed in this dissertation are collected from a variety of sources, including but not limited to the 1921 publication by Bolton and Coe and the 1993 study by Betty Ring. Additional sampler images were collected from museums, private owners, and auction catalogues. Images from these three additional sources likewise vary considerably in quality. All the images of samplers analyzed in this study are provided at the end of the paper.

The samplers in this study were worked by girls between the ages of eight and sixteen who were daughters of the elite families of their cities. Needlework had historically been a sign of elite status, as it continued to be in the early eighteenth century. The working of a sampler signaled education, and education signaled wealth. The materials were costly and thus purchased only by those who could afford this kind of “luxury.” Further, the cost of instruction was significant and the fact that a girl attended school meant she was not available during those periods to assist around the home. So it is relevant in terms of putting samplers in a historical context to take into account the fact that this work would have been done only by girls from the upper levels of society.

### Overview of the Eighteenth-Century Cultural Setting

#### Religion

While the samplers in this study were modeled on English precedent, the religions which influenced their creation likewise originated in England. The three cities in which the samplers were worked were initially associated with a predominant religious denomination - Boston with Puritanism, Philadelphia with Quakerism, and Charleston with Anglicanism. The Puritans of Boston maintained a strong belief in redemption and

salvation. The communities created by New England's first settlers were intensely devotional and religious, maintaining that church attendance, the reading of scripture, and the education of all the community's citizens would ensure spiritual health for both the individual and the community. Puritans established their lives around individual self-regulating churches which were also loosely united organizationally. The Quakers of Philadelphia began populating their city about a generation after the Puritans of Boston. The Quaker faith emphasized a personal relationship with God. Quakers were also intensely devotional and religious; their focus was on nurturing each individual's Inner Light rather than necessarily the reading of scripture or attendance at organized worship services. Each person, regardless of station in life or gender, was encouraged to listen for and follow God's guidance with the support of fellow members of the faith. Charleston was settled by English who were predominantly of the Anglican faith, the national church of England which both the Puritans and Quakers challenged on religious and social matters. Anglican doctrine focused on scripture and church creeds, and emphasized the sacraments, daily prayer, and the catechism to strengthen individual spirituality and conviction of salvation. In all three regions, the lofty positions in business and government, the top of the social hierarchy, were dominated by men who belonged to the original foundational denomination.

While religion and faith were important markers in Boston and Philadelphia, attachment to religion in Charleston and the surrounding low country was rather anemic. Several factors were responsible for this situation. For one, Anglicanism was the dominant faith against which others distinguished themselves. As a result, the ethos of

the faith did not rely on maintaining a distinct identity and members were not posed with the situation where they necessarily had to prove their faith through any specifically prescribed behavior. By the early eighteenth century Anglicanism had been declared the official religion of the colony, eliminating any possible justification for claiming distinctiveness as a challenge to other faiths. Overt expressions of denominational religiosity were not necessary because the faithful had no need to define their identity through their denominational faith, either communally or individually.

Another consideration for the reported lack of religious enthusiasm among low country faithful was the nature of the settlement of the region - the relatively small population was widely dispersed geographically. Many of the outlying plantations and small towns were not able to sustain Anglican churches of their own. As a result active participation in an Anglican church was not possible for many, who would attend the church of a different denomination if it were closer to their home. Further adding to modest denominational loyalty among Anglicans was the apparent apathy of many Anglican ministers.<sup>24</sup> Anglican clergy, often citing the general apathy of the low country population as the cause, lacked the ministerial passion so often noted of their Puritan and Quaker counterparts.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, religion was an important facet of daily life for much of the low country's population. People of many Christian faiths called the low country home, including Scottish Presbyterians and French Huguenots who were among

---

<sup>24</sup> S. Charles Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), 30-50.

<sup>25</sup> A further consideration regarding religious passion and how it differed by region would have been related to the fact that religious passion and zeal are often an important element of dissent. Early members of both Puritanism and Quakerism were notably passionate about their faith, particularly with respect with those aspects of their faith which delineated them from the dominant faith. Passion and dissent usually go hand-in-hand, while the "mainstream" frequently suffers from apathy, or at least a lack of zeal and passion.

the first settlers of the region. Further adding to the melting pot of practiced faiths were the Jews, who began settling in Charleston before 1700.<sup>26</sup>

### Education

All regions showed concern for the education of their youth from the time the first communities were established. While the aim was to teach all children reading and basic math skills, secondary education beyond the rudiments of dame school was a privilege of the elite in the early eighteenth century. Local dame schools were attended by boys and girls, who went to school together and were taught to read and count by a neighborhood dame.<sup>27</sup> Once the rudimentary skills of the ABCs and simple math were achieved by the community's poor, however, they were at the mercy of charity if they were to be further educated, regardless of gender.

Even though wealth created opportunities beyond the dame school level, boys were more likely to benefit from such a privilege, and when girls did benefit, their education usually differed from that achieved by their brothers. Daughters of merchants and professionals (the elite of the population) had a variety of options available to them, but parents were financially responsible for the expense if they were to participate at all. At this secondary level of education girls were generally taught in a segregated environment and their lessons differed from their brothers' in the distinct lack of classical

---

<sup>26</sup> Gene Waddell, "An Architectural History of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, Charleston," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), 8.

<sup>27</sup> Dames were frequently criticized as being no more than babysitters, sometimes due to their skill set and sometimes due to the number of children under their care. Many contemporary accounts, however, document that a great number of children were taught to read and count in these neighborhood schools. They were also referred to as petty schools. Dame schools abounded in both England and colonial America.

languages and subjects which prepared them to function in a commercial environment.

Embroidery was one of the skills taught to the daughters of the elite; some of the additional classes offered to females were history, accounting, music, and dancing.

The fundamental purpose of educating girls was to prepare them for their future role as wife and mother. The samplers worked in Philadelphia and Charleston suggest a concern for supplemental training for the girls, however. The verses worked on Marsh school samplers show how Philadelphia Quakers encouraged their daughters to nurture their individuality and spirituality in a way that could have served as initial training for an adult life of public ministry. The samplers worked in the low country, on the other hand, suggest a culture which abbreviated formal training in order to focus on more pragmatic training geared toward the anticipated destiny of plantation mistress.

Because girls were generally excluded from public and private grammar schools, their secondary formal education was under the charge of women who offered their services as schoolmistresses.<sup>28</sup> Schoolmistresses generally conducted classes in their homes. Advertisements show that female schools could also be conducted on the premises of boys' schools, but either at a different time or in a separate room. When girls were not taught in the home of the schoolmistress they usually went to the home of a schoolmaster, where the schoolmistress would conduct classes for girls. It was common for girls from outlying areas to board with the schoolmistress while they attended her school. Embroidery was the most consistently taught subject at female schools; it was

---

<sup>28</sup> Grammar schools represented a secondary education which was usually intended only for boys and was always conducted by a schoolmaster. The focus of the education was the classical languages of Latin and Greek, with attention also paid to English grammar and commercial subjects. Boys would have attended grammar school after dame school.

only taught by the schoolmistress. She also would have likely taught reading and math (if these subjects had not already been sufficiently mastered by her students) and perhaps other subjects such as history and music, if she had the appropriate skills. Many of the female schools offered other more advanced subjects, such as writing and dancing, which would have been taught by an independent male teacher who had been hired by the schoolmistress to teach those specific subjects.

The majority of samplers included in this study strongly support the conclusion that the girls who stitched them were either learning to write at the school where they stitched their sampler or had already learned to write and were perfecting their skill at writing. One of the reasons for this conclusion has to do with the age of the stitchers. Pure reading skills were taught at the dame school level, which was attended by children up to the age of eight. Most of the girls were adolescents when they worked the samplers in this study. The samplers, therefore, generally represent a secondary level of education beyond the dame school. I propose that the working of alphabets on the samplers had more to do with the tradition of including alphabets on this type of embroidery than with the intention of showing that the alphabet had been actually learned at that school.<sup>29</sup>

Further support that the students were at the writing level in terms of literacy skills is

---

<sup>29</sup> The inclusion of alphabets on samplers worked by adolescent girls has not been studied. I see the sampler alphabets as an indication that the sampler makers were familiar with the skill of writing and specifically how it was taught through copybooks. The format for teaching writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was to have the student copy alphabets, words, and moral maxims in three different hands. Samplers of the same period generally include three alphabets in three different stitches followed by stitched moral maxims. I do not rule out the possibility that the schoolmistresses who taught samplers were also teaching their female students to write.

provided by the fact that so many of the sampler verses were extracted from the writing (verse copying) section of the schoolbooks they were sourced from.<sup>30</sup>

My expectation, when I began this study, was that a careful analysis of samplers from Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina low country would ultimately yield the same conclusion: each group of samplers was primarily reflective of the religion of each region's first settlers. This was essentially the case for the samplers worked in Boston and Philadelphia. While the results for Boston were not as overwhelming as I had expected (that all samplers were worked by girls with strong Puritan family backgrounds who remained unwavering supporters of the orthodox version of the faith), the samplers were reflective of individual salvation, a foundational tenet of the Puritan movement. In Philadelphia, the samplers were necessarily reflective of Quakerism because of the allegiance to the faith held by the majority of the sampler makers as well as the schoolmistress. The surprise with the Philadelphia samplers was the subtle way in which they were reflective of the faith and how complicated it was to determine the ways in which samplers embodied the foundational tenets of plainness and Inner Light. Samplers from the South Carolina low country, on the other hand, proved that my theory about religion and regional eighteenth-century sampler design could not be asserted as a blanket statement. Not only were low country samplers not generally indicative of any particular religion, a traditional female education which emphasized the making of samplers appears to not have taken hold even into the mid-eighteenth century. This can be attributed to the plantation culture in which the samplers were worked - elite low

---

<sup>30</sup> E. Jennifer Monaghan, "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England" *American Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 1 Special Issue: Reading America (Mar., 1988), 24.

country families were primarily concerned with the maintenance of their wealth which regularly required women to manage plantations in the absence of male patriarchs. The focus of female education, therefore, was geared toward maximizing their preparation for the probable adult role as male surrogate; embroidery was a relevant female skill but after achieving basic proficiency in embroidery skills girls moved on to the task of obtaining more practical skills such as how to run and manage a plantation. These skills were nurtured in a domestic setting.

Chapters Two through Four provide the substance of my research by examining the samplers in detail by region. Chapter Two covers the Boston samplers. As previously noted, the largest collection of samplers for this study were worked in Boston; I have divided them into two groups: those with Adam and Eve imagery and those without the imagery. The first part of the chapter describes the samplers themselves and the rationale for further dividing them into subgroups. This is followed by a background of the regional demographics which addresses religion and education. Part of this section of the chapter addresses information about the families of the sampler makers, who were all daughters of Boston's elite families. Further building on the theme of the religious influence on the samplers, the next section focuses on the potential pedagogical significance of the imagery of Adam and Eve and the Puritan tenet of individual salvation by showing the corollary between sampler content, and Puritanism and contemporary literature. The last section of Chapter Two describes how and why the samplers without Adam and Eve imagery provide further evidence of a consistent application of the religious tenet of individual salvation. Underscored throughout this chapter, however, is



the reality that while denominational religion and foundational tenets were apparent and important to the design conceit of the samplers, they were not necessarily the main criterion for school selection on the part of the parents.

Chapter Three covers the Philadelphia samplers. The majority of the samplers from this region were worked at the Elizabeth Marsh school, which is the focus of my research. Marsh and most of her students were members of the Quaker religious community; the samplers worked at the school were a testimony to important tenets of the faith which are not immediately apparent upon visual examination of the embroideries. Following a description of the samplers, the colonial demographics of the city of Philadelphia are summarized and Quakerism and Quaker education are described. I end the chapter with an explanation of the ways in which the Marsh school samplers embody the Quaker testimony of plainness and the primary doctrine of the Inner Light.

Chapter Four covers samplers worked in the South Carolina low country, which represented the smallest number of regional samplers available for my research. Because of the small number of samplers I have addressed each sampler individually in the sampler description section of the chapter. The sampler descriptions are followed by an overview of the region's colonial efforts to establish an educational system and a description of the region's plantation culture. Because one low country sampler exhibited characteristics reflective of Anglicanism I next address that sampler in further detail. I conclude, however, that denominational religion ultimately was less apparent in low country samplers than it had been in Boston and Philadelphia samplers. A stronger influence on female education in the low country (less evident if the samplers are studied

in isolation from regional plantation culture) was the necessity of preparing girls for the probable future responsibility of plantation owner and manager.

Samplers were a powerful index of many facets of eighteenth-century life including piety, industry, wealth, and gentility. Because schoolgirl embroideries served as rich tapestries woven with the sensibilities of colonial American culture, it is not completely reasonable to suggest that cultural influences can be studied separately. Likewise, it is not entirely realistic to isolate Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina low country in terms of culture and influence because the three colonies were in many ways integrated in the eighteenth century, not to mention the fact that they were all British colonies, which would have also had a profound impact on their cultures. I have separated each of these considerations for this study in a effort to simplify my analysis, but in reality each topic and region influenced the whole during the entire period under examination.

Chapter Two  
The First Marriage that Ever Was:  
Salvation and Original Sin in Boston Samplers

Table of Contents

Introduction	29
The Samplers	31
Materials and Techniques	
How the Sampler Makers May Have Known Each Other	
Early Boston Demographics	42
Puritan Theology	47
Colonial Boston Schools	51
Adam and Eve Samplers	54
Subgroup One-Susanna Condry Schoolmistress	
Why Adam and Eve	60
Original Sin	
Marriage	
Covenantal Relationships	
Additional Contemporary Sources for Adam and Eve Imagery	76
<i>New England Primer</i>	
<i>Paradise Lost</i>	
Non-Adam and Eve Samplers	87
Subgroup One	
Subgroup Two	
Subgroup Three	
Conclusion	97

A group of early colonial Boston samplers has held the interest of sampler scholars for almost a century. First classified as a group by Ethel Bolton and Eva Coe in their 1921 ground-breaking survey of early American samplers, they continue to interest scholars today, as evidenced by the most recent exhibition launched by the Museum of Fine Arts Boston in November, 2010.<sup>31</sup> The database for this study consists of forty-four samplers worked during the early eighteenth century. To my knowledge, they are currently the most complete representation of the samplers worked in Boston between 1719 and 1754.<sup>32</sup> The relatively varied sampler styles within the database suggest there were a number of schoolmistresses who included sampler-making as a part of their school curriculum. While there is sufficient variation in the styles and a number of schoolmistresses who advertised in Boston in the early eighteenth century, only one schoolmistress has been firmly linked to one of the sampler designs. Definitive attribution of a schoolmistress to any of the samplers is further complicated by two issues: the fact that none of the samplers includes the name of a schoolmistress, and the extensive overlap of stylistic motifs between the distinguishable styles. Nonetheless, the

---

<sup>31</sup> Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnstson Coe, *American Samplers* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973 (Reprint), originally published Boston: Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921). The Museum of Fine Arts Boston exhibition which highlights the early Boston samplers is the first of three installations of a new exhibit titled Embroideries of Colonial Boston opened November 20, 2010. An article introducing the exhibit to the public was published in *Antiques & Fine Art*, Vol. X, Issue 5 (Autumn/Winter, 2010), pp. 162-167.

<sup>32</sup> Pamela A. Parmal, Curator of Textile and Fashion Arts and Department Head at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston has been working on this group of samplers for ten years. Her research has uncovered over one hundred samplers made between 1700 and 1776 in Boston. The first of a three-part exhibit focusing on the embroideries of colonial Boston opened at the museum November 20, 2010. See her article "The Samplers of Colonial Boston", *Antiques and Fine Art* (Vol. X, Issue 5), 162-167 for an overview of the exhibit. Per my visit and conversation with Pam in June, 2010, my conclusions regarding the grouping of the earliest colonial Boston samplers (which I have limited my study to) is consistent with her findings.

sampler motifs are distinct enough to group the samplers into school styles definitively associated with early eighteenth-century Boston.

The samplers are segregated into two groups based on design conceit. One group is characterized by a visually impressive pictorial image of Adam and Eve. The other group is comprised of three different design conceits which have been combined into one group based on the fact that they do not include an Adam and Eve pictorial. The Adam and Eve pictorial is one of the most recognized and impressive components of the early colonial Boston samplers. This pictorial imagery is captivating because of both the relatively large space it occupies in the samplers and the complexity of the design and embroidery techniques employed to create it. Eighteenth-century admirers of these images would undoubtedly have been impressed with these embroideries and considered them a great accomplishment for the girls who stitched them as well as the instructress who taught them. We are left today to ponder how impressed they would have been by the fact that the image of Adam and Eve had been chosen for the young girls who stitched them in colonial Boston. Given that approximately two thirds of the samplers did not include the imagery, a further consideration is whether or not the *absence* of the image would have left a meaningful impression on eighteenth-century sampler admirers as well. If the working of Adam and Eve on a group of samplers can be associated with a distinct religious intent, can a different religious intent be determined for the samplers without the imagery? Further, was the working of this imagery random, or did it compliment the religious and educational culture of the colonial Boston?

I argue that the samplers worked in Boston in the early eighteenth century, taken as an entire group, reflect the Puritan religious heritage of the region. The samplers are evidence of an educational experience which exposed young girls to the fundamentals of Puritan religious culture. Specifically, I have isolated individual salvation as a distinct religious tenet illustrated through the samplers. The education the young girls received was one part of a complex system which inculcated the importance of individual salvation, a fundamental component of the Puritan belief system. The key sampler design elements of imagery and verse support the conveyance of this important lesson of salvation. Whether girls stitched Adam and Eve, the Spies of Canaan, or pious verses, the overarching theme of early colonial Boston samplers turns out to have been Christian salvation.<sup>33</sup> In this study I focus on how schoolmistresses in Boston interpreted and employed the story of Adam and Eve as it pertained to childhood education and why it would have been particularly apropos for the education of the young girls who stitched the samplers. I also analyze the samplers without specific Adam and Eve imagery to determine how they fit into a complimentary educational focus.

### The Samplers

I studied forty-four samplers which I divided into two stylistic groups: those with Adam and Eve, and those without. The samplers were further divided into five identifiable subgroups, two in the Adam and Eve group (See Appendix A) and three in the non-Adam and Eve group (See Appendix B). While all of the samplers followed the

---

<sup>33</sup> A subgroup of samplers included an embroidered pictorial image representing Joshua and Caleb as the Spies of Canaan. This Biblical scene, which depicts the scriptural message of Numbers 13:23, was worked on Dutch samplers in the seventeenth century and gained popularity as an element of Anglo-American samplers in the eighteenth century. The motif consists of two men sharing the burden of a pole on their shoulders which bears a large cluster of grapes.

traditional English format of a band sampler, only a little over a third of the samplers included a stitched pictorial of Adam and Eve. The other two thirds had several bands and design motifs which overlapped with the Adam and Eve samplers, but lacked the specific imagery of Adam and Eve. The dates of the samplers in both of the main groups essentially span the entire range of the period under examination, so it is not possible to conclude that samplers with Adam and Eve were worked during a separate or distinct time period than those without the imagery. It is possible to generalize, however, that the Adam and Eve group of samplers represented somewhat more complex and intricate design and embroidery techniques. The stitches and designs on the non-Adam and Eve samplers would have been easier to execute and probably easier to teach. Both of the two main groups also had a few samplers worked during the same period which did not exhibit sufficient similarity of stylistic elements to categorize them within an identifiable subgroup. While not the focus of this study, these samplers, 10 in total, presented no attributes which were inconsistent with the conclusions drawn from the other samplers.

#### A Note on Methodology

The relatively large number of Boston samplers and the significantly different design conceits within the entire group suggest that at least five female schools were active in the early eighteenth century. Adam and Eve imagery was not the only distinguishing factor on the Boston samplers, those without such imagery either had several distinct design elements in common but were void of pictorial imagery all together, or included a large, unique floral band, or were defined by a large band which pictured the Spies of Canaan (again a relatively rare design element in the eighteenth century). There were clear, distinctly different visual attributes presented among the

sampler groupings. While individual sampler components consistently suggest an educational emphasis on piety in general and the importance of salvation in particular, the number and variety of school options, as evidenced by sampler designs, means that parents had choices when it came to sending their daughters to school in colonial Boston. My thesis that religion influenced sampler design is based on the assumption that sampler design was intentional and meaningful for both the community at large as well and the individual participants. In order to verify that sampler content carried a degree of relevance, the possible relevance of other factors needs to be ruled out. Thus, situations which would support a claim that educational focus through sampler content was a secondary consideration must be taken into account. The following analysis addresses the materials and techniques as a possible motivation for the selection of a particular school. If a school was more advanced and discerning in terms of techniques and materials, it may support a claim that a wealthier and perhaps more sophisticated clientele frequented such a school. While the process and materials used to teach a sampler may have had an impact on school choice, the social interactions of the sampler makers may have also been influential in school selection. Thus, consideration must be given to the social and business affiliations of the sampler makers. In this case I consider the option that families who knew each other outside of the educational setting may have chosen to send their children to school together in an effort to nurture and solidify social and business relationships. If this were the case, the sampler content (and the correspondent educational focus) of a particular school may have been a secondary consideration, with a more discerning consideration being given to how families were related to the other students attending the school at the same time.



### Materials and Techniques-A Possible Clue to School Selection

The cost of female education in the early eighteenth century, particularly if it included the stitching of a sampler, represented a substantial investment. The materials and techniques used to create a sampler could have been a criterion for choosing one school and teacher over another. Because samplers were prominently displayed in the homes of the makers, it is possible and even likely that a degree of braggadocio was attached to the impressiveness of a sampler. There would have been parents who had that type of sampler in mind when it came to send their daughters to school. On the other hand, some parents may have desired to educate their daughters, which meant the working of a sampler at school, but pay for a sampler which was less costly and technically impressive sampler than others. The pertinent considerations when it comes to materials and techniques would center around the cost of materials (linen and thread), and the types of stitches being taught.<sup>34</sup> It would most likely have cost more to teach a wider variety and complexity of stitches than to limit instruction to simpler and more useful techniques such as cross stitch.<sup>35</sup> The size of linen used for ground fabric could have also had an impact on the total cost of the sampler project. There was not enough variation in the size of the samplers (and therefore the amount of linen required for the project) to suggest that school selection had anything to do with the size of the sampler

---

<sup>34</sup> This is a study which has not been done for any group of samplers. It would be difficult to calculate the cost of linen, thread, and instruction because very little information exists in sufficient detail to make these calculations. However, it would be interesting, and most likely enlightening, to add that data to any study of sampler-making.

<sup>35</sup> A teacher who had a wider range and greater technical competence of embroidery stitches could have justified charging more than a teacher who was only instructing girls in basic embroidery stitches. For example, the marking cross stitch was familiar to most women in the eighteenth century and presumably anyone could teach it. Conversely, a much greater degree of skill would have been required to execute as well as teach detached buttonhole stitch, which required at least two processes and several passes of the needle to complete. Further, stitches like detached buttonhole were much more difficult to execute and would have taken longer for the girls to learn, as opposed to the more simple stitches like cross and double running stitches which could have been learned relatively quickly and with little personal guidance.

being stitched. Generally speaking the samplers were approximately 18 inches by 10 inches. There were a few which were much smaller (Elizabeth Russell's sampler was approximately 7 1/2 inches square); they tended to be marking samplers worked by younger girls.<sup>36</sup> The largest sampler in the survey (Mary Fleet's sampler is 17 11/16 inches by 17 9/16 inches) does not correlate to one of the main subgroups within the non-Adam and Eve group (in other words it has not been associated with a school style), which makes it difficult to conclude whether the school was selected because of the techniques and materials exhibited on the sampler. For that reason it's difficult to come to any conclusions by considering that sampler alone. Since all the samplers are essentially the same size, it is unlikely sampler size would have been a factor on school selection.

The threads used to stitch the samplers would have represented a considerable percentage of the project's total material cost. All of the samplers were stitched with silk thread, a few of them included some metallic thread. Because the samplers were all about the same size, any variation in the cost of thread was unlikely to have been a consideration in choosing a school. The seven samplers in the first Adam and Eve subgroup were much more densely worked than any of the other samplers. Further, the pictorial imagery included some stitches, like detached buttonhole and satin, which tend to require more thread than other stitches, like cross stitch. Metallic thread would have been much more expensive and in shorter supply than silk thread. The only samplers on which any metallic thread was used were those in the earliest Adam and Eve subgroup.

---

<sup>36</sup> Marking samplers were the first type of sampler worked by young girls. They are sometimes referred to as alphabet samplers because they include several alphabets, often numerals, and sometimes simple design elements. Another differentiation between classic band samplers and marking samplers is that marking samplers are usually smaller and much less decorative than band samplers.

The amount used was very limited, however, and would most likely not have represented a significant cost increase above any of the other samplers. Having said this, the seven samplers in the first Adam and Eve subgroup probably would have cost the most with respect to materials, any differential would not have been enough to suggest the cost of thread as a consideration in school selection.

There was some variation in the stitch techniques taught throughout the samplers, but again it does not suggest a difference that would have been sufficient enough to conclude that it was a primary consideration for selection of a school. The complexity of stitches basically comes down to whether or not a pictorial image was part of the exercise of working a sampler. All of the Adam and Eve samplers included pictorial imagery and several of the non-Adam and Eve samplers included a limited amount of pictorial imagery. However, the pictorial imagery of the latter samplers was quite different from that of the Adam and Eve group: it was much simpler in terms of stitch technique. For example, the five samplers in subgroup two (Keyes, Palfrey, Wing, Kneeland, and Decoster) consistently contained a similar prominent floral motif. While it took up a relatively large portion of the samplers, it was executed in simple stitches like cross stitch and would not have been complicated to stitch or teach. The same is the case for the samplers in subgroup three (Storer, Church, Lowell, and Erving); the imagery of the Spies of Canaan was executed with simple stitches like cross and satin and would not have been complex to either stitch or teach.

Clearly the seven samplers in the first Adam and Eve subgroup represented the most technically complex work. The main reason for this is that the pictorial imagery constituted the largest percentage of the sampler compared to samplers in the other

subgroups and the pictorial sections were worked with complex stitches. Further, the actual designs would have been relatively more complicated to spatially plan as well as to convey how to fill them in with freehand embroidery. The designs would most likely have been drawn onto the ground linen, which would have still taken judgement and physical manipulation of the linen to create. This is opposed to the stitching of bands, which would have been done by counting linen threads to make sure stitches were in the right places. Very little manipulation of linen would have been required to stitch bands, and almost no judgement would have been required. Essentially, a stitcher would have been done stitching a band when she ran out of linen. Further, the stitches worked for the band designs exhibit very little variety when all of the Boston samplers are taken into account; cross stitch was the primary stitch used. As a result, other than the first subgroup of seven Adam and Eve samplers, the stitches taught via the samplers showed little variety. If a criterion for the selection of a schoolmistress was the complexity of stitches taught by her, the first subgroup probably represents the school which would have been preferred for the most complex stitch techniques. Otherwise, the stitch techniques represented in the early Boston samplers does not support a conclusion that one school was preferred over another because of a schoolmistresses' stitch repertoire.

I conclude that there was relative parity in the type of needlework instruction provided as evidenced by the samplers. The sampler makers would have been exposed to a variety of embroidery stitches, representing the common repertoire for the period, regardless of which school they attended. Further, it does not appear that one style of sampler, based on materials used, would have been more costly so as to suggest that a notable degree of prestige was associated with any one school. Since materials used and

techniques conveyed do not appear to have had a significant impact on school choice, it is further appropriate to consider the social and business affiliations of the sampler makers.

### How the Sampler Makers May Have Known Each Other

Good marriages and growing fortunes often hinged on social and business relationships in colonial Boston. Accordingly, a school's clientele could have been influential in the selection process under the premise that familiarity breeds success. In this vein, an inquiry into paternal occupations and familial relationships is a valid exercise. This section analyzes how the families of the sampler makers may have known each other. Families may have lived in the same neighborhoods, known each other through marriage, or gained a familiarity through business and social interactions of their parents. Although Boston was one of the largest urban centers during the first half of the eighteenth century, its population was only about 16,500 in 1743. The north end of town, where the majority of the families of the sampler makers lived, went to church, and carried on their business was also quite small, approximately 2 1/2 miles long and 3/4 mile wide.<sup>37</sup> It is not difficult to imagine that many people, particularly those of higher social standing, would have been familiar with each other in some way. The North End was in close proximity to Harvard University; the area was also noted for its shipbuilding and shipping industries.<sup>38</sup> The schools which taught the girls who worked the largest number of samplers (the Adam and Eve samplers and the first group of non-Adam and Eve samplers) appear to have also been in the North End of Boston.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Refer to John Bonner's 1722 map of Boston. Size has been calculated based on the scale of the map. Boston Public Library, Call No. G3764 .B6 1723 .B66

<sup>38</sup> Annie Haven Thwing, *The Crooked & Narrow Streets of the Town of Boston, 1630-1822*. (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920), 26.

<sup>39</sup> Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 40-42 and personal conversation with Pam Parmal, June, 2010.

Family information about the girls who worked the two smaller groups of non-Adam and Eve samplers (subgroups two and three) suggest that location may have played a role in school selection. Although geographically small by modern-day standards, Boston was large enough to have been distinguished by a North End and South End by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The girls who worked the nine samplers in the two small non-Adam and Eve subgroups, with one exception, attended churches which were located in the South End of Boston. As I note later, their fathers' occupations, again with one possible exception, were such that they may have been familiar with each other through business activities. Further, several of the girls' fathers held town office, again suggesting the families knew each other in some way. Most likely all of this activity took place in the south end, where the families attended church. Thus, it is likely that the clientele of the schools responsible for the sampler designs of these two groups was predominantly represented by families who lived in the South End of Boston.

There were a number of likely business connections between the fathers of the girls who stitched the samplers to suggest they would have known each other well enough to discuss the education of their children (See Appendices F and G). There was little consistency in terms of paternal occupation among the sampler makers represented by the largest number of samplers (the Adam and Eve samplers and the first group of non-Adam and Eve samplers). Where occupations have been uncovered, the majority of the families appear to have been from the upper levels of society.<sup>40</sup> There were at least two attorneys, several merchants and shopkeepers, several shipwrights, three mariners,

---

<sup>40</sup> The CD-ROM database *Inhabitants and Estates of the Town of Boston, 1630-1800*, commonly referred to as "The Thwing Index" was my primary source for occupational and church data. (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society and Massachusetts Historical Society, 2001)

one goldsmith, and one minister. Although it can generally be said that the sampler makers represented the elite of Boston, their fathers did not consistently work in affiliated fields. For example, the paternal occupations of three of the four earliest Adam and Eve samplers were not related: Mehitable Done's father was an attorney, Martha Butler's father was a shipwright, and Ann Peartree's mother was a tavern owner and shopkeeper. The only consistency among the paternal occupations for the makers of the remaining samplers in the Adam and Eve group were among two of the samplers which were not part of a discernible subgroup: Elizabeth Breck's father was a retailer and Elizabeth Bradstreet's father was a merchant. The same variability in occupations was the case among the sampler makers in the first non-Adam and Eve subgroup.

The paternal occupations of the makers of the samplers in the second and third non-Adam and Eve subgroups showed a little more consistency. Of the three sampler-makers in the second subgroup, two were the daughters of men in the shipping industry (Margaret Palfrey's father was a sailmaker and Ann Wing's father was a shipwright) and Lydia Kneeland's father was a merchant. As a merchant Solomon Kneeland would have had business dealings with shipwrights and would likely have had a store front near the wharf, which would have put him in close proximity to sailmakers and shipwrights. The paternal occupation of all four sampler makers in the third non-Adam and Eve subgroup was decisive, they were all merchants (samplers worked by Storer, Church, Lowell, and Erving). Not only did their fathers most likely know each other through their work, but they also went to church together. This, coupled with the fact that the samplers were worked only three years apart, makes it very likely their parents chose to send their daughters to school together.

A number of the fathers were also active politically. The Thwing Index indicated that several of the patriarchs held town office or were members of the artillery company. In some cases the Thwing notation specified the office, such as constable, clerk, or tax assessor. Again, however, there was not sufficient consistency in office-holding to suggest such interactions as an influence for school selection. Only eleven of the fathers were shown to have held some type of town office, three from the Adam and Eve group and eight from the non-Adam and Eve group. There was one grouping which could suggest the fathers knew each other in this capacity. The fathers of Margaret Palfrey, Ann Wing, and Lydia Kneeland each held town office. As previously mentioned, it is also likely they knew each other through their occupations (Palfrey was a sailmaker, wing was a shipwright, and Kneeland was a merchant) and lived in the South End of Boston. It is particularly likely they knew each other because the samplers were worked only two years apart, Palfrey and Wing in 1739 and Kneeland in 1741.

My research uncovered very limited marital activity between the families of the sampler makers.<sup>41</sup> Other than the two sisters noted below, none of the sampler makers attending school together were related, and none of the girls appear to have married the brother of a schoolmate. This was true for the entire set of samplers, regardless of which group they are assigned to. I also looked at marriage partners of sampler maker siblings, and none of them appear to have gone to school with any of the sampler makers. There were two sibling relationships in the non-Adam and Eve group of samplers. Frances and Mary Pinckney worked samplers similar enough to be in the same subgroup, although they were quite different. They each had the same verse and neither of them included

---

<sup>41</sup> I did a thorough search through the Thwing Index and [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com).



Adam and Eve. Otherwise, there were few similarities between them. They both would have been about the same age when they worked their samplers, and their stitching proficiency looks to have been comparable. Sisters Elizabeth and Mercy Holland both worked their samplers in 1737. The samplers were most definitely worked at the same school - the samplers were virtually identical. Other than the two cases where samplers were worked by sisters, there were no family ties which would indicate that family relationships in Boston were continued or cultivated through a daughter's educational experience.

Two schools appear to have had a dedicated clientele which was probably influenced by location (the South End) and the occupations of the girls' fathers. Further, the samplers worked at those schools (represented by non-Adam and Eve subgroups Two and Three) exhibit very different design conceits from each other as well as the other samplers, which share a number of individual design elements between them even though some included the Adam and Eve pictorial and some did not. Though a more narrow demographic frequented two schools and the related schoolmistresses each developed a distinctly unique sampler design, the underlying religious message conveyed through all of the samplers remained the same: the importance of salvation. I argue that the consistency in religious focus exhibited in the samplers is related to the Puritan heritage of Boston. What follows is an overview of colonial Boston history with an emphasis on the charter religion of Puritanism.

### Early Boston Demographics

For a more complete understanding and contextualization of the possible function of samplers within the Boston community, the social and religious history of the area

must be taken into account. The Puritan heritage of Boston had a significant impact on the community in which the samplers in this study were worked. Boston was one of the earliest English settlements in North America, having been established as a community by English Puritans in the 1630s. The Puritans were primarily motivated to immigrate to the New World by their desire to establish an ideal religious community. The New England Puritans clung to England's way of life after they settled in New England. One aspect of English life they replicated in the New World was a parish-centered town structure. Local, independent churches had been the nucleus of England towns for centuries; the parish served as the center of social, political, and religious life. This social structure was also adhered to in New England. Further expanding on the English precedent, cultural norms were closely monitored by the clergy, church attendance was required, and the prevailing theology adhered to a moderate Calvinist doctrine.<sup>42</sup>

The establishment of individual, independent congregations was the norm in colonial Boston. Many of the parents of the sampler makers were members of the congregations which were spread throughout the neighborhoods in which they lived. People became members of the congregations as adults; they were voted in as members based on their public profession of faith and the church membership's confidence in their good Christian character and knowledge of scripture. When approved as a member, they were required to swear to the covenant of the church before they were admitted to full membership in the congregation. Attendance at religious services was required of all residents of the community, whether or not they had been admitted as full members of the

---

<sup>42</sup> David Jaffee, *People of Wachuset: Greater New England in History and Memory, 1630-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999): 7-8. The town-based pattern of settlement was established early on by the Massachusetts Bay Company. By the fall of 1630 there were seven separate settlements between Salem (to the north) and Dorchester (to the south). Boston was one of these settlements.

congregation. Congregations were seen as the foundation of Puritan New England society.<sup>43</sup> Those who did not embrace the congregational format or doctrine were generally seen as troublesome.

The first Boston Congregational Church, First (Old Brick) Church, was established in 1632 (See Appendix H). A succession of churches were established after the foundations for Congregationalism had been set by this church. Future churches were established due either to community growth or doctrinal differences among congregants. Cotton Mather and Samuel Mather were pastors at the Second (Old North) Church, which was established because of community growth in 1650. By 1669, however, doctrinal differences led to the establishment of the Third (Old South) Church. Members of this church were congregants of First Church who left in order to implement the Halfway Covenant.<sup>44</sup> Fourth Church (Brattle Street Church) was established with Benjamin Colman as the minister, who, unlike most Boston Congregationalists, was sympathetic to and even supportive of the Church of England. This church practiced a relaxed form of Calvinism, which, in addition to the support of the Church of England, is another reason why the Mathers were opposed to its creation but powerless when it came to interfering with its establishment in 1699. New Congregational churches would continue to be organized in Boston through the 1740s.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 159.

<sup>44</sup> The Halfway Covenant made baptism available to the children of church members who had been admitted to the church even though they had not had a conversion experience. A public conversion experience had originally been a prerequisite to being admitted as a member of the church. For a thorough analysis of Boston's early churches see George W. Harper, *A People So Favored of God: Boston's Congregational Churches and Their Pastors, 1710-1760* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004).

<sup>45</sup> Harper, *A People So Favored Of God*, 171.

Before the doctrinal challenges to Puritan orthodoxy which resulted in the formation of Fourth (Brattle Street) Church, the fundamental (orthodox) Puritan sacrament of baptism was being challenged by the Anabaptist movement.

Congregationalists who found themselves leaning towards the adult baptismal tradition of the Anabaptists began to challenge the traditional Boston Congregational Churches as early as 1665. The impetus to form a Baptist church arose as a result of objections to the Congregational Church's controversial adoption of the Halfway Covenant in 1662.<sup>46</sup>

Initially, a group of church members felt in agreement with the practice of adult baptism, but did not wish to give up church membership. Eventually, however, pressure to accept and tolerate this alternative view spread and Baptists were meeting in Boston by 1673; they built their first church in 1679.<sup>47</sup>

By 1750 Boston had eleven Congregational churches, three Anglican churches, two Baptist churches, one Presbyterian church, and one Quaker meeting house.<sup>48</sup> Congregants of these churches not only knew each other personally, but in many cases familial religious ties had been broken in order to become a member of a church which followed a different doctrine. The reasons for the establishment of new churches were obviously important to the members who joined ranks to split from their existing

---

<sup>46</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in colonial Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 14-15, 29. A Quaker movement also challenged the orthodox Puritanical communities during the seventeenth century. A limited number of residents of Salem were convinced in the faith of Quakerism as early as 1656. While shifting of allegiance from Puritanism to Quakerism represented a radical shift, the Baptist movement resulted from a maturation of a dissenting tradition that had long been a minor presence in Massachusetts.

<sup>47</sup> Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 161.

<sup>48</sup> Robert M. Kingdon, "Protestant Parishes in the Old World and the New: The Cases of Geneva and Boston" *Church History*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Sept., 1979), 299. The first five Congregational churches were essentially established in twenty year intervals. The first Anglican church was established in 1688, the first Presbyterian church was established in 1729, and the first Baptist church was established in 1665 (they were meeting in homes at this time).

churches. But it appears that the disagreements were not important enough to result in a total alienation of relationships between friends and relatives. Members of the Baptist church were people whose spouses, in some cases, did not transfer to the new church with them. Many of the children of Baptist parents did not change churches when their parents did. Carla Gardina Pestana describes the changing church allegiances as a phenomenon which riddled Boston towns and families with competing spiritual loyalties.<sup>49</sup> It was common, even in the three leading Boston Baptist families, for individual family members to leave the Congregational church and become Baptist without taking other family members with them.<sup>50</sup>

Though there were a variety of churches established based on differing religious ideals, all of the Boston churches represented by sampler makers retained the doctrine of Original Sin and an emphasis on individual salvation as important components of their theology. This explains why I found no correlation between Adam and Eve samplers and orthodoxy, and non-Adam and Eve samplers with more liberal, dissenting beliefs. The families of the sampler makers, taken as a whole, embraced varying doctrinal positions: orthodox, non-orthodox, dissenting, Old Light, and New Light traditions. Although the samplers represent at least five different design conceits, they commonly incorporated, either through imagery or verse, the importance of individual salvation. Even though

---

<sup>49</sup> Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*, 125. A case in point would be the Byles family. Josiah, Sr., who was a leading Deacon in the Baptist church, married the daughter of Increase Mather. Josiah, Jr. was a Baptist deacon who married the minister's daughter (Abigail Callendar). Josiah Jr.'s half brother Mather was the minister of a staunchly orthodox Congregational church in Boston (Hollis Street Church).

<sup>50</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*, 76. Pestana notes that even though strong networks were created through intermarriage of the early Baptists families, sectarian and familial commitments were often less than comfortable. She notes as an example Joseph Russell and his family. Russell was a second-generation convert who married Mary Skinner (granddaughter of Baptist leader Thomas Goold). Mary Russell never joined the church with Joseph, although six of their nine children did.

church members disagreed on some issues, the disagreements among them were over ecclesiology rather than soteriology and the importance of salvation through Christ.<sup>51</sup> This dynamic is reflected in the samplers; girls faithful to a variety of church ideals united when attending school and worked samplers which exemplified a common Calvinist focus on salvation.

Church affiliations have been identified for the majority of the Boston sampler-makers (see Appendices F and G). Generally speaking, I have assumed the girls attended the same church as their parents. In most cases church affiliation was indicated for the father and/or mother in the Thwing Index. For some of the girls I assumed their religious affiliation based on the minister who married the parents.<sup>52</sup> In cases where there was information available from a number of sources, I found that it supported a consistent conclusion rather than provided contradictory data. There are a few families I have not been able to associate with a particular church or religion. There was sufficient data, however, to arrive at some reliable conclusions.

### Puritan Theology

Boston was settled by Puritan men and women who held a deep and sincere concern for the maintenance of a godly community. This concern led the colony's founders to create a community structure where religion penetrated every aspect of daily

---

<sup>51</sup> Harper, *A People So Favored of God*, 34-45. New Lights and Old Lights (a manifestation of the Great Awakening) continued to work within and support a common theological framework of moderate Calvinism. The same is true, particularly with regard to salvation, for Baptists and non-orthodox Congregationalists. New Light revivalists challenged the strict, ritualistic theology of the orthodox churches. They espoused a pastoral style that was casual and emotional, and even not restricted to church pulpits. New Lights also accepted and supported clergy who were not university educated. Old Lights maintained that congregants were best led by clergy who had been university trained and focused on theology, ritual, and doctrine.

<sup>52</sup> This information was often obtained from [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com)'s Boston marriage database.

life in the eighteenth century. While this may be said of eighteenth-century society in general, the religious verve expected of New England colonists surpassed that of the other colonists. At its most general level Puritanism can be described as being based on Calvinist theology. Among other Calvinist doctrines, Puritans believed in predestination and the importance of leading Godly lives. Their first concern in life was to do God's will in order to receive future salvation and happiness after death. Further, congregants were expected to continually reflect on and reform their actions so as to fight against indwelling (original) sin. Salvation, however, depended entirely upon God's grace.

Puritan theology stressed a strict methodology in the quest to achieve salvation. Salvation was the ultimate goal for all Christians, however, it was not possible where the manifestations of the workings of grace had not been received. Historically, the Medieval (Catholic) church institutionalized grace through the seven sacraments.<sup>53</sup> The Reformed churches retained only baptism and communion as holy sacraments. The early New England Puritans institutionalized grace through these two sacraments. Baptism was a public event which was required for church membership and church membership was required in order to receive communion. Entry into the membership of the church was also a public event, one at which each individual was expected to relate to the congregation proof of their having received inner grace. For Boston Puritans, the institutionalized aspect of God's grace did not eliminate the requisite personal initiative for achievement of salvation.

Puritan ecclesiastical and social systems are often referred to as having been covenantal systems, and references to church covenants, social covenants, and national

---

<sup>53</sup> The seven Catholic sacraments are communion, baptism, confession, confirmation, marriage, holy orders, and last rights.

covenants abound in their early writings. The relationship between God and man was a covenantal bond, of which obedience was a primary concern. This was particularly represented to Puritans through the story of Adam and Eve and original sin. The principle of covenants was an important part of the hegemony created by the early Puritan leaders.<sup>54</sup> The church and community were bound by covenants. It was essential for the proper order and growth of the community that all citizens were church members in good standing in order to realize the ultimate goal of the original settlers of a Holy Commonwealth. Participation in the Puritan social order, the backbone of Puritan communal identity, resulted in a *social* construction of self. One's identity was constructed based on participation in the Puritan social order.<sup>55</sup>

The culture of the early eighteenth century experienced a shift in behavior and attitudes toward community and self. The first generations of Massachusetts Puritans felt comfortable looking to the church and its leaders for confirmation of grace and salvation. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, Puritans became more personally responsible and reflective in their quest for salvation. This behavior challenged the Puritan legacy of communal control.<sup>56</sup> With the advent of the eighteenth century, grace became a more

---

<sup>54</sup> Adam Seligman, "Inner-worldly individualism and the institutionalization of Puritanism in late seventeenth-century New England" *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Dec., 1990), 538.

<sup>55</sup> T. H. Breen and Timothy Hall, "Structuring Provincial Imagination: The Rhetoric and Experience of Social Change in Eighteenth-Century New England" *The American Historical Review*, vol. 103, No. 5 (Dec. 1998): 1414-1415. Breen and Hall describe the institutional legacy of the Puritan past as one which sought to control the selfishness of mankind by obliterating the individual through stern subordination to the good of the community.

<sup>56</sup> Breen and Hall, "Structuring Provincial Imagination", 1415-1428. Breen and Hall analyze the impact of contemporary debates over itinerant ministers (the Great Awakening) and paper currency (Land Bank controversy) in eighteenth-century New England. They view these debates and their impact on culture as having presented a real challenge for the individuals as well as the leaders of the community. The effect of a broader base of purchasing power and an increased personal power over spiritual affairs threatened to undermine the covenanted moral economy created by the settled pastors. The possibilities for a broadening of political, social, and religious participation were made manifest through these debates. "Like paper money and consumer goods, itinerancy threatened to disrupt eighteenth-century social relations. The crowds that gathered to hear itinerants became metaphors of social leveling."



personal, individual process. Moral boundaries, which had previously been monitored by the church, were internalized. They were essentially the same moral boundaries espoused by church leaders, but the individual was responsible for them instead of the community. An important aspect of the education of all youth for the Boston community, with its strong Puritan heritage, would have been an emphasis on the importance of individual salvation.

Protestantism in general, and Puritanism specifically, emphasized education as a conduit for salvation because of the premium placed on individual reading of the Bible. As previously noted, the Puritan faith denied the efficacy of the sacraments as a means of obtaining salvation. Whereas the Catholic faith taught that salvation could be received through the sacraments as administered by priests, Protestants considered salvation a more personal affair which required active, individual initiative. Congregants were expected to personally seek signs of God and certainty of faith; they were taught that reading scripture would provide assistance with their constant search. One's only hope was in the Holy Book.<sup>57</sup> The Protestant premium on reading the Bible required a dedication to teaching all to read; it was fundamental in the personal quest to find meaning and certainty of salvation through the Bible. As far as Boston Puritans were concerned, education and salvation went hand-in-hand, the relationship was virtually indivisible.

The significance of this history to the study of early eighteenth-century female education and samplers is that the idea of salvation was of critical concern to early New Englanders. Education would naturally have been infused with the message of salvation

---

<sup>57</sup> Karl J. Weintraub, "The Puritan Ethic and Benjamin Franklin," *The Journal of Medicine*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Jul., 1976), 227.

and grace in a way which was consistent with the Puritan/Calvinist beliefs of the adult members of the community. Schools were a powerful means of cultural transmission; they were an important vehicle for disseminating the Puritan belief system to successive generations.

### Colonial Boston Schools

The various sampler styles worked in Boston between 1719 and 1754 suggest a rich history of female education which was solidly established by 1730. There were some stylistic elements commonly applied among the samplers taken as a whole, which suggests, at a minimum, familiarity and influence among the teachers. The samplers are divisible, however, into several distinct groups, which suggests the samplers represent at least five active teachers during the period. Newspaper advertising during the period also suggests a variety of options for female education during the early eighteenth century in Boston. The Puritan emphasis on education would have had an impact on the educational environment in which the samplers were made.

A fundamental belief of the early Puritans was that all men and women should be educated enough to read and interpret the Bible. In 1720, the Boston public school system included the South Grammar School, the North Grammar School, the Writing School, the North Writing School, and the South Writing School.<sup>58</sup> These public secondary schools were attended almost exclusively by boys. There is evidence that on rare occasions girls were allowed to attend some public schools throughout New

---

<sup>58</sup> The families of two of the Boston sampler makers were involved in the early public schools. Lydia Hutchinson's father Thomas and her uncle Edward paid for the cost of building the North Grammar School, which opened in 1713. Ezekiel Cheever, the great grandfather of sampler maker Elizabeth Cheever, was schoolmaster of the Boston Latin School for thirty eight years, from 1670 until his death in 1708. Robert Francis Seybolt, *The Public Schools of Colonial Boston* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 8-10.

England, but this trend was not popular until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Girls were, however, welcome at any of the private schools in the town. For example, Peter Burr conducted a private school in a room which he rented from Samuel Sewall. Entries in his account book indicate that he taught writing as well as Latin, and that he admitted girls, some of whom he taught Latin. An entry from September, 1696 notes that Faith Savage and Abigail Gillam had just begun to learn Latin from him at his school.<sup>60</sup> There were varying arrangements with respect to the interaction of the sexes, however. Some schools would separate them completely by arranging for different rooms and/or hours of attendance. If a school did not have more than one room or enough class offerings to separate the girls and boys physically, they would be taught at the same time and by the same teacher, usually male.

The samplers included in this study were worked in this general educational environment. The makers of these samplers would have been attending a private school and their embroidery curriculum would have been taught by a female mistress. Contemporary advertising suggests they would have been going to school with other girls; it is unlikely they would have been combined with boys for their embroidery lessons. There are a very limited number of eighteenth-century samplers worked by young men, but extant Boston samplers and advertisements indicate that only girls were learning to embroider at the private schools during this period.

As previously mentioned, only one schoolmistress has been firmly linked with a Boston sampler design, the first subgroup of Adam and Eve samplers. Scholars generally

---

<sup>59</sup> Small, *Early New England Schools*, 275-289.

<sup>60</sup> Seybolt, *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, 8.

conclude that Susanna's sister-in-law Abigail Stevens Hiller (wife of Susanna's brother Joseph) took over Susanna's school after her death in late 1747 and was responsible for the second subgroup of Adam and Eve samplers. Abigail Hiller advertised in *The Boston Evening-Post* in February 1748 that she was opening a boarding school at her home in the north end of Boston early in the spring. She was to teach wax work, filigree, painting on glass, Japanning, quill work, feather work and embroidering with gold and silver, "and several other sorts of work not here enumerated." She was also prepared to supply the patterns, drawings, and materials for the students' work. Abigail continued to teach according to her advertisements until at least 1756.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to Susanna Hiller Condry and Abigail Hiller, other women advertised their educational offerings during the early eighteenth century. As previously mentioned, the first advertisement was placed by Mary Turfrey in 1706. Other school opportunities appeared in the Boston newspapers as follows:

- 1706-Mistress Mary Turfrey, boards young gentlewomen to teach them
- 1713-at the house of Mr. George Brownell, embroidery taught, boarding offered
- 1714-at the house of Mr. James Ivers, embroidery taught, boarding offered
- 1716-at the house of Mr. George Brownell, embroidery taught
- 1720-at Edward Enstone's dancing, embroidery taught, boarding offered
- 1736-at the house of Mrs. Anne Dowding, writing, cyphering, and embroidery taught, boarding offered (Mrs. Sarah Todd, instructress)
- 1736-Margaret Mackellwen taught embroidery
- 1738-at the house of Philip Dumerisque, Esq., embroidery taught
- 1738-Peter and Margaret Pelham, all sorts of needlework taught
- 1739-Mrs. Margaret Laitaill, embroidery taught
- 1749-Mrs. Hannah Hutchinson, variety of needlework taught, boarding offered
- 1751-Elizabeth Murray, embroidery taught, boarding offered
- 1751-Bridget Suckling, embroidery taught, boarding offered

---

<sup>61</sup> Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 42. Abigail's husband Joseph (who was Susanna Condry's brother) was also active at First Baptist Church, he was a deacon. Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*, 108.

1755-at the house of Mr. Jonathan Clark, sampler work taught, boarding offered<sup>62</sup>

Although there were relatively few women advertising the teaching of needlework in the first half of the eighteenth century in Boston, options for secondary female education clearly existed. Unfortunately, in most cases the advertisers did not indicate the name of the woman who would have been teaching embroidery; this makes it very difficult to determine any relationships which may suggest links between an instructress and her students. What is certain is that there were several women teaching samplers; they each created a distinct style which at the same time borrowed from popular motifs worked at other schools, thereby creating a noticeable design aesthetic which can be associated with eighteenth-century Boston.

#### Adam and Eve Samplers

There are seventeen samplers which include a pictorial image of Adam and Eve. The samplers range in date between 1724 (Mehitable Done) and 1754 (Sarah Bradstreet). The overall design of the samplers did not change significantly during the period in which they were worked. All of the samplers included at least two bands (referring to the band sampler format) and emphasized the Adam and Eve imagery as the main focus of the sampler. With the exception of one of the samplers (Ann Peartree, 1734), the band format takes up roughly a third to half of the sampler and the pictorial element takes up the rest of the space. This is important because the pictorial element (Adam and Eve) ends up being the most impressive component of each work visually. This is the case independent of a sampler's assignment to a specific stylistic subgroup.

---

<sup>62</sup> Seybolt, *The Private Schools of Colonial Boston*, 11-40.

The Adam and Eve samplers are divided into two stylistic subgroups because of how the pictorial images were designed and worked. The earliest subgroup includes the samplers worked by Mehitable Done (1724), “AP” (1727), Martha Butler (1729), Ann Peartree (1734), Abigail Poole (1737), Lydia Hart (1744), and Rebekah Owen (1745). Adam and Eve face front on these samplers, and their hands closest to the tree are raised and holding an apple. The human bodies, flora, and fauna were worked in complicated embroidery stitches which were commonly used for seventeenth-century English pictorial embroideries (for example detached buttonhole). Additionally, four of the five samplers included six animals placed in almost the exact order below Adam and Eve: a leopard, lion, fox, dog, a rabbit, and frog. The fifth sampler (Rebekah Owen) included the same rabbit and frog that are on the others, but Rebekah omitted the leopard, lion, fox, and dog. The animal motifs were so similar in design and placement that some kind of pattern had to have been followed; either a model embroidery or a drawn or engraved pattern were the most likely sources.<sup>63</sup>

Adam and Eve face the Tree of Knowledge in the second stylistic category of Adam and Eve samplers. There are seven samplers in the group: Ruth Rogers (1739), Mariah Deavenport (1741), Mary Parker (1741), Margaret Mansfield (1744), Elizabeth Sweetser (1745), Mary Dowrick (1747), and Mary Emmons (1749). Adam and Eve are in the same stance on each sampler: legs are bent, not straight, and one hand is raised in anticipation of grabbing for an apple. The only animal consistently worked on these

---

<sup>63</sup> A likely sampler prototype for this group of samplers is in the collection of Museum of Fine Arts Boston (acc. no. 43.275). It was signed “MD 1654”. The top portion of this sampler more closely resembles the classic seventeenth-century English sampler bands when compared to the Boston group. But the bottom (Adam and Eve) part of the sampler contains several elements consistent with and similar to the Boston group. See Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework 1650-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 37.

samplers was a rabbit, but the Tree of Knowledge is very similarly designed and stitched in each of the pieces. The stitching techniques used throughout the samplers, and particularly with respect to the pictorial section, were much less complex than the work of the first (and earlier) group. The human bodies and animal figures were filled with cross stitch, and there was quite a bit of satin stitch and freehand embroidery used for the flora elements. The extensive use of detached buttonhole stitch, popular in the seventeenth century, was absent from this group of samplers.

There are three samplers which have an Adam and Eve pictorial which do not fit neatly into one of the two previously identified stylistic subgroups. The three samplers in this subgroup are: Sarah Silsby (1748), Ellen Breck (1750), and Sarah Bradstreet (1754). Although Adam and Eve face front on each of these samplers, none of the bodies are similar in design or stitch technique to the first Adam and Eve subgroup. Further, the flora and fauna for each of the samplers is not consistent enough to either of the subgroups to suggest they were worked in conjunction with any of the samplers in those subgroups. These samplers have been excluded from my detail study of the Boston samplers.

At least two teachers were most likely responsible for the initial proliferation of the Adam and Eve style of sampler. In addition to the stylistic and technical differences previously noted, the dates of the samplers suggest that the first teacher worked between 1724 and 1744, and the second teacher worked between 1739 and 1747. The dates (1748 to 1754) and stylistic creativity of the three samplers which do not fit into these two categories suggest the tradition was then taken over after 1747 by more than one teacher; a number of extant samplers consistent with this design attest to the fact that this tradition

remained active throughout the eighteenth century. The names of the teachers are not known because none of the girls stitched the name of an instructress on a sampler.<sup>64</sup>

#### Adam and Eve Subgroup One - Susanna Condry Schoolmistress

As previously mentioned, Susanna Hiller Condry is considered to be the schoolmistress responsible for the samplers in the first Adam and Eve subgroup. The samplers in this subgroup were worked between 1724 and 1745. Susanna Hiller Condry (1686-1747) first advertised her school in 1742. In her *Boston Evening-Post* advertisement, Condry announced that she would open her school the following week and that she would supply the materials for the works she taught, whether students learned from her or not. Four years earlier she had advertised that she drew patterns for embroidery and had for sale embroidery fabric without a drawn design as well as silk, floss, crewel wool, and needles. In 1736 she advertised that she had for sale a “fine Fustian Suit of Curtains” drawn in London and fully worked, along with the same pattern drawn on enough fabric for six chairs.<sup>65</sup> Both earlier advertisements indicate she was tied both to the textile trade and possibly also teaching, as she could have taught the embroidery techniques required to finish the patterns she was drawing. Further indication of her close association with the teaching field is the fact that her husband Jeremiah Condry (born 1682/83) was appointed master of the public writing school (North Writing

---

<sup>64</sup> In the early eighteenth century schools were referred to by the name of the instructress. The schools were most often held in the instructress' home. If a school was not convened in the home of the instructress, it would have been held in the home of someone else, often that of one of the local school masters.

<sup>65</sup> Gertrude Townsend, “A Set of Eighteenth Century Embroidered Bed Curtains”, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Vol. 40, No. 242 (Dec., 1942): 111-115; Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 40.



School) in 1719. He most likely held this position until the appointment of his successor John Proctor in 1730/31.<sup>66</sup>

Scholars have concluded that Susanna most likely operated her school before her first school advertisement in 1742.<sup>67</sup> The basis for this conclusion is that her school had been successful enough prior to the 1742 advertisement to have grown from word-of-mouth advertising alone. The wording of the advertisement itself (by indicating that the school was to open the following week) implies that people were already familiar with her as a teacher and did not need advance notice to decide upon the suitability of Susanna as a teacher. Also, by 1742 Susanna was a widow. It is probable that without her husband Jeremiah's contacts and income she was in a situation where she needed to be assured of a steady stream of students.

Both Jeremiah and Susanna had relationships which would have neatly coalesced into an opportunity for a successful girl's school. Of course, Jeremiah's appointment as public writing master would have made him well known to parents seeking an education for their children. Further, like many of the fathers of our sampler makers, Jeremiah Condry had been a merchant and had also held town office. The family had joined First Baptist Church in 1720. This was a year after his appointment as writing master, and four years before date of the earliest sampler in the first Adam and Eve subgroup. The Condry family was no doubt well known in the church community because their son Jeremiah became the minister of the First Baptist Church in 1738. Jeremiah and Susanna Condry were not only active in church and community, but they likely worked together as

---

<sup>66</sup> Seybolt, *The Public Schools of Colonial Boston, 1635-1775* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 23.

<sup>67</sup> Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 40.

merchants, and no doubt kept up with the latest English fashions and textiles. It seems that Susanna was perfectly placed to assure a pious education to young girls that was also in keeping with the most current English fashion and taste.

There were also relationships between the extended families of the earliest sampler maker (Mehitable Done) and the Condys which strongly suggest a relationship that would lead to Mehitable's parents sending her to Susanna's school. These connections are the basis for the conclusion that Condy was responsible for this subgroup of samplers. Since the Done sampler is the earliest in this subgroup, it is assumed that Susanna taught this style as early as 1724 and maintained the basic design until she stopped teaching somewhere around 1745, the date of the latest sampler in the group. Susanna's father Joseph Hiller was a prosperous tinplate worker and tavern keeper, who also held town office. He occasionally served as an agent for London clients, which indicates that Susanna grew up in an environment familiar with the current happenings in London. Hiller was deeded property from the estate of Joseph Callendar (Mehitable's great uncle on her mother's side), which indicates a close relationship of some kind between the two men.<sup>68</sup> A further close relationship between the Callendars and Condys is evident because Susanna's son Jeremiah enrolled at Harvard with the help of Elisha Callendar (Mehitable's maternal uncle). Callendar not only helped Jeremiah get into Harvard, but also to receive a Hollis fellowship. Mehitable Done's family were members of the First Baptist Church; it can be assumed they were active members because Mehitable's grandfather Ellis and uncle Elisha were the ministers of the church from 1708 to 1738. Elisha took over for his father in 1726 after sharing the responsibility with

---

<sup>68</sup> Thwing Database.

him for eight years. Jeremiah Condry, Susanna's son who had gotten into Harvard with the help of the Callendars, took over the ministerial position at the church in 1738, after Elisha stepped down from the position. These relationships, coupled with the fact that all of the families lived in the North End, support the conclusion that *Mehitable Done's* parents would have not only known Susanna Condry, but would have felt comfortable sending their daughter to her for an education.

### Why Adam and Eve?

While the ways in which Adam and Eve were worked on samplers is useful in establishing the particular school in which the samplers were worked, how can the imagery be useful in interpreting the role of religion in girls' education? It is tempting to simply attribute the stitching of such imagery to the requirement that girls learn the full range of manual dexterity and technical knowledge necessary to be considered competent needleworkers. This rationale can be applied to the Adam and Eve sections of each sampler because they were generally more complex and difficult to execute than any of the preceding bands of each of the samplers. Nonetheless, the possibilities for the choice of an image which represented a progression in needlework skill would have been endless. The decision was made by the 1720s, and then continued into the 1750s, that the young schoolgirls should stitch Adam and Eve and the Tree of Knowledge as a schoolroom exercise in Boston. Why would this specific image have been chosen?<sup>69</sup>

The answer lies in the meaning of the image to the community in which the schools operated. The Puritan religious tradition continued to have an impact on New

---

<sup>69</sup> Three of the Adam and Eve samplers included a verse as well as the image of Adam and Eve. Two samplers (Lydia Hart and Rebekah Owen) included the same verse: "Adam and Eve that was their pedigree/that had a grant to never die would they obedient be." Sarah Bradstreet's sampler verse read: "Adam and Eve whilst innocent in Paradise were placed/but soon the serpent by his wiles the happy pair disgraced."

England culture in the early eighteenth century, although it had evolved from that of the earliest settlers. Eighteenth-century Puritanism was accommodating various religious, economic, and social pressures such as the Great Awakening, broadening purchasing power and expanding commercial capitalism, and the development of individual agency and notions of self-identity. The personalization of grace was a trend being felt by Bostonians in the early eighteenth century. Yet the world of Boston in 1725 continued to stress the importance of moral responsibility and personal piety, salvation, and covenant theology. The concept of original sin, the institution of marriage, and the ideal of covenant theology would have been appropriately timely topics for the adolescent girls who worked the stitched images of Adam and Eve. The legacy of Adam and Eve was no doubt an apropos motif for the conveyance of each of these important lessons.

The story of Adam and Eve would have been familiar to Boston culture in the early eighteenth century and therefore relevant to the education of young girls at the time. A teacher could refer to the story with confidence that it would not only receive acceptance by the community, but also that the story and the lessons to be gleaned from the story were being reinforced within the community when the young girls were interacting with family and friends outside of the classroom. As the schoolgirls worked their difficult stitches and learned techniques they could later use to decorate domestic and personal textiles, they were also learning important lessons associated with the imagery of Adam and Eve which could be called upon as reminders of how to be pious and virtuous members of society. The teachers, by choosing such imagery, were

announcing to all who saw the samplers that they were familiar with and capable of teaching these important lessons.<sup>70</sup>

The embroidery of images was not a new invention on the part of Boston schoolmistresses. The tradition of working pictorial embroideries can be traced to England in the seventeenth century. The Boston embroideries, therefore, represented a continuation of that English tradition. The Edenic scenes worked in England included images from the story of Adam and Eve among an array of allegorical flora and fauna. Andrew Morrall has shown how these embroideries recreated the natural beauty of Eden, investing them with spiritual, and specifically redemptive, meaning. The theology called upon by the embroiderers required no specialized hermeneutical training. The relationship between the story of Adam and Eve and the contemporary lessons it was intended to convey were conventional, unexceptional, and widely held in seventeenth-century English culture. The Adam and Eve embroideries provided an exemplar of an ideal state of being to which the embroiderers were encouraged to aspire: an appreciation of nature as God's creation, a celebration of the original innocence of Eden, an expression of the importance of the Bible as a narrative of human redemption, and Adam and Eve as

---

<sup>70</sup> My perspective on the Adam and Eve lesson taught to the young girls is decidedly positive. Many may think of the Adam and Eve lesson in a more negative way (if you sin bad things will happen to you - the first wife was the sinner, be sure not to be one yourself). But the Lockean/humanistic approach to education was one that tended to prefer a positive approach, as opposed to a firm, restrictive, and negative approach. This approach, popular in eighteenth-century Anglo-America, also delivered a pedagogy which had a bias toward experience (as opposed to mere book learning) and the use of role models and exemplars to convey lessons.

exemplars of the perfection of the married state.<sup>71</sup> Adam and Eve samplers illustrate a consistent, familiar usage of imagery to teach pious and moral lessons by exemplifying appropriate role models. It represented a continuation of a tradition of Reformation iconography that had been employed since the sixteenth century.

Paralleling the seventeenth-century English tradition of embroidering representations of Old Testament women was the Puritan tradition which forbade the making of graven images prescribed by Exodus 20. Clearly the image of Adam and Eve on a sampler was not offensive or forbidden by eighteenth-century Bostonians or they would not have been included on samplers at all. I propose the imagery was justified on the schoolgirl embroideries as it was considered a valuable teaching tool for the reasons noted below. There was a recognized distinction between image making and meaning in New England Puritan semiology. Puritans considered themselves readers of God's symbols and viewers of the patterns which spelled out His message.<sup>72</sup> Rather than considering schoolgirl embroideries of Adam and Eve as graven, forbidden images, they alternatively appreciated and welcomed their relevance to the teaching of Original Sin and salvation. The girls were not *making* the image, they were viewing, experiencing, and learning from the image instead.

---

<sup>71</sup> Andre Morrall, "Regaining Eden: Representations of Nature in Seventeenth-Century English Embroidery" in Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt, ed., *Twixt Art and Nature: English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008): 79-97. Morrall traces the source of the imagery to frontispieces for the *Geneva Bible*, the *Bishop's Bible*, and the 1607 *Book of Common Prayer*. He sees the embroideries as functioning more on the emblematic and allegorical level than on a properly pictorial level. He further sees the initial fashion of depicting companionate marriage through Adam and Eve imagery changing to eventually depict harmonious marriage in the late seventeenth century. The shift from companionate to harmonious was influenced by the political setting of England after the Restoration. Morrall notes that the (religious) pictorial tradition evolved to the pastoral tradition on a parallel with the development of poetry and painting, which were influenced by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century era of reason and science.

<sup>72</sup> Lynn Hains, "The Face of God: Iconography in Early American Poetry, Sermons, and Tombstone Carving," *Early American Literature*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring, 1979), 20-21.

The image of Adam and Eve had been a consistent component of Reformation iconography since the sixteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Given the persistence of the imagery, as evidenced by the samplers in my study, it appears that schools which taught young girls continued to draw on the imagery and its potential relevance as a part of their pedagogy. Probably the most apparent lesson to be taught via Adam and Eve was that of original sin, in other words the corruption of man. The Puritan-based faiths of eighteenth-century Boston emphasized original sin and the therapeutic efficacy of suffering (exemplified by original sin) as a means for appreciation of human life and love.<sup>74</sup> It may have presented a harsh lesson for young minds, but it was a lesson of reality and one that needed to be taught. Edmund S. Morgan described original sin as “no fairy story with which to frighten little children,” but rather as an inescapable fact which children needed to become acquainted with as soon as possible.<sup>75</sup> Beyond the concept of original sin, Adam and Eve also provided an opportunity to teach about marriage and covenant theology. Marriage would have been an important topic for young girls because Puritans considered the family as the fundamental unit of social organization for their society. They claimed a further association for marriage by extending it to represent the espousal of humans to God. The idea of the covenant was also of immense importance for the Puritans. It

---

<sup>73</sup> For descriptions of Reformation iconography see Pieter J. J. Van Thiel, “‘Poor Parents, Rich Children’ and ‘Family Saying Grace’: Two Related Aspects of the Iconography of Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Domestic Morality,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 17, No. 2/3 (1987): 90-149; Belden C. Lane, “Two Schools of Desire: Nature and Marriage in Seventeenth-Century Puritanism,” *Church History*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (June, 2000): 372-402; Kathleen Crowther-Heyck, “‘Be Fruitful and Multiply’: Genesis and Generation in Reformation Germany,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Autumn, 2002): 904-935.

<sup>74</sup> Amanda Porterfield, *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 115.

<sup>75</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Revised Edition, 1966), 93.

permeated all of their thinking and had important implications for individual salvation as well as community unity. Covenant Theology was based on the notion of binding agreements - something was promised based on a condition. In Covenant Theology God promised salvation in return for faith, but salvation could not be guaranteed in advance. The importance of agreements was the critical point of Covenant Theology for Puritans, who considered covenants to exist in all forms of life: theological, social, political, and familial.<sup>76</sup> The image of Adam and Eve, then, could be called upon to communicate a number of lessons. Given that the ultimate purpose of education for Puritans was salvation, what better lesson to place at the center of female education than Adam and Eve.

#### Adam and Eve and Original Sin

The story of Adam and Eve is told in the Old Testament in the book of Genesis. The story is important to all Christians because it tells of the creation of man and woman in the Garden of Eden. When Eve ate the apple from the Tree of Knowledge and then shared it with Adam, God became unhappy with them and condemned them (and thereafter all of humanity) to a mortal life that was naturally sinful. Only through the grace of God could man receive salvation and eternal life. The Fall of Man occurred when Adam and Eve ate from the Tree of Knowledge; they had committed the Original Sin which was a sin that the rest of humanity would also have to bear.

When God first created Adam, man's salvation was dependent upon his *actions*. If man acted according to God's will he would receive sanctification from God. With the

---

<sup>76</sup> C. Conrad Cherry, "The Puritan Notion of the Covenant in Jonathan Edwards' Doctrine of Faith" *Church History*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Sept., 1965), 328-330.



creation of Eve, eternal happiness was pledged to Adam and Eve, and their posterity, in return for obedience to the will of God. With the Fall, Adam and Eve broke their covenant with God (known as the Covenant of Works) and their salvation became dependent upon God's grace (known as the Covenant of Grace). The Covenant of Grace was the means whereby salvation was effected, but in return for salvation God required true faith. True faith required preparing for God's call and a commitment to leading a life according to His will.<sup>77</sup> If one had true faith, one would not only receive salvation, but also naturally act in appropriately Christian ways. This was an important social characteristic of salvation for the Puritan community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The benefit, then, of focusing on Adam and Eve in female education would be to imbed in the minds of the students the significance of the concept of Original Sin and its implications for their adult life. Deprived of righteousness as a result Adam's fall, the importance of conducting one's life according to the will of God could not be overemphasized. The lesson to convey was that each person must acknowledge and recognize their natural sinfulness. Mankind was sinful as a result of the Fall of Adam, but one could still be saved and receive salvation if one's life was lived according to the will of God. Although good habits alone did not provide assurance of saving grace, they furnished the main channel through which grace could flow.<sup>78</sup>

It is likely that the story of Adam and Eve laid the groundwork for the topic of continual self-examination into adulthood. Although Puritan parents had been taught that

---

<sup>77</sup> Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 18-19.

<sup>78</sup> Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 94-95.

the line of election was strongly weighted towards entire families being among the elect, there was no guarantee that they or their children were in fact among the elect.<sup>79</sup> This was why all the faithful needed to monitor their actions - if they could promptly determine when they had strayed from obedience to God (they had sinned) they could correct their aberrant behavior and return to the grace of God. Because they were only human, their faith and actions might deviate from the path of righteousness without intention. The only way to know if this had happened would be to scrutinize one's actions on a continual basis. The impact of the story of Adam and Eve could serve as a palatable reminder that one should strive to live as pious a life as possible. And one could not simply rest on one's laurels and assume salvation forever. Determining that one's life was being lived according to the will of God was a lifelong endeavor. Continual self-examination, then, not only provided more reliable evidence of individual salvation, but presumably helped to produce a member of society who would be a positive influence and role model for others.

Amanda Porterfield suggests another interesting lesson which may have been a part of the Original Sin component of the Adam and Eve story, particularly for young girls. Referring to Anne Bradstreet's meditations, Porterfield sees American Puritans focusing on the therapeutic benefits of suffering. Christians suffered as a result of Original Sin, but the resulting afflictions and punishments were seen by American Puritans more as helpful in appreciating human life and love than as unbearable or inconsequential sufferings. In the case of Anne Bradstreet's meditations, the suffering

---

<sup>79</sup> Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 182-183. Puritan parents were taught to believe that saintly children almost always sprang from saintly parents, and that heredity and descent were critical components of admission to church membership.

was identified with childbirth and childrearing. The Book of Genesis indicates that one of the consequences of the Fall of Man was that women must suffer in childbirth. But Bradstreet, a well known and respected seventeenth-century American Puritan, wrote about experiencing such suffering in a positive light. Childbirth was to be seen as part of the human experience. Further, the suffering associated with it was to be considered as building human character rather than as weakening one's faith. The topic of childbirth, and the related fear and danger, would most likely have been at least a topic of discussion for the students who stitched the images of Adam and Eve on their samplers.

#### Adam and Eve and marriage

Samuel Willard (1640-1707, pastor of Old South Church in Boston and President of Harvard College) described the coming together of Adam and Eve as “the first marriage that ever was.”<sup>80</sup> The story of their “marriage” is well known. God created Eve for Adam to assuage his loneliness and to be his help meet in the Garden of Eden. In presenting Eve to Adam, God made them whole (they were made as one flesh) and created the first human couple on earth. God blessed them, and commanded them to be fruitful and multiply.<sup>81</sup> After their fall from grace as a result of eating from the Tree of Knowledge, God commanded: “Unto the woman...I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.”<sup>82</sup> Adam and Eve were the first parents; they are

---

<sup>80</sup> Samuel Willard, *A Compleat Body of Divinity* (Boston, 1726), 125. *A Compleat Body of Divinity* was a compilation of two hundred and fifty lectures (which were presented in the text as sermons) on the Puritan Assembly's Shorter Catechism. The book is organized according to the Westminster Shorter Catechism.

<sup>81</sup> Genesis 1:28, *King James Bible*. The meaning of the word “Eve” in hebrew is “source of life.”

<sup>82</sup> Genesis 3:16, *King James Bible*.

believed to have had many children, but the only three mentioned in the Bible are Cain, Abel, and Seth.

God solemnized this first union, and their marriage was the basis on which all faiths, including Puritanism, founded the institution of marriage.<sup>83</sup> Reform faiths, unlike Catholicism, did not consider marriage a sacrament; they considered it a holy estate. The marriage of Adam and Eve served as a metaphor for relating earthly relationships with the divine one, and Puritan preachers frequently preached and wrote about marriage and love in this respect. It was a common subject at the mandatory weekly sermons as well as a frequent discussion topic with families as preachers visited the members of their congregations. When young girls attended school and started to stitch their samplers, it would have been a timely topic to begin addressing with them in this more formal of settings.

A benefit, then, of focusing on Adam and Eve in female education would be to imbed in the minds of the students the significance of the institution of marriage and its implications for their adult life. Adam and Eve were symbolic of marriage and all that accompanied it. The story would have given schoolmistresses an opportunity to introduce the religious foundations supporting the lessons of love, human reproduction, and hierarchical social order. Remember that the girls working the samplers were between the ages of nine and fourteen. These would have been appropriate topics to begin addressing to girls as they were being urged to contemplate and prepare for their futures as wives and mothers.

---

<sup>83</sup> Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 29.

The Puritan concept of marriage was that it was to be initiated in love and the husband and wife were to grow in love as they created a family and continued on their life path of pious Christians. The lesson of love would have been one that applied to both human love and divine love. It was the chief duty of husband and wife to love each other.<sup>84</sup> As important as love between partners would have been the love for God that one was to nurture throughout one's life. For Puritans, the marriage bond was seen as the principal referent for personal experiences of God.<sup>85</sup> Samuel Willard noted that first among the duties of husbands and wives was that of conjugal love and mutual tenderness. In the same sermon, he encouraged spouses to promote each other's eternal salvation and love of God.<sup>86</sup> Love was a duty imposed by God; it was an obligation both to love each other and to love God. The introduction of love, then, would have encompassed the idea that one should love their (future) spouse, their friends and neighbors, and ultimately embrace the love of God and life itself. Bible readings, secular publications, and church sermons would have further supported the idea of a marriage based on love as the foundation of a properly functioning civil society. This lesson would have been centered around the story of the marriage of Adam and Eve.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 54.

<sup>85</sup> Porterfield, *Female Piety in Puritan New England*, 11.

<sup>86</sup> Willard, *A Compleat Body of Divinity*, 609. Willard outlines this in Sermon 178, "Duties of Husbands and Wives."

<sup>87</sup> Amanda Porterfield also suggests a link between marital happiness and grace. She concludes that men relied on their wives for comfort, emotional security and peace of mind. For John Cotton, the day he married his wife was a sort of double marriage for him because he then felt an assurance of the divine love that he had so long desired for. While it is not possible to say that this was a lesson that would have been taught to young girls, it is possible imagine that the girls would have been thinking this because of the importance of the marriage institution to Puritans. Porterfield, *Female Piety in Puritan New England*, 88.

One of the premises of marriage outlined in the Bible was that a social order was created when God created man. Adam was first made as superior to animals; and, with the creation of Eve, Adam was made as the head of mankind. For Puritans, society was naturally ordered in a pattern of superiority and inferiority. This was a part of the divine order. God was superior to man, man was superior to woman, humans were superior to animals. Within the human order, “old men were superior to young, educated to uneducated, rich to poor, craftsmen to common laborers, highborn to lowborn, clever to stupid.”<sup>88</sup> The teaching of divine order would have been intended to introduce that one could expect to be both subordinate (in the marriage relationship) and superior (in both social and domestic settings).

In terms of the wifely subordination, the ideal for a Puritan marriage was that the man was the head of the family, but he was to act in a way that would have the wife delight in his authority. This is how a properly ordered household was expected to run. Husbands and wives were to be friends, but the wife was intended to be the husband’s help meet.<sup>89</sup> The Puritans undoubtedly held the view that deference to male authority within the family was important to domestic and social stability. The submissiveness represented by wives, children, and servants was related to the corresponding obedience and love of God’s righteous power. The religious imagery of Adam and Eve and its direct association with appropriate deference, was a natural exemplary for teaching such lessons.

---

<sup>88</sup> Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 18.

<sup>89</sup> Kathleen Crowther-Heyck, “‘Be Fruitful and Multiply’: Genesis and Generation in Reformation Germany,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Autumn, 2002), 909.

“And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply.”<sup>90</sup>

These were God’s first words to the newly created Adam and Eve. Second only to the eating of the apple by Adam and Eve, God’s commandment that they be fruitful and multiply is probably the most familiar aspect of the story of Adam and Eve. They were considered by Christians to be the parents of the human race; as they were commanded to start a family, so too were the young girls stitching the image of Adam and Eve aware that they were to follow in Eve’s footsteps and start their own family. The reality of sexual relations and childbirth were among the most obvious subjects which could be explained through the story of Adam and Eve. Other topics which could have been articulated through the topic of family creation were the corresponding reality of life and death, and the Puritan attitude which regarded the family as the nucleus of social stability.

Adam and Eve were historically invoked in religious texts to represent the origins of human reproduction. The image and discussions centered around the image would have reinforced, for adolescent girls, the normative nature of human sexuality. Fertility was to be seen as God’s blessing and children were God’s gifts. Stitching the image while discussing (most likely both formally and informally) human reproduction would have been a pious way to introduce the topic of sex to the young students. Puritans taught that sexuality was appropriate to Christian life, they did not associate sexuality with sin (when it was within a marriage).<sup>91</sup> Closely related to these lessons would most likely have been the relationship between original sin and the anticipated pain that would be associated with childbirth. Further expanding on the reality of childbirth,

---

<sup>90</sup> Genesis 1:28. *King James Bible*.

<sup>91</sup> Porterfield, *Female Piety in Puritan New England*: 26, 32.

schoolmistresses and parents could both address the difficult topic of death with the young students.<sup>92</sup>

Puritan leaders and congregants considered the family as the foundation of their social structure. The association between Adam and Eve and the formation of a Christian family had been familiar to Puritans since the sixteenth century. A popular subject of seventeenth-century Reformation imagery was the perfect Christian family, or the “Christian household.” It represented the smallest social unit, consisting of father, mother, children and servants, all based on a Christian marriage. Matrimony served for the mutual support of man and wife, prevented promiscuity, and propagated the human race. A man and a woman were expected to create a family, and fashion it under the man’s leadership. Based on their Christian guidance, the household would be molded into God’s small congregation, the very cornerstone of Puritan society. Puritan ministers celebrated the Christian family and encouraged the family as a unit to engage regularly in family prayer, family Bible reading, and family discussions of sermons. Through parental guidance the entire family could consider daily events as religious experiences.<sup>93</sup>

#### Adam and Eve and Covenantal Relationships

---

<sup>92</sup> Kathleen Crowther-Heyck suggests that the biblical reference worked on a number of levels. It could have been used to reinforce the position that marriage and childbearing were divinely instituted and that celibacy was an unnatural state. It could also have used to broach the otherwise uncomfortable and problematic topic of sex and reproduction (in a medical and natural sense). Human creation was further a reminder of not only the original divine act of creation, but also a clear sign of how far removed man was from their original state of perfection. “Discussions of conception and birth were often transformed into meditations on human mortality and the brevity of life. Crowther-Heyck, “Be Fruitful and Multiply,” 908-912 and 922-923.

<sup>93</sup> William and Malleville Haller describe marriage itself as as state and a religious order, one which looked to God as its founder. “Thus the preachers, while instructing the people in the doctrine of godly marriage, also nourished their appetite for speculation concerning the structure of society and did their part in popularizing the myth of Adam as an image for the expression of political ideas.” Haller, “The Puritan Art of Love,” 245.



Adam and Eve also presented an opportunity to teach the concepts of covenants and covenant theology. Before the creation of Eve, God had made a Covenant of Works with Adam, whereby God promised salvation to Adam in return for perfect obedience to His laws. (The verse stitched by Lydia Hart and Rebekah Owen was a direct reference to this covenant.) With the Fall of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, God replaced the Covenant of Works with a Covenant of Grace, whereby God promised salvation to all mankind in return for their faith in Him. (The verse stitched by Elizabeth Bradstreet was a direct reference to the Covenant of Grace.) Man was naturally sinful, but could achieve redemption and atonement for his sins through the Covenant of Grace. The Covenant of Grace, in other words, described the means whereby salvation was effected.<sup>94</sup>

A benefit, then, of focusing on Adam and Eve in female education would be to imbed in the minds of the students the significance of the concepts of covenants and covenant theology and how they should impact their lives as they entered into adult relationships of family, church, and community. The responsibility of entering into a covenant would be stressed, as would the idea that covenants were both very individual (with God) and communal (with family, community, church, and nation). Leading an exemplary life and honoring the responsibilities of various covenants would underscore the interrelationship of all interactions, because the Puritans believed and taught that good social conduct was the result of salvation rather than the cause of it. Remember that the Covenant of Grace was the means by which one achieved salvation. Therefore, individual responsibility for honoring all covenants was crucial for maintaining social order.

---

<sup>94</sup> Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 18-20 and Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 2-4.

The lessons to be learned through the concept of covenants essentially focused on how important it was to thoughtfully manage one's actions and relationships. For example, as a member of the church community (and having entered into a covenant with the church upon becoming a member), one was expected to uphold the divinely established universal moral code in order to maintain individual and community unity with God. This was important in realizing the Covenant of Grace and ultimately salvation. The conditions of this covenant would have included actions such as regularly attending church, adhering to church ordinances, and behaving at all times in a strictly pious way. Further, when in church one was expected to attentively listen to the sermons and reflect upon their meaning after having considered them. Outside of church, one would be expected to regularly read Scripture (both privately and in family settings), pray, and actively scrutinize one's actions. The covenantal lesson, then, would have been seen as critical for teaching young girls how to enter into responsible relationships as adults.

The influence of Puritanism was an important component of the culture of early eighteenth-century Boston. Within this setting, it is not surprising that a visible element of female education was the conveyance of the story of Adam and Eve, which implies the story itself was employed to teach about several strategic Puritan-based ideologies. Young girls would appropriately have identified lessons of original sin, the institution of marriage, and the theological and social interpretations of covenants with their embroidered images of Adam and Eve. Individual salvation was a fundamental concern for Christians and parents would have been particularly keen to make sure their children

were aware of its importance. The samplers worked in Boston illustrate one way in which the importance of salvation was conveyed to young female minds.

#### Additional Contemporary Sources for Adam and Eve Imagery

The above contextualizations of the imagery presume the Bible as the source for the meaning and interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve. The Bible as a reference, however, was not the sole source for Puritan representations of Adam and Eve.

Contemporary, non-biblical sources for Adam and Eve imagery reinforce the frequency with which children would encounter the story outside of a purely religious setting. The two best examples of such a source were the *New England Primer* and popular literature, for example *Paradise Lost*. Both were one step removed from the Bible in terms of familiarity for the young stitchers. Primers had been used to teach young children since the sixteenth century; the first mention of the publication of a *New England Primer* was between 1688 and 1690.<sup>95</sup> The Bible was the most owned book in the colonies, but at the same time popular literature was both imported and published in impressive quantities. *Paradise Lost* was one of the most popular books circulated and owned by colonial Bostonians. It was written by John Milton, himself a Puritan, and went through several publications between 1667 and 1688.

#### The *New England Primer*

Primers, like samplers, had been a staple of early education for both boys and girls. The *New England Primer* was first published in Boston sometime between 1688 and 1690; the earliest extant Primer was published in 1727. For at least one hundred

---

<sup>95</sup> E. Jennifer Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005): 28, 85.

years, the *New England Primer* was *the* schoolbook of the dissenters of America.<sup>96</sup> The Primer was used extensively as a tool for teaching both literacy and piety. Primers in the early eighteenth century were distinctly provincial, doctrinal, and evangelical.<sup>97</sup> They provided a sequenced education which would have been used by children starting about the age of five and most likely continuing into adolescence. There were several instructional components which remained consistent with each edition of the Primer, although they varied some with each printing. The general format, however, followed a predictable pattern and did not change significantly until the 1750s.<sup>98</sup>

David H. Watters describes the early Primers as a “jumble of parts” drawn from hornbooks, emblem books, devotional manuals, prayer books and catechisms, and chapbooks of popular religious entertainment.<sup>99</sup> The “jumble of parts” was actually a series of units of educational material which followed a pattern corresponding to the expected progression of the learning process. The Primer began with a type of Hornbook lesson: several pages which presented the alphabet in Roman upper and lower case letters, as well as vowels and consonants, followed by certain double letter

---

<sup>96</sup> Paul Leicester Ford, *The New England primer: a reprint of the earliest known edition, with many facsimiles and reproductions, and an historical introduction* <http://digital.library.pitt.edu>, 45. The *New England Primer* followed the English tradition for a teaching text which had been used at least in the seventeenth century, if not earlier. Primers are believed to have been imported into New England before the first editions were printed there in the late seventeenth century.

<sup>97</sup> Patricia Crain, *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from the New England Primer to the Scarlet Letter* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000): 6, 38.

<sup>98</sup> David H. Watters, “‘I Spake as a Child’: Authority, Metaphor, and The New England Primer,” *Early American Literature*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Winter, 1985/86), 208.

<sup>99</sup> Watters, 193.

combinations.<sup>100</sup> This was followed by an Italic alphabet of upper case and lower case letters and double letters in Italic. “The Great English Letters” in both upper and lower cases were then presented (usually on a second page). The alphabet section was followed by what was usually called a syllabarium, to which four pages were devoted. Generally speaking, this began with a listing of one-syllable words and progressed to words comprised of up to six syllables.

The second “unit” of the Primer was rather loosely based on the earlier emblem books: a picture alphabet. This was comprised of twenty-four little pictures which were illustrative of a corresponding letter of the alphabet. The picture alphabet showed a picture to the left of a verse which was also illustrative of the letter it represented. The first picture and verse represented the letter “A” and the verse which was associated with the letter “A” for at least one hundred years was: “In Adam’s Fall We sinned All”. Ford refers to this verse as: “A description of the beginning of original sin which certainly did its best to balance our first forebear’s very ungenerous version of the affair which to the Puritan was the greatest event in history.”<sup>101</sup>

The Primer then progressed beyond the picture alphabet to include childhood responsibilities (“The Dutiful Child’s Promises”) and the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostle’s Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the “Duty of Children Toward Parents”. Further

---

<sup>100</sup> Paul Leicester Ford notes the omission of the ✠ at the beginning of the alphabet in the *New England Primer*. He describes this as deeply motivated by the “Puritan dread of the cross”. As previously noted, this cross was placed at the beginning of the alphabet, before the first upper case “A” and gave meaning to the term “Christ’s Cross Row, or as it was more commonly term “the Cris Cross Row”. Ford notes that a minister who brought a great bundle of Hornbooks to New England in the seventeenth century was careful to blot out all these crosses on the Hornbooks in order to not offend the New England Puritans’ disapproval of idolatry. Ford, *The New England Primer: a Reprint of the Earliest Known Edition*, 51.

<sup>101</sup> Ford, *The New England Primer*, 53.

included in most editions of the Primer were Catechisms, devotional prayers, and popular religious poetry and stories.<sup>102</sup> These generally would have been presented in some sort of verse, again progressing from simple and “easy” to more difficult and complex.

The component of the Primer which is most identified with the book is the first letter of the picture alphabet: “In Adam’s Fall We Sinned All”. To the left of this iconic verse was a block print of the Tree of Knowledge and either Adam alone or Adam and Eve on either side of the tree. This image and verse set the stage for the overall tone of the Primer in the early eighteenth century. Throughout the alphabets, catechisms, prayers, and poems of the book, the themes of brevity of life, certainty of death, and importance of salvation are reiterated again and again. As a book which would have touched the hands of virtually each child in New England, the Primer was used constantly at church, home, and school. It has been described as second only to the Bible in having formed the character of New England.<sup>103</sup>

David H. Watters offers an interpretation of the lessons taught via the *New England Primer* which is generally accepted by scholars. In keeping with Puritan theology, Primers presented an assemblage of metaphorical descriptions of God as an avenging father and a forgiving son. Children would learn about their place in the world as they were methodically led through the *New England Primer* by parents and teachers. Of paramount importance in this lesson was the theme of man’s natural sinfulness and

---

<sup>102</sup> According Jennifer Monaghan, the Shorter Westminster Catechism was often printed as an addition to the core text of the *New England Primer*. The catechism was a sequence of questions and answers which instructed children on the basic doctrines of Christianity. Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America*, 86.

<sup>103</sup> Clifton Johnson, *Old-Time Schools and School-Books* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, Reprint 1935), 99.

disobedience, God's omnipotent authority, and the reality of punishment. The Primer reinforced the importance of obedience and led each child to envision a self which was limited by the authority of God and parents.<sup>104</sup>

For the youngest children, the parent or teacher might simplify the story of Adam and Eve to teach the lesson that disobedience to parents and teachers (represented by Adam's *Fall*) would result in some kind of punishment (*All* representing the punishment of original sin). For older children, the parent or teacher could expand the reference to Adam and Eve and The Fall in the picture alphabet to teach an awareness of the corporate identity of Adam, and the child's corresponding responsibility to his or her family and community. For the more advanced, adolescent children, the same story could be used to address the conflicts and tensions they were experiencing with parental authority and their frustrated desire for freedom from their parent's reins. As the children grew and learned more complex lessons from the same picture alphabet, they were being imbued with the Puritan doctrine of original sin and its life-long implications. In the end, the picture alphabet reinforced the belief in salvation and the possibility of the restoration of God's love through Grace.

My interpretation of the Adam and Eve samplers considers them as a continuation of the pedagogical tradition initiated by the *New England Primer*. While literacy and religion have generally been associated with samplers, this particular group of samplers is decidedly connected visually and theologically to one of the first books colonial New England children would have been exposed to: the *New England Primer*.

---

<sup>104</sup> Watters, "I Spake as a Child," 194.

The stitched image served as a perpetual reminder (as the image was being stitched and as it was viewed when it was hung on the wall) of the life-long relationship one was to have with education and the struggle for salvation. The primer would have introduced the young sampler makers to the lessons of Adam and Eve. The lesson would have expanded into the more complex concepts of original sin, marriage, and covenant theology as the girls grew into young ladies and stitched their samplers. As mentioned earlier, the lessons became more gendered and complex as the story of Adam and Eve was woven into their education as an adolescent. The varied application of the story represents the subtle shift in focus of education as the girls matured. Initially applied to the lesson of obedience to one's parents, the story was still an important exemplar when applied to lessons about original sin, marriage, and covenantal relationships.

### *Paradise Lost*

The Boston Adam and Eve samplers illustrate a familiarity with the story of Adam and Eve. I argue that the application of the story (as evidenced by the embroidered images) to female education was consistent with the underlying Puritan heritage of Boston and suggests a continuation of lessons which began with the *New England Primer*. I further argue that the adoption of the image and the lessons attached to it were consistent with popular literature. Even if the young sampler makers were not yet reading some of the popular texts, their parents and perhaps siblings most likely were; their participation in this genre would not have been far into the future.

While the most popular literary form for American Puritans was undoubtedly the sermon, New England Puritans also read and appreciated literature as long as it could be



considered as appropriately interpreting concepts and values considered crucial to human destiny and conduct.<sup>105</sup> Especially helpful in making literature Puritanically acceptable would have been the inclusion of examples (versus merely outlining precepts).

Exemplars (people or things which served as excellent models) were seen as more powerful than just words in getting points across. With this in mind, it is not surprising that expository works published during the eighteenth century typically linked model people and events to teachable points. Works which served this didactic purpose included sermons, treatises, and handbooks. But histories, biographies, diaries, and poetry were also considered effective tools for conveying proper attitudes and actions through role models. Authors such as John Milton and John Bunyan were important and popular Puritan writers who were seen as particularly effective in writing about people and events which constituted good examples of how people should conduct themselves.<sup>106</sup> The authors who wrote in this acceptable tradition tended to write literature which had some basis in religious teachings, such as the story of Adam and Eve.

---

<sup>105</sup> Kathleen Crowther-Heyck cautions that colonial readers may not necessarily have shared the ideas expressed by the authors of the popular literature. She notes, however, that the prevalence of certain topics and metaphors (Adam and Eve among them) suggests that they touched a chord with readers. Robert Blair St. George agrees; he notes that the critical embrace of novels and prose by colonial women was continuous with and even extended the Puritan emphasis on self-examination, introspection, and the transcendent power of Christian friendship. St. George is referring to women reading *Pamela* and *Clarissa* in their private, domestic spaces and sharing their reaction to the novels with their friends and even the authors. While reading the novels, the women focused on the personal qualities of the novel's characters. This analysis is consistent with the research I've done on the colonial reception to *Paradise Lost* and other Puritan literature. Crowther-Heyck, " 'Be Fruitful and Multiply,'" 904-935; Robert Blair St. George, "Reading Spaces in Eighteenth-Century New England," John Styles and Amanda Vickery, ed., *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 87.

<sup>106</sup> Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment*, 186-193. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was a Christian allegorical narrative which exemplified the Christian's struggle. While devotional manuals told readers how to become good Christians, *Pilgrim's Progress* showed them. Kevin J. Hayes, *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996): 44-45.

Young colonial females were most likely to read Abraham Cowley, John Milton, Richard Blackmore, and Elizabeth Singer Rowe, particularly during the early eighteenth century. Later in the colonial period, James Thomson and Edward Young became favorites. For young women, Milton's epic poem *Paradise Lost* was the most highly revered and read poem in colonial America.<sup>107</sup> The popularity of Milton's poem remained strong throughout the eighteenth century. Much of the later conduct literature addressed the subject of female education and commented on appropriate reading for young ladies and adult women. Thomas Marriott's *Female Conduct* (1759) is frequently noted as a popularly read poem within this genre. Marriott's lengthy poem recommended, among other things, reading history, geography, Shakespeare, and Milton.<sup>108</sup> Further into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Milton's imprint on early America was important as his writings provided guidance over the spiritual, moral, and intellectual life of the country more than any one man.<sup>109</sup>

John Milton explored the story of Adam and Eve in great detail in his epic poem *Paradise Lost*. *Paradise Lost* was first published by Milton in 1667. It was printed in four editions, each with some changes and eventually with illustrations, between 1667 and 1688. The poem concerns the story of the Fall of Man which centers around the drama of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Milton's intention

---

<sup>107</sup> Hayes, *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf*, 37-38.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 72. Thomas Marriott, *Female Conduct: being an essay on the Art of Pleasing. To be practised by the Fair Sex*. (London, 1759). Marriott references Milton in a number of places and for a number of reasons. One of the most specific references with respect to I found was: "Who reads *Lost Paradise*, all knowledge gains, That book of *Milton* ev'ry Thing contains; It grasps all Nature, in its copious Plan, the Fall of Angels, and the Fall of Man," 99.

<sup>109</sup> G. F. Sensabaugh, "Milton in the Revolution Settlement," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Feb. 1946), 175.

for writing the poem was to “justify the ways of God to man.” His overriding philosophy was that the fall was a fortunate event because humankind ultimately received God’s mercy, redemption, and salvation as a result of it.<sup>110</sup> Milton was a strong supporter of Puritan ideology, and *Paradise Lost* was respected in England and the American colonies as a text with Puritanical views.

Milton developed Eve’s spiritual agency and responsibility independent of Adam’s. Adam’s lamentations about Eve’s transgression follow the expected (masculine) pattern of rationalizing why Eve should not have succumbed to temptation, with Adam ultimately concluding that he would not have sinned if Eve had not taken him down with her. As Margaret Thickstun points out, Adam understands that if he had not considered Eve as a love object (as opposed to a fellow worshipper) he would not have failed Eve, God, or himself. Eve’s approach, on the other hand, transcends both despair and self-pity by responding with compassion to Adam’s suffering. *Paradise Lost*, then, reconfirms and supports the Puritan ideal of a wife who is the help meet of her husband. Eve provides the perfect example of a woman who understands and acknowledges her duties and undertakes to accomplish them. She initiates actions which effectively achieve reconciliation and ultimately repentance that leads to the salvation of mankind. Further, Milton accomplishes this through the contemporary conventional gender hierarchy.<sup>111</sup>

Thickstun’s interpretation of Milton’s approach to the relationship between Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost* offers a fitting example of how the poem itself, as well as the

---

<sup>110</sup> Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999 (2008)), 210.

<sup>111</sup> Margaret Olofson Thickstun, “Milton Among Puritan Women: Affiliative Spirituality and the Conclusion of *Paradise Lost*” *Religion & Literature*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 2004): 17-19.

story of Adam and Eve, could have been used as a pedagogical tool for instructing young ladies in the social and religious foundations of marriage. Thickstun sees *Paradise Lost* as having been written by Milton with a sensitivity toward the wisdom of women's spirituality, and how female spirituality would have been essential to a balanced perspective of worship and piety.<sup>112</sup> Puritan men and women frequently called upon domestic life as a way of expressing their spiritual experience. Puritans believed that the relationship between husband, wife, and God was to be balanced and one of mutual support and encouragement. The lesson of how the "first marriage that ever was" developed a level of balance and support began in *Paradise Lost* when Eve asked Adam for forgiveness after having eaten the forbidden fruit. Such a reading of the story of Adam and Eve and *Paradise Lost* shows one way in which stitching the imagery (the stitching of an exemplar) would have reinforced the religious and social lessons which were most likely being taught to young girls in early eighteenth-century Boston.<sup>113</sup>

Young girls, however, did not limit their reading to the Bible, the *New England Primer*, or *Paradise Lost* in the early eighteenth century. Kevin Hayes has shown that young colonial women had a lively interest in reading various types of literature.<sup>114</sup> Chief among the books read by women were religious texts. Throughout the American colonies, women experienced religious reading in many different contexts during the

---

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>113</sup> Thickstun acknowledges that the Genesis story is generally seen as reinforcing Eve as a model of appropriate female subservience and predictable spiritual inferiority. Such an interpretation, however, tends to privilege the male perspective and either dismiss women's voices or discount their expressions as spiritually inferior. Instead, Milton's work is seen by Thickstun was consistent with contemporary Puritan ideals which regarded marriage as a relationship that should nurture an environment conducive to devotion and worship on a balanced, non-gendered basis. Although Milton's perspective has no precedent in the Genesis story, he is arguing for a belief in women's importance and intelligence.

<sup>114</sup> Hayes, *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf*, 26.

course of their lives. Their relationship to religious reading undoubtedly started around the time they were working a sampler when the transcription of religion began with the reading of the Bible and the teaching of catechisms. Other forms of religious reading which would have complimented their first exposures included books of metrical psalms such as Isaac Watts' *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*.<sup>115</sup> As the eighteenth century progressed, girls and women continued to broaden their repertoire by adding novels, classical literature, and magazines to their reading lists. The most widely read literature, however, continued to fall under the category of religious, whether it was in the form of the Bible or other types devotional literature.

Eighteenth-century New England culture was rich with religious and social references to the story of Adam and Eve. Such a story, then, was particularly apropos for parents and teachers alike as an exemplar for a number of important teaching points. While stitching Adam and Eve, the Tree of Knowledge, and the attending flora and fauna, young Boston girls could be encouraged to reflect upon ideals and concepts which were religious as well as social, domestic as well as public, and gendered as well as non-gendered. As the young embroiderers were naturally developing their notions of self, the school room experience suggested by the existence of Adam and Eve on the samplers was apparently encouraging them to incorporate the Puritan belief system with respect to marriage, sin and salvation, and covenantal relationships. This Puritan foundation was intended to support them throughout their lives as they assumed their anticipated roles as wives, mothers, and pious exemplars for all who came into contact with them.

---

<sup>115</sup> Hayes, *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf*, 30-37.

### Non-Adam and Eve sampler group

In contrast to the samplers in the Adam and Eve group previously discussed, there are 27 samplers in my database worked in Boston during the same period which did not include an image of Adam and Eve. This distinction alone was used to create this second group. The samplers in this group range in date between 1719 (Elizabeth Russell) and 1757 (Abigail Byles). This group of samplers has proven much more difficult to easily divide into distinct subgroups, and, in some cases, even more difficult to keep stylistically separate from the samplers in the Adam and Eve group.

Based purely upon style, there appear to be three distinct subgroups, and for that reason I conclude they represent three different teachers. There is a fourth subgroup which, like the Adam and Eve sampler group, does not neatly conform to the three identifiable subgroups which form the basis of my analysis. The first subgroup is the largest with 11 samplers worked between 1730 and 1742. The second subgroup includes five samplers, worked between 1737 and 1749. The third subgroup includes four samplers which were worked in 1747 and 1750. The interesting thing about the first subgroup is the amount of interplay of bands and motifs which occurred between it and the samplers in the Adam and Eve group previously discussed. The other two subgroups are quite distinct on their own.

### Non-Adam and Eve Subgroup One

All of the samplers in the largest subgroup were band samplers. There were a number of bands variously worked on samplers within the subgroup; I have isolated seven bands and one group of three bands which were worked with the greatest frequency (See Appendices D and E). None of the bands look like they would have had any kind of

religious meaning; the bands look like they were purely decorative and intended to teach stitches and essentially fill space. The band classified as “Boston Band” has been widely referred to by that name for some time because it was used so prominently on colonial Boston samplers. Six of the eleven samplers in this subgroup included the band and all of the samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup two included it as well. It was also worked on three of the seven samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup one. The Boston band was created by stitching two shapes sequentially in order to form an overall design. To the eye, the band looks like a series of vertically-oriented, elongated hexagons. The design was achieved by stitching hourglass-like images point-to-point and then stitching the space in between with a Greek key-type design. This band seems quite distinct to the Boston area in the colonial period. What I call the “Sideways Boston Band” was also commonly worked on Boston samplers. It was created by alternating horizontally-oriented elongated hexagons and diamonds, with the ends of the hexagons sharing points with either side of diamonds. This band was usually smaller and more narrow than the Boston band. The Sideways Boston band was not unique to Boston samplers, it was commonly worked on samplers in both America and England during the same period.

In addition to the Boston bands described above, five common design bands (one of which was actually a series of three bands) and stitched alphabets were a consistent component of the samplers in this subgroup. None of the design bands look like they would have held any kind of religious meaning. In terms of the alphabets, all of the samplers included at least two alphabets, and in six cases they included three alphabets. Note that this is consistent with the samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup two. For all but two of the samplers, one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch over two threads,

again consistent with samplers in the Adam and Eve subgroup. In the case of each of the common components shared by samplers in the Non-Adam and Eve subgroup one, all of the samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup two included at least two of the above-noted common elements (design bands as well as alphabets). The shared bands have been noted on Appendix C for the Adam and Eve subgroup. The interplay between these two subgroups (Adam and Eve subgroup two and Non-Adam and Eve subgroup one) strongly suggests the schoolmistresses responsible for each design were somehow familiar with each other. The commonality of design bands may have been the result of a shared pattern source, but taken as a whole the overall sampler designs were similar enough to suggest the format was widely known and generally accepted.

The interplay between the two groups is particularly intriguing when four samplers from the Non-Adam and Eve subgroup are compared to the two Adam and Eve subgroups. The samplers worked by Sarah Hill and Hephzebah Baker were virtually identical to the samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup two with one exception: where Adam and Eve were included Hill and Baker stitched urns with flowers. Another puzzling similarity existed between the samplers worked by Frances Pinckney and Elizabeth Simpkins. Their samplers included animals which were virtually identical to the animals worked on the samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup one. It is very difficult to conclude the reason for such distinct similarity between the four samplers in Non-Adam and Eve subgroup one and the Adam and Eve samplers. If the girls (Hill and Baker or Pinckney and Simpkins) had attended the same church, a viable conclusion might be that there were religious reasons for working “Adam and Eve designs” but excluding Adam and Eve. A distinct religious connection between working and not working Adam and



Eve in these cases can not be made, however, because the girls did not attend consistently similar churches. In fact, Elizabeth Simpkins (who did not work Adam and Eve but worked the animals) attended the same church (Second Church) as Martha Butler (who did work Adam and Eve). Along the same line, Sarah Hill and Hephzebah Baker attended different churches (Second and First respectively) and they both chose not to stitch Adam and Eve on their samplers. By contrast, Ruth Rogers attended First Church and her sampler, worked just two years after Hephisba Baker's sampler, was virtually identical to Hephzebah's except Ruth did work Adam and Eve. Unless further documentation is uncovered, it is not possible to determine a reason for what appears to be overt exclusion of Adam and Eve imagery by some sampler makers.

In addition to the design components of the samplers in Non-Adam and Eve subgroup one, all of the samplers with the exception of Hill and Baker, included verses.<sup>116</sup> The most frequently worked verses were verse numbers one, five, and six (See Appendix D). Verse number one was worked on six of the nine samplers that had verses. This verse was essentially a personalization put to prose ("Lydia Hutchinson is my name and with my needle I wrought the same, but if my skill it had been better I would have mended every letter"). This verse was very commonly worked on samplers throughout America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Verse number five was worked by sisters Elizabeth and Mercy Holland. This verse was also commonly worked on samplers, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century. In sync with the Adam

---

<sup>116</sup> None of the samplers in Adam and Eve subgroup two included verses either, and the Hill and Baker samplers were virtually identical to the samplers in that subgroup. For the Adam and Eve subgroup, a personal inscription was usually worked on either side of Adam and Eve. Hill and Baker followed this format; they each worked a personal inscription below the two urns ("Hephzebah Baker ended this sampler in the thirteenth year of her age").

and Eve group of samplers, the verse suggests a concern for salvation on the part of the sampler maker.<sup>117</sup> Verse number six was worked by Lydia Dickman; it was the same as verse number five except it did not include the second part of the verse about dying and remembrance. One other verse, verse number eight, was worked by Mary Pinckney. This verse suggests the common concern for salvation as it references purity and eternity.<sup>118</sup> On the whole, the meaning of the sampler verses in this subgroup centered around the importance of salvation and piety, as well presenting the identity of the maker. The verses appear to have been included on the samplers as an adjunct to the requisite embroidery skill conveyed through the various design bands.

#### Non-Adam and Eve Subgroup Two

The second subgroup of samplers without Adam and Eve is comprised of five samplers (Keyes, Palfrey, Wing, Kneeland, and Decoster). The samplers were worked between 1737 and 1749, and the girls were between 13 and 14 when they completed their samplers. These samplers were stylistically very distinct from all of the other Boston samplers. The samplers are linked primarily by a large, central, floral motif and a verse. The overall design within this subgroup varied some - three of the five samplers were more in the form of a classic band sampler and the other two were designed to emphasize the large central flower with sampler verse above and below it. For this latter design, the large central floral motif essentially functioned as a very wide band, with the larger central flower being surrounded by smaller floral motifs. Even though they look rather

---

<sup>117</sup> The verse reads: "Elizabeth Holland is my name and England is my nation, Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation. When I am dead and laid in grave and all my bones are rotten, when this you see remember me and never let me be forgotten."

<sup>118</sup> The verse reads: "O may my humble spirit stand amongst them clothed in white, the merriest place at his right hand is infinite delight."

freeform, upon close examination the floral motifs were arranged in rows, essentially forming a total of three bands without any dividing bands between them. What I have referred to as the “Palfrey floral” is the motif which was stitched on all five of the samplers (See Appendix E). Several additional motifs were consistently worked on all of the samplers: the tree motifs, other floral motifs, and the same border. Lydia Kneeland’s sampler also included the triangle and eyelet band at the top and bottom of her sampler, which links it to samplers in both the Adam and Eve group (Rogers, Dowrick, Emmons) and the non-Adam and Eve group (Baker, Hill, and M. Pinckney).

The most distinct common element of the subgroup was the verse; the same verse was worked on four of the five samplers. The odd verse (worked by Lucretia Keyes) was worked on samplers as early as the late seventeenth century in England. The verse’s theme addressed the same topic as the verse worked on the other samplers: education.<sup>119</sup> The overall sentiment of the primary verse suggests a belief in the importance of book education for girls. The inclusion of the verse on the sampler implies that girls were learning to write while they attended this school. The verse reads as follows:

One did commend me to a wife both fair and young  
 Who had French Spanish and Italian tongue  
 I thankd him kindly and told him I loved none such  
 For I thought one tongue for a wife too much  
 What love ye not the learned yes as my life  
 A learned scholar but not a learned wife

(Margaret Palfrey) is my name and New England is my nation  
 Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation  
 When I am dead and all my bones are rotten

---

<sup>119</sup> Lucretia Keyes’ verse reads: “When I was young I little thought that wit must be so dearly bought, but now experience tells me how if I will thrive then I must bend and bow unto anothers will, so that I might learn both art and skill to get my living with my hands so that I might be free from all such slavery which comes for want of housewifery.”

If this you see remember me and never let me be forgotten.<sup>120</sup>

It is curious that this verse would have been worked by girls on their samplers because it seems to call into question whether a husband would value the education of a wife. The association of this verse with Milton, given the contemporary popularity of his works, may suggest that the schoolmistress wanted to show that she and her pupils were familiar with Milton, and perhaps even reading his works. The verse itself, however, can not be specifically associated with Milton. Contemporary folk lore was that he had his daughters read to him in foreign languages of which they had no true understanding (Milton had gone blind and delighted in having his daughters read to him). It is most likely that the verse was intended to wittingly mock the idea that girls were not as capable of education as boys, for it would take a clever mind to create, write, and understand the verse's meaning!

While the theme of education, as evidenced through sampler verse, was clearly a focus for this subgroup of samplers, all of the samplers, with the exception of Lucretia Keyes' sampler, also contained verse number five.<sup>121</sup> This verse, consistent with the theme of the samplers in the Adam and Eve group, expresses the sampler makers' identification with salvation. The same verse was also worked by Elizabeth and Mercy Holland, whose samplers are in Non-Adam and Eve subgroup one. As previously noted,

---

<sup>120</sup> I have not been able to identify the source of this verse. Betty Ring refers to this verse as the "so-called Milton's daughters' verse", noting it clearly reflects an attitude toward female education during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Ring, *American Needlework Treasures*, 4).

<sup>121</sup> This verse reads: "\_\_\_ is my name I belong to the English nation Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation When I am dead and laid in grave and all my bones are rotten when this you see remember me and never let me be forgotten."

Lucretia's sampler was also distinct from the others in the subgroup in that she did not work the primary verse; her sampler is the earliest sampler in the subgroup.

### Non-Adam and Eve Subgroup Three

The third subgroup of samplers without Adam and Eve is comprised of four samplers (Church, Storer, Erving, and Lowell). The samplers were worked between 1747 and 1750, and the girls were between 10 and 14 when they completed their samplers. What made these samplers stylistically distinct was the stitched image of the Spies of Canaan. Otherwise, they were similar to other Non-Adam and Eve samplers in that they were band samplers worked with a surrounding border and their content was generally floral in nature. A further distinction about this subgroup was that two of the four samplers included the same verse:

Next unto God dear parents I address  
Myself To you in humble thankfulness  
for all your care and charge on me bestowed  
The means of learning unto me allowed  
Go on, I pray, and let me still pursue  
Those golden arts the vulgar never knew.<sup>122</sup>

The source of this verse was a schoolbook which was imported into the colonies from England during the eighteenth century. Specifically, the verse is from the part of the book which provided examples of letters for students to copy and send to their parents. This particular verse was intended as a postscript to a longer, more general letter. The selection of this verse for a girl's sampler shows that teachers were using textbooks intended for boys to also teach girls. *The Young Man's Companion* taught spelling, reading, and writing for the first 125 pages. The next 360 pages covered a variety of

---

<sup>122</sup> William Mather, *The Young Man's Companion* (London, 1727), Eight Edition. (Eighteenth Century Collections Online, galegroup.com), 88.

topics including arithmetic, measuring globes, map reading, currency exchanges, and gardening. Additionally, a large percentage of the book taught arithmetic specifically applicable to building, surveying, dyeing and paint making, and gardening. This textbook was overtly intended for boys, but it was clearly acceptable for female education if the teachers and female students had access to it.

Like the verse worked on samplers in the second subgroup, this verse addresses education in two ways. The first is that it was taken from a text published specifically as a schoolbook. The clear implication is that the girls who stitched this verse were at a minimum familiar with and more likely than not using this text for their studies. I believe that it is significant that the letter quoted in their sampler verses comes from the part of the text which teaches how to write. It implies the girls were learning to write at this school. For this exercise they were learning to write with the needle, but it certainly suggests that they were also learning to write with a pen. As the book's title indicates, it was used for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, and occupational skills usually associated with male professions. Further, the verse conveys the appreciation the girls had for the education they were fortunate to have received. It seems that the teacher purposefully wished the students to document both how much they valued their education and their gratitude toward their parents for providing them with the education. The girls would have proudly taken these samplers home to their parents as a sort of diploma which displayed their acquisition of both embroidery and writing skill.

Two of the samplers in this subgroup had verses other than the above-noted verse from *The Young Man's Companion*. Hannah Church stitched a prayer in which God's

mercy and eternal life were requested.<sup>123</sup> This prayer/verse was taken from the English *Book of Common Prayer*. Hannah Storer stitched two small verses: one addressed the brevity of life and the other addressed the fragility of friendship.<sup>124</sup>

All four samplers in this third subgroup had a band comprised of a pictorial representation of the Spies of Canaan. For this image, a bunch of grapes is hung from a staff supported between two men. On either side of this central image were a basket of flowers and a tree. The only element which stylistically links this subgroup with any other Boston subgroup is the flower worked in a large central band on Sarah Lowell's sampler. It was the same flower (although worked upside down) which was the central image on the three samplers in the Margaret Palfrey subgroup. No other band or design element otherwise seems to relate them.

Like the story of Adam and Eve, the story of the Spies of Canaan was apropos as a teaching point for young girls. It would have encouraged the girls to reflect on the importance of salvation and the role of Christ and the church in achieving salvation. The story of the Spies of Canaan (Joshua and Caleb) is recounted in Numbers 13: Moses sent twelve spies into Canaan to inspect the Promised Land and bring back some fruit from the land. After forty days Joshua and Caleb returned carrying the fruit, represented by a cluster of grapes hung from a staff. The use of this motif was not unique to the Boston samplers. Like the imagery of Adam and Eve, it was used on earlier samplers worked in

---

<sup>123</sup> This verse is number 12 in Appendix D, it reads: "O God, the protector of all that trust in thee without whom nothing is strong nothing is holy, Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy that thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not the things eternal. Grant this O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ sake our Lord." The prayer was intended for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity.

<sup>124</sup> The verses are numbers 3 and 13 in Appendix D, they read: "Behold alas our days we spend how vain they be how soon they end" and "In Prosperity Friends will be plenty, but in Adversity Not one in Twenty." Both verses were commonly used on samplers worked in eighteenth-century America.

England, as well as samplers worked on the European continent. It was also commonly used in art and literature from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. The typological interpretation of the Spies of Canaan highlighted the importance of salvation and the role of Christ and the church in the achievement of saving grace. The imagery of the bunch of grapes was used to symbolize Christ, the Redeemer, hanging from the Cross. The grapes further represented the blood of Christ (pressed grapes) which was the source of all grace. The blood of Christ, received during communion with consecrated wine, was available through the church which Christ, himself, had founded. Thus, a layered symbolism was possible through the use of the motif of the Spies of Canaan. It was a reminder of not only Christ's sacrificial death on the cross, but also of the redeeming nature of His death, the necessity of salvation, and the importance of the church, through which the eucharist was received.<sup>125</sup>

### Conclusion

Forty-four samplers divided into five distinct stylistic subgroups were analyzed for this study of colonial Boston samplers. All of the samplers were worked by the daughters of Boston's elite families, most of whom lived in the North End of the city. While the samplers adhered to the traditional English format of the band sampler, a clear distinction divides the samplers into two groups: those with Adam and Eve imagery and those without. A further characteristic of the collection of samplers is the significant amount of overlap of design bands and motifs between all of the subgroups. The division

---

<sup>125</sup> For the significance of this imagery in art see H. L. M. Defoer, "Pieter Aertsen: The Mass of St. Gregory with the Mystic Winepress", *Master Drawings*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer, 1980): 134-141, 197. For the use of this imagery in samplers see Albarata Meulenbelt-Nieuwburg, (Translated by Patricia Wardle and Gillian Downing), *Embroidery Motifs from Old Dutch Samplers* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 22-23.



into stylistic subgroups suggests a number of schoolmistresses were responsible for the designs; one schoolmistress (Susanna Condy) has been firmly linked with one subgroup (Adam and Eve subgroup one). The overlap in the application of designs suggests a familiarity among the schoolmistresses-some of the bands and motifs were isolated to a particular school, and some were shared among them.

I argue that the samplers worked in Boston in the early eighteenth century, taken as an entire group, present an opportunity to study the religious setting of colonial Boston. The samplers are evidence of an educational experience which exposed young girls to the fundamentals of the Puritan heritage of eighteenth-century Boston religious culture. Specifically, I have isolated individual salvation as a distinct religious tenet illustrated through the samplers. The education the young girls received was one part of a complex system which inculcated the importance of individual salvation, a fundamental component of the Puritan belief system. The key sampler design elements of pictorial imagery and sampler verse support the conveyance of the important lesson of salvation. Whether girls stitched Adam and Eve, the Spies of Canaan, or pious verses, the overarching theme of early colonial Boston samplers turns out to be Christian salvation.

In this context, I propose the content of the samplers was related to the lessons taught at the schools in which the samplers were stitched. Viewers of the samplers would have been impressed by the pertinent nature of the stitched imagery and the messages conveyed through the stitched verses. Adam and Eve specifically, and the message of salvation in general, was a familiar component of Boston's Puritan-based theology and culture. Like the seventeenth-century English pictorials which preceded the samplers and likely were the tradition from which the imagery was drawn, no specialized

hermeneutical training was required to understand the interpretation of the importance of individual salvation. The concept was not random, nor was it a new invention, but it was educationally-relevant to the Puritan-based culture of Boston.

A likely reason for the selection of a particular school for the majority of the samplers worked in colonial Boston was the location of the school and possibly the social connections of the schoolmistress and sampler maker families. For most of the girls, it was not the religious ideology of the family or the schoolmistress which dictated the school they were sent to. Baptists, as well as Anglicans, orthodox Congregationalists, and New Light Congregationalists were just as likely to look positively on the lessons of Adam and Eve and individual salvation for their daughters as they were to *not* expect proof through embroidered imagery that such an apropos lesson had been taught to them. The important thing for the parents was that their daughters were receiving an education beyond the rudiments which were taught in the ubiquitous dame schools. The samplers present further proof that members of the colony's educated elite concerned themselves very little with doctrinal differences which divided dissenters from the orthodox community. Their primary concern was of being distinguished as members of Boston's elite social class.<sup>126</sup>

In this sense, the early eighteenth-century Boston samplers were reflective of the evolution of Puritanism, and the Boston religious climate in general, in the early eighteenth century. Bostonians were experiencing an era of diminished church control and a shift from a primarily ecclesiastical responsibility for salvation to an individual

---

<sup>126</sup> Carla Gardina Pestana, "Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections Relating to Religious Dissenters", *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol 102 (1990), 152.

responsibility for salvation. The occupants of this vibrant city, which was populated by the early eighteenth century by a wide variety of Christian denominations, began to focus less on the Puritan directive of an ideal religious community and more on its role as a major seaport which produced growing wealth and continued receptiveness to English fashion. Baptists, Anglicans, orthodox Congregationalists, and New Light Congregationalists alike participated in the growing economy, and as they actively interacted with each other they apparently felt comfortable sending their daughters to school together. Further, parents and the community as a whole apparently accepted the general pedagogy illustrated through the samplers, whichever approach it took - whether it emphasized a traditionally Puritanical metaphor (Adam and Eve) or placed the religious emphasis more on a general piety and the importance of personal salvation. The *New England Primer* and popular literature like *Paradise Lost* attest to the fact that the story of Adam and Eve was familiar to the young students. So the girls who worked the samplers would have already been aware of at least some of the lessons which were teachable through the exemplary couple. An instructress could continue to use the story of Adam and Eve to touch on more mature topics, like marriage, individual salvation, and the importance of covenants. Alternatively, an instructress could choose not to emphasize this exemplary couple, no doubt feeling confident that many important lessons had already been conveyed through the story. The absence of the imagery certainly does not imply that the instructress avoided teaching any of the topics available through that particular biblical story. We see in these early samplers how religion in eighteenth-century Boston was evolving under doctrinal, economic, and social pressures, broadening

purchasing power, expanding commercial capitalism, and the development of individual agency and notions of self-identity. The culture of Boston was loosening the previously tightly-woven threads of Puritanical control and orthodoxy which the colony's founders had so strongly believed in.

Chapter Three  
Nurturing the Inner Light:  
Quaker Influence in Early Philadelphia Samplers

Table of Contents

Introduction	103
The Samplers - Physical Description	106
Common Elements	
Sampler Verses	
Quakerism	122
The Friendly City	128
Education in Philadelphia	133
Quaker Female Education	136
Eighteenth-Century Quakerism	140
Building a Hedge Around the Children	143
Plainness and Sampler Design	145
Education Which Nurtures the Inner Light	147
Non-Marsh School Samplers	154
Conclusion	159

Early colonial Pennsylvania samplers have been described as some of the most beautiful samplers worked in the American colonies. Betty Ring, in her survey of American schoolgirl embroidery, described them as opulent, and reflective of the lavishly elegant and exuberantly decorated style found on other artifacts from early Pennsylvania.<sup>127</sup> The fact that such notably elegant items were worked in predominantly Quaker Philadelphia, by daughters of some of the most prominent and elite members of Quaker society, often surprises many people. Adjectives such as plain and simple are most often associated with the aesthetic preferences of Quakers; so the particularly bright and intricate design of the samplers seem inconsistent with what most modern viewers expect to find. The samplers, however, did reflect the design sensibilities of the trans-Atlantic Quaker community. They were both reflective of Quakerism and consistent with the Quaker culture of the early eighteenth century.

Seventeen samplers comprise my database for the study of early eighteenth-century Philadelphia samplers (Appendices I and J). They are divided into two groups. The first group (13 samplers) was worked under the tutelage of Elizabeth Marsh; the second group (4 samplers) was most likely the result of a number of different teachers, one being Elizabeth's daughter Ann. The samplers taught by Elizabeth Marsh were worked between 1725 and 1740; slight variations in the designs of these samplers allow me to conclude that she made some small changes in her design some time between 1731 and 1734. The second group of samplers exhibit characteristics which indicate they were

---

<sup>127</sup> Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 329.

probably influenced by Elizabeth's design, but they otherwise do not fall into a cohesive group. This disparate collection of samplers is made up of a wide variety of styles and formats. Further, their styles and formats are significantly different from the established Marsh school style. Although the samplers generally have designs which suggest an influence of the Marsh school, the designs vary too much to assign any of them to one school, let alone the Marsh school.<sup>128</sup>

As a whole, the most impressive characteristics of the entire group of samplers are their overall design conceit and the skill with which they were executed. The design conceit is represented by a disciplined format which was consistently followed and worked in a colorful palette of silk threads; the samplers are exceptionally visually balanced in terms of both color and design. Based on design characteristics alone, Elizabeth Marsh's reputation and apparent success was familiar to other school-mistresses, who appear to have incorporated some aspects of her samplers into the samplers worked at their schools. The emulation of Marsh school design elements occurred in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, and continued into the nineteenth

---

<sup>128</sup> In 2008 Sotheby's gave the Ann Strettell sampler (1733) an Ann Marsh school provenance. (Ann was the daughter of Elizabeth and actually worked one of the thirteen samplers in the Elizabeth Marsh group.) I have not included this sampler in my study for three reasons. The first issue with attributing this sampler to Ann Marsh is that she would have been 16 years old at the time. It is highly unlikely Ann would have been teaching such an advanced style of sampler at that age. Therefore, with the early date, if it was to be attributed to a Marsh school it would have to be associated with Elizabeth's school. Secondly, the sampler was undoubtedly worked in England since the family immigrated to Philadelphia in 1737. Thirdly, the sampler style is completely different from all the samplers worked at the Elizabeth Marsh school; this makes it unsuitable for a Marsh school attribution. Sotheby's New York Americana auction catalogue, January 18 & 19, 2008, Lot 336. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. II (New Jersey and Pennsylvania Monthly Meetings), 662 from ancestry.com. Robert Strettell roof (received on certificate from) Southwark, England with his wife and children, Amos, Frances, and Ann.

century.<sup>129</sup> Nonetheless, the entire group of 17 samplers is notably colorful and designed and executed in an exceptionally balanced and intricate way. This seems to be the hallmark of colonial Philadelphia samplers.

The samplers worked at the Marsh school illustrate how Quakerism was incorporated into female education in the early eighteenth century. Specifically, I argue that Elizabeth Marsh created a visual design template which accommodated both the complex and increasingly emphasized Quaker concern for plainness, and the fundamental Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light. Her template ingeniously incorporated a neat selection of overall format, thread colors, and design bands which was visually appealing. The overall design aesthetic of the Marsh samplers was remarkably consistent because of her control over the use of this template. Through this template she also accomplished the task of teaching the students the Quaker way of prescribing appropriately Quaker style. Quaker leaders felt this was necessary not only to insure that members were properly representing their faith, but also to support members in their quest to be good Christians. The ingeniousness of her template is that while she tightly controlled the design, she fully supported individual spiritual identity which was crucial to the Quaker belief in the Inner Light. She resolved this inherent conflict between tight control and individual agency through sampler verse selection. The number of verses worked on the Marsh school samplers was unusually large given the relatively small number of samplers

---

<sup>129</sup> An early example of the emulation of Marsh school design was worked by 13 year old Quaker Mary Keasbey in 1744. Mary lived in Salem County, New Jersey, which is across the Delaware River from Philadelphia. Her sampler included several elements worked on Marsh school samplers: the carnation border, pine trees, consistent usage of red silk thread, and a large genealogical band at the bottom of the sampler. *The Joan Stephens Collection: Important Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*. Sotheby's New York, January 19, 1997, Lot 2084. See also Ann Tatnall's 1786 sampler worked in Delaware (Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 488) and Elizabeth Fell's 1747 sampler worked in Bucks County, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia Museum of Art, acc. no. 1969.288.30).



in the study. This study of the samplers will show how ultimately Quaker the early eighteenth-century samplers were, even though at first sight they present the appearance of being anything but Quaker.

My study focuses on the thirteen samplers worked under the tutelage of Elizabeth Marsh between 1725 and 1740. I will first present the samplers by describing their design elements. I will then describe the social and religious backgrounds of the sampler makers, provide a brief description of Quakerism, and contextualize Quakerism to the early eighteenth century. I will then explain how these elements influenced and are apparent in the overall design of the samplers. I will also comment on the other four samplers and how I conclude they relate to the thirteen samplers worked at the Marsh school.

### The Samplers - Physical Description

An overall design aesthetic, as well as some very specific design elements, support the conclusion that the samplers were worked under the instruction of one schoolmistress, Elizabeth Marsh.<sup>130</sup> Probably the most impressive and unique aspect of the samplers is the colorful palette of silk threads used to stitch the designs (see the Ruth Biles sampler, Figure 27). The use of red and gold silk is a notable characteristic of this group of samplers. Bright red and rich gold were used on all of the thirteen samplers. The red thread was consistently used in a way which produced a most dramatic effect; it was used for each flower in the carnation bands as well as for each flower in the carnation borders. Red silk was also used to stitch part of the petals on the large floral

---

<sup>130</sup> Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 332-334. Account books for the fathers of two of Elizabeth Marsh's students (James Logan and Joseph Trotter) list Elizabeth Marsh as receiving payment for the schooling of their daughters during the time period in which the samplers were worked.

bands of each sampler. Most of the samplers also had red thread used to stitch some of the lettering of the samplers; some incorporated red thread for first letters of words, and some used red thread for entire verses. The use of red thread coupled with the rich gold silk thread created sharp contrast between the two colors which ultimately enhanced the richness and impact of the colors together. It is clear from the color selection of the silk threads that the samplers were made to be impressive. In addition to red and gold, each of the samplers was also worked with a deep green silk which gave further detail to other design elements of the samplers. For example, almost all of the samplers included a band of diamonds with an eight-pointed star stitched in the middle of the diamonds. The diamonds themselves were stitched in dark green silk which resulted in those specific bands being a notable visual component of the overall design. The red, gold, and dark green silk combined with the other, less vibrant, colors created an overall opulence which appears well planned and not left to chance or personal fancy.

The red thread in particular, and the variety of colors used in general, suggest two motivations for a conscious selection of the threads. As previously noted, the colors appear to have been chosen to visually impress the viewer. The way in which the colors were used on the samplers does not appear at all random or unintentional. This means the girls had enough silk thread in each of the colors to create an extraordinarily balanced and orderly design. In other groups of samplers, it was not uncommon for stitchers to run out of thread while working a sampler. If they ran out of thread they would need to finish the design with either a different color thread or a similar color thread (which almost always fades differently over time). Because band samplers always repeat designs on a

band, it is relatively easy to tell when a stitcher ran out of an original thread. For example, the inside petals of a flower which were stitched with two different dye lots or colors of thread will look noticeably different where the thread color was changed. It is particularly easy to notice thread changes for a verse or alphabet band because the stitching was generally limited to one or two colors and the letters were close together, highlighting any color differences. Considering the density of the stitches on these samplers, if different colors of silk thread had been used to complete bands and motifs, the overall balance and cohesiveness of the samplers would have been visually compromised. Careful design, execution, and materials-planning on the part of the stitchers and instructress in the Marsh group of samplers resulted in colorful works which were intended to impress the viewer, and would have cost a significant amount of money as a result.<sup>131</sup>

The eighteenth-century observer of these samplers would have been aware of the cost associated with acquiring sufficient quantities of high quality thread to finish each work. To work embroideries with copious amounts of fine, colorful silk thread represented a certain standard of living. They represented not only an investment in time and instruction, but also in an imported commodity which was expensive. Silk threads which were dyed in the brightest colors would have represented a true luxury purchase. As a social document, these samplers were a marker of the wealth and status of the families whose daughters stitched them. Samplers, however, represented much more to

---

<sup>131</sup> All eighteenth-century schoolgirl samplers represented careful planning of both design and materials. When Marsh school samplers are compared to the Boston and South Carolina low country samplers, however, it is evident that Elizabeth Marsh went to an exceptional effort to ensure careful consistency among the samplers, much more so than the schoolmistresses who were teaching the other samplers.

the girls, their families, and those who gazed upon them, than simply expensive linen fabric embroidered with expensive silk thread. Their value, although monetary indeed, was intangibly magnified by the social, religious, and personal significance they embodied. Their intrinsic value is evident in the fact that such environmentally sensitive artifacts have been kept and cared for by so many generations of sampler makers' descendants.

While the colorful nature of the Marsh school samplers ties them together as a group, there were also several design characteristics which not only strongly link them, but firmly suggest a format which was carefully controlled. The fact that the overall design of the samplers was prescribed may be the most unique aspect of the Marsh school samplers. What is particularly exceptional about the bands which were a part of the repertoire "allowed" by Elizabeth Marsh is how intricate these designs were. The bands were not simple bands which could have been used as dividing bands; they were complete design bands on their own.<sup>132</sup> Nine design elements were worked, with a few exceptions, on all of the samplers (see Appendices K and L). In fact, there were between nine and fifteen bands on each of the thirteen samplers. But there was only one band which was unique to only one stitcher.<sup>133</sup> In every other case, all of the bands were worked on several, if not all of, the other samplers. As a result, it is fairly easy to identify a Marsh school sampler once familiarity with the common elements have been identified.

---

<sup>132</sup> This is in rather stark contrast to the common bands worked on the Boston samplers during the same period. All of the Boston common bands were of a geometric nature. They were worked sporadically throughout the entire sampling of needlework, and were generally worked in simple cross stitch. They were not intricate at all, nor did they represent a specific type of floral imagery.

<sup>133</sup> Mary Reese worked a floral band (the third design band) which is similar but not identical to any bands worked on other samplers in the group.

### Common Elements

Appendix L presents the nine most common design elements. There were an additional eight bands worked on a random and inconsistent basis throughout the thirteen samplers; they have not been included in Appendix L. Two of these additional bands were only worked on the earliest seven samplers, one was worked in both groups, and the other five were only worked in the latter group of samplers. All of these randomly worked bands were floral bands. It is likely that the selection of bands for each sampler was limited by the size of the fabric used for each sampler. For example, Sarah Howell's sampler was one of the smallest samplers, it included only four design bands and six verse bands. (On the average, a total of twelve bands were worked on the Marsh school samplers.) Each of the four design bands worked by Sarah was one of the common bands worked on the entire group of samplers. None of Sarah's bands was one of the more random and less frequently worked bands which occurred on the larger samplers.

The consistency with which the design conceit was followed by Elizabeth Marsh's students is remarkable. If you consider the Boston samplers as a comparison, several bands were commonly found on the entire group of samplers, but they were worked randomly and inconsistently within the group as a whole. A further notable characteristic of the Marsh school samplers is their technical intricacy in terms of both stitch execution and the design and spatial placement of the bands. Sarah Logan's sampler provides a good example of how technically and aesthetically intricate the Marsh school samplers were (see Figure 28). All of the design bands were worked to completion at the right side of the sampler (bands were stitched from left to right) and the

verse bands were carefully planned so that the two verse lines finished at approximately the same place allowing for the filler motifs (pine trees and flowers) to neatly fill the band to completion at the right side of the sampler. Additionally, all of the design bands represented natural floral and fauna motifs, which produced a sophisticated aesthetic for the samplers. These bands were densely stitched with a variety of colors, which is not only pleasing to the eye but also intricate to execute because of the starting and ending of so many different colors of thread. This differs significantly, for example, from the design of the Boston samplers. The Boston design bands were much less intricate in terms of stitching skill and design aesthetic than those worked by the Marsh girls. For example, the most common bands worked on the Boston samplers were relatively simple, geometrically-shaped dividing bands in one color, as opposed to floral motifs in several colors on the Marsh school samplers. The Greek key and zig-zag-eyelet bands are examples of the simple bands worked on the Boston samplers. The Boston samplers had *more* bands, but they lacked the visual and technical sophistication of the Marsh school sampler bands.

Not only were the kinds of bands consistent on the Marsh school samplers, the regularity with which the bands were included on the samplers is remarkable. This is the case concerning both which bands were a part of the repertoire, and the colors used to stitch the bands. For example, the acorn band was always worked in gold thread using the same stitches. The carnations in the carnation bands were always worked with petals which were red in the center progressing to gold outer petals, and the leaves were always filled with either gold or blue satin stitches. With one exception, the diamond with the

eight-point star was worked with green diamonds which were filled with blue eight-pointed stars. The one exception to this was the earliest sampler in the collection (Sarah Logan's sampler) and she worked green diamonds, but her centers were filled with red eight-petal flowers and not the eight-pointed star. Therefore, after this earliest interpretation of the band, the format changed and remained intact until the last sampler was made.

The first of the common design elements was the overall format of the samplers. The following format was closely adhered to by all of the sampler makers:

- each sampler started with a verse band at the very top of the linen
- between eight and fourteen bands followed which alternated between verse bands and design bands
- each verse band was comprised of two lines of lettering
- narrow sawtooth bands in satin stitch were worked as dividing bands between all of the bands.

There are a few things which make this format unique for the Marsh school samplers.

The first is that (with one exception) the samplers started with a verse band.<sup>134</sup> The majority of samplers worked during this period (in America as well as England) would have started with an alphabet at the top of the sampler, and would have further included two or more alphabets in the body of the sampler. In fact, only two of the Marsh school samplers included an alphabet, and on only one of those samplers was the alphabet worked as the first verse band. In contrast to the Anglo-American norm for including at least one alphabet on a sampler, the preferred format for the Marsh school was to not

---

<sup>134</sup> Because both verses and alphabets consist of only letters, for purpose of analysis in my appendices I considered the alphabet on the one sampler where it was the first band as a "verse" band.

include an alphabet. The sampler makers jumped right in to stitching verses instead of the letters used to write the verses. Another distinction with this group of samplers is that the verse bands were consistently two lines. This is very unique; the majority of samplers which included a verse at this time appear to have selected a verse and included it on the sampler with no regard to a consistent placement in terms of an alternating band pattern. For example, the verses stitched on the Boston samplers were stitched as a cohesive section on the samplers; a verse was selected and stitched in its entirety as a section in itself. This is in contrast to limiting stitched verses to two lines per iteration.

With one exception, all of the design bands on the Marsh school samplers were floral designs. Carnations were most commonly worked on these bands, with the large floral bands focusing on the rose, and two of the smaller bands representing tulips and strawberry buds. The choice of floral bands followed a long tradition of working floral imagery on samplers. While floral motifs on seventeenth-century samplers may have been symbolic, the choice of particular flowers on the Marsh school samplers was probably simply a matter of aesthetics. One reason for this is that the tradition of embedding veiled meanings through allegorical and symbolic floral representations was waning in the early eighteenth century (in both England and America). A second reason is that the use of allegory or symbolism was anathema to the Quakers. In general, Quakerism encouraged words, actions, and material objects which were pure and uncluttered by superfluity and veiled meanings. The source of this can be seen as originating with the doctrine of the Inner Light, which heavily encouraged a direct, personal, and essentially untainted encounter with God. By its nature, this was expected



to be a true, pure, and non-symbolic experience. Thus, Quakers were urged to rise above the allegorical and symbolic, and it would be highly unlikely that a Quaker instructress would have encouraged or even allowed her students to employ symbolism in their sampler designs.

One of the distinct Marsh school design elements requires a further explanation: the pine trees were not a band per se. They were a specific motif which was worked at the end of a line of verse if the verse did not end at the far right-hand side of the band. It is for this reason that Appendix K indicates which of the verse bands for each sampler included one or more pine trees. The pine tree motif was essentially used as a filler to complete a verse band when the verse alone was not enough content to finish the band. Sometimes there was only one pine tree, sometimes several, and sometimes the pine tree was combined with another flower or non-descript motif. While the practice of using a filler at the end of a short band was common, this particular pine tree was distinct to the Marsh school samplers. The image of a pine tree was accomplished by stitching increasingly wider horizontal cross stitch rows centered on one vertical cross stitch row. The bottom of the pine tree was stitched with roots which curved up (only by one cross stitch) on either side of the bottom of the center trunk. The pine trees were always stitched with the dark green silk thread, and they varied in height according to how wide the band was.

### Sampler Verses

Beyond providing evidence that the samplers were worked under the instruction of the same schoolmistress, the consistency of the bands suggest unusually tight control

over the design element of the samplers. The other element of the samplers, the texts of sampler verses, shows the opposite influence of the schoolmistress. Whereas there were a total of fifteen design bands worked on the Marsh school samplers, there were over 43 different verses worked on them. While the style of lettering, the ordering of verses within the samplers, and even the silk colors used to stitch the verses showed notable consistency, there was only one verse which was stitched on more than four of the samplers.

Forty three different verses have been identified on the thirteen Marsh school samplers (Appendix M). At least nine other verses were worked on the samplers, but the sampler images are not clear enough to decipher the letters.<sup>135</sup> All of the verses pointed to an interest in the importance of leading a virtuous life, and often focused on the relevance of religion and God as a vehicle for insuring personal virtue. There were four main sources for the verses, and the pattern of their usage suggests that Elizabeth Marsh used those publications at her school. Two of the sources were what could be called school books: Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue* (1727) and Edward Young's *The Compleat English Scholar* (1710). The other two most commonly referenced sources, Mary Mollineux *Fruits of Retirement* (1702) and Francis Quarles' *Divine Fancies* and *Divine Poems*, were both originally seventeenth-century publications. Mary Mollineux was an English Quaker whose poems were posthumously published by her cousin and printed by a female Quaker printer in the early eighteenth century. Francis Quarles was an English (Anglican) poet and emblem writer; the two of his books

---

<sup>135</sup> I have not been able to identify one or more verses on the samplers worked by Mary Trotter, Elizabeth Hudson, and Prudence Dunbar.

referenced by the Marsh school samplers were compilations of poems he had written separately in the early seventeenth century.

None of the verses could be described as prescribing a specific doctrinal emphasis; they all focused more on general prescriptions for virtuous living. For example, verse number 21 (which was used by four sampler makers -Morris, Howell, Sandiford, and Reese) reads:

My lifes a flower the time it hath to last  
Is mixt with frost and shook with every blast.

The source for this verse was Edward Young's *The Compleat English Scholar*, page 96. So, it's not from a religious source, per se, but it does relate to the idea of the brevity of life. This would have carried with it the implication that life should be lived virtuously lest death occur before an appropriate relationship with God had been achieved.

Verse number 21 was one of the verses extracted from an imported school book.<sup>136</sup> It was from the section of the book subtitled "Some Copies Alphabetical for Youth to Write Out." The other school book from which verses were extracted was Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue*. Fourteen verses, in total, were extracted from these two publications and used on the Marsh school samplers. And all but three of the samplers included at least one verse from either Dyche or Young.<sup>137</sup> It appears, then, that the students who attended the Marsh school at least had access to the books, and they

---

<sup>136</sup> Refer to Appendix M. Note that meaning, order, or frequency of usage are in no way implied by my numbering. Numbers were assigned purely on a random basis depending upon the timing of my research of each verse.

<sup>137</sup> The three samplers which apparently did not extract a verse from either Dyche or Young were Mary Trotter, Elizabeth Hudson, and Prudence Dunbar. Because I have not been able to decipher all of the verses on Mary Trotter's sampler she may have in fact taken a verse from this book. This seems possible since Young was the source for verses on her sister Hannah's sampler. The other two samplers were worked last, or near the end of Elizabeth Marsh's school; therefore Elizabeth may have decided to stop using those books as a source for verses.

were most likely being used as part of the curriculum. The verses were consistently chosen from the sections of the books which provided two or four line verses for students to copy as writing exercises. Elizabeth Marsh was most likely using these school books to teach writing as well as moral behavior. This would mean that both boys and girls were “allowed” to use the same school books, which relied on spiritual maxims to do double duty and teach both writing and appropriate behavior.<sup>138</sup> It is not known if boys attended the Marsh school; if they did go to the Marsh school they would not have participated in the making of a sampler with the girls.

In addition to the two school books, sampler verses were also commonly extracted from Mary Mollineux’s *Fruits of Retirement* and Francis Quarles’ *Divine Fancies* and *Divine Poems*. All of these publications had seventeenth-century English origins. Mary Mollineux (1651-1696) was a first-generation English Quaker who, along with her husband Henry Mollineux, was imprisoned for attending Quaker meetings. *Fruits of Retirement* was a compilation of her poetry. Before the posthumous publication of her work in 1702, her poetry had been widely circulated in manuscript form among the Quaker community. Because of the female and Quaker source, Quaker girls and the Quaker community at large would have highly regarded Mollineux as an appropriate role model for young girls. It is therefore fitting that she was a source for ten of the verses on the samplers. Interestingly, the two non-Quaker girls (Margaret Sandiford and Prudence Dunbar) did not use *Fruits of Retirement* as a source for any of their verses. This may indicate how closely Mollineux was associated with the Quaker faith. Although the two

---

<sup>138</sup> Spelling books, in general, were written for boys. I am not aware of an eighteenth-century spelling book written for girls. It appears that in cases where writing was taught to girls, the instructress would “borrow” the curriculum from that used for boys.

non-Quaker girls did not select verses from distinctly Quaker sources, they nonetheless followed Elizabeth Marsh's prescribed design band format.

It is no doubt significant that the Elizabeth Marsh tacitly approved of Mary Mollineux as an ideal for the girls to achieve. She was learned, a beloved wife and mother, and a public defender of their faith. Patricia Crawford turned to Mollineux in her study of women's dreams in early modern England. Crawford notes that in *Fruits of Retirement*, Mollineux called upon her dreams as a source for her poetry. Through dream metaphors, she "represented her life as a passage through dangers to a better, fairer, state. Her life-story became the archetype of the Christian soul's journey to God, bearing public witness to her assurance of salvation." Crawford further notes that Mollineux's dream-story of her salvation was essentially non-gendered, which would make it particularly fitting for Quaker sensibilities regarding equality.<sup>139</sup> As such, Mollineux would have been considered an exemplary model for the girls to strive for, and she was the only female writer from whom early eighteenth-century sampler verses were extracted.

Frances Quarles (1592-1644) was a seventeenth-century English emblem book author. He was most widely known for *Emblems, Divine and Moral* (1635) which was published in numerous editions into the eighteenth century. *Emblems* was a lavishly illustrated book containing meditative verse. It belonged to the literary genre of emblem books, which began in the sixteenth century and is often described as visible poetry. Emblem books were comprised of scripturally-based poems which were paired with engravings illustrative of the message of the poem. *Divine Fancies* was first published in

---

<sup>139</sup> Patricia Crawford, "Women's Dreams in Early Modern England", *History Workshop Journal*, No. 49 (Spring, 2000), 134.

1632 and went through fourteen editions by 1723; it was a collection of poems previously written by Quarles. *Divine Poems* was published in 1633 and was also a collection of previously-published poems.<sup>140</sup> The editions of *Divine Fancies* and *Divine Poems* (1722 and 1706 respectively) from which the Marsh-school sampler verses were extracted did not have accompanying engravings; the books included verses only. In a sense, the lack of imagery makes the books appear more like the other school books from which verses were extracted for the Marsh school samplers.

There were a total of three verses on the Marsh school samplers which turned to Francis Quarles as the source. The most common verse worked on the group of samplers, in total, was extracted from *Divine Fancies*. With eight of the samplers including this verse; it was consistently worked on the samplers far more than any other verse. The verse reads:

The bed was earth the raised pillar stone  
Whereon poor Jacob rest his head his bones  
Heaven was his canopy the shades of the night  
Were his drawn curtains to exclude the light

Poor state of Jacob here it seems to me  
His cattle found as soft a bed as he  
Yet God appeared there his joy his crown  
God is not always found in beds of down.

This verse is a reference to Chapter 28 of the Book of Genesis in the Old Testament of the Bible, specifically to the story of Jacob leaving Canaan, at the urging of his father Isaac, to take a wife from his Uncle Laban in Haran. During the first night of the trip into the wilderness Jacob lay down to sleep and made a pillow out of stones. In the course of

---

<sup>140</sup> William T. Liston, ed. *Francis Quarles' Divine Fancies: A Critical Edition* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), xv-xvi.

the night Jacob dreamed of a ladder to heaven on which angels of God were both ascending to heaven and descending to earth. The Lord spoke to Jacob during this dream, telling him that He was the Lord God of Abraham and that the family that Jacob would produce with his wife would spread throughout the world and bless the earth. The Lord promised Jacob that He would be with him wherever he went, that He would never leave him.

This portion of Genesis 28 conveyed two lessons in the early eighteenth century, according to the English Divine Matthew Poole in 1700. The first lesson was one of obedience, which was represented as Jacob's obedience to both his father and God. Jacob was compelled to obey his father's command that he leave Canaan to find a wife. He was further moved to obey God upon His vow to return Jacob to Canaan in peace. Poole interpreted this lesson of obedience in a positive light. Rather than Jacob continuing on his journey out of *fear* of God, he remained obedient to God and his father because of the assurance of God's steadfast love. Put another way, Jacob was obedient to God out of the supposition that God would remain with him, not from fearing that if he didn't obey, God would leave him. By extension, God was said to dwell in those who believe in him.<sup>141</sup>

The second lesson conveyed by this text in the early eighteenth century was that of care and kindness of God toward his children. For Poole, this lesson was implied because of the fact that Jacob was ordered to make the trip to Haran alone. God's protection of Jacob throughout his estrangement from his family served as an illustration of the benevolence of God.

---

<sup>141</sup> Matthew Poole, *Annotations upon the Holy Bible, Wherein the Sacred Text Is Inserted, and various Reading Annex'd, together with the Parallel Scriptures*. Volume I, (London, 1700),

The inclusion of this verse so predominantly on Marsh school samplers (it may be considered as a hallmark of the Marsh school curriculum) may suggest that the lesson it had to teach was important to Elizabeth Marsh. It can be considered as a common lesson that a schoolmistress would encourage her students to obey their parents. Obviously the scriptural basis for the lesson would be considered appropriate. Further, it is conceivable that the lesson could have been expanded to address the Quaker tenet that worldly trappings were inconsistent with the belief in and worship of God. This can be gleaned from the part of Quarles' verse which did not correlate directly to Genesis 28: God is not always found in beds of down. This strongly suggests a lesson intended to reinforce the Quaker emphasis on an uncluttered, pure, and primitive personal relationship with God.

While it is reasonable to assume that Elizabeth Marsh could have purchased the two school books from local merchants who had imported them, it is more difficult to determine the origin of *Fruits of Retirement*, *Divine Fancies*, and *Divine Poems* in colonial Philadelphia. None of these three publications were mentioned in Philadelphia newspaper advertisements in the early eighteenth century. It is possible that Elizabeth brought them with her from England. This is particularly likely with respect to Mary Mollineux's book because it had been circulated among the Quaker community in England even before it was first published in 1702.<sup>142</sup> The books by Quarles provide more of a quandary. It is possible they were in the library of the father of one of Marsh's students. Advertisements and extant book orders attest to the popularity of emblematic

---

<sup>142</sup> *Fruits of Retirement* was included in Francis Daniel Pastorius' commonplace book (referred to as The Bee Hive), which means it was among his collection of books. Pastorius emigrated to Philadelphia in 1683 and was a schoolteacher there for many years. This would indicate at least one source for the book for Elizabeth Marsh. Alfred L Brophy, "The Quaker Bibliographic World of Francis Daniel Pastorius' Bee Hive", *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 122, No. 3 (July, 1998), 269.



literature in colonial Philadelphia, although I was unable to find a case when *Divine Fancies* or *Divine Poems* were offered for sale. Benjamin Franklin's shop published a German emblem book in 1751, so at a minimum the relative popularity of emblem books can be deduced. Paintings, tombstone, and silver furnishings exhibit signs of the emblematic in colonial America in general.<sup>143</sup> Of additional consideration, is the fact that both James Logan and Anthony Morris were known to have had among the largest libraries in the colonies during this period. It is possible one of their libraries included this publication and they offered it to Elizabeth Marsh for use at her school.<sup>144</sup>

It does not appear that any of the verses were extracted from primers available in Philadelphia during this period. Newspaper advertisements indicate that primers were imported, although they carry the generic description of primer or spelling-book rather than indicating who wrote them or where they were published. George Fox published the first Quaker primer in 1670; it was superseded his *Instructions for Right Spelling* in 1673. Both of Fox's primers, as well as his Quaker Catechism had an extensive history of republication in England and America. Fox's primer was different from the *New England Primer* in that it did not included imagery of any kind. Even though Fox's publications do not appear to have been a source for Marsh school sampler verses, the primer was consistent with the overall aesthetic of the samplers worked by her students as the primer because of their lack of imagery.

### Quakerism

---

<sup>143</sup> Roland E. Fleischer, "Emblems and Colonial American Painting," *The American Art Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 3 (1988), 9.

<sup>144</sup> Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948), 159.

When the Marsh school samplers were worked in Philadelphia between 1725 and 1740, the city was dominated by Quaker settlers. Quakerism arose in the mid-seventeenth century in England. The Society of Friends (the original and official term given the sect) was founded by George Fox (1624-1691), the son of a Lancashire weaver. After several years of personal reflection, Fox began to travel throughout England preaching his personally-discovered form of what he considered as a simple, more personal religion. The religious philosophy of Fox and his early followers was a direct result of a radical, zealous reaction to the prevailing Protestant movement of the time, and particularly created as a correction to the formalism and ceremonial worship of the established (Anglican) church.<sup>145</sup> Fox and his followers proposed a return to what they considered to be the ancient and original form of Christianity. Rejecting a hired ministry, the liturgy, and any official sacraments, they emphasized a direct and individual relationship with the Spirit through the Inner Light.

Those who became convinced of Quakerism's kind of spirituality and identified themselves as members of the sect were heavily persecuted by other members of English society in the seventeenth century. One reason for this was that Quakers did not recognize the need for the intervention of the Anglican church into either the social structure or individual worship experience. This was a problem for greater English society because the Anglican Church was considered an integral component of the social and religious culture of seventeenth-century England. To mitigate this situation, George

---

<sup>145</sup> One of the significant distinctions between Quakers and Puritans was how they handled a church structure. Quakers established meetings (instead of churches with offices like deacon and elder) which were generally led by committees rather than individuals. Other significant differences were the Quakers' non-belief in the sacraments and a hired ministry which had been university trained.

Fox created an organizational structure to codify and monitor the tenets of the Quaker faith as well as the actions of its members. His hierarchical structure provided the Society with a vehicle for meeting and communicating as an organized group, which was also intended to help the greater society recognize the fact that they were not a threat to English religious and secular culture.<sup>146</sup>

There was only one doctrine (perhaps more appropriately described as “feelings which condition the will” than a true doctrine) prescribed by Quakerism, that of the Inner Light.<sup>147</sup> This direct or unmediated religious experience was considered crucial for discovering the Inner Christ, or the Light of God. The earliest Quakers believed they had rediscovered true Christianity through this doctrine and that their kind of religious awakening was the only way to God. As the number of followers rapidly increased throughout England, the personal nature of Quaker spirituality created a challenge: how to encourage and facilitate a *personal* experience, create a community of people with *common* beliefs, and *guard* against outward behavior which could be viewed as morally lax by English society. A framework was created in the form of guidelines which described, on a general level, how Quakers were expected to behave. The guidelines were monitored and changed over time in order to address current issues. They were used not only by individual members, but also provided Monthly Meetings with a

---

<sup>146</sup> Fox organized the Quaker community into a series of meetings. His original meeting structure was adhered to by American Quakers. At the local level, Weekly Meetings for worship (also known as Preparative Meetings) were held on First Day (Sunday). Also at the local level, Monthly Meetings were held which tended to local Quaker business and member discipline. Monthly Meetings further organized business in preparation for regional Monthly Meetings. Quarterly Meetings executed business for a larger regional area, and Yearly Meetings business on a national level. Denomination-wide dictates worked their way down to the local level from the Yearly Meetings. In the earliest days of the colony of Pennsylvania, the Monthly Meeting for worship was the spiritual, intellectual, and economic center of the community.

<sup>147</sup> Howard H. Brinton. “The Quaker Contribution to Higher Education in Colonial America,” *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July, 1958), 236.

standard for determining infractions and inappropriate behavior of its members.

Traveling ministers, or Public Friends, as well as Weighty Friends (those members of the sect who were held in particularly high regard by other members) would observe individual activities to ensure adherence to the standards. The four standards - Equality, Plainness, Truth, and Peace - were commonly referred to as Testimonies. Quakers considered the Testimonies as vital to the cultivation of a lifestyle that was honest, simple, respectful of the existence of God in everyone, and peaceable. The testimonies of equality and plainness are most relative to the study of the Marsh School samplers.

The Quakers' dedication to the tenet of equality dates to the founding of the sect in the seventeenth century. The Equality Testimony is the basis for the belief in spiritual equality between men and women. Quaker women were considered capable not only of experiencing a direct relationship with God, but also of ministering to both Quakers and non-Quakers as Public Friends. The active involvement of women in Quakerism distinguished the group from other religious groups. Quaker ministers were not paid, and they did not lead congregations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they traveled widely for the purpose of spreading their form of Christianity throughout the world. During this period it was considered very unusual for women to travel alone and unheard of for them to travel alone and preach in public. However, there were many well-known early female Quaker ministers who both traveled alone and preached, including Elizabeth Fry, Rebecca Jones and Elizabeth Ashebridge. Mary Dyer, the English Quaker who was hanged in Massachusetts in 1660, was a traveling Quaker minister. While other religious denominations obviously encouraged female participation and spirituality, the Quakers

were unusually open to the possibility and even embraced the fact that women could actively participate in the sect's administration and ministry.

The Plainness Testimony, linked with the Quakers' primitive form of Christianity and with the plainness of the Gospel, was most often noted with reference to plainness in speech and material objects.<sup>148</sup> This testimony could generally be described as encouraging Quakers to avoid anything that could be considered ostentatious or superfluous. The significance of plainness was grounded on the belief that extravagant possessions and behavior would distract one from living a life that was true to God, oneself, and others. The Plainness Testimony evolved over time and, therefore, meant different things as different times.

The impetus for plainness grew out of the early conclusion among the Quakers, including George Fox, that one who walked a path of strict morality would naturally eschew all things superfluous. As a result of this belief, useless ornaments and ostentatious superfluities were banished from Quaker costume, furniture, architecture, and personal belongings. For example, fancy ribbons and lace were inconsistent with the Plainness Testimony. The wearing of such adornment was considered useless and impractical, and served only to please the outward self.<sup>149</sup> Members disciplined for a lack of attention to this testimony were rarely admonished for a concern for their material objects alone. In fact, compliance with plainness was most often applied with a reference to speech. Criticisms for the lack of plainness of furnishings and other material objects

---

<sup>148</sup> Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck, ed. *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 64.

<sup>149</sup> Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 8.

were made in conjunction with, and secondary to, criticisms concerning the requirement of plain speech.

Many quandaries arise with the testimony of plainness because it was an ambiguous and relative concept, particularly in terms of material objects. For example, some furniture items which might be considered plain (and therefore acceptable) for gentry would not necessarily be considered appropriate for the less affluent. The reason for this was that seventeenth and eighteenth-century Quakers did not have a problem with recognizing and acknowledging differences of social class. The more wealthy Quakers were allowed greater latitude regarding the interpretation of plainness. In an attempt to compensate for their self-denial when it came to female ornamentation, the wives and daughters of the early eighteenth-century Quaker grandees had their garments made of only the finest and most expensive materials. Contemporary accounts note that their clothing was particularly colorful and was even sometimes made of velvet. Their clothing would, however, have naturally been devoid of fashionable lace and ribbons, but otherwise they were as gaily dressed as the others.<sup>150</sup>

There were several considerations which could lead to complications in the interpretation of when to enforce the Plainness Testimony. One such predicament was the issue of relativity: did adherence to plainness necessitate a strict and literal application to the whole of one's life. In other words, did a breach of the Plainness Testimony in one aspect of one's life negate its appropriate application in all other aspects? Taken a step further, was a Quaker's otherwise impeccable standing

---

<sup>150</sup> Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 127.

compromised by an infraction of lace on a collar or the purchase of a high chest for the parlor? Consequently, it was difficult for both individuals and Quaker leaders to conclude how critical being plain was to declaring “Quakerness.” The enforcement of the testimony, therefore, was problematic. For example, did plainness apply to dress only, or must shoes and gloves also be addressed? Did the principle apply to the furnishings of a house, or must it also be taken into account in terms of its size and how the house was constructed? As a result of the necessarily relative nature of the concept of plainness, the leaders of the Quaker community found it difficult to call into question a member’s true faithfulness based purely on the appropriateness of a few material objects.

At the most complex level was the question of whether or not adherence to the precept of plainness actually influenced one’s spiritual path. The idea was that plainness would be the result of walking a path of spiritual morality, but was the mere adherence to the precept a valid gauge of Truth and morality? It was always possible that adherence to the Plainness Testimony had little or nothing to do with one’s spirituality. In fact, many Quakers questioned whether or not plainness had become its own form of ostentatiousness and adornment. Thus, while the Plainness Testimony was outwardly evident and a frequent topic of concern for eighteenth-century Quakers, it was not an aspect of Quaker life which was either simple to analyze nor used to judge Quakers on its own.

### The Friendly City

Quakers established, and initially settled, Philadelphia in the late seventeenth century. William Penn, a wealthy English Quaker, began drafting plans for

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's capital city, in 1681. His intention was to accomplish two goals: to establish a "Holy Experiment," a place where all could worship freely, and to create a business venture, which would be accomplished by selling land granted to him by King Charles II to investors.<sup>151</sup> Penn organized the migration of Quakers to the newly created colony. Given that one of his intentions for settling the colony was to provide a safe haven from persecution for Quakers, he first advertised the availability of land to English Quakers, proclaiming his intention of creating a colony where religious freedom was to be absolute. He further advertised the nascent settlement of his colony in western Europe, again focusing on the Quaker community and the colony's purpose as a place where all could worship without fear.<sup>152</sup> He also created political and governmental systems for the management of the colony. Penn was the sole proprietor of the colony; he appointed a governor and created other appropriate colonial and municipal positions which were filled by either appointment or election.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Randall M. Miller and William Pencak, ed., *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press and Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2002), 64-65.

<sup>152</sup> Quakers had settled in the area before Penn began establishing the city of Philadelphia. Groups of Quakers had purchased land in West Jersey, East Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland in the two decades before Penn acquired his charter. Quakers had also moved voluntarily or been banished to the Caribbean, as well as traveled around the world for missionary purposes.

<sup>153</sup> Before Penn's Pennsylvania "Holy Experiment", the Delaware Valley already had a history of European settlement. The first such settlements were initiated by the Dutch during the first half of the seventeenth century. With the formation of the New Sweden Company in 1637, immigrants from Sweden, Finland, and Belgium were added to the slow-growing Dutch population. Trade in fur and tobacco was the primary economic activity for the colony at this time. The English gained control of the region in 1664 with the Dutch surrender of Fort Amsterdam (the Delaware Valley had been a part of New Netherland up to that time). It was the English claim to the land in 1664 which provided Charles II with the opportunity to grant a charter for the land to Penn in 1681.



At the turn of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia numbered only about 2,200 inhabitants.<sup>154</sup> The city had evolved into a maritime center, with trade connections between other mainland colonies, the West Indies, England, and Ireland. Philadelphia experienced rapid growth and economic development during the first half of the eighteenth century because of its success at becoming a major port city.<sup>155</sup> The population of the city had grown to 9,000 inhabitants by 1740, and it was a city of people who centered their lives around trade.<sup>156</sup> With a productive hinterland, the seaport bustled with exports of grain and livestock products from its surrounding towns. The exports as well as an active shipbuilding industry supported the importation of food and furnishings from around the world. Philadelphia prospered not only because of the productive hinterland, but also as a result of its greater proximity to West Indian markets, compared to Boston and New York.<sup>157</sup>

The guarantees of religious freedom, combined with rapid commercial growth, attracted other religious groups to Philadelphia. By 1700 the Quakers accounted for only about 40 percent of the population. Although they made up the largest single religious group with four meetinghouses, other Protestant denominations worshiped unhindered in the city, including Swedish Lutherans, Baptists, Presbyterians, Catholics, and Anglicans. Diversity notwithstanding, the early leaders in the city and the colony as a whole

---

<sup>154</sup> Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 1.

<sup>155</sup> Gary B. Nash, "The Early Merchants of Philadelphia: The Formation and Disintegration of a Founding Elite," *The World of William Penn*, Richard S. Dunn and Mary Maples Dunn, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 340.

<sup>156</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible*, 33.

<sup>157</sup> Nash, *The Urban Crucible*, 33-64.

continued to be Quakers. They dominated Pennsylvania politics at the local, as well as the colonial, level.<sup>158</sup> Quakers and the Quaker Party were a powerful enough entity that they controlled the destiny of the colony until the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>159</sup>

The upper crust of Philadelphia and Quaker society were present at Elizabeth Marsh's school. Of the fathers of the sampler makers, several were Weighty Friends: Biles, Logan, Morris, Howell, Trotter, and Hudson.<sup>160</sup> Several of the fathers were also members of the Pennsylvania Assembly: Morris, Hudson, Logan, Biles (Ruth's grandfather), and Trotter. Anthony Morris (father of Mary) and William Hudson (father of Elizabeth) were appointed as Overseers of Public Schools, and held the positions together, at the same time. Also, Elizabeth Hudson's grandfather William Hudson was mayor of the city from 1725 to 1726. Some of the sampler makers' female family members were also important and influential Quakers in the early eighteenth century. Mary Morris' aunt Sarah Morris was a Quaker minister who never married; she was also active in the Women's Meeting. Hannah Hudson, Elizabeth's mother, was an active member of the Philadelphia Women's Meeting. Also, Lydia Vernon, who was either the cousin or aunt of Sarah Howell, was active in Chester Women's Meeting.

All of the fathers were wealthy. Morris, Howell, Sandiford, and Hudson were wealthy merchants. James Logan, perhaps the best-known of all of the fathers, was a

---

<sup>158</sup> Russell F. Weigley, ed. *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 28.

<sup>159</sup> Nelson Waite Rightmyer, "Churches Under Enemy Occupation: Philadelphia, 1777-78," *Church History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Mar., 1945), 52.

<sup>160</sup> Weighty Friends were mature men and women who were considered to have exceptional depth and wisdom in the faith. They were held in particularly high regard by other Quakers and had great influence within the community.

wealthy landowner and William Penn's secretary. Rush was a mariner, and Trotter was a wealthy cutler/ironmonger. Biles was a very successful and wealthy carpenter, turned landowner. The only Quakers for which occupations and affiliations have not been identified are Robins and Reese - all the others were recognizably influential in a number of ways. In addition to Quaker and political connections, the frequent travel and communication between Philadelphia and the West Indies is reflected in the case of one of the sampler makers, Margaret Sandiford.<sup>161</sup> Although she was Anglican and from Barbados, she attended the Marsh school and worked her sampler in 1731. Her family must have become aware of the Marsh school through either her father's contacts as a merchant mariner or recommendations from family members in the Philadelphia area. Margaret's uncle Charles Sandiford was in Philadelphia in 1730, as evidenced by a runaway slave advertisement he placed. Additionally, Ralph Sandiford was a Quaker with the Chester Monthly Meeting who wrote a popular treatise against slavery in 1729.<sup>162</sup> The relationship between the families has not been firmly established, but it is likely they knew each other because of the unusual last name. It is clear that the families of the sampler makers interacted with each other in a number of ways, both religiously and civilly. This leads me to conclude that many of the girls who attended Elizabeth Marsh's school could have already known each other in a number of ways. Further, their

---

<sup>161</sup> It appears that frequent communication and the practice of sending children to Philadelphia for schooling from the Indies continued into the latter part of the eighteenth century. Anthony Benezet's school accepted a non-Quaker boy from the West Indies in the mid-eighteenth century. He had been sent to Philadelphia to attend this school because the father (a gentleman of fortune) had heard of the reputation of the Benezet school. Brookes, *Friend Anthony Benezet*, 42.

<sup>162</sup> Ralph Sandiford. *An Examination of the Practice of the Times*, 1729.

enrollment in the school suggests the families embraced the curriculum as well as the social/religious milieu it supported.

### Education in Philadelphia

Education received early consideration on the part of Penn and his governing authorities. Penn specifically regarded education as a function of the civil authorities and clearly stated this in his Frame of Government, written before he actually arrived in Pennsylvania. To effectuate this, one of the stipulations of the 1683 Provincial Council was that the Governor and the Council were to ensure that buildings were erected which were to be used as public schools. This is not to suggest that religion had no impact on the early Philadelphia educational system, however, as the governor and the majority of the Provincial Council were Quakers. Further, the relations between the schools operated by the Quakers and the governing council were very close. Thus, on October 26, 1683 the Provincial Council appointed Enoch Flower as the city's first schoolmaster. Flower was a Quaker who had been a schoolmaster in England for the previous twenty years.<sup>163</sup>

The first public Grammar school in Philadelphia was firmly established via Quaker support. In 1689 the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting appointed Quaker George Keith as the schoolmaster of a Friends school. One of the incorporators of this school was Anthony Morris, father of sampler maker Mary Morris. It was intended that the school would meet the demands of both the rich and the poor; the poor were to be taught for free. Funds for the continuing operation of the school were acquired by a combination of voluntary subscriptions, fees paid by those who could afford to pay, and

---

<sup>163</sup> Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920), 41-43.

occasional legacies. When Penn chartered the school in 1701 he specified that Quakers were to be appointed as Overseers of the Public School.<sup>164</sup> This solidified the Quaker influence on the school for which Quaker instructors were also hired. Women had been hired as schoolmistresses by 1699. Although the names of the earliest mistresses are not known, Olive Songhurst is mentioned as having been paid for her teaching services in 1700. Songhurst was the first woman permitted to teach rhetoric and writing composition, having offered this as a subject to girls in 1702.<sup>165</sup> Although the school was maintained by Quakers, the school was open to children of all faiths.<sup>166</sup>

The first newspaper advertisement which mentioned needlework as a part of a female curriculum was placed by George Brownell in March, 1727. He placed similar advertisements in 1728 and 1735. The advertisements did not mention the name of the instructress, only that “several sorts of needle-work” would be taught at this boarding school.<sup>167</sup> Also taught at Brownell’s school were reading, writing, cyphering, and dancing. George Brownell was an itinerant school teacher in the American colonies who worked in New York, Charleston, and Boston in addition to his educational offerings in Philadelphia. He was in New York in 1731, Charleston in 1744, and Boston between 1712-1738. Interestingly, he was Benjamin Franklin’s teacher in Boston in 1715.

---

<sup>164</sup> The fathers of two of the sampler makers, Anthony Morris and James Logan, were appointed by Penn as Overseers of this school in 1711. Horace Mather Lippincott, *Early Philadelphia: Its People, Life and Progress* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Compnay, 1917), 201-202.

<sup>165</sup> Cathy N. Davidson and Linda Wagner-Martin, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Women’s Writing in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 211. Songhurst was a descendant of John Songhurst, a wealthy Quaker who knew William Penn and was one of the first to settle Philadelphia.

<sup>166</sup> Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, 45-60.

<sup>167</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, March 23, 1727 to March 30, 1727, page 2.

The first Philadelphia newspaper advertisement which mentioned a specific instructress was placed by Noel Ledru in 1738. She intended to conduct an evening school during the summer, at which she would teach writing, arithmetic, and pattern drawing.<sup>168</sup> Other than Ledru's school notice, newspaper advertisements for female schools were almost non-existent in Philadelphia. Further, Elizabeth Marsh never placed a newspaper advertisement for her school. She successfully operated her school, however, for at least fifteen years. The quantity and caliber of female schools in Philadelphia is difficult to surmise because of this dearth of advertising. It may simply be that schoolmistresses did not need to advertise their offerings because their student to teacher ratios kept the schools sufficiently attended. The conditions which could have effectuated this were the existence of the Quaker meeting structure in Philadelphia (which, through frequent communication, heightened awareness of both the availability of schools and the need for new schools), the local financial support of public schools, and the fact that private Quaker schools accepted children of all faiths.

It has also been suggested that girls were frequently tutored at home.<sup>169</sup> James Logan supports this conclusion in a letter to Thomas Story written in 1724. This would have been the year before his daughter Sarah finished her sampler at the Marsh school; she would have been 9 years old. Logan noted that besides learning to stitch, Sarah had been learning French. He further noted that *he* had taught her to read the Bible in Hebrew and that she had learned the letters perfectly in less than two hours. Logan had

---

<sup>168</sup> *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 4 to May 11, 1738, page 4.

<sup>169</sup> Bacon, *Wilt Thou Go*, 124.

taught her Hebrew as “an experiment...of her capacity only for [his] diversion.”<sup>170</sup>

Therefore, James Logan taught his daughter Hebrew; he may also have been teaching her French.

### Quaker Female Education

The establishment of Quaker schools for the education of females has a long tradition in the Quaker faith. Written evidence dates the first Quaker female school to 1668. In that year, George Fox secured the establishment of two schools, one at Waltham Abbey and one at Shacklewell. The impetus for the schools was “to instruct young lasses and maidens in whatsoever things was civil and useful in creation.”<sup>171</sup> Waltham Abbey was a boy’s school and the school at Shacklewell was intended for girls only. The project of supporting Quaker schools was considered important because it would serve as a conduit for promoting group-consciousness in an atmosphere where the teaching of appropriate ethical standards would foster the Quaker way of life in the rising generation.<sup>172</sup> The minutes of Monthly Meetings throughout the Quaker community continually note concern for the need to support Quaker schools specifically to minimize the “worldly” influences children were exposed to when they were sent to religiously mixed schools. Journals and epistles also frequently (and repeatedly) noted the rudeness

---

<sup>170</sup> Quoted in Lippincott, *Early Philadelphia: Its People, Life and Progress*, 62-63. The full quote reads: “Sally, besides her needle, has been learning French, and this last week, has been very busy in the dairy at the plantation, in which she delights as well as in spinning; but is this moment at the table with me (being first-day afternoon and her mother abroad), reading the 34th Psalm in Hebrew, the letters of which she learned very perfectly in less than two hours’ time, an experiment I made of her capacity only for my diversion though, I never design to give her that or any other learned language, unless the French be accounted such.”

<sup>171</sup> Nigel Smith, ed., *George Fox: The Journal* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 379.

<sup>172</sup> William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (York: William Sessions Limited, 1979), 254; Elfrida Vipont, *Ackworth School: From Its Foundation in 1779 to the Introduction of Co-Education in 1946* (Ackworth: Williams Brown/Pritchard, 1991), 15.

of children at other schools as well as the failure of the schools in nurturing a true Christian education.<sup>173</sup>

The curriculum at the early Quaker female schools most likely mirrored that offered in other popular secondary English female schools. One reason for this would have been that the early Quakers were a fluid movement at this time; it is unlikely they would have formulated a cohesive or distinctive way of educating their children yet. The likelihood of parity between widely accepted curriculums and that offered by Quaker female schools is evidenced by a sampler in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Hannah Downes worked her sampler in 1684 at the Shacklewell Quaker school which had been established by George Fox in 1668.<sup>174</sup> Hannah stitched both the school name and the date on her sampler. The Downes family lived in the northern borough of London known as Bermondsey; they were members of the Middlesex Quarterly Meeting in the early eighteenth century.<sup>175</sup> The Shacklewell school was also in a northern borough of London, the fashionable district of Hackney, which was known for its proliferation of boarding schools in the seventeenth century. Hannah's sampler is virtually indistinguishable from traditional English band samplers of the same period. It is a polychrome and whitework band sampler stitched with silk on linen

---

<sup>173</sup> Thomas Story, *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*. Thomas Story's autobiography provides enlightening reading on this topic. Story (1662-1742) traveled extensively throughout England and the colonies. He was continually troubled by how English schoolchildren acted and how ill-prepared they were to lead a productive, Christian life despite their educational achievements.

<sup>174</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum accession number T.39-1935.

<sup>175</sup> Shacklewell was in the same area of London in which the Downes family lived, the county of Middlesex in the borough of Hackney. In the late seventeenth century, Hackney was known for the proliferation of private schools which called that area of London home. The majority were boarding schools, for boys and girls separately. The names of two Quaker schoolmistresses who worked at Shacklewell are known: Mary Stott and Jane Bullock. Both Mary and Jane were close friends of George Fox and Jane was also a close friend of William Penn. "More Penn Correspondence, Ireland, 1669-1670" *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (Jan., 1949), 14



ground fabric. The three polychrome bands were common to the period, as were the five whitework bands. The working of this sampler at the Shacklewell school suggests that Quakers considered sampler-making consistent with Fox's prescription for a curriculum which concentrated on "civil and useful" tasks.<sup>176</sup>

The Hannah Downes Shacklewell sampler suggests that Quaker female schools of the seventeenth century followed the popular tradition of working conventionally-designed band samplers as part of their curriculum. They were consistent in terms of size, materials, and design. A gradual departure from an adherence to the pure English design tradition is evident in the early eighteenth-century Quaker samplers worked in both England and America. I argue a distinct Quaker style began to emerge with this era of sampler-making. The new design appears to have originated in England, probably at about the time Elizabeth would have been teaching school there. There is one sampler which provides evidence of this initial generation of a Quaker sampler design in England. The sampler worked in England by Susanna Russell in 1713 shows a clear influence between the English and American Quaker school sampler designs.<sup>177</sup> Susanna Russell's

---

<sup>176</sup> Hannah worked another sampler in 1681 which has not yet been associated with a particular school. Further evidence that the education of Quaker girls in the late seventeenth century followed the traditional English curriculum is provided by an elaborately embroidered box worked by Hannah in 1683, presumably also while she was attending school. The 1681 sampler and embroidered box (dated 1683) are also in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, accession numbers T.34-1935 and T.31-1935 respectively. The sampler is a polychrome band sampler which was also worked in traditional English format. The box, or cabinet, was signed HD 1683. It is a rectangular box covered with embroidered panels of laid work forming flowers.

<sup>177</sup> Elizabeth Allibone Marsh was born in England in 1683. She was born to Quaker parents who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay tithes and worshipping as Quakers. Elizabeth married Joseph Marsh in 1711; it is presumed they moved to Philadelphia in 1723 with their four children. Elizabeth would have been 30 when the Russell sampler was worked, so she may very well have been responsible for the creation and teaching of the distinct sampler design. The Marsh's and Russell's were members of the same Quaker community in England. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 332-333. Stephen and Carol Huber, sampler dealers who represented the Susanna Russell sampler, provided the research regarding the Russell family.

sampler shares the distinct design elements which were employed by the Marsh school in Philadelphia beginning with the Sarah Logan sampler in 1723. In addition to the overall format of the samplers, all of the bands on the Russell sampler were included on samplers in the Marsh school group. Additionally, the verses on the sampler represent the full verse titled “On Modesty” by Mary Mollineux. Recall that this verse was worked on eight of the thirteen samplers in the Marsh group. Individual stanzas of this verse were worked on Marsh school samplers beginning in 1727 with the Ann Marsh sampler.

Elizabeth Marsh and the English schoolmistress responsible for the Russell sampler employed contemporarily ubiquitous motifs, design conceits, and techniques to create their samplers. But they began the process of creating a distinctly Quaker product, and I believe they were influenced by their current religious environment in this respect. All of the bands they used were floral bands, which could have been commonly used by any other school, regardless of religious affiliation. The verses, as a design motif, were also a very common component of contemporary samplers. The design conceit was also consistent with other samplers worked during the period: they were band samplers of decorative polychrome bands. They frequently included bands composed of verses, and the entire samplers were increasingly surrounded by a decorative border. Many of the decorative and verse bands were trimmed at the top and bottom by dividing bands, with the sawtooth design being very commonly used in this way. Additionally, the techniques and stitches taught by the schoolmistresses were commonly taught by all other schoolmistresses. The Quakers did not invent new stitches or ways of stitching when they worked their samplers. Further, they apparently kept to the popular progression in

the teaching and use of these techniques; many of the girls subsequently worked pictorials and into adult life worked a variety of personal and domestic textiles.

### Eighteenth-Century Quakerism

The changes in sampler design which appeared in the early eighteenth century were developed during a period of a general change in attitude of Quaker society on the whole. In the early eighteenth century, Quakers were reexamining how they interacted with and presented themselves to greater society.<sup>178</sup> By contrast with the fluidity of the actions of seventeenth-century Quakers, Quakers of the early eighteenth century began to form an exclusive connection governed by its own social norms. Their attitude toward the outside world changed significantly in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, when Quakers were repeatedly warned by their leaders not to succumb to worldly temptations. They were exhorted to retain their distinctive values, doctrines, and practices as a badge of their separateness.<sup>179</sup> The Quaker reformers did not attack wealth per se, but rather the external, physical trappings of wealth. Quakers leaders were increasingly concerned about how their elite members presented themselves both in public and in private. This was at a time when there was a notably more opulent style of living among the leading Quaker families of Philadelphia. Emblematic of outward displays of worldly trappings was the trend among wealthy Quakers toward more fashionable apparel and home furnishings, which were most commonly reflective of

---

<sup>178</sup> American scholars have generally identify the actual reformation of American Quakerism as having begun around 1750. For a thorough examination of what is known as the "Quaker Reformation" see Jack D. Marietta, *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984).

<sup>179</sup> Geoffrey Cantor, "Quakers in the Royal Society, 1660-1750," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 51. No. 2 (Jul., 1997), 178-179.

upperclass English gentlemen. One observer noted in 1724 that “according to appearances, plainness is vanishing.”<sup>180</sup> Concern for the apparent departure from the Plainness Testimony was not new, however, to the early eighteenth century. The concern had been building since the late seventeenth century, when the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of 1695 urged its members to keep to the Plainness Testimony, especially as it pertained to clothing.<sup>181</sup>

One primary concern with regard to interaction with the outside world centered around Quaker children and how they were being influenced by non-Quakers in schools. As such, there was a growing concern about the kind of education their children were receiving. Quaker leaders and parents alike were concerned about the tendency for children who received an education outside of the Quaker fold to flirt with the trappings of things vain and superfluous. Indeed, for children and adults alike, “as Quakers had become more accepted by the world, they were becoming more like the world.”<sup>182</sup> As a result, there was increasing energy spent on establishing and maintaining schools run and financed by Quakers. The Quaker reformers sought to make Quakers distinctive in child rearing, education, speech, and dress by cutting off the influences of the outside world.<sup>183</sup> The intent was not only to build a hedge from the outside world around the children, but

---

<sup>180</sup> Gary B. Nash, *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726*. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, New Edition, 1993), 323.

<sup>181</sup> Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 125.

<sup>182</sup> Rebecca Larson. *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 291.

<sup>183</sup> Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost. *The Quakers*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1988; Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1994), 115, 129. The movement to create an environment for children in which they were secluded from evil influences and carefully inculcated with Quaker practices began at the end of the seventeenth century. A primary focus of this movement was a greater emphasis on plainness and the enforcement of Quaker Testimonies.

also to more purposefully present and foster the ideals (Testimonies) expected of good Quakers. As a result of this concern, there was a flurry of activity surrounded the opening of Quaker school beginning in the eighteenth century in both England and America.<sup>184</sup>

In addition to reflecting Quaker concern for the inculturation of specific religious tenets to Quaker girls, the Marsh school sampler design also reflects a sensitivity to the broader cultural norms the region. The design fell squarely within the Anglo-American tradition for schoolgirl samplers of the time: a polychrome band sampler with alternating design bands and pious verses. None of the elements included on the samplers would have been considered inappropriate or offensive to people who practiced a faith other than Quakerism. In this sense, the samplers can be seen as signifying an attempt to balance and even combine the varying religiosity and cultural backgrounds of eighteenth-century Philadelphia. Such an approach to female education was consistent with the tolerate attitude of Quakerism. This attitude would change, however, during the 1770s when Quakers began to intentionally and more completely draw away from the affairs of the larger society and become more insular as a group.<sup>185</sup> Quaker schools then created a sampler design which was distinct and unique to their educational system as a reaction to the reform movement which began in the 1770s. By 1779, when the English Quaker boarding school at Ackworth was established, a set sampler design had been prescribed which was adhered to by the majority of Quaker schools, both in England and America. In the early eighteenth century, however, Philadelphia Quakers were focusing on

---

<sup>184</sup> See Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, for a thorough summary of early Quaker schools.

<sup>185</sup> Lapsansky and Verplanck, *Quaker Aesthetics*, 183-184.

carefully educating their children while accommodating the sensibilities of other faiths represented in the Friendly City.

The Marsh school samplers reflect the growing tendency of Quakerism to draw inward and remain peculiar, or “other.” I argue the samplers were intentionally designed to be consistent with and supportive of the cautionary urgings of Quaker leaders.<sup>186</sup> The sampler design was importantly, though subtly, influenced by the growing agitations for isolation from the outside world, renewed adherence to the Plainness Testimony, and renewed dedication to training young Quakers to be a “peculiar people.”<sup>187</sup>

#### Building a Hedge Around the Children

In the early eighteenth century, Quaker leaders continued to be concerned about the effect of outside influences on their membership. In reaction to their concerns, the monthly meetings spent significant time and energy on the opening and support of Quaker schools. The schools were intended, in part, to provide a mechanism to help Quakers feel as if they were set apart from the main current of society. A further intent was that they would build a hedge around Quaker children to create a defense against the negative influences of non-Quaker schools and children. Although I have not found a record describing why Elizabeth Marsh emigrated to Philadelphia and promptly began teaching the children of Philadelphia’s most prominent Quakers, the Russell sampler

---

<sup>186</sup> The connection between the continued concerns of the Quaker leaders, the Quaker Reformation of the late eighteenth century, and Quaker school samplers became more evident in the late eighteenth century. During this period there was an even more remarkable expansion of the number of Quaker schools, as well as the development of a completely unique style of Quaker sampler. The darning, extract, and medallion samplers popularly associated with Quakerism were first worked at Ackworth Quaker Boarding School in England (est. 1779) and Westtown Quaker Boarding School in Pennsylvania (est. 1799). For a thorough description of the Ackworth school and the samplers worked there see Carol Humphrey, *Quaker School Girl Samplers from Ackworth*. (Needleprint, 2006).

<sup>187</sup> Rufus M. Jones, *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers*. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1949), 149.

worked in England in 1713 demonstrates the trans-Atlantic Quaker connection and the broad receptiveness to the sampler design. The early eighteenth-century Marsh school samplers, which were clearly based upon the earlier model, exhibit a distinctiveness which appears intentional. Although they had not yet taken on a completely different format, as they did in the late eighteenth century, they were different enough to suggest that the changes were intentional. The elements which created this distinctiveness were the consistency of the format, the actual format itself (alternating of two-line verse bands with decorative bands), and the breadth of choice of verses. Not only do the samplers exhibit the nascent Quaker trend to deviate from Anglo-American design tradition, they also show that they were doing it in a way that was consistent with fellow worshippers in England. This all points to educational activities which supported the Quaker leaders' objective of becoming distinct from society at large.

Further, whether it was intentional or not, working the samplers was reinforcing the Quaker way of prescribing behavior. The girls worked bands from a small reservoir of options, they were given the example to follow and the breadth of decorative band choice was relatively limited. The choices may have been limited, but they were nonetheless options which were probably not so unfashionable as to have been unpleasant to the girls. They were what could have been appropriately described as "of the best sort but plain."<sup>188</sup> The samplers may have been colorful, but this characteristic would have been consistent with their station in life.

---

<sup>188</sup> Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 128. The term "of the best sort but plain" was used by John Reynell in a letter to Daniel Flaxney in 1738. It was used to justify his purchase of fine imported furniture for his home.

Another possible indication of the trend to pull away from society at large is the inclusion of extensive family information at the bottom of nine of the eleven samplers worked by Quaker girls at the Marsh school. For Quakers, the family was of central importance for the nurturing and preservation of its membership. “The early eighteenth-century Quaker was living in a separate sectarian world in which family-with its imposed duties and norms-dominated members’ lives.”<sup>189</sup> The genealogical information at the bottom of the samplers is unique and consistent to the Marsh school and later samplers worked at Quaker schools. This component of the samplers may provide additional evidence for the inward-trend of early eighteenth-century Quakers.

#### Plainness and Sampler Design

In the early eighteenth century, Quaker leaders heightened their concern about their members’ dangerous trend of dressing and behaving too much like the rest of society. The concern on the part of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting can be traced back to as early as 1695, when minutes for the meeting reminded parents that they and their children must “keep to Plainness in Apparell.”<sup>190</sup> In reaction to their concerns, the leaders issued guidelines which prescribed a set and approved form of dress and behavior.<sup>191</sup> The guidelines were, in part, intended to provide advice and suggestions on what Quakers could appropriately do to feel set apart from the main current of society. They also provided leaders with a mechanism to determine if members were acting

---

<sup>189</sup> Cantor, “Quakers in the Royal Society”, 178.

<sup>190</sup> Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House*, 126. The quote regarding the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting minutes from Tolles as well.

<sup>191</sup> Jones, *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers*, 99.



inappropriately.<sup>192</sup> I have not found any disciplines which prescribed how a sampler should be designed, but the early eighteenth-century Marsh school samplers achieved a distinctiveness which appears intentional.

The concern for plainness was relevant to the design of samplers worked by Quaker girls. During the early eighteenth century, Quaker leaders were actively urging the avoidance of objects which could be considered ornamentally superfluous or embellished with useless decoration.<sup>193</sup> Because of the passage of time and the general ambiguity of the Plainness Testimony, it is difficult to determine with certainty what would have been considered superfluous and useless in terms of sampler motifs. But, because a select few floral bands were so frequently used and worked in such a consistent way, it appears these bands were carefully selected-as if they were authorized. Another significant note is the fact that the selected bands did not include symbolism, iconography, or use of metallic thread. Any of these three elements would undoubtedly been considered excessively decorative and unnecessary, and were therefore not surprisingly excluded from these embroideries. A further indication of the prescribed plainness in the Marsh school samplers is found in the verse selections. None of the verses included creeds or prayers, which were anathema to Quakerism. Although the

---

<sup>192</sup> The regulating practices were issued in the form of Disciplines. The Disciplines were decided upon, published, and distributed by the Yearly Meeting. They would have represented the most current interpretation of the application of the Quaker Testimonies and would have been the basis for determining infractions on the part of members.

<sup>193</sup> Frederick Tolles describes plainness for early eighteenth-century Philadelphia Quakerism as not connoting the uniform drab-colored plain dress later characteristic of Friends. But rather, as looking like the ordinary garb of the day, stripped of superfluous ornaments and useless fripperies like lace and ribbons. Tolles further suggests that the wives and daughters of the Quaker grandees (the same girls who were working samplers at the Marsh school) compensated for their self-denial in the matter of adornment by having their garments made only of the finest and most expensive fabrics. Frederick Tolles, "'Of the Best Sort but Plain': The Quaker Esthetic" *American Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Winter, 1959), 487-500.

verses were selected from existing sources, they tended more toward precepts than creedal statements and prayers.

These issues surrounding the Plainness Testimony underscore the reality that the testimony did not have a specific definition, application, or appearance. There was no direct correlation between how “Quaker-looking” a sampler was and the standing of the family or the maker within the Quaker community. Further, due to the ambiguity of the testimony and the fact that wealth per se was not under attack, the focus in sampler design appears to have centered around guidance for how the girls could navigate the testimony in terms of decoration. Because it was the trappings of wealth which could potentially be a problem, we (the teacher) will show you what we see as not flaunting wealth and worldly trappings: samplers with orderly, consistently worked bands which distinctly lack symbolism, iconography, and any indication of creeds and prayers are how Quaker samplers will be designed. Then, not only will the students learn to embrace the Quaker way, but their parents will see that their education embraced it, and the outside world will see that Quakers do indeed do things differently.

#### Education Which Nurtures the Inner Light

One of the outgrowths of the Quaker adherence to the Equality Testimony was the early establishment of Women’s Meetings and a firm advocacy of women’s preaching. Although there did not appear to be a concern about a falling away from this testimony in the early eighteenth century, Quakers continued to support their female members, who continued to actively participate in the sect both ministerially and administratively. The equality testimony, while not overtly apparent in how the Marsh school samplers looked,

was imbedded in the Quaker philosophy of education and therefore influenced these samplers. In this respect, I argue the samplers provide evidence that, at a minimum, the school was teaching the girls in a way which would both assist them should they follow a calling to preach publicly, and/or become a member or leader of a Women's Meeting. This evidence is supported by the verses which the girls worked on their samplers.

The ultimate goal of childhood education was to prepare children for their adult roles. Within the Quaker community, it was tacitly and resolutely accepted that adult women were as capable of preaching as men. Quaker Ministers (Public Friends) preached at meetings for worship, attended by both men and women, and traveled to other colonies and countries to preach at Quaker Meetings as well as gatherings where non-Quakers were present. Ministers were called to preach by God; they were encouraged and supported by the membership, but they were not ordained. Elders, both female and male, were appointed to supervise and monitor each minister's performance.<sup>194</sup> Women who made the difficult decision to preach received a great deal of support from the Quaker community for themselves as well as their existing families. They would have received community support, as well, while wrestling with the decision to become a Public Friend. These women would have been considered Weighty Friends by their fellow worshippers.

Public Friends provided leadership and spiritual guidance, but they did so according to the dictates of their individual consciences.<sup>195</sup> For Quakers, the basis and

---

<sup>194</sup>Jean R. Soderlund, "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680-1760," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Oct., 1987), 726.

<sup>195</sup> Soderlund, "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings," 724.

foundation of their consciences would have been fundamentally influenced by their experience of the Inner Light. The ages of the Marsh school sampler makers ranged between eight and sixteen. This formative period in their lives is when they would have been truly beginning to experience the Inner Light. Tolles describes the experience of the Inner Light as “that glint of the divine effulgence shining in the souls of men, giving them knowledge of God’s will for their guidance, leading them, as they believed, into purity of life.”<sup>196</sup> The only way for men and women to achieve a perfect spiritual unity of being was to live and work in this divine light. Judgement was given to members through the Inner Light, and developing an awareness of one’s Inner Light was crucial for Quakers who were called to support, spread, and defend the faith as Public Friends. One’s relationship with the Inner Light was recognized as a very personal experience, and Quakers espoused the fact that it could lead to a public life of ministry for both men and women. Therefore, the nurturing of one’s Inner Light was potentially tantamount to the educational experiences of adolescent girls.<sup>197</sup>

The personal nature of seeking the Truth and the Inner Light is what comes through an analysis of the sampler verses. The first thing to consider is the sheer number of verses compared to the relatively small number of samplers. Thirteen girls chose over 43 different verses to stitch on their samplers at the Marsh school. This shows how unusually free the girls were to select verses of their choosing. The Boston sampler verses provide a good contrast which will illustrate how different the Marsh school

---

<sup>196</sup> Tolles, “Of the Best Sort but Plain,” 486.

<sup>197</sup> Obviously a school would not be the only environment in which the Inner Light was nurtured. But it would certainly not have been excluded from the Quaker schoolroom.

approach to sampler verses was. For the total group of 40 Boston samplers, there were only 14 different verses stitched on the samplers. And among these 14 verses, three of them were essentially the same verse with minor differences. A more detailed analysis of the verses shows that the samplers from each school group represented no more than three verse choices.<sup>198</sup> I argue that the number and variety of sampler verses suggests that Elizabeth Marsh was encouraging personal expression - personal *spiritual* expression, not personal *creative* expression. Elizabeth took care of the design, and even provided a specific template within that design for the girls to stitch their choice of verses. Essentially, the decorative design was de-emphasized (and appropriately plain), which freed up the girls so they could concentrate on what mattered the most for their education-the development of their personal religious muse. Marsh was allowing the girls to intellectually develop their Quakerism; this is supported by the relationship between the constrained form (the decorative bands) and the much less constrained form (the selected verses). There is no way to know how influential this exercise was for Marsh's students, but it is evident that the school environment encouraged the girls to develop their own consciences when it came to fundamental values.

There are two examples which suggest some kind of relationship between the Marsh school and the public ministry of Quakers. The first example is tangential, but nonetheless offers the possibility of some interaction with Public Friends surrounding the activities of the school. Elizabeth Marsh's daughter Mary was the third wife of wealthy

---

<sup>198</sup> The breakdown in the number of Boston verses is as follows: Adam and Eve Subgroup 1 (1724-1745) 2 verses; Adam and Eve Subgroup 2 (1739-1747) all the same personalization; Non-Adam and Eve Subgroup 1 (1730-1742) essentially one verse; Non-Adam and Eve Subgroup 2 (1739-1741) the same 2 verses; and Non-Adam and Eve Subgroup 3 (1747-1750) 3 verses.

Chester County farmer Aaron Ashbridge. They married in 1756, which was after Elizabeth's death, but the relationship is notable because Aaron's second wife was Elizabeth Ashbridge, a well-known Public Friend until her death in 1755. Mary would most likely have been familiar to her mother's students as she did not marry until after her mother had died. Further, the fact that she married a highly-respected Quaker who had been the spouse of a Public Friend suggests the Marsh family knew and were respected by Weighty Friends and most likely were supported, and even visited, by Weighty and Public Friends as a part of the schoolroom experience.

A second example of a positive relationship between the Marsh school experience and public ministry is provided by the well-documented activities of Public Friend and Marsh school student Elizabeth Hudson. Elizabeth notes in her journal that she was first called to "open her mouth in publick" in 1742. This was five years after she completed her sampler at the Marsh school; she would have been twenty years old.<sup>199</sup> Elizabeth Hudson's selection of verses may show her emerging and intimate identification with Quakerism. Elizabeth stitched five verses on her sampler. The first three were from Mary Mollineux's *Fruits of Retirement*. Recall that Mollineux was a seventeenth-century English Quaker whose poetry was highly-regarded by the Quaker community. As a defender of the faith and an author who was known publicly in print, one could imagine how Mollineux would have been regarded by a young girl as role model for becoming a public defender of the faith herself. The fourth verse stitched by Elizabeth Hudson was the verse from Francis Quarles' *Divine Fancies*. This was the most common verse

---

<sup>199</sup> Bacon, *Wilt Thou Go*, 127.

stitched on Marsh school samplers, which may indicate Elizabeth's strong bond with her fellow Quaker students. It is difficult to say how much influence her school experience had on her decision to accept the call to become a Public Friend, but Elizabeth's verse selections suggest a clear personal identification with the Quaker faith and community.

The decision to become a Public Friend was a personal one which would have been supported by the Quaker community. But more importantly, the family and friends of the Marsh school sampler makers would have most wanted the girls to embrace and participate in the Quaker faith. A distinct objective for Quaker schools was to nurture and produce future leaders for the maturing religion.<sup>200</sup> One way women could actively participate in the Quaker faith was to become a member of a Women's Meeting. The Women's Meeting was a monthly business meeting, men conducted their own monthly business meetings. These meetings functioned as the Society's primary mechanism for self-governance.<sup>201</sup> Those in attendance considered matters which required discussion and action such as requests for marriage certificates and disciplinary inquiries. Unlike the weekly worship meetings, they were only open to members of the Quaker faith; the meetings were run by a clerk and minutes were recorded. As supervisors of female behavior, those attending Women's Meetings had responsibility for caring for and guiding the women in their Society. A part of this care included keeping families loyal to the faith and upright in their behavior; this often meant dealing with disciplinary issues and making decisions about prescribing consequences for undesirable behavior. Ultimately,

---

<sup>200</sup> Zora Klain, *Educational Activities of New England Quakers* (Philadelphia: Westbrook Publishing Company, 1928), 7.

<sup>201</sup> Lapsansky and Verplanck, *Quaker Aesthetics*, 72. The monthly Women's Meetings and Men's Meetings were held in addition to the Monthly Meetings.

the central focus of Women's Meetings was on the family: courtship, marriage, education, morality, and simplicity in dress and behavior.<sup>202</sup>

The Women's Meetings were organized in a typical Quaker fashion, whereby decisions were generally made on a committee basis. But each Women's Meeting elected officers who presided over and administered their activities. Women had the option of serving as clerk, treasurer, minister, or elder of the meeting. The women who held each of these offices would necessarily have exhibited skills which made them a good candidate for doing the work. The Marsh school was no doubt preparing the sampler-makers for possibly filling these roles even if you only consider the fact that they would have been actively nurturing their "Quakerness" during the schoolroom experience. Further, positions like clerk and treasurer required literacy and leadership, which could well have been nurtured at the Marsh school as well.<sup>203</sup>

It is pertinent to note that many women who were active in the Women's Monthly Meetings in Chester and Philadelphia were related to the girls who stitched the Marsh school samplers. These weighty Friends would have been at least aware of, if not closely familiar with, the format and feeling of the samplers worked by the girls at Elizabeth Marsh's school. This is clear evidence that the way the samplers looked was tacitly approved of by the Quaker community at large. This is particularly clear when one considers that the Women's Monthly Meetings were specifically involved in monitoring

---

<sup>202</sup> Soderlund, "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680-1760," 723, 745.

<sup>203</sup> Soderlund, "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680-1760," 734. Soderlund notes that the meetings apparently looked for women who were qualified for the jobs. Although there were many women whose husbands were clerks of the Men's Meeting, this did not automatically qualify them for the same position in the Women's Meetings.



the affairs of the sect's female members and their families. This central focus covered marriage, courtship, education, and simplicity in dress and behavior. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the samplers worked in the school attended by many of the Society's elite members would have been familiar to the group of prominent women, who could have demanded that the sampler design change if it did not comply with the sanctioned ethos of plainness. A significant change did not occur in the samplers worked at the Marsh school while it was under Elizabeth's tutelage.

#### Non-Marsh school samplers

There are seven samplers which can not be definitively attributed to the Elizabeth Marsh school. All of these samplers have a Philadelphia-area provenance, but none of them share the consistency of design which is so prevalent among the other thirteen samplers. Two of the seven are marking samplers (Walters and Fell), which makes them an entirely different type of sampler and unsuitable for the same detailed analysis performed on the Marsh school band samplers. The marking sampler worked by Ann Walters has been given a Chester County provenance; she stitched the name of her teacher, Mary Brown, on her sampler. The other marking sampler, worked by Elizabeth Fell, may have been worked at a school in Bucks County.

The other five samplers exhibit the possibility, and even likelihood, that their designs were influenced by the Marsh school because of the use of motifs which were commonly stitched at that school. These samplers range in date between 1734 and 1755. Mary Keasby, Rebecca Jones and Margaret Crunkshank worked their samplers after Elizabeth had died (1744, 1750, and 1755 respectively), but I have included them in this

analysis because the commonly-worked motifs are suggestive of a strong Marsh-school influence. Of the five sampler makers, Margaret Crunkshank was from a Quaker family, Mary Keasby was probably from a Quaker family, and Rebecca Jones converted to Quakerism and became a recognized Public Friend by 1760. Ann Wilkinson was from an Anglican family and Catherine Parry was from a Presbyterian family.

The Margaret Crunkshank sampler could not have been worked at Elizabeth's school because of its late date, but her needlework is pertinent because she was a Quaker and the sampler exhibits several motifs common to the Marsh school. Margaret worked the carnation border and one of the larger floral bands on her sampler. She also worked the initials of several family members in the large floral band, another distinct practice of Quaker samplers. With this late date (1755) it shows a continuation of the Marsh school design and the possibility of a perpetuation of an association between the design format and the Quaker testimonies.

Ann Wilkinson was from an Anglican family, yet her sampler exhibits a distinct influence from the Marsh school. This is particularly interesting because of the early date of the sampler-1734. Ann included the carnation border, carnation band, the large floral band, the small floral band, and a substantial genealogical band on her sampler. She also worked it in the same color scheme as the Elizabeth Marsh samplers. While the Marsh influence is apparent in this sampler, there are also distinct differences which would preclude it from having been worked at the Marsh school: two alphabets at the top of the sampler, the Ten Commandments worked in total as opposed to alternating two lines with decorative bands, a large non-floral (flame stitch) band, and a geometric band reminiscent

of the Boston hexagonal band. Ann was from a wealthy Philadelphia family, so it can be presumed that she worked her sampler in Philadelphia, particularly because of the strong design resemblance to the Marsh school samplers. But her schoolmistress remains unknown.

The design of the Catherine Parry sampler provides another example of clear Quaker influence, yet if she had attended a Quaker school she did so as a non-Quaker. Catherine worked her sampler in 1739. It included the following Marsh school characteristics: large floral band, several pine trees, a general adherence to the alternating band format, and a common source for the verses: Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue* (one of verses was also included on several Marsh school samplers). The sampler, however, included some very distinct characteristics which are not associated with an identified school including a large satin stitch star in the middle of the sampler and the Spies of Canaan on either side of the star. Yet Catherine was from Philadelphia and her sampler was worked during the period in which the Marsh school was flourishing. Her family were most likely Presbyterians. The schoolmistress who developed her sampler design is not known, but the elements it has in common with the Marsh school samplers suggest that, at a minimum, the teacher was familiar with the Marsh school design and chose to mimic it to a recognizable degree.

The remaining two samplers in this small, disparate group of embroideries were made by girls who had an affiliation with the Quaker faith. Mary Keasby worked her sampler in 1744, three years after Elizabeth Marsh's death. Her sampler exhibits an interesting emulation of the Marsh style because it copies some motifs directly,

reinterprets a few, and also adds some completely different design bands. The sampler elements which are common to the Marsh samplers are the carnation border and the family information at the bottom. The reinterpreted elements are the pine trees as part of a floral band, a large floral band with no stems, and the alternating of verse and decorative bands with verse bands having between two and four lines. The sampler was also worked with red silk in a fashion similar to that of the Marsh school samplers. This sampler, because of the Quaker provenance, underscores the significance of family and family relationships to the members of the sect. When this sampler was worked in 1744, the Quakers were stepping up their oversight on Quaker marriages and disowning those who married out of the faith. The inclusion of extensive family information on the samplers could be considered as proving the Quakerism of the family.

Rebecca Jones' 1750 sampler has intrigued scholars for some time. It is predominantly composed of elements common to Marsh school samplers, yet it has its own unique style. The common elements are: the carnation band, three large floral bands, and the triangular floral band worked on the later samplers in the Marsh group. The sampler has a border, but it is more similar to Catherine Parry's floral band than the Marsh sampler carnation border. Rebecca worked two alphabets and one verse. She also included some distinct design elements not found on other Philadelphia samplers including a stag, two strange floral sprigs, and what appears to be a lion. The school where she worked her sampler remains unknown. Her mother was a school teacher, and Rebecca is known to have attended Anthony Benezet's school. If she worked the sampler under her mother's tutelage it could indicate a receptiveness on the part of

Anglicans to embrace Quaker design sensibilities since Rebecca's parents were Anglicans. Rebecca converted to Quakerism faith shortly after she worked her sampler and she was a recognized Public Friend by 1760. Rebecca became a schoolteacher herself and was active in planning the Quaker Westtown Boarding School in the late 1790s.<sup>204</sup>

The last five non-Marsh school samplers I've just described illustrate some ways in which the design aesthetic of the Elizabeth Marsh school samplers continued after she died in 1741. At a minimum, the continuation of her design tradition shows that other teachers were familiar with how Marsh designed and formatted her samplers. The emulation of the design also suggests an appreciation and respect for the design which was intended to impress current and prospective clients. Philadelphians knew of Elizabeth Marsh's school; she had been respected enough for the upper echelon of Philadelphia society to entrust their daughters with her. It is logical that other teachers would welcome an association with such a prestigious school, and designing samplers in a similar fashion was one way to convey such competence. Elizabeth's daughter Ann continued the teaching tradition of her mother. She was responsible for another long-lasting sampler design which incorporated some of the floral design elements of her mother's samplers. Yet she moved away from the band format and had her students work verses and floral motifs in a compartmentalized (graph-like) format. In step with the

---

<sup>204</sup> Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 335-337.

clientele of her mother's school, Ann's students were a group of wealthy and well-acquainted Quakers from the Philadelphia area.<sup>205</sup>

### Conclusion

The strikingly beautiful samplers worked at the Marsh school in Philadelphia offer a unique opportunity to study the religious influence on female education in the early eighteenth century. The samplers were worked by daughters of Weighty Friends and prominent Philadelphians, under the tutelage of Quaker schoolmistress Elizabeth Marsh. They exude Quakerism when considered in the context of the nature of the faith in the early eighteenth century. The samplers were personally expressive documents, although at first glance they appear to conform to a highly prescribed format. Their "personality" was achieved through the individual selection of, and most likely identification with, verses. These verses can be seen as illustrating the sentiments which each girl felt would guide them to live meaningful and spiritual lives; and as such to be exemplary members of their chosen faith.

---

<sup>205</sup>Refer to Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 338-342 for an overview of the samplers worked under Ann Marsh's tutelage.

Chapter Four  
See How the Lilies Flourish White and Fair:  
Samplers from the South Carolina Low Country

Table of Contents

Introduction	161
The Samplers	167
Early Low Country Education	182
Low Country Colonial Culture	191
Anglicanism in Samplers	201
Conclusion	204

The study of colonial Charleston samplers is in its relative infancy compared to the work which has been done on samplers from colonial Boston and Philadelphia. Bolton and Coe's study of American samplers provided a mere mention of Charleston samplers and stated that girls in the southern states only began to make them in the 1750s.<sup>206</sup> Seventy-two years later Betty Ring's extensive study of American samplers offered little more on the subject; southern samplers were mentioned as the last topic of the publication. Ring limited her research on southern samplers to South Carolina and Virginia, and allotted only seven pages out of the 550-page, two volume book.<sup>207</sup> With the current scholastic trend to concentrate on one sampler style or geographic region of origin, recent studies have been more generous to the topic of southern samplers although they have focused on those worked during the late colonial and early republic periods.<sup>208</sup> While it is true that the number of early colonial samplers from the Charleston area pales in comparison to those worked in colonial Boston and Philadelphia, there are a limited

---

<sup>206</sup> Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, *American Samplers*. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973 (Reprint), originally published Boston: Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921), 19. In their register of samplers worked between 1700 and 1799, Bolton and Coe listed 12 samplers from South Carolina and 3 samplers from Georgia. The earliest South Carolina sampler (from Charleston) was dated 1734 and the earliest Georgia sampler (from Savannah) was dated 1763.

<sup>207</sup> Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework, 1650-1850*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 533-540.

<sup>208</sup> Kimberly Smith Ivey, *In the Neatest Manner: The Making of the Virginia Sampler Tradition*. (Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1997). The earliest Virginia sampler in Ivey's study was dated 1742. Jan Hiester and Kathleen Staples, *This Have I Done: Samplers and Embroideries from Charleston and the Lowcountry*. (Greenville, SC: Curious Works Press and Charleston, SC: The Charleston Museum, 2001). The earliest dated sampler in this study was worked in 1743. Patricia V. Veasey, "Samplers of the Carolina Piedmont: The Presbyterian Connection and the Bethel Group" *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 and Vol. XXXII No. 1 and No. 2, (Winter 2005 - Winter 2006), 103-148. The earliest dated sampler in this study was worked in 1790.



number available from Charleston for study from which valid and important conclusions can be drawn.<sup>209</sup>

While I have analyzed 44 samplers from Boston and 23 samplers from Philadelphia which date no later than 1754, I extended this “no later than” date to 1774 for my analysis of Charleston samplers and yet have only eight samplers included in the study. Three samplers (dated 1729, 1743, and 1752) constitute the foundation upon which I have based my conclusions for early colonial Charleston samplers (Appendix N). A limited database of needlework can be used to form valid conclusions because their content and design are distinct enough from those worked in other colonies during the same period to conclude that they form a separate genre. Further, the content and design of the additional samplers, as well as samplers worked into the nineteenth century, show solid consistency when compared to my foundational three samplers. The low country sampler conceit, which developed into a separate sampler genre, did not change significantly or converge with the design conceit of northern samplers during the eighteenth century and even into the early nineteenth century. The five additional samplers (Appendix O) are the only known samplers worked in the low country between 1754 and 1774. In addition to increasing the number of samplers from which to base conclusions, these samplers show how little the sampler paradigm changed during the eighteenth century. Taken as a whole, the eight samplers differ from their northern

---

<sup>209</sup> Colonial South Carolina consisted of three geographic areas: the low country, middle country, and upper country. The low country consisted of the city of Charlestown and the surrounding swamps, where the plantations were located. Most of the elite who owned plantations in the surrounding low country also had homes in the city of Charleston and divided their time between the two. I have included samplers from the entire low country region in this study because of the degree of interconnectedness between the two areas. Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina, A History*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997, first edition published 1983), 46.

counterparts in that they are less colorful and fanciful, and they contain predominantly alphabets and verses and very little pictorial or band-oriented motifs.<sup>210</sup>

The relative scarcity of southern samplers has long intrigued dealers and scholars, spurring much debate. At the one extreme of this debate is the speculation that most of the samplers were burned or otherwise destroyed during the Civil War. At the other extreme is the rationale that southerners simply did not concern themselves with the education of their daughters enough to spend time and money on schoolmistresses and materials for needlework. I see some validity to these two explanations, but I propose two more pertinent reasons for the paucity of colonial southern samplers exist. Firstly, southern demographics were different from northern demographics - the population was smaller and the correspondingly small elite population would have meant a proportionately higher cost of education on a per-student basis. So much so that there probably would not have been enough students needing instruction to warrant a sizable offering of long-running boarding and day schools in the city, and certainly not in the outlying areas. Education for girls was clearly available, but apparently not on the same scale or under the same arrangements as it was in colonial Boston and Philadelphia.

A second explanation for the existence of relatively few southern colonial samplers is that the role of adult women in the most elite circles was different from that

---

<sup>210</sup> The Charleston Museum collection includes a sampler worked by Jean Parker in 1738 which has been given a Charleston attribution (acc. no. 2004.01.4). I have excluded this sampler from my study because I can not find a girl by that name during the time period in the Charleston area. Further, the format of the sampler is much more refined than known low country samplers and it follows a format quite different from them. While the sampler is almost exclusively verse, the verses were worked in an entirely different fashion: the first third were formatted with two verse lines separated by a wider dividing band than that for the individual verse lines (more like the Philadelphia format); the letters of the individual words in the verses were worked in different colors of silk thread (as opposed to all letters of each word being worked in the same color thread); and the bottom of the sampler was composed of an Irish stitch pattern (much more like that found on Virginia samplers). This sampler has not been included in my study because I believe it was not worked in colonial South Carolina.

of the elite women in the north. The form of female education in the low country particularly accommodated the desires of the elite not only because those who could afford to educate their daughters aspired to be among the elite if they weren't already there (so they would want to prepare their daughters to fill elite roles in the fortunate event that they eventually got there), but also because, with such a relatively small population, the resources funneled into education originated with the elite. So they essentially got to "choose" the focus of female education. The Carolina low country was a slave society in the eighteenth century. A relatively small number of elite whites controlled a numerically larger population of black slaves. This dynamic magnified the divide between elite and non-elite in the region, and ultimately influenced how the elite educated their children. Each woman's destiny was to become a planter's wife.<sup>211</sup> This gendered expectation, a unique female adult skill set distinct to the low country, necessitated training for girls which would prepare them for their future role.

The ultimate goal of low country female education was that girls would be prepared to handle the multi-faceted duties of a planter's wife. After a rather abbreviated experience of a more formal education where samplers would have been worked, the education of low country daughters would have shifted focus to social skills such as dancing and music, and then to more practical skills such as how to run and manage a

---

<sup>211</sup> Cara Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World: Women, Patriarchy, and Power in Colonial South Carolina*. Contributions in American History, Number 196. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 86.

plantation.<sup>212</sup> I do not suggest, however, that skill at embroidery was not an important female skill in the low country, but rather that such skills appear to have been sufficiently imparted after the completion of one sampler which focused on less fancy stitches and designs than the northern counterpart.<sup>213</sup> The last aspect of their education, the skills of managing a plantation household, would have been passed on in a family setting. It is particularly this last requirement of the practical skill of running a plantation which distinguished low country female education from northern female education. This skill set would have been uniquely very important to low country families and most likely the ultimate focus of education for their daughters. I suggest samplers simply were not an important pedagogical tool in the low country, particularly in contrast to the northern colonies. Since a sampler-making tradition was not firmly established in the early years it did not carry forward into the nineteenth century as strongly as it did in the north.<sup>214</sup>

---

<sup>212</sup> One of the unique qualities of the low country samplers in this study, as compared to those worked in Boston and Philadelphia, is that six of the seven sampler makers were age 9 or younger. In the English tradition of sampler making, girls of this age group were generally working marking samplers. The low country samplers basically comply with this paradigm because they contain mostly text; marking samplers are generally expected, however, to include alphabets. Alphabets do not appear in this group until the later samplers are considered. Support for the conclusion that their education was somewhat abbreviated comes from the fact that the younger girls did not work alphabets yet included verses which, compared to Boston and Philadelphia, were stitched on samplers by girls who were around age 14 and had progressed to their second sampler project. So it appears that this stage of female education was rather condensed and intended to include more content (teaching) in one sampler.

<sup>213</sup> In 1718, John Lawson, an Englishman visiting South Carolina, observed that “girls are not bred up to the wheel and sewing only.” He further noted that low country women freely crossed the realm of man’s work in a variety of tasks, doing whatever was necessary to promote economic success. Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 118.

<sup>214</sup> It is possible that more samplers were worked by girls from Charleston but they were not actually worked at schools in Charleston. Many sons of the Charleston elite traveled to England for their secondary education. It is possible that families also sent their daughters to England to further their education; in this case it is likely that samplers were worked in England instead of Charleston. If samplers were worked in England by girls from Charleston they would be given an English provenance (because of their design) and not a Charleston provenance. Also, girls may have traveled to the north for their education. The Charleston museum has a sampler worked by Dorothy Ians in 1752 which is stylistically linked with samplers worked in New York at that time. This is the only “southern” sampler with a New York aesthetic, which implies that Dorothy was sent to New York to further her education. (Refer to Staples, *This Have I Done*, page 17 for an image and description of this sampler.)

Not only is the quantity of samplers worked a contrasting factor for north versus south, the design conceit of the samplers is also a factor. As previously mentioned, the paradigm for low country sampler design was that they were generally worked in subdued colors and they contained predominantly alphabets and verses with very limited usage of pictorial and band-oriented motifs. Because the population was spread out between the city and the outlying plantations and towns, the teaching of young girls would have taken place in one of four possible environments: individual plantations, individual churches, private schools in the city, or with an itinerant teacher who moved between locations. The design convention exhibited in the Charleston samplers suggests the teachers, wherever they were teaching, chose a format which was simple to teach and required relatively limited hands-on instruction and oversight. Successive bands of letters and words worked in a rather random color scheme would have required little student-teacher interaction once the materials had been provided and the alphabets and verses had been selected. The dividing bands, given that they were also very simple and non-decorative, would also have been very straightforward for the students to work without much guidance. Essentially all of the components of the Charleston samplers could have been finished by the girls without much adult interaction once the design format had been established and conveyed.

A further distinction between southern and northern samplers is apparent when religious influence is considered. The texts and limited decorative motifs worked on low country samplers can be described as morally prescriptive, in contrast to the verses and imagery stitched on Boston and Philadelphia samplers, which supported specific

denominational tenets (Congregational in Boston and Quaker in Philadelphia). A few Charleston samplers provide an exception to this broad statement; this exception will be addressed in detail (see my analysis of Anglican samplers below) as it suggests a definitive, but limited, influence of the Church of England in female education.

Nonetheless, my research suggests that the content of colonial low country samplers was less indicative of the predominant religion (Anglicanism) than it was of the social, and to some degree political, structure of the colony.

### The Samplers

Three samplers constitute the foundation for my study of colonial Charleston samplers: Elizabeth Gibbes' 1729 sampler, Elizabeth Hext's 1743 sampler, and Martha Motte's 1751 sampler. The additional five samplers I included with the extended time frame, worked later in the eighteenth century, are Ann Wragg's in 1764, Ann Clark's in 1766, Dorothy Waring's in 1774 and two by Harriet Hyrne in 1774. These additional samplers compliment my study because not only do they increase the number of samplers under examination, but they also align with the format established by the earlier samplers. None of the samplers indicates the name of the instructress under which it was worked. However, we can glean from this collection of samplers a sense of the prevailing arrangements for educating girls in the low country during the period from 1729 to 1774. An examination of the techniques, materials, and content of the samplers supports the probability that together they cover each of the places where female education would have been taught: individual plantations, individual churches, private

schools, or with an itinerant teacher who moved between locations including private homes in the city.

The earliest known dated low country sampler was worked by Elizabeth Gibbes in 1729.<sup>215</sup> While approximately ninety percent of Elizabeth's sampler consisted of text, the bottom ten percent of the sampler consisted of a simple, unfinished pictorial-like band which included a girl with a dog, a single plant in an urn, and a lone dog. The lines of text were stitched such that the letters of each word were the same color; the colors used were blue, green and tan. The texts were divided by very simple bands which served a practical, organizing function rather than a decorative function, as such bands often did on the Boston and Philadelphia samplers. Although the letters and many of the dividing bands were worked in reversible stitches, affording some visual and technical interest, these stitches were still not fancy enough to be considered decorative. So the overall impression left by the sampler is rather routine when compared to the lively samplers worked at the same time in Boston and Philadelphia.

Elizabeth Gibbes probably worked her sampler under the tutelage of a teacher affiliated with a church near her home in Goose Creek. Elizabeth was the only daughter of Benjamin and Amarinthia Smith Gibbes. Benjamin Gibbes, a wealthy planter who immigrated to South Carolina from Barbados, was one of the famed Goose Creek men. He bought Bloomville Plantation in 1710 and died in 1721 when Elizabeth was just one year old, bequeathing the plantation to Elizabeth and her mother. The plantation was subsequently co-owned by them and Elizabeth's stepfather Peter Taylor after he married

---

<sup>215</sup> The sampler is in the collection of the Charleston Museum, accession number 2006.01.1. The sampler is also described and illustrated in Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 534.

Amarinthia in 1723. The Gibbes family (including Benjamin's brother John who also lived in Goose Creek) was not only an important planter family, they were also active in St. James Parish Church in Goose Creek.<sup>216</sup> With Bloomville plantation and St. James Parish Church important centers of the Gibbes family life, it seems most likely that Elizabeth was taught to work her sampler while she was at home in Goose Creek and not at a school in the city of Charleston. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the first advertisements in Charleston for schoolmistresses did not run until 1739, ten years after Elizabeth completed her sampler. It is also possible that the timing of the completion of the Gibbes sampler points to her having been taught outside of the city. Since she completed her sampler in July, when many low country residents withdrew from the city to avoid the heat and humidity, it seems likely she worked, or at least completed, the sampler on the family plantation. Although in 1729, when the Gibbes sampler was dated, an official social season had not yet become fashionable, when it did later in the 1740s the colony's elite preferred to host their popular social gatherings in the city during the more comfortable months between Christmas and Easter.<sup>217</sup>

The content of the sampler also strongly supports the conclusion that Elizabeth Gibbes was educated in a church setting: the sampler was comprised almost completely of verses - the Apostle's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Proverbs 31:30. The Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer were significant components of the Anglican liturgy, so much so that they were frequently engraved in plaques in the front of Anglican churches.

---

<sup>216</sup> Louis P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism & Architecture in Colonial South Carolina*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 269-270.

<sup>217</sup> Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 132-139.



The brick chapel of St. James Goose Creek (a rural parish outside Charleston) had been completed only two years before Elizabeth completed her sampler in 1729. It was important to the community because the building of the chapel had been initiated after the passing of the Church Act of 1706. It was part of a church-building campaign in the 1720s and 1730s in six rural parishes intended to erect churches to accommodate the colony's quickly expanding population.<sup>218</sup> Elizabeth's education was likely associated with this church because of the strong liturgical nature of the verses she stitched on her sampler - a church mistress would have appropriately selected these verses for Elizabeth to stitch. I further suggest that she may have actually gone to the church for her instruction since she was the only school-age child in the household at the time. Her mother had two children by her second husband, but they were not born until 1729 and 1730 respectively. Their births provide further evidence that the family remained on their plantation rather than in the city, since their christenings were recorded at the church they attended in Goose Creek.<sup>219</sup>

The samplers worked by Elizabeth Hext and Martha Motte were most likely worked at the private school run by Mary Hext in the city of Charleston. (Mary Hext was Elizabeth Hext's relative through marriage; their exact relationship has not been established. Further details regarding her teaching activity is addressed after the following description of the Martha Motte sampler.) Elizabeth Hext was the daughter of

---

<sup>218</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 60-65, 373; Historic American Building Survey, <http://www.memory.loc.gov>, Call No. HABS SC, 8-GOOCR. The first chapel in Goose Creek, which was probably a more temporary frame structure, had been built in 1704. The congregation of Goose Creek was the earliest Anglican congregation in Carolina outside of Charleston. The interior of the church was updated in the 1750s to include wall tablets on either side of the altar which displayed the Ten Commandments to the left of the altar and the Lord's Prayer and Apostle's Creed to the right of the altar.

<sup>219</sup> This information from [www.ancestry.com](http://www.ancestry.com) family member tree, accessed November 7, 2011.

David and Ann Hamilton Hext; she was born in Charleston in 1734/35. David Hext was a prominent merchant and landowner who served as Justice of the Peace and was a member of the Assembly. The extended Hext family were members of Charleston's Anglican St. Philip's Church. Elizabeth's sampler consisted entirely of text: three alphabets, one section of personalization, seven sets of numerals as filler at the completion of texts, and four verses. The verses address the importance of living a pious and morally upstanding life (see Appendix N). They were taken from Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue*, Edward Young's *The Compleat English Scholar*, and Ecclesiastics 12:1. Elizabeth's sampler is a little more aesthetically interesting than the Gibbes sampler, but it should still be considered plain rather than fancy and decorative. The only components which might be considered decorative are the two sets of conjoining diamond bands. One of the sets delineated one of the four verses worked on the sampler. The other set delineated the names of Elizabeth's parents, which were separated by two conjoined hearts. The remainder of the sampler consisted of lines of text organized by simple dividing bands. Another rather unremarkable aspect of the Hext sampler is the color of the silk threads; Elizabeth Hext's palette was limited to blues, greens, maroon, and tan. None of the embroidery was worked in bright threads, nor does it appear that thread colors were selected with decorative purposes in mind.

Like the Gibbes and Hext samplers, the Motte sampler did not include any purely decorative bands; Martha Motte's sampler consisted of text bands organized by simple dividing bands. The dividing bands served the sole purpose of separating text lines and did not function as a decorative element in any way. Martha worked one alphabet, two

sections of personalization, three sets of numerals as filler at the completion of texts, and three verses (see Appendix N). Each of the verses are attributed to Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue* and, like the other verses worked on this group of samplers, addressed the importance of living a pious and morally upstanding life. Martha's sampler shared one verse with Elizabeth Hext's sampler - they both worked a four line verse taken from *A Guide to the English Tongue*:

See how the lilies flourish white and fair  
 see how the ravens fed from heaven are  
 then never distrust thy God for cloth and bread  
 whilst lilies flourish and the ravens fed

The blues, greens, and golds with purple highlights used to stitch the sampler are subdued compared to the colors used on Boston and Philadelphia samplers.

Martha Motte, born August 8, 1742, was the daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth Martin Motte. Jacob was a prominent low country planter and Charleston merchant; he was also active in politics and Charleston's St. Philip's Church. Appointed in 1743 as public treasurer of South Carolina, he remained in that position for almost thirty years until his death in 1770. The energetic Motte also formed and served as secretary of The Friendly Society for the Mutual Insuring of Houses Against Fire (organized in 1735), maintained a membership in the Charleston Library Society, served as senior warden and steward of the South Carolina Society, justice of the peace for Berkeley County, and vestryman of St. Philip's and St. Michael's Churches. Martha was one of eleven surviving children from this very active and influential family.

Scholars have generally concluded that Elizabeth Hext worked her sampler under the tutelage of her relative Mary Hext.<sup>220</sup> I propose that Martha Motte also worked her sampler under Mary Hext's tutelage. This conclusion is supported by the social and religious relationships between the families and similarities in sampler design. Mary Hext, born in 1702, was the daughter of Stephen Gifford. She married her first husband, John Hext, who was born in England in 1694, in Charleston in 1727. John Hext was related to David Hext, father of sampler maker Elizabeth, most likely through David Hext's father Hugh, who immigrated to Charleston in 1686. David's brothers Hugh and Edward each mentioned John in their wills as a kinsman "of South Carolina" and left money and property to him and his children.<sup>221</sup> It appears the extended Hext family remained closely connected after their move to Charleston. Evidence of their apparent familiarity with each other is the fact that Mary held her school in the home of Elizabeth's married sister (Providence Hext Prioleau) after her home (which was also her school) was destroyed by a fire in 1740. Additionally, both Hext families were Anglican and attended St. Philip's Church in Charleston.<sup>222</sup>

The Motte and Hext families would have also known each other through business, church, and social interactions. Martha Motte's father Jacob would have been known to most residents of Charleston as the long-standing Public Treasurer of the colony (see above). Motte and Hext were also familiar with each other through local politics - Jacob

---

<sup>220</sup> Staples, *This Have I Done*, 16; Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 534.

<sup>221</sup> A. S. Salley, Jr. "Hugh Hext and Some of His Descendants", *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan., 1905), 29-32.

<sup>222</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 375. Both John Hext and Mary Hext Dart were buried in St. Philip's churchyard.

Motte and David Hext were both appointed to the position of Justice of the Peace for Berkeley County in 1737.<sup>223</sup> Motte was a prominent low country merchant, as was David Hext.<sup>224</sup> Further solidifying business relationships, John Dart (schoolmistress Mary Hext's second husband) was a merchant and Edward Hext (David's brother) was also a merchant. Additionally, members of each family attended first St. Philip's and then St. Michael's churches.

In 1751 the commissioners of St. Philip's church began planning the building of another parish church to accommodate the growing Anglican population of Charleston. The shell of the new church, St. Michael's, was completed in 1753. Jacob Motte was one of the initial pew subscribers at St. Michael's church in 1759. His pew was one of the 11 most expensive pews, costing over £350. These 11 pews were considered the best pews because they were located near the crossing at the very center of the church. Motte's pew was on in the central aisle just behind the Governor and Council's pew and in front of lieutenant governor William Bull's pew.<sup>225</sup> Parish birth records attest to the church membership of the extended Hext family.<sup>226</sup> Mary Hext Dart was apparently a long term

---

<sup>223</sup> Historical Notes, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Jul., 1910), 188-189. Also appointed to this position at the same time were Peter Taylor (Elizabeth Gibbes' stepfather), John Dart (schoolmistress Mary Hext's second husband), and Samuel Prioleau (Elizabeth Hext's future brother-in-law and owner of the home where Mary Hext would teach).

<sup>224</sup> Although Mary Hext's first husband John's occupation has not been firmly established, he is believed to have been a mariner. If this is the case he would most likely have been very familiar with Charleston's merchants; this is particularly true since his relative Edward Hext was a merchant whose business was located "on the bay" during the period 1732-1737. John Dart, Mary Hext Dart's second husband, was also a Charleston merchant. Jeanne A. Calhoun, Martha A. Zierden and Elizabeth A. Paysinger, "The Geographic Spread of Charleston's Mercantile Community, 1732-1767", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (Jul. 1985), 193-200. For a description of John Hext see Staples, *This Have I Done*, 11-13.

<sup>225</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 318-320.

<sup>226</sup> <http://www.accessgenealogy.com/southcarolina/stphilip.htm> (accessed November 11, 2011).

member of the St. Philip's congregation as she was buried next to her first husband in the church yard. Many members of the extended Motte and Hext families were buried in the churchyards at St. Philip's and St. Michael's churches.<sup>227</sup>

In addition to the religious and civic associations between the Hext and Motte families, the marriage of Martha Motte to John Sandford Dart in 1765 provides further evidence of a close relationship between the families. John Sandford Dart was the son of John Dart, Mary Hext Dart's second husband. John Sandford Dart was John's third child with his first wife Hannah Sandford Livingston, who was a widow when they married. John Dart's fourth child, Benjamin, who was a successful Charleston merchant, married Amelia Hext, Elizabeth Hext's sister. So the two sampler makers Elizabeth Hext and Martha Motte would become sisters-in-law as adult women. And schoolmistress Mary Hext Dart would have been Martha Motte's mother-in-law, had she lived to see her stepson John Sandford Dart marry her student Martha Motte.

The evidence of personal interaction between the Hext and Motte families supports the likelihood that Jacob Motte at least knew of Mary Hext's teaching credentials. It is unlikely, though, that she was conducting a school on a full time basis when Martha Motte worked her sampler because not only had she stopped advertising her school, but she was in her fifties at the time. In fact, she died in November, 1752 and Martha finished her sampler in February, 1752. The last advertisement placed by Mary Hext was before her marriage to John Dart and the same year as Elizabeth Hext worked her sampler (1743). The strongest support for concluding that Martha worked her

---

<sup>227</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 375-378.

sampler under Mary's tutelage are the parallels between the content and format of Martha's sampler when compared to Elizabeth Hext's sampler. The samplers both shared the design conceit of successive lines of text with simple, non-decorative dividing bands. Furthermore, they also shared a common verse. In particular, the fact that both samplers included the same verse provides very strong support for them having been worked under the instruction of the same mistress. The Motte and Hext samplers are the only two Charleston samplers which contain the same verse; two of the other Charleston samplers derive verses from the same source (Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue*), but no two samplers other than Motte and Hext incorporate the same verse.

The five samplers worked after 1750 have much less in common than the first three samplers which I've just described. Ann Wragg worked her sampler in 1764; her sampler had more in common with northern samplers than any of the samplers in the study. Ann worked three alphabets, a verse and two decorative bands inside a carnation border. Her sampler was the only piece which included a border and decorative elements; even her dividing bands hint at a decorative intent. Her sampler contained one verse which was one of the four-line verses in Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue*. Ann was born July 25, 1756 to Samuel and Judith Rothmahler Wragg. Her father was a vastly wealthy Charleston slave merchant - the family was considered among the wealthiest in the province in the eighteenth century.<sup>228</sup> The fancy nature of Ann's sampler suggests that she had plenty of hands-on instruction while she was working her sampler; the border, multitude of colors, and placement of decorative

---

<sup>228</sup> Henry A. M. Smith, "Wragg of South Carolina", *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Jul., 1918), 122.

elements such as the sheep, birds, and flower pots clearly represent ongoing guidance.

Thus, Ann most likely worked her sampler at a private school in the city, where she lived and would have been able to regularly attend school.<sup>229</sup> She may have worked it under the tutelage of one of the schoolmistresses who advertised during the period, but her sampler does not indicate the name of her instructress so it is impossible to associate one with this embroidery.

Ann Clark worked her sampler in 1766. She stitched one full alphabet and another alphabet only to the letter “K”. Ann also worked a decorative band of arcaded strawberries, two bands of initials which probably related to family members, and a verse from Thomas Dyche’s *A Guide to the English Tongue*. Her sampler was worked almost entirely in green thread with three different reversible stitches: four-sided, marking, and square eyelet. Ann was most likely the daughter of established Edisto Island planter James Lardent Clark, who was a member of the Presbyterian church on the island.<sup>230</sup> The use of predominantly one color of thread and a design conceit limited to letters, numbers, and simple dividing bands suggests that Ann could have worked her sampler with very little hands-on guidance from a professional teacher. Thus, I conclude that Ann was likely taught her sampler on her island plantation, most likely by an itinerant teacher who could have presented the materials and the overall format and left Ann to finish her sampler with help from female family members if needed.

---

<sup>229</sup> Kathleen Staples, “Samplers from Charleston, South Carolina” *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 169, No. 3 (March, 2006), 85. According to the family records, Ann grew up in a house on Montagu Street in Charleston.

<sup>230</sup> Staples, “Samplers from Charleston,” 85.



Dorothy Waring worked her sampler in 1774; it consisted entirely of lines of verse with only one dividing band. The lone dividing band was used to delineate between the verse section and the personalization section of the sampler. The verse section was actually one long verse which was from Isaac Watts' *Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children*. Dorothy worked the same stitch (reversible marking) in brown and tan hues of silk thread throughout the entire sampler. Dorothy was the daughter of Thomas and Mary Waring; her father was most likely the Charleston merchant who advertised his dry goods between 1762 and 1767. Dorothy probably worked her simple sampler at a school in the city which may or may not have had a long history. The sampler is more in the genre of a marking sampler and the stitching of her letters in reversible marking stitch could have been overseen either at home or at a neighborhood dame school.

There are no images for the last two samplers considered for this study but they were documented and described by their owners in *American Samplers* by Ethel Bolton and Eva Coe in 1921. According to the descriptions, Harriet Hyrne worked two samplers in 1774. One sampler consisted of two alphabets, a strawberry border and three roses in a medallion while the other sampler consisted of three alphabets and a pomegranate border at the bottom. Both samplers included the same verse: *Remember thy creator in the days of thy youth*.<sup>231</sup> Although these descriptions are relatively vague they conjure up the images of the other samplers worked in colonial Charleston, with a slight exception given to the Ann Wragg sampler. As previously noted, all of them comply with a relatively simple design conceit limited to alphabets and verse with a minimum of decorative

---

<sup>231</sup> Bolton and Coe, *American Samplers*, 54. It is more likely that the first sampler included three alphabets because the alphabets are described as having been worked in eyelet, satin, and cross stitches.

motifs. Harriett was born October 9, 1760 to Henry and Mary Butler Hyrne. Col. Henry Hyrne, Esq. was a wealthy, politically active planter serving variously as Justice of the Peace and as a member of the Assembly. Harriet was probably raised at “Tipseeboo” plantation (also known as Clear Spring Plantation on the Ashley River, Goose Creek), the family home of her mother who purchased it back from her father’s estate in 1759, the same year she married Harriet’s father Henry Hyrne.<sup>232</sup>

I surmise that Harriet worked her samplers while she was a young girl on the family plantation and that she was taught by someone who spent enough time there to not be considered itinerant. Like Ann Clark’s sampler, which I also consider to have been worked on a plantation, the design was a very simple conceit predominated by alphabets and verses. This style of sampler, generally referred to as a marking sampler, would have been typical for a girl of Harriet’s age. Marking samplers tended to be worked in a dame school environment but it is unlikely there would have been a dame school in the rural setting of the plantation. The existence of medallions with flowers in them suggests the necessity of an on-site teacher available to oversee the execution of these decorative motifs. So she was probably taught by either a family member in her home, or by a teacher who was employed either by her family on her plantation or by another plantation family to travel between plantations teaching (probably among other things) this simple sampler design.

Documentation suggests the extended Hyrne family spent a great deal of time on their plantations. Harriet’s father Henry was known to prefer life in the country on his

---

<sup>232</sup> Mabel L. Webber, “Hyrne Family”, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Oct., 1921), 110-114. Harriet appears to have lived a good deal of her life on plantations as she died at her husband Richard Bohun Baker’s ancestral home, Archdale Plantation on the Ashley Rive, in 1837.

plantation.<sup>233</sup> He lived on his plantation (Ashepoo) with his first and second wives and then moved to Harriet's mother's family plantation (Tipseepoo, or Clear Spring) after they married. Two other bits of information support the conclusion that the country plantations served as the center of Hyrne family life. In 1759 Eliza Lucas Pinckney wrote to a friend that since her husband's death in October, 1758 she had not been in the city but rather had spent time in the country with Harriet Hyrne's mother Mary Golightly at her plantation. (Mary would marry Henry Hyrne later that year and give birth to Henrietta the following year.) Cara Anzilotti notes that female planters, as Eliza Lucas Pinckney was, gathered together in their plantation homes for mutual support throughout their lives.<sup>234</sup> Additionally, Henry Hyrne's sister Mary Hyrne Smith, was known to have employed a schoolteacher on her plantation during the mid-eighteenth century. According to the schoolteacher James Elerton's journal, he would teach children who lived on surrounding plantations from time to time. On March 17, 1740 he noted:

“Miss Betsy and her neice, Nancy Waring, came from Goose Creek, from Nancy's uncle, who sent her to me to school, and to live with her step-grandmother, Madam Smith.”<sup>235</sup>

Elerton's journal, which encompassed the year 1740, notes many occasions of women and girls coming and going on the plantation for schooling as well as social activities. It

---

<sup>233</sup> Describing their return to the city of Charleston from the country in 1725 (when Henry was 20), Henry's mother Elizabeth noted that he did not like the city by any means. Shortly thereafter Henry purchased a plantation (Ashepoo) on which he grew rice and then indigo. His mother purchased Tuguboo plantation later that year; Henry's mother brother Burrell lived there and managed the plantation. Pauline M. Loven, ed. “Hyrne Family Letters, 1699-1757”, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (Jan., 2001), 35.

<sup>234</sup> Cara Anzilotti, “Autonomy and the Female Planter in Colonial South Carolina”, *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (May, 1997), 264.

<sup>235</sup> H. Roy Merrens, ed., *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774*. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), 132.

is unlikely Elerton himself taught the girls how to make a sampler, the more likely scenario is that he employed a female assistant who accepted responsibility for that task for him.

As researchers discover additional primary source documents and further investigate how these girls' families intermarried and interacted, a more focused picture of colonial female education will emerge. When I combine the content and format of the samplers in my study with the familial and cultural dynamics of the low country, I conclude that we have a fair representation of the educational offerings available for the daughters of the cultural elite. The earliest sampler in this study, worked by Elizabeth Gibbes in 1729, was worked in association with the sampler maker's church. Either she attended school at her church or a teacher from the church, most likely the pastor's wife, taught Elizabeth in her home. Three of the samplers in this study (Elizabeth Hext's 1743, Martha Motte's 1752, and Ann Wragg's 1764) were most likely worked in the city of Charleston under the guidance of a schoolmistress. Ann Clark's 1766 sampler and Dorothy Waring's 1774 sampler were most likely taught by an itinerant mistress who worked with the girls in their homes. Harriet Hyrne, also, most likely worked her two samplers in 1774 while at home, but I suggest the particulars of her situation support the conclusion that her mistress spent enough time on her plantation to be considered an on-site instructor. The dynamics of how and why this particular low country culture evolved are critical to an understanding of why there were various educational offerings. The next section will outline that history.

### Early Charleston Education

Peter A. Coclanis includes education, along with kinship, religion, and governmental organization, as key “normative complexes” which support an institutional framework responsible for the success or failure of social order. According to Coclanis, the creation of institutions facilitates the rendering of aspirations into reality. The aspirations of social order and economic success were fundamental to the initial formation and evolution of Charleston and the low country. Most historians and scholars have viewed the area’s institutional framework in unfavorable terms. They generally assert that the low country’s economic rise occurred despite the limitations imposed by “institutional inarticulation.”<sup>236</sup>

Coclanis, in contrast, sees the evolution of the institutional framework as necessarily supporting the economic rise of Charleston and the low country. His description of the educational system as narrow and the realm of God as “straitened” would be in agreement with most historians and scholars. Yet Coclanis believes that such patterns “testify rather less to institutional arrestment than to the institutional embodiment of the white hegemonists’ world view.” He sees a coherent pattern in the institutional framework of the low country. The normative complexes of the framework, which he admits were marked by a certain exiguity, were actually conducive to the quick and effective economic expansion of the low country. Excessive institutional “weight” would have presented a ponderous handicap to the white elite population, which concentrated their focus on swift and high profits.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>236</sup> Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream*, 55-56.

<sup>237</sup> Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream*, 56.

Evidence points to educational efforts of the low country community which are consistent with Coclanis' conclusions. By all accounts, the educational system of Charleston and the surrounding low country was characterized by fits and starts. Although education was an early governmental concern, a firm educational foundation had yet to be established by the late eighteenth century. As early as 1703, the first Anglican governor (Nathaniel Johnson) campaigned for the establishment of a system of free schools. But it would be nine years before the legislation was passed, and even with its passage few schools were opened and even fewer seem to have been successful and long-running.<sup>238</sup>

The first free public school was opened in Charleston in 1712; a Scotchman from Philadelphia was appointed as the teacher. In the same year, the first free public school in the surrounding low country was also opened; an Anglican missionary who was assistant to the rector of the parish church at St. James, Goose Creek was appointed as the teacher there. Also in 1712, the General Assembly ordered each parish to build a school and hire a teacher to provide for the education of their poor white children. The Assembly further

---

<sup>238</sup> Judith R. Joyner, *Beginnings: Education in Colonial South Carolina*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1985), 4-11. In 1706 an act was passed which established the Church of England as the province's national church. The intention of the church act was that the Church of England would financially support schools as well as appoint schoolmasters to administer their programs. Although the ground work for a school had been set, Anglicans and dissenters could not agree on issues such as compulsory religious instruction and the appropriateness of religious qualifications for the position of schoolmaster. Because of these differences, when schoolmasters finally arrived in Charleston in 1706 and 1707 they found that not only had a school not been created but it was not expected to be authorized for some time. The General Assembly did not actually enact the 1706 bill until 1710. The 1710 bill specified that schoolmasters were to be Anglican. Although this bill was never implemented (it was repealed in June, 1712), it had succeeded in specifying the qualifications of the schoolmaster. In December, 1712 the General Assembly passed an act under which the first schoolmaster was appointed by the Assembly. With this act the schoolmaster was to be Anglican but the teachers and ushers had no required religious qualifications.

ordered the public treasury to contribute £12 towards the cost of the construction of the schools and £10 toward the salary of each teacher of the parish schools for the poor.<sup>239</sup>

In the meantime England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) established a school in Charleston in 1711. They appointed Reverend Guy as the first master of the school; in addition to attending to duties as schoolmaster he served as assistant rector of St. Philip's Church. This school was combined with the provincial school in 1712 and the SPG assumed control, appointing schoolmasters who also continued to assist in the work of the parish.<sup>240</sup> By 1723 the current schoolmaster Reverend Thomas Morritt, who was also the minister of St. James Goose Creek parish, appealed to Governor Francis Nicholson for increased salary and a school building separate from his residence. The Charleston school, however, continually suffered from poor enrollment and insufficient funding. One of the reasons Morritt cited for lack of enrollment in his school was the competition it encountered from private teachers in the low country.<sup>241</sup> Although the Charleston school was established to predominantly accommodate the needs of boys, Morritt's comment about private teachers illuminates the educational circumstances of the region: relatively large schools met with little success

---

<sup>239</sup> Lockley, "Rural Poor Relief," 974.

<sup>240</sup> Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Reverend Thomas Morritt and the Free School in Charles Town," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1931), 34-35

<sup>241</sup> By 1721, however, the SPG had decided to discontinue assistance to ministers and missionaries in South Carolina. The Commons House and Council had still not taken up the issue of the salary of the schoolmaster when Thomas Morritt arrived to assume the post in 1723. Although the Assembly voted in 1723 to support the school, it suffered from lack of enrollment and it was closed by the summer of 1727. Ultimately, for reasons ranging from war, economic depressions, and breakdowns in government, the low country's efforts to consistently operate and support a public school system failed. It was not until 1735 that a relatively stable school began to operate, which it did until the eve of the revolution. This is to be contrasted with Boston and Philadelphia, in which public school systems had been solidly established by 1730. Joyner, *Beginnings*, 10-18.

in the low country where the dispersed population attended to educational needs, as best they could, on a local basis.<sup>242</sup>

During the first half of the eighteenth century there were a number of women advertising as schoolmistresses who would, presumably, have been able to fill any demand for the education of the low country's daughters (see Appendix Q). Judith Joyner noted that "no town in America of comparable size and population offered a greater number and variety of educational offerings than Charles Town during the period from 1735 to 1775." While this may be true, it seems at odds with the marked dearth of material evidence (samplers) from the same period, particularly since Joyner notes that for upper-class girls the end of education was ornamental.<sup>243</sup> The fact that women were advertising does not necessarily mean they were actually successfully running schools, particularly for any extended period of time. It was fairly easy to enter the "market" of schoolmistress; if you could afford an advertisement you could offer your services. The great majority of those who advertised indicated they taught some type of embroidery, ranging from plain work to decorative embroidery. Extant low country samplers illustrate how schoolmistresses created sampler designs which required relatively little pre-planning in terms of time and materials; they could generally be described as plain work or marking samplers. There were at least two reasons for this. First, there wasn't a

---

<sup>242</sup> Judith R. Joyner, *Beginnings: Education in Colonial South Carolina*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1985), 10. Joyner notes that the public school was intended for boys only and it would have mirrored the English grammar curriculum. She concludes that it was not until the nineteenth century that girls could participate in secondary education at public expense. This is in contrast to both Boston and Philadelphia where it appears some girls attended grammar schools. As early as the 1730s some parents had begun sending their sons to English public schools such as Westminster. Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983), 248.

<sup>243</sup> Joyner, *Beginnings*, 53-56.



local demand for samplers which were so ornamental as to require a decorative design conceit. Secondly, as local practice favored teachers who could be flexible in their school setting, a fancy sampler would not have been portable enough to warrant the amount of effort involved in designing, obtaining materials, and teaching what would most likely end up being a relatively short term project.<sup>244</sup>

An example of how limited a schoolmistress' business might turn out to be is provided by the case of Mary Gittens. Mary Laurens Gittens was born in Charleston 1716. She was the first child of John and Esther Laurens and the oldest sister of the famed Henry Laurens. Their father, a Huguenot immigrant to the low country in the late seventeenth century, established a large business in saddlery goods and became a man of considerable means. Mary's brother Henry received as good an education in Charleston as could be found at the time, and traveled to England in 1744 for further training in business when he was in his early twenties.<sup>245</sup> Mary herself must have been provided with a sufficient education as well because in 1741 she advertised her school where she would teach plain sewing, embroidery and reading. Her advertisement also mentioned that she would take in plain sewing from customers as an additional source of income. She had been married to Nathaniel Gittens for eight years by this time; they apparently had children, but when and how many is not known. By 1744 Mary's husband Nathaniel had joined her at her school and they offered additional classes in writing, arithmetic and

---

<sup>244</sup> Kathleen Staples notes that about half of the teachers who advertised as offering female education had yet to open a school when they placed their advertisement. Staples, *This Have I Done*, 7.

<sup>245</sup> Joseph W. Barnwell, "Correspondence of Henry Laurens" *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (July, 1927), 142.

*several* sorts of needle work. Nathaniel was an artist, so it is likely he was teaching the drawing classes they advertised for young ladies at a night school.<sup>246</sup>

The school of Mary and Nathaniel Gittens, however, would turn out to be a relatively short-term venture, if it succeeded at all. Mary and Nathaniel had moved to the West Indies by 1747 and were in “dismal streights” when Henry Laurens sent them money in September of that year. It appears that despite both of their efforts they were not able to make a sufficient income in Charleston and had been forced to return to Nathaniel’s native West Indies home. Mary’s brother Henry, in fact, was not even sure where they were living when he wrote to them. His letter was sent to Antigua, but in a second correspondence he lamented that he did not know where they lived or if she was even still alive. How Mary and her family fared in the West Indies is not known, but the Gittens family genealogical website indicates they never returned to Charleston despite Mary’s brother’s pleas. The Gittens website notes that she died about 1747 on St. Croix; there is no death date for her husband Nathaniel and none of her children are mentioned. (When he wrote to her in 1747, Henry specifically indicates that Mary and *her children* had been exposed to many hardships since they had left Charleston.) It is truly an unfortunate story that Mary Laurens Gittens, who, because of her high social position, must have been familiar with the families who had daughters of school age when she

---

<sup>246</sup> Robert Francis Seybolt, “South Carolina Schoolmaster of 1744” *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Oct., 1930), 315.

advertised her school, could not keep her school busy enough to make it a viable enterprise in colonial Charleston.<sup>247</sup>

Mary Hext seems to present an exception to the above-noted schoolmistress paradigm. Mary Hext placed newspaper advertisements announcing the opening of her school in Charleston in 1740, 1741, and 1743.<sup>248</sup> Her first husband John Hext died in 1742 at the age of 33; Mary then married John Dart in 1746. In 1740, when Mary's first advertisement was placed, her son would have been 14 and her daughter would have been 11. It is possible that John Hext had been ill before he died which presented Mary with the need to provide for her family by opening a school. She had apparently been operating the school as a boarding school prior to her 1740 advertisement, as in that advertisement she announced the new location of her school. Her other location had been destroyed in the fire which consumed more than 300 homes and commercial buildings just nine days before she placed the advertisement. Her new location was the home of Colonel Samuel Prioleau, who had married Elizabeth Hext's sister Providence just a year before the fire. As noted by Kathleen Staples, she only advertised her school when she had openings for new students, so it is reasonable to conclude that her school was relatively successful.<sup>249</sup> That two of the samplers can be confidently attributed to her

---

<sup>247</sup> When Henry wrote to Mary in 1747 he had just returned home from England and learned of their father's death. In the letter Henry references a falling-out between Mary and her father. He begged her to "impartially consider all that pass'd between your good Father & yourself from the time of your Marriage until he forbid you in his House". It appears their father did not approve of her marriage to Nathaniel and had refused to provide them with any financial support. Henry begs her to join him in Charleston and specifically said he was very worried about her. Barnwell, "Correspondence of Henry Laurens", 148-149; Barnwell, "Correspondence of Henry Laurens", *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Jan., 1929), 22-23; <http://www.gittensfamily.ca>, (accessed November 30, 2011).

<sup>248</sup> Staples, *This Have I Done*, 11, 16. Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*, 534-536.

<sup>249</sup> Staples, *This Have I Done*, 11.

provides further evidence that her method of teaching and perhaps even the sampler style she taught remained highly regarded. This was apparently a truly rare case in the colonial low country as evidenced by the small number of samplers in total and the fact that none of the others can be stylistically linked. I suspect Mary did not return to teaching full time after her marriage to John Dart in 1746 because she did not place any further advertisements for her school. A logical conclusion is that her involvement in Martha Motte's education was a result of her reputation as well as the relationships between the families.

The experience of most colonial low country schoolmistresses was probably somewhere in the middle between the extremes of Mary Gittens and Mary Hext. Since there were a number of venues in which a schoolmistress could choose to teach (individual plantations, individual churches, private schools in the city, or itinerancy in all locations), it is very possible that they taught girls where ever there was a current need. Advertisements placed in 1755 and 1757 show that families in the country were in need of women to teach reading and needlework at their plantation homes.<sup>250</sup> It is possible that any of the women who advertised their services as schoolmistresses were able to accommodate those requests. If they did so, they may have taken the country work on a full time basis, or they may have taught what they could in a few visits (as the extant samplers show would have been possible) and returned to their other students in the city. Because of the limited number of samplers and the fact that only one of them (Elizabeth

---

<sup>250</sup> Staples, *This Have I Done*, 8. Planter Charles Fouchereaud was in search of a female instructor who could teach reading and all kinds of needle work in 1755 and an anonymous subscriber requested the services of a female instructor for a family in the country in 1757. Merrens, *Colonial South Carolina Scene*, 84. William Guy, rector of St. Andrew's parish, noted in 1727 that the rich inhabitants of his parish hired masters into their homes to teach their children.

Hext) strongly suggests a specific schoolmistress (Mary Hext), it is not possible to conclude how teachers coordinated their efforts to accommodate the areas's demand.

What we can deduce about female education in the low country by looking at the extant samplers is that the schoolmistresses had a strong tendency to limit their instruction almost solely to stitching text and the texts tended to have come from readily available publications: the Bible and school books (Dyche and Young, see Appendices N and O). The materials used were not fancy in the least - the silk threads were generally earth-toned and not bright and colorful. These embroidery materials would have been easy to purchase and replace since the lack of an intricate design allowed for the use of any color thread for any word or dividing band. The letters and words of the texts did not require unique or specific colors in order to result in a reasonable-looking design. The stitching technique was not overly decorative either; the stitches were generally marking stitches which, once learned, could be executed over and over again with little additional instruction. Therefore, the teaching of the samplers was uniquely portable and could have been presented at relatively short notice in any of the places where a girl's education may have taken place in the low country.

The eight samplers in this study support the conclusion that formal schooling in the low country was a limited enterprise. For a number of reasons ranging from a small, dispersed population to a culture that had uniquely adapted the English patriarchal tradition, the pedagogy for female education deviated from the tradition originating in England and followed in the northern colonies. The formal education, as evidenced by the samplers, was limited to the introductory stage of stitching and design. The further

education necessary to fulfill a girl's destiny of planter's wife was to come from family, church, and social relationships. Interestingly, this was a system of thought "quite safe from northern influence."<sup>251</sup> Because interaction between the low country and England and other British colonies was common, there is no reason to assume that people in Charleston and the surrounding area were unaware of educational trends outside of their area, nor would they have been unable to acquire the materials used to make the fancier samplers worked in Boston and Philadelphia. Further, northern schoolmistresses could have either traveled to the low country to teach or share their design expertise with their southern cohorts. Instead, the education of females in the low country as evidenced by the samplers became a distinct convention which accommodated and represented the culture in which it operated.

#### Low Country Colonial Culture

The province of Carolina was created via royal charter in 1663 and was initially governed as a proprietary colony. The area was settled by Englishmen from Bermuda, who established the primary settlement (Charles Town) with its port on the Atlantic coast where the Ashley and Cooper rivers converged. Charleston quickly became the vital cultural and economic center of the low country. Numerous ethnic and religious groups soon joined the original English settlers largely as a result of the colony's tacit acceptance of all non-Catholic faiths. The population of the low country and Charleston in particular grew quickly during the eighteenth century. The relatively sparse population of the city was approximately 2,950 in 1720, but it had grown to an estimated 6,300 by 1740. This

---

<sup>251</sup> Best, "Education in the Forming of the American South," 46.

was, nonetheless, still a relatively small population compared to Boston's 16,500 and Philadelphia's 9,800. By 1770, the population of Charleston alone was 11,500 while the population of the entire low country estimated at 88,244. A distinguishing factor of these population numbers is that in Charleston in 1770 the population was 55% black.<sup>252</sup>

A proprietary system remained intact in South Carolina for a relatively short period of time. By the early eighteenth century the proprietors were overthrown by colonists and a royal government was formed under the existing constitutions. Before the change in governmental system, however, the Church of England had been designated as the colony's official denomination.<sup>253</sup> Ten local parishes were created to function in basically the same manner as they had in England. They were given local taxing authority and responsibility for education and poor relief. The parish was the unit of local representation in the colony's governmental system (Commons House of Assembly), the church wardens were the election officials, and the parish was financially responsible for supporting the schools. Charleston was in St. Philip's parish. St. Philip's was the first Anglican congregation in South Carolina, with the church having been built in 1681.

Charleston experienced great economic expansion beginning in the eighteenth century. Starting with deerskin trade, the colony diversified its commercial activities to include naval stores such as tar and pitch and then expanded into the cultivation of rice and later indigo. Much of the low country's commercial ventures necessitated the

---

<sup>252</sup> Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 112-115.

<sup>253</sup> John Wesley Brinsfield, *Religion and Politics in Colonial South Carolina*. (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1983), 31. The Church Act of 1706 was referred to as the act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in this Province, according to the Church of England.

employment of slave labor and early into the eighteenth century Charleston became the main dropping point for newly arrived African slaves. The low country's export trade activities tended to be extremely profitable, leading Charleston to become one of the wealthiest colonial cities during the eighteenth century. This vast wealth was amassed by a relatively small circle of elite families.

Many of the elite families, those whose daughters would have been the girls attending schools and working samplers, had plantations in the low country surrounding Charleston as well as homes in the city. The planter-elite of colonial South Carolina constituted the wealthiest group in British North America in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>254</sup> The wealth generated from their agricultural activities (an activity supported by the labor of many thousands of African slaves) funded a genteel lifestyle of country mansions and lavishly furnished townhouses in Charleston.<sup>255</sup> Scholars suggest that the planter-elite were conscious of their small number in relation to both whites and blacks in the low country and were thus collectively concerned about protecting their wealth and status. Within the low country society, the elite merchants and planters formed their own, increasingly insular group, with closely shared interests and activities. The social identity of the group arose from qualities of exclusivity and agency which communicated their authority, power, and identity. As the merchant and planter elite wove their families

---

<sup>254</sup> Peter A. Coclanis provides a summary of low country wealth on a per capita basis in *Shadow of a Dream*, 121-125. He distinguishes between total wealth and nonhuman wealth, and compares low country statistics with the same statistics for New England and the Middle Colonies. Coclanis suggests that the low country was possibly the wealthiest area in the entire world in 1774 (121).

<sup>255</sup> Tim Lockley, "Rural Poor Relief in Colonial South Carolina", *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Dec., 2005), 956. See also Russell R. Menard, "Slavery, economic growth and revolutionary ideology in the South Carolina low country," in *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763-1790*, ed. Ronald Hoffman et al. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1988), 247-248.



together through marriages and business relations, they solidified their positions creating a nucleus of social, political, and economic power.<sup>256</sup>

The exclusivity created and nurtured by the planter elite was a reaction to the slave society in which they lived; slavery had been institutionalized from the earliest years of colonization in the low country. By the mid-eighteenth century as much as ninety percent of the region's white population was directly involved in the slave-master relation.<sup>257</sup> There was a history of concern for the racial imbalance within the low country, and women were seen as essential partners in establishing and maintaining white authority. Indeed, a great deal of trust was placed in the abilities of adult women. In addition to the traditional roles of attending to the household economy, the rearing of children, and the moral character of society, further tasks for women which were vital to the success of the colony included estate administration and plantation management. The tasks of estate administration and plantation management were considered critical to holding and improving family estates in order to pass them down to subsequent generations. An undeniable component of successful plantation management was

---

<sup>256</sup> Cynthia A. Kierner, "Hospitality, Sociability, and Gender in the Southern Colonies", *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Aug. 1996), 470-471; Martha Zierden, "A Trans-Atlantic Merchant's House in Charleston: Archaeological Exploration of Refinement and Subsistence in an Urban Setting", *Society for Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 33, No. 3, Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture (1999), 73-75; Peter A. Coclanis, "Global Perspectives on the Early Economic History of South Carolina", *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 106, No. 2/3 (Apr.-Jul., 2005), 140-144. Edward Pearson refers to the intermarriages as having created dense layers of interlocking kin networks which cemented familial loyalties, reciprocal obligations, and political allegiances. The planter/merchant marriages further kept a firm grasp over the land, slaves, and trade which served as a foundation for their power. Edward Pearson, "'Planters Full of Money': The Self-Fashioning of the Eighteenth-Century South Carolina Elite" in *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society*, ed. Jack P. Greene et al. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 304.

<sup>257</sup> Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 45.

successful slave control, a function which empowered women to serve along with and often in place of men, in order to maintain white dominance in a slave society.<sup>258</sup>

The wealthy citizens of the low country ultimately created an active market for imported European consumer goods. The planters and merchants who created the wealth of the area used their vast trans-Atlantic connections to import consumer goods from around the world into the city's active port. Goods from as far away as China and India abounded on the shelves of merchants in the fashionable retail district behind the city's wharves. Robert A. Leath has documented the range of Asian export luxury goods available in Charleston in the mid-eighteenth century: Chinese silk, Indian cotton textiles, Chinese lacquer and hardwood furniture, Chinese wallpaper, and reverse paintings on glass, all popular throughout the European world, were available to Charleston consumers.<sup>259</sup> These Asian goods would have been available in addition to a plethora of other goods from around the world. The luxury goods accumulated by the wealthy elite served as accoutrements for the active social lives they led, which increasingly set them apart as the nucleus of social, political, and economic power of the colony.

The careful navigation of social affairs of the low country elite was one aspect of the anticipated adult role for the area's young girls. Probably more important as far as their education was concerned, though, was their possible involvement in the business activities of the colony. The nature of the evolving low country culture resulted in a

---

<sup>258</sup> Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 53, 125.

<sup>259</sup> Robert A. Leath, "'After the Chinese Taste': Chinese Export Porcelain and Chinoiserie Design in Eighteenth-Century Charleston", *Society for Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 33, No. 3, Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture (1999), 48-50; Pearson, "'Planters Full of Money,'" 299-316.

unique option which had relatively high probability for the daughters of the planters and successful merchants: women often assumed the traditionally male role of the ownership and management of plantations. Cara Anzilotti has shown that women commonly owned and managed plantations upon the deaths of husbands and fathers. Low country male patriarchs frequently left property to their wives and daughters, who usually remained active in their management and even added to their holdings through further acquisitions and/or subsequent marriages. Research has shown that low country widows were more likely to remain single than to seek a new partner.<sup>260</sup> When they did so they continued the management of one or more properties and often took responsibility for training their sons to do so in their absence. In each of these cases, women were accepted as prudent and capable managers, which clearly implies a system, albeit informal, which prepared them for these duties. If their anticipated destiny was to become a planter's wife and ultimately a partner and manager of all that entailed, the culture had to value that activity enough to teach them how to accomplish it.

The foundation of low country culture was patriarchal in nature and generally patterned after the English precedent. This, on the surface, would lead to the conclusion that women were accorded less power and influence than I am suggesting. But the low country elite made adjustments to the English patriarchal paradigm as they struggled to recreate it in a slaveholding society with a large population of black slaves. A unique "brand" of patriarchy evolved which accorded women a degree of freedom hitherto

---

<sup>260</sup>Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 97. Anzilotti suggests that female plantation owners supported the white racial hegemony and male patriarchal foundations of the culture through their activities; and that while they embraced both the responsibilities and the freedoms of this role, they still acknowledged the male "superiority" of the inherent patriarchal system which prevailed. See particularly Chapters Four and Five.

unprecedented in traditional English society. The freedom in terms of land ownership and property management were necessary because of the unique situation which settlement in the low country presented them: a large and increasing black slave population, high death rates among the white population, and the intention of keeping property ownership within the small circle of elite whites who controlled it. Women (whether as wife or owner/manager of a plantation) assumed male roles when men were not present. Control and order were needed in order to keep the plantation, and society in general, ordered in a fashion consistent with the desires of the white hegemony. When order and control were required, men were at the top of the hierarchy, but in their absence women served as surrogates. Accordingly, the maintenance of the resulting distinctly southern social and cultural entity necessitated a corresponding alteration in the training of children.<sup>261</sup> In addition to the foundational skills of refined and genteel behavior passed from one generation to the next, parents understood and accepted that they would need to educate their daughters in the management of property to ensure the genealogical continuity of their estates.

The program of providing a *practical* education took on a different meaning for the daughters of the low country elite. With the protection of wealth and social position at the top of the list of concerns, the traditional English secondary education for girls seems to have generally taken a subordinate position. Their first exposure to education would have followed the same format as it did in other Anglo-American communities: learning to read, do simple arithmetic, and stitch a marking sampler of some kind in a

---

<sup>261</sup> For further discussions of the importance of informal education for both girls and boys in the low country see Edward Pearson and Cara Anzilotti, as noted above.

more formal setting (a school of some sort). Further education beyond this would have placed less emphasis on fancy embroidery projects, as was the English tradition, and focused instead on social skills such as dancing, music, and perhaps drawing (also usually in a school of some sort). The teaching of these skills was generally handled by men who were hired specifically for that purpose.<sup>262</sup> The family would then take over their daughter's education (outside of a formal school setting), concentrating on such training as they deemed necessary for the business of managing property, slave labor, and domestic staff.

There are numerous examples of low country women who managed plantations, probably the best known is Eliza Lucas Pinckney. In 1738, at the age of sixteen, she was managing her family's three plantations in the absence of her father after the death of her mother. One of her remarkable accomplishments is her introduction of the successful growing of indigo on her father's plantations, a product which quickly became a low country staple crop. She married in 1744 and after the death of her husband in 1758 successfully managed both the Lucas and Pinckney family plantations. She did not remarry after the death of her husband. Entries in her diary attest to her dedication to the education of her three children, one of whom was a daughter. She schooled them all in the manners and morals of the low country elite. She also introduced the boys to the polite arts including reading and skillful writing and sent them to England to further their education. She considered the rearing of her daughter Harriott one of the greatest "businesses" of her life. Eliza must have carefully passed on her experience in managing

---

<sup>262</sup> Dancing and music were an important part of the fashionable social gatherings attended by the elite. This was the case throughout the colonies and in England. Whenever possible, they would have been included as a vital part of the education of girls.

plantations as a part of that “business” because, like her mother, Harriott was one of the most successful plantation mistresses in the low country in the eighteenth century.<sup>263</sup>

Another example of the educational focus for low country daughters is provided by the experience of Henry Laurens’ daughter Patsy (Martha). She lived with her father’s brother and sister-in-law while he was in London for extended periods of time; they were responsible for her education in his absence. In 1771 Henry wrote to his brother inquiring about Patsy’s education. He had specific concern that she was progressing in terms of drawing, writing, arithmetic, and basic sewing skills. He was also interested that she learn household management skills such as administering family medicine and directing domestic servants. Patsy (Martha) was twelve years old at the time of Henry’s letter. At this age, according to the traditional English progression in education, girls would generally be focused on their fancy embroidery, as was the case for girls in Boston and Philadelphia. According to Henry’s concerns, however, how a young girl was preparing herself to manage a household was a very important component of her education. Henry Laurens, and other plantation parents like Eliza Pinckney during the same period, recognized that a young woman’s destiny was to become a planter’s wife and probable manager of the family estates. As the spouse of a wealthy low country gentleman, she would need to be well educated and refined; but as a mistress of a plantation she would require much more practical training such as basic sewing skills, the proper medicines to make and administer, and the ability to manage domestic and slave labor.<sup>264</sup>

---

<sup>263</sup> Pearson, ““Planters Full of Money””, 308-311; Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 76, 99, 126.

<sup>264</sup> Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 86.

If one considers the traditional interpretation of a sampler as evidence of a secondary education focused on embroidery skill and religious training, neither of them would have helped the daughters of the elite in supporting their aspirations for their daughters. When examined along with the demographic reality of a relatively small, geographically dispersed population, it becomes easier to see how difficult it would have been for a single schoolmistress to find enough students to whom she could teach a complicated sampler design, especially in an environment where that type of skill was not necessarily highly valued. Fancy samplers traditionally displayed marriageability by documenting proficiency in decorative embroidery skills for use in domestic articles. Low country daughters were probably proficient in decorative embroidery skills to some degree, but that was apparently not a focus of the education they were to receive at school. As such, it was also not the focus of the women who put themselves forward as teachers for the daughters of the low country elite, who were much more concerned that teachers focus on a curriculum which prepared girls to navigate an active and complicated social scene where codes of behavior were enormously important.<sup>265</sup> As Sophia Hume commented in 1750, the ability to make judicious remarks on operas and stage plays, romances and “other books” in the socially treacherous waters of the elegant drawing rooms where parents regularly brokered marriages was of critical importance to the education of the daughters of the low country elite.<sup>266</sup>

---

<sup>265</sup> John Hardin Best, “Education in the Forming of the American South,” *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring, 1996), 41.

<sup>266</sup> Pearson, ““Planters Full of Wealth,”” 305.

### Anglicanism in Samplers

As previously noted, Anglicanism was the official religion of the low country during the period in which the samplers used for my research were worked. Anglicanism, however, did not exhibit a noted influence on the design of the samplers. The contents of Elizabeth Gibbes' sampler, with its emphasis on Anglican liturgy, provides a case in which to explore how the denomination influenced sampler design if the school setting was closely related to the church setting. Elizabeth worked the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer on her sampler. Two samplers, one worked in Boston and one worked in Philadelphia, also include Anglican liturgical elements and both samplers were worked by girls whose families were members of the Anglican church. As previously noted, I conclude that Elizabeth's education was somehow affiliated with her church. She either attended school at church or the minister's wife, or another woman active in the church, taught girls in a domestic setting and part of her curriculum included a sampler with a distinctly Anglican content. It seems likely, given the similarity in content of the samplers, that Hannah Trecothick (Boston, 1738) and Ann Wilkinson (Philadelphia, 1734) also worked their samplers at schools affiliated with their churches. Hannah's sampler was comprised of the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer; the format, though, was slightly different from Elizabeth's. Hannah worked her verses so that they mimicked tablets: the texts were split into two columns and they were surrounded by a straight line border which formed an arch at the top. This was a common English format at the time. Ann's sampler included the Ten Commandments worked within an overall design conceit common to samplers worked by girls at Elizabeth Marsh's school. Ann Wilkinson's



samplers exhibited more crossover in design from a known non-Anglican school in her home town (Philadelphia) than either the Elizabeth Gibbes or Hannah Trecothick samplers.

Anglicans considered the liturgy as an important part of their worship which extended beyond the recitations of the formal church service. The Lord's Prayer and Apostle's Creed were a consistent component of the Anglican liturgy. In fact, they were such an important part of the Anglican worship and belief system that they became a part of church architecture. The Lord's Prayer and Apostle's Creed were inscribed on tablets and placed at the front of the church behind the altar. Further, they commonly flanked a tablet including the Decalogue (Ten Commandments).<sup>267</sup> It is possible that church architecture was literally the source for the visual presentation worked on the samplers. Because these three texts were fundamental to the Anglican faith, in much the same way that Adam and Eve imagery seems to have been fundamental to the Boston Congregationalists, children were to learn them and memorize them as a part of their catechism. The learning of these texts was so important that the admonition to teach these fundamental texts was given to a child's godparents upon his/her baptism.<sup>268</sup> It seems particularly apropos that these texts should be included on samplers because of the way Anglicans embraced the relationship between Christ and "the Word". Anglicans considered words, whether read, heard, or simply seen, as vested with sacred power and sacred presence.<sup>269</sup> I suggest that the relationship between Christ and the Word would be

---

<sup>267</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 91, 128.

<sup>268</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 185.

<sup>269</sup> Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 162.

especially profound when stitched. The physical act of stitching would certainly have reinforced a young girl's assimilation of these foundational texts, as well as possibly an aid to memorizing them in the process.

Elizabeth's sampler provides the only evidence of a distinctly religious and denominational influence on low country samplers and female education. The conclusion that her education was underwritten in some way by the Anglican Church seems prudent given the similarities between her sampler and the two worked in northern colonies at around the same time. That three samplers worked by Anglican girls in three different English colonies in the early eighteenth century all include the texts which shared prominence in church architecture suggests a commonality of influence to a surprising degree.

The fact that other low country samplers do not exhibit an overt denominational influence should not be taken to indicate that religion was not an important part of low country life, or that people there were non-believers. Research supports the conclusion that faith and salvation were in fact important to people in the low country; women often noted their concerns for the pious upbringing of their children and were remembered for their piety in eulogies. At least eight of the sixteen schoolmistresses who advertised were Anglican. Further, five of the seven sampler makers were from Anglican families, and Anglicanism had existed as the established religion of the colony since the early eighteenth century. I propose we don't see an overt influence of Anglicanism in the samplers because of the more limited focus on formal education for girls. The samplers were a part of a more abbreviated curriculum which did not focus on more elaborate

embroidery and verse selection as was the experience in Boston and Philadelphia.

Further, the chaotic nature of the relationship between public education and the Anglican Church seems to have led to a general disconnect between education and denominational religion. The colony valued and respected the Christian faith, and even embraced Anglicanism. But it did not expect that a particular faith would necessarily trump others, as long as they were of the Protestant belief system.

### Conclusion

Female education and the working of samplers in the early eighteenth century followed a different course in the low country when compared to Boston and Philadelphia. The relatively small number of samplers and the distinctly simple design conceit they exhibit illustrate that formal female education was a rather limited enterprise for the low country. Just as they seemed plain in design, low country samplers also tended to show little sign of denominational influence compared to Boston and Philadelphia samplers which in complex ways exemplified Puritanism and Quakerism.

Eight samplers were analyzed for this study of colonial low country samplers. Their design conceit can be generally described as rather routine when compared to the lively samplers worked at the same time in Boston and Philadelphia. Bands of text worked in unremarkable colors dominated their designs and they included very little of what would be considered decorative motifs. My analysis of this collection of samplers supports the conclusion that low country girls experienced their education differently from girls in the north. The different culture in the south (a relatively small, geographically dispersed population, a small and tight circle of elite, and a great deal of

wealth held by whites in a largely slave population) led to a different goal for female education as well as a different method and focus of teaching in order to accomplish that goal. What was in reality a pragmatic approach to female education has been wrongly characterized as “limited” by many historians. The pragmatic nature of early female education evolved because teachers and parents needed to accommodate two cultural realities: the relatively small number of girls needing to be educated did not live in close proximity to each other and the adult role of those girls (that of a planter’s wife) required a great deal of informal, family training. These two considerations greatly affected low country female education in terms of the main focus of their education as well as the settings in which they were taught.

In Boston and Philadelphia in the eighteenth century, girls’ schools were a much more formal affair than they were in the low country. They were conducted by a teacher who generally maintained a single school location and students would attend the school at regular hours for a specific period of time. School terms most likely began with a teacher sharing with her students the design of the sampler they would be working on for that year’s term.<sup>270</sup> The students’ task for the term would be to stitch a sampler relying on the teacher’s example as a model. The teacher’s task for the term would be to guide them along the way, teaching them stitches, providing specifically selected threads, and showing them where to place the bands and motifs which made up the sampler design. Particular stitches and colors were intended for the specific bands and motifs which made up the sampler. Students were accorded some personal choices in where they put sampler

---

<sup>270</sup> Schools did not necessarily run for entire years at a time, and all students did not attend for an entire period a teacher kept her school. I use the term term for purposes of simplicity.

elements and which colors they used for them, but the samplers were expected to essentially follow the design which had been created by the teacher. The students would also have some part in the selection of the verse they would stitch on their samplers. In selecting a verse, they most likely reviewed books such as Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue* and Mary Mollineux's *Fruits of Retirement*, books which were either a part of the teacher's library or had been shared with the school by a student's family. One of the roles of the teacher would have been to approve the verse or verses selected by the student. Another role of the teacher would have been to provide hands-on instruction regarding stitch selection and technique, as well as close guidance regarding placement of bands and motifs.

The teacher would have monitored the progress of the samplers as the school term progressed. Her job was to make sure certain stitches were used for certain parts of the sampler and that those parts of the sampler were placed appropriately on the sampler. For example, pictorial-type imagery would need to be centered and the elements of the imagery (like a girl walking a dog) would need to be created of proportionate sizes. For text bands, the teacher would guide the student in terms of which word or letter should end the band as well as how to use filler motifs (for example the pine trees on the Philadelphia samplers) to complete each band. The teacher would also instruct the student how to work borders - how the corners needed to be worked in order to create a continuation of the band pattern. For stitch execution, the teacher would make sure the students began and ended each thread correctly, executed the working of each stitch properly, and changed colors according to the master design.

I propose that the process of teaching a sampler in the low country generally followed a different model. Advertising suggests some teachers clearly intended to maintain a single school location with students attending classes at regular hours for specific periods of time. Material evidence supports the conclusion, however, that that northern model was not sustainable in the low country. Instead, four teaching environments were necessary in order to reach as many students as possible.

Schoolmistresses taught on individual plantations, through local churches, in private schools in the city, or as itinerant teachers moving between locations. The samplers taught in these settings tended to be simpler, a reality that was practical for both teacher and student: materials and hands-on guidance were kept to a relative minimum. More or less time and money could be incorporated into a sampler if the situation provided.

After the first stage of a girl's education was accomplished (as evidenced by the samplers), the education of low country daughters would have shifted focus to social skills such as dancing and music, and then to more practical skills such as how to run and manage a plantation. I have previously described the first stage of their education as abbreviated. Because the involvement of women was considered critical to the success of low country plantation, I also suggest the focus of female education was geared to maximize their preparation for their probable adult role as a male surrogate. Carolina planter society placed a great deal of trust in the abilities of adult women, from managing the household and child rearing, to safeguarding the moral fabric of the planter elite, to estate administration and plantation management. Women were entrusted with tasks vital

to the success of the colony.<sup>271</sup> While material evidence of their success in the first stage of their education exists through a limited number of samplers, evidence of their success as competent, responsible managers of home and plantation is documented in history. Their samplers may be considered unremarkable, but their mark on history as keepers of low country culture was anything but unremarkable.

---

<sup>271</sup> Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 125.

## Epilogue

Beginning at least by the sixteenth century in England, gentlewomen had adopted needlework as a sign and practice of virtue. Further, women collectively interpreted good stitchery as documentation of dexterous embroidery, quick understanding, and aesthetic intelligence.<sup>272</sup> By the middle of the seventeenth century, English gentlewomen had embraced these characteristics of embroidery as an important component of the education of young girls in the form of schoolgirl samplers. The samplers worked under the tutelage of schoolmistresses in boarding schools and governesses in private homes throughout the seventeenth century evolved into public documents (in contrast to private records of patterns and stitches) certifying the sampler makers as exemplars of their sex. Further, sampler design began to incorporate recognizable elements of advanced learning such as more than one alphabet (each worked in different stitches), religious and political imagery, and pious and moral verses commonly used for writing exercises. Later in the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, samplers also started to consistently include the personal identity of the maker. These later samplers functioned like worked texts recording both the mastering of embroidery skill and more advanced intellectual exposure to writing, religion, and the meaning of allegorical imagery.

The concept of embroidery as a proof of the inculcation of virtue was embraced in colonial America as well as early modern England. English settlers in America continued to embroider and make samplers in a fashion so consistent with the English predecessors

---

<sup>272</sup> Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 145-171.



that seventeenth-century American samplers are virtually indistinguishable from seventeenth-century English samplers. Although the tradition and overall design moved intact to the new world, American samplers quickly developed distinct regional styles recognizable by the early eighteenth century. The fact that there was such a seamless continuity from the English to the American sampler-making traditions is the most likely explanation for the lack of scholarship on the subject of demonstrative virtue with respect to American samplers. Scholars like Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, however, have extended the analysis of American embroidery, including samplers, to explore the relationship between material objects and influence and meaning such as the rhetorical and discursive potential of needlework, the female custodianship of embroidery, relationships surrounding the creative process of making objects, and the personal and political relationships evident through imagery and text.<sup>273</sup>

A close examination of the samplers in this study provides a new, and hitherto unexplored, understanding of the function of samplers in the schoolroom with respect to the influence and meaning of their designs and texts. As cultural objects of scholarly inquiry, the samplers reveal several layers of influence and meaning: as an educational tool they demonstrate religious, social, and technical training; as a religious exemplar they signify the piety of the stitcher and teacher, and the religious heritage of the region; as an object of display they provide evidence of elite status. As a part of the formal process of colonial female education, the samplers functioned as a training mechanism

---

<sup>273</sup> Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001). See also Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, eds., *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework & Textiles, 1750-1950*. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009). This work covers a wide range of objects and brings the analysis of them into the twentieth century.

for passing on particular attributes valued as educationally pertinent and culturally acceptable; they also functioned as a venue where the community expressed a balance between intellectual learning and the suitability of such a secondary education for females. Because higher education for females was restricted to those who could afford it, the samplers in this study represent each community's effort to prepare elite girls for their role as adult women.

The samplers in this study were part of a schoolgirl curriculum; they were the instructional tool of a schoolmistress who created the overall design and oversaw their production. Schoolmistresses leveraged the space available in a sampler to provide imagery in support of the content of their daily lessons. Embroidery skill was obviously an important part of the exercise of working a sampler. Domestic needlework remained an important part of the realm of an adult woman's expected skill set in the eighteenth century. That specific content had been selected so as to combine the practicing of embroidery stitches with the inculcation of other lessons being taught is a less obvious implication uncovered through this scholarly inquiry. In the schoolroom setting, stitching was called upon to reinforce the high points of book and oral learning. Naturally, teachers also assimilated the cultural norms of their communities into their curriculums, thus utilizing images and verses familiar and relevant (and non-controversial) to all who participated in any way in the creation and observation of the final embroidered product.

The colonial American samplers which are a focus of this study exhibit distinct design and influence characteristics depending upon where they were worked. Boston samplers look different from Philadelphia samplers, and they both look different from

South Carolina low country samplers. All of the samplers reflect the heavy influence of the seventeenth-century English sampler making tradition: they are all band samplers comprised of consecutive design bands, some of which were purely design and some of which were alphabets and extracted verses. In some cases, a disproportionately large band was used to work some form of pictorial imagery. The differences in design conceit among the samplers has a significant amount to do with the religious heritage of each region.

Chapters Two through Four focused in detail on the ways in which religion influenced the content of schoolgirl samplers. Eighteenth-century Boston, strongly influenced by its Puritan heritage, embraced the teaching of the importance of individual salvation. This tenet is evident in the Boston samplers through both imagery (Adam and Eve, the Spies of Canaan) and sampler verse. Likewise, the Philadelphia Quaker community valued individual expressions of faith through verse, particularly when the source was a seventeenth-century Quaker female poet. Finally, Charleston's elite community preferred an education for their daughters which focused on social stability and protection of class rather than a religiously-potent curriculum. Each community was comfortable and familiar with the content and format of the curriculum offered by schoolmistresses as well as the samplers they designed and taught. The samplers, however, were more reflective of the community than they were of the individual schoolmistresses.

Boston, Philadelphia, and the South Carolina low country were communities with distinct cultures in the early eighteenth century. A significant contribution to that

distinctive culture was the foundational religion of each region. Other factors leading to regional cultural differences included the type and success of their economies and the ways in which people physically lived within their communities. Education, an important institution for the transference of culture, was, not surprisingly, also distinctive from region to region. The samplers worked by schoolgirls in the early eighteenth century were the product of three different cultures; they were reflective of those cultures and thus illustrate ways in which the communities differed.

While the foundational religion of each region was apparent in some way for each group of samplers, an overt emphasis on doctrine was lacking from that influence. For example, the image of Adam and Eve was absent in over half of the Boston samplers, suggesting that the power of emblem was not universally important, or at least that it was optional. Further, none of the Boston sampler verses either conveyed or were extracted from a distinctively Puritan doctrine. Correspondingly, while the Philadelphia sampler verses covered a wide range of topics, which I conclude supported the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, none of the verses specifically referred to this central tenet of the faith.

The lack of an emphasis on denominational-specific doctrine on all the samplers was ultimately the result of a recognition of education as fundamental to the preservation of culture and community. Expanding religious diversity in the communities led to an awareness that the foundational tenets could be just that, foundational, but they were no longer the primary markers for a community as it evolved. Certainly in Boston, the interaction among the various faiths and the shifting spiritual allegiances made it impractical to base private educational offerings on controversial or changing doctrinal

beliefs. In Philadelphia, where Quakerism was no longer the faith of the majority by 1740, schoolmistresses would have recognized the value in providing an education which welcomed people from other faiths rather than excluded them. Thus, the influence of the foundational faith continued to be present and even important, but a distinctly doctrinal emphasis was not a primary criterion for female education.<sup>274</sup>

While the influence of foundational religious tenets were present in Boston and Philadelphia samplers, the tenets of Anglicanism were difficult to tease out of the samplers worked in the South Carolina low country. The attachment to religion in this region, as previously noted, was less fervent than in the other regions. The less than zealous commitment to a specific religion can be traced to the fact that the majority of the original settlers were nominal Anglicans to begin with. Adding to the existing, rather casual, approach to religion, people of many other faiths frequently converted to Anglicanism for purposes of business and political convenience. Further, a distinct social culture had not been created around the Anglican faith, either in England or America. It was the faith from which other English religions, Puritans and Quakers for example, dissented. Dissenting religions usually react in opposition to the established faith by creating distinct cultural traits, thereby nurturing their own community identity. The absence of distinct cultural (faith-based) identity of the low country was reflected in the samplers through their design: they did not include emblematic imagery, and the texts were either from the standard Anglican liturgy or generic English schoolbooks.

---

<sup>274</sup> Because Quakerism had a tradition of emphasizing the personal aspect of the Inner Light, strict adherence to doctrine was not central aspect of the faith.

All three regions considered the education of their youth important to the success of their colonies, but the widespread establishment of early schools was much more successful in the northern colonies than it was in the southern colonies. Both the earliest sampler and the first advertisement of a schoolmistress were from Boston. These first indications of early female education are consistent with the broadly accepted conclusion that New England had a strong and rich history of public and private support for education by the early eighteenth century. Further evidence that New England embraced female education from the earliest years of its settlement is provided by the almost twenty extant seventeenth-century samplers attributed to the region. There are no extant seventeenth-century samplers from any other American colony.

Like Boston, colonial Philadelphia also considered education an important civic responsibility. Contemporary advertisements and samplers suggest that their intentions for educating girls as well as boys were attended to in as timely a manner as they were in Boston. The earliest Philadelphia sampler was worked in 1725 and the first advertisement of a schoolmistress was placed in 1738. Although the first sampler is dated approximately forty years after the original settlement of the region, the sampler-making tradition remained consistently strong after that date, suggesting a solid public support of female education which may have originated earlier.

The organization and intensity of educational efforts for girls in the low country was more erratic than it was in the north. While the first Charleston sampler was dated 1729, the school where it was worked did not apparently establish a strong trend as the next sampler was not worked until fourteen years later in 1743. Samplers provide the

primary physical evidence of formal, secondary female education and only three samplers have been found from the low country between 1729 and 1757. This is compared to 44 samplers from Boston and 20 from Philadelphia during the same period. Contemporary newspaper advertisements in the low country, however, suggest that the reason for the dearth of samplers was not due to a lack of women interested in teaching. At least sixteen women advertised their schools between 1734 and 1757, and they all noted embroidery as a subject they offered. So while there was an interest in teaching school-age girls in the low country, corresponding evidence of their activity in the form of embroideries worked at such schools has not been discovered.

An important consideration for the degree of concentration of enduring schoolmistresses is the way in which the regions created their communities. Boston and Philadelphia were the primary settlements in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. They were relatively large cities where the majority of business and government were transacted and most of the community's elite lived. Schoolmistresses conducted their schools in these cities and their students either lived in the city or came from neighboring communities. Boston was large and compact enough to support at least five successful schools during the first half of the eighteenth century. In Philadelphia, Elizabeth Marsh consistently operated her school during the first half of the eighteenth century. Both cities experienced a consistent growth in female educational activity and an impressive increase in the number of samplers worked by schoolgirls.

Evidence provided by the low country samplers, however, suggests a very different situation was presented to women intending to teach girls in that region. Mary

Hext, the most likely teacher for the earliest two Charleston samplers, advertised in Charleston three times between 1740 and 1743. It appears that she only taught when she needed the money to support her children because she did not advertise after her second marriage in 1743. Schoolmistresses in the low country were presented with a challenge when it came to establishing schools which could operate successfully for long periods of time because prospective students often moved between their family plantation and their Charleston townhouse, or lived only on the family's plantation, not visiting town long enough to attend school there. Thus, female schools in the low country were necessarily a less organized, more temporary affair than they were in the north.

There was, however, some consistency between regions in terms of texts upon which education was based. The publications were of a limited variety and generally imported, but they were available throughout the American colonies. A popular text in Boston for the teaching of reading, *The New England Primer*, was printed in Boston beginning in the late seventeenth century. *The New England Primer* was widely used in both New England and Philadelphia during the eighteenth century. English primers were also advertised through booksellers in both Philadelphia and Charleston, and the founder of Quakerism, George Fox, published a Quaker primer in 1670. This primer was both imported and reprinted in colonial America for use by colonial school teachers.<sup>275</sup> Other early textbooks generally combined arithmetic, writing, and increasingly penmanship during the eighteenth century. Copies of English cleric Thomas Dilworth's *A New Guide to the English Tongue* were first published in the 1740s. Like the majority of eighteenth-

---

<sup>275</sup> I did not find any evidence of a southern primer. It is likely that the *Book of Common Prayer* could have functioned as a primer for educational purposes.



century schoolbooks, this speller combined spelling with religious and moral precepts by providing verses of various lengths for the students to copy. This publication was imported and reprinted in America during the eighteenth century.<sup>276</sup>

The samplers worked in Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston included verses from a number of sources, but they commonly pulled from two imported English schoolbooks: Thomas Dyche's *A Guide to the English Tongue* (1727) and Edward Young's *The Compleat English Scholar* (1710). These books provided rules for spelling and pronunciation and were heavily weighted with religious emphasis in that many lesson related to scripture and included prayers and extracts from scripture as part of their methods of study. Dyche's schoolbook included five pages of verses, all moral in nature, for the purpose of practicing writing. The sampler verses traced to this schoolbook were all extracted from the section of verses intended to practice the skill of writing. In addition to the schoolbooks of Dyche and Young, the most common sources for sampler verses were the Bible, Francis Quarles' seventeenth-century emblem book, and Mary Mollineux's seventeenth-century collection of poems.

Morally prescriptive verses were commonly employed for educational purposes throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were not isolated to usage on schoolgirl samplers. Beginning in the seventeenth century, verses were thought of as a pleasing way to teach religious and moral lessons; they were easy to remember and easy to copy. As previously mentioned, copybooks provided verses for students to copy as writing lessons. Verses were also a frequent entry in commonplace books, which were

---

<sup>276</sup> Sheldon S. Cohen, *A History of Colonial Education, 1607-1776*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974), 97.

used during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both at school or at home as a place to record personally relevant thoughts. Those kept over long periods of time included, in addition to verses like those stitched on samplers, names of friends with personal sentiments attached, longer extracts from popular literature, recipes, herbal remedies, and even drawings of nature.

Verses were also commonly used as a decorative element on dishes and cooking vessels. Some porringers included sampler-like verses on their handles: “thy wages of sin is death” and “love thy neighbor” were two such verses.<sup>277</sup> A further example of how verses were used as decorative elements in the domestic sphere was their inclusion as decoration on trenchers and plates. The tradition started in the sixteenth century; verses or epigrams were painted on the bottom of trenchers which were turned over so the verses could be read aloud at the conclusion of the meal. By the mid-1600s the verses were extracted from biblical stories and well-known oral rhymes and fables such as those of Aesop. The verses were seen as a means of preserving culture while providing a standard form of entertainment.<sup>278</sup>

The wide-ranging array of 69 samplers gathered for this study are a testimony to the strength of the sampler-making tradition in colonial America. My close study of their design conceit, the backgrounds of the girls who worked them, and the sensibilities of the communities in which they were made illustrate the many influences which were woven

---

<sup>277</sup> Sara Pennell, “‘Pots and Pans History’: The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1998), 215.

<sup>278</sup> Mary Anne Caton, “Tables and fruit-trenchers teach as much: English banqueting trenchers, c. 1585-1662,” *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 169, No. 6 (June, 2006), 114-115

into their creation. Analyzed either individually or as a group, the samplers present an opportunity to study religion, education, and culture of early eighteenth-century America.

This study has shown one way in which samplers are worthy of consideration beyond the blanket category of female accomplishment. Similar inquiries into seventeenth-century samplers and later eighteenth and nineteenth-century samplers would also prove valuable, particularly on a comparative basis. Broadening the scope of inquiry, as I have done, can provide a more clear picture of the history of female education - as well as how it was interlaced with social, political, and business relationships. While the early eighteenth century was particularly rich with denominational religious influence in America, as the century progressed religious diversity continued to expand, regional cultures continued to evolve, and the growing population relocated along the eastern seaboard as it also expanded into the frontier. The tradition of schoolgirl samplers remained a constant through these changes into the middle of the nineteenth century. A productive next step in this research would be to link this work, as well as future work done in this fashion, with studies of the revolutionary and federal periods.

A further application of this research would be to combine it with the work of gender historians to provide an added dimension to that already rich field of study.<sup>279</sup> The majority of scholars of women's history focus almost exclusively on the role and experiences of adult women. The incorporation of sampler research into this area of

---

<sup>279</sup> Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800*. (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1980).

study would compliment existing and future work because samplers demonstrate the *ideal* for which girls were being trained. How this ideal varied over time from the actual experience of adult women would be one way in which to weave sampler research with gendered studies. Research addressing the changes in sampler design and content combined with a study of how the respective influences changed would add greatly to our understanding of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century female education. Because female education was chartered with the explicit purpose of preparation for womanhood, it is a window through which changing female roles can be explored. Again, this type of analysis would prove particularly rich when performed on a regional and comparative basis.



Appendix A  
Boston Samplers - Family Characteristics

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Subgroup One</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>
Do(a)ne, M./1724	born to John and Abiah Callendar March 20, 1715 Father was distiller and gentleman, held town office	9	Cowley
AP/1727	Grandfather Ellis Callendar was pastor of First Baptist Church in 1708 newly discovered with 2011 exhibit		
Butler, M./1729	born to Mathew and Sarah Aster January 20, 1717, Ipswich, Essex Father was a shipwright, held town office	12	Jenkins
Peartree, A./1734	no family information other than her mother kept a tavern and sold hard drink		
Abigail Poole/1737	newly discovered with 2011 exhibit	9	
Hart, L./1744	probably born to Aron and Tabatha, 1736, Lynn, MA	11	Hasey
Owen, R./1745	Newly discovered with 2011 exhibit		
	<u>Subgroup Two</u>		
Rogers, R./1739	born to Ichabod and (H)Anna September 29, 1726 Father was a housewright, Clerk of Market along with Solomon Kneeland	13	
Deavenport, M./1741	probably Meriah Davenport Born to John and Mary Bent November 13, 1735, Canton, MA	12	Fenno
Parker, M/1741	born to Caleb and Mary Adams March 7, 1728 Father was a blacksmith	13	
Mansfield, M./1744	born to Daniel and Joanna Burrage July 24, 1728, from Lynn, MA Newly discovered with 2011 exhibit	15	Sheldon
Sweetser, E./1745	born to John and Martha Green Sweetser in 1732 Benjamin Sweetser (her great-grandfather) was a Baptist minister He married Abigail Wigglesworth (Puritan) She was the daughter of Edward, who was the brother of Michael (Orthodox minister)	13	Baldwin (or Gould)
Dowrick, M./1747	born to William and Martha Goodwin May 23, 1733 Father was mariner and shopkeeper	14	
Emmons, M./1749	born to Jacob and Mary Williams October 19, 1736 Father was a painter/paintstainer and gentleman, held town office, artillery company	13	

Appendix A  
Boston Samplers - Family Characteristics

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>		<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>
	<u>Subgroup Three - no shared design elements</u>		
Silsby, S./1748	have not found this girl	10	
Breck, E./1750	born to John and Margaret Thomas May 1, 1737 Father was a cooper, retailer	13	Treat
Bradstreet, E./1754	born to Samuel and Sarah Foster 1741 Father was a merchant Great granddaughter of first governor Simon Bradstreet	11 or 12	

Appendix B  
Boston Samplers - Family Characteristics

NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Subgroup One</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>
Hutchinson, L./1730	born to Thomas, Esq. And Sarah Hutchinson Foster May 30, 1717 Father was a merchant mariner	13	Rogers
Hart, L./1731	born to Elias and Lydia Ingersoll Hart September 12, 1719	12	
Dickman, L./1735	born to Isaac and Hannah about 1722 Father was a blockmaker	13	Shaw
Mountfort, H./1736	born to Jonathan & Hannah Nichols Father was a merchant newly discovered with 2011 exhibit		
Pinckney, F./1736	born to John and Elizabeth Gretian September 22, 1726 Father was a shopkeeper	10	Gore
Simpkins, E./1736	Her son was governor Christopher Gore born to William and Elizabeth Simms January 7, 1726	10	
Holland, E./1737	Father was a goldsmith, artillery company born to Samuel and Elizabeth June 26, 1725	12	Gyles
Holland, M./1737	Father was a joiner, gentleman, and church Deacon born to Samuel and Elizabeth January 15, 1727	10	Browne
Hill, S./1737	Father was a joiner, gentleman, and church Deacon born to John and Elizabeth Haile Hill April 9, 1726 Father was a merchant, lived on North End newly discovered with 2011 exhibit	11	
Baker, H./1737	born to John and Mary Sale July 19, 1725 Father was a blacksmith, held town office, was a Selectman	12	Stevens
Pinckney, M./1742	born to John and Elizabeth Gretian March 7, 1729 Father was a shopkeeper	13	Gay



Appendix B  
Boston Samplers - Family Characteristics

NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Subgroup Two</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>
Keyes, L./1737	born to Gersham and Sarah Eager August 18, 1723 Father was a merchant newly discovered with the 2011 exhibit	14	
Palfrey, M./1739	born to William and Abigail Briscoe November 12, 1725 Father was a sail maker, held town office, clerk of market	14	Cunningham
Wing, A./1739	born to Cord and Sarah Dinely January 17, 1716 Father was a shipwright and constable Grandfather was one of 29 who founded the Third (Old South) Church in 1669	13	
Kneeland, L./1741	born to Solomon and Lydia Lowder Kneeland March 18, 1727/8 Father was a wealthy Boston merchant, held town office newly discovered with 2011 exhibit	13	Richardson
Decoster, M./1749	Exhibit information indicates father was a mason		

Appendix B  
Boston Samplers - Family Characteristics

NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Subgroup Three</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>
Storer, H./1747	born to Ebenezer and Mary Edwards Storer, 5/22/1737 Father was a merchant, shopkeeper, held town office, artillery company	10	Green
Church, H./1747	born to Benjamin and Hannah Dyer in 1732 Father was merchant gentleman, held town office, artillery company	14	Weld
Lowell, S./1750	born to Ebenezer and Mary Reed, April 10, 1738 Father was a shopkeeper	12	Blanchard
Erving, S./1750	born to John and Abigail Phillips Erving, June 8, 1737 Father was a merchant mariner	13	Waldo

Appendix B  
Boston Samplers - Family Characteristics  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Subgroup</u>	<u>Four-no shared design elements</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Married</u>
Russell, E./1719	born to Thomas and Ann Davenport July 7, 1709		9	
Dobson, M./1733	could not find			
Cheever, E./1736	born to Ezekiel and Elizabeth Jenner in 1724		12	Henley, Esq.
	She was the granddaughter of famous schoolmaster Ezekiel Cheever			
Trecothick, H./1738	born to Mark and Hannah December 2, 1724		14	Ivers
Fleet, M./1743	Episcoplians, father was an English mariner probably born to Thomas and Elizabeth in 1729 (name is Mercy)		14	
	Thomas and John Fleet were printers for Jeremy Condry			
Bliss, P./1749	(marking sampler)		8	Ripley
	born to Reverend Daniel and Phebe Bliss October, 1741			
Byles, A./1757	born to Josiah Byles, Jr. And Sara November 21, 1745		12	Sumner
	Father was a Baptist deacon in Condry's church			
	He was a successful shop owner, his first wife was Abigail Callendar			
	Her father's mother was Increase Mather's daughter-so this was her grandmother			

Appendix C  
Boston Sampler Common Elements

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>	<u>Boston band</u>	<u>Animals</u>	<u>Verse Number</u>
<u>Subgroup One</u>				
Do(a)ne, M./1724*	3A	no	yes, w/ sun & moon	1
has Boston sideways band				
AP/1727	no	no	yes	no
Butler, M./1729*	2	no	yes, w/sun & moon	1
has the 3 bands at the top and odd floral bands which appear on E. Simpkins and F. Pinckney (non-Adam and Eve group)				
Peartree, A./1734	no	yes	yes, w/sun & moon	no, name and date only
Poole, A./1737	3A	yes	yes	1
Hart, L./1744	no	no	yes	2
Owen, R./1745	1	yes	rabbit, frog, flora	2

\* - almost identical

For the alphabet column the number represents how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter “A” indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was commonly the case for seventeenth-century English samplers)

Appendix C  
Boston Sampler Common Elements  
ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>	<u>Boston band</u>	<u>Animals</u>	<u>Verse Number</u>
<u>Subgroup Two</u>				
Rogers, R./1739@	3A	yes	some	personalization beside Adam and Eve
has triangle with eyelets band, zig zag with I, and zig zag with I in eyelet (from non-Adam and Eve group)				
Deavenport, M./1741	2A	yes	some	personalization beside Adam and Eve
has triangle with eyelets band, zig zag with I in eyelet (from non-Adam and Eve group)				
Parker, M./1741	3A	yes	some	personalization
has triangle with eyelets band, zig zag with I in eyelet (from non-Adam and Eve group)				
Mansfield, M./1744	3A	yes	duck only	personalization beside Adam and Eve
has triangle with eyelets band, and zig zag with I, zig zag with I in eyelet, (from non-Adam and Eve group)				
Sweetser, E./1745	3A	yes	some	personalization at bottom
has zig zag with I, zig zag with I in eyelet (from non-Adam and Eve group)				
Dowrick, M./1747@	3A	yes	some	personalization beside Adam and Eve
has triangle with eyelets band, zig zag with I, zig zag with I in eyelet, and 2 of the 3 bands at the top (└)				
Emmons, M./1749	3A	yes	yes	verse 3 & personalization at middle
has triangle with eyelets band and Boston sideways band (from non-Adam and Eve group)				

@ - almost identical

For the alphabet column the number represents how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter “A” indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was commonly the case for seventeenth-century English samplers)

Appendix C  
Boston Sampler Common Elements

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>	<u>Boston band</u>	<u>Animals</u>	<u>Verse</u>
<u>Subgroup Three</u>				
Silsby, S./1748	no	no	yes, w/sun & moon	5
Breck, E./1750	3A	no	different animals	no
has several bands from non-Adam and Eve group: zig zag with I, cloverleaf-like band, large zig zag with I in eyelet				
Bradstreet, S./1754	no	no	different animals	4

For the alphabet column the number represents how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter “A” indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was commonly the case for seventeenth-century English samplers).

Appendix C  
Boston Sampler Common Elements

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

Sampler Verses

1. \_\_\_\_ is my name and with my needle I wrought the same but if my skill it had been better I would have mended every letter
2. Adam and Eve in Paradise that was their pedigree that had a grant never to die would they obedient be (See B&C, pg. 298)-can't find the source for this
3. Behold alas our days we spend how vain they be how soon they end
4. Adam and Eve whilst innocent in Paradise were placed but soon the serpent by his wiles the happy pair disgraced (See B&C, 303)-can't find the source for this
5. \_\_\_\_ is my name I belong to the English nation Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation When I am dead and laid in grave and all my bones are rotten when this you see remember me and never let me be forgotten
6. \_\_\_\_ is my name and England is my nation and Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation
7. One did command me to a wife both fair and young - who had French Spanish and Italian tongue - I thankd him kindly and told him I loved none such - for I thought one tongue for a wife too much - what love ye not the learned Yes as my life - a learned scholar but not a learned wife - could not find the source of this verse
8. O may my humble spirit stand amongst them clothd in white - the meriest place at his right hand is infinite delight
9. Next unto God dear parents I address myself; to you in Humble thankfulness; for all your care and charge on me bestowed; the means of learning unto me allowed; go on I pray and let me still persue; these golden arts the vulgar never knew  
(from *The Young Man's Companion*, William Mather, London, 1727; postscript for recommended letter to parents)
10. When land is gone and money spent - then learning is Most excellent (earliest source is Samuel Foote, *Taste*, A Comedy in Two Acts: merely described as a maxim: "as the old saying goes (referring here to a son) when house and land are gone and spent, then learning is most excellent" ..too much money can not be employed in so material an article...)

Appendix C  
Boston Sampler Common Elements

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

Sampler Verses, cont'd

11. O May I always ready stand with my lamp/steady in my hand May I in sight of heaven rejoice whence I hear the bridegrooms voice (See Bolton & Coe, 317. From Thomas Ken, *Midnight Hymn*, verse 6 *A Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymn*. By the author of the *Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars*. 1723, London See also English translation of Erasmus' *A Devout Christian's preparative to death*. To which are added meditations, prayers, and directions for dying persons. By Robert Warren, 1710: "Grant that I may be provided with Oil in my lamp, and ready to enter in with the wise Virgins, whensoever the Bridegroom shall come..." as an evening prayer. Page 183)
12. O God, the protector of all that trust in thee witho/ut whom nothing is strong nothing is holy, Increase/and multiply upon us thy mercy that thou being our ru/ler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not the things eternal.  
Grant this/O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ sake our Lord (from *The Book of Common Prayer*; Church of England, prayer for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity.)
13. In Prosperity Friends will be plenty, but in Adversity Not one in Twenty-this is an old proverbial saying (from *Gnomologia* "Adagies and proverbs, wise sentences, and witty sayings, ancient and modern, foreign and British, collected by Thomas Foote, M. D., Dublin, 1733; saying #6394, page 289 See also: *A compleat collection of English Proverbs; also the most celebrated proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish and other languages* by John Ray, 1737, page 9)
14. When I was young I little thought that wit must be so dearly bought but now experience tells me how if I will thrive then I must bend and bow unto another will so that I might learn both art and skill to get my living with my hands so that I might be free from all such slavery which comes for want of housewifery (This verse is very old. It was also on the Quaker Shacklewell sampler dated 1684.)



Appendix D  
Boston Sampler Common Elements

NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>	<u>Boston Band</u>	<u>3 bands at top</u>	<u>Sideways Boston</u>	<u>Triangle Eyelet Triangle</u>	<u>Zig-Zag with "I"</u>	<u>"I" Zig-Zag in Eyelet</u>	<u>Verse</u>
<u>Subgroup One</u>								
Hutchinson, L./1730	2A		*					1
Hart, L./1731	2	*	*	*		*		1
Dickman, L./1735	2		✓					6
Mountfort, H./1736	2A	*	*			*		1
Pinckney, F./1736	3A	*		*				1
Same animals from Adam & Eve Subgroup One								
Simpkins, E./1736	3A	*		*				1
Same animals from Adam & Eve Subgroup One								
Holland, E./1737	3A		☑	*	*			5
Holland, M./1737	3A		☑	*	*			5
Hill, S./1737	3A	*			*	*	*	personalization beside tree
Identical to Adam & Eve Subgroup One except for vases where Adam & Eve were								
Baker, H./1737	3A	*			*	*	*	personalization beside tree
Identical to Adam & Eve Subgroup One except for vases where Adam & Eve were								
Pinckney, M./1742	2A		*		*	*		1, 8

✓ Lydia Dickman has all three bands, but in a different order

☑ both Holland samplers have only the Greek key and flowers bands, missing circle band

Numbers in the alphabet column represent how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter "A" indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was common on seventeenth-century English samplers).

NOTE: There were several samplers in the Adam and Eve group which shared some of the common elements in this chart. Refer to notations for such samplers in Appendix C.

Appendix D  
Boston Sampler Common Elements  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>	<u>Subgroup Two</u>	<u>Verse</u>
Keyes, L./1737	no	Palfrey floral	14-learning
Palfrey, M./1739	1	Palfrey floral	5,7-learning Name, Boston, salvation, death
Wing, A./1739	1	Palfrey floral	5,7-learning Name, Boston, salvation, death
Kneeland, L./1741	no	Palfrey floral	5,7-learning Name, Boston, salvation, death
Decoster, M./1749	no	Palfrey floral	5,7-learning Name, Boston, salvation, death

Numbers in the alphabet column represent how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter “A” indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was common on seventeenth-century English samplers).

Appendix D  
Boston Sampler Common Elements  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>		<u>Verse</u>
<u>Subgroup Three</u>			
Storer, H./1747	1	grape border, large floral band, Spies of Canaan	3,13
Church, H./1747	2	grape border, Spies of Canaan	9, 12
Lowell, S./1750	1	grape border, large floral band, Spies of Canaan	9
Erving, S./1750	no	large floral band, Spies of Canaan	no

Numbers in the alphabet column represent how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter “A” indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was common on seventeenth-century English samplers).

Appendix D  
 Boston Sampler Common Elements  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alph.</u>	<u>Boston Band</u>	<u>Boston Band sideways</u>	<u>Verse</u>
<u>Subgroup Four-Non-no shared design elements</u>				
Russell, E./1719	3		*	no
Dobson, M./1733	2A	*		several
Cheever, E./1736	2			no
Trecothick, H./1738				prayer, creed
Fleet, M./1743	1	*		10, 3 learning, death
Bliss, P./1749	4		(marking sampler)	no
Byles, A./1757	2			11, prayer

Numbers in the alphabet column represent how many alphabets were worked on the sampler, the presence of the letter “A” indicates one of the alphabets was worked in eyelet stitch (which was common on seventeenth-century English samplers).

Appendix D  
Boston Sampler Common Elements  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

Boston Sampler Verses

1. \_\_\_\_ is my name and with my needle I wrought the same but if my skill it had been better I would have mended every letter
2. Adam and Eve in Paradise that was their pedigree that had a grant never to die would they obedient be (See B&C, pg. 298)-can't find the source for this
3. Behold alas our days we spend how vain they be how soon they end
4. Adam and Eve whilst innocent in Paradise were placed but soon the serpent by his wiles the happy pair disgraced (See B&C, 303)-can't find the source for this
5. \_\_\_\_ is my name I belong to the English nation Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation When I am dead and laid in grave and all my bones are rotten when this you see remember me and never let me be forgotten
6. \_\_\_\_ is my name and England is my nation and Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation
7. One did command me to a wife both fair and young - who had French Spanish and Italian tongue - I thankd him kindly and told him I loved none such - for I thought one tongue for a wife too much - what love ye not the learned Yes as my life - a learned scholar but not a learned wife (I could not find the source of this verse)
8. O may my humble spirit stand amongst them clothd in white - the meriest place at his right hand is infinite delight (I could not source, but it is also on the grave of Othniel Taylor in Worcester Common, he died 7/29/1779)
9. Next unto God dear parents I address myself; to you in Humble thankfulness; for all your care and charge on me bestowed; the means of learning unto me allowed; go on I pray and let me still persue; these golden arts the vulgar never knew  
(from *The Young Man's Companion*, William Mather, London, 1727; postscript for recommended letter to parents)
10. When land is gone and money spent - then learning is Most excellent (The earliest source is Samuel Foote, *Taste*, A Comedy in Two Acts: merely described as a maxum: "as the old saying goes (referring here to a son) when house and land are gone and spent, then learning is most excellent" ..too much money can not be employed in so material an article...)

Appendix D  
Boston Sampler Common Elements  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

Sampler Verses, cont'd

11. O May I always ready stand with my lamp/steady in my hand May I in sight of heaven rejoice whence I hear the bridegrooms voice (See also Bolton & Coe, 317. From Thomas Ken, *Midnight Hymn*, verse 6 *A Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymn*. By the author of the *Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars*. 1723, London See also English translation of Erasmus' *A Devout Christian's preparative to death*. To which are added meditations, prayers, and directions for dying persons. By Robert Warren, 1710: "Grant that I may be provided with Oil in my lamp, and ready to enter in with the wise Virgins, whensoever the Bridegroom shall come..." as an evening prayer. Page 183)
12. O God, the protector of all that trust in thee witho/ut whom nothing is strong nothing is holy; Increase/and multiply upon us thy mercy that thou being our ru/ler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not the things eternal.  
Grant this/O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ sake our Lord (from *The Book of Common Prayer*; Church of England, prayer for the Fourth Sunday after Trinity.)
13. In Prosperity Friends will be plenty, but in Adversity Not one in Twenty-this is an old proverbial saying (from *Gnomologia* "Adagies and proverbs, wise sentences, and witty sayings, ancient and modern, foreign and British, collected by Thomas Foote, M. D., Dublin, 1733; saying #6394, page 289. See also: *A compleat collection of English Proverbs; also the most celebrated proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish and other languages* by John Ray, 1737, page 9)
14. When I was young I little thought that wit must be so dearly bought but now experience tells me how if I will thrive then I must bend and bow unto another will so that I might learn both art and skill to get my living with my hands so that I might be free from all such slavery which comes for want of housewifery (This verse is very old. It was also on the Quaker Shacklewell sampler dated 1684.)

## Appendix E

Detail of Boston Common Design Elements

Boston Band



3 Bands in Order at top of sampler



Sideways Boston Band



Triangle Eyelet Band



Triangle Band



Zig-Zag with "I" Band



Zig-Zag with "I" Band worked in eyelet stitch



Palfrey Band



Appendix F  
Community and Church Affiliations

ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Sampler</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>	<u>Church Affiliation</u>
<u>Subgroup One</u>		
Do(a)ne	gentleman	town office
AP		Baptist
Butler	shipwright	newly discovered with 2011 exhibit
Peartree	tavern/merchant	town office
Poole		2 <sup>nd</sup>
Hart		Anglican
Owen		newly discovered with 2011 exhibit
<u>Subgroup Two</u>		
Rogers	housewright	town office
Deavenport		1 <sup>st</sup>
Parker		5 <sup>th</sup>
Mansfield		newly discovered with 2011 exhibit
Sweetser	wigmaker	3 <sup>rd</sup>
Dowrick	mariner	2 <sup>nd</sup>
Emmons	painter/paintstainer	town office/artillery
		3 <sup>rd</sup>
<u>Subgroup Three - No shared design elements</u>		
Silsby, 1748		
Breck, 1750	cooper/retailer	2 <sup>nd</sup> ?
Bradstreet, 1754	merchant	Old Light?

Church Descriptions

- 1<sup>st</sup> Church and 2<sup>nd</sup> Church had similar approaches to clerical role and doctrine, neither church fully supported The Great Awakening. They were located in the North End.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Church was a very active church, evangelical in approach, supported The Great Awakening, considered a “model New Light Congregation” (Harper, *A People So Favored of God*, 94). This church was founded by congregants of 1<sup>st</sup> Church who were in favor of the Halfway Covenant and located in the South End.
- 4<sup>th</sup> Church was also an active, growing church, ministers had a predilection for society’s upper crust, it was founded by Boston’s educational and mercantile elite. The church is generally noted as having tended towards a more relaxed, less orthodox approach to Calvinism. In the eighteenth century the church was divided over the ecclesiastical implications of The Great Awakening. This church was located in the South End.
- 5<sup>th</sup> Church was established due to growth of 2<sup>nd</sup> Church, the church embraced The Great Awakening. This church was located in the North End.



Appendix F  
Community and Church Affiliations

6<sup>th</sup> Church embraced conventional evangelical Calvinism, the clergy embraced The Great Awakening. This church was located in the South End.

The Baptist Church was founded in 1665 by Congregationalists who were in favor of adult baptism as opposed to infant baptism. The church was located in the North End.

Appendix G  
Community and Church Affiliations  
NON-ADAM AND EVE GROUP

<u>Sampler</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>		<u>Church Affiliation</u>
<u>Subgroup One</u>			
Hutchinson	attorney/gentleman	town office/artillery	2 <sup>nd</sup>
Hart			2 <sup>nd</sup>
Dickman	blockmaker		Anglican
Mountfort	merchant		2 <sup>nd</sup>
Pinckney	shopkeeper		3 <sup>rd</sup>
Simpkins	goldsmith	artillery company	2 <sup>nd</sup> or 5 <sup>th</sup>
Holland	joiner		5 <sup>th</sup>
Holland	joiner		5 <sup>th</sup>
Hill	merchant		2 <sup>nd</sup>
Baker	blacksmith	town office	1 <sup>st</sup>
Pinckney	shopkeeper		3 <sup>rd</sup>
<u>Subgroup Two</u>			
Keyes	merchant	South End	congregational
Palfrey	sailmaker	town office	6 <sup>th</sup> (New South)
Wing	shipwright	town office	3 <sup>rd</sup> (Old South)
Kneeland	merchant	town office	3 <sup>rd</sup> (Old South)
Decoster	mason	newly discovered with 2011 exhibit	
<u>Subgroup Three</u>			
Storer	merchant/shopkeeper	town office/artillery	4 <sup>th</sup>
Church	merchant	town office/artillery	4 <sup>th</sup>
Lowell	merchant		1 <sup>st</sup>
Erving	merchant		4 <sup>th</sup>
<u>Subgroup Four-Non - no shared design elements</u>			
Russell	brazier		1 <sup>st</sup> or Baptist
Dobson			
Cheever	mariner		4 <sup>th</sup>
Trecothick	mariner		Anglican
Fleet	printer		2 <sup>nd</sup>
Bliss	minister		1 <sup>st</sup>
Byles	shopkeeper	town office	Baptist

## Appendix G

### Community and Church Affiliations

#### Church Descriptions

- 1<sup>st</sup> Church and 2<sup>nd</sup> Church had similar approaches to clerical role and doctrine, neither church fully supported The Great Awakening. These churches were located in the North End.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Church was a very active church, evangelical in approach, supported The Great Awakening, considered a “model New Light Congregation” (Harper, *A People So Favored of God*, 94). This church was founded by congregants of 1<sup>st</sup> Church who were in favor of the Halfway Covenant and located in the South End.
- 4<sup>th</sup> Church was also an active, growing church, ministers had a predilection for society’s upper crust, it was founded by Boston’s educational and mercantile elite. The church is generally noted as having tended towards a more relaxed, less orthodox approach to Calvinism. In the eighteenth century the church was divided over the ecclesiastical implications of The Great Awakening. This church was located in the South End.
- 5<sup>th</sup> Church was established due to growth of 2<sup>nd</sup> Church; the church embraced The Great Awakening. This church was located in the North End.
- 6<sup>th</sup> Church embraced conventional evangelical Calvinism; the clergy embraced The Great Awakening. This church was located in the South End.
- The Baptist Church was founded in 1665 by Congregationalists who were in favor of adult baptism as opposed to infant baptism. The church was located in the North End.

#### Sampler Groupings

##### Two Non-Adam & Eve samplers with animal band from Adam & Eve group:

Pinckney (ca. 1736)	shopkeeper	3 <sup>rd</sup> Church
Simpkins (ca. 1736)	goldsmith	2 <sup>nd</sup> Church

##### Identical except for Adam & Eve flanking the Tree of Life:

Rogers (1737)-Adam & Eve	housewright	town office	1 <sup>st</sup> Church
Baker (1737)-non-Adam & Eve	blacksmith	town office	1 <sup>st</sup> Church

Appendix H  
Boston Church Ministers

<u>Church</u>	<u>Date Established</u>
1 <sup>st</sup> (Old Brick) Church Thomas Foxcroft Charles Chauncy	1630
2 <sup>nd</sup> (Old North) Church Increase Mather Cotton Mather Samuel Mather Joshua Gee	1650
3 <sup>rd</sup> (Old South) Church John Wilson John Cotton Joseph Sewall Thomas Prince	1669
4 <sup>th</sup> (Brattle Street) Church Benjamin Colman William Cooper	1699
5 <sup>th</sup> (New North) Church John Webb Peter Thacher Andrew Eliot	1714
6 <sup>th</sup> (New South) Church Samuel Checkley, Sr.	1719
First Baptist Edward Drinker, Deacon Ellis Callendar, Deacon Josiah Byles, Deacon Jeremiah Condry, minister	1679
Church of England (Kings Chapel) no minister until 1780s	1688
Quaker	1710

Appendix I  
Philadelphia Samplers and Family Characteristics

<u>Marsh School</u>				
<u>First Group</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Verses</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Religion</u>
Biles, R./ca. 1725	Jonathan & Mary Lambert	verses 1-4, 10, 39	Carpenter? Bucks County	Quaker
Logan, S./1725	James & Sarah Read	verses 6, 12-15	Esq. Wealthy landowner and Penn's secretary	Quaker
Married Norris				
Marsh, Ann/1727	Joseph & Elizabeth	verse 10, 16-19	skinner/glover	Quaker
Morris, M./1727	Anthony & Phoebe Guest	verse 1, 9, 10, 21, 28, 37, 42	Brewer	Quaker
Father overseer of public school Brewer initially				
Married Powell				
Robins, A./1730	Benjamin & Judith Siddel	verses 4, 22-26		Quaker
Howell, S./1731	Jacob & Sarah Vernon	verses 4, 10, 21, 27, 39	wealthy tanner	Quaker
Father influential Quaker				
Married Charles Jones				
Sandiford, M./1731	Richard & Elizabeth Walter	verses 4, 21, 26, 39	Barbados	Anglican
Married George Misson in Barbados				
<u>Second Group</u>				
Rush, E./1734	William & Elizabeth Hodges	verses 9-10, 27-28	mariner	Quaker
Did not marry				
Reese, M./1736	John & Sarah Simpson?	Verses 7-10, 20, 21, 43		16
Trotter, H./1737	Joseph & Dinah Shelton	verses 5, 6, 10, 23, 34-36	cutler/ironmonger	Quaker
Influential Quaker and Philadelphia County Commissioner				
Married Elfreth				

Appendix I  
Philadelphia Samplers and Family Characteristics

<u>Second Group</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Verses</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Age</u>
Trotter, M./1735	Joseph & Dinah Shelton Married Bacon	Verses 12, 29-33 ++	cutler/ironmonger	Quaker	8
Hudson, E./1737	William & Jane Evans Father overseer of public school	verses 7-11		Quaker	15
Dunbar, P./1740	Married Morris David & Sarah Crowell	verses 40, 41 + 4 more		Presbyterian	12
<u>Other Schools</u>					
Wilkinson, A./1734	Anthony & Elizabeth	10 Commandments (Exodus 20:1-17)	shipcarver/stonecutter	ChristChurch	12
Parry, C./1739	David & Mary Humphrey	verses 38, 39 (both Dyché)	accountant/attorney	Presbyterian?	12
Jones, R./1750	William & Mary Porter Mother was a schoolmistress	verse 6 + 1 more	mariner	convert	11
Crunkshank, M./1755 (Cruickshank)	Alexander & Cicily Llewelyn Brimble	verses 1,5,6	shoemaker	Quaker	10?

## Appendix I

### Philadelphia Samplers and Family Characteristics

#### Verses

1. Lord Give Me Wisdom to Direct my ways/i beg not riches nor yet length of days
2. Oh that the Sons of Men would once be wise, And learn eternal Happiness to prize/with food and raiment then contented be, ask not for riches, nor for poverty
3. When thou art rich thou many friends shall find, if riches fail friends soon will prove unkind
4. If all mankind would live in mutual Love this world would much resemble that above
5. Yesterdays past to morrow none of thine to day thy life virtuous act encline
6. Love The Lord And He Will Be a Tender Father Unto Thee
7. Some covet to be decked in rich attire with gould and pearl that others may admire/esteem and honour them and may advance a beauty that will soon decay
8. If imperfections did not lodge within what mean these deckings of the fading skin/they in whose noble breast true vertue dwels need not so much adorn their outward shells
9. O thou great king of kings arise and reign except thy vertue springs all worships vain/except thy quickning life be felt to rise theres non can offer up a sacrifice
10. The bed was earth the raised pillow stone where on poor jacob rested his head and bones/heaven was his canopy the shades of night was his drawn curtains to exclude the light/poor jacob here it seems to me his cattle found as soft a bed as he/yet God appeared there his joy his crown God is not all ways found on beds of down
11. Tho zion sit in misery and do in ashes move and all her roes as they pass by do her deride \_\_d feared/tho like the spoiled turtle dove that in the rock doth dwell wailing the absence of her love whose evils no tongue can tell (from E. Hudson's file of information)
12. Neglect not thou thy doing well but strive in virtue to excel
13. So live with men as if Gods curious eye/did every where into thine actions pry
14. Count whats more sweet and fairer then a flower/and yet it blooms and fades within an hour
15. Live well and then how soon so'er thou die/thou act of age to claime eternity
16. Where the contented mind is known there is a sweet increase/of solace where the soul lies down in everlasting peace
17. True peace and joy not to be found in vain terrestrial terms/pure holy praises then abound unto the king of kings
18. Virtue seeks not for praise of men true glory is as one/which fretting envy never can dispel from virtue true
19. O keep me in thy fear thou all in all that I may always heareth to thy call/and answer thy commands if thou say come or go I with a willing mind may run
20. For modesty doth many ways express to all observers innate comliness/modest attire and meekness signify a mind composed of native purity
21. My lifes a flower the time it hath to last its mixt with frost and shook with every blast

Appendix I  
Philadelphia Samplers and Family Characteristics

22. Despair of nothing that you would attain/unworned diligence your point will gain
23. Diligently (zealously) practice what is good and then/great will be thy reward in bliss amen
24. Refrain much talk you seldom hear of any/undone by hearing but of speaking many
25. Make spare in youth least age should find thee poor/when time is past and thou canst spare no more
26. Remember well and bear in mind a faithful friend is hard to find/make a joyful noise unto God all ye lands
27. See how the lilies flourish white and fair see how the ravens fed from heaven are/then neer distrust thy god for cloth or bread whilst lilies flourish and the ravens fed
28. That finds acceptance with so great a king and then who dare into thy presence bring/the blemished the maimed or the blind which with an earthly prince could never find/any regard but rather for the same sever chastizement with rebuke and shame/O let thy holy power operate with thy temple thou immaculate holy high priest O let thy hand prepare The Sacrifice then Israel may not fear
29. Let virtue be thou good and that will keep thee out of pride
30. Remember death think every day your last lament all vanities and follies past/sorrow and joy are never disguised by art Love foreheads show the secrets of our hearts
31. Then shall I learn to bless and ?praise? all those that strive to make me wise
32. Give thanks to thee who still doth raise up men to teach us thy just ways
33. Stamp Gods image on thy tender heart
34. Content is wealth the riches of the mind and happy he who can that treat find
35. Why should I say tis yet to soon to seek for heaven or think of death/a flower may fade before tis noon and I this day may loose my breath
36. Many daughters have done virtuously but thou excellest them all/favour is deceitful and beauty is vain but a woman that feareth the Lord shall be praised
37. Men fearing God are oft exposed, we se to various temptations and calamitie, twas Joseph's lot to meet many crosses, but God at last recompense his losses, what man designs for ill, God changes and turn to good, by his Almighty hand
38. Some men get riches yet are always poor/some get no riches yet have all things store
39. Remember time will come when we must give/account to god how we on earth did live
40. When I am dead and buried and all my bones are rotten, when this you see/remember me least I should be forgotten
41. O write upon my memory Lord the Texts and Doctrines of the word / that I may Become Thy laws no more but love thee better than before
42. To find Admittance to the royal Throne; Thou'lt smell the Sweetness, and accept thy own. We'll wait in Patience, and depend on thee, Thou only canst rebuke the Enemy
43. nor house nor land nor measured heaps of wealth can render to a dying man his health



## Appendix J

Philadelphia Samplers-Family Affiliations

<u>Father's Occupation</u>		<u>Church Affiliation</u>
<u>Marsh School</u>		
<u>First Group</u>		
Biles	carpenter?	Bucks County
Logan	gentleman/ <b>mayor</b>	influential Friend
Marsh	skinner/glover	Quaker
Morris	merchant/brewer/ <b>mayor</b>	influential Friend
Robins		Quaker
Howell	tanner(wealthy)	influential Friend
Sandiford	merchant mariner	Barbados
<u>Second Group</u>		
Rush	mariner	Quaker
Reese		probably Quaker
Trotter	cutler/ironmonger	influential Friend
Trotter	✓	✓
Hudson	merchant/tanneries/ <b>mayor</b>	influential Friend
Dunbar		Quaker
<u>Other Schools</u>		
Wilkinson	shipcarver/stonecutter	Anglican
Parry	gentleman	Presbyterian?
Jones	mariner	Convinced
Crunkshank	shoemaker	Quaker

Appendix K  
Marsh School Common Design Elements

<u>Sampler</u>	Acom		Large Floral		Pine trees		Family Information		Straw- berry		Diamond		Carnation		Carnation	
	<u>Format</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Band</u>	<u>Border</u>
Biles, R./ca. 1725	X	10	8	3,7		6	at bottom		6	-			2		X	
Logan, Sarah/1725	X	6	-	3,5		-	last		-	4			8		X	
Marsh, Ann/1727	X	4	12	5,7,9,11		-	last		-	8			6		X	
Morris, Mary/1727	X	6	14	3,5,9,11,13		12	last		12	8			4		X	
Robins, Ann/1730	X	8	10	1,3,5,7		6	last		6	4			-		X	
Howell, Sarah/1731	X	-	6	1,7		4	-		4	8			2		X	
Sandiford, Margaret/1731	X	6	10	9		-	not Quaker		-	8			4		X	
Rush, Elizabeth/1734	X	-	8	5,7,11		4	not Quaker		4	10			2		X	
Trotter, Mary/1735	X	10	12	1,5,9,13		8	last		8	6			4		X	
Reese, Mary/1736	X	-	8	3,11		-	-		-	10			2		X	
Trotter, Hannah/1737	X	6	8	1,7,11		12	last		12	10			4		X	
Hudson, Elizabeth/1737	X	-	8	5		-	last		-	-			2		X	
Dunbar, Prudence/1740	X	4	10	3,7		-	last		-	8			6		X	

The numbers in the band columns indicate the order in which the particular band occurred within the sampler.

“X” indicates the particular element was on the sampler.

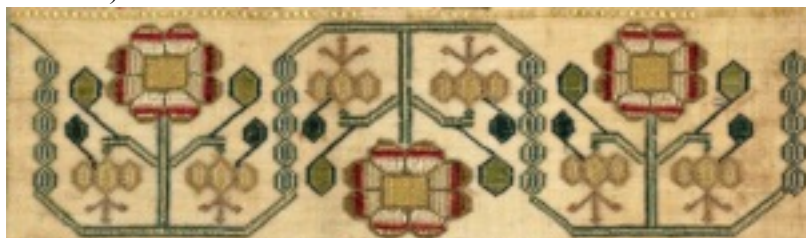
## Appendix L

Detail of Marsh School Common Design Elements

Acorn Band



Large Floral Band (1725-1731)



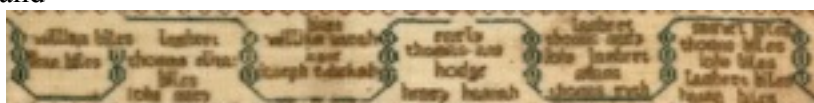
Large Floral Band (1734-1740)



Pine Trees



Family Information Band



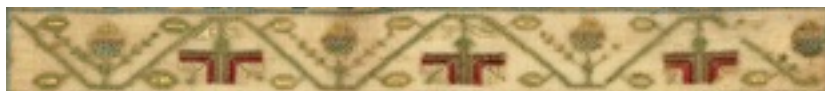
Strawberry Band



Diamond Band



Carnation Band



Appendix M  
Marsh School Verse Summary

(The verses have been numbered for ease of reference only - the verse numbers do not correlate to anything.)

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Maker/Date</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Content</u>
1	Biles/1725 Morris/1727 [Crunkshank/1755----not a Marsh school sampler]	?, very common	Seeking God's guidance & wisdom
2	Biles/1725	T. Dyche, page 126, 127 <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727)	value of eternal happiness
3	Biles/1725	E. Young, page 107 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710)	
4	Biles/1725 Robins/1730 Sandiford/1731	T. Dyche, page 126 <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727)	Love on earth resembles heaven
5	Trotter/1737 [Crunkshank/1755----not a Marsh school sampler]	E. Young, page 19 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710) Instructions for Youth	live virtuously
6	Logan/1725 Trotter/1737 [Cruikshank/1755----not a Marsh school sampler]	very common	Love the Lord and He will be A Tender Father unto thee
7	Hudson/1737 Reese/1736	M. Mollineux, pg. 77 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	wealth & beauty is fleeting

Appendix M  
Marsh School Verse Summary

8	Reese/1736 Hudson/1737	M. Mollineux, pg. 77 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	true virtue eschews vanity
9	Morris/1727 Rush/1734 Reese/1736 Hudson/1737	M. Mollineux, pg. 75 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	strive for true virtue
10	Biles/1725 Marsh/1727 Morris/1727 Howell/1731 Rush/1734 Reese/1736 Trotter/1737 Hudson/1737	F. Quarles, page 26 <i>Divine Fancies</i> (1722)	Jacob's ladder/ obedience and God's kindness
11	Hudson/1737	?	love
12	Logan/1725 Trotter/1735	?	Strive to excel in virtue
13	Logan/1725	E. Young, page 19 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710)	live for God's approval
14	Logan/1725	F. Quarles, page 45 (1706)  This is a different publication from the source for verse #10	life is like a flower/fleeting
15	Logan/1725	E. Young, page 18 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710)	live to claim eternity

Appendix M  
Marsh School Verse Summary

16	Marsh/1727	M. Mollineux, pg. 140 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	the contented mind knows peace
17	Marsh/1727	M. Mollineux, pg. 140 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	peace and joy are found in God
18	Marsh/1727	M. Mollineux, pg. ? <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	virtue's reward is true glory not made of man
19	Marsh/1727	M. Mollineux, pg. 40 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	fear of God
20	Reese/1736	M. Mollineux, pg. 77 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	modesty conveys purity
21	Morris/1727 Sandiford/1731 Howell/1731 Reese/1736	E. Young, page 96 & Quarles <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710) Copies to write out	life is like a flower/hard
22	Robins/1730	T. Dyche, page 125 <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727)	diligence will be rewarded
23	Robins/1730 Trotter/1737	E. Young, page 19 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (ca. 1680)	be good and be rewarded with bliss
24	Robins/1730	E. Young, page 19 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710)	don't gossip? (refrain much talk)

Appendix M  
Marsh School Verse Summary

25	Robins/1730	E. Young, page 18 <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710) 2 line copies	live frugally
26	Robins/1730 Sandiford/1731	very common & Psalm 100	faithful friend hard to find Make a joyful noise
27	Howell/1731 Rush/1734	T. Dyche, page 129 <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727) 2 line copies	God will provide
28	Morris/1727 Rush/1734	M. Mollineux, page 75 <b>Quaker</b> <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> ( 1702) This is a continuation of verse #9 in the Mollineux publication.	“Meditation on Retirement” Salvation
29	Trotter/1735	?	Virtue keeps one from pride
30	Trotter/1735	Henry Dixon <i>The English Instructor</i> (1760) Obviously the sampler and source date don’t coincide - the only hit though	repent past follies/our bodies tell the truth the art of writing
31	Trotter/1735	?	Thank you for an education
32	Trotter/1735	Daniel Fisher <i>The Child’s Christian Education</i> (1759) Obviously the sampler and source date don’t coincide - the only hit though	do good and you will be rewarded Reading/monosyllables
33	Trotter/1735	?	Stamp God’s image on thy tender heart

Appendix M Marsh School Verse Summary			
34	Trotter/1737	J. Dryden (d. 1700) Poem: <i>The Wife of Bath's Tale</i> (Chaucer)	wealth and contentment is in the mind
35	Trotter/1737	I. Watts, page 27 <i>Divine and Moral Songs</i> (1720)	“the danger of delay”
36	Trotter/1737	The Bible Proverbs 31 Verses 29 & 30	virtue, vanity, fear the Lord
37	Morris/1727	W. Thompson, page 93, <b>Quaker</b> <i>The Child's Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1711)	verse after the story of Joseph The workings of God to good
38	Parry/1739 [not a Marsh school sampler]	T. Dyche, page 126 <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727)	“Real” riches 2 line “copies for writers”
39	Biles/1725 Howell/1731 Sandiford/1731 [Parry/1739----not a Marsh school sampler] [Fell/1747----not a Marsh school sampler]	T. Dyche, page 126 <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727)	Account to God 2 line “copies for writers”
40	Dunbar/1740	very common (dead, buried, rotten, forgotten)	Remembrance
41	Dunbar/1740	Isaac Watts <i>Divine Songs attempted in easy language</i> (1727)	Prayer, worship
42	Morris/1727	M. Mollieux, page 75 <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)	heaven is for those who forgive?



Appendix M Marsh School Verse Summary			
43	Reese/1736	F. Quarles, page 25 <b>AND</b> Young, pg. 96 <i>Divine Poems (A Feast for Worms)</i>	wealth is fleeting (can't take to heaven)
<u>Marsh school verse analysis</u>			
	Dyche, <i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (1727)		5 verses; numbers 2, 4, 22, 27, and 39; from pages 125-127
	Used on 5 samplers		
	Young, <i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (1710)		9 verses; numbers 3, 5, 13, 15, 21, 23, 24, 25, 43; from pages 18, 19, 96, 107
	Used on 8 samplers		
	Mollineux, <i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (1702)		10 verses; numbers 7, 8, 9, 16-20, 28, 42; from pages 40, 75, 77, 140
	Used on 5 samplers		
	Quarles, <i>Divine Fancies</i> (1722), <i>Divine Poems</i> (1706)		3 verses; numbers 10, 14, 21; from pages 26 & 45
	Used on 9 samplers		
	Watts, <i>Divine and Moral Songs</i> (1720)		1 verse; number 35
	Used on 2 samplers		
	The Bible		2 verses; Proverbs and Psalms
	Used on 3 samplers		
<u>Chronological Verse Sources</u>			
Biles	Dyche, Young, Quarles		
Logan	Young, Quarles		
Marsh	Quarles, Mollineux		
Morris	Young, Quarles, Mollineux, Thompson		
Robins	Dyche, Young,	Bible	
Howell	Dyche, Young, Quarles		
Sandiford	Dyche, Young,	Bible	
Rush	Dyche,	Quarles, Mollineux	
Reese	Young, Quarles, Mollineux		
Trotter, M.			Dixon and Fisher?
Trotter, H.	Young, Quarles,		Bible, Watts, Dryden

Appendix M  
Marsh School Verse Summary

Quarles, Mollineux

Hudson  
Dunbar

Watts

Appendix N  
Early Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Sampler Content</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Age</u>
E. Gibbes/1729	Benjamin & Amarinthia Smith Gibbes Goose Creek plantation Born July 31, 1720 Bloomville Plantation	The family had immigrated to Carolina from Barbados Her mother's sister Anne Smith married Benjamin Waring, probably Dorothy Waring's father's brother Her cousin Benjamin Smith (uncle Thomas Smith's son) married Mary Wragg, Ann Wragg's aunt Her cousin Catherine Smith (uncle John Smith's daughter) married John Waring, probably Dorothy Waring's uncle Elizabeth married Joseph Izard in 1738 and died in 1739; his second wife was Anne Bull Their daughter Mary married Miles Brewton and died at sea Verses 1, 2, 3 (Creed, Prayer, <i>Proverbs</i> ) The sampler was worked in July 1729	planter Council/Assembly member/landowner Peter Taylor, stepfather, Justice of the Peace, 1737	Anglican	9
E. Hext/1743 reversible stitching	David and Ann Hamilton Hext born in 1734	Elizabeth married Robert Williams, Jr. (attorney) Mary Hext (relative and presumed instructress) married Verses 4, 7, 8, 9, 10 (Dyche, Young, <i>Ecclesiastes</i> ) Family initials, 2 alphabets, numbers 1-52 as fillers to text bands Specifies Charles Town is her dwelling place	merchant Landowner/Justice of the Peace, 1737 Either Council or Assembly member	Anglican	9

Appendix N  
Early Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Sampler Content</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Age</u>
Motte/1752 reversible stitching	Jacob and Elizabeth Martin Motte born August 8, 1742	Martha married John Sandford Dart (merchant), Martha's brother Jacob married Rebecca Brewton, Miles Brewton's sister Verses 4, 5, 6 (Dyche) Numbers as filler to 3 text bands: 1-5, 1-9, 1-18 At top sampler begun June 5, 1751 At bottom sampler finished February 29, 1752	planter Royal Treasurer Justice of the Peace, 1737	Anglican	9

Verses

1. The Apostles' Creed
2. The Lord's Prayer (*Matthew* 6:9-13, probably also the Book of Common Prayer, the Doxology was added)
3. Favour is deceitful and beauty is vain, But a woman that feareth the Lord she shall be praised  
(*Proverbs* 31:30, King James Bible)
4. See how the lilies flourish white and, fair see how the ravens fed from, heaven are then never distrust thy, God for cloth and bread whilst lilies, flourish and the ravens fed  
(DYCHE, *A Guide to the English Tongue*, 1727, page 129, Copies for Writers, Four Line Pieces)  
Note: this is verse number 27 in the Philadelphia group, 2 samplers (dated 1731 and 1734 included it)

Verses

5. Prithee Tom fool why whilst thou meddling be, In others business which concerns not thee, For while thereon thou dost extend thy cares, Thou dost at home neglect thy own affairs  
(DYCHE, *A Guide to the English Tongue*, 1727, page 128-Copies for Writers, Four Line Pieces)  
8<sup>th</sup> of 8 four-line pieces
6. Whats a mans life a day a race, a span A point a bubble froth so vain is man  
(DYCHE, *A Guide to the English Tongue*, 1727, page 126-Copies for Writers, Two Line Pieces)
7. Remember man that die thou must, and after come to judgement just  
(I can't source this - it was, however, common on clocks made at the Wigton "school" in England during the late 17<sup>th</sup> and up to mid-18<sup>th</sup> centuries-internet search)
8. Knowledge when wisdom is too weak to guide her, is like a head strong horse that throws his rider; Lord give me wisdom to direct my ways, I beg not riches nor yet length of days; my life a flower the time it hath to last, is mixt with frost and shook with every blast; neither house nor land nor measured heaps of wealth, can render to a dying man his health  
(YOUNG, *The Compleat English Scholar*, Copies for Youth to Write Out)
9. Remember now thy creator in the days of thy youth; while the evil days come not nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them  
(Ecclesiastics 12:1 *The Bible*)
10. \_\_\_\_ is my name and Carolina is my nation Charles Town is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation

Appendix O  
Later Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Sampler Content</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Age</u>
*Harriet Hyme, 1774	Col. Henry and Mary Butler Elliott Golightly Born October 9, 1760	2 alphabets, strawberry border, 3 roses in a medallion Verse 11 father was Justice of the Peace and member of Assembly from St. Bartholomew's parish father was a wealthy planter who was politically active Harriet married Richard Bohun Baker	Anglican	14
*Harriet Hyme, 1774		3 alphabets, pomegranate border at bottom Verse 11 Henry Hyme Justice of the Peace, 1737, Colleton county (also Culcheth Golightly)		
Dorothy Waring, 1774 reversible stitching	Thomas and Mary Waring (Thomas born in England) born 1768 (exact date has not been found)		Congregational?	6
	Villepontoux & Waring, dry goods, on Broad Street, and Wm. Waring, Thomas Waring (1762-1767) She married Secretary of State John Vanderhorst, Esq. In 1785, died 1786 Verse 14			
Ann Wragg, 1764 reversible stitching	Samuel and Judith Rothmahler Wragg born July 25, 1756 Charleston, "vastly" wealthy slave merchant Samuel's father was Joseph Wragg to immigrated to Charleston by 1710 Father Samuel's birth registered at St. Philip's church (online database) The family was ranked among the wealthiest of Charleston's citizens Ann's brother William was educated in England She married Thomas Ferguson in 1777, very wealthy, plantation, etc. 3 alphabets, carnation border, birds and flowers at bottom	Anglican	7	

## Appendix O

### Later Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics

Central section with sheep, hearts, flowers and birds  
Wrought the sampler March 21, 1764 in her 8<sup>th</sup> year of age  
Verse 12

Ann Clark, 1766 reversible stitching	James Lardent Clark (maybe) Edisto Island planter	Presbyterian	7
	1 1/2 alphabets, numerals 1-15, sixteen initials (AC, AC, DC, MC, IC, ID, MD, DC, EC, WD, ED, ID, PR, AR, IW, DB)		
	Verse 13		

### Verses

11. Remember thy creator in the days of thy youth - *Ecclesiastics* 12:1  
(see Charleston verse number 9 also)
12. Make much of precious time while in your power, be careful well to husband every hour, for time will come when you shall sore lament, the unhappy minutes that you have mispent  
Thomas Dyche, *A Guide to the English Tongue*, 1727, page 128 (5<sup>th</sup> verse from the top)
13. If you desire to worship God a right, first in the morning pray and last at night, crave for his blessing on your labors all, and In distress for his assistance call  
Thomas Dyche, *A Guide to the English Tongue*, 1727, page 128 (2<sup>nd</sup> verse from the top)
14. Why should I love my sport so well, so constant at my play, and lose the thoughts of heaven and hell, and then forget to pray, what do I read my bible for, but Lord to learn thy will, and shall I daily know thee more, and less obey thee still, How senseless is my heart and wild, how vain are all my thoughts, pity the weakness of a child, and pardon all my faults, make me thy heavenly voice to hear, and let me love to pray, since God will lend a gracious ear, to what a child can say  
(Isaac Watts, *Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children*, 1750, Divine Song No. 24 "The Child's Complaint", pages 37-38)

### Anglican samplers from Boston and Philadelphia

Hannah Trecothick, 1738	Mark and Hannah Trecothick (Boston)	14
Ann Wilkinson, 1734	The Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed Anthony & Elizabeth Wilkinson (Philadelphia) The Ten Commandments	12

# Appendix O

## Later Low Country Samplers - Family Characteristics

Margaret Sandiford, 1731	Richard & Elizabeth Walter Sandiford (Philadelphia) - from Barbados	15
Ann Peartree, 1734	Marsh Style no family information (Boston)	
Lydia Dickman, 1735	Adam and Eve Isaac and Hannah Dickman (Boston) non-Adam and Eve	13

\*Images of these samplers were not published in Bolton & Coe; the description of the samplers is copied from the descriptions provided by the owners and printed in the book. Bolton & Coe listed two other samplers as having been from Charleston: Anne Strubido (1734) and Martha Lewis (1740). I could not find a girl nor a family with the name Strubido in Charleston. Also, my research showed that Martha Lewis's family lived in Spotsylvania, Virginia and then moved to Abbeville, South Carolina in 1807. I have not included these two samplers in my research of Charleston samplers. A third Charleston sampler listed in Bolton & Coe which I have also excluded from my study is Jane Ball, 1762. Jane Ball was born in Charleston (Goose Creek) in 1761; *This Have I Done* illustrates a sampler she most likely worked as an adult (Fig. 12a). I excluded the Bolton & Coe sampler for two reasons, one is that I can not identify a girl in Charleston who would have worked it; the second is that the sampler description provided in Bolton & Coe does not match the sampler illustrated in *This Have I Done*.



Appendix P  
Low Country Sampler Summary

<u>Maker/Year</u>	<u>Alphabets</u>	<u>Border</u>	<u>Verse</u>	Month <u>Decorative Elements</u>	<u>Worked</u>	<u>Age</u>
Gibbes/1729	no	no	Apostle's Creed Lord's Prayer, Proverbs #1, 2, 3	unfinished at bottom girl, dogs, plant	July	9
Hext/1743	3 (2 eyelet)	no	Dyche, Young, Ecclesiastes #4, 7, 8, 9, 10	no	?	8
Motte/1751	1	no	Dyche #4, 5, 6	no	February	9
Wragg/1764	3 (1 eyelet)	carnation	Dyche #12	sheep, plants, birds 2 bands, middle & bottom	March	7
Clark/1766	1 1/2	no	Dyche #13	no	?	7
Waring/1774	no	no	Watts #14	no	December	6
Hyrne/1774	2	carnation?	Generic/creator #11	3 roses in medallion	?	14
Hyrne/1774	3	no	Generic/creator #11	pomegranate at bottom	?	14

Appendix Q  
Charleston Schoolmistresses

<u>Date</u> <u>Advertised</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects taught</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Misc. Information</u>	<u>Church Affiliation</u>
1734	Mrs. Varnod		Church St.	most likely wife of Rev. Francis Varnod Anglican minister from France sent to Charleston by SPG	St. George's <sup>1</sup>
1735	Mrs. Phillippine Henning		Church St.	Thomas Henning was a dry good merchant on Church St.(1732-1737) also merchant company of Henning & Schute Thomas Henning, Justice of the Peace, 1737 probably drew on fabric for embroidery too (Rutledge article on Charleston artists) sister of Widow Glazer	St. Philip's Church
1738	Widow Glazer		Broad St.		
1739	Jane Voyer	boarding school	Broad St.		
1740	Mary Hext	(December)	Friend St.	at the home of	St. Philip's Church
1741	(August)			Samuel Prioleau, Jr.	
1743	(November)				
1741	Mary Gittens		Elliott St.	Sister of Henry Laurens with husband Nathaniel who was an artist	Anglican (Henry)
1744			King St.	Henry Laurens' daughter Martha Laurens Ramsay provides a striking example of a well educated woman (she was born in 1759) In Antigua by 1747	

---

<sup>1</sup> *Southern Anglicanism*, S. Charles Bolton, 64-65

Appendix Q  
Charleston Schoolmistresses

<u>Date</u> <u>Advertised</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects taught</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Misc. Information</u>	<u>Church Affiliation</u>
1741	Judith Thomas		King St.	possibly wife or daughter of Rev. Samuel Thomas, first SPG missionary, taught with Daniel Thomas <sup>2</sup>	
1743	Ruth Lowndes		King St.	Sarah and Judith Thomas were seamstresses born Ruth Rawlins, married Charles Lowndes; her husband died 1736; her son Rawlins Lowndes was a judge (see Manigault letters, his daughter married Cpt. Roger Saunders 1776)	
1743	Mrs. Hannah Fidling		Broad St.	Francis Fidling was an original settler of Charleston	St. Philip's Church
1740s	Martha Logan		10 miles Outside Charleston	she was a famous botanist	
1747	Mrs. William Wright			would board girls from out of the country - Thomas Wright was a dry good merchant (1750-1755) William Wright was a wine/vinegar merchant (1744-1749) (Kathy says he was a Goldsmith)	St. Philip's Church
1748	Elizabeth Ash			a John Ash was a Puritan from New England who was a member of the Commons House	
1748	Magdalene Hamilton		King St.		

---

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Samuel Thomas was the first SPG missionary sent to South Carolina in 1702-he died on a return trip to SC from England (1706?) (*Southern Anglicanism*, S. Charles Bolton, 104)

# Appendix Q

## Charleston Schoolmistresses

<u>Date</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Subjects taught</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Misc. Information</u>	<u>Church Affiliation</u>
1751	Elizabeth Guy		near Ashley Ferry	William Guy sent by SPG for schoolmaster/Catechist at St. Philip's Church (1712)	St. Philip's Church
1751	Anna Marie Hoyland			she is noted in Thomas Elfe's account book he paid her for sugar and schooling (1768) - they went to church together (St. Philip's)	
				Thomas Elfe also paid Mr. Panton for schooling children in 1770 (Dec) and William Ervin for schooling George and Tom in 1771 (May)	
1755	Elizabeth Cossens			Edmund Cossens merchant in dry goods, foodstuffs, and deerskins; owned ships, merchant firm of Smith & Cossens	

### Listed in Joyner, *Beginnings: Education in Colonial South Carolina*, page 88, footnote 11:

Jane Voyer, sister of Widow Glazer, boarding school on Broad St. (1775) - French and needlework, the 3 R's, no girls under 12

Widow Varnod, on Church St.

Mrs. Phillippene Hennings, on Church St.

Mary Hext, on Friend St.

Judith Thomas, on King St.

Mrs. Hannah Fidling, on Broad St.

Ruth Lowndes, on King St.

Mary Gittens, on King St.

Mrs. Sarah Johnson, on Broad St.

Widow Susannah Treizvists, on Church St.

Elizabeth Ash and Magdalene Hamilton, on King St.

### From Anna Wells Rutledge, "Artists in the Life of Charleston", page 113-114:

Jane Voyer, advertised at least twice in 1739 (Feb. and Oct.), undertook mending of lace and drawing patterns for needlework and will teach same; then would teach embroidery, lace-work, tapistry, or any other sort of needlework, drawing, and french

## Appendix Q

### Charleston Schoolmistresses

Mary and Nathaniel Gittens in Sept., 1744; reading, arithmetic, and several sorts of needle work, commenced an evening school ...young ladies to draw (see also Seybolt, "South Carolina Schoolmasters of 1744", 315

#### From Staples, *This Have I Done*, 7-11:

- Mrs. Elizabeth Weatherick, Will of William Adams specifies daughter Lidiah (under 18) to attend her school
- Mrs. Varnod, day school, May 11, 1734; French school that teaches all sorts of embroidery
- Phillippene Henning, 1735, English, French, all sorts of needle work to perfection; she married Henry St. Martin (one ad only)
- Mary Gittens, first advertised in 1741 (May and June in 1741, and August and September in 1744); plain sewing, embroidery, and reading and took on sewing for money
- Judith Thomas, advertised with husband in December, 1741; plain work, drawing, embroidery, sampler and divers sorts of stitches in needle work
- Mrs. Oldham, October, 1762; reading and needle-work
- Mrs. Glazer, January, 1738; reading, French, and several forms of needlework
- Jane Voyer, June, 1739; drawing for needlework (Widow Glazer's sister) and January 1740; tapestry, tent and Irish stitch
- Elizabeth Ash, March and April, 1748; reading, sewing and marking
- Magdalene Hamilton, April and May, 1748; drawing and embroidery
- Mrs. William Adams, June, 1767; sew and mark (husband was a Charleston writing master)
- Mrs. William Wright, June, 1747; would board from the country
- Mary Parmenter, June, 1765; reading, marking, and plain (and 2 to 3 children from the country to board)
- Martha Logan, in 1740s and 1754, read and write, also plain work, embroidery, tent and cut work, with all other necessary works
- Elizabeth Guy, April, 1751, Ashley Ferry; spelling, reading and fine needlework and a master for dancing and writing, and board from the town during the summer season
- Anna Maria Linthwaite Hoyland, September and November, 1751 and January, 1767; working, reading, etc.; then white children reading and sewing
- Ruth Lowndes, August, 1743; reading, plain and sampler work
- Elizabeth Cossens, December, 1755; reading and plain work
- Rebecca Woodin, had taught for 5 years already in June, 1767; polite education viz. Reading, English and French, writing and arithmetic, needle works; music and dancing by proper masters
- Hannah Fidling, January and February, 1743; all sorts of plain needlework
- Sarah Norman, February, 1759; marking and plain sewing

Appendix Q  
Charleston Schoolmistresses

Mary Hext, November and December, 1740 and July and August 1741; needle work of all sorts and boarding, masters to teach writing, arithmetick, dancing and music - thereafter she advertised only when she had openings: October and November, 1744

Appendix R  
Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
___ is my name and with my needle I wrought the same but if my skill it had been better I would have mended every letter	Boston	identity/skill	9/44	
Adam and Eve in Paradise that was their pedigree that had a grant never to die would they obedient be	Boston	Original Sin remember obedience	2/44	
Behold alas our days we spend how vain they be how soon they end	Boston	brevity of life	3/44	
Adam and Eve whilst innocent in Paradise were placed but soon the serpent by his wiles the happy pair disgraced	Boston	original sin	1/44	
___ is my name I belong to the English nation Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation When I am dead and laid in grave and all my bones are rotten when this you see remember me and never let me be forgotten	Boston	eminence of death home and salvation remember me	7/44	
___ is my name and England is my nation and Boston is my dwelling place and Christ is my salvation	Boston Charleston	home and salvation	1/44 1/8	

## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
One did command me to a wife both fair and young - who had French Spanish and Italian tongue - I thankd him kindly and told him I loved none such - for I thought one tongue for a wife too much - what love ye not the learned Yes as my life - a learned scholar but not a learned wife	Boston	learning (mimic of Milton's daughters?)	4/44	
O may my humble spirit stand amongst them clothd in white - the meriest place at his right hand is infinite delight	Boston	salvation	1/44	
Next unto God dear parents I address myself; to you in Humble thankfulness; for all your care and charge on me bestowed; the means of learning unto me allowed; go on I pray and let me still persue; these golden arts the vulgar never knew	Boston	parental praise value of learning	2/44	<i>The Young Man's Companion</i> post script, parental letter
When land is gone and money spent then learning is Most excellent	Boston	value of learning	1/44	<i>Taste, A Comedy in Two Acts</i> described as a maxim in the play
O May I always ready stand with my Lamp steady in my hand May I in sight of heaven rejoice whence I hear the bridegrooms voice	Boston	be prepared for death	1/44	<i>Midnight Hymn</i> , verse 6



## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
O God, the protector of all that trust in thee without whom nothing is strong nothing is holy, Increase and multiply upon us thy mercy that thou being our ruler and guide, we may so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not the things eternal. Grant this O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ sake our Lord	Boston	God the protector giver of mercy giver of eternal life	1/44	<i>Book of Common Prayer</i> prayer for the 4th Sunday after Trinity
In Prosperity Friends will be plenty, but in Adversity Not one in Twenty	Boston	superficiality of wealth	1/44	<i>Gnomologia</i> , saying 6394, page 289 old proverbial saying
When I was young I little thought that wit must be so dearly bought but now experience tells me how if I will thrive then I must bend and bow unto another will so that I might learn both art and skill to get my living with my hands so that I might be free from all such slavery which comes for want of housewifery	Boston	seems like a restating of Proverbs 31:10-31 very old verse, also on the Quaker Shacklewell sampler dated 1684  female industry	   1/44	
Lord Give Me Wisdom to Direct my ways I beg not riches nor yet length of days	Phil.	God provides wisdom	3/17	
Oh that the Sons of Men would once be wise And learn eternal Happiness to prize with food and raiment then contented be, ask not for riches, nor for poverty	Phil.	value of eternal happiness	1/17	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> , 127

## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
When thou art rich thou many friends shall find, if riches fail friends soon will prove unkind	Phil.	value of friendship	1/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> , 107
If all mankind would live in mutual Love this world would much resemble that above	Phil.	love on earth resembles heaven	4/17	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> , 126
Yesterdays past to morrow none of thine to day thy life virtuous act encline	Phil.	live virtuously	2/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> , 19
Love The Lord And He Will Be a Tender Father Unto Thee	Phil.	love God	4/17	
Some covet to be decked in rich attire with gould and pearl that others may admire esteem and honour them and may advance a beauty that will soon decay	Phil.	wealth & beauty are fleeting	2/17/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> , 77
If imperfections did not lodge within what mean these deckings of the fading skin they in whose noble breast true vertue dwels need not so much adorn their outward shells	Phil.	true vertue eschews vanity	3/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> , 77
O thou great king of kings arise and reign except thy vertue springs all worships vain except thy quickning life be felt to rise theres non can offer up a sacrifice	Phil.	strive for true virtue	3/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> , 75

# Appendix R Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
The bed was earth the raised pillow stone where on poor jacob rested his head and Bones heaven was his canopy the shades of night was his drawn curtains to exclude the Light poor jacob here it seems to me his cattle found as soft a bed as he yet God appeared there his joy his crown God is not all ways found on beds of down	Phil.	Jacob's ladder obedience to God God's kindness	8/17	<i>Divine Fancies</i> (26)
Tho zion sit in misery and do in ashes move and all her roes as they pass by do her deride __d feard tho like the spotted turtle dove that in the rock doth dwell wailing the absence of her love whose evils no tongue can tell	Phil.	Love	1/17	
Neglect not thou thy doing well but strive in virtue to excel	Phil.	strive to excel in virtue	2/17	
So live with men as if Gods curious eye did every where into thine actions pry	Phil.	live for Gods' approval	1/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (19)
Count whats more sweet and fairer then a Flower and yet it blooms and fades within an hour	Phil.	fleeting nature of life	1/17	<i>Divine Poems</i> (45)
Live well and then how soon so'er thou Die thou act of age to claime eternity	Phil.	live to claim eternity	1/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (18)

## Appendix R Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
Where the contented mind is known there is a sweet increase of solace where the soul lies down in everlasting peace	Phil.	contentment leads to peace	1/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (140)
True peace and joy not to be found in vain terrestrial terms pure holy praises then abound unto the king of kings	Phil.	peace and joy are found in God	1/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (140)
Virtue seeks not for praise of men true glory is as one which fretting envy never can dispel from virtue true	Phil.	true virtue is known through God	1/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i>
O keep me in thy fear thou all in all that I may always heareth to thy call and answer thy commands if thou say come or go I with a willing mind may run	Phil.	fear God	1/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (40)
For modesty doth many ways express to all observers innate comliness modest attire and meekness signify a mind composed of native purity	Phil.	modesty conveys purity	1/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (77)
My lifes a flower the time it hath to last its mixt with frost and shook with every blast	Phil.	frailty of life	4/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (96)
Despair of nothing that you would attain unwearied diligence your point will gain	Phil.	diligence will be rewarded	1/17	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (125)

# Appendix R

## Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
Diligently (zealously) practice what is good and then great will be thy reward in bliss amen	Phil.	goodness shall be rewarded with bliss	2/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (19)
Refrain much talk you seldom hear of any undone by hearing but of speaking many	Phil.	quietness as a virtue	1/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (19)
Make spare in youth least age should find thee poor when time is past and thou canst spare no more	Phil.	live frugally	1/17	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i> (18)
Remember well and bear in mind a faithful friend is hard to find make a joyful noise unto God all ye lands	Phil.	value true friendship praise God	1/17	Psalms 100
See how the lilies flourish white and fair see how the ravens fed from heaven are then neer distrust thy god for cloth or bread whilst lilies flourish and the ravens fed	Phil. Charleston	God will provide	2/17 2/8	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (129)
That finds acceptance with so great a king and then who dare into thy presence bring the blemished the maimed or the blind which with an earthly prince could never find any regard but rather for the same sever chastizement with rebuke and shame O let thy holy power operate with thy temple thou immaculate holy high priest O let thy hand prepare The Sacrifice then Israel may not fear	Phil.	God loves all salvation	2/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (75)

Appendix R  
Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
Let virtue be thou good and that will keep thee out of pride	Phil.	pride is not a virtue	1/17	
Remember death think every day your last lament all vanities and follies past sorrow and joy are never disguised by art Love foreheads show the secrets of our hearts	Phil.	fleeting nature of life repent	1/17	
Then shall I learn to bless and praise all those that strive to make me wise	Phil.	value of education	1/17	
Give thanks to thee who still doth raise up men to teach us thy just ways	Phil.	follow the way of God	1/17	
Stamp Gods image on thy tender heart	Phil.	remember God	1/17	
Content is wealth the riches of the mind and happy he who can that treat find	Phil.	value of contentment	1/17	<i>The Wife of Bath's Tale</i> (Dryden)
Why should I say tis yet to soon to seek for heaven or think of death/a flower may fade before tis noon and I this day may loose my breath	Phil.	fleeting nature of life	1/17	<i>Divine and Moral Songs</i> (Watts)
Many daughters have done virtuously but thou excellest them all favour is deceitful and beauty is vain but a woman that feareth the Lord shall be praised	Phil. Charleston	“Woman of Substance” female industry	1/17 1/8	Proverbs 31:29-30 King James Version

## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
Men fearing God are oft exposed, we see to various temptations and calamities, twas Joseph's lot to meet many crosses, but God at last recompense his losses, what man designs for ill, God changes and turn to good by his Almighty hand	Phil.	trust in God	1/17	<i>The Child's Guide to the English Tongue</i> (93) (Quaker)
Some men get riches yet are always poor some get no riches yet have all things store	Phil.	riches are not true wealth	1/17	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (126)
Remember time will come when we must give account to god how we on earth did live	Phil.	eminence of judgement	5/17	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (126)
When I am dead and buried and all my bones are rotten, when this you see remember me least I should be forgotten	Phil.	remember me through this embroidery	1/17	
O write upon my memory Lord the Texts and Doctrines of the word that I may Become Thy laws no more but love thee better than before	Phil.	importance of the word of God	1/17	<i>Divine Songs attempted in easy language</i> (Watts)
To find Admittance to the royal Throne; Thou'lt smell the Sweetness, and accept thy own. We'll wait in Patience, and depend on thee, Thou only canst rebuke the Enemy	Phil.	sweetness of salvation	1/17	<i>Fruits of Retirement</i> (75)
nor house nor land nor measured heaps of wealth can render to a dying man his health	Phil.	wealth is fleeting	1/17	<i>Divine Poems</i> (25)

## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
The Ten Commandments	Phil.	liturgical	1/17	<i>Exodus</i> 20:1-17
The Apostle's Creed	Charleston Boston	liturgical	1/8 1/44	
The Lord's Prayer	Charleston Boston	liturgical	1/8 2/44	<i>Matthew</i> 6:9-13
Prithee Tom fool why whilst thou meddling be, In others business which concerns not thee, For while thereon thou dost extend thy cares, Thou dost at home neglect thy own affairs	Charleston	take care of your own, don't meddle	1/8	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (128)
Whats a mans life a day a race, a span A point a bubble froth so vain is man	Charleston	brevity of life	1/8	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (127)
Remember man that die thou must, and after come to judgement just	Charleston	death & judgement	1/8	
Knowledge when wisdom is too weak to guide her, is like a head strong horse that throws his rider; Lord give me wisdom to direct my ways, I beg not riches nor yet length of days; my life a flower the time it hath to last, is mixt with frost and shook with every blast; neither house nor land nor measured heaps of wealth, can render to a dying man his health	Charleston	knowledge requires wisdom God provides wisdom frailty of life wealth is fleeting	1/8	<i>The Compleat English Scholar</i>

(this is a combination of four of the 2 line verses)



# Appendix R

## Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Verse</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Source</u>
Remember now thy creator in the days of thy youth; while the evil days come not nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say I have no pleasure in them	Charleston	youth is the time to know God	3/8	Ecclesiastics 12:1
Make much of precious time while in your power, be careful well to husband every hour, for time will come when you shall sore lament, the unhappy minutes that you have misspent	Charleston	productivity is a virtue	1/8	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (128)
If you desire to worship God a right, first in the morning pray and last at night, crave for his blessing on your labors all, and In distress for his assistance call	Charleston	worship God through prayer	1/8	<i>A Guide to the English Tongue</i> (128)
Why should I love my sport so well, so constant at my play, and lose the thoughts of heaven and hell, and then forget to pray, what do I read my bible for, but Lord to learn thy will, and shall I daily know thee more, and less obey thee still, How senseless is my heart and wild, how vain are all my thoughts, pity the weakness of a child, and pardon all my faults, make me thy heavenly voice to hear, and let me love to pray, since God will lend a gracious ear, to what a child can say	Charleston	value of prayer God's gentleness	1/8	<i>Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children</i>

List of Sources

- A Guide to the English Tongue*, Thomas Dyche, 1727  
*A Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymn. By the author of the Manual of Prayers for Winchester Scholars*, Thomas Ken, 1723, London  
*Divine Fancies*, Francis Quarles, 1722  
*Divine Poems (A Feast for Worms)*, Francis Quarles, 1706  
*Divine and Moral Songs*, Isaac Watts, 1720  
*Divine Songs attempted in easy language*, Isaac Watts, 1727  
*Fruits of Retirement*, Mary Mollineux, 1702  
*Gnomologia: Adagies and proverbs, wise sentences, and witty sayings, ancient and modern, foreign and British*, collected by Thomas Foote, M. D., Dublin, 1733; See also: *A compleat collection of English Proverbs; also the most celebrated proverbs of the Scotch, Italian, French, Spanish and other languages*, John Ray, 1737, page 9  
*Taste, A Comedy in Two Acts*, Samuel Foote  
*The Child's Guide to the English Tongue*, W. Thompson, 1711  
*The Compleat English Scholar; Instructions for Youth*, Edward Young, 1710  
*The Wife of Bath's Tale* (Chaucer), Dryden, ca. 1695  
*The Young Man's Companion*, William Mather, London, 1727

<u>Chronological Verse Sources-Boston</u>	
<u>Condy School</u> (1724-1745)	sources not found
<u>First non-Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1730-1742)	sources not found
<u>Second non-Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1737-1749)	sources not found
<u>Second Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1739-1749)	personalization-source not found for the only verse on one sampler
<u>Third non-Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1747-1750)	Mather, <i>Gnomologia</i> , <i>Book of Common Prayer</i>

<u>Chronological Verse Sources-Philadelphia</u>	
Biles	Dyche, Young, Quarles
Logan	Young, Quarles
Marsh	Quarles, Mollineux
Morris	Young, Quarles, Mollineux, Thompson
Robins	Dyche, Young, Bible
Howell	Dyche, Young, Quarles
Sandiford	Dyche, Young, Bible
Rush	Dyche, Quarles, Mollineux
Reese	Young, Quarles, Mollineux
Trotter, M.	
Trotter, H.	Young, Quarles, Dixon and Fisher?
Hudson	Quarles, Mollineux, Bible, Watts, Dryden
Dunbar	Watts

Appendix R  
Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Chronological Verse Sources-Charleston</u>	
Anglican liturgy, Proverbs	
Gibbes	
Hext	
Motte	
Hyrne	
Waring	
Wragg	
Clark	
	Dyche
	Dyche
	Dyche
	Dyche
	Young, <i>Ecclesiastics</i> , salvation
	<i>Ecclesiastics</i>
	Watts

Chronological Verse Meanings - Boston

<u>Condy School</u> (1724-1745)	identity/skill obedience	
<u>First non-Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1730-1742)	identity skill	eminence of death/home and salvation/remember me home/salvation
<u>Second non-Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1737-1749)		eminence of death/home and salvation/remember me learning female industry personalization brevity of life (only one sampler) brevity of life
<u>Second Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1739-1749)		parental praise/value of learning
<u>Third non-Adam &amp; Eve</u> (1747-1750)		God the protector/giver of mercy/giver of eternal life superficiality of wealth

Chronological Verse Meanings-Philadelphia

<u>First Marsh school Group</u>		
Biles	obedience/God's kindness, God provides wisdom, value of eternal happiness, value of friendship, love is God,	eminence of judgement
Logan	strive to excel in virtue, live for Gods' approval, fleeting nature of life, live to claim eternity, love God	
Marsh	obedience/God's kindness, contentment leads to peace, peace and joy found in God, true virtue is known through God,	fear God
Morris	obedience /God's kindness, strive for true virtue, God provides wisdom, frailty of life, God loves all/salvation,	trust in God, sweetness of salvation
Robins	diligence & goodness will be rewarded, quietness is a virtue, live frugally, love is God,	value true friendship/praise God
Howell	obedience/ God's kindness, love is God, frailty of life, God will provide,	eminence of judgement
Sandiford	love is God, frailty of life, value true friendship/praise God, eminence of judgement	

## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

<u>Second Marsh school group</u>		
Rush	obedience/God's kindness, strive for true virtue,	God will provide, God loves all/salvation
Reese	obedience/God's kindness, strive for true virtue, true virtue eschews vanity, wealth & beauty are fleeting	pride is not a virtue, fleeting nature of life, value of education, follow the way of God
Trotter, M.	strive for true virtue,	God, goodness will be rewarded, value of contentment, female industry
Trotter, H.	obedience/God's kindness	remember me through this embroidery, importance of the word of God
Hudson	obedience/God's kindness, strive for true virtue, true virtue eschews vanity, wealthy & beauty are fleeting, love	
Dunbar		
<u>Chronological Verse Meanings-Charleston</u>		
Gibbes	liturgical, female industry	wisdom/frailty of life & wealth, salvation
Hext	God will provide	take care of your own/don't meddle, brevity of life
Motte	God will provide	youth is the time to know God
Hyrne		value of prayer/God's gentleness
Waring	productivity is a virtue	
Wragg	Worship God through prayer	
Clark		

## Appendix R

### Sampler Verse Summary

(Proverbs 31:10-31) “had acquired a renewed, and controversial, popularity during the early modern period. Protestant reformers, concerned with redefining the ethos of family life, dramatically shifted from a hitherto exclusively allegorical to a literal reading of this text. Unlike commentators before them who interpreted the Valiant Woman as an allegory of the Church, Melancthon and Luther understood her to be literally, in Al Wolters’ words, ‘a hardworking and God-fearing Israelite wife and mother, an example to all Christian women who desired to be faithful in their everyday calling (vocatio)’ . 16<sup>th</sup> century Catholic commentators, on the other hand, did not adopt the literalist approach of Protestant expositors...Christine de Pisan also provided a literal rendering of the Good Wife from Proverbs in her *Book of the City of Ladies*.” Anne R. Larsen, “Legitimizing the Daughter’s Writing: Catherine des Roches’ Proverbial Good Wife” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Winter, 1990), 559-574 (564)



Mehetable Done, 1724, Boston

Figure 1





AP, 1727, Boston

Figure 2



Martha Butler, 1729, Boston  
Figure 3





Ann Peartree, 1734, Boston

Figure 4



Lydia Hart, 1744, Boston

Figure 5





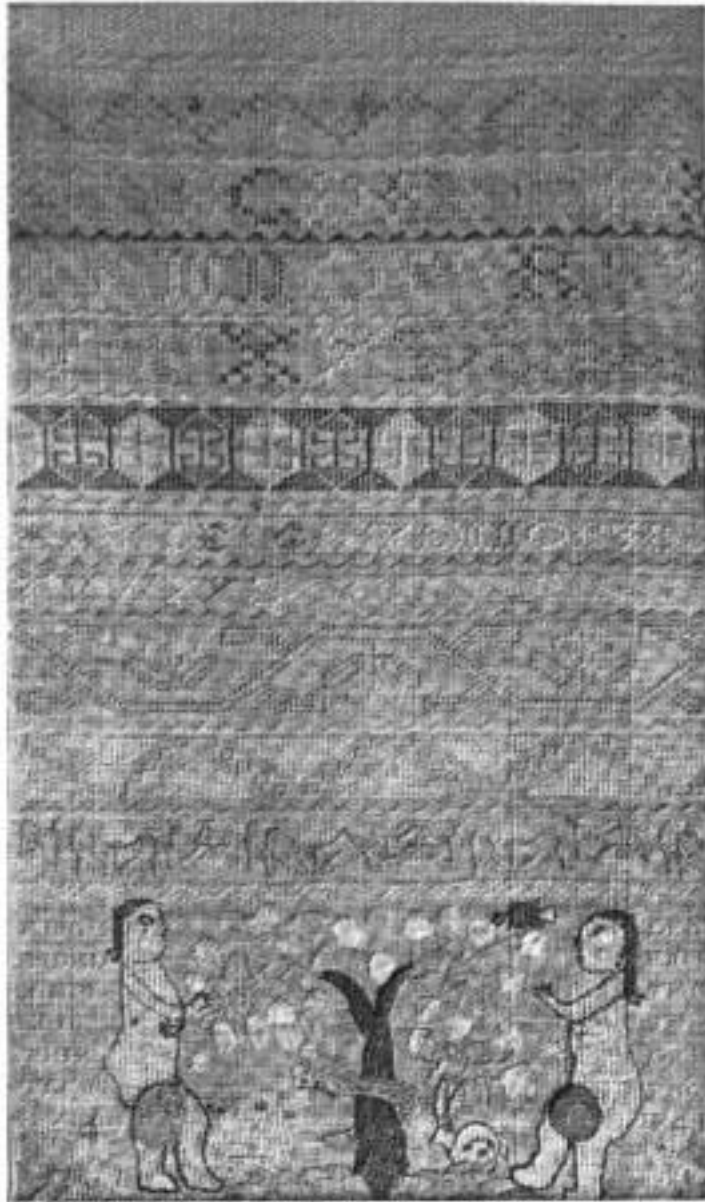
Rebekah Owen, 1745, Boston

Figure 6



Ruth Rogers, 1739, Boston

Figure 7



Mariah Deavenport, 1741, Boston

Figure 8





Mary Parker, 1741, Boston

Figure 9





Margaret Mansfield, 1744, Boston

Figure 10



Mary Dowrick, 1747, Boston

Figure 11



Mary Emmons, 1749, Boston

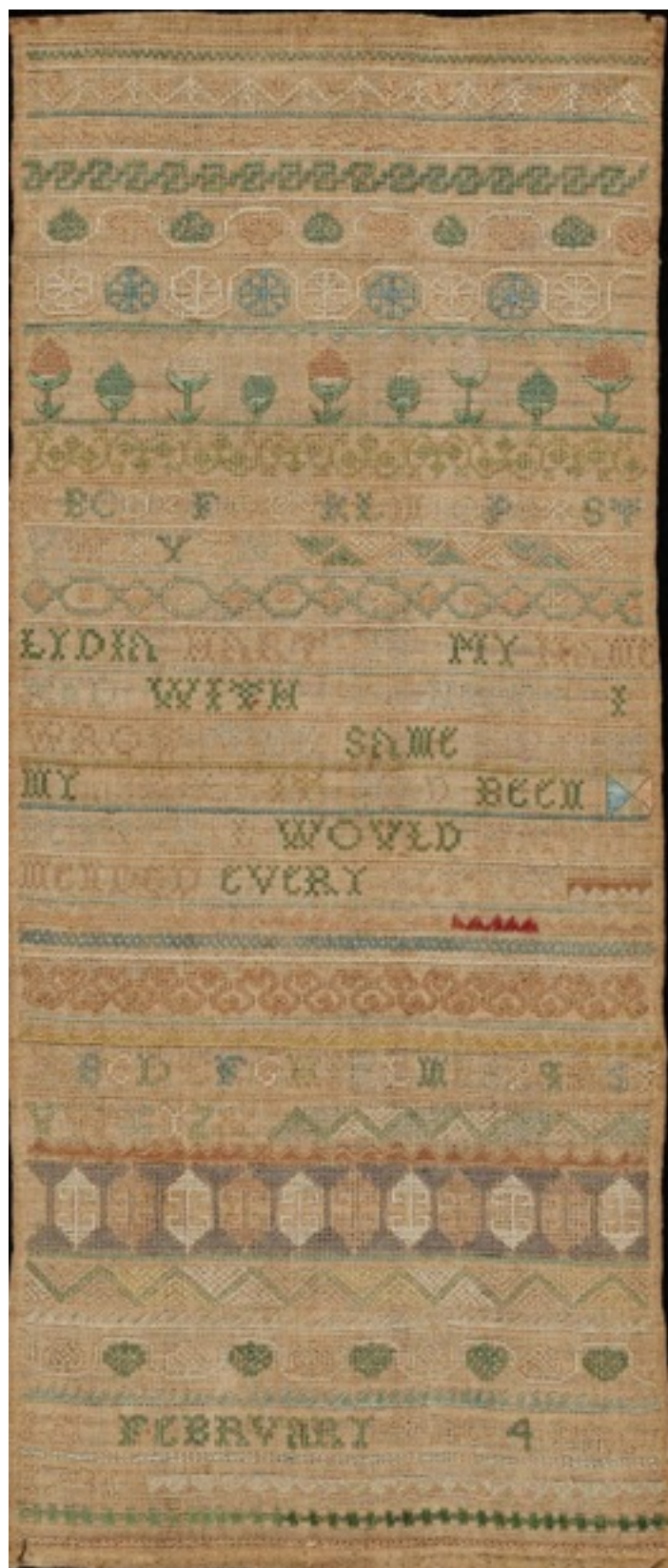
Figure 12





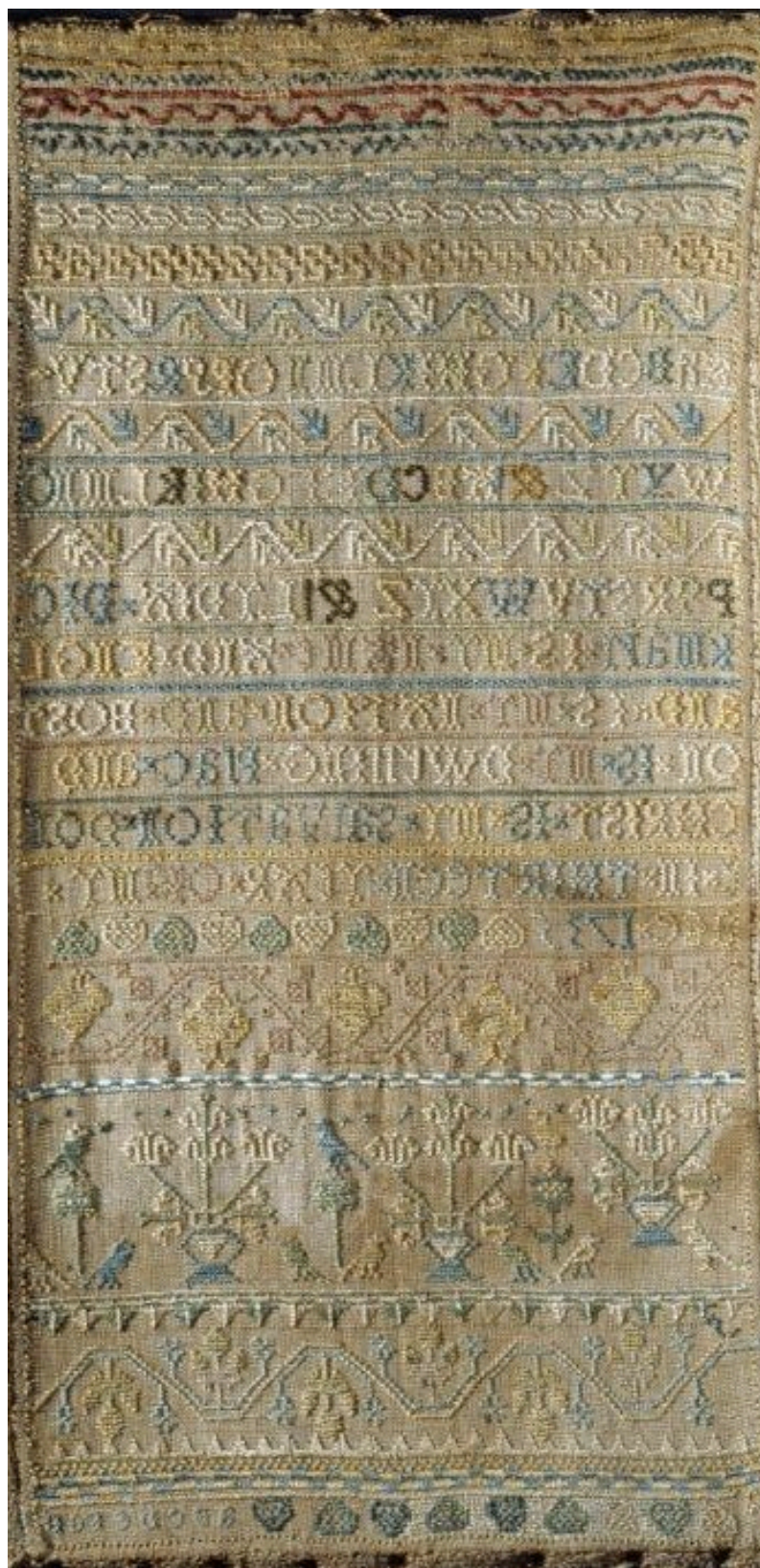
Lydia Hutchinson, 1730, Boston

Figure 13



Lydia Hart, 1731, Boston  
Figure 14

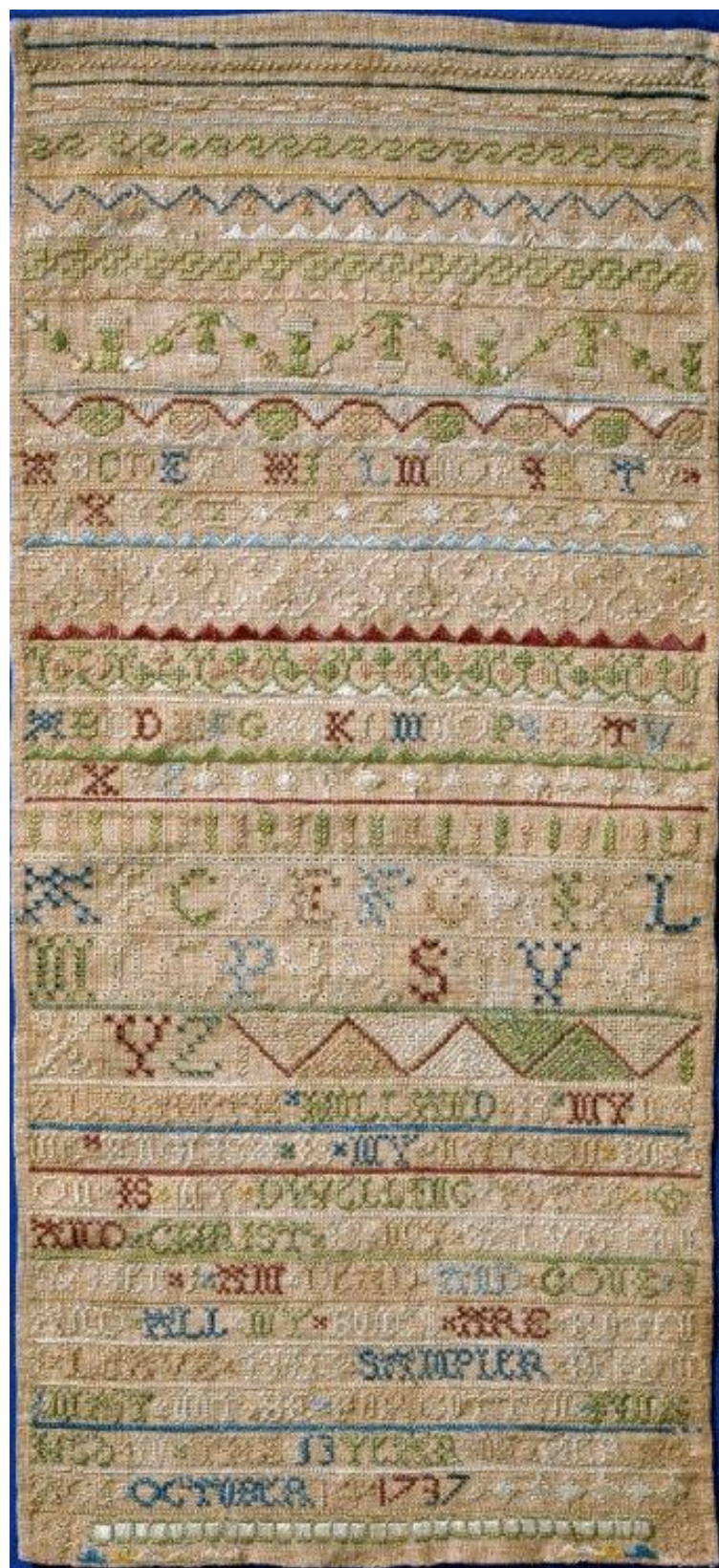




Lydia Dickman, 1735, Boston

Figure 15





Elizabeth Holland, 1737, Boston  
Figure 16



Sarah Hill, 1737, Boston

Figure 17





Hephsebah Baker, 1737, Boston  
Figure 18





Lucretia Keyes, 1737, Boston

Figure 19





Margaret Palfrey, 1739, Boston

Figure 20



Ann Wing, 1739, Boston

Figure 21





Lydia Kneeland, 1741, Boston  
Figure 22





Martha Decoster, 1749, Boston

Figure 23





Hannah Storer, 1747, Boston

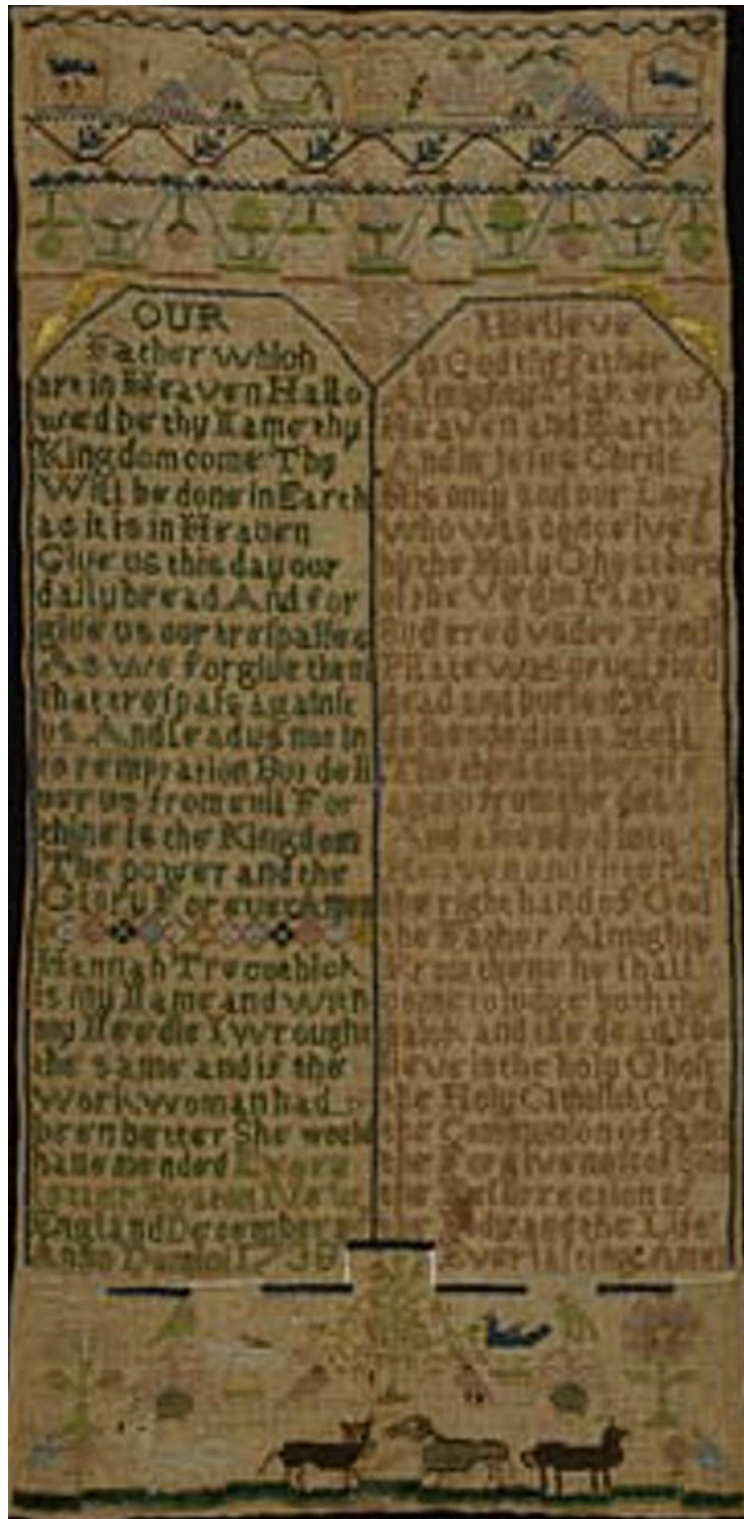
Figure 24



Sarah Lowell, 1750, Boston

Figure 25





Hannah Trecothick, 1738, Boston

Figure 26







Sarah Logan, 1725, Philadelphia

Figure 28







Sarah Howell, 1731, Philadelphia

Figure 30





Margaret Sandiford, 1731, Philadelphia

Figure 31





Elizabeth Rush, 1734, Philadelphia  
Figure 32





Hannah Trotter, 1737, Philadelphia

Figure 33





Prudence Dunbar, 1740, Philadelphia

Figure 34





Mary Keasby, 1744, Philadelphia

Figure 35

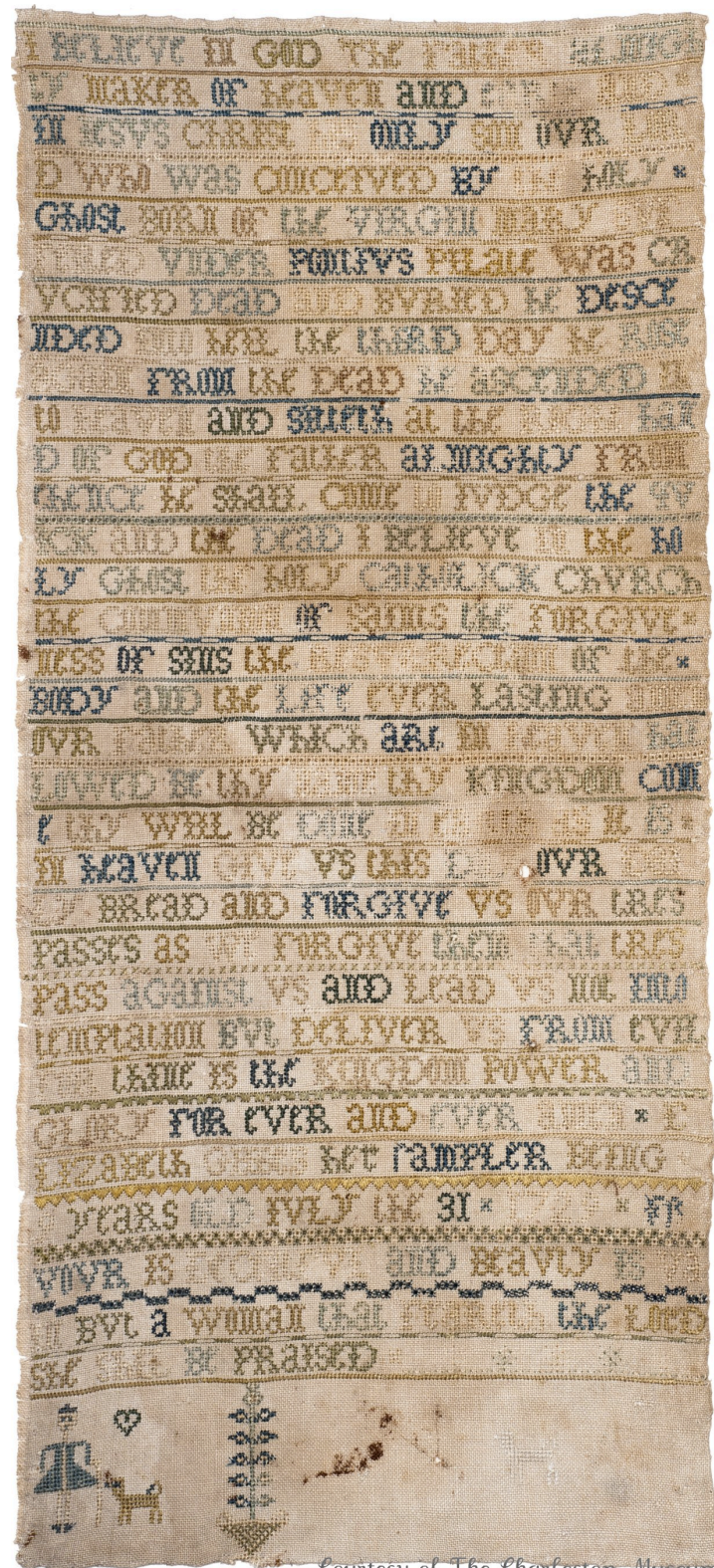




Rebekah Jones, 1750, Philadelphia

Figure 36

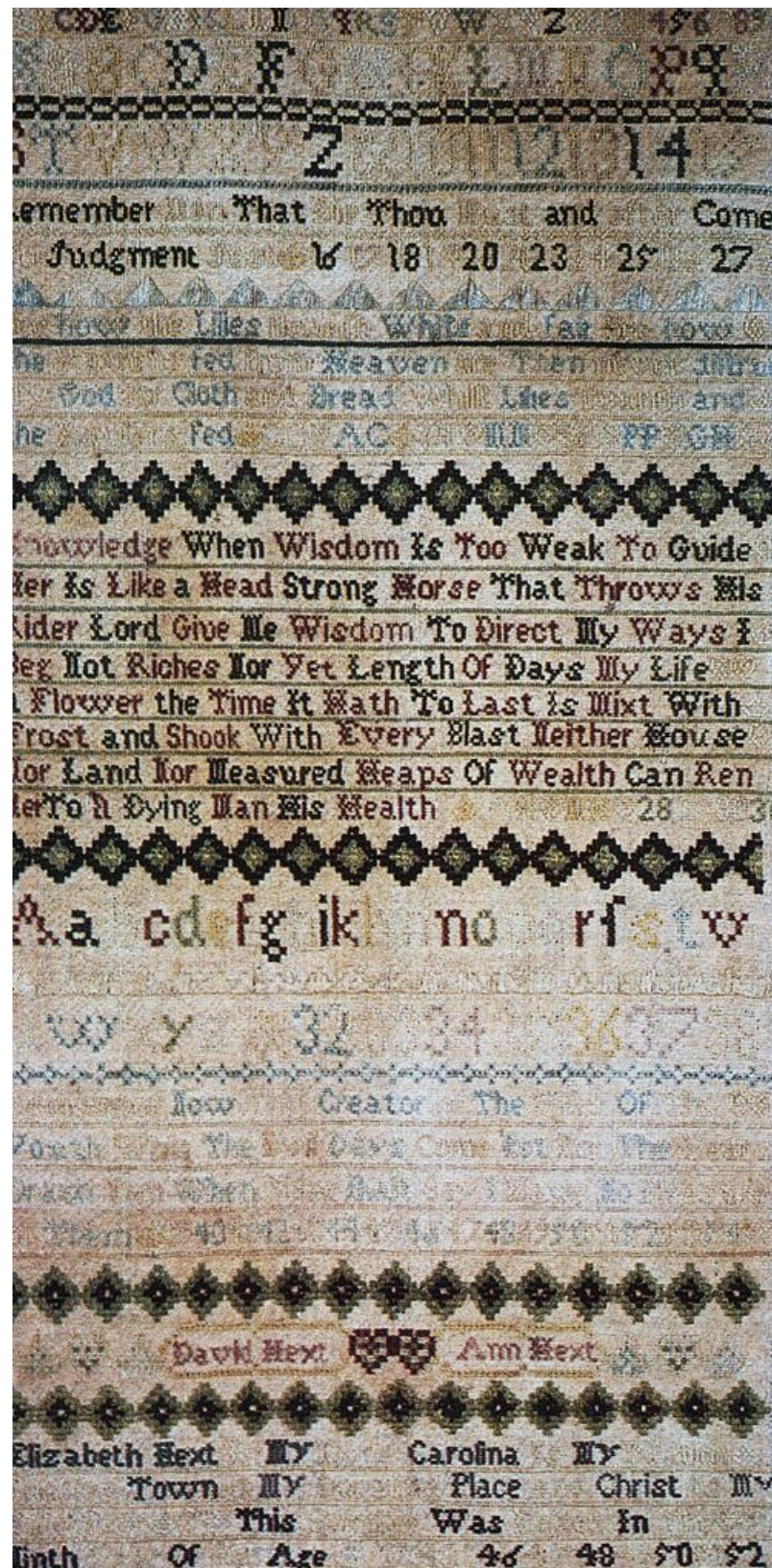




Elizabeth Gibbes, 1729, South Carolina Low Country

Figure 37

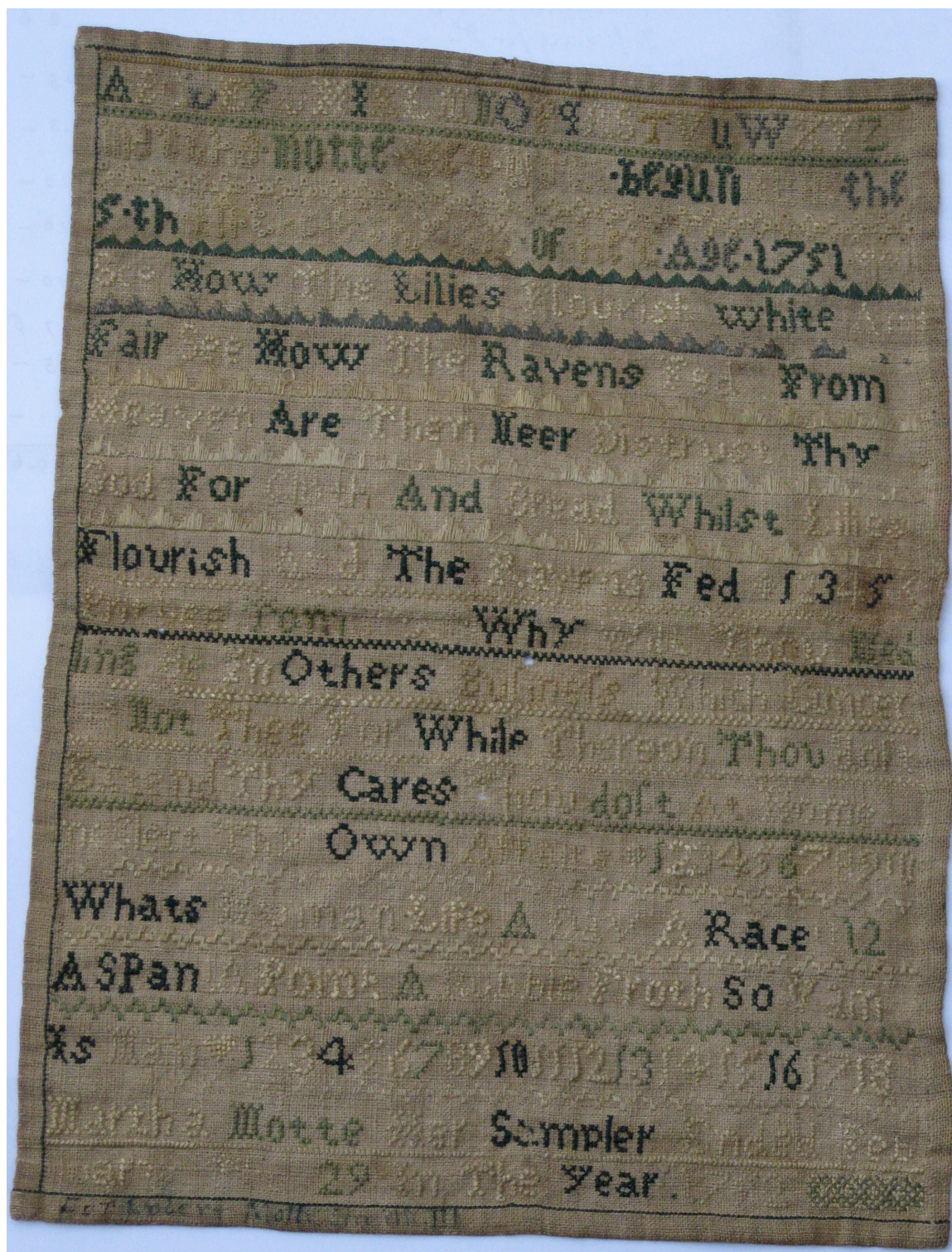




Elizabeth Hext, 1743, South Carolina Low Country

Figure 38

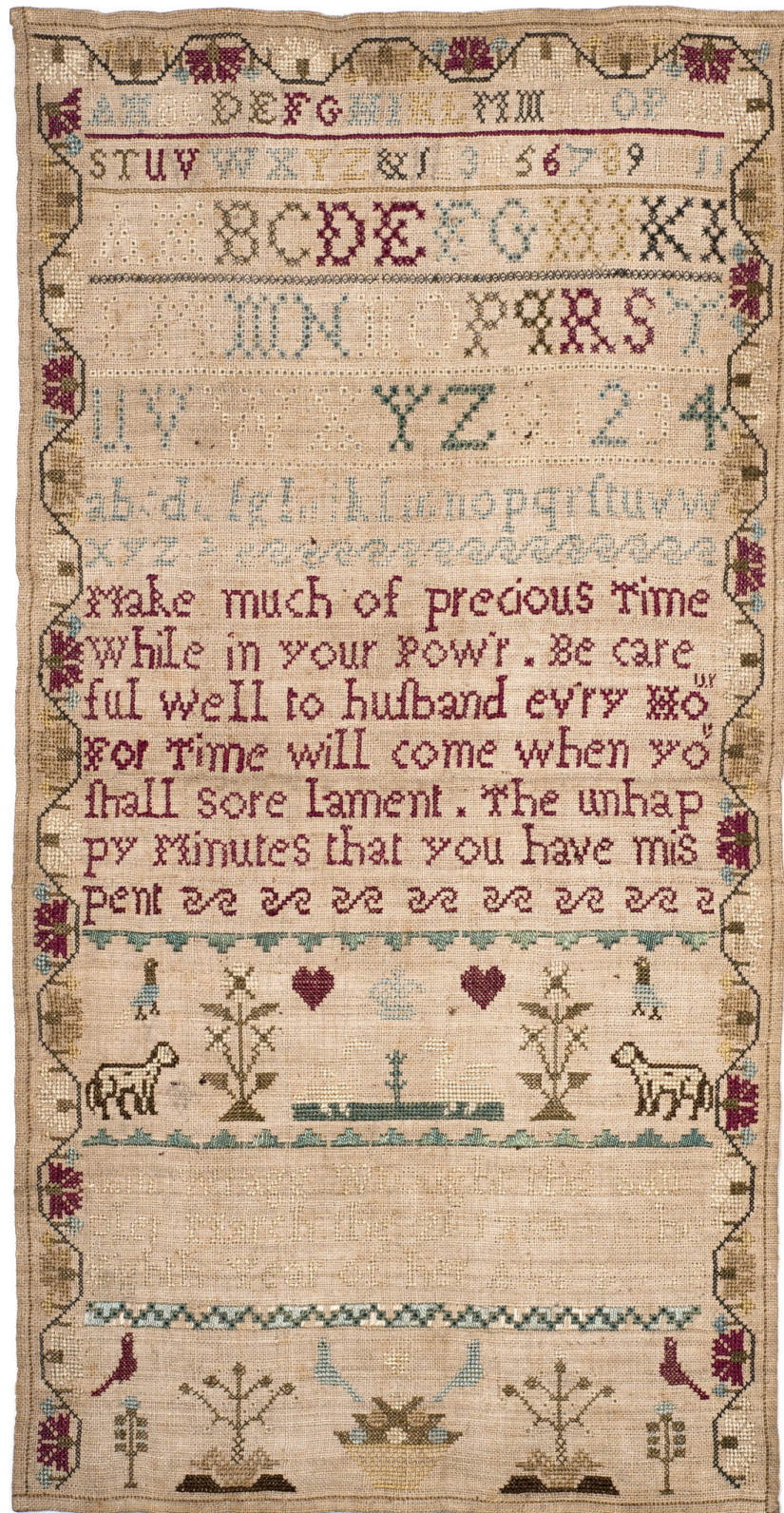




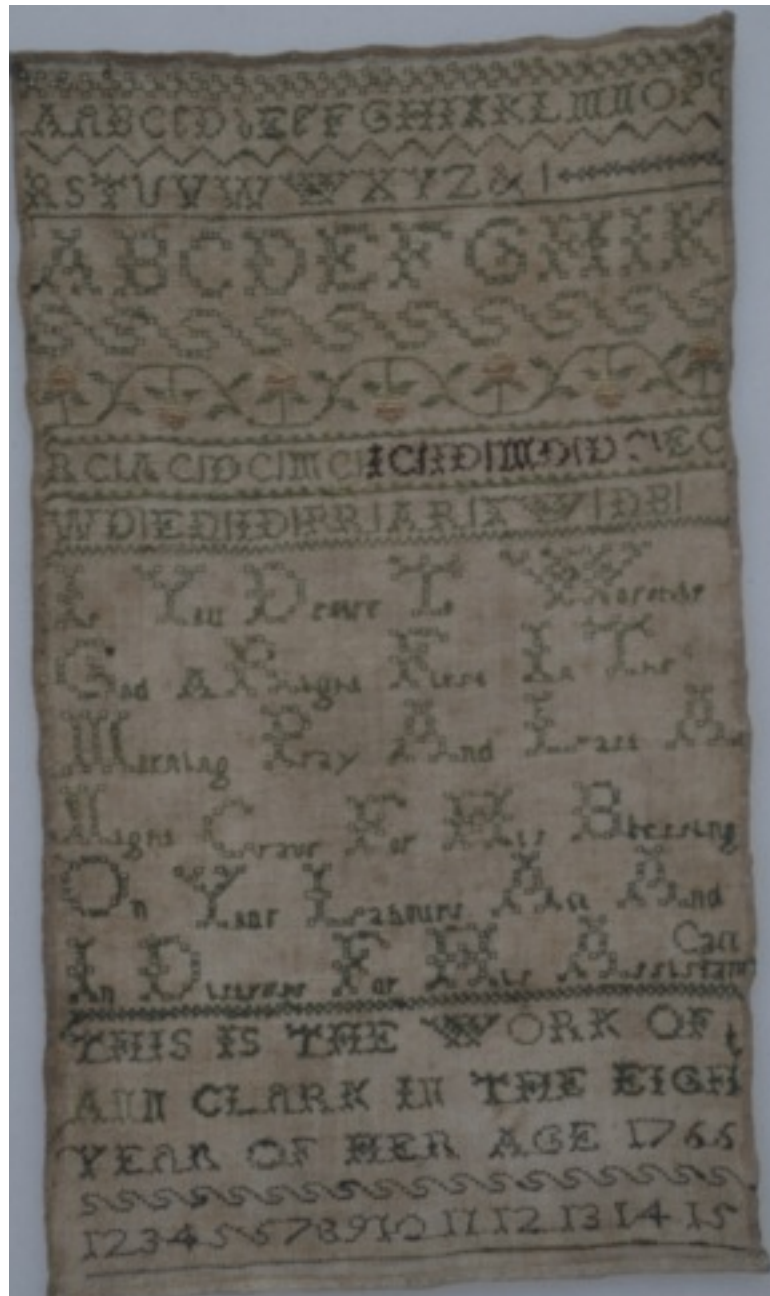
Martha Motte, 1751, South Carolina Low Country

Figure 39





Ann Wragg, 1764, South Carolina Low Country  
Figure 40



Ann Clark, 1766, South Carolina Low Country

Figure 41



Why should I love my sport so  
 well so content at my play  
 And love the thoughts of Heaven  
 and hell And then forget to pray  
 What do I read my bible for  
 But Lord to learn thy will And  
 shall I daily know thee more  
 And lets obey thee still  
 How senseless is my heart and  
 wild How vain are all my thought  
 to pity the weakness of a child  
 And pardon all my faulces  
 Make me thy heavenly voice to  
 hear And let me love to pray  
 Since God will lend a gracious ear  
 To what a child can say

---

Dorothy Waring worked this Sam-  
 ples in the Sixth year of her age  
 December the ninth 1774

Dorothy Waring, 1774, South Carolina Low Country

Figure 42

## Credit Page

Boston samplers

Mehetable Done

AP

Martha Butler

Ann Peartree

Lydia Hart, 1744

Rebecca Owen

Ruth Rogers

Mariah Deavenport

Mary Parker

Margaret Mansfield

Mary Dowrick

Mary Emmons

Lydia Hutchinson

Lydia Hart, 1731

Lydia Dickman

Elizabeth Holland

Sarah Hill

Hephsebah Baker

Lucretia Keyes

Margaret Palfrey

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Collection of Glee Krueger

Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution  
Art Resource, NYCooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution  
Art Resource, NY

Photo courtesy the American Folk Art Museum, New York

Adam and Eve in Paradise, Lydia Hart (dates unknown)

Boston, 1744, silk on fine linen, 11 1/2 x 9 in.

American Folk Art Museum, promised gift of Ralph  
Esmerian, P1.2001.278

Collection of Museums of Old York, York, Maine

Image Copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Image source: Art Resource, NY

*American Samplers*, Bolton & Coe (1921)*American Samplers*, Bolton & Coe (1921)

The Jane Katcher Collection of Americana

Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Mary Dowrick, American, born 1733

American, 1747, linen plain weave embroidered with silk

Overall: 17 x 8 1/4 in.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Ann Bauer  
2005.214

Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's Inc. © 2012

Courtesy of the Bostonian Society

Courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society

Courtesy of the National Museum of American History,  
Smithsonian InstitutionCourtesy of the National Museum of American History,  
Smithsonian Institution

Photograph courtesy of Historic New England

Photograph courtesy of Winterthur Museum

Acc. No. 1987.0060

Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's Inc. © 2012



Ann Wing	<p>Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</p> <p>Ann Wing, American, born 1726</p> <p>American, Colonial, 1739</p> <p>Linen plain weave embroidered with silk in reversible cross, eyelet, satin, couching, herringbone, running, and speckling</p> <p>Height x width 12 5/16 x 8 1/16 in.</p> <p>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Dr. W. W. Morland 77.150</p>
Lydia Kneeland	Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's Inc. © 2008
Martha Decoster	Photograph © 2012 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Hannah Storer	<p>Photograph courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society</p> <p>MHS Artifact no. 0539, Hannah Storer sampler</p> <p>Made in 1747 and given by her descendant, Dr. Samuel A. Green in 1908, 40.5 cm H x 31 cm W</p>
Sarah Lowell	Collection of Glee Krueger
Hannah Trecothick	<p>Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</p> <p>Hannah Trecothick, American, 1724-1807</p> <p>American, 1738</p> <p>Linen plain weave embroidered with silk</p> <p>Height x width 18 1/8 x 9 in.</p> <p>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Miss Emily D. Chapman 25.202</p>
<u>Philadelphia Samplers</u>	
Rebecca Biles	Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's Inc. © 2012
Sarah Logan	Fairmont Park Historic Resource Archive
Ann Robins	Private collection
Sarah Howell	<i>American Samplers</i> , Bolton & Coe (1921)
Margaret Sandiford	Private collection
Elizabeth Rush	<p>Photograph courtesy of Winterthur Museum</p> <p>Acc. No. 1975.0116 A</p>
Hannah Trotter	Dr. & Mrs. Donald M. Herr
Prudence Dunbar	Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's Inc. © 2012
Mary Keasby	Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's Inc. © 2008
Rebecca Jones	Courtesy of the Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent

South Carolina Low Country Samplers

Elizabeth Gibbes	Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina
Elizabeth Hext	Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts
Martha Motte	Private collection
Ann Wragg	Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina
Ann Clark	Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts
Dorothy Waring	Courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina

## Glossary

Band sampler - a sampler comprised of successive bands of stitched design oriented horizontally on a piece of ground fabric.

Calvinism - a Protestant Christian theological system named after sixteenth-century reformer John Calvin. Calvinists believe that God's grace and salvation are available to all, and that a person's shortcomings do not make him unable to achieve salvation. The five points of Calvinism which pertain to this soteriological belief are: total depravity (every person is born into sin as a result of Original Sin), unconditional election (Predestination, God has already chosen who will receive grace), limited atonement (the atonement of Jesus on the cross is limited to those elected by God), irresistible grace (God's saving grace can not be resisted by the elect), and perseverance of the saints (once a saint always a saint).

Counted thread embroidery - a type of embroidery executed by counting the linen threads for each stitch. For example, for basic cross stitch the needle would come up between two linen ground threads, and then down two threads and over two threads from where the stitch was started to go back into the linen ground fabric.

Cross stitch - a counted thread stitch which when executed looks like an "X." Marking cross stitches are reversible.

Design aesthetic - the underlying artistic or visual appeal of a design.

Design conceit - the overall, intentional composition of a design.

Detached buttonhole stitch - a surface embroidery stitch which densely fills an area and looks like compact lace when completed. This stitch takes several passes of the needle to complete an area and requires a relatively large amount of thread.

Doctrine - beliefs which form the accepted dogma of a particular religious denomination.

Double running stitch - a counted thread stitch which creates a line by sharing starting and ending points in the ground fabric. This stitch was generally worked reversibly.

Eyelet stitch - a counted thread stitch which is worked in the form of a square with the needle coming up through the ground fabric and then always returning into the ground fabric in the center of the square. The resulting impression of successive eyelet stitches is somewhat lacy (like eyelet fabric) because the repeated insertion of the needle into the same center location creates a little hole.

Fancy work - a type of embroidery considered decorative and ornamental, as opposed to plain work.

Freehand embroidery - a type of embroidery which does not require the counting of ground threads on the fabric to execute. The design for this type of embroidery is usually drawn on the ground fabric.

Marking sampler - a sampler comprised of letters of the alphabet usually worked as successive bands. Marking samplers often include more than one alphabet and may include numbers as well as a series of joined letters (ligatures). Marking samplers were the first sampler worked by girls, usually between the ages of six to nine.

Pictorial embroidery - a sampler comprised of imagery. Pictorial embroideries essentially told a story in the seventeenth century, usually Biblical or moral in nature. This form of embroidery evolved during the eighteenth century to represent pastoral scenes.

Plain work - a general term for simple embroidery and sewing. Marking samplers are considered plain work.

Reversible stitching - a type of stitching which looks essentially the same on the front and back of the embroidery. Some reversible stitching creates a different stitch on each side. For example, one version of the marking cross looks like a cross stitch on the front and a four-sided stitch on the back. There were two reasons for working this type of embroidery. One reason was to present the same image because both the front and back could be visible (sleeve cuffs and linen marking). A second reason to work a project reversibly was to create a more durable embroidery (again for sleeve cuffs and linen marking).

Satin stitch - this stitch can be executed as either counted thread embroidery or free hand embroidery. In each case the embroidery thread is passed over the linen ground fabric in successive lengths to fill in an area; the thread always begins by coming up through ground fabric and ends by going down into ground fabric.

Spot motif sampler - a sampler comprised of various decorative motifs usually worked in a random pattern. This type of sampler was popular in the seventeenth century.

Surface embroidery - a type of embroidery which is worked entirely on the surface of the ground fabric; the needle does not enter the ground fabric to execute the stitch.

Whitework Sampler - a sampler worked with white thread on linen. This type of sampler was popular in the seventeenth century and frequently paralleled the format of polychrome band samplers. Seventeenth-century samplers also commonly included both polychrome and whitework bands on the same sampler.

## Bibliography

Almond, Philip C. *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, Digital Reprint 2008.

Anzilotti, Cara. *In the Affairs of the World: Women, Patriarchy, and Power in Colonial South Carolina*. Contributions in American History, Number 196. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Autonomy and the Female Planter in Colonial South Carolina." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 63. No. 2 (May, 1997), 239-268.

Bacon, Margaret Hope. *Wilt Thou Go On My Errand?: Three 18<sup>th</sup> Century Journals of Quaker Women Ministers*. Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1994.

Barbour, Hugh and Frost, J. William. *The Quakers*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Inc, 1988; paperback edition Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1994.

Barnwell, Joseph W. "Correspondence of Henry Laurens." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (July, 1927), 141-168.

Best, John Hardin. "Education in the Forming of the American South." *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring, 1996): 39-51.

Bolton, Ethel Stanwood, and Coe, Eva Johnston. *American Samplers*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc. (Reprint), 1973. Original publication Boston: Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Inc., 1921.

Bolton, S. Charles. *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).

Braithwaite, William C. *The Second Period of Quakerism*. York: William Sessions Limited, 1979.

Breen, T. H., Hall, Timothy. "Structuring Provincial Imagination: The Rhetoric and Experience of Social Change in Eighteenth-Century New England." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 103, No. 5 (Dec., 1998): 1411-1439.

Bremer, Francis J. *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*. Hanover: University of New England Press, Revised Edition, 1995.

Brinsfield, John Wesley. *Religion and Politics in Colonial South Carolina*. Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1983.

- Brinton, Howard H. "The Quaker Contribution to Higher Education in Colonial America." *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (July, 1958), 234-250.
- Brookes, George S. *Friend Anthony Benezet*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press and London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- Brooks, Mary M. "The Early English Works" in *Micheal & Elizabeth Feller: The Needlework Collection, I*, Mary M. Brooks, Elizabeth Feller, Jacqueline Holdsworth (Needleprint, 2011).
- Brophy, Alfred L. "The Quaker Bibliographic World of Francis Daniel Pastorius' Bee Hive." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 122, No. 3 (July, 1998), 241-291.
- Brown, Clare and Wearden, Jennifer. *Samplers from the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London: V&A Publications, 1999.
- Calhoun, Jeanne A., Martha A. Zierden, and Elizabeth A. Paysinger. "The Geographic Spread of Charleston's Mercantile Community, 1732-1767." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (Jul., 1985), 182-220.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Global Perspectives on the Early Economic History of South Carolina." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 106, No. 2/3 (Apr.-Jul., 2005), 130-146.
- Cantor, Geoffrey. "Quakers in the Royal Society, 1660-1750." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Jul., 1997), 175-193.
- Caton, Mary Anne. "Tables and fruit-Trenchers teach as much: English Banqueting Trenchers, c. 1585-1662" *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 169, No. 6 (June, 2006), 112-119.
- Cherry, C. Conrad. "The Puritan Notion of the Covenant in Jonathan Edwards' Doctrine of Faith." *Church History*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Sept., 1965), 328-341.
- Coclanis, Peter A. *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1921*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Cohen, Sheldon S. *A History of Colonial Education, 1607-1776*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974.
- Crain, Patricia. *The Story of A: The Alphabetization of America from the New England Primer to The Scarlet Letter*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women's Dreams in Early Modern England." *History Workshop Journal*, No. 49 (Spring, 2000), 129-141.

Crowther-Heyck, Kathleen. "'Be Fruitful and Multiply': Genesis and Generation in Reformation Germany." *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Autumn, 2002), 904-935.

Davidson, Cathy N. and Wagner-Martin, Linda. *The Oxford Companion to Women's Writing in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Davies, Adrian. *The Quakers in English Society 1655-1725*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Defoer, H. L. M. "Pieter Aertsen: The Mass of St. Gregory with the Mystic Winepress." *Master Drawings*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer, 1980): 134-141, 197.

Demers, Patricia. *Heaven Upon Earth: The Form of Moral and Religious Children's Literature, to 1850*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993.

Dunn, Richard S. And Dunn, Mary Maples. *The World of William Penn*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Ellis, Marianne. *Embroideries and Samplers from Islamic Egypt*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 2001.

Fleischer, Roland E. "Emblems and Colonial American Painting." *American Art Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1988), 2-35.

Ford, Paul Leicester. *The New England Primer: a reprint of the earliest known edition with many facsimilels and reproduction, and an historical introduction*. <http://digital.library.pitt.edu>

Frye, Susan. *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Goggin, Maureen Daly and Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework & Textiles, 1750-1950*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009.

Hains, Lynn. "The Face of God: Iconography in Early American Poetry, Sermons, and Tombstone Carving." *Early American Literature*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring, 1979), 15-47.

Hans, Nicholas. *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1951.



Harper, George W. *A People So Favored of God: Boston's Congregational Churches and Their Pastors, 1710-1760*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004.

Hart, Emma. *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

Hayes, Kevin J. *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1996.

Heister, Jan and Kathleen Staples. *This Have I Done: Samplers and Embroideries from Charleston and the Lowcountry*. Greenville, SC: Curious Works Press and Charleston, SC: The Charleston Museum, 2001.

Ingle, H. Larry, "George Fox, Millenarian." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Summer, 1992), 261-278.

Ivey, Kimberly Smith. *In the Neatest Manner: The Making of the Virginia Sampler Tradition*. Austin, TX: Curious Works Press, 1997.

Jaffee, David. *People of the Wachusett: Greater New England in History and Memory, 1630-1860*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Johnson, Clifton. *Old-Time Schools and School-Books*. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1935. Reprint of 1904 edition.

Jones, Ann Rosalind and Stallybrass, Peter. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Jones, Rufus M. *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1949.

Joyner, Judith R. *Beginnings: Education in Colonial South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1985.

Kierner, Cynthia A. "Hospitality, Sociability, and Gender in the Southern Colonies." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Aug., 1996), 449-480.

Kingdon, Robert M. "Protestant Parishes in the Old World and the New: The Cases of Geneva and Boston." *Church History*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Sept., 1979): 290-304.

Klain, Zora. *Educational Activities of New England Quakers*. Philadelphia: Westbrook Publishing Company, 1928.

Lapsansky, Emma Jones and Verplanck, Anne A. ed. *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Larson, Rebecca. *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Leath, Robert A., “‘After the Chinese Taste’: Chinese Export Porcelain and Chinoiserie Design in Eighteenth-Century Charleston.” *Society for Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 33, No. 3, Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture (1999), 48-61.

Lippincott, Horace Mather. *Early Philadelphia: Its People, Life and Progress*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917.

Liston, William T., ed. *Francis Quarles’ Divine Fancies: A Critical Edition*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1992.

Littlefield, George Emery. *Early Schools and School-Books of New England*. New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1904 (Reissued 1965).

Lockley, Tim. “Rural Poor Relief in Colonial South Carolina.” *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 4 (Dec., 2005), 955-976.

Loven, Pauline M., ed. “Hyne Family Letters, 1699-1757.” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 102, No. 1 (Jan., 2001), 27-46.

Marietta, Jack D. *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Marriott, Thomas. *Female Conduct. Being an essay on the art of pleasing. To be practised by the fair sex, before, and after marriage*. London, 1759.

Menard, Russell R. “Slavery, economic growth and revolutionary ideology in the South Carolina low country.” In *The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763-1790*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, John J. McCusker, Russell R. Menard, and Peter J. Albert, 244-274. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1988.

Merrens, H. Roy, ed. *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1977.

Miller, Randall M. And Pencak, William, ed. *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press; Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2002.

Monaghan, E. Jennifer. "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England." *American Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 1 Special Issue: Reading America (Mar., 1988), 18-41.

Morgan, Edmund S. *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Revised Edition, 1966.

Morrall, Andrew and Watt, Melinda, editors. *Twixt Art and Nature: English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Muelenbelt-Nieuwburg, Albarta. (Translated by Patricia Wardle and Gillian Downing) *Embroidery Motifs From Old Dutch Samplers*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974.

Nash, Gary B. *Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, New Edition, 1993.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979, 1986.

Nelson, Louis P. *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism & Architecture in Colonial South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Nydam, Arien. "Numerological Tradition in the Works of Jupiter Hammon." *African American Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Summer, 2006): 207-220.

Olwell, Robert. *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country, 1740-1790*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Pahl, Jon. *Paradox Lost: Free Will and Political Liberty in American Culture, 1630-1760*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Parmal, Pamela A. "The Samplers of Colonial Boston." *Antiques & Fine Art*, Vol. X, Issue 5 (Autumn/Winter, 2010): 162-167.

Pearson, Edward. "'Planters Full of Money': The Self-Fashioning of the Eighteenth-Century South Carolina Elite." In *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society*, edited by Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, 299-321. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2001.

Pennell, Sara. "'Pots and Pans History': The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England" *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1998), 201-216.

Pennington, Edgar Legare. "The Reverend Thomas Morritt and the Free School in Charles Town." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1931), 34-45.

Pestana, Carla Gardina. "Manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections Relating to Religious Dissenters." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 102 (1990): 148-163.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Phelan, Dorothy Bromiley, Hansson, Eva-Lotta, and Holdsworth, Jacqueline. *The Goodhart Samplers*. England: Needleprint, 2008.

Porterfield, Amanda. *Female Piety in Puritan New England: The Emergence of Religious Humanism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Pearson, Edward. "'Planters Full of Money': The Self-Fashioning of the Eighteenth-Century South Carolina Elite." In *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society*, edited by Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, 299-321. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2001.

Pennington, Edgar Legare. "The Reverend Thomas Morritt and the Free School in Charles Town." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 1931), 34-45.

Primer, Sylvester. "The Huguenot Element in Charleston's Plantations." *Modern Language Association*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1889), 214-244.

Rightmyer, Nelson Waite. "Churches Under Enemy Occupation Philadelphia, 1777-8" *Church History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Mar., 1945), 33-60.

Ring, Betty. *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework 1650-1850*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.

Salley, A. S. Jr. "Hugh Hext and Some of His Descendants." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan., 1905): 29-40.

Seligman, Adam. "Inner-worldly individualism and the institutionalization of Puritanism in late seventeenth-century New England." *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Dec., 1990): 537-557.

Sensabaugh, G. F. "Milton in the Revolution Settlement." *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Feb., 1946): 175-208.

Seybolt, Robert Francis. *The Public Schools of Colonial Boston, 1635-1775*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Public Schoolmasters of Colonial Boston*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

\_\_\_\_\_. "South Carolina Schoolmasters of 1744." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Oct., 1930): 314-315.

Small, Walter Herbert. *Early New England Schools*. New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969.

Smith, Henry A. M. "Wragg of South Carolina." *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Jul., 1918), 121-123.

Smith, Nigel, ed. *George Fox: The Journal*. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

Soderlund, Jean R. "Women's Authority in Pennsylvania and New Jersey Quaker Meetings, 1680-1760." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Oct., 1987), 722-749.

*The Joan Stephens Collection: Important Samplers and Pictorial Needlework*. Sotheby's New York, January 19, 1997.

Staples, Kathleen. "Samplers from Charleston, South Carolina." *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 169, No. 3 (March, 2006), 81-89.

Story, Thomas. *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed by Isaac Thompson, 1747.

Styles, John and Vickery, Amanda, ed. *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Thickstun, Margaret Olofson. "Milton Among Puritan Women: Affiliative Spirituality and the Conclusion of *Paradise Lost*." *Religion & Literature*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 2004): 1-23.

Thwing, Annie Haven. *The Crooked & Narrow Streets of Boston, 1630-1822*. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920.

Thwing, Annie Haven. *Inhabitants and Estates of the Town of Boston, 1630-1800*. (CD-ROM database) Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2001.

Tolles, Frederick B. *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia 1682-1763*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948.

\_\_\_\_\_. “‘Of the Best Sort but Plain’: The Quaker Aesthetic.” *American Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Winter, 1959), 484-502.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001.

Veasey, Patricia V. “Samplers of the Carolina Piedmont: The Presbyterian Connection and the Bethel Group.” *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 and Vol. XXXII No. 1 and No. 2 (Winter 2005 - Winter 2006), 103-148.

Vipont, Elfrida. *Ackworth School: From Its Foundation in 1779 to the Introduction of Co-Education in 1946*. Ackworth: Williams Brown/Pritchard, 1991.

Waddell, Gene. “An Architectural History of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, Charleston.” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 98, No. 1 (Jan., 1997), 6-55.

Watters, David H. “‘I Spake as a Child’: Authority, Metaphor and ‘The New-England Primer.’” *Early American Literature*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Winter, 1985/86): 193-213.

Weigley, Russell F., ed. *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982.

Weintraub, Karl J. “The Puritan Ethic and Benjamin Franklin.” *The Journal of Religion*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Jul., 1976), 223-237.

Weir, Robert M. *Colonial South Carolina: A History*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Historical Notes.” *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Jul., 1910), 184-191.

Whelan, Virginia Jarvis. “Discoveries in Philadelphia Needlework: The Tree of Life Embroideries.” *The Magazine Antiques*, Vol. 170, Issue 3 (Sept., 2006), 94-103.

Williams, Tony. *The Pox and the Covenant: Mather, Franklin, and the Epidemic that Changed America's Destiny*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2010.

Woody, Thomas. *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920.

Wright, Thomas Goddard. *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.

Zierden, Martha. "A Trans-Atlantic Merchant's House in Charleston: Archaeological Exploration of Refinement and Subsistence in an Urban Setting." *Society for Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 33, No. 3, Charleston in the Context of Trans-Atlantic Culture (1999), 73-87.