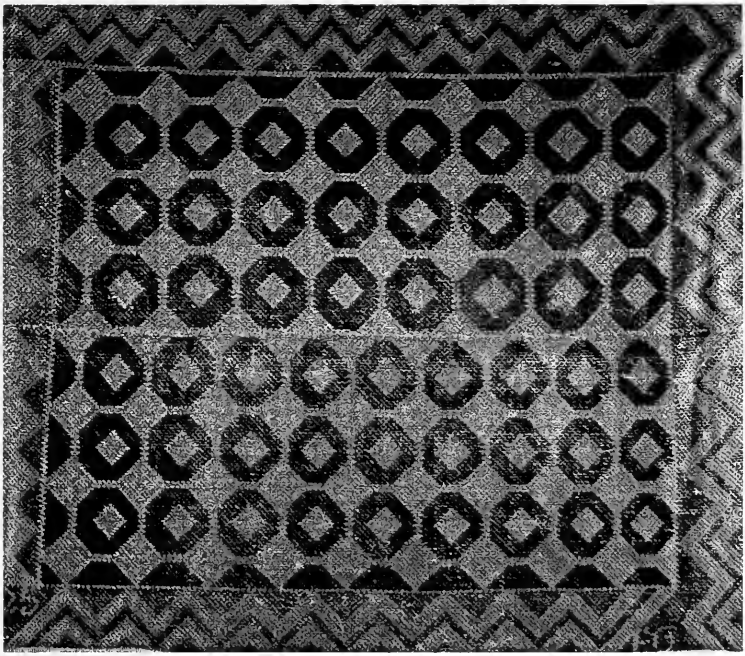
JOURNAL OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

SUMMER 2004 VOLUME XXX, NUMBER 1



THE MUSEUM OF EARLY SOUTHERN DECORATIVE ARTS

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Cover: Knotted and woven bed rug, Wytheville, Virginia, 1825. Linen and wool. HOA 89¾; WOA 73¾. *Acc. 2175.3.*

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Contents

Rugs–The Colonial Chesapeake Consumer's Bed Covering of Choice

GLORIA SEAMAN ALLEN, PH.D.

"RUG" IS THE MOST FREQUENTLY listed bed covering in colonial probate documents from the Chesapeake region *(Figure 1)*.[1] Bed rugs were imported from Great Britain by the thousands, while a much smaller number were woven in the colonies.[2] As commonplace as rugs seem to have been in Chesapeake life, there is almost no artifact-based evidence to support extensive document-based evidence for their existence.[3]

This article looks closely at Chesapeake probate inventories in order to determine the origins, materials, colors, and patterns of bed rugs as well as the extent and duration of their use by Chesapeake consumers from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. The author will speculate on possible reasons for the lack of artifact-based evidence. Why have rugs, the most ubiquitous bed covering in the colonial Chesapeake region, not survived?

RUG—A QUESTION OF DEFINITION

The word "rug" (rugg, rugge) has several possible linguistic sources. It may derive from the Norwegian dialect *rugga* or *rogga*, meaning coarse coverlet, or the Old Norwegian *rögg*, meaning tuft or shag, or the Swedish *rugg*, meaning coarse entangled hair, or *rugge*,

also meaning tuft.[3] A few surviving artifacts, descriptors in probate inventories, and definitions in early dictionaries, suggest that rug was a coarse woolen pile textile. Sold by the yard or cut into lengths and seamed together, it was used from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century for bed coverings and clothing in Great Britain. In the Chesapeake colonies, rugs were usually, but not always, used as outer bed coverings.

Lexicographers generally define rug as a bed covering or garment. One of the earliest, Nathan Bailey (d. 1742), described rug in the 1730 edition of his *Dictionarium Britannicum* as a "a Coat, or shaggy coverlet for a bed."[5] In *The Draper's Dictionary* of 1882, William Beck expanded on the earlier definition and noted that during the sixteenrh century rug was a coarse fabric worn by the poorer classes. He cited examples from 1592 as "in a gowne of rug" or "Sage rugge Kirtle."[6] Beck further stated that in America the "name is applied only to a bed cover for ordinary beds." The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* defines rug as "a large piece of thick woolen stuff (freq. of various colours) used as a coverlet . . ." and "a coarse coverlet . . . a rough woolen material, a sort of coarse frieze, in common use in the 16th–17th cent."[7] Florence Montgomery, in her dictionary of terms for textiles found in American use, defined rug as "a coarse wool cloth with a shagged or friezed finish used in garments by the poorer classes and, doubtless, as bed coverings."[8]

A RUG BY ANY OTHER NAME . . .

Defining the term "rug" is complicated by its apparent similarity to other types of coarse cloth and other early bed coverings.[9] "Frieze," a woolen cloth, appears to be synonymous with rug.[10] The *OED* defines frieze as "A kind of coarse woolen cloth, with a nap, usually on one side only; now especially of Irish manufacture," while citing references to its use from 1418 to 1856. William Beck included a 1606 reference to frieze in his definition of rugs—"January must be expressed with a horrid and fearful aspect clad in Irish rug or

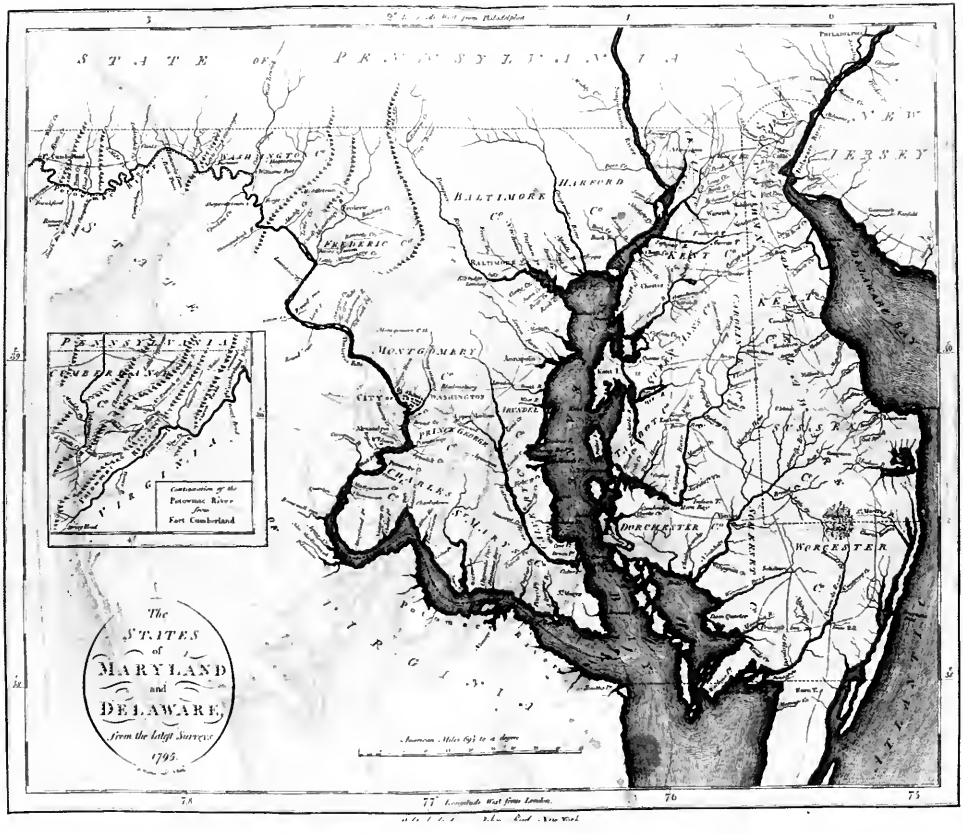


FIGURE 1. *The States of Maryland and Delaware, from the latest Surveys.* By David Martin, 1795. Ink on paper. MESDA Research File *(MRF hereafter)* 14196.

coarse frieze."[11] In an American dictionary, contemporary with Beck's, George Cole defined frieze as "a heavy, shaggy woolen cloth, covered with a thick nap forming little tufts, manufactured to some extent for blankets and clothing . . . the national cloth of Ireland . . . since the 17th century."[12] This reference to "little tufts" corresponds to the few extant eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century rugs with knotted or cut pile tufts.

"Caddow," (cadow, caddo, cado, cadoe, cadar, cadder, caddis) with its various spellings, is another term that complicates the investigation of bed rugs. Caddows appear in a bedding context in late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century Chesapeake probate inventories.[13] Although caddows were not as commonplace as rugs, appraisers sometimes listed both in the same inventory suggesting that a rug and caddow, or caddis, differed in appearance *(Figure 2)*. Other appraisers, however, used caddow to define rug as in 1710 when Stephen Whetstone of Kent County, Maryland, left "1 Cadar rug" and "I Cadow rug" along with two other bed rugs, not described.[14] The *OED* defines caddow in terms similar to rug—"a rough woolen covering," and indicates that the word may derive from the Gaelic *cudadh* or *cudath* for tartan cloth.[15] The Dictionary cites a reference from a 1588 Lancashire will to "an Irish caddow checked." Peter Thornton, when describing seventeenth-century European interiors, used caddow as a synonym for rug.[16] He wrote that:

> Irish rugs were often to be seen on beds in grand English houses in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century but the fact that someone could speak of "outlandish caddows" in 1681 suggests that they had by then long disappeared from the fashionable scene.[17]

In addition to equating caddows with Irish rugs, Thornton wrote:

> Irish rugs are sometimes described as being "chequered," which presumably means they had a tartan effect in their weave. They were apparently identical with the "caddows" . . . that we know could be checked.[18]

Florence Montgomery cited another meaning for the term caddow that has caused further confusion for textile historians. She not-

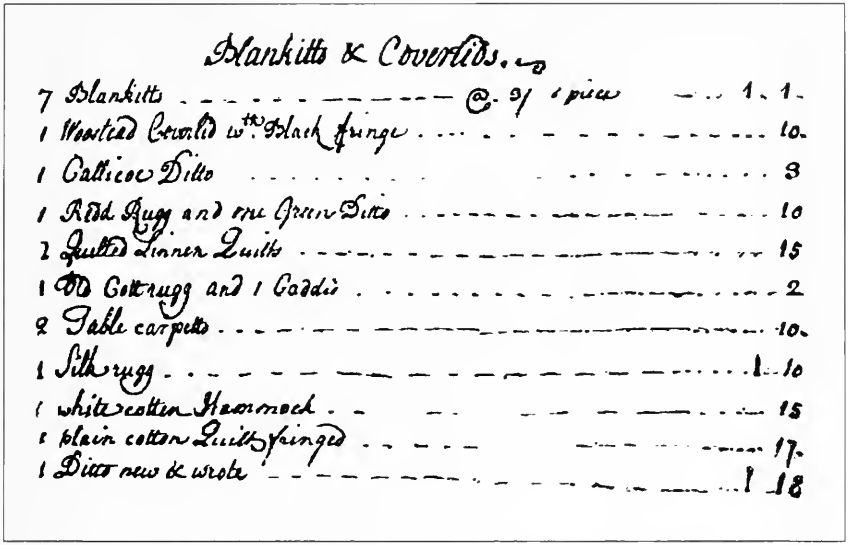

Blankitts & Coverlids.
7 Blankitts @ 3/ a piece 1. 1.
1 Worsted Coverlid w.th Black fringe 10.
1 Callicoe Ditto 3
1 Red Rugg and one Green Ditto 10
2 Quilted Linnen Quilts 15
1 Old Cotton rugg and 1 Caddi 2
2 Table carpetts 10.
1 Silk rugg 1. 10
1 white cotton Hammock 15
1 plain cotton Quilt fringed 17.
1 Ditto new & wrote 1 18

FIGURE 2. Partial inventory of the estate of John Smith, Elizabeth City County, Virginia, 19 February 1723/24.

ed that in the seventeenth century a caddow was a rough woolen coverlet or blanket but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the term became a trade name for "coverlets of cotton with coarse pattern wefts drawn up in loops that were made in Bolton in Lancashire."[19] Montgomery's description of the construction of cotton Bolton coverlets corresponds somewhat to the supplemental weft loop construction of at least one extant wool bed rug.

Happing is another synonym for rug that has a double meaning depending on time and place. Writing about English quilts, Dorothy Osler noted that a typical list of bedding in the seventeenth century "would include sheets, blankets and a woolen coverlet or rug (happing in the North of England)." She added that quilts only began to

displace happings in that region as the top covering for a bed in the second half of the eighteenth century.[20] In America, happing, or more commonly "hap," is used to describe heavy, hand-sewn, multilayer, tied quilts or comforters in mid-nineteenth-century Pennsylvania-German bedding.[21]

RUGS—WHAT HAS SURVIVED?

From the small number of artifacts classified as bed rugs in museum collections, it is evident that there are at least three types that differ in their construction and appearance. The largest, best-known group includes rugs whose wool pile surfaces were sewn with a needle through an existing woven foundation. Young women in Connecticut and elsewhere in New England made these rugs during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were frequently personalized and dated, and worked with elaborate floral designs derived from English baroque embroidery.[22] These rugs, cherished by descendants, have survived as a testament to the needlework skills of the women who made them.

The two other types of extant bed rugs were woven, and several of these have an association with the Chesapeake region. One type was woven on a loom with a supplemental weft raised up in loops and cut to form tufts. The other type was also woven, but with Turkish knots tied across the warp threads to create the pile surface. *Appendix A* categorizes the woven or woven and knotted bed rugs held in American collections.

Of the first woven type, only one example is known.[23] The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum owns a solid green woolen bed rug, which may have been manufactured in Great Britain during the eighteenth century. The rug was woven in two panels with a coarse supplemental wool weft on a woolen twill ground. The floats of extra weft have been cut at uniform height to create small tufts or a pile surface *(Figures 3* and *3a)*.[24]

The other type of woven bed rug has a pile surface composed of Turkish knots worked into a twill ground. The construction tech-

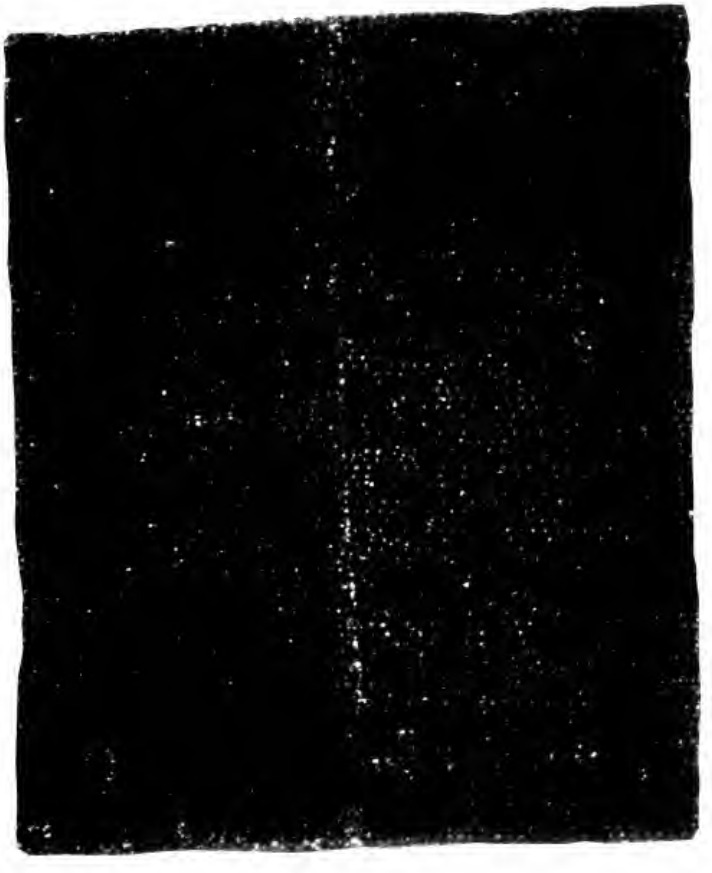


FIGURE 3. Woven bed rug, possibly Great Britain, eighteenth century. Wool. Collection of the Winterthur Museum, acc. 58.62.3a. *Courtesy of Winterthur Museum.*

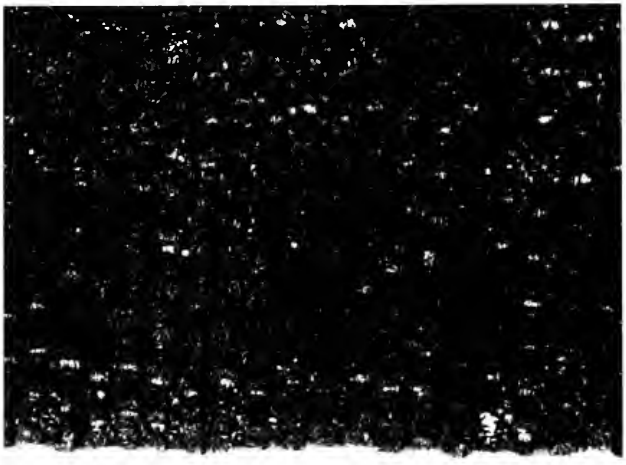


FIGURE 3A. Detail of weave on Winterthur's green bed rug.

nique is similar to that used to weave *ryijy* (meaning "rug" in Finish), a pile textile used in Scandinavian homes for bed coverings and wall hangings during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nancy Dick Bogdonoff described this method of rug construction:

> The Scandinavian rug . . . required many individual Turkish-type knots to be tied across the width of the warp while still in the loom and then the shuttle thrown with weft or filler yarn binding in the knot. In the *ryijy*, these alternating knotting and weaving rows continued the desired length of the rug while under tension on the loom.[25]

Six rugs of knotted and woven construction survive in museums in the United States. They differ somewhat from the *ryijy* in that they are woven with multiple rows of weft between offset rows of knots. A rug in the collection at Winterthur is solid white wool with the exception of the date "1768" and the initials "IC" worked in blue wool knots *(Figures 4* and *4a)*. Winterthur's accession record indicates a possible Irish provenance. A bed rug in a multicolor pattern

FIGURE 4. Detail of hem from a knotted and woven bed rug, possibly Ireland, 1768. Wool. Collection of the Winterthur Museum, acc. 54.24.2. *Courtesy of Winterthur Museum.*

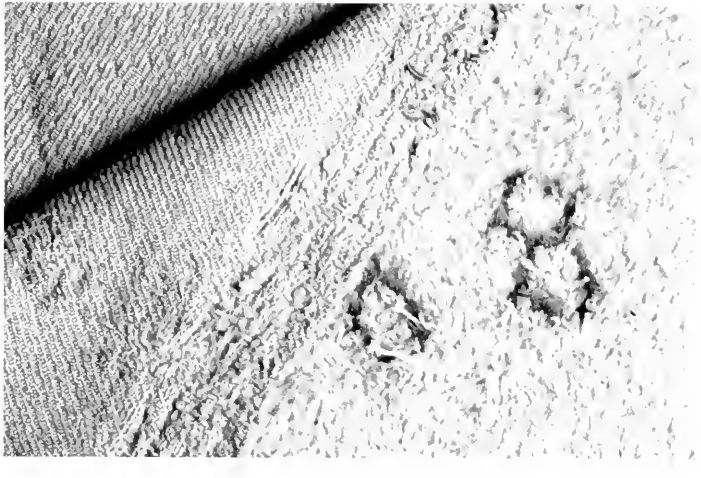


FIGURE 4A. Detail of twill foundation from Winterthur's white bed rug.

of triangles is dated "1807" *(Figure 5)*. It was obtained by Colonial Williamsburg from an English dealer who described it as a "Welsh coverlet."

Three other knotted rugs have a history of having been woven in Virginia during the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries.[26] One, in the collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, has a pattern of hexagons and squares and is dated "1825" with the initials "EG" *(Figures 6* and *6a)*. It was found in the area of Wytheville in Wythe County, Virginia (see *Figure 7*). Another rug, owned by Colonial Williamsburg, with a geometric pattern formed by Turkish knots also has a history of association with Wythe County *(Figure 8)*. The third Virginia rug, owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, has a long history of family ownership in Loudoun County, in northern Virginia *(Figure 9)*. This rug has a knotted construction similar to the other two Virginia rugs, but it is visually quite different with a meandering floral pattern. It is coarser in texture with the knots widely spaced.[27]

BED RUGS IN ENGLAND

To better understand the use of bed rugs in the Chesapeake region, it is helpful to look at their use in England, which predated colonial use by almost a century. References to rugs appear in English probate records as well as in random sources. Several published series of rural probate inventories, recordings of the movable possessions of the deceased, have been analyzed for the use of rugs in a bedding context over a period of years. In the earliest series of inventories, taken between 1550 and 1590 in Oxfordshire, northwest of London, appraisers found only two rugs, both in 1588, in the 258 households they examined.[28] In Devonshire in the southwest of England, between 1531 and 1699, 12 percent or 32 of 267 decedents owned rugs.[29] A rug was first listed in an inventory from 1593, but ownership of rugs peaked at 21 percent of the decedent population between 1669 and 1699 *(Figure 10)*.[30]

In Dorset, to the east of Devon on the south coast, 22 percent of

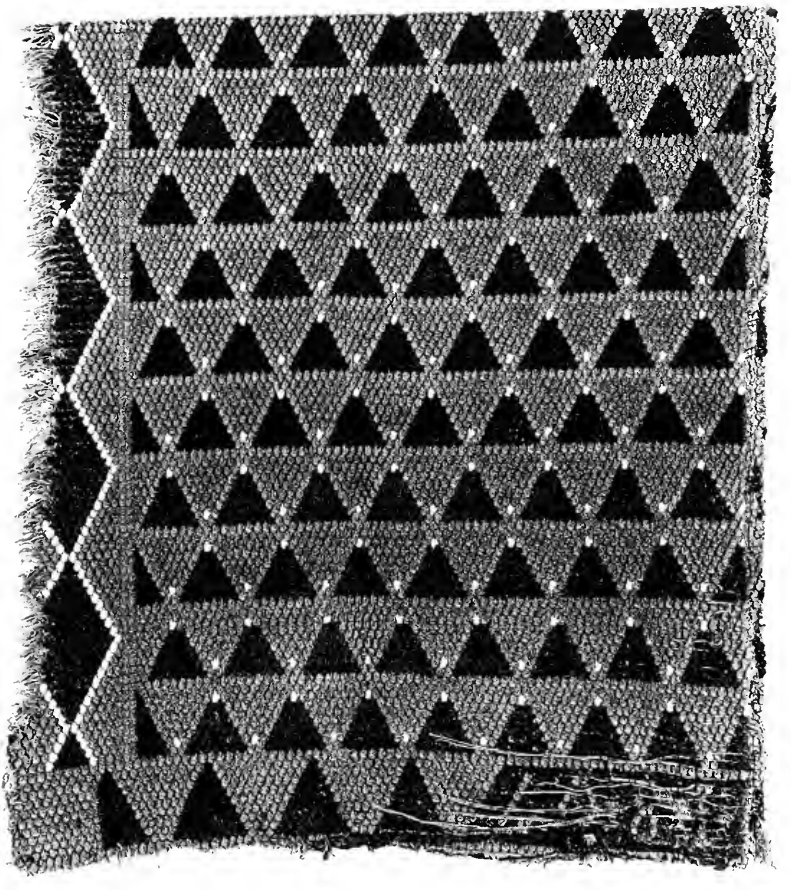


FIGURE 5. Knotted and woven bed rug, attributed to Great Britain, 1807. Wool. Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1972–369. *Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

FIGURE 6. Knotted and woven bed rug, Wytheville, Virginia, 1825. Linen and wool. HOA 89¾; WOA 73¾. *Acc. 2175.3.*

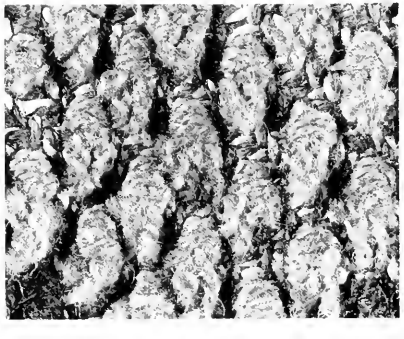


FIGURE 6A. Detail showing knots offset on a woven twill ground.

FIGURE 7. Detail of a map accompanying Stephen Beauregard Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A Study in Institutional History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896).

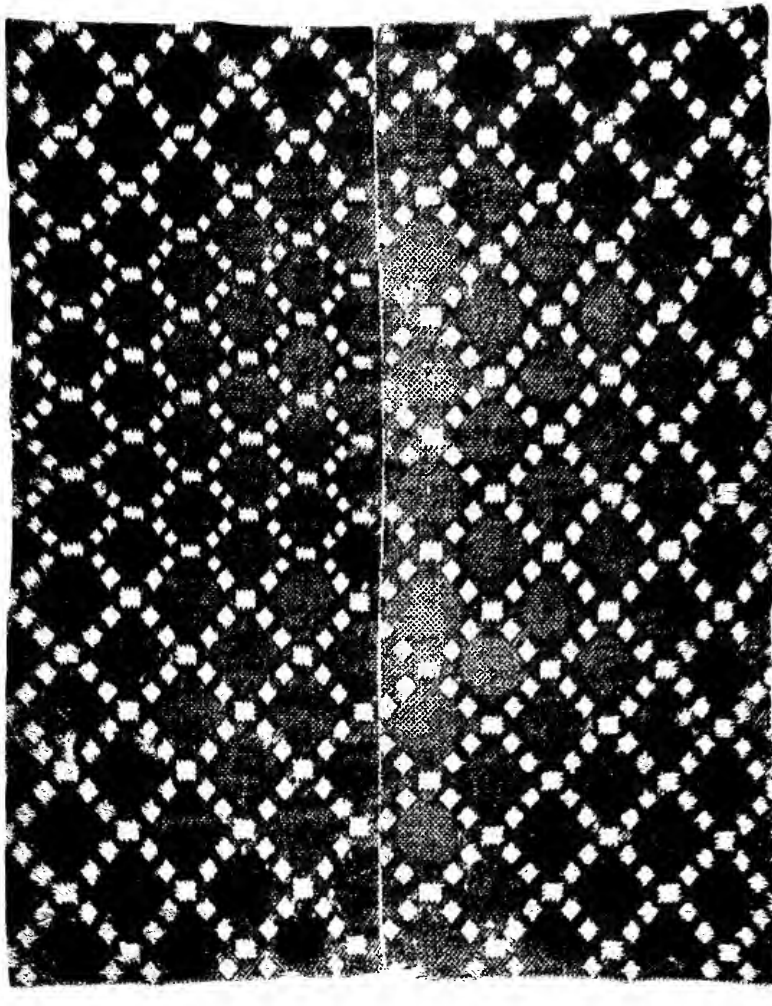


FIGURE 8. Knotted and woven bed rug, Wythe County, Virginia, nineteenth century. Wool. Collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, acc. 1980–158. *Courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

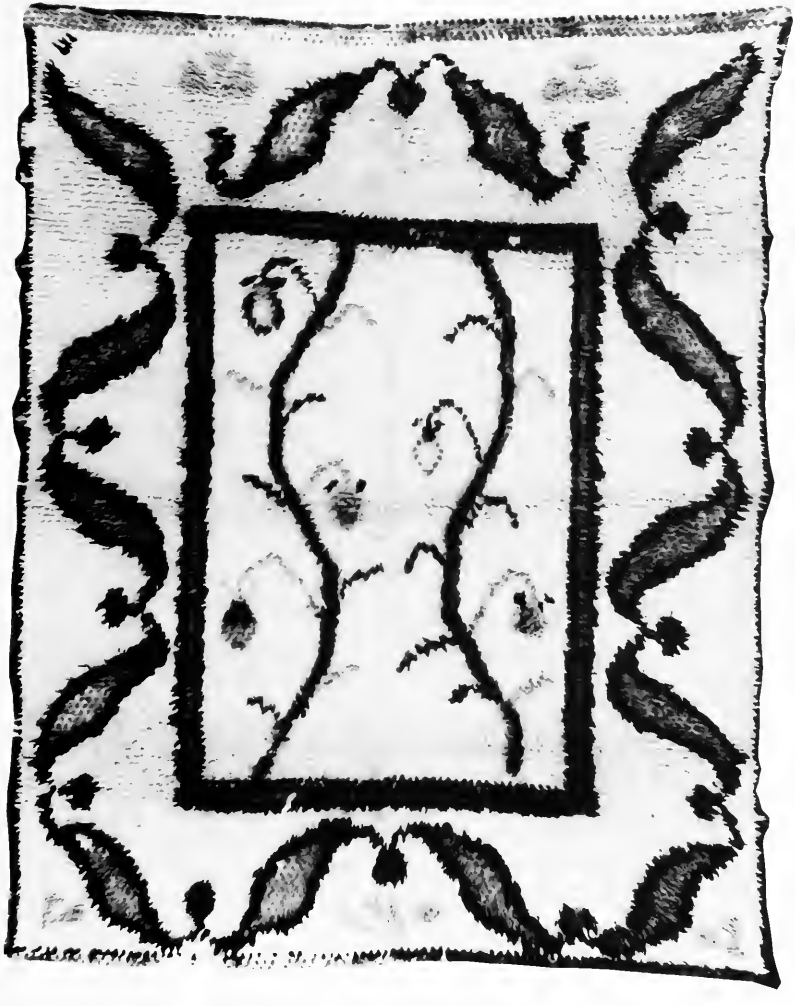


FIGURE 9. Knotted and woven bed rug, Loudon County, Virginia, nineteenth century. Wool. Collection of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia (APVA), acc. 1972.919. *Courtesy of the APVA, photography courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (neg. C73-1577).*

FIGURE 10. Map of England showing counties and principal cities.

the decedent inventories recorded between 1637 and 1769 included rugs. The first notation made in 1637 was for "one Rugge" in the "great chamber." Ownership peaked at 33 percent between 1670 and 1700 and then declined rapidly thereafter.[31] In mid-Essex, north of London, inventories have been published for the years 1635–1749. Appraisers listed the first rug in 1638 and the last in 1720. During that period, 29 percent of the inventoried decedents owned rugs. Appraisers recorded rugs in the "parlour," the "hall," or in the better chambers where a "yellow Rugg" was listed with matching "Vallins & Curtains" and a "green Rugg w/ green printed Curtains."[32] Following a pattern similar to that in Dorset, rug ownership in mid-Essex peaked at 35 percent between 1670 and 1700 and then declined sharply. By 1700, appraisers only found rugs in the "maid chamber" or the "lesser chamber." In 1755, British writer and lexicographer Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) confirmed the decline in the perceived value of rugs in his disparaging definition—"coarse nappy coverlet used for mean beds."[33]

Evidence for the use of rugs by the noble classes of England is sparse, and series of elite inventories showing use over time are not available. Peter Thornton has written that rugs were present in palaces, but their use by the nobility sharply declined around the middle of the seventeenth century. Sir John Eliot, between his two estates in Cornwall, owned nine bed rugs. Appraisers described two in 1633 as "fine white rugs," but listed the others simply as "rugs," which paled in comparison to his "painted callicowe quilt" and "velvet quilt inbrothered with gold and silke."[34] The 1601 inventory of Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire listed only a white Spanish rug and two unspecified rugs. Appraisers found the rugs in the best chambers in two buildings, but in each location, the rug was concealed by a decorative quilt or counterpane such as a "Counterpoynt of imbroderie and nedleworke with Cloth of gold and diverse other stuffes and with a gold frenge."[35]

At Knole, in Kent, a white rug did serve as the outter bed covering for an elegant bed as late as 1624. It complemented crimson and

white taffeta curtains and embroidered white satin valences.[36] By 1650, however, rugs were more likely to be found in chambers of those of lesser rank, or on a bed in the porter's lodge, or stored in the wardrobe.[37]

Random sources often are telling in regard to how rugs were used and valued. For example, in the "Book of Household Rules," drawn up by Lord Montague in 1595 for his staff at Cowdray, the Yeoman of the Wardrobe was directed to place rugs on beds at night to function as a covering after the more decorative and valuable quilts were removed—"the better sortes of quiltes of beddes at any time to be used at night taken off, and Yrish Rugges layd in their places."[38] Others saw rugs as a less desirable bed covering and objected to their rough texture. Perer Thornton noted, in his description of seventeenth-century bedding, that Lady Beauchamp had "one rugge with a false cotton cover," which today might be interpreted as a duvet cover.[39] Some people, however, placed considerable value on their rugs. In his 1594–95 diary, the London pawnbroker Philip Henslowe (d. 1616) recorded that rugs were left with him as security.[40]

English inventories suggest that the use of rugs as bed coverings reflected social status. People living in cottages were more apt to own rugs and for a longer period of time than people living in palaces where a rug, or caddow, would have been seen as "outlandish" by 1681.[41] As we have already seen, series of inventories recorded in rural areas demonstrate that ownership of rugs by the non-elite population commenced at the end of the sixteenth century and increased steadily during the seventeenth century to peak between 1670 and 1700. During this period, standards of comfort rose dramatically in England as the purchasing power of the middle and lower classes increased, and money became available to spend on such soft furnishings as bed hangings, linens, and rugs.[42] Yet, after 1700, ownership of rugs by the non-elite classes sharply declined, and people consigned rugs to lesser rooms where appraisers described them in derogatory terms, if at all. The devaluation of rugs as suitable bed coverings would continue in England during the

eighteenth century as social reformers and others with vested interests would publicly condemn rugs as "harbours of filth and dirt."[43]

EARLY USE OF RUGS IN THE BRITISH COLONIES

Documents from the first years of Chesapeake settlement mention the use of rugs as bed coverings. When Richard Loe (Lowe), master of the 85-ton *Ark* disembarked in the early spring of 1634 and set foot on a fertile island in a broad river known by its Indian name Patawomeck (Potomac), he carried with him from England a "rugg" along with an "old sheet" and a "flock quilt."[44] One of 128 survivors of more than four months at sea, Loe and his fellow Englishmen claimed the land in the name of their patron Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, and named it *Terra Maria* or "Mary's land" in honor of the wife of their monarch Charles I. The following year, guidelines proposed by Lord Baltimore for provisioning emigrants bound for Maryland included the following bedding:

> Item, two paire of Canvas sheets
> Item, seven ells of Canvas to make a bed and boulster
> to be fill'd in the country
> Item, one Rugg for a bed
> Item, five ells of course Canvas to make a bed at Sea,
> to bee fill'd with straw
> Item, One course Rugg at Sea[45]

Thus, every two men were allotted one bed rug at sea and one for use when they arrived in the new colony.[46] Their shipboard rug was of a coarser sort and probably narrower in width to fit the confines of a ship's bunk or hammock. Yet, it provided warmth and protection from dampness during the long sea voyage. Thomas Dean of Kent County, Maryland, still had his "old Sea Rugg" when he died in 1676.[47]

By the second half of the seventeenth century, appraisers began to list rugs with some frequency in Chesapeake probate documents. When Thomas Keeling died in Norfolk County, Virginia, in 1665 he

owned "one Greene Rugge." The following year, Andrew Bodnam, also of Norfolk County, died leaving a "Shagg Rugge."[48] And by the time Thomas Teackle died in Accomack County in 1696, he had acquired seven rugs.[49]

Records for the use of bed rugs in colonial America during the first half century of settlement are more numerous from New England. Vessels destined for Massachusetts Bay in March 1628/29 were outfitted with bedding for one hundred men that included "50 ruggs" and "100 peare of sheets."[50] The next year, John Winthrop (1588–1649), governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, wrote to his son in England "to bring a store of Coarse Ruggs, both to use and to sell."[51] And in 1636, the vessel *William & John* brought into Massachusetts Bay "240 yards of ruggs for beds."[52]

Bed rugs became part of the repertory of standard trade goods. The trading house at Kennebec (later, the site of Augusta, Maine) had been stocked with English "coats, shirts, rugs and blankets" as early as 1628.[53] It was not long before the Indian trade was recognized as a much-needed outlet for coarse English woolens, which had been declining in use in England since the 1590s as lighter, finer woolens and worsteds, known as new draperies, became more widely available. In his outline of a project for developing a fishing industry off the coast of New England in the early 1620s, Captain John Smith argued that the cost for such a venture would be minimal:

> The charge of this is only Salt, Nets, Hookes, Linen, Knives, Irish-rugges, coarse Cloth, Beads, Glasse and such trash, only for fishing and trade with the Salvages, besides our own necessarie provisions, whose endevours would quickly defray all this charge.[54]

In the Chesapeake region, William Claiborne (1600–c.1677), a member of the Virginia council, established a trading post at Kent Island (later, part of Maryland) shortly before King Charles granted the colony of Maryland to Lord Baltimore. By 1631, Claiborne had developed relations with the local Susquehannock Indians who supplied him with beaver pelts, deerskins, tobacco, and corn in exchange

for British manufactures. While it's not certain if Claiborne's trade goods included rugs, he did place orders for rugs for his own use.[55]

Robert Beverley's 1705 description of the winter clothing of the native people he encountered in Virginia suggests that the Indians may have been clothed in English trade goods. "Their Cloaths are a large Mantle, carelessly wrapped about their Bodies, and sometimes girt close in the middle with a Girdle. The upper part of the Mantle is drawn close upon the Shoulders, and the other hangs below their Knees."[56] Laurel Ulrich noted that the Algonkian Indians of New England exchanged beaver pelts for duffel, a heavy, nappy woolen cloth, available in 60-inch widths. Witney (Oxfordshire) weavers dyed duffels, also known as Shags, "Red or Blue, which are the Colours that best please the Indians of Virginia and New England." Duffel could be cut and made into "Gowns of about two Yards long" allowing wearers to put "their Arms through two Holes made for that Purpose, and so wrapping the rest about them as we our Loose coats."[57] Rug, in deeply dyed colors, could have been cut in lengths and served the same purpose as duffel. Easily obtained as a trade items, duffel and rug may have replaced skins and woven grasses for Indian clothing and bedding.[58]

BED RUGS—DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR THE CHESAPEAKE REGION

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, inventories of Chesapeake households included rugs, in a bedding context, in ever growing numbers. Increased usage in the Chesapeake inversely corresponds to declining usage in England. By 1700, all but the English poor had replaced rugs with more practical and fashionable bed coverings. Paradoxically, when woolen rugs were disparaged in the mother country, they were prized by even the wealthiest of colonial consumers. English merchants found a ready market in the colonies for manufactured goods that they could no longer sell at home. A British observer wrote in the early eighteenth century:

any ordinary Sort sells with them and when they are grown out of Fashion with us, they are new fashioned enough there; and therefore those Places are the great Markets we have to dispose of such Goods . . .[59]

For residents of the Chesapeake, who were geographically and economically removed from their former lifestyles in England, rugs were a warm and readily available bed covering. To some, rugs may have been a comforting reminder of possessions left behind. To others, rugs were the most fashionable bed covering available as new fashions slowly made their way across the Atlantic and even more gradually into the interior. The increased demand for bed rugs and the eventual decline in their use can be documented by systematic analysis of Chesapeake probate inventories filed between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries.

PROBATE INVENTORIES

Probate inventories, taken shortly after death as part of the process of settling an estate, are rich and tantalizing documents that provide a window into past ownership of material goods. Chesapeake inventories present information over long periods of time about the personal property of people of various means who lived in a specific locality. Evidence from inventories is weighted, however, in favor of the older, free adult male who had had many years in which to acquire wealth and material possessions. The estates of the very wealthy, with sufficient assets to cover debts, often were not inventoried as they did not go through the probate process.[60] Men with negligible estates and single women—widows or spinsters—were inventoried less frequently. The chattels of married women, children, and free people of color were almost never inventoried, and enslaved and indentured servants had few possessions of their own. Therefore, no inventories exist for a significant portion of the Chesapeake population.

A 1774 guide to Maryland probate procedures listed the items to be inventoried:

All the singular goods, Chattels, wares, and merchandise such as ready money, household furniture, clothing, Negroes, stock of cattle, corn, the crop on hand begun in the lifetime of the deceased and every sort of property in and about the house what kind soever. . . .[61]

Inventories frequently are ambiguous and omit information that historians seek. While appraisers recorded things as small and seemingly insignificant as a paper of pins, they often grouped assemblages of objects as "parcels" or "furniture," thus failing to enumerate specific items. In general, though, inventories are the most consistent and extensive evidence we have for artifacts that no longer survive. This proves to be the case for the rugs that were used in Chesapeake homes during the colonial period and were listed more frequently by appraisers than any other type of bed covering.[62]

In Chesapeake probate inventories bed rugs, noted simply as "Rugs" or "Ruggs," are usually found listed in proximity to beds and other bed furnishings. Occasionally rugs turned up stored in chests or located in garrets, kitchens, or farm buildings where they may have provided covering for indentured servants and slaves. Generally, appraisers listed together all the textiles associated with a particular bed.[63] A typical entry might read: "feather Bed w^{t} 57^{lb} Bolster & 2 Pillows 1 Rug 2 old Blankets & 1 Sheet."[64] In this case, the appraiser started with the bed, a cloth sack containing feathers in wealthier homes and chaff or cattails in lesser homes, and then listed items from the outer layer to the innermost layer. Some appraisers reversed the order. Many did not bother to describe individual items of bedding and, instead, they simply listed "Bed and Furniture" or "Bed and Covering," omitting numerous rugs and skewing any precise tabulation of their frequency.[65]

EXTENT AND DURATION OF USE OF RUGS AS BED COVERINGS

Research using two sets of probate inventories from Maryland and Virginia indicates that bed rugs were owned throughout the

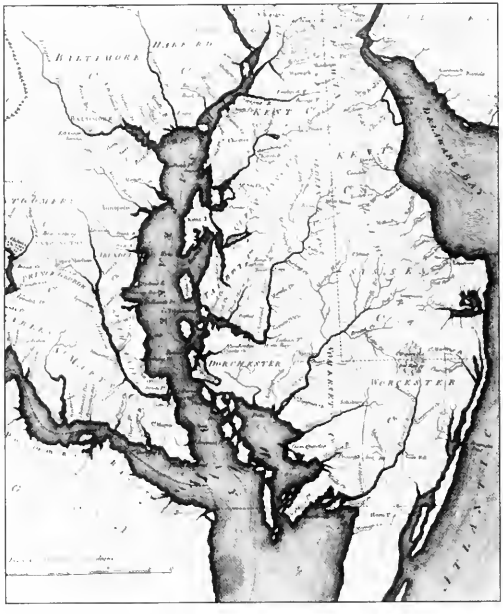


FIGURE 11. Detail of the Martin map presented in *Figure 1*.

eighteenth century in the Chesapeake region. One set of inventories comes from the Gunston Hall database, a small sample of Chesapeake probate inventories that is heavily weighted towards the elite class [80+%]. The 325 inventories in this database were selected to provide information about the possessions of the social and economic peers of George Mason (1725–1792), builder of Gunston Hall on the Northern Neck of Virginia and for whom no inventory exists.[66] Information from this database is supplemented by that from a group of nearly 3,000 inventories recorded prior to 1810 in Kent County, on the upper Eastern Shore of Maryland, and inclusive of people across a broad economic spectrum *(Figure 11)*.[67]

The Kent County study took into account all inventories recorded in the county, whether the decedent was a boarder and had only his wearing apparel or whether he lived in a mansion house filled with an extensive list of imported and domestic furnishings.[68] The Kent data, therefore, presents a less biased, more democratic view of the ownership of rugs over a longer period of time, but discloses a far lower concentration of more fashionable bed coverings.[69]

The graph presented as *Figure 12* compares the use of bed rugs by people in Kent County with use by a select group from elsewhere in the Chesapeake region. There can be seen a distinct rise and fall in the use of rugs as bed coverings in Kent County over more than one hundred years. With the exception of small deviations between

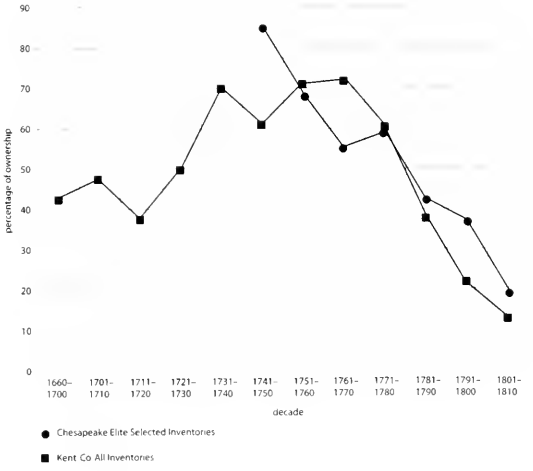


FIGURE 12. Graph of bed rug ownership in the Chesapeake, 1660–1810.

1711–20 and 1741–50, rugs steadily gained in popularity up until the late 1760s and then sharply declined. Over the period of the survey, 47 percent of all decedents owned rugs, but during the 1760s ownership peaked at 72 percent when there was an average of 2.7 rugs per household *(Figure 13)*. Appraisers found approximately four rugs per household between 1711 and 1720 when the percentage of rug owners was at its lowest point. At that time, the small number of decedents who owned rugs, owned them in substantial quantities. Overall, appraisers listed 3,666 rugs in 1,352 households, for an average of 2.7 rugs per household.[70]

In the Gunston Hall study, which covered 70 years, ownership of bed rugs by the Chesapeake elite peaked at 85 percent between 1741 and 1750, the first decade of inventories selected for the database, and then declined sharply thereafter. The only deviation from the

Figure 13. Chart of bed rug descriptors used in Kent County probate inventories, 1668–1810.

	1668–1700	*1701–1710*	*1711–1720*	*1721–1730*	*1731–1740*	*1741–1750*	*1751–1760*	*1761–1770*	*1771–1780*	*1781–1790*	*1791–1800*	*1801–1810*	*TOTALS*
Total Inventories	53	110	120	182	170	219	221	374	320	331	432	329	2861
Total Inventories with Rugs	23 43%	53 48%	46 38%	91 50%	119 70%	133 61%	158 71%	272 72%	190 60%	127 38%	97 22%	43 13%	1352 47% average
Rugs per Household	**2.4**	2.6	3.8	3.1	3.1	3.3	3.2	2.7	2.6	2	1.7	1.6	2.7 average
Total Rugs	55	139	176	279	371	437	477	741	501	254	167	69	3666
Caddow	1	2	24	7				2	3			1	40
Cadder								1		1	7	25	34
Material													
Wool	1			2	2	2							7
Worsted		2	2	10	13	4	3						34
Yarn			1	5		1							7
Shag				3	1		1						5
Kersey						2	1	3					6
Silk				3	13	11	7	6	3	1	1	1	46
Silk & Cotton								1		1			2
Cotton								1	7				8
Rag								1	5	5	2		13
List											3		3
Color													
Green	2	4	10	13	6	19	35	73	53	34	10	1	260
Red	1	3	5	7	4	11	14	19	14	1	1	1	81
Blue		4	5	19	13	15	18	29	**22**	12	3	1	141
White			1	2	2	2		5					12
Yellow							1						1
Brown							1						1

Grey	1							1	1		3
Coloured		10	1		1						12
Cloth col.		1									1
Sad col.		2	2								4
Dun col.		1									1
Light col.				1							1
Pide								1			1
Pattern											
Spotted	3	2	16	5	16	20	37	25	4	2	130
Mottled							10	2		2	14
Figured						2					2
Origin											
W. Country			1	8	5						14
Wiltshire					22	34	27	18	12	6	119
Country				1							1
Homemade							2			1	3
Milled						1	2	2			5
Other											
Thrum'd					1						1
Shear'd					1						1
Kidd'l						1					1
Sale						1					1
Common								1			1
Gallon				1			1				2
Twilled							1				1
Quilted		1									1

* Kent County, Maryland, *Inventories, Vols. * through 12, 1668–1810*, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland

steady rate of decline was during the war years, 1771–80, when the flow of imported textiles, including newly fashionable lightweight printed cottons and linens, was curtailed. Rugs may have remained in use out of necessity. Overall, 57 percent of the Chesapeake elite owned a total of 405 rugs, for an average of 3.3 rugs per household.

In addition to rugs, Kent County appraisers listed 40 caddows, the first in 1694 (see *Figure 13*).[71] One gentleman, Henry Lowe, owned 19 "Cados" at the time of his death in 1717. He also owned rugs. Several caddows were described in the possession of his "negroes."[72] After a gap of three decades with no mention of caddows in Kent County inventories, appraisers noted "cadders" for the first time in 1762.[73] They continued to identify the occasional caddow, but between 1801 and 1810 they recorded 25 cadders.[74] Merchant John Tobin owned "6 Cadders," but no rugs at the time of his death in 1802. His store merchandise also included "1 Cadder $1 *(Figure 14)*."[75] At Elizabeth Milward's death in 1810, her inventory listed "6 Cadders" valued at $3 each. When her chattels were sold to settle her estate, the cadders were then listed as "Bed covers."[76]

The two sets of data reveal several interesting differences. Among the elite of the Chesapeake, as represented by the Gunston Hall database, ownership of rugs was more widespread than in Kent County, and those who owned rugs had more rugs on a per capita basis.[77] Use of rugs by the social equals of George Mason peaked two decades earlier than it did in Kent County, and rugs lost favor with the elite earlier and more decisively.[78]

In an earlier study of textile furnishings in relation to wealth in Kent County, this author determined that prior to 1770 a higher percentage of people with estates valued at over £500 owned rugs than people with estates valued below £125. After the Revolution, very few of the well-to-do owned rugs, while the poorest group in the county continued to own rugs as late as 1820. Therefore, rugs that had once been fashionable in middle- and upper-class households in Kent County were found only in the "meanest" households by the early nineteenth century.[79]

Figure 14. Kent County, Maryland, Merchants with Rugs in their Shop Inventories at Time of Death

Date	*Name*	*Rugs Listed*	*Document*
1732	Phillip Kennard	1 woosted Rug Green 12/**	Vol. 2, p. 1*
		4 West Country do @ 5/	
1744	Richard Wethred	10 small Ruggs a 6/6	Vol. 1, p. 151
1759	Christopher Vasant	6 Green Rugs 132/	Vol. 5, p. 17
		4 Red Rugs 84/	
		13 Small Spotted ditto 65/	
		12 Spotted at 12/@	
1766	Hugh Wallis	2__ Mottled Rug @ 8/	Vol. 6, p. 141
		3 white Spotted do 3/4 @ 10/	
		1 Green do 3/4 @ 14/	
		1 do 8/4 @ 13/	
		2 do 7/4 @ 11/6	
		1 do Blue 8/4 a 14/6	
		1 Larger do 9/4 a 16/6	
		3 Negro do 7/4 a 6/3	
		1 6/4 do a 7/6	
1772	Thomas Darrack	15 6/4 Spotted Rugs 7/6 @	Vol. 7, p. 99
		3 do @ 13/6	
		1 motheat do 3/9	
		1 10/4 Green Rugg 29/	
		4 Green & Blue Ruggs 23/ @	
		4 Ditto 16 @	
1773	Richard Gresham	1 Torrington Rug 4/6	Vol. 8, p. 44
1792	Isaac Perkins	1 Blue Rug £1.6.3	Vol. 10, p. 1
1802	John Tobin	1 Cadder @ $1	Vol. 11, p. 342

* Kent County, Maryland, *Inventories, Vols 1 through 12, 1668–1810*, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland.
** Spelling as recorded

Thus, wealth-based evidence from the Chesapeake conforms to evidence for the use of rugs by the English nobility compared with their use by people of lesser means. In England, rugs were moved out of the palaces several decades before they were moved out of rur-

al cottages. In the Chesapeake region, elite like the Cadwaladers, Tilghmans, Chews, and Ringgolds appear to have discarded their rugs in favor of quilts, coverlets, and counterpanes several decades before the general population.[80]

DECLINE IN THE USE OF RUGS

Bed rugs, widely popular with the Chesapeake elite in the mid eighteenth century, generally were found in small numbers in modest households by the early nineteenth century. Social, economic, and political conditions during the eighteenth century contributed to rugs losing status as fashionable bed coverings and eventually disappearing from use in the Chesapeake region. Carole Shammus, in her study of consumerism in England and America during the early modern period, noted a shift around the middle of the eighteenth century from durable to semi-durable goods. Lighter weight, more disposable goods replaced traditional heavy goods. Ceramic table wares replaced wooden and metal ones, and glass wares replaced pewter drinking vessels.[81] At about this time, with increasing availability of inexpensive imported printed linens and cottons, lighter weight counterpanes and quilts started to gain favor as bed coverings. Towards the end of the century, immigrating Ulster weavers, skilled in coverlet construction, provided another alternative and contributed to the rapid rise in fashion of semi-durable bed coverings. Other factors, explored below, may have contributed to the decline in the use of rugs as bed coverings and to their almost total disappearance as artifacts.

Rugs perceived as unhygienic

In the late seventeenth century, professional quilters in England cited rugs and other woolens as "harborers [of] Filth and Dirt."[82] The dense pile of wool rugs held dirt, attracted moths, and provided a ready home for tenacious bed-bugs. Although the expression "as snug as a bug in a rug" originated at the end of the eighteenth century, it would have been quite appropriate for the earlier period.[83]

Rugs became devalued in England for bed coverings just as Turkey work had been devalued as impractical and unhygienic for upholstery. Rugs, however, continued to find a market during the eighteenth century in the British colonies.

For the Chesapeake housewife living during the latter part of the eighteenth century, a rug would have been perceived as old fashioned, cumbersome, and a challenge to her housekeeping skills. Ready availability of glass windowpanes and heating stoves, and improvements in fireplace construction reduced the need for heavy bed covers. The weight and thick pile of rugs, as well as their unfulled woolen construction, made washing them impractical, if not impossible. Cotton and linen quilts and counterpanes, on the other hand, could be laundered to remove dirt and kill bugs. Women's diaries indicate that by the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was customary twice a year to take the bedstead completely apart, inspect it for bugs, and wash or air the bed and all its coverings.[84]

Rugs used in wartime

Large supplies of rugs of a prescribed size and color were requested along with blankets, coarse woolens, and tin plates for use by colonial troops in preparation for hostilities with Great Britain.[85] Both rugs and metal table wares were durable but unfashionable; they became expendable as their intrinsic value declined. Readers of the *Virginia Gazette* in 1775 were warned not to dispose of any of the needed items before reporting their holdings to the proper officials. The patriotic donation of house wares may have been an answer to the problem of what to do with goods still useful but no longer appropriate for display and use in a status-conscious household. Once used by the army under a range of primitive conditions such as the winter encampment at Valley Forge, it is unlikely that rugs saw further use.[86]

Rugs used by slaves

Rug, the bed covering of the colonial elite, was also the bed covering of the laborer. Evidence, primarily from advertisements for

runaway slaves, indicates that African Americans occasionally carried rugs with them when they fled from their enslavers. Newspaper advertisements described clothing and other articles worn or carried by runaways as a means of providing a detailed description of their appearance. From these accounts, it is known that slaves as far south as the Carolinas took rugs or blankets with them when they ran away during the colder months.[87] Some took just a rug while others, primarily women, carried all their bedding.

The mulatto Jenny, leaving the Port Tobacco, Maryland, plantation of William Jenifer in 1779, carried "a feather bed with striped tick, two or three blankets, two pair of Oznabrug sheets, and a good thick green rug."[88] It is not known whether Jenny appropriated bedding from the mansion house or had an adequate supply from her own cabin. In the case of the mulatto Sam, it was clear that he stole the rug he carried with him. In an advertisement describing his escape from a sloop in the Rappahannock River, Sam's owner stated that he took "a new spotted Rug, and some mixed coloured Broad Cloth which he had stolen, and I believe was the cause of his Flight . . ."[89]

There is also evidence that rugs functioned as more than just bed coverings. Peter left his home in Prince George's County, Maryland, in 1743 "naked" other than for "half a spotted Rugg."[90] Warm, waterproof rugs or "capacious ready-made mantles which . . . could serve [as] a garment, bed or even tent" provided the fugitive with his clothing, bedding, and shelter.[91]

Other documents suggest that slaves were allocated new rugs, but probably of inferior quality, to use on their beds. Hugh Wallis's Kent County, Maryland, store stocked a variety of rugs in the 1760s including 7/4 (63 inches wide) "Negro Rugs" for six shillings, three pence and undefined, but probably better, rugs in the same width for eleven shillings, six pence[92] Between 1744 and 1764, Charles Carroll, of Annapolis, ordered "2 Doz. Torrington Ruggs about 3/6 [three shillings, six pence]" for the workers, presumably enslaved, at his Baltimore Iron Works. For his own household he ordered "Ruggs of

about 10 shillings Each" and "One Dozen Yorkshire coverlids [possibly rugs] good & strong for Negro beding."[93]

Appraisers sometimes noted rugs used as slave bedding. The "Dunn Collour[d] rug on Negro bed" in the 1712 Kent County inventory of Benjamin Ricauld may have been a new rug, but it was not in one of the fashionable and more expensive dyed colors of green, blue, or red.[94] The "2 Small old rugs [that the] Negroes have" in the 1717 inventory of Henry Lowe were clearly of inferior quality and may have been cut down from rugs formerly used in the main house.[95] The "Negro's old rug" in the estate of Thomas Coleman Sr. of Charles County, Maryland, was valued at four shillings and quite inferior to Coleman's other four rugs that were valued at up to five pounds apiece.[96]

While more conscientious slaveholders provided their plantation laborers with new rugs and blankets every two to four years, many rugs probably were cast-off from beds in the great house after they had lost value as fashionable or serviceable bed coverings.[97] Sending devalued rugs to the laborer's quarters solved the problem of disposing of old rugs. Once in their possession, enslaved women may have used rugs in much the same way they used old blankets—as bed coverings, privacy partitions between family groups, outer garments, patches in the repair of other textiles, stuffing for beds, lining for quilts, or even caulking between the logs of a drafty cabin. [98]

Rugs used in burial

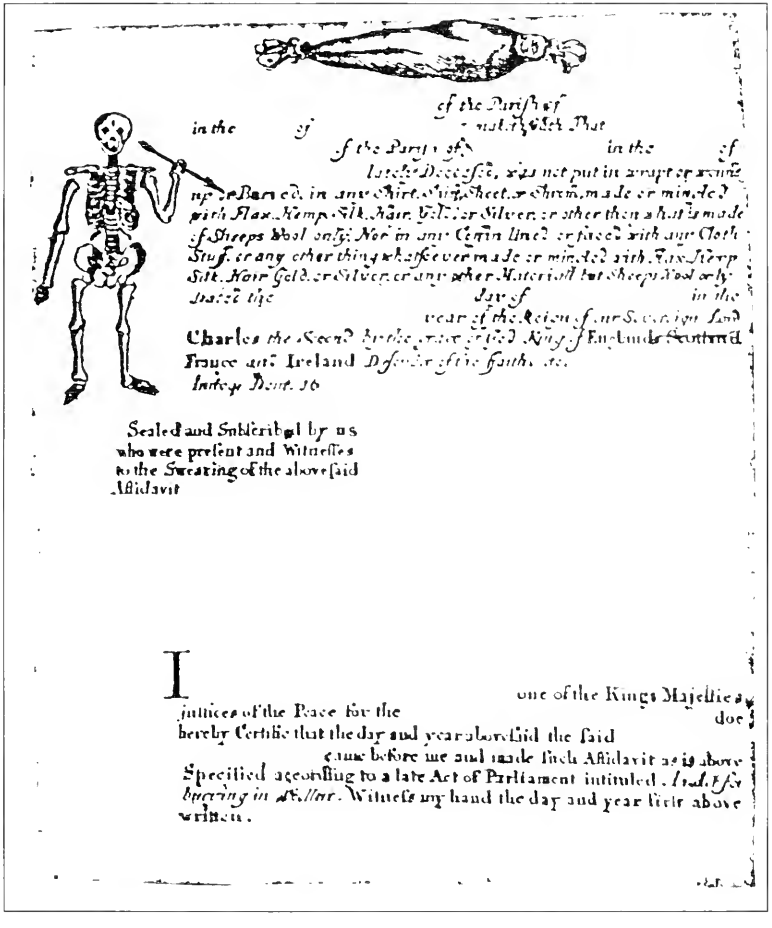
Rugs functioned in the ritual of burial of the dead. Burial in a woolen rug, rather than in a coffin or a finely woven shroud, was a sign of necessity or poverty. In 1690, the settlement of the estate of John Culle of Albemarle County, North Carolina, included the following claim from a Mrs. Durant: "To the Trubell of my House and the lone of my beding: and a Ruge he was bured in."[99] Culle evidently died away from home, after an illness, and without the financial means to purchase a wooden coffin or a shroud.[100] The rug, which was large enough to wrap around the body and tie above the head

and below the feet, not only provided total covering for the body when it was placed on the ground, it also complied with the law *(Figure 15)*. "An Act for Burying in Woollen Only," passed in 1667 and not repealed until 1815, required that the dead, unless they died from the plague, be shrouded in woolen rather than in the customary linen.[101] This mandated use of English woolens protected the struggling home industry and reduced the demand for imported linen. Observers of Culle's burial would recognize his low economic status as well as compliance with the law. Informers, who reported the illegal use of linen shrouds, received a reward for their information.[102] Was John Culle buried in a dirty old rug that Mrs. Durant had no further use for? Or did she give up a valuable bed covering for the burial of a dear friend or relative?

ORIGINS OF BED RUG PRODUCTION

Documentary evidence from England suggests that there were several centers for rug weaving (see *Figure 10*). Royal statutes that regulated the cloth industry reveal that rugs were woven in the northern midlands, or the area north of the Trent River, during the sixteenth century. A 1552 statute of Edward VI, which controlled the size and weight of different cloths, referred specifically to "Manchester ruggs." A 1566 statute of Elizabeth restated several of the earlier cloth regulations. Of particular interest is the section, "Acte for Thalnegers Fees in Lancashire for length bredth and waighte of Cottons Frezees and Rugges."[103] Both statutes suggest that rugs were manufactured in the vicinity of Manchester in the county of Lancashire.[104]

Two additional documents, which do not specifically mention rugs, give support to the northern midlands as an early center of cloth production. A 1604 list of manufactures noted that 30 towns and villages in Lancashire produced friezes and Manchester cottons for export to France and provided occupations for 10,000 people. The 1640 Royal Commission on the cloth trade reported that the



of the Parish of
in the of
of the Party of in the of
lately Deceased, was not put in wrapt or wound
up or Buried, in any Shirt, Shift, Sheet, or Shroud, made or mingled
with Flax, Hemp, Silk, Hair, Gold, or Silver, or other then what is made
of Sheeps Wool only; Nor in any Coffin lined or faced with any Cloth
Stuff, or any other thing whatsoever made or mingled with Flax, Hemp
Silk, Hair, Gold, or Silver, or any other Material but Sheeps Wool only:
Dated the Day of in the
Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord
Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England, Scotland,
France and Ireland Defender of the Faith, &c.
Isaiah Chap. 26

Sealed and Subscribed by us
who were present and Witnesses
to the Swearing of the above said
Affidavit

I one of the Kings Majesties
Justices of the Peace for the doe
hereby Certifie that the day and year above said the said
came before me and made such Affidavit as is above
Specified according to a late Act of Parliament intituled, *An Act for
burying in Woollen*. Witness my hand the day and year first above
written.

FIGURE 15. An affidavit for certifying the use of wool as a burial shroud to comply with "An Act for Burying in Woollen Only," passed 1667 and repealed 1815.

principal cloth towns in Lancashire were Manchester, Rochdale, Colne, Bolton, Blackburn, and Bury.[105] During the seventeenth century, Lancashire produced coarse, short wool "among the worst grown in England," which was only suitable weaving into the "most inferior types of woolen cloth."[106] Given that rugs were frequently referred to as coarse woolen textiles, an origin in an area of poor wool production is not surprising.[107]

There is some indication that Yorkshire weavers produced a specialized type of bed rug. Yorkshire was known from the fourteenth century on for the manufacture of worsted "chalons," which may have been rugs or coverlets, as well as for the manufacture of cushions and carpets.[108] Although there are many varieties of carpet weave, Yorkshire carpets had a knotted pile construction known as "Turkey work." A 1639 document described the Yorkshire town of Bradford as "a towne that makes a great store of Turkey cushions and carpets."[109] Sufficient evidence is lacking, but the possibility remains that there may be a connection between Yorkshire carpets with patterns worked in Turkish knots and imported patterned bed rugs, like the one owned by Williamsburg *(Figure 5)*, also worked in Turkish knots.[110]

Other seventeenth-century documents suggest that rugs may have been woven in the West Country. New England account books and letters occasionally refer to "Barnstaple rugs." In 1630, Massachusetts Governor William Bradford ordered "two packs of Barnstaple rugs" to be carried on the *White Angel*, a trading ship out of Bristol. The next year "a hundred of Barnstaple rugs" costing £75 arrived on the *Friendship* out of the port of Barnstaple.[111] Quite likely, Barnstaple was a port of origin and not the place of manufacture. However, it is curious that rugs would be transported overland from Manchester in the northern midlands to Barnstaple in Devonshire when Liverpool would have been a more convenient port.[112]

Evidence for a West Country source for rugs grows steadily in the eighteenth century when probate inventories and merchants' accounts describe rugs as "West Country" (1727), "Wiltshire" (1741),

and "Torrington" (1760) in Devonshire.[113] The southwest of England, especially Wiltshire, produced short-staple wool that was not of good quality in the Middle Ages but was highly esteemed by the early seventeenth century.[114] The local wool was used primarily in the production of undressed, or unfinished, broadcloth and later in fashionable new draperies, or lighter weight woolens and worsteds. During the seventeenth century a worsted industry had developed in response to the void created by the decline in manufacturing of old draperies or heavy coarse woolens. Imported Irish wool supplied the long fiber needed for worsted cloth. Possibly, rug weavers made use of short fibers, noils or combings, left over from the processing of long fibers into worsted yarn.

The evidence is not sufficient at the present time to explain the documentation from two areas of rug manufacture, but it does suggest a shift from the northern midlands to the southwestern counties during the seventeenth century.[115] This suggestion is supported by the fact that during the seventeenth century Manchester declined as the seat of the northern wool industry, and textile production in Lancashire changed over from wool to linen and eventually to cotton.[116] Some pockets of northern woolen weaving did persist into the eighteenth century, particularly around Rochdale, and Rochdale may well have continued as a rug-weaving center.[117] The firm of Sparling and Bolden shipped Rochdale rugs of various types out of the port of Liverpool to Virginia during the 1780s. It also exported rugs made in Yorkshire via Liverpool to Virginia. When unable to meet the Virginia demand for Yorkshire rugs, the firm relied on its London associate, Sargent, Chambers and Company, to ship "rugs . . . such as we believe are made in the West of England."[118]

NON-ENGLISH RUGS?

Determination of the origin of bed rugs is further complicated by frequent references in historical documents, but only rarely in colonial Chesapeake documents, to Irish and Spanish rugs. References to

Welsh, Scottish, and Polish rugs add to the confusion.[119] Irish rugs may have been Irish in origin or woven from Irish wool, or both. In his 1882 *Dictionary*, Beck included in his definition of rugs several references to Irish production. He cited the Holmshed *Chronicles* (1587), "they spin the choicest rug in Ireland . . . one of these Waterford rugs," and from Chettles's *Kind Harts Dream* (1592), "English Ruggs. None are made in England, but Irish Ruggs of divers sorts."[120] Eleanora Carus-Wilson listed rugs as one of the seventeenth-century exports from Ireland to Bristol. Other exports included Irish frieze and faldynes, both rough napped or piled cloth.[121] The *OED* includes a 1657 citation under its definition of rug—"Irish Ruggs such as are made in Kilkennie. . . ."[122]

British customs records confirm the export of Irish rugs to the Chesapeake region at least through 1742 *(Figure 16)*. Some customs records dating after 1700 list "Irish Rugs" and "Rugs" in the same report, suggesting a difference in type or origin. Peter Thornton, equating Irish rugs and caddows, provides a description based on seventeenth-century British documents:

> Irish rugs seem to have had a shaggy pile and may have resembled the ryer of Swedish and Finnish peasant-culture which were bed-hangings with a long pile, boldly patterned. In Ireland these rugs were also used as cloaks . . . Irish rugs are sometimes described as being "chequered," which presumably means they had a tartan effect in their weave. They were apparently identical with the "caddows" . . . that we know could be checked. In 1610 it was noted that Ireland produced "course wool caddows . . . or coverlets."[123]

During the 1690s, England, to preserve her monopoly in woolen production, discouraged Irish woolen manufacturing in favor of linen by prohibiting the exportation of raw wool and woolens and worsteds from Ireland to anywhere but England and Wales. Direct exportation of Irish frieze, and presumably Irish rugs, to the English colonies became illegal under the Wool Act of 1699.[124] Yet Irish rugs continued to show up in records of exports to the Chesapeake region up to the 1740s—but out of London only and no other British

Figure 16. Selected Customs Records, 1697–1773

Comparative Study of Exports from London and Out Ports to the Chesapeake and Other Regions in North America

	MD–VA		*NE*		*NY*		*PA*	
DATE	*London*	*Out Ports*	*London*	*Out Ports*	*London*	*Out Ports*	*London*	*Out Ports*
1697–98	2929 Ir. rugs 1080 Ir. rugs	43 Ir. rugs 900 Ir. rugs	69 Ir. rugs 21 Ir. rugs	210 Ir. rugs	40 Ir. rugs 192 Ir. rugs		15 Ir. rugs	21 Ir. rugs
1698–99	1998 Ir. rugs	73 Ir. rugs 1776 rugs	378 Ir. rugs		6 Ir. rugs		30 Ir. rugs	
1699–01	1127 Ir. rugs		163 Ir. rugs		171 Ir. rugs		11 Ir. rugs	
1718–19	690 Ir. rugs 71 rugs	3160 rugs	288 rugs	740 rugs	105 rugs	478 rugs	69 rugs	21 rugs
1719–20		2108 rugs						
1740–41	357 Ir. rugs 199 rugs		24 Ir. rugs 241 rugs		252 Ir. rugs 25 rugs			
1741–42	732 Ir. rugs	9616 rugs		1087 rugs		1234 rugs		
1755–56	24 rugs	3500 rugs		95 rugs		1981 rugs	208 rugs	
1772–73	60 rugs	1287 rugs		9 rugs		300 rugs	300 rugs	

Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection, M 1765, 1766, 1767, 1778, 1790, 1798, 1810.

"Ir." = Irish

Imports into North American Ports, 1765–1770

DATE	*Boston*	*Philadelphia*	*Patuxent*	*N. Potomac*	*York River*	*Beaufort*	*Charleston*
1765	800 weight*	39 bales	485 weight	452 weight	220 weight	48 weight	288 weight
1770	48 rugs			715 rugs	530 rugs	130 rugs	

*Rugs and blankets combined and specified by weight or number of bales or chests. Downs Manuscript Collection, M 886

ports.[125] The indirect route of Irish rugs from Ireland to London to the Chesapeake would have conformed to the law.

Before the Wool Act of 1699, Ireland exported great quantities of wool and yarn to the western ports of England. As in the case of "Spanish cloth," which was woven in England from all or part Span-

ish wool, one can speculate that "Irish rugs" were also woven in the west of England from all or part Irish wool. Salzman's conclusion that Irish frieze could either have been woven in Ireland or woven elsewhere out of Irish wool adds support to the speculation that "Irish Rugs" may have been woven in England as well as in Ireland.[126] When John Davis of Henrico County, Virginia, died in 1689, his estate inventory listed "2 old Irish Ruggs."[127]

Rug descriptors that indicate a possible Spanish origin also are found in British documents. Lexicographer Beck quored from the 1592 manuscript *Kind Harts Dream,* "Spanish Ruggs, called Spanish Bankets, not now used. . . ."[128] John James cited a 1578 Tarrif on New Draperies, "Blankets, called Spanish Ruggs, receiving one with another, great and small, every piece in wool. . . ."[129]

Spanish rugs may well have been of English manufacture and made of Spanish wool. Spain exported Biscay wool to England over several centuries. After 1575, unlicensed exports sharply increased, and after 1604 the English government officially encouraged the importation and use of Spanish wool.[130] During the Commonwealth period (1649–1660) there was a scheme to buy up Spanish wool to thwart the Dutch and French in their woolen production.[131] West Country weavers appreciated the quality of inexpensive Spanish wool and used it extensively for "Spanish" or "medley cloth." Perhaps the same weavers also wove "Spanish rugs."

References to "Spanish Ruggs" appear in New England records, but, so far, have not been found in Chesapeake documents. William Bradford, in 1626, recorded that "There was also that spring a French ship cast away at Sagadahoc [lower Kennebec River], in which were many Biscay rugs and other commodities. . . ."[132] Marian Day Iverson found a reference to the 1659 sale by Massachusetts resident John Pynchon of "2 yards Bilboe rug" to an Indian chief. She also cited a Boston estate inventory of 1669 that listed one "bilbo rug."[133]

Welsh rugs are not mentioned in primary or secondary sources from the Chesapeake, yet bed rugs were woven in Wales. Ann Sut-

ton, an authority on Welsh textiles, described rugs as woven and knotted, often with dates woven into the design, especially during the eighteenth century.

> Bedcovers (carthenni) have always been woven in Wales, and there are several distinctive styles: an early type, not now made, was the tufted bed-rug or brethyn eddie. It was woven on handlooms, and small tufts of yarn were inserted in order to trap the air. These bed-rugs could be reversed on very cold nights, so that the tufts would play an even more efficient role in insulation.[134]

The multi-colored woven and knotted rug dated 1807 in *Figure 5*, in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg, was labeled by an Oxfordshire vendor as a "Welsh coverlet."[135]

Rugs may have been woven in Scotland or from Scottish wool, but were never designated as such in Chesapeake records.[136] Caddows also may have been manufactured in Scotland. They were certainly used there. The 1611 estate inventory of Thomas, fifth Lord Boyd, listed "ane rallow caddow" among the bed furnishings of Dean Castle, Kilmarnock.[137] In 1719, William Rose and Captain Thomas Smyth both died in Kent County, Maryland, leaving "Scotch Caddows" among their possessions.[138] The later "cadders" may have a connection with Cadder, a hamlet in Scotland near Glasgow.[139]

Polish rugs, noted by Iverson as a seventeenth-century commodity, were probably woven in England from Polish wool, a West Country import.[140] So far, references to Polish rugs have not been found in Chesapeake documents.

Historical documentation points to Lancashire as the center of English rug manufacturing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A shift in manufacturing to the southwest is indicated by late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century references, especially those found in probate documents. Evidence for Yorkshire as a center for production of knotted rugs is tantalizing but fragmentary. Irish, Spanish, Welsh, and Scottish rugs and/or caddows, rarely

mentioned in Chesapeake documents, require further research into the textile production of their respective countries.

MANUFACTURING AND DISTRIBUTION OF BED RUGS IN ENGLAND AND BEYOND

An understanding of systems of rug manufacturing and distribution, during the early modern period, comes primarily from descriptions of the marketing procedures of English cloth and from occasional historical documents that specifically mention rugs. In Lancashire, cloth production was in the hands of small independent manufacturers who bought their raw materials from local suppliers and sold their cloth at open market.[141] Carding or combing, spinning, and weaving were a family occupation and conducted under one roof.

In the southwest of England, the putting out system was the norm. Clothiers hired out looms and other equipment and supplied raw materials to their workers. They also arranged for the finishing of cloth and its transport and sale to the wholesale merchants. Many clothiers were small operators who did some of the finishing themselves—frequently the costly dying. Others were wealthy entrepreneurs who controlled many looms.[142]

Clothiers or merchants conveyed cloth to weekly sessions at Blackwell Hall in London where agents looked after sorting and storage of merchandise, located the appropriate merchant or draper, extended credit, and stocked wool and other raw materials.[143] Coarse woolen cloth, not taken to London, was transported to local markets or regional fairs where factors, merchants, and drapers could make purchases in large lots.[144] From there the wholesaling continued on down to mercers, shopkeepers, and itinerant chapmen.

Rugs were usually sold wholesale as finished goods although they had to be washed, felted or shrunk, measured while wet, and then weighed after drying. They did not require fulling; and dying, which was by the piece, could be done at any time.

A statute of 1552 stipulated that all Manchester rugs conform to a

length of 36 yards, a width of 27 inches, and a weight of 48 pounds. The statute further stated that "no draper, merchant-taylor, or cloth worker" could retail rugs. A statute of 1566 redefined the size and weight of rugs and prohibited anyone in Lancashire from selling them until they had been inspected and affixed with an official seal.[145] Fines were levied for over- and underweight pieces and for tentering, or stretching. The law did not specially state how rugs were to be sold, but if a statute of 1542 concerning the inspection and sale of coverlets is any indication, rugs at that time could only be sold at fairs or open markets.[146] Writing in the early eighteenth century, Daniel Defoe specifically recalled seeing rugs, quilts, blankets, and other upholsterer's ware for sale in booths at the Stourbridge Fair in Cambridgeshire.[147]

During the course of three centuries, the distribution of rugs expanded from local fairs to global markets. A product formerly available to residents of the northern midlands of England became available in the seventeenth century to consumers as widely spread as Barbados, New England, and Poland.[148] Improvements in the organization of cloth distribution and in the safety and equipage of land and sea transportation further contributed to an expansion in English trade. Continued production of bed rugs became increasingly dependent on the "plantation," or colonial, market. The overseas demand for bed rugs well into the eighteenth century allowed weavers in traditional woolen towns to use local raw materials and pursue their customary craft

In America, merchants ordered rugs through their agents in London and other major cities in exchange for staples and money. For example, the Liverpool firm Sparling and Bolden used its contact James Chadwick to procure rugs in Rochdale, Lancashire, and transport them to the port of Liverpool, from where they were shipped to merchants in Virginia. Sparling and Bolden used its London contact Henry Thompson to arrange additional shipments of rugs to Virginia out of the port of London.[149] Philadelphia importers Francis and Relfe obtained rugs during the 1760s from John Caygill in Halifax, Yorkshire, who shipped rugs overland to Liverpool, via Man-

chester.[150] Once in Philadelphia, these rugs may have found their way to the Chesapeake towns of Baltimore or Chestertown.

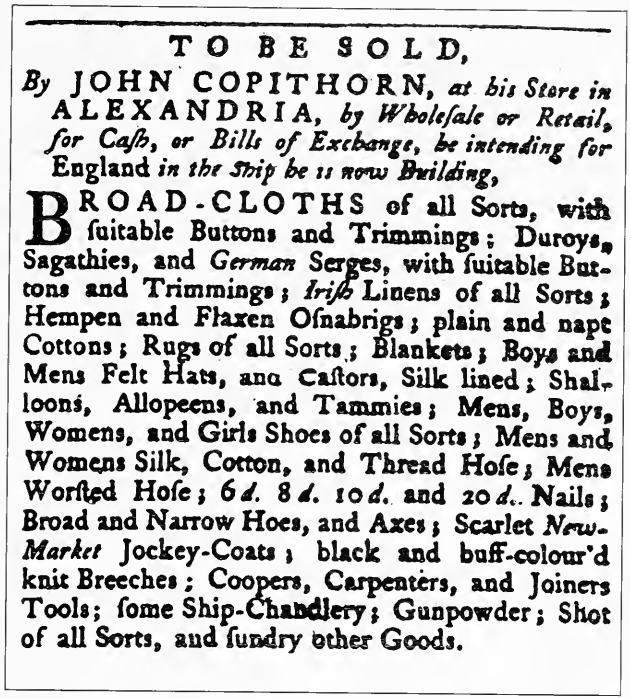
In colonial towns such as Alexandria, importers like John Copithorn advertised and sold rugs to the wholesale and retail trade *(Figure 17)*.[151] Affluent individuals, especially merchant-planters, placed orders for their own use or as stock for their plantation stores. Charles Carroll of Annapolis ordered "24 Strong spotted Rugs" and "6 yarn Rugs" from London merchant William Black in 1749 *(Figure 18)*. At a later date, Carroll placed an order with Sedley Hillhouse and Company, Bristol merchants, for "2 Doz. Torrington Rugs" for laborers at his Baltimore ironworks. Carroll paid for his merchandise with future shipments of tobacco and pig iron.[152]

Agents representing British firms marketed rugs and other manufactures through their retail stores in port towns and outlying areas. Alexander Henderson, factor for Glasgow tobacco merchant John Glassford, served stores in Alexandria and Colchester in Fairfax County, Virginia. At his rural store he sold dyed, spotted, and silk rugs during the 1760s. Small farmers exchanged crops and services for their purchases of necessities and niceties at Henderson's store.[153]

ORIGINS OF CHESAPEAKE RUGS

Like many aspects of the study of bed rugs, identifying the origin of rugs used in Chesapeake households is problematic. There are frustratingly few descriptors, or adjectives, in Chesapeake inventories that define rugs—the most frequently occurring being "old." Descriptors that do pertain to origin suggest that rugs were shipped from ports and/or manufactured in towns and villages in the southwest of England. Several early Kent County, Maryland, inventories refer to "West Country" rugs. George Hanson, who died in 1727, had on his beds "1 old West Country Spotted Rugg" in addition to four other rugs, origin not specified.[154] This is the earliest specific reference to a rug's origin in the Kent inventories.[155]

In 1741, "Wiltshire" (Wilshire, Willshear, Woolshear) was used



TO BE SOLD,

By JOHN COPITHORN, *at his Store in* ALEXANDRIA, *by Wholeſale or Retail, for Caſh, or Bills of Exchange, he intending for* England *in the Ship he is now Building,*

BROAD-CLOTHS of all Sorts, with ſuitable Buttons and Trimmings; Duroys, Sagathies, and *German* Serges, with ſuitable Buttons and Trimmings; *Iriſh* Linens of all Sorts; Hempen and Flaxen Oſnabrigs; plain and nape Cottons; Rugs of all Sorts; Blankets; Boys and Mens Felt Hats, and Caſtors, Silk lined; Shalloons, Allopeens, and Tammies; Mens, Boys, Womens, and Girls Shoes of all Sorts; Mens and Womens Silk, Cotton, and Thread Hoſe; Mens Worſted Hoſe; 6*d.* 8*d.* 10*d.* and 20*d.* Nails; Broad and Narrow Hoes, and Axes; Scarlet *New-Market* Jockey-Coats; black and buff-colour'd knit Breeches; Coopers, Carpenters, and Joiners Tools; ſome Ship-Chandlery; Gunpowder; Shot of all Sorts, and ſundry other Goods.

FIGURE 17. Advertisment from the *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 14 July 1757.

for the first time in Kent County documents as a descriptor for a bed rug.[156] Appraisers distinguished between "Wiltshire Rugs" and "Rugs" when they listed both in the same inventory. In all, appraisers identified 118 rugs as coming from the English county of Wiltshire as opposed to only 14 from the broader geographical area of the West Country. Customs records, which differentiate only between

Figure 18. Selected exporters/importers and merchants supplying bed rugs to Chesapeake Consumers, 1744–1797

Date	*Importer/Merchant*	*Place of Sale*	*Origin*	*Vessel*	*Type*	*Document*
1744	Philpott & Lee merchant/exporter	Annapolis	London		Rugs	Carroll 9 Mar.[1]
1746	William Black merchant/exporter	Annapolis	London		Sported, yarn rugs	Carroll 1 Sept.[2]
1746	William Stevenson	Yorktown, VA			Rugs	VG 29 May[3]
1749	William Black merchant/exporter	Annapolis	London	Via Capt. Judd	8/4 Yarn rugs	Carroll 29 Oct[4].
1752	Gervas & Robt. Elam	Suffolk, VA			Rugs	VG 5 March[5]
1754	John Hanbury & Co. merchant/exporter	Annapolis	London		Yarn Rugs	Carroll 11 Nov.[6]
1756	Robert Swan	Annapolis	London; Glasgow	*Lyon; Achsah*	6/4 and 3/4 wide Frises, Rugs	MG 30 Sept.[7]
1757	James Dick wholesale & retail	Annapolis; London-Town, MD	London	*Betsy; Peggy*	Rugs	MG 7 July[8]
1757	John Copithorn	Alexandria	England		Rugs of all Sorts	MG 14 July[9]
1759	James Dick wholesale & retail, ready money or credit	Annapolis; London-Town, MD	London	*Betsy; Charming Nancy*	Rugs	26 July[10]
1760	Henry Tubman	Benedict; Nottingham, MD	London; Glasgow		Spotted, mottled, Torrington	MG 24 July[11]
1762	Alexander Henderson	Colchester, VA, via Quantico	Glasgow	Via John Glassford & Co.	Silk rugs, mottled, 8/4 spotted, 8/4 dyed green, blue, red, 8/4 fine white thick spotted worsted rugs	Letter Book, 1760–1764[12]
1763	William Anderson merchant/exporter	Baltimore County	London		Yarn rugs	Carroll 25 Oct.[13]
1764	Sedgley Hillhouse & Co. merchant/ exporter	Baltimore County	Bristol		Torrington rugs	Carroll 6 Oct.[14]
1764	William Lux	Baltimore	London	Jane	3/4, 9/4 Yarn, 8/4, 9/4, 10/4 worsted	MG 22 March[15]
1766	Glassford, Henderson & C.	Alexandria; Colchester, VA	Glasgow	Via John Glassford & Co.	Dyed rugs, Thick spotted rugs	Ledger, 1765–1766[16]
1766	John Greenhow	Williamsburg			Green and blue embossed lincey rugs	VG 19 Sept.[17]
1766	Richard Taylor; George Perdie	Petersburg; Smithfield, VA	Britain		Rugs	VG 6 Nov.[18]

Figure 18. Continued

Date	*Importer/Merchant*	*Place of Sale*	*Origin*	*Vessel*	*Type*	*Document*
1766	William Anderson merchant/exporter	Annapolis	London		10/4 blue rugs	Carroll 29 Oct.[1]
1767	Storrs & Ellis	Richmond			Rugs	VG 3 Sept.[3]
1769	Gilchrist & Taylor	Norfolk			Rugs	VG 28 Dec.[4]
1769	John Lewis	Williamsburg	London		Blue, green, spotted rugs	VG 21 Dec.[5]
1770	John & George Fowler	Williamsburg			8 & 9/4 rugs	VG 1Nov.[6]
1770	Heslop & Blair		Hull		Rugs	VG 8 Nov.[7]
1770	James Dick and Stewart	Annapolis; London-Town, MD	London	Betsey	Rugs	MG various[8]
1771	Allen & Turner	Williamsburg			Bale of rugs	VG 19 Dec.[9]
1772	Robt. Adam & Co.	Alexandria	London		Rugs	VG 20 Aug.[10]
1772	George Mitchell	Fredericksburg, VA			Rugs of almost all kinds	VG 3 Dec.[11]
1773	James Lyle		Manchester		Bales of rugs	VG 25 Nov.[12]
1776	Michael & John Wallace & Co.	Nasemond, VA	Bristol?		A parcel of very good coloured and spotted RUGS	VG 27 Jan.[13]
1784	Walter Roe	Baltimore	Europe		Blue, green and mottled rugs	MJ[12]
1788	Sparling and Bolden	Virginia	Rochdale via Liverpool		Spotted, blue, green rugs	Letter Book 1788–1794[13]
1790	Sargent, Chambers & Co.	Virginia	West of England via London		Rugs	Letter Book 1788–1794[13]
1790	Sparling and Bolden	Virginia	Yorkshire via Liverpool		Rugs	Letter Book 1788–1794[13]
1792	Smith, Hue and Alexander	Dumfries, VA			Silk rugs	Day Book[14]
1797	William Hodgson	Alexandria	Glasgow		Silk rugs Diaper Rugs	Journal, 1796–1797[15]

1. "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine* [hereafter *MHM*] vol. XXI, no. 3 (Sept. 1926): 262.
2. Ibid, vol. XXI, no. 4 (Dec. 1926): 377.
3. *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg.
4. Carroll, *MHM* vol. XXIII, no. 2 (June 1928). 175.
5. Carroll, *MHM* vol. XXVII, no. 4 (Dec. 1932). 324.
6. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis.
7. *Letter Book of Alexander Henderson, 1760–1764*. Courtesy of Ellen Donald.
8. "Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister," *MHM* vol. XXXIII, no. 4 (Dec. 1938): 383.
9. Ibid, vol. XXXIV, no. 2 (June 1939): 188.
10. *John Glassford & Co., Ledger 1765–1766* (Alexandria and Colchester, VA: Glassford, Henderson & Co.).
11. "Letters...Carroll, Barrister," *MHM* vol. XXXVI, no. 3 (Sept. 1941): 338.
12. *Maryland Journal*, Baltimore.
13. M. M. Schofield, *The Virginia Trade of the Firm of Sparling and Bolden, Liverpool, 1788–90* (np: Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1964), 134.
14. *Smith, Hue and Alexander, Day Book, Dumfries, Virginia, 1791*, 315.
15. *Journal of William Hodgson, Alexandria, 1796–1797*.

London and collective out ports, indicate that during the eighteenth century the vast majority of rugs exported to the Chesapeake came from out ports, like Bristol in the West Country, and not from London (see *Figure 16*).[157]

EVIDENCE FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF RUGS IN AMERICA

From New England there is early evidence that bed rugs were woven locally. About 1660, Samuel Maverick described the inhabitants of Rowley, Massachusetts, who had emigrated from East Anglia, as a "very laborious people . . . making cloth and rugs of cotton wool and also sheep's wool."[158] Manasseh Minor noted in his diary several decades later that people in New London were weaving "Blankets, Cloaths, Coverlids, Druget, Rugs and Lincey."[159]

The first reference to rugs made in Kent County, Maryland, is found in the 1739 inventory of Daniel Flinn who owned "1 Country rug" along with a red rug and a spotted rug.[160] Several Kent County inventories dating after 1761 describe rugs as "home made." Nicholas Browning, when he died in 1764, owned two home made rugs valued together at 15 shillings. The lack of a loom and other weaving equipment in his inventory suggests that he did not weave his bed rugs.[161]

Three surviving "Virginia" rugs date from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, long after bed rugs ceased to be fashionable. These survivors are constructed of short, knotted tufts of wool in multicolored patterns, and, in one case, personalized with initials and date (see *Figures 6, 8*, and *9*). These three rugs have survived, perhaps because of pattern, construction, and connection to locality, whereas imported, solid color, dyed or undyed rugs manufactured in vast multiples by unknown artisans have not.

Clues to the appearance of bed rugs used in colonial Chesapeake dwellings come from several sources. Descriptors, or adjectives, that defined rugs in probate inventories provide evidence of rugs of varying types and age over long periods of time (see *Figure 13*). Additionally, merchants' advertisements and business accounts describe new rugs by size, color, and value (see *Figure 18*). Other historical documents fill in a few gaps in information. Unfortunately, Chesapeake estate appraisers listed the majority of rugs without description, and merchants, with numerous imported goods to advertise, rarely elaborated on specific items like rugs. At best, documentary evidence is suggestive, but incomplete.

Size

During the sixteenth century, rug could be purchased as yard goods in pieces three quarters of a yard wide (27 inches) and up to 35 yards in length.[162] In 1641, Lord William Howard ordered "xviii yards [18 yards] of rugg 10s.6d." and "iiij yard and a half [4-½ yards] of grey rug."[163] In order to cover most beds, at least two widths of the 27-inch wide rug cloth had to be seamed together to make a bed covering of 54 inches. Although no statutory evidence has been discovered, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century rug looms may have exceeded 27 inches in width. A 1634 order sent from Maine to a Plymouth factor requested "2 dozen . . . ruggs wove without seam."[164]

It has not been possible to determine at what point in the sixteenth or seventeenth century rug cloth was cut down from its statutory length into individual rug sizes. There is no evidence to indicate if a middleman fabricated rugs from rug cloth or when weavers started to weave bed-size rugs. The 1634 order cited above was for individual rugs, but John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, placed an order two years later for "240 yards of ruggs for beds."[165] Early rug consumers may have bought a length of rug cloth, cut it, seamed two or more panels together, and bound the

raw edges to make a bed rug, in much the same way they might cut and bind a pair of blankets.[166]

Merchants in colonial America offered rugs for sale by width in multiples of a quarter of a yard. Moses Belcher Bass sold "6, 7, 8 & 9 Quarter Ruggs" from his Boston shop in 1762.[167] In 1764, William Lux of Baltimore advertised "3/4 and 9/4 Yarn Rugs" and "8/4, 9/4 and 10/4 Worsted Rugs."[168] Chesapeake merchants John and George Fowler carried 8/4 and 9/4 rugs at their Williamsburg store in 1770 (see *Figure 18*).[169] Wider rugs may have required more than two panels of cloth, although extant rugs all are constructed with two panels seamed together, and the panels range in width from 24 to 39 inches.[170] Winterthur's white rug, while now measuring about 70 inches across its two panels, may have been sold as a 9/4, or 72-inch, rug (see *Figure 4*).

The length of a rug, in a bedding context, is never specified in inventories or advertisements. However, rugs were used on different types of beds and may have been sized to fit non-traditional beds. Marian Day Iverson, in her early study of bed rugs, found references to "cabin rugs" in Massachusetts documents from 1664 and 1677. In Kent County, Maryland, George Hanson, who died in 1727, kept a rug for the sea bed in his vessel.[171] Rugs sized for sea beds were undoubtedly narrower and probably shorter in length since sleeping space was at a premium in a ship's cabin.

Iverson found "cradle rugs" for sale by the pound during the third quarter of the seventeenth century.[172] In Dorset, England, appraisers listed cradle rugs during the same period.[173] In Kent County, Maryland, appraisers noted rugs on hammocks and couch beds prior to 1710.[174] Several decades later, widows Martha Smith and Mary Dunn placed rugs on their trundle beds (also truckle, trunnel, under bed). Others used them on cots, on servants' beds, and on "common" beds (see *Figure 2*). Walter Dougherty, tavern keeper in Chestertown, Maryland, provided his lodgers with "8 old Rugs" on matts and bedsteads *(Figure 19)*.[175]

Rugs were used in a bedding context in halls, great chambers, in-

ner rooms, outer rooms, garrets, kitchens, and storage areas. They were found on the best feather beds and on "mean" beds of chaff and cattails as well as on servant and "Negro Beds." As we have seen, over time rugs were replaced on better beds in better chambers by quilts and counterpanes. Up until the 1750s, rugs were used as the outer bed covering and rarely on the same beds as quilts. However, in 1756, Kent County appraisers recorded in the inventory of Phillip Taylor a quilt on top of a rug that covered a blanket and two sheets.[176] In 1754, Ebenezer Pearkins's green rug was concealed by a calico counterpane that matched his calico bed curtains.[177] William Smithers, who died a few years later, conversely placed a rug on top of his quilt.[178] After 1760, appraisers frequently listed rugs covered by more fashionable or decorative coverings like calico coverlids and counterpanes or calamanco quilts.

Surviving rugs, with low pile, suggest that a single rug may not have provided a great deal of warmth; yet, as indicated in the description of Welsh rugs, the tufts of wool did trap air and when reversed the rugs provided even more efficient insulation. Inventories recorded in Kent County during the winter months confirm that two rugs were often used on one bed, and in some cases two rugs were used in place of the more usual combination of a rug and a pair of blankets.[179] In England, woolen rugs were not just a bed covering for the cooler temperatures. Samuel Pepys related in his diary of 13 July 1667, "up pretty Betimes, it being mighty hot weather and I lying this night . . . with only a rug and a sheet upon me."[180]

Material

The Oxford English Dictionary defines rug as a coarse woolen material. Other dictionaries refer to rugs simply as coarse or shaggy. Inventory descriptors indicate, however, that some rugs were not woven from sheep fibers (see *Figure 13*). In Kent County, Maryland, appraisers first described rugs as woolen in 1685 and as worsted in 1708.[181] By 1717, "yarn" was used to describe bed rugs, and by 1724, "shag."[182] During the 1740s, appraisers found kersey rugs in Kent

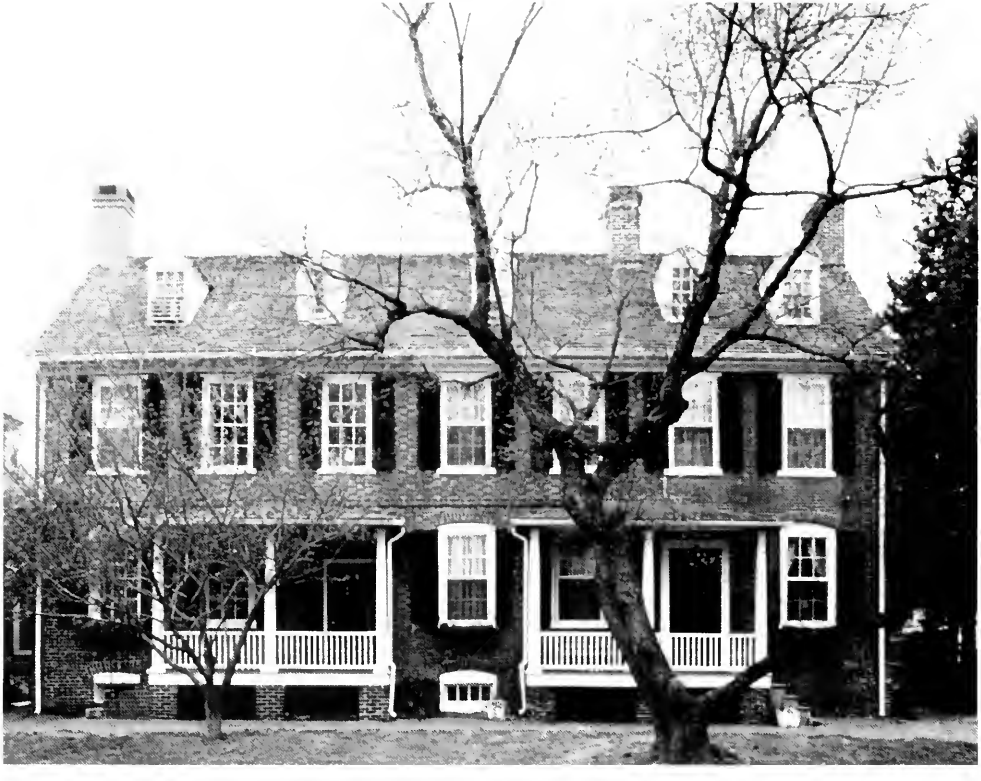


FIGURE 19. Dougherty's Tavern, Chestertown, Maryland. *Photograph by Paul Rocheleau, courtesy* The Magazine Antiques.

County households.[183] Some appraisers combined adjectives, as in a "worsted shag rug." These descriptors would seem to imply that rugs were woven from both short staple, or woolen, and long staple, or worsted, fibers.[184] Extant rugs have a pile created from a woven cut loop or knotted tuft. The wool is coarse and curly.[185]

Geraint Jenkins, an authority on early breeds of English sheep, mentions several sources for rug wool.[186] Sheep from the uplands of the extreme southwest of England had "wavy, loose textured, shaggy and hairy wool" appropriate for rugs and carpers.[187] Jenkins also determined that weavers used the poor quality fleece of the Craven, Blackface, and Gretstone sheep for rugs, friezes, and cottons, and that midland pasture sheep and chalk country sheep provided the best tail wool for rugs.[188] Frequent descriptions of rugs as coarse and Jenkins's references to inferior rug wools would imply that rugs were woven from short staple, carded woolen fibers. However, references in late-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century English and colonial inventories to "worsted" rugs also suggest that weavers wove worsted rugs from noils, the waste wool produced from combing long staple worsted fibers.[189] Waste yarn would have been a more economical component for "coarse" rugs than the fine staple customarily used in better grades of cloth.

Bed rugs used in the Chesapeake region and elsewhere were also made from silk.[190] There is an unusually early and ambiguous reference to a silk rug in the 1662 will of John Bly (Blyth), who owned property in both Virginia and England. "Desire £3 to be paid for silk rugge I received from Richard West of money in hands of Brother Giles, and release him the rest."[191] In Kent County, appraisers identified rugs as silk more often than rugs in any other material. They first described a bed rug as silk in 1724, but the number of silk rugs was negligible until the 1730s.[192] Silk rugs, though not widely owned, peaked in popularity in Kent County between 1731 and 1750 when between 5 and 6 percent of all decedents in the survey owned them. In the Gunston Hall inventory study, 45 percent, or almost one half of the people in the Chesapeake elite sample who died be-

tween 1741 and 1750, owned one or more silk rugs as coverings for their beds. Between 1751 and 1770, ownership declined to 12 percent.[193]

Probate inventories tell us something of the relative popularity of silk rugs and of the class of people who owned them, and a long run of inventories frequently demonstrates change in ownership patterns over time. Unfortunately, inventories tell us very little about the appearance of silk rugs. If we could look at surviving silk rugs in museum collections, this omission of descriptive information would not be critical, but, to date, no silk bed rugs are known to be extant, and object-based research is not an option.

A single reference in a Kent County inventory from 1742 suggests that silk rugs had a pile or shaggy texture. At that time, Captain John Smyth of Kent County owned "a Silk thrum'd Rug."[194] "Thrums," as defined in the noun form in the *OED*, are the "ends of the warp thread left unwoven and remaining attached to the loom when the web is cut off" or "loose ends of thread projecting from the surface of woven fabric . . . [or] a tuft." In the verb form, "to thrum," is given the meaning, "to cover with thrums or small tufts, raise a pile upon [cloth]; to make shaggy." The *OED* cites usage from 1664 that connects thrum to rug and shag, "a sage leaf looks white rugge, or shagge, full of knots, tassel'd all with white silver thrums."[195] Florence Montgomery referred to silk waste in her definition of "shag"; "The term once applied to cloth made from inferior silk; in 1671 Edmond Booth petitioned to manufacture 'a rich Silk Shagg . . . made of a Silke Waste, hitherto of little or no use, and shagged by Tezell or Rowing Cards . . .'"[196]

The various definitions of thrum or shag provide a tentative link to the one inventory reference that suggests that silk rugs had a textured surface that differed from that of silk quilts and counterpanes that were frequently listed in the same inventory. Silk rugs, while difficult to visualize, may have had a woven low pile, shag, or tufted surface similar to extant woolen rugs.

Probate inventories, unfortunately, provide no clues as to the ori-

gin of silk bed rugs. Unlike woolen rugs, which Chesapeake appraisers sometimes described as "Wiltshire" or "West Country," no origin descriptors have been found for silk rugs. Presumably they were manufactured in Great Britain or on the Continent and re-exported through British ports to the colonies. At this time, we have only the name of "Mr. Tatnall," Scottish agent, who in 1762 supplied silk rugs to Alexander Henderson's store in Colchester, Virginia.[197] The order was processed in Glasgow, the headquarters of tobacco merchant John Glassford & Company, and the rugs were transported on a vessel sailing from the River Clyde.[198]

Kent appraisers described only two rugs out of a total of almost 3,700 as "silk and cotton" (see *Figure 13*). Both rugs were listed after 1760 and may have been composed of silk tufts tied or woven into a woolen ground or silk and woolen tufts on a linen foundation. As Montgomery cautioned, "cotton" was "a term used to designate certain woolen cloths from at least the fifteenth century."[199]

Appraisers in Kent County identified eight "cotton" rugs as bed covers between 1761 and 1780 (see *Figure 13*).[200] Probably these rugs were woven from wool fibers and not from the fibers of the cotton plant. The *OED* defines cotton as wool, "being sort of cloth on which the nap was left—a woolen fabric of the nature of frieze, in the 16th and 17th c., largely manufactured in Lancashire, Westmoreland and Wales" and cites a 1745 reference to cotton or frieze "for the use of slaves."[201] Kent appraisers never listed cotton rugs in the same inventories as wool or worsted rugs; so it is not clear if they differed in appearance from other wool rugs.

Rag rugs were found in a bedding context in Kent County inventories filed during the Revolutionary years (see *Figure 13*).[202] Possibly, rag rugs were homemade replacing increasingly scarce imported rugs.[203] Their composition and weave structure are a matter of conjecture.[204] They may have been woven on a loom with a linen warp and a supplemental or knotted weft of strips of scrap woolen or possibly linen. It is unlikely that they resembled the flat woven rag carpets of the eighteenth century or the braided rag rugs used on floors

in the nineteenth century.[205] Kent County appraisers found three rugs in 1800, all in the same household, which they described as "list." Tobias Ashmore had with his bedding "2 List Rugs $6" and "1 List Rug $3."[206] List, defined as "narrow strips of woolen cloth; made of selvedge or other strips of cloth usually wool," suggests that "List Rugs" were similar to bed rugs described as "rag."[207]

Chesapeake consumers used bed rugs with bed hangings of various materials. A listing for "green Rug Curtains & Vallens" presumes a green woolen or worsted rug with green woolen or worsted bed hangings.[208] Less color coordinated was Ebenezer Pearkins's brown rug on a black walnut bedstead hung with a "Suit of Green Tammy Curtains."[209] A number of Kent County residents chose to use calico hangings with their woolen or silk rugs. John Gamble had a red rug, presumably woolen or worsted, on his bed that was furnished with a "suit Callico Curtains & Vallans" in an unspecified color.[210]Daniel Thomas owned a silk rug, which he used in his best chamber on a bed "w/ Suite of Spotted Callico Curt & Vall' Liner Tester & head Cloth."[211]

Chesapeake households frequently contained several rugs woven of different fibers, and knowledgeable appraisers noted the difference. Dr. Gustavus Brown (1689–1762), one of the wealthiest men in Charles County, Maryland, and his second wife, Margaret (Black Boyd), owned eleven bed rugs at the time of his death at Rich Hill in 1762 *(Figures 20* and *20a).* Of their eleven rugs, two were described as "worsted," two as "silk," two as "yarn," and the remaining five were without descriptors. The Browns also had seven counterpanes and two quilts on other bedsteads.[212] Another Charles County decedent, Bayne Smallwood, also owned eleven rugs at the time of his death in 1769. Three were made of silk, two of wool, and one of worsted with the remaining not described.[213]

Color

The rug was, for most of the colonial period, the outer and most conspicuous layer of bed covering. Appraisers described numerous rugs by their green, blue, or red coloring. The large expanse of solid,

FIGURE 20. *Dr. Gustavus Brown* by John Hesselius, c. 1751. Oil on canvas. HOA 29 15/16"; WOA 24 7/8". Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art: Special Baltimore City Purchase Fund, BMA 1928.17.3. *Courtesy of the Baltimore Museum of Art.*

FIGURE 20A. *Mrs. Gustavus Brown* (Margaret Black Boyd) by John Hesselius, c. 1751. Oil on canvas. HOA 30″; WOA 26″. Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art: Special Baltimore City Purchase Fund, BMA 1928.17.4. *Courtesy of the Baltimore Museum of Art.*

deep color dominated the otherwise sparsely furnished and colorless early colonial interior, and in middling households, the rug was often the only item described by color.

English inventories recorded before 1650 describe the majority of rugs as white or mention no color. Presumably, these rugs were undyed and left in their natural wool color. "Yellow" may also have signified an undyed rug discolored by age. Inventories from Devon first mention green rugs in 1602, and references increase in frequency through the seventeenth century.[214] Devonshire inventories list red rugs and blue rugs shortly after green rugs but in far fewer numbers. Describing the importation of English textiles into Boston between 1650 and 1695, textile historian Linda Baumgarten counted 51 green rugs, 15 red rugs, nine white or yellow rugs, and seven blue rugs.[215]

Appraisers in Kent County and elsewhere in the Chesapeake used color descriptors for rugs more frequently than any other modifier with the exception of "old." Of all rugs listed in Kent County inventories, 14 percent were defined by color (see *Figure 13*).[216] However, usually not all rugs in an inventory would be described by color, material, or origin. For example, Hance Hanson, who died in Kent County in 1753, had one green rug, one red rug, and three rugs with no color modifiers.[217] Sarah Ball, of Lancaster County, Virginia, had "blew, white, and red" rugs on her beds along with two new rugs, two spotted rugs, and one rug undefined, when she died in 1742.[218] Perhaps undefined rugs were undyed or in poor condition and not worth describing, yet appraisers did take the time to assign values to "3 small old Rugs worn almost out" and "2 very old torn Rugs" valued together at seven pence.[219]

Chesapeake consumers preferred green bed rugs above all other colors, just as they liked their green edge plates, green handle knives and forks, and green Windsor chairs. Approximately one half of rugs with color descriptors were described as green, followed in popularity by blue, red, and white. Appraisers occasionally described rugs simply as "coloured" or noted unusual colors like brown, grey,

black, and purple.[220] A number of green rugs, after 1740, were listed as "Green Willshire Rug," and frequently assigned a higher value than other rugs in the same household. In 1762, Thomas Ears, of Kent County, had a "1 old blue Willshire Rug," but that was an exception.[221] Wilshire rugs were not described by any other colors in Kent County inventories.[222]

References to "mingled colour" rugs appeared before the mid-seventeenth century in English documents.[223] In mingled cloth, two or more colors of dyed wool were mixed before spinning, so "mingled colour" would indicate a blended color not a pattern. In Chesapeake documents, thus far, the only reference to a rug of mixed color was the notation of a "pide rug" in 1772.[224] The *OED* defines pide (obsolete for *pied*) as "part coloured of any two colours especially of white blotched with another color."

Pattern

Rug patterns are infrequently described in English and colonial documents. Iverson cited an unusually descriptive 1634 reference to "Mingle coulrd [colored] checkered rugs, partly tawny, but the most are wholly red," owned by John Winthrop Jr. of Massachusetts. She also located a "worsted Stript Ruge" in the 1685 inventory of a Salem ship captain.[225] Baumgarten found a speckled rug recorded in Boston between 1670 and 1675.[226]

Kent County, Maryland, appraisers first described rugs as spotted in 1709 and as mottled in 1761.[227] In the store goods of Hugh Wallis, who died in 1766, appraisers found new mottled and spotted rugs. There were obviously some differences in appearances and quality for they valued 3/4 (27-inch) mottled rugs at eight shillings and 3/4 spotted rugs at ten shillings.[228] Spotted or mottled rugs were probably woven from various natural shades of wool. Jenkins described the hard, coarse wool of the Scottish Soay sheep as ranging from dark to light brown and suitable in its natural color for rugs and capes.[229] Whenever a document included colored rugs along with white, spotted or mottled rugs, dyed rugs commanded higher prices.

Dyed rugs, if green, were often further defined as Wilshire; spotted and mottled rugs never were described as "Wilshire" and may have originated in a different region of Great Britain, possibly Scotland.

Spotted rugs remained popular with Chesapeake consumers throughout the eighteenth century, whereas mottled rugs were only described as such by Kent County appraisers between 1761 and 1771. In the Gunston Hall database of the Chesapeake elite, the descriptor "motley" was used to describe rugs in 1751 and 1753.[230] It is not clear if motley referred to an irregular pattern of undyed wool or to the rug's condition. References to "spotted" rugs were far more numerous. Daniel Dulany (1685–1753) political leader of colonial Maryland, had two "spotted yarn rugs" in his Annapolis dwelling *(Figure 21)*. His other beds were covered with more fashionable India and cotton counterpanes and calico and silk quilts.[231]

The only other adjective used to refer to the pattern of a Chesapeake bed rug was found in the 1751 inventory of Morgan Brown of Kent County, when appraisers described two of his seven rugs as "figur[d]." Two other rugs were listed as green, and three were not described.[232] It is not possible to know if Brown's figured rugs had a geometric or naturalistic patrern or whether they were imported or woven locally.

Chesapeake probate inventories are nearly silent on the color of silk rugs. While appraisers listed wool rugs ranging in color from saturated reds, greens, and blues to the more muted colors of "sad" and "dun," color was almost never used to describe a silk rug in period documents. The one exception was found in the 1751 Charles County, Maryland, inventory of Henry Holland Hawkins. His household possessions included "1 old Red Silk Rug" with the low value of eight shillings.[233] In addition to not being identified by color, silk rugs were almost never described by pattern. One Kent County, Maryland, appraiser took unusual care in 1729 to describe Mr. Robert Dunn's bedcovering as a "Silk Spotted Rug."[234]

The lack of documentary evidence regarding color and pattern suggests that silk rugs were usually without a discernable color or

figure and may have been made from undyed silk. Given that silk rugs were frequently found in the same Chesapeake estate inventories with dyed and spotted woolen rugs, their lack of description cannot be construed as omission on the part of the appraiser.

Relative Value

Prices of bed rugs are difficult to ascertain, even when not allowing for inflation. Rugs could range in size from one small enough to fit a cradle to large enough to cover a substantial bed tick. Condition and age, other factors affecting value, were rarely noted with the exception of "old." Even when condition was described, the appraised amount did not necessarily indicate the true value. For example, in the 1730s "a large blue woolen rug moth eaten" was appraised at 1£ and a "small broken rug" at twelve shillings, six pence, yet a West Country rug, presumably in decent condition, was valued at only five shillings. Worsted rugs were generally assigned a higher value than woolen rugs or rag rugs, and silk rugs were usually assigned the highest values. Dying was a costly process, and dyed rugs were more valuable than the undyed spotted rugs. At the Colchester, Virginia, store of John Glassford & Co., new dyed rugs sold for sixteen shillings, six pence and thick spotted rugs for six shillings, six pence in 1766. However, when appraised, a "good Spotted Rugg" might bring as much as 25 shillings in 1761 and an "old blue mill[d] [fulled] rug" only 16 shillings.[235]

Rugs might have one value in an estate inventory and a higher or lower value when sold at vendue to satisfy the decedent's debts. For example, when Turbert Wright died in Kent County in 1792, he owned just one bed rug. Appraisers assigned it a value of 15 shillings, yet when the rug sold at public auction some time later, it went for nearly twice that amount.[236] To put rug values in perspective, one rug usually had about the same value as one or two pair of good blankets or a pair of sheets.[237] Even in the late 1790s, when rugs were no longer fashionable and had disappeared from most of the homes of the Chesapeake elite, Kent County appraisers of the estate of

FIGURE 21. *Daniel Dulany the Elder (1686–1753)*, artist unknown, c. 1720. Oil on canvas. Collection of the Maryland Historical Society, acc. 49.1.1. *Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society.*

William Blay Tilden assigned values of $1.50 to two rugs, $1 to a "fine sheet," and 50 cents to each Windsor chair, or 75 cents if it had arms.[238]

ARTIFACT- AND DOCUMENT-BASED EVIDENCE FOR RUGS—A PROBLEM OF RECONCILIATION

Documents versus Artifacts

Finally, to what extent does the document-based and artifact-based evidence mesh? Of the seven surviving rugs, which type is representative of the hundreds of thousands exported from Great Britain to the Chesapeake region and described in advertisements and probate inventories as being of a solid color or spotted with various shades of natural wool? Logic would suggest that Winterthur's green rug (see *Figure 3*) with a supplemental weft construction of sheared loops is representative of the numerous green and dyed rugs found in inventories from the Chesapeake and elsewhere. Yet, to weave such a rug involved using long fibers of a better quality and more costly wool. After weaving, the rug was piece-dyed, another added expense. This method of rug construction is less labor intensive than hand tying as many as 35,000 knots across the face of a rug. Yet, the final product would have been lighter and the "yarn cost for amount of warmth provided would have been higher."[239] Knotting is a way of introducing pattern into a rug. The solid green, red, blue, and other dyed rugs had no pattern or personalization. Chesapeake appraisers never described a rug as having a date or initials knotted or worked into it as a way of distinguishing it from another rug. Appraisers did, however, describe furniture, plate, and chinaware marked with the owner's initials.

The six surviving knotted rugs, on the other hand, were probably created with knots tied from short strands of waste wool, or thrums, left over from other weaving jobs or from short, inferior wool, like the curly tail wool of certain sheep. Rugs were relatively inexpensive, and they were frequently described as coarse or in other disparaging

terms, suggesting that the weaver did not invest much in materials.[240] All of these rugs have overall patterns and/or personalization of initials and date. Creating a pattern by tying knots of different colored wools is a less complex process than creating a pattern by changing the colors of the weft yarn.

"Spotted" rugs, while none seem to have survived, were probably constructed of knots of different shades of undyed wool. To achieve a pleasing blend of natural wools—ranging from white through tans, greys, and browns to black—the weaver might tie knots from a selection of wools to produce a spotted or random surface pattern.

Artifacts versus Documents—a case study of Wythe County, Virginia, rugs

Two of the three so-called Virginia rugs are associated with Wythe County in southwest Virginia (see *Figure 7*).[241] Their similarity in construction raises the possibility that they were the work of the same weaver. The bed rug owned by MESDA consists of two 36-inch panels of 2/2 twill of natural linen plied with black/brown wool (see *Figure 6*). Turkey knots of two-ply wool yarn tied over every 11th and 12th warp create a geometric pattern of diamonds within hexagons surrounded on four sides by a border in a triple zig-zag design.[242] In one corner are the initials "EG" and in the opposite corner on the same side "825," presumably the date "1825" before that end of the rug was cut down. The dominant colors are blue, brown, and light blue. This rug has been attributed to Wythe County, Virginia, on the basis of its purchase from a source in Wytheville, the seat of Wythe County.

Colonial Williamsburg also owns a rug with a Wythe County attribution (see *Figure 8*). This rug is constructed from two panels, approximately 36- and 39-inches wide, of 2/2 twill of natural linen plied with black wool. Turkish knots of two-ply wool yarn are tied over every seventh and eighth warp to create a geometric grid pattern of hexagons, diamonds, and squares in blue, brown, and rust. There is no border or personalization. This rug is also attributed to Wythe County, Virginia, on the basis of information from the vendor.[243]

Colonial Williamsburg's weaving specialist, Max Hamrick, after having analyzed both rugs, believes that they were produced in the same shop. The unusual plied linen and wool "salt and pepper" foundation and the treatment of the left hand selvages are similar in both rugs.[244] Williamsburg's rug is denser with 98 knots across the width while MESDA's has only 60–63 knots across the width. Both are worn and have lost surface pile.

While both MESDA's and Williamsburg's rugs have verbal documentation of having been woven in Wythe County, identifying local rug weavers has proven difficult. Wythe County, located in southwestern Virginia, was founded in 1790 from Montgomery County and named after George Wythe, the first Virginia signer of the Declaration of Independence. The land, with good water access along the New River, was settled by Germans and Scotch-Irish, nationalities known for their hand weaving. A search of MESDA's *Index of Early Southern Artists and Artisans*, however, did not bring up any weavers in the "Wythe County vicinity" after 1790. Yet, Tench Cox's 1810 compilation of the Arts and Manufactures in the State of Virginia reveals that the county had at that time 496 looms and was producing "in families" 18,188 yards of cotton goods, 48,897 yards of flaxen goods, and 10,678 yards of woolen goods.[245] Probate inventories filed in Wythe County between 1810 and 1831 also reveal high textile capability. Numerous small farmers died leaving stores of cotton, flax, and wool, and approximately 50 percent of all decedents owned weaving looms.[246]

As noted for the Chesapeake region, probate inventories are useful tools for analyzing material goods owned by people in a specific area at a specific time. Inventories from Kent County and from the Gunston Hall Chesapeake database indicate that bed rugs rapidly lost favor with consumers after the Revolution. Yet the existence of an 1825 dated rug and an 1800–1825 rug from Wythe County implies that rugs were in use in the county and made locally long after they ceased to be fashionable elsewhere in the Chesapeake region.

Between 1810 and 1831, appraisers filed 212 inventories in Wythe

County.[247] Yet, no "rugs" showed up in a bedding context in any Wythe County household or in any store inventory. Gentleman Alexander Smythe died in 1830 leaving a parcel of "carpets and rugs" with the high value of $80, but the reference was quite separate from the listing of his bedding and probably indicated floor coverings.[248]

The nearest approximation to a bed rug was the one "Caddow" owned by Joseph Barron, who died in 1817. Barron, an affluent merchant, also had a "Cadder," valued at 75 cents in his shop goods along with striped blankets at $1.50 apiece.[249] Other merchants sold "Dutch" blankets and striped blankets, and numerous household inventories listed sheets, blankets, coverlids, quilts, and counterpanes with other bedding. Wythe County decedents owned coverlids in quantities: Stephen Gose had 18 when he died in 1824.[250] David Sloan, who died the same year, had six yarn coverlids.[251] Perhaps, in this heavily Germanic community, "coverlid" was the term used for the local style of bed rug.[252] Another possibility is that locally rugs were called counterpanes. John Johnstone, when he died in 1830, owned "2 notted counterpanes a $5@" along with quilts and coverlids on his seven bedsteads.[253] The descriptor "notted" suggests the Turkish knot construction of the rugs in the collections of MESDA and Colonial Williamsburg. However, notted also suggests the knotting found on candlewick spreads that were popular at that time.

The worn condition of the two extant Wythe County rugs raises the possibility that they may have been intended as floor coverings and not as bed coverings.[254] Yet, carpets were only listed twice in the 212 inventories—once with rugs as indicated above and a second time as an old carpet listed on the same inventory line as a cupboard. Floor coverings in the form of carpets and hearthrugs, which were fairly common in the Tidewater area by 1830, were almost totally absent from Wythe County households. Thus the documents, which supply strong evidence for hand weaving in Wythe County, disappoint by not providing evidence for the local use of rugs as either bed or floor coverings.

CONCLUSIONS

Rugs in a bedding context are clearly puzzling to textile historians, and a close reading of probate inventories from the Chesapeake region has raised more questions than it has answered. Rugs appeared in the marketplace with little fanfare, attained widespread popularity, and then totally disappeared from use. Hundreds of thousands of rugs were exported to the Chesapeake region; a much smaller number were woven locally. By the late seventeenth century, the more affluent colonial consumer generally owned one or more rugs. When used on the best bedstead, the deeply saturated hues of green, blue, or red must have made a powerful visual impact. Rugs suggested comfort, warmth, and the ability to obtain English manufactured goods. In keeping with the traditional status-laden role of textiles, rugs initially conveyed the material wealth of their owners. As time went on, bed rugs of different size, quality, and condition became available to all but the poorest Chesapeake inhabitant. Merchants continued to import, advertise, and sell rugs once British trade resumed after the Revolution, but the people buying them changed. Rugs moved out of the household and into public places. Late orders, like those placed in the 1790s for new rugs for the tavern operated by the Moravian Church in Salem, North Carolina, indicate that rugs were of a quality more suitable for travelers and the hard use of an itinerant cliental.[255] Even silk rugs, once owned by the wealthy, found their way into taverns. Cecil County, Maryland, innkeeper Daniel Richardson had three silk rugs on the beds in his establishment when he died in 1806.[256] Certainly, commonality, declining value, and changing venue—from the homes of the elite to the homes of the middling and lower classes to use on beds in taverns—would spell the demise of bed rugs as a status commodity and contribute to their disappearance.

Many rugs probably endured for years, in one form or another, and in varying stages of decomposition. The construction of rugs often from coarse, waste wool, made them heavy, impossible to clean, and prone to insects. Over time, their bright colors became muted

with the aging effects of sun and dirt and their pile surfaces lost much of their warm wool due to abrasion and moths. Their plain appearance and lack of personal association with a maker or an event marked them as ordinary and did not encourage owners to carefully preserve rugs in chests and trunks and pass them down through the generations as family heirlooms. The fate of the vast majority of Chesapeake rugs was very different from that of the worked rugs of New England. It is hardly a coincidence that four of the seven extant woven bed rugs have dates and or initials, and two of the remaining three are brightly patterned and associated with Virginia.

The evidence is conflicting. On first consideration, Winterthur's green rug (see *Figure 3*) seems to be representative of rugs described in Chesapeake probate records. On the other hand, Winterthur's and Colonial Williamsburg's knotted rugs (see *Figures 4* and *5*, respectively) represent the cheaper construction that seems to correspond with documentary evidence for coarse rugs and raises the issue of the cost of labor verses the cost of materials.[25] Perhaps, both types of construction are representative of what appraisers found on beds in Chesapeake households. When they differentiated between "Wilshire rug" and "rug," were they noting a difference in quality and construction or a difference in origin between the southwest of England and the northern midland where Yorkshire weavers may have continued to construct rugs with Turkish knots? Until further research is undertaken, using probate inventories and documentary sources from other regions, many questions regarding the most ubiquitous bed covering in colonial America will remain unanswered.

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APPENDIX A: WOVEN OR WOVEN AND KNOTTED BED RUGS IN AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

Description	*Origin*	*Date*	*Construction*	*Size*	*Owner*
Rectangular fragment with tufted green wool upper surface, piece dyed, in two panels sewn together (see *Figure 3*)	Great Britain?	1700–1800	Non-plied supplemental wool weft on 2/2 twill wool ground; six tufts to square inch, offset and separated by four rows weft; over three warps, under one warp, with every other float raised and cut	56″ x 48″ overall; panels about 24″ wide	Winterthur 58.62.3a
Rectangular form with knotted white wool upper surface, in two panels; "IC" and "1768" in blue tufting (see *Figure 4*)	Ireland?	About 1768	Turkish knots of four strands of two-ply yarn on 2/2 twill wool ground; nine knots to square inch, offset and separated by four rows weft and six rows warp	81″ x 70″ overall; panels about 35″ wide	Winterthur 57.24.2
Rectangular fragment with knotted multicolor wool upper surface, in two panels sewn together; overall triangular pattern with triangular or dragon tooth border; colors red, green, gold, natural; "1807" in red tufting along one side (see *Figure 5*)	Wales? (purchased from English dealer as a "Welsh coverlet")	1807	Turkish knots of two-ply yarn on loosely-woven 2/2 twill gold wool ground; nine knots to square inch, tied over pairs of warp, offset and separated by two rows paired weft and six rows warp	57″ x 66½″ overall	Williamsburg 1972-369
Rectangular form with knotted multicolor wool upper surface, in two panels sewn together; overall diamond grid motif in orange, black, and blue (see *Figure 8*)	Wythe Co., Virginia	1800–1825	Turkish knots of two-ply yarn on 2/2 twill black wool and natural plied linen ground; ten knots to square inch, tied over pairs of warp, offset and separated by four rows weft and six rows warp; tightly beaten; top and bottom edges rolled and hemmed	101″ x 77½″ overall; panels 36½″ to 39″ wide	Williamsburg 1980–158

Description	*Origin*	*Date*	*Construction*	*Size*	*Owner*
Rectangular form cut down with knotted multicolored wool upper surface, in two panels sewn together; overall hexagon pattern with chevron border; colors blue, brown, orange, and green; "EG" and "825" in orange tufting in corners along one side (see *Figure 6*)	Wythe Co., Virginia	1825	Turkish Knots of two-ply yarn on 2/2 twill black/brown wool and natural plied linen ground: eight knots to square inch, tied over pairs of warp, offset and separated by six rows weft and six rows warp	89½″ x 73-½″ overall; panels 36½″ wide	MESDA 2175.3
Rectangular form with knotted multicolor wool upper surface, in two panels sewn together; central design of two vines, surrounded on four sides by wide leafy border; colors-natural, red, dark blue, medium blue, light red, green (see *Figure 9*)	Possibly Loudoun Co. Virginia	1770–1820	Turkish knots of two-ply wool yarn on 2/2 twill natural wool ground; four knots to square inch, offset and separated by ten rows weft and ten rows warp; top and bottom edges rolled and hemmed	84½″ x 66″ overall	Association for Preservation of Virginia Antiquities G72.919
Rectangular form with knotted multicolor wool upper surface, in two panels sewn together; large central diamond motif worked in blue and yellow on blue ground surrounded by chevron and dragon tooth borders; "IAS" in beige tufting in upper right corner; "1743" or "1741" worked in red cross stitch on foundation (not illustrated)	Connecticut?	1743?	Turkish knots of two-ply wool yarn on 2/2 twill natural wool ground; four knots to square inch, offset and separated by eight rows weft and six rows warp; top and bottom edges rolled and hemmed	76″ x 73″ overall	Faith Trumbull Chapter, NSDAR, Norwich, Connecticut

NOTES

1. A number of people have generously shared their knowledge of bed rugs and/or provided access to their collections and documents. These include Linda Baumgarten, curator of textiles at Colonial Williamsburg; Johanna Brown, director of collections and curator at Old Salem; Gretchen Bulova, curator at Gadsby's Tavern, Alexandria; Linda Eaton curator of textiles at Winterthur; Barbara Farner, research assistant at Gunston Hall; Max Hamrick, weaving specialist at Colonial Williamsburg; Charles and Tandy Hersh, independent historians; Mary Hewson, fiber artist and historian; Susan Swan, former curator of textiles at Winterthur; and Sioned Williams, assistant curator of furniture and furnishing fabrics at the Museum of Welsh Life, St. Fagans, Cardiff, Wales. A Benno Forman Fellowship from Winterthur made possible the study of British custom records and other documents in Winterthur's Downs Manuscript Collection.

2. British customs records indicate that rugs were exported from London and the "Out Ports" to the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, from Quebec south to the Carolinas, as well as to Barbados and other Caribbean islands. More rugs, however, were exported to the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland, listed collectively in census records, than to New England, New York, or Pennsylvania. Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection, M 1765, 1766, 1767, 1778, 1790, 1798, 1810.

3. Nancy Dick Bogdonoff, historian of New England textiles, commented on the use of rugs in that region: "Once thought to have been an extreme rarity, bed rugs are now believed to have been an important inclusion in the total bed furnishings." Nancy Dick Bogdonoff, *Handwoven Textiles of Early New England: The Legacy of a Rural People, 1640–1880* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1975), 106. Susan Prendergast also noted, "rugs were apparently the most utilitarian and, consequently, the most widespread of the various types of outer bed covers used in colonial Philadelphia." Susan Margaret Prendergast, "Fabric Furnishings Used in Philadelphia Homes, 1700–1775," (M.A.thesis, University of Delaware, 1978), 79.

4. Bogdonoff, *Handwoven Textiles of Early New England*, 106. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., CD-ROM version 3.0 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Hereafter *OED*.

5. Nathan Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum: or, A More Complete Universal Etymological English Dictionary Than Any Extant* (London: printed for T. Cox, 1730). Inventories of libraries of Chesapeake decedents frequently included "Baileys Dictionary."

6. S. William Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary* (London: The Warehousemen and Drapers' Journal Office, c.1882).

7. The *OED* cites examples of usage from 1558 to 1711 with the predominance of use in the seventeenth century.

8. Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America: 1650–1870* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 336. At the present time, "bed rug" has a very different meaning. A search for "bed rug" using the Internet search engine Google brought up dozens of references to truck accessories. In that context, bed rug is the term for a truck bed liner.

9. While the term "Chalon" does not appear in colonial Chesapeake probate inventories, historians of the early English woolen industry have described chalons as synonymous with rugs and coverlets. See L.F. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages* (London: H. Pordes, 1964), 200, for "chalons, which were rugs used for coverlets or counterpanes" and woven around Winchester in the thirteenth century. Peter Bowden placed the origin of "coverlets or chalons, which seem to be types of worsted" in Yorkshire in the fourteenth century. P.J. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: F. Cass, 1971), 54. The *OED* defines "chalon" as "a blanket or coverlet for a bed" in use around Colchester as early as 1302.

10. English cloth regulating statutes confirm this. A 1552 statute of Edward VI refers to "all Clothes called Manchester Ruggs otherwise name Fries..." and a 1566 statute of Elizabeth lists "Fryzes or Ruggs" together in each section of the legislation. United Kingdom, *Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols. (Buffalo, NY: W.S. Hein, 1993), vol. 4, pt. 1, 1547–1585; vols. 5 & 6 Edward VI c. 6; and vol. 8 Elizabeth c. 11, 12.

11. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*, 279.

12. George S. Cole, *A Complete Dictionary of Dry Goods*. (Chicago: W. B. Conkey, 1892), 252.

13. After an absence of several decades from mention of caddows in inventories, appraisers in Kent County, Maryland, started listing "cadders" during the 1760s and with some frequency between 1800 and 1810.

14. Kent County, Maryland, *Inventories, Vols. * through 12, 1668–1810*, 1/92 [1709–1720], Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. Frequently, the same object was spelled more than one way in the same inventory.

15. In Alexander MacBain's *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Glasgow: Gairm Publications, 1982), *cadadh* is defined as tartan cloth and also as an Irish quilt or cloak. The reader is then referred to *catas*, which is defined as "refuse at carding wool."

16. Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France, and Holland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 112.

17. Ibid, 112–113.

18. Ibid.

19. Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 183.

20. Dorothy Osler, *Tradtional British Quilts* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1987), 90. Osler noted that by the nineteenth century, cottagers in the northeast of England were making "haps" from pieces of less worn parts of blankets and clothing. The *OED* defines "hap" as northern English dialect for a covering of any kind, "but generally applied to one of coarse material," and "happing" as "a covering: coverlet, quilt, rug."

21. See Jeanette Lasansky, "The Role of Haps in Central Pennsylvania's Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Quiltmaking Traditions," *Uncoverings 1985*, Volume 6 of the research papers of American Quilt Study Group, 85–94.

22. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "A Bed Rug and a Silk Embroidery," in *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Knopf, 2001), 208–245. Wadsworth Atheneum, *Bed Ruggs/1722–1833* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1972). The author has not seen the original document, so cannot vouch for its accuracy, but the online 1759 estate inventory of Thomas Marshall of Marshall Hall, Charles County, Maryland, lists "6 worked or plain rugs" along with "1 silk rug." The inventory is typed, and items have been taken out of context and added together under a general heading of "Linens" on the second floor of Marshall Hall. Period spelling and punctuation has been corrected, but if this listing is reasonably accurate, it is the only Chesapeake reference, known to this author, of "worked," and therefore embroidered, bed rugs. Brady A. Hughes and Sarah S. Hughes, *A Historical Study of the Marshall Site, 1634–1984* (National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1985), 29, 33 (Online: http://www.marshallhall.org/inventory.html [accessed 16 June 2004]).

23. Museums with major Anglo-American textile collections were contacted. These include the DAR Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, National Museum of American History, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Winterthur Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Valentine Museum/Richmond History Cen-

ter, and, in Great Britain, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the American Museum in Britain, the National Museums of Scotland, the National Museum of Ireland, the National Trust for Great Britain, the National Trust for Ireland, and the Museum of Welsh Life. In addition, numerous textile specialists were contacted in the United States, Great Britain and The Netherlands, and a request for information was posted on the listserv of the Textile Society of America, which reaches members worldwide.

24. This type of construction has some resemblance to velveteen where supplemental weft is W-interlaced on a 2/2 twill ground. The resulting loops are sheared and brushed. In Winterthur's green rug, the supplemental weft goes over three warps and under one to form a W-interlace on a 2/2 twill ground. Alternate groups of floats have been raised and cut.

25. Bogdonoff, *Handwoven Textiles of Early New England*, 107–108.

26. A sixth woven rug with knotted pile is owned by the Faith Trumbull Chapter of the Connecticut Society, NSDAR, and may have been made in Connecticut. The geometric multicolor wool pattern includes the initials "IAS" and the date "1743" or "1741." This woven rug differs in construction from the better-known needlework Connecticut bed rugs. This rug is illustrated as Number 5 (p. 29) in Wadsworth Atheneum's *Bed Ruggs: 1722–1833* (Hartford, CT: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1972).

27. The pattern of the APVA rug was described by Sandra Tinkham as composed of "embroidered rather than woven knots," but an examination of the back of the rug indicates that the knots were applied to the warp as the rug was being woven. Rows of knots are evenly separated by ten rows of weft. Sandra Shafer Tinkham, "A Southern Bed Rug," *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. 105, no. 6 (June 1974): 1320–1321.

28. M. A. Havinden, ed., "Household and Farm Inventories in Oxfordshire, 1550–1590," Oxford Record Society, XLIV (1965).

29. Margaret Cash, ed., *Devonshire Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Torquay, UK: The Devonshire Press, 1966). The low percentage of rug use does not necessarily indicate a preference for another type of bed covering. More likely, there was a paucity of bed coverings of any type in rural households during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

30. In the Devonshire dialect, appraisers spelled rug using the variations "rogg," "rogge," "rouge," "ruge," and "rugge."

31. R. Machin, ed., *Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh, and Yetminster* (Bristol, UK: University of Bristol, 1976).

32. Francis W. Steer, ed., *Farm and Cottage Inventories of Mid-Essex 1635–1749* (London: Phillimore, 1969), 1686,1689.

33. Samuel Johnson, A *Dictionary of the English Language* (London: printed by W. Strahan, 1755). Johnson also defined "rugin" as "a nappy cloth."

34. Harold Hulme, ed., "A Probate Inventory of the Goods and Chattels of Sir John Eliot, Late Prisoner in the Tower, 1633," *Camden Miscellany*, XVI (London: Royal Historical Society, 1936).

35. Lindsay Boynton, ed., *The Hardwick Hall Inventories of 1601* (London: Furniture History Society, 1971), 29.

36. Marian Day Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," *The Magazine Antiques*, vol. 85, no. 1 (January 1964): 140. "White" rugs, made from fine wool from a specific breed of sheep or bleached, seem to have been favored by the elite in the early part of the seventeenth century. Perhaps they were of Irish origin and personalized with a date or initials, like the one in the collection at Winterthur.

37. "English Inventories, 1550–1650," Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection, M280.

38. Lawrence Wright, *Warm and Snug: The History of the Bed* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), 64.

39. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 178.

40. Philip Henslowe, *Diary*, eds. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

41. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 112–113.

42. Sybil M. Jack, *Trade and Industry in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1977), 41; Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 3.

43. Quoted by Dorothy Osler from a 1697 broadside issued by professional quiltmakers threatened with import restrictions on Indian cottons. Osler, 88.

44. Gloria Seaman Allen and Nancy Gibson Tuckhorn, *A Maryland Album: Quiltmaking Traditions, 1634–1934* (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1995), 23.

45. Clayton Colman Hall, "A Relation of Maryland," in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 94.

46. The common sleeping arrangement of two men to a bed, sharing one rug or another covering persisted into the eighteenth century in the British colonies even though as early as the sixteenth century Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) and other reformers had condemned such practices as unhealthy and immoral. Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners: The Civilizing Process*, vol. 1 (New York: Pantheon Books, c. 1982), 160–168.

47. Kent County, *Inventories*, "/16 [1668–1708].

48. Norfolk County, Virginia, *Wills & Deeds*, Book E, 1665–1675, 29 Aug 1665 and 17 October 1666. Courtesy of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA) research files.

49. Accomack County, Virginia, *Wills & c.* 1692–1715, 138a. Courtesy of MESDA.

50. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., "The Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," in *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. 1, 1628–1641 (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 24.

51. Carleton L. Safford and Robert Bishop, *America's Quilts and Coverlets* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1988), 17.

52. Ibid.

53. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620–1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morrison (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 202, 231.

54. *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* [1624], in *Captain John Smith: A Select Edition of His Writings*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 268.

55. "Claiborne vs. Clobery et al in the High Court of Admiralty," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXVIII, no. 1 (March 1933): 26–43.

56. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, Book III, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 162.

57. Ulrich, "A Bed Rug and a Silk Embroidery," 55; Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 228.

58. British textiles, such as duffle and rug, served as an exchange medium for furs and were given as gifts. Manufactured goods were also seen as a way to civilize the natives and assure their dependency.

59. Quoted from Joshua Gee, *The Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain Considered* (1729) by Linda B. Berlekamp (Baumgarten) in "The Textile Trade in Boston 1650–1700" (M.A. the-

sis, Winterthur Program, University of Delaware, 1978), 27. In the early 1770s, Josiah Wedgwood's strategy for marketing his ceramic products included dumping unfashionable wares "much seen and blown upon" on the overseas market. Before long his overseas sales exceeded his home sales. Neil McKendrick, "Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries," in *The Birth of A Consumer Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 75, 127.

60. Mark B. Letzer and Jean B. Russo, eds., *The Diary of William Faris: The Daily Life of an Annapolis Silversmith* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2003), 224, n.167.

61. Quoted by Ann Smart Martin in "The Role of Pewter as Missing Artifact: Consumer Attitudes Toward Tablewares in Late 18th Century Virginia," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 23, no. 2 (1989): 2.

62. Rugs were used as bed coverings in other colonies, and textile historians have used probate records and merchants accounts to cite examples of their use. For the Boston area, see Linda Baumgarten, "The Textile Trade in Boston," *Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby, Winterthur Conference Report, 1974 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), 262; for the countryside around Boston, see Abbott Lowell Cummings, ed., *Rural Household Inventories: 1675–1775* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964). For Pennsylvania, see Susan Margaret Prendergast, "Fabric Furnishings Used in Philadelphia Homes, 1700–1775," (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1978); Margaret B. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories 1684–1850* (Exton, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 1974); and Tandy and Charles Hersh, *Cloth and Costume 1750 to 1800, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1995).

63. Bedsteads, the wooden frames that supported the bed and bed hangings, were frequently listed separately from the bed and its furnishings. In historical context, a "bed" is a soft furnishing.

64. Kent County, *Inventories*, i/100, [1741–1749].

65. The Register of Wills appointed two men, usually of the same economic class as the deceased, to appraise any estate subject to probate. This author did not find a correlation between time period or size of the estate with the appraiser's inclination to list bedding items individually or to lump them as "furniture." Based on frequent references to "bed furniture" and similar terms, rugs may have been under counted by 10–20 percent.

66. Inventories for this database were selected according to predetermined criteria—from counties where George Mason owned property or transacted business, and from other Virginia and Maryland counties where room-by-room inventories were available from the 1740–1810 period. Most of the inventories were of estates of individuals whose economic status approximated that of George Mason. Each inventory was assigned a wealth classification—elite, aspiring, decent, old-fashioned—based on a system devised by Barbara Carson. For detailed information see the Website "Gunston Hall Probate Inventory Database" (Online:*http://www.gunstonhall.org/probate/backgrou.htm* [accessed 18 May 2004]) and Barbara G. Carson, *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington* (Washington, DC: American Institute of Architects Press, 1990). I am grateful to Barbara Farner for her assistance in navigating the Gunston Hall probate inventory database.

67. By 1710, Kent, the second oldest county in Maryland, totaled 223,163 acres of primarily tillable land with considerable water access along estuaries of the Chesapeake Bay. The population was essentially native-born and stable. The vast majority of people was descended from British immigrants and followed the Anglican religion. Plantations were strung out along the waterways rather than clustered around village settlements. The agrarian economy was origi-

nally based on tobacco, but by 1750 a diversified agricultural system placed Kent County at an advantage over other Chesapeake counties still dependent on tobacco as their primary source of revenue.

Active export trade with the West Indies centered on the Eastern Shore, particularly at the county seat of Chestertown, a port of entry with authority to collect customs. In return for exports of tobacco, corn, wheat, lumber, and naval stores, Chestertown received raw materials and manufactured goods from the West Indies, Azores, Europe, and England. A ferry system provided access to imported luxuries from Annapolis and later from Baltimore, and the post road, which passed through Chestertown, linked the county with the port of Philadelphia.

Prosperity continued up until the 1770s when increasing restrictions, resulting from hostilities with England, finally curtailed trade in the network of waterways forming the Chesapeake Bay system. After the Revolution, Chesapeake commerce centered in Baltimore with its accessible harbor and expanding inland trade.

68. The study includes 2,861 inventories filed in Kent County, Maryland, between 1668 and 1810. Kent County, *Inventories*, c 1059-1 through c 1059-18, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Maryland. The inventories were not entered into a database. They were closely read for all references to rugs in a bedding context and tabulated by number of rugs, and by their origin, material, color, and pattern.

69. See Gloria Seaman Allen, "Silk Bedcoverings in the Early Chesapeake Region: Interpreting Documentary Evidence," *Silk Roads, Other Roads*, Textile Society of America 8th Biennial Symposium, Smith College, Northampton, MA, September 2002.

70. This number does not account for all the rugs that may have been present; many more, perhaps 10–20 percent, may have been lumped together with blankets, sheets, etc. by appraisers as "bed furniture."

71. No caddows or cadders were recorded as bed coverings in the Gunston Hall probate inventory database. Communication of author with Barbara Farner, 25 August 2003.

72. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/236 [1709–1720]. From Lowe's estate inventory, it is clear that he had a large slaveholding, so the other caddows may have been used as well for slave bedding. Lowe had seven rugs in addition to the caddows. With the exception of "1 worsted Rug," the rugs were not described.

73. The *OED* does not define "cadder" or list it as an alternative spelling for "caddow." One cadder, listed in a Kent County inventory with the descriptor "old worsted," suggests that it was similar to a caddow or rug. Cadder may have been a Kent County spelling variant for caddow, however, the word also showed up in one Wythe County, Virginia, merchant's inventory from 1817.

74. Generally, after 1790, cadders and caddows were not listed in the same inventories as rugs.

75. Kent County, *Inventories*, 11/343 [1798–1807].

76. Kent County, *Inventories*, 12/303 [1807–1812]. In 1802, appraisers of the estate of Phillip Brooks listed "Carpet $10 1 small old Ditto $2 1 Do bed Ditto $2." While *Webster's Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1935), defines "bed carpet" as "a thick wrought fabric used for covering tables, beds, etc.," it is presumed that the bed carpet listed in the 1802 inventory was a floor covering placed next to or around a bedstead. It was not counted as a bed rug.

77. This data is skewed since the Kent County inventories covered an earlier period, particularly 1668–1720 when ownership of rugs was at less than 50 percent.

78. Data from a somewhat comparable inventory study confirm that rug use was more widespread in the predominantly rural Chesapeake than in the urban center of eighteenth-century Philadelphia. Susan Prendergast, in her analysis of Philadelphia fabric furnishings, also

found that rugs were the most commonly used bed covering prior to the Revolution. Of the inventories with bedding recorded between 1700 and 1704, 43 percent included rugs. By 1775, only 20 percent of the inventories listed rugs. Prendergast, "Fabric Furnishings Used in Philadelphia Homes," 80. And as indicated by British customs records, which showed a smaller numbers of rugs exported to Pennsylvania, ownership of rugs also was low in rural Pennsylvania. In their analysis of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, inventories, 1750–1800, Charles and Tandy Hersh found that ownership of rugs peaked at 11 percent between 1750 and 1769, and then declined steadily to 1799 when only 4 percent of the decedent population owned rugs. Communication with author, 27 April 2003.

79. Gloria Seaman Allen, "Bedcoverings in Kent County, Maryland, 1710–1820," in *Quiltmaking in America: Beyond the Myths*, ed. by Laurel Horton (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1994), 59–62. For this earlier study the author used a sample of 360 inventories and found a higher percentage of rug ownership overall, but a similar pattern of increase and decline in rug use.

80. When General John Cadwalader, one of the wealthiest men in Kent County, died in 1786, his inventory contained no rugs—not even on "common beds" or on "servants beds." Samuel Chew lived in a fashionable house in Chestertown when he died in 1809. His furniture was mahogany, his walls were hung with maps and a print of the Washington family, and his beds were covered with "eiderdown bedcovers." Kent County *Inventories*, 8/364 [1776–1788] and 12/227 [1802–1807].

81. Carole Shammas, *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1990).

82. Osler, *Traditional British Quilts*, 88.

83. L. O. J. Boynton, "The Bed-Bug in the 'Age of Elegance,'" *The Journal of the Furniture History Society*, I (1965): 15.

84. For example, see W. Emerson Wilson, ed., *Plantation Life at Rose Hill: The Diaries of Martha Ogle Forman 1814–1845* (Wilmington, DE: Historical Society of Delaware, 1976).

85. The Provincial Congress, meeting in New York on 29 May 1775, requested "8-4 green and spotted rugs" in addition to "striped and plain blankets," *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, 22 June 1775.

86. The requisitioning of rugs at the time of the Revolution anticipates a later call for military bed coverings. During the Civil War, the United State Sanitary Commission put out an urgent request for old quilts and coverlets for use by Union soldiers. Contemporary photographs show woven jacquard coverlets used on hospital beds and in field tents. Until their brief revival at the time of the Centennial, wartime bedding was the final ignominious use of jacquard coverlets. Once esteemed as dower textiles, by 1860 they had been totally eclipsed by quilts. See Virginia Gunn, "Quilts for Union Soldiers in the Civil War," *Uncoverings 1985*, Volume 6 of the research papers of American Quilt Study Group, 95–122.

87. Rugs are mentioned primarily in advertisements placed in the 1770s between the months of November and March.

88. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, 26 January 1779.

89. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 18 February 1771.

90. Lathan A. Windley, comp., *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 8.

91. E. M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers, Collected Studies* (London: Methuen & Co., 1954), 26.

92. Kent County, *Inventories*, 6/141 [1766–1771].

93. "Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll," *Maryland Historical Magazine*,

XXI, no. 3 (September 1926): 252, XXIII, no. 2 (June 1928): 175, and XXXIV, no. 2 (June 1939): 188.

94. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/183 [1709–1720].

95. Ibid, 1/236 [1709–1720].

96. Gunston Hall Probate Inventory Database, COLEMN45.

97. Lorena Walsh used the accounts of Virginian Carter Burwell to document the use of rugs for slave bedding. Burwell's 1740–45 account book listed a number of rugs issued to slaves on the home plantation and another quarter. Walsh concluded that Burwell doled out identical imported bed rugs, about every other year, to all working slaves. Mothers with young children received additional bed coverings for their children. Lorena S. Walsh, *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 189.

98. The *OED* cites a 1689 reference to the use of rugs as caulking on Greek ships—"We were not free from fears least the seas should wash away those ruggs which we had stopped in between the timbers." B. Randolph, *Archipelago* (1689), 101.

99. *North Carolina Higher-Court Records 1670–1696*, 15–16. Courtesy of MESDA.

100. In present day Great Britain, some 150 burial grounds offer plain wooden coffins, cardboard boxes, or "a lovely woolen shroud" in which to bury a loved one in a nature reserve. *Time Magazine*, 7 October 2002: 105

101. Subsequent acts of 1678 and 1681 further defined and strengthened the law. Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), 111–114. D. G. C. Allan, "Burials in Woollen 1667–1814," *Centuries of Achievement in Wool* (London: Dept. of Education of the International Wool Secretariat, 1959): 39–42.

102. It is not clear when the Act for Burying in Woollen Only was applied to the English colonies. According to British textile historian, Pat Earnshaw, the law may not have been "extended to the plantations in America and the islands" until 1730. However, newly arrived immigrants to the colonies may have continued the burial practices of their mother country before the law was officially extended. Correspondence with author, 15 October 1981.

103. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (1547–1585); vols. 5 & 6, Edward VI c. 6; and vol. 8, Elizabeth c. 11, 12.

104. Another document from 1597 mentioned rugs in its prohibition of the use of tentering frames for cloth woven "Northside of the Ryver of Trent," Ibid, vol. 8, Elizabeth c. 20.

105. John T. Swain, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution: Northeast Lancashire c.1500–1640* (Manchester, UK: Chetham Society, 1986), 109.

106. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 36.

107. Later documents suggest that some rugs continued to be manufactured in the northern midlands and exported to the American colonies from the port of Liverpool. In 1760 John Caygill sent rugs overland from Halifax to Manchester, down the river to Liverpool and on to Philadelphia. *Account Book of Philadelphia Merchants Francis and Relfe 1759–1761*, Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection, M304.

108. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 54. One can speculate that there may be a connection between the Yorkshire worsted chalons and worsted rugs.

109. Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woolen and Worsted Industries* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1965), 256. Note: at this time carpets were used primarily as table coverings and cushions were used on seating furniture. A similar Turkey work material was used for upholstery of chairs and settees.

110. No Chesapeake probate references have been found for Yorkshire rugs. However, records of exports firm Sparling and Bolden included shipments of Yorkshire rugs to Virginia

in the 1780s. M. M. Schofield, *The Virginia Trade of the Firm of Sparling and Bolden, Liverpool: 1788–99* (np: Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1964), 134.

111. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620–1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), 228, 243.

112. When the author inquired at various museums in the Barnstaple area about looking at bed rugs in their collections, she found that no one had heard of rugs used in a bedding context. The leading cloth production in the area in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was in "Barnstaple Bays," a woolen cloth somewhat lighter in weight than the modern baize.

113. Inquiries, similar to those made in Barnstaple, were made by the author in Torrington and produced the same results. No one was familiar with bed rugs or other pile bed coverings.

114. Bowden, *The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England*, 34.

115. To add to the uncertainty over the origin of bed rugs, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich stated that rug weaving was a local industry in Norwich and Colchester in the east of England by the end of the seventeenth century and that rugs used in Connecticut towns of the same names came from those localities. Ulrich, "A Bed Rug and a Silk Embroidery," 221. In British textile literature there are scattered references to rugs manufactured in other areas of Great Britain. Salzman referred to a 1601 list of draperies at Norwich that included "rugges" and "bankets," and Plummer, in his commentary on weavers employed during the reign of James I, mentioned that London weavers working in heavy woolens included among their number "some rug makers." Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, 244; Alfred Plummer, *The London Weavers' Company 1600–1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 9.

116. G. D. Ramsay, *The English Woolen Industry* (London: MacMillan, 1982), 19.

117. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woolen and Worsted Industries*, 257.

118. Schofield, *The Virginia Trade of the Firm of Sparling and Bolden, Liverpool: 1788–99*, 134.

119. Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," 141.

120. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*, 279–280.

121. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers, Collected Studies*, 26.

122. Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), 109.

123. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration*, 112–113. Caddows were also woven in Ireland. The following reference comes from a list of manufactures of Galway County in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 1837—"The woolen manufacture consists chiefly of flannels and friezes for home sale. A considerable quantity of white frieze and caddow blankets is manufactured and sold at Galway and Longhrea, and in the neighbourhood of the former of these towns flannels are woven to a large extent."

124. The Wool Act of 1699 essentially brought an end to Ireland's dominance of trade in cheap woolens. The same act also prohibited the exportation of wool and cloth from the "English plantations" in America. James Bischoff, *A Comprehensive History of the Woolen and Worsted Manufactures* (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1842), 89; John James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968), 176–177.

125. It is curious that customs records of imports and exports to and from London and various out ports from 1697 to 1741 list numerous "Irish rugs" as exports along with "Rugs." However, no rugs are shown as imports into England from Ireland. *Customs Records*, Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection, M1765, 1766, 1767, 1778, 1790. The only export from Ireland, bearing some resemblance to rugs, is listed as "Thrums Woolen." Since "thrum" refers to the warp ends left over from the weaving process, "Thrums Woolen" may refer to a shaggy cloth/coverlet woven from thrums.

126. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, 243.

127. Henrico Co. *Record Book* No.5, 1688–1697, 15 Nov. 1689. Courtesy of MESDA. This is the only Chesapeake probate reference I have found to an Irish rug.

128. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*, 180.

129. James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England*, 118.

130. Ramsay, *The English Woolen Industry*, 19.

131. James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England*, 151.

132. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620–1647*, 82.

133. Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," 140–141.

134. Ann Sutton, *The Textiles of Wales* (Louth, Ireland: Bellew Publishing Co., Ltd., 1987), 59. Sutton noted that examples could be seen at the Museum of Welsh Life in St. Fagans, Cardiff. Correspondence with curator Sioned Williams confirmed that the bed rugs in her collection were woven with a twill ground and knotted on the loom. She provided illustrations of an eighteenth-century all-white rug and a blue and white rug dated "1830" with rows of blue triangles and double triangles. With the exception of construction, neither rug shows any similarity to Williamsburg's "Welsh coverlet." Correspondence and e-mail communication with author, 30 March and 4 May 2004.

135. Linda Baumgarten presumes that the dealer had seen other rugs similar to the one he sold to Colonial Williamsburg or that he obtained it from a Welsh estate. E-mail communication with author, 22 September 2003.

136. Jenkins notes the use in rugs of wool from the Soay sheep of Scotland. J. Geraint Jenkins, ed., *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 17.

137. Archibald R. Adamson, *Ramble Round Kilmarnock*, chapter VI (T. Stevenson, 1875), published on the Website Electric Scotland (Online: *http://www.electricscotland.com/history/kilmarnock/part2c6.htm* [accessed 18 May 2004]).

138. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/300, 1/267 [1709–1720]. In the Kent inventories, there are no other references to Scotch Caddows, so the description could have been the fancy of a particular appraiser.

139. This reference is the only one that came up for Cadder in a Google search *(http://www.google.com)*.

140. Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," 141.

141. John K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History 1558–1939* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1987), 2.

142. Ramsay, *The English Woolen Industry*, 24, 28.

143. Ibid, 42.

144. Jack, *Trade and Industry in Tudor and Stuart England*, 129.

145. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, pt. 1 (1547–1585); vol. 8, Elizabeth c. 11, 12; and vol. 9, Elizabeth c. 20.

146. Ibid, vol. 3 (1509–1545); vols. 5 & 6, Edward VI c. 6; and vols 4 & 5, Henry VIII c. 10. "None shall hawk or sell Coverlets except at open Markets or Fairs on Penalty of Forfeiture."

147. Daniel Defoe, *A Tour of England & Wales*, vol. I (London: J. M. Dent, 1948), 82. Defoe's reference suggests that by the eighteenth century rugs were sold with other ready-made bed coverings and not with yard goods.

148. For example, London exports for 1697–1698 listed rugs shipped to Carolina, New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia/Maryland in addition to Flanders, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Streights, and Barbados. Rugs comprised nearly 10 percent of the value of all goods sent to Virginia/Maryland in that period. Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection, M1765.

149. Schofield, *The Virginia Trade of the Firm of Sparling and Bolden, Liverpool*, 134.

150. "Account Book of Philadelphia Merchants Francis & Relfe," M 304, Winterthur Museum and Library, Downs Manuscript Collection.

151. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 14 July 1757.

152. "Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XXIII, no. 2 (June 1928):175, 29 October 1749; XXXIV, no.2 (June 1939): 188, 6 October 1764. Carroll placed a number of orders for rugs with different English firms between the two dates cited here.

153. *John Glassford & Co., Ledger 1765–1766* (Alexandria and Colchester, VA: Glassford, Henderson & Co.). *Letter Book of Alexander Henderson, 1760–1764*. Courtesy of Ellen Donald.

154. Kent County, *Inventories*, 3/229 [1720–1730]. The latest use of the descriptor "West Country" was in the 1747 inventory of Dr. Jacob Glenn. Ibid, 1/238 [1741–1749].

155. None of inventories in the Gunston Hall database include origin descriptors for rugs.

156. Kent County, *Inventories*, */21 [1741–1749]. The latest mention of a Wiltshire rug was found in the 1796 inventory of William Collins. Ibid, 10/430 [1792–1798].

157. Merchants' accounts and advertisements, on the other hand, frequently indicate shipments from London regardless of the origin of their merchandise.

158. Samuel Maverick, "A Brief Description of New England . . . ," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, 2nd ser., I (1884–1885), 225.

159. Manasseh Minor, *The Diary of Manasseh Minor, Stonington, Conn., 1696–1720* (np: Frank Denison Miner, publisher, 1915).

160. Kent County, *Inventories*, 2/316 [1732–1740].

161. Ibid, 5/281 [1759–1766]. Possibly Browning had once been a weaver and had disposed of his equipment before his death.

162. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 3 (1509–1545); vols. 5 & 6, Edward VI c.6.

163. Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary*, 250.

164. Sally Garoutte, "Early Colonial Quilts in a Bedding Context," *Uncoverings 1980*, Volume 1 of the research papers of American Quilt Study Group, 20.

165. Safford and Bishop, *America's Quilts and Coverlets*, 17.

166. No evidence of rug cloth has been found in Chesapeake inventories.

167. Boston *News-Letter*, 13 May 1762. The widths translate as 54, 63, 72, and 81 inches. Bass also sold blankets in the same widths and bed quilts and coverlids in widths from six quarters to ten quarters.

168. *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 22 March 1764.

169. *The Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, 1 November 1770.

170. The 24-inch panel was found in the green rug owned by Winterthur (see *Figure 3*). This rug appears to have been cut down; so the measurement is misleading.

171. Kent County, *Inventories*, 3/229 [1720–1730].

172. Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," 141.

173. Machin, *Probate Inventories and Manorial Excepts of Chetnole, Leigh, and Yetminster*, 62, 82.

174. Estates of Robert Mures, 1685, James Hebron, 1709, and Charles Quidley, 1709. Kent County, *Inventories*, */42 [1668–1708]; 1/4, 1/45 [1709–1720].

175. Ibid, 5/79 [1759–1766].

176. Ibid, 4/494 [1749–1759].

177. Ibid, 4/301 [1749–1759].

178. Ibid, 5/47 [1759–1766].

179. Inventories recorded during the warmer Chesapeake months included rugs, but just one to a bed. Customs records indicate that rugs were exported to the Carolinas and Barbados, areas with warm climates.

180. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. R.C. Latham and W. Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), vol. VIII, 333.

181. Kent County, *Inventories*, */38, */234 [1668–1708]. The rug descriptor "worsted" shows

up even earlier in other Chesapeake documents. When Jane Hartley died in Northampton County, Virginia, in 1667, her inventory included "1 red worsted Rugg" in the Hall. Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 311.

182. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/228 [1709–1720] and 3/93 [1720–1730]. Yarn probably indicated a woolen fiber, and "shag," as defined by Florence Montgomery, was a "heavy worsted material" in the eighteenth century. Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 345. Shag rugs also show up earlier elsewhere in the Chesapeake. Jane Hartley, mentioned above, had a total of three "shagd" rugs when she died in 1667. In the "other Kitchen Chamber," her "1 blew shagd rugg" was differentiated from "1 plaine red rugg." Billings, 309–314. And Andrew Bodnam, who died in Norfolk County, Virginia, in 1666 also had a "Shagg Rugge" among his possessions. Norfolk County, *Wills & Deeds*, Book E, 1666–1675, 7a.

183. Kersey is defined by Montgomery as "a cheap, coarse woolen cloth of twill weave . . . made of short staple native wool." Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 272–273.

184. A single reference to "a Camell haire Red Rug" was found in the 1696 inventory of Thomas Teackle of Accomack County, Virginia. *Wills & c.*, 1692–1715, 138. Courtesy of MESDA.

185. Personal analysis of the seven extant woven bed rugs.

186. Jenkins, *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain*, 17.

187. Ibid, 20.

188. Ibid, 31, 32. Frieze, a cloth closely associated with rugs, is a woolen not a worsted textile.

189. In the survey of Kent County inventories, appraisers recorded far more worsted than woolen rugs. Perhaps, worsted was noted because the rugs were of a better quality than the usual rugs they encountered. In a sample of Chester County, Pennsylvania, inventories, 1684–1850, Margaret Schiffer found 51 worsted rugs compared with one wool rug. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, 13.

190. It is likely that silk bed rugs were used in affluent homes in other American colonies. Linda Baumgarten, in her study of textiles in seventeenth-century Boston documents, found two references to silk bed rugs in the 1670–1675 period. Baumgarten "The Textile Trade in Boston,"262. Cummings, however, found no silk bed rugs in his compilation of rural New England inventories. Cummings, ed., *Rural Household Inventories: 1675–1775*. [cited earlier] Margaret Schiffer located one silk bed rug in a 1764 inventory from Chester County, Pennsylvania. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, 12. In a more recent study, Tandy and Charles Hersh did not find any references to silk bed rugs in the 1,220 probate inventories filed in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, between 1750 and 1800. E-mail communication with author, 15 March 2003.

191. "Virginia Gleanings in England," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII (1906): 57–58.

192. Kent County, *Inventories*, 3/93 [1720–1730]. Other references to silk rugs can be found in the research files at MESDA.

193. The Kent study covered a longer period of time than the Gunston Hall probate inventory database. The Gunston Hall records do not cover the 1730–1740 period, a time when silk bed rug ownership was at its highest in Kent County. The decline in ownership of silk rugs from the 1750s on, seen in both sets of data, is worth noting. This decline indicates that while silk rugs were clearly no longer in style, some people still valued them and kept them long after they discarded their woolen rugs. Of the four rugs listed between 1800 and 1810 in the Gunston Hall database, three were described as silk.

194. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/33 [1741–1749].

195. Nancy Dick Bogdonoff, in her discussion of New England bed rugs, cites the same *OED* definition for thrums and suggests that wasted warp, saved from a years weaving, could be grouped in a roping "and used in a roping needle, to be drawn or sewn into the foundation for loops" to create a figured rug. Bogdonoff, *Handwoven Textiles of Early New England*, 108–109.

196. Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 345.

197. *Letter Book of Alexander Henderson, 1760–1764*. Alexandria Library, Alexandria, Virginia. Reference courtesy of Ellen Donald.

198. Ibid.

199. Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 206. Montgomery adds that fabrics like Manchester cottons had a nap or down, and that the process of raising the nap of woolen cloth was called "cottoning" or frizzing.

200. One "cotton" rug showed up in the Gunston Hall database. Colonel John Carvill, who died in 1756, owned one cotton rug and one silk rug. Gunston Hall, COLVIL56. No linen or tow rugs showed up in Chesapeake records, yet Margaret Schiffer found one of each in Chester County, Pennsylvania, inventories—dates not specified. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, 13.

201. Cotton rugs may not have been woven in the west of England, but rather, in the same regions as the cotton fabric described by Montgomery. None were defined as Wiltshire.

202. Laurel Ulrich found a much earlier reference to a rag rug in Colchester, Connecticut, inventories from the 1720s. Ultrich, "A Bed Rug and a Silk Embroidery," 456, note 33.

203. The *OED* defines "rag" as "a small worthless scrap of some woven material." It does not supply a definition for rag rug.

204. Kent County appraisers used no descriptors to further identify rag rugs.

205. Montgomery defined "List Carpet," a flat weave floor covering as "similar to rag carpet, the weft often consists of selvedges [lists] cut from textiles, thus providing the name given to this kind of carpeting in the eighteenth century. Warp yarns could be of homespun flax or tow." Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, 279.

206. Kent County, *Inventories*, 11/165 [1798–1807].

207. *Websters Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1935).

208. Kent County, *Inventories*, i/216 [1741–1749].

209. Ibid, 4/301 [1749–1759]. "Tammy" is a worsted plain weave, often glazed.

210. Ibid, 4/15 [1749–1759].

211. Ibid, 2/174 [1732–1740].

212. Gunston Hall Probate Inventory Database, BROWN62.

213. Ibid, SMLLWD68.

214. Cash, *Devonshire Inventories of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 37.

215. Berlekamp (Baumgarten), "The Textile Trade in Boston 1650–1700," 92. Citing Connecticut inventories filed between 1730 and 1790, Laurel Ulrich wrote, "color was the most frequent modifier and green the most popular color." Ulrich, "A Bed Rug and a Silk Embroidery," 226,227. Margaret Schiffer, who looked at a sample of Chester County, Pennsylvania, inventories recorded between 1684 and 1850, found ten green rugs, seven red, three blue, and two white. She also found a "yellow & brown" rug [1781] and a "blue and white" rug [1822]. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, 13. Susan Prendergast, who analyzed furnishing textiles in eighteenth-century Philadelphia inventories, found nine examples of red rugs, seven of green, two of blue, two of white, and five described as sad-color. Prendergast, "Fabric Furnishings Used in Philadelphia Homes," 80. The Hershes, in their analysis of all Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, inventories recorded between 1750 and 1800, found six

blue rugs, five green, three white, and two red. Hersh and Hersh, *Cloth and Costume 1750 to 1800, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*, 93.

216. Results for the Gunston Hall study were about the same with 13 percent of all bed rugs having color descriptors.

217. Kent County, *Inventories*, 4/216 [1749–1759].

218. Gunston Hall Probate Inventory Database, BALL42.

219. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/254 [1741–1749] and 4/79 [1749–1759]. Appraisers were disparaging in their comments about other items in the household with the three worn rugs. They also listed a "Shattered tick," a "Mahagony Desk much shattered," and "Leather Chairs very much broke."

220. The last two colors came up in the Gunston Hall database.

221. Kent County, *Inventories*, 5/310 [1759–1766]. He also owned two green Wilshire r ugs.

222. Since origin descriptors were not recorded in the Gunston Hall database, it is not possible to know if green rugs found in elite Chesapeake inventories were also from Wiltshire.

223. Berlekamp (Baumgarten), "The Textile Trade in Boston 1650–1700," 92.

224. Kent County, *Inventories*, 7/123 [1771–1777].

225. Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," 141.

226. Berlekamp (Baumgarten), "The Textile Trade in Boston 1650–1700," 92. Margaret Schiffer found in her Chester County, Pennsylvania, inventory sample, only one "spotted" rug in 1767. Schiffer, *Chester County, Pennsylvania Inventories*, 12–13. Tandy and Charles Hersh found one spotted and one checked rug in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania inventories recorded between 1750 and 1800. Hersh and Hersh, *Cloth and Costume 1750 to 1800, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*, 93.

227. Kent County, *Inventories*, 1/37 [1709–1720] and 5/112 [1759–1766].

228. Ibid, 6/141 [1766–1771].

229. Jenkins, *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain*, 17.

230. Gunston Hall Probate Inventory Database, PEACHY51 & PHLPS53.

231. Ibid, DULANY54.

232. Kent County, *Inventories*, 4/283 [1749–1759].

233. Gunston Hall Probate Inventory Database, HWKNS51.

234. Kent County, *Inventories*, 3/287 [1720–1730].

235. John Glassford & Co. Ledger 1765–66, entry #163. Kent County, *Inventories*, 5/107, 5/112 [1759–1766].

236. Ibid, 9/345 [1788–1792]. The actual sale price was £1.7.6.

237. Based on the hundreds of colonial inventories he has studied, Max Hamrick of Colonial Williamsburg has estimated that one bed rug was about equal in cost to two to four blankets. I found in Kent County that the value of a rug was about the same as one pair of blankets. E-mail communication with author, 6 January 2004.

238. Kent County, *Inventories*, 11/282 [1798–1807].

239. Hamrick reproduced Williamsburg's Virginia rug (the original is shown in *Figure 7*). He and his assistants tied 98 knots across the width of each 40-inch panel and four rows of knots per inch in the length of approximately 103 inches. The finished rug weighed 23 pounds and took 21 hours to complete. "The Wythe County bed rug was done over three seven hour working days. With three of us working (one person tying, one person laying out knots, another person cutting and facilitating the knotter) we tied one knot every 2.14 seconds for 21 hours." E-mail communication with author, 6 January and 21 March 2004.

240. Labor was relatively cheap. A good weaver, with an apprentice, might turn out a wo-

ven and knotted rug in a couple of days. Max Hamrick, with an assistant, reproduced Winterthur's all white rug in 15 hours (the original is shown in *Figure 4*).

241. A query to Kimberly Pulice, curator, Department of Museums, Wytheville, produced the response that they had no bed rugs in their collection nor knew of any in Wythe County.

242. Construction analysis courtesy of Max Hamrick, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

243. Cataloging information courtesy of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

244. E-mail communication with author, 21 March 2004.

245. Tench Cox, preparer, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America for the Year 1810* (Philadelphia: A. Cornman, Jr., printer, 1814), 90.

246. Wythe County *Will Book* 2 [1810–1822] and 3 [1822–1831].

247. Ibid.

248. Wythe County *Will Book* 3/450 [1822–1831].

249. Wythe County *Will Book* 2/197 [1810–1822].

250. Ibid, 2/79.

251. Ibid, 2/76.

252. A large number of German Bibles and books with German titles showed up in the Wythe County inventories, even in those of decedents with anglicized surnames.

253. Wythe County *Will Book* 3/393 [1822–1831].

254. According to Linda Baumgarten, the wear on Colonial Williamsburg's rug *(Figure 7)* is concentrated in the center and does not form a "path" as one might find on a floor covering. E-mail communication with author, 22 September 2003. And according to Johanna Brown, the wear on MESDA's rug *(Figure 6)* is evenly distributed. The initials and date on MESDA's rug also suggest a bed covering like a personalized coverlet rather than a floor covering. E-mail communication with author, 6 October 2003.

255. Johanna Brown, director of collections and curator at MESDA and Old Salem, kindly reviewed the Moravian inventories that were taken nearly every year. She found rugs in the tavern inventory described as "new" in 1797, 1798, 1800, and 1801. Many of the tavern's rugs were green. By 1814, appraisers no longer listed rugs. E-mail communication with author, 6 October 2003.

256. Cecil County, *Inventories* 13/542.

257. Based on Hamrick's analysis of MESDA's and Williamsburg's Virginia rugs (*Figures 6* and *7*, respectively), they were constructed from cheap or waste coarse wool. Winterthur's green rug *(Figure 3)*, on the other hand, was woven from better wool. However, when Hamrick wove his reproduction green bed rug, he made it with knotted construction and not with a supplemental weft.


MESDA