Uncoverings 1992

Volume 13 of
the Research Papers of
the American Quilt Study Group

Edited by Laurel Horton

❖ ❖ ❖

The Handwork of the Women of One Southern Family

Dorothy Cozart

This article examines what the author believes to be typical roles of the women of a mid-nineteenth century Southern family in the production of clothing and decorative household articles. Using family letters written during the years 1846–1863, the author quotes excerpts which indicate such things as the kind of handwork being done, the women's attitudes toward the handwork, and how those attitudes were being transmitted to their children. In addition, she uses extant family artifacts which remain in two collections, one in the home of a descendant who lives in Oklahoma and one in a small college in Georgia, to illustrate the family's production. She concludes with an evaluation of the women's roles and their reaction to these roles.

In 1935, my father-in-law's Aunt Hattie sent him a large group of items that had belonged to his relatives in Georgia and Tennessee. She had already given some things to her brother's family in Columbus, Georgia, and to Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia. She wanted her nephew, Hugh Holman Cozart, to have some of the possessions, and, at the same time, she gave additional items to a nephew's family in Canada. In the Cozart Collection [as the items given to Hugh Holman Cozart will subsequently be called] were, among other things, an accumulation of papers, covering a time span of about sixty years, from 1840 to 1900. Among the papers were Family Letters [as they will subsequently be called], some written as early as 1845, but most written during the years 1850 to 1863. An-

other large group of items consisted of pieces of clothing and other handmade articles, along with the tools used in their production.

When I became a member of the Cozart family, I was fascinated by the letters and other papers and by the wealth of handwork that had apparently been done by three generations of women, members and descendants of one Caldwell family. They had first lived in Georgia, but most of them later moved to Tennessee.

In my research I have contacted all the recipients, or their descendants, given items by Hattie Cozart Gates. I corresponded with the granddaughter of one of the principal letter-writers. Mary Cozart Burns was very interested in the family genealogy, as I was, but remembered virtually nothing about the handwork. I also contacted members of the nephew's family in Canada, but they knew little about the articles given to that family.

Fortunately, an article had appeared in *The Wesleyan Alumnae* in 1930, telling of "The Arrival of a Treasure Chest."[1] Most of the items given to Wesleyan College [which will hereafter be referred to as the Wesleyan Collection] were described in the article. It also explained that the reason for the gift was that the mother and aunt of the donor had both attended Wesleyan College in its early years. In 1987, after attending the AQSG Seminar in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, my husband Hugh and I visited Wesleyan College and saw all the articles that remain there. The bulk of the research material used herein is based on the contents of the Cozart and Wesleyan Collections.

Mary Walker and Charles Young Caldwell were married, probably in Putnam County, Georgia, a few years before the 1821 land lottery. They received a grant in that lottery and moved to their new home in Houston County soon afterward. Two daughters, Harriet and Elizabeth, were born in Putnam County prior to their move, and four other children, Samuel, Mary, Martha, and Julia, were born after their move, in the decade of the 1820s. Charles Caldwell was what could be considered a small plantation owner, a planter. He owned fewer than ten slaves, and cotton was the main crop on his plantation.

During the 1830s Caldwell prospered, and, in 1836, he helped found the Georgia Female College, later called Wesleyan College,

in Macon, Georgia.[2] Family tradition states that he contributed money to its foundation.[3] By 1836 Harriet, the oldest daughter, had married Dr. John Strother, a physician. Elizabeth, or Lizzie, as she is called in the Family Letters,[4] had married Robert Owsley, a teacher. Martha attended Georgia Female College in 1839, and Mary graduated from there in 1841. In 1845, Martha married Robert Nelson, and Samuel also married that year.

With the scattering of the family members, letters became an important way of keeping in touch, and the first of the Family Letters were written shortly after the death of Mary Walker Caldwell in August 1846. By the time of her death, Mary had, in addition to five daughters, four granddaughters who would carry on the tradition of producing all the family clothing and making domestic articles popular at the time. (Figure 1). What emerges from an examination of the Family Letters and the extant articles in the Cozart and Wesleyan Collections may be a very typical example of the handwork being done in other southern homes at the same time.

Most of the Family Letters were written by four of the sisters, Harriet, Mary, Martha, and Julia. There is only one letter from Lizzie, who must have been a semi-invalid most of her life. She died at age thirtyeight, of "chronic bronchitis."[5] The oldest, Harriet, wrote frequent, long, and descriptive letters. She undoubtedly felt responsible for her siblings after the death of her mother and often offered advice or sympathy as she felt it was needed.[6] After her sisters had children, she often made clothing for them. For example, on May 9, 1857, she wrote to Martha: "Will you send me a measure of David and Abner—the length of their arms & waists? You can notch some paper & write at the notches. I would like to do something if I could for them."[7] Mary Ellen, her only daughter, was the oldest of the next generation. She often stayed in the Caldwell home and had a close relationship with her aunts. There are a number of communications from her in the Family Letters.

Mary, the third sister, was literally the family's teacher. Because she did not marry, she lived in her sisters' homes after the death of their father in 1854, and there she taught nieces and nephews, as well as cousins and neighbor children. Mary probably studied painting at Georgia Female College, and the theorem paintings mentioned

Figure 1. Relationship of Family Members

in *The Wesleyan Alumnae* may have been done there.[8] Her niece and grandniece both considered her a "wonderful artist."[9]

Julia, the youngest, was, according to Harriet, "alternately indulged or neglected as such children generally are."[10] In 1846, when Julia was seventeen years old, Abram Cozart, from Harrodsburg, Kentucky, came to her father's plantation, probably selling horses. He had been driving hogs, or horses and mules, from Kentucky to Georgia for at least three years. Sometime before December 1, 1846, Abram asked Julia to marry him, and they were married the following March. Joseph Henry Cozart, their oldest child, and my husband's grandfather, was born in 1848. In 1853, shortly before the birth of Julia's fourth child, the Cozarts moved to Philadelphia, Tennessee, where Abram became a merchant and commission buyer. On August 24, 1854, Julia died of cholera. Julia's last letter reads, in part: "I am shirt making. Don't you feel for me some days & don't think I am obliged to lay my work down more than one thousand times, and you know if I get off that well. I will in the course of time, if I live, to finish my shirts."[11]

Fortunately, Martha, who was two years older than Julia, was able to go to Tennessee to help Abram with the children. It is not surprising that she and Abram were married in December of the same year. Martha had been married previously, but she and Robert Nelson did not live together very long. Martha's granddaughter, Mary Cozart Burns, said that he was a "ne'er-do-well," according to Martha's daughter Hattie.[12] In 1851, Martha was granted a divorce by the Georgia Senate, and the surnames of both her and her son, Charles, were changed to her maiden name: Caldwell.[13] After Martha married Abram, Charles became a part of the family in Tennessee, and the Cozarts were to have six more children. Of the eleven children, only two were girls: Mattie, Julia's daughter; and Hattie, Martha's daughter. It was Martha, and later Hattie, who saved the papers and other family memorabilia.

In the Cozart and Wesleyan Collections are approximately one hundred handmade items. Most are clothing, but also included are domestic articles made with netting, crocheting, candlewicking, and teneriffe lace. There are enough hair flowers to make a large wreath, and many more articles.

Figure 2. Two of the three samplers in the Cozart Collection. The larger one was made by Harriet Caldwell and the smaller one by her sister, Mary Walker Caldwell. Each contains their maker's initials, and the smaller one also has the name "Mary" on it. Only the "1" and the "8" remain of the date on the smaller one. Photo by Jim Nay.

Few of the items in either Collection can be designated as having been made by a particular member of the Caldwell family. However, by careful examination, the makers of a few items can be deduced. For example, there are three samplers in the Cozart Collection.[14] The largest bears the initials, "H. C.," which could stand for Harriet Caldwell. (Figure 2). There are no initials on a smaller one, but the smallest contains the strongest evidence as to the makers of all three. Not only are the initials "M. W. C." on the piece, but the name "Mary" is also there. This sampler was certainly made by Mary Walker Caldwell, the third sister. The largest one was then surely made by Harriet, and the one without initials must have been made by Lizzie, who was between Harriet and Mary in age. The three are all done on the same even-weave linen and use the same colored thread. Mary's is the same width as Harriet's. Lizzie's is rectangular and measures approximately seven by nine inches. There is part of a date at the top of Mary's; the "1" and "8" are clearly visible, but she had trouble with the last two numbers, and only holes remain. Therefore it is impossible to assign a date to their making. However, if it is assumed that Martha and Julia were too young to make samplers when these were done, then they may have been made in the early 1830s.[15]

The Cozart Collection includes a beaded bag. (Figure 3). In the handsewn lining, just below the opening, are the initials "M. G. N." There can be little doubt that it was made by Martha Glenn Nelson, and because she was married in 1845 and regained her maiden name after her divorce in 1851, it would have been made between those years.

Probably a more tenuous attribution has been made for what is labeled on the reverse side as "A. W. Cozart's Note Case." The case has a series of handsewn pockets with letters of the alphabet on each pocket, and, at one end, wider pockets for "Accounts," "Orders," and "Receipts." A careful comparison of the script letters and words on the case to the many handwritten letters of Martha, his second wife, has led me to the conclusion that she was the one who made the case for Abram Whitenack Cozart.

The only item whose maker was clearly identified was originally in the Wesleyan Collection: "a glazed chintz quilt made by the

mother of Mary and Martha Caldwell . . . made for the huge four-posters of a century ago and [the] tiny stitches must number millions."[16] Regrettably, the quilt is no longer in the Collection. The only extant material proof that the Caldwell women made quilts is a tattered remnant of an antique quilt which remains in the Cozart Collection. However, there is evidence in the Family Letters that they did, indeed make quilts. Martha wrote to Julia in 1853: "I have

Figure 3. Part of a hand beaded bag made in the mid-nineteenth century by Martha Caldwell. Initials on the lining (shown at the top of bag) identifies the maker. Photo by Jim Nay.

trimmed your quilt pieces ready for putting together."[17] Mary Ellen, Harriet's daughter, obviously learned to make quilts at home, since soon after she was married, she wrote: "I shall have to make me some quilts &c. I have commenced one quilt, have two ready to quilt. It feels very odd for me to have to go off & depend on myself but that time generally comes to us all."[18]

In addition, the Caldwell sisters must have attended quiltings in their neighborhood whenever they were held. Mary wrote about some social events while Martha was visiting Julia in Tennessee.

> Since I wrote you I attended a quilting up at Mrs. Turner's. . . . Everyone else around here was there. . . . The quilt was a plain one & finished soon after dinner. Papa seemed to favor my going though he & our baby [Martha's Charlie was staying with them.] were alone, but Sammy went after me about 4 o'clock & I did not go very early. Many others went later. It was a very pleasant company. Later in the evening the grand Party came off & Mrs. Buck N. told me a great deal of rude playing. I enjoyed the first of the party well enough & I never liked these plays.[19]

About twenty years earlier, "A Lady" had cautioned readers of *The Young Lady's Friend* about joining in "any rude plays that will subject you to being kissed or handled in any way by young gentlemen."[20]

Mary continues in the same letter: "Mrs. Scott had sent me word that she would come to see us that day Tuesday. . . . She was making a Tulip Quilt, tolerably pretty. The other ladies were sewing on calico dresses for the little girls. They seemed to enjoy their visits &, of course, I did."[21]

The earliest Family Letters mention weaving a number of times, and it is evident that it had been an important activity in the Caldwell home. It is virtually certain that all the sisters learned to card wool, to spin, and to dye wool and cotton thread, as well as to weave. In addition, the Cozart Collection includes a four-yard length of handwoven linen. In the selvage, at the end where the weaving was finished, are the initials "H. C." These initials could stand for Harriet Caldwell. There are also four weaving drafts in the Cozart Collection.

It is clear, however, that about the time the Letters began, in 1846, the family weaving was being done by women in the neighborhood, and, in one letter, Mary says that she may not be able to get the "counterpains" woven, as there were not many weavers around.[22] Later, Harriet found someone near her home to do the weaving. "You may send your thread when Major [a slave] comes or when our cart comes up—Mrs. Newton says she will weave the Virginia Beauty at 12 1/2¢ a yard.[23] Since two white cotton counterpanes are included in the Wesleyan Collection, (Figure 4), it may well be that the Virginia Beauty was white cotton. Indications that this is true are Mary's use of the word "counterpane" and Harriet's use of "thread." The Caldwell women apparently made distinctions between white cotton counterpanes and colored wool coverlets and between cotton thread and wool yarn in much the same way that we do today.

Further proof of this is Mary's use of the word "coverlid" when she writes of planning to have one made for Julia soon after her move to Tennessee. Mary writes: "Does Julia want her Blanket woven after the Orange Quarter pattern."[24] One of the weaving drafts in the Cozart Collection is for that pattern, and it must have been well-liked by the family. However, when Julia's coverlet was finished it was "brown wool woven . . . after the pattern of what we call the double bow knot."[25] In the Wesleyan Collection is a brown and white wool coverlet, which I had hoped would be either the Double Bow Knot, or even the Orange Quarter pattern. However, its pattern has been identified as Nine Snowballs.[26] When Julia received her coverlet, she wrote her appreciation. "I am thankful to Mary for having the blanket wove. I am proud to think there is one in this wide world that think of me and my pleasure. . . . I feel very thankful for such favors that I may never be able to return.[27]

By 1853 the loom room at the Caldwell home was being used as a smoke house.[28] And, in addition to the weaving, the carding and dyeing, at least with indigo, were also being done outside the home. That year Mary wrote about washing their wool and having it carded at Mathew's Mill.[29] In the same letter she says she has completed the supervision of the spinning of the wool and was considering hiring a Mrs. Aiden to dye it blue. Note that Mary was supervising the

Figure 4. One of a pair of handwoven pillow shams in the Wesleyan Collection. They match one of the two white cotton counterpanes in the Collection. Photo by Jim Nay.

spinning. This is the only mention of any handwork activities being done by the family's slaves.

During the Civil War, the women spun cotton and carded and spun wool, and the letters mention the necessity for spinning because thread was so expensive.[30] Also, cards became very scarce, and Harriet notes: "I could have got them in the summer at $1.00 but they are all gone now. I have one pr. only."[31]

Most of the thread made was probably used for knitting; however, at least one of the sisters, Martha, started weaving again. After Harriet visited a fair in Macon in 1860, she wrote Martha. "I hope that the next fair you will show everything except your children—your flannel, cabbage, cows and all.[32] One letter to Tennessee notes: "I was glad to hear about your homespun dresses . . . the new linsey is very pretty."[33]

The Caldwell women who had children spent much time sewing clothing for them. (Figure 5). And, in fact, most of the references in the Letters concern garment construction. When Martha was expecting Charlie, her first child, Harriet wrote: "I have just finished the muslin dress, two nice little caps & sent them & your thimble & an untrimmed cap."[34] In the Cozart Collection are two baby's dresses and several netted embroidery caps, for adults as well as children. (Figure 6). When Charlie was small, his mother called him "Buddy." In August 1848, Martha wrote to Harriet, describing a dress she had

Figure 5. A linen jacket made for one of the children of the Caldwell women. It is fully lined and has buttonholes on the waist band so that it could be buttoned onto trousers. Photo by Jim Nay.

made for him. "I have finished Buddy's Linen dress. It was sent for by the time it was finished by the Vineville ladies for a pattern. It is worked in bright colors."[35] Most items of the children's clothing in both Collections are embellished with hemstitching or embroidery or other decoration, as was Buddy's linen dress. As Martha's family grew, her relatives made many garments for her children. In 1857, when Martha had a new baby, Mary Ellen wrote: "I felt very much mortified that Ma sent that unfinished dress for the baby. . . . I knew you had work enough of your own to do & it was no favor to send you half finished tedious work.[36]

During the Civil War stockings had to be knitted by hand. In

Figure 6. Netted embroidery caps in the Cozart Collection. One is for a newborn baby and another is for a small child. Two must have been made for adults. Photo by Jim Nay.

January, 1862, Mary Ellen wrote: "I have knit Hattie some little Rail Road Stockings but will send them next time with some other things."[37] The stockings were knitted in the railroad stitch, which made a pattern resembling railroad tracks.[38] Emma Tyler Blaylock, who lived in Barnesville, Georgia, at the same time as Harriet and Mary Ellen, later wrote in her memories of the war the following: "Our hosery was pretty, but a lot of trouble. Knitting was the fancy work of the period. Railroad, open work and clock and leaf patterns were the favorites."[39]

Frequent advice was given to the girls in the family about their manners, or about perfecting their handwork skills. Mary Ellen wrote to twelve-year-old Mattie in August 1863. "I am glad to learn that you can sew so nicely & that you needlework too."[40] The Caldwell family must have made this distinction between plain and fancy needlework. Mary was staying with Harriet and Mary Ellen when the letter above was written. She wrote to Samuel's daughter, Cattie, whose family was living in Tennessee with Martha and Abram. She had knitted stockings for Cattie's sister, Julia: "Tell her they are to remind her to be good, mind her sister, spell pretty, wear bonnet and be a little lady. Teach her to knit or sew, which ever she does best, but not keep her too long confined at one thing."[41] Earlier Harriet had given similar advice to Mattie's mother, Julia. "Tell Mattie that a wax doll of [Mary] Ellens is put away for her. She must make Pa and Joe [her brother] a heap of shirts & socks & learn to spell by the time Ellen goes to see her & carry the doll.[42] Mattie was three at that time, and about ten years later Harriet complimented Mattie on her knitting. "Tell Mattie we are proud of her socks she has finished for David [another brother]."[43]

Often samples of the fabrics being used for clothing were sent in the Letters, and some of them remain. When Mary Ellen married Dr. Cyrus Sneed, Harriet not only included a scrap of the wedding dress, a pink and purple plaid taffeta (Figure 7), she also described it. "It has flowing sleeves with two ruffles, one falling over the other at the bottom—plain waist with lapels going up from the belt out on the shoulders with fancy ribbon quilled at the outer edge."[44] The makers may have copied a style seen in a magazine. It is known that the Caldwell women had access to some magazines, as a bound volume of *Peterson's*, 1860, is in the Cozart collection.

Figure 7. Some of the fabric scraps sent by the Caldwell women in their Letters. The lower one is the purple and pink plaid taffeta used in Mary Ellen Strother Sneed's wedding dress. Photo by Jim Nay.

The women frequently described the clothing they were making for themselves. Soon after Julia and Abram moved to Tennessee, Mary teased Julia about two new dresses, which had obviously been described in a previous letter. "I congratulate Mrs. C. on having 2 new dresses. But I thought the Ladies wore Cashmere up there in the region of snow. But she is preparing them for the time she returns to this climate."[45] Shortly thereafter Martha described her new undersleeves to Julia. "I have just finished for myself a pair of Jaconit undersleeves with the insertion bands and ruffled.[46] One of a pair of similar undersleeves is in the Cozart Collection except that the ruffles are edged with intricate *broderie anglaise*. (Figure 8). A yard of jaconette is listed on a bill of sale for goods purchased by the Caldwells at about the same time. It cost thirty-three cents.[47]

Figure 8. Two undersleeves from the Cozart Collection. The one on the left is similar to one described by Martha Caldwell in a Family Letter. Photo by Jim Nay.

Some of the garments in both Collections were made using a sewing machine. And, although there is no mention of a purchase of one in the Letters, examination of some of the clothing has revealed that one may have been purchased by Martha and Abram shortly before the Civil War. The most concrete evidence is that three small boy's caps in the Wesleyan Collection have machine stitching. The different sizes would probably fit boys from about ages two to seven. Three of the Cozart sons were born in 1853, 1855, and 1857, and they could have worn the caps in about 1860. Two garments, a girl's long white dress, made for a child about a year old, and an apron which might fit a two or three-year-old, may have been made for

Hattie, who was born in 1860. (Figure 9). Since there were only two girls in the Cozart family, and since Mattie was ten years older than Hattie, it is fairly safe to assume that both pieces were made for the younger daughter.

A large group of patterns, used from about 1850 to 1900 are in the Cozart Collection, including three late nineteenth-century commercial blouse patterns. Most, however, are not for clothing, but for embroidery. (Figure 10). Harriet and Mary Ellen were apparently particularly adept at making patterns. One is inscribed: "Mrs. M. G.

Figure 9. One of the garments made using a sewing machine. It is representative of the decorative detail used by the Caldwell women. The decoration on the bib, pockets, ends of the ties and around the skirt were done by cutting out small circles of a red and white checked fabric. The circles were then applied with a buttonhole stitch around the edge of each circle. Photo by Jim Nay.

Cozart from M. E. S. [Mary Ellen Sneed] (November 1859.)" [parentheses hers]. Some of the patterns have numerous needle holes in them, indicating that they were used again and again, being sewn to the fabric each time. And a piece of white cambric is still attached to one pattern, unfinished.

The Cozart Collection also contains various handwork tools. Perhaps the hand-wrought scissors are the same ones that Julia left in Georgia after her visit in February 1853. "Penny [a slave] found Julia's little scissors . . . in that box in the kitchen which has Lizzie's things

Figure 10. Some of the many patterns in the Cozart Collection. A collar pattern has been cut from a Macon, Georgia, newspaper, and some patterns have been sketched on a bill for sewing supplies. Another pattern was done for Martha Cozart by Mary Ellen Sneed and is dated 1859. Photo by Jim Nay.

Figure 11. A sewing case owned by one of the Caldwell women. All of the articles were still in the case when it was sent to Oklahoma as a part of the Cozart Collection. Photo by Jim Nay.

in it. Said she happened to think Miss Martha was cutting & pressing that day & might have let them fall in the box."[48] A leather-covered sewing case that could also be used as a purse still contains a stiletto, a needle case with packages of various-sized needles, and a chamois-skin thimble bag. Also in the case is an unidentified photograph and a wallet containing twenty-five dollars in Georgia Confederate five-dollar bills. (Figure 11). Other handwork tools in the Collection include knitting needles, crochet hooks, and several hairpin lace implements, some of which were purchased, some homemade.

There are no thimbles in either Collection, but, since thimbles have long been considered special gifts for young girls learning to sew, it is quite possible that the family thimbles were given to Martha's granddaughers, some of whom lived in Georgia.

The Letters end abruptly with three written November 29, 1863. Mary, who was staying with Harriet in Barnesville, Georgia, ends her letter: "If communication keeps up, I hope to see you one of these days."[49] The letters were to be taken to Philadelphia, Tennessee, by a Mr. Ballard. Since the three letters are in the Collection, Mr. Ballard must have made it, although the Battle of Chattanooga started on November 23. Communication did not keep up, and after that battle Tennessee was in Union hands.

All of the family survived the war. Martha and Abram then outlived all the other members of their generation. Martha and her daughter Hattie, the woman responsible for sending the Cozart Collection to Oklahoma and the Wesleyan Collection to Macon, Georgia, continued to do handwork, and pieces of their later work are extant.

When, in December 1860, Harriet visited the First Annual Fair of the Cotton Planters' Convention in Macon, she wrote a long, interesting letter to her "Friends/Kinfolks Brothers & Sisters" in Tennessee. She wrote of the increasing scarcity of money, the gloom apparent during the Christmas season, and the impending election of delegates to the Georgia State Convention, held the day after the letter was written. She also wrote enthusiastically about the beautiful and unusual things she had seen at the fair—the "very pretty" embroidery, the unusual crochet work, and the "simple and showy parlor ornaments." She had entered some of her work. "By tomorrow night I hope to see the reports of Premiums."[50] The premium lists in Macon newspapers do not reveal that she won any awards,[51] and, due to the war, there was no second annual fair.

Harriet's letter exemplifies some of the conclusions that can be reached about this family and their handwork. The artifacts in the Cozart and Wesleyan Collections reveal that the Caldwell women were skilled needlewomen, proud of their sewing accomplishments. The variety shows that the women were aware of fashion trends both in clothing styles and in domestic decorations. They enjoyed doing

handwork and must have been challenged to experiment with popular methods and new techniques. In addition the Family Letters display the pleasure the women shared in creating useful and stylish wearing apparel for themselves and their loved ones. Their frustrations are also apparent.

They were not unique.[52] And, although there is little literature on this subject at present, they were probably very typical in their time and place. The study of family collections like this will lead to a better understanding of how women of the nineteenth century made quilts and did other handwork in spite of the complexities of everyday life.

Acknowledgments

The American Quilt Study Group wishes to thank the Central Oklahoma Quilters Guild and the Prairie Quilt Guild for their generous donations toward the publication of Dorthy Cozart's paper.

Notes and References

1. "The Arrival of a Treasure Chest," *The Wesleyan Alumnae* 6 (November 1930): 158–59.
2. Samuel Lutterell Akers, *The First Hundred Years of Wesleyan College 1836–1936* (Macon, GA: Produced by Beehive Press; printed by Stinehour Press, 1976), 45.
3. Hattie Cozart Gates to Hugh Holman Cozart, August 15, 1935.
4. This name is spelled variously, "Lizza" and "Lizzy," as well as "Lizzie," in the Family Letters. It has been regularized to "Lizzie" herein, as have the other names, "Mattie," "Hattie," and "Cattie," which have variant spellings. Other spelling and punctuation in the Family Letters have also been regularized where necessary for clarity.
5. *Rose Hill Internment Book* (Macon, Georgia) 69.
6. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell, April 25, 1852. This letter consoles Martha concerning the gossip following her divorce.
7. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell Cozart, May 9, 1857.
8. Akers, *The First Hundred Years*, 28. Painting was taught during the time Mary was attending there. "Treasure Chest," 159.
9. Mary Cozart Burns to Dorothy Cozart, July 13, 1973.

10. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Abram Cozart, December 12, 1846.
11. Julia Caldwell Cozart to Martha and Mary Caldwell, June 13, 1854.
12. Mary Cozart Burns to Dorothy Cozart, July 8, 1972.
13. Georgia, *House Journal* (1851), 191.
14. Pamela Wagner, *Hidden Heritage: Recent Discoveries In Georgia Decorative Arts, 1733–1915* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1990), 21. Guest curator Pamela Wagner states that Georgia-made samplers are extremely rare. "A dozen were documented for the Georgia Decorative Arts Survey, most of which have embroidered upper and lower case alphabets followed by the numbers zero to nine."
15. Little has been written about samplers made in the South. Other regions have been well documented, however. Those sources, such as Glee F. Krueger, New England *Samplers to 1840* (Sturbridge, MA: Old Sturbridge Village, 1956), and Gayle A. Rettew, *Behold the Labour of* My *Tender Age, 1780–1850* (Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Center, 1983), and also Tandy and Charles Hersh, *Samplers of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Birdsboro, PA: German Society, 1993) agree that samplers were being made by girls elsewhere in the United States during the years I have assigned to the Caldwell samplers.
16. "Treasure Chest," 159.
17. Martha Caldwell to Julia Caldwell Cozart and Abram Cozart, July 24, 1853.
18. Mary Ellen Strother Sneed to Martha Caldwell Cozart and Mary Caldwell, January [undated], 1856.
19. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell, Julia Caldwell Cozart, and Abram Cozart, March 2, 1853.
20. A Lady [Eliza Ware Farrar], *The Young Lady's Friend* (Boston, American Stationers' Co., 1837), 283.
21. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell, Julia Caldwell Cozart, and Abram Cozart, March 2, 1853.
22. Mary Caldwell to Julia Caldwell Cozart and Abram Cozart, July 22, 1847.
23. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Mary Caldwell and Martha Caldwell Nelson, January 1, 1847.
24. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell, Julia Caldwell Cozart, and Abram Cozart, March 30, 1853.
25. Mary Caldwell to Julia Caldwell Cozart and Abram Cozart, July 18, 1853.
26. Jim Liles to Dorothy Cozart, May 11, 1988. He had sent a photograph of the coverlet to Sadye Wilson, author of *Of Coverlets* and she identified it.
27. Julia Caldwell Cozart to Mary and Martha Caldwell, July 25, 1853.
28. Martha Caldwell to Julia Caldwell Cozart and Abram Cozart, July 18, 1853.
29. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell, Julia Caldwell Cozart and Abram

Cozart, March 30, 1853. Jim Liles to Dorothy Cozart, January 24, 1988. "If a carding mill existed in the neighborhood, it would have been used unless the cost was prohibitive." Liles also wrote that indigo dyeing was usually done by a "blue" dyer because the dye pot stunk so much.

30. Mary Ellen Strother Sneed to Cattie Caldwell, January 28, 1862.
31. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Samuel Caldwell, January 29, 1862.
32. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell Cozart, January 1, 1861.
33. Mary Ellen Strother Sneed to Cattie Caldwell, January 28, 1862.
34. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell Nelson and Mary Caldwell, January 1, 1847.
35. Martha Caldwell Nelson to Harriet Caldwell Strother, August [undated], 1848.
36. Mary Ellen Strother Sneed to Martha Caldwell Cozart, July 15, 1856.
37. Mary Ellen Strother Sneed to Cattie Caldwell, January 28, 1862.
38. Anne L. McDonald, *No Idle Hands: The Social History of American Knitting* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 173.
39. Emma Tyler Blalock, "War Memories," *The History of Lamar County*, ed. Mrs. August Lambdin (Barnesville, Georgia: *The Barnesville News-Gazette*, 1932), 239.
40. Mary Ellen Strother Sneed to Mattie Cozart, August 1, 1863.
41. Mary Caldwell to Catherine [Cattie] Caldwell, January 28, 1862.
42. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Julia Caldwell Cozart, August 11, 1853.
43. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell Cozart, October 30, 1861.
44. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell Cozart, January [undated], 1856.
45. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell, Julia Caldwell Cozart, and Abram Cozart, March 30, 1853.
46. Martha Caldwell to Julia Caldwell Cozart and Abram Cozart, July [undated], 1853.
47. Listed in a small leather-bound book in the Cozart Collection papers.
48. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell, Julia Caldwell Cozart, and Abram Cozart, March 2, 1853.
49. Mary Caldwell to Martha Caldwell Cozart, November 20, 1863.
50. Harriet Caldwell Strother to Martha Caldwell Cozart and Abram Cozart and their family; Samuel Caldwell and his family; and Mary Ellen Strother Sneed, January 1, 1861.
51. *The Macon Journal and Telegraph*, January 2, 1861, January 9, 1861. The newspaper for January 2 must have been the one Harriet was to see the next day. However, there were also premium lists in the January 9 newspaper, and also in *The Weekly Georgia (Macon) Telegraph*, December 13,

1860, and December 20, 1860. These premium lists give a good idea of the kind of handwork being done in Georgia at that time.

52. See, for example, Robert Manson Myers, ed., The *Children of Pride: a True Story of Georgia and the Civil* W (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972). In the Jones family letters are several references to the clothing being made for the family.