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Roses Real and Imaginary: Nineteenth-Century Botanical Quilts of the Mid-South

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Environment, circumstance, and tradition are elements affecting the artist as she or he creates. The artist, in our case the quiltmaker, is aware of present and past place and has been shaped by the experiences of life. The history and traditions of the chosen discipline of art are part of that experience.

It follows that quiltmakers in the mid-south—Tennessee and its neighboring states of Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, Virginia, and North and South Carolina—reflect environment, circumstance, and tradition in their quilts. Surroundings and inherited needlework techniques, along with personal experiences, contribute to the formation of their work. I believe that the terrain and horticulture of the mid-south had a bearing on quiltmaking of the region in the nineteenth century.

In the 1700s early colonists came to a rich land. Along the coastal regions of Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia they established plantations for the production of tobacco, cotton, rice, and later, indigo.¹ In the eighteenth century, indigo for dying was an exceedingly profitable crop and along with the other commodities produced considerable trade and wealth among growers. Comfortable plantation homes had large kitchens and ornamental gardens and avenues of graceful trees.

No one has described the vegetation of the South better than William Bartram, the noted American naturalist, who traveled there extensively between 1765 and 1777. In his *Travels*, a diary written in 1773 and 1774, he observed the Georgia coastal land.

The extensive plantations of rice and corn now in early

verdure, decorated here and there with groves of floriferous and fragrant trees and shrubs, under the cover and protection of pyramidal laurels and plumed palms, which now and then break through upon the sight from both sides of the way as we pass along; the eye at intervals stealing a view at the humble, but elegant and neat habitation, of the happy proprietor, amidst arbours and groves, all day, and moon-light nights, filled with the melody of the chearful mockbird, warbling nonpareil, and plaintive turtle dove, altogether present a view of magnificence and joy, inexpressibly charming and animated.²

The planters along the coast maintained close ties abroad. Furniture and textiles were imported and European decorating styles were emulated during the colonial period. In England there were bed-covers of fine-embroidered flowers worked on silk or linen, with exquisite quilting.³ In the colonies the fashion was followed, with some variations. A number of examples of eighteenth-century crewelwork, wholecloth, and broderie perse quilts, many with botanical designs, remain in public and private collections. They indicate the high quality of work which was typical of the period.

Home production of textiles and the importing of fabric for household goods and apparel continued while the American textile industry was in its infancy. It was not until the late 19th century that domestic production could fully supply the country's needs.⁴

Sea access to the coastal lowlands brought business and trade to those who settled there, but cross-country movement was much more difficult. Indian trails and waterways provided the only routes to the wilderness. Nevertheless, the agreeable climate and landscape and the longer growing season were inviting to those living in the cold North. Leaving New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, they ventured into new territory, moving through Virginia, crossing mountains into Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas.⁵

Choosing the essentials for such a move was a formidable task. There was room to take only the most cherished possessions and the most basic necessities. Seeds for food products were considered essential, and a few ornamental plants managed to be included, for beauty, too, is a necessity to the human spirit. Seeds were stored away, but plants and cuttings had to be nurtured during long journeys to new lands.⁶

Figure 1. Mary Earl Underwood, *Rose of Sharon with Feathers*; Flintstone, Georgia, 1861–65. Cotton and linen, applique quilt top, unquilted. 101" x 99½". Hunter Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Mary Lou Kell Camp.

Settlers moving inland from the southern coast found a verdant but more rugged terrain of mountains, valleys, and hills. The land was not suited for the same type of agriculture as that of the coast. Cotton, tobacco, and foodstuffs became the predominant cash and trade crops grown by those families who crossed the mountains to reestablish themselves. Often in rural isolation, they maintained self-sufficiency by raising their own produce and domestic animals and by manufacturing necessary household goods. Their first homes were surrounded by abundant plant life and their own gardens, all nurtured by sun and rain.

With transportation limited to horse, wagon, or riverboat, the new inland homes were necessarily furnished with simplicity. It seems likely that many homemakers were discouraged by the limitations imposed on their decorating efforts. Surely they were pleased with the effect made by a colorful quilt on the bed. It brought cheer to a drab interior and, if it came from "home," it gave comfort to a lonely heart.

Most of these nineteenth-century southern quiltmakers lived in rural places or had some association with farming and gardening. They inherited a tradition, largely European, of making household goods. Some quilters had access to products of commerce while others were required to depend more heavily on their own resources.⁷ Quilting was widespread, done in all kinds of homes by all classes of people. The quiltmakers were persons of considerable means, or little; they were white, black, and native American.

While much of domestic sewing was for practical purposes, there was always a need for special quilts for company, weddings, births, or gifts. The patterns for such quilts were chosen with care because considerable time and expense went into their making. Then there were traditions to follow. The fine chintz Tree of Life and floral applique quilts of the coast sometimes found their way inland and served as models for new quilts.⁸ With adaptations and modifications, new styles came into being.

It is tantalizing to try to determine the source of quilt designs, yet many of these same designs have been with us in other forms. Museums here and abroad contain articles hundreds or thousands of years old, from widely scattered cultures that use the same motifs as ones found in quilt designs. The familiar Flower Garden hexagon was used in wall and pavement tiles by the Romans, Syrians, English, and others.⁹ Egyptian mummy wrappings appear to be Log Cabin designs.¹⁰ A carved stone floor made in Ninevah in 1700 B.C. has the pleasing form of the interlocking Wineglass motif.¹¹ These universal designs were adopted by quiltmakers. Additions and inventions were made, and by the mid-nineteenth century, the choice of patterns was exceedingly great.¹²

Before the printing of quilt patterns in women's publications, designs were circulated through the hands of the quiltmakers themselves. Actual tracings were not needed by clever copyists who could

Figure 2. Maker unknown, *Whig Rose*; Virginia, c. 1830–40. Cotton, applique. 107" x 109". Hunter Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Lesley Wallace Colburn. (Probably made by member of maternal family, Hill.)

retain a pattern in their minds until they were able to draw it out. Letters were sent to friends and relatives with news of latest projects, along with patterns and snippets of cloth.¹³ Botanical designs were among those exchanged.

A quilt in the American Museum in Bath, England, serves as an illustration.¹⁴ A four-unit floral applique quilt made about 1840 in County Durham by Phoebe Watson is closely related to applique quilts made in this country during the same period. It is said that Phoebe's sister often sent patterns back to her in England, from America, and such exchanges occurred with regularity between others.

During the Tennessee quilt study which Merikay Waldvogel and I conducted in 1984 and 1985, 1425 quilts made in Tennessee before 1930 were examined.¹⁵ We were able to see a fair representation of diverse styles and types of quilts. The four-unit applique quilt became quite familiar to us during the survey. In general, those we saw were made between 1840 and 1860 and usually had square blocks twenty-eight to thirty-four inches in size. Many of the designs were botanical—Cockscomb and Currant, Oak Leaf and Currant, and various roses—to name a few. Princess Feather in the same arrangement of four large blocks was a popular pattern of the same time.

A Georgia quiltmaker, Mary Earl Underwood, combined both Rose of Sharon and Princess Feather for her four-unit bride's quilt.¹⁶ While she waited out the Civil War, she made an elaborate appliqued quilt-top of four large blocks using fine linen for the background (Figure 1). Material was exceeding scarce but her fiance who was a Confederate officer succeeded, by persuasion or other means, to obtain the material she wanted. He brought it to her on a hasty leave before returning to duty. In telling the history of her grandmother's quilt Mary Lou Comp said: "When she became tired her little Negro house-girl would rub her shoulders and arms so she could continue her intricate work." The top was finished by the time Capt. Wood returned home to be married. Mrs. Wood became a busy mother of six and wife of a prominent political and educational leader and never had time to quilt her fancy top.¹⁷

Instead of four blocks, an ancestor of Lesley Wallace Colburn used nine to make an extra-large quilt for a tester bed (Figure 2). She added a ten-inch border on all sides. Her handsome Whig Rose quilt was made in Virginia about 1840. Stems, leaves, buds, and small flowers were stuffed from the surface.¹⁸ According to the Tennessee survey findings, the large block was much less frequently used after the Civil War.

In making quilts with botanical subjects the majority of quiltmakers relied on floral designs which were handed down and passed on. They were generally derived from earlier designs and a long progression can be traced back to motifs originating in China. In the process of sewing, the natural plant form becomes highly stylized.¹⁹

One quiltmaker who studied and painted real flowers was Lucy

Virginia Smith French, an accomplished matron of comfortable means who lived with her husband, John Hopkins French, and three children in a pleasant country house, Forest Home, near McMinnville, Tennessee. She is described as a "devotee of the fine art of living in the pre-war South. Gentle pursuits filled her days."²⁰ Her flower beds and borders of lilies and roses were spectacular.

In 1859 Mr. French purchased a generous amount of plum-colored silk satin for his wife, Virginia, to embroider a bedcover. Mrs. French painted garden flowers first before transferring them to paper patterns which she placed on the satin and over which she worked wool and silk thread. She surrounded a center medallion with floral garlands on three sides, and small bouquets at each corner of the bedspread. The whole was quilted all over in one-inch diamonds.²¹ The quilt was exhibited several times and consistently won awards. Col. French wrote to his wife on September 29, 1859, "You have taken my darling two premiums and you cannot tell how much it has gratified me—your quilt I was told was greatly on exhibition."²²

Mrs. French's Civil War diary is of more than ordinary interest because she was a recognized writer before the war and readily able to express her thoughts. In the diary she frequently mentions flowers and trees and incidents related to them.²³ An early entry made January 26, 1862, before military activity had reached their vicinity, records that she and her husband took a two-day journey by horse and carriage to visit a nursery and greenhouse west of Nashville. In the early stages of the war, when they were still optimistic, they placed an order for some evergreens. Two months later, the armies moved in. Mrs. French later wrote:

March 30, 1862. The birds are holding a Carnival, and everything is budding into bloom. The peach trees are in full blossom . . . I set out my verbena a day or two since, and we have commenced gardening. Home scenes are all we can attend to now, as we are perfectly isolated—cut off from all communication . . . We saw an armed force on the road—we knew they were Yankees . . . I think only of my domestic affairs, my children—flowers—chickens.²⁴

And later:

April 2, 1862. Today is Jessie's birthday, she is seven . . .

Today I set out a beautiful tree, a weeping cypress, rare and lovely, and called it by her name.²⁵

Two years later, with the strain of the war draining her energies, Mrs. French went to a more peaceful resort community on a nearby mountain to write.

May 1, 1864. Mrs. A. [Armstrong] and myself were all "about and about" on yesterday setting out mignonette, petunias etc. in borders, and taking plants from the greenhouse into the open ground. I am as fond of flowers as ever—it is the one trait of civilization left after the hardening, barbarizing influence of the horrid war.²⁶

The war ended and, though the Frenches could never erase the emotional scars, they regained much of their former prosperity and way of life. Mrs. French resumed her literary endeavors, edited *Southern Ladies Book* and several other publications, and had a number of works published.

Following the examples of the eighteenth-century naturalists, collecting botanical specimens was an approved pastime for young ladies and advanced one's education. In 1850, eighteen-year-old Emily Murrell left Alabama with her uncle to visit relatives in the Cherokee Nation Territory of Oklahoma. They took a steamship to Little Rock, Arkansas, where she wrote:

Uncle and myself stroll'd to the "Dutch Garden." Everything there was neat and clean...I plucked a rose bud which I shall prize to remind me of my visit.²⁷

Emily's aunt was the niece of John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Nation. After a visit to Rose Hill, his home near Tahlequah, Oklahoma, she wrote that she saw a pink peony for the first time,²⁸ a flower and a quilt pattern dear to many quiltmakers. She made further botanical observations:

Uncle George and myself rode over to "Mins" I quilted a little while. We then mounted our ponys & rode by the mill from thence round thro the woods & prairies to gather flowers... which I shall put in my "Herbarium."²⁹

Ethie M. Foute Eagleton, on June 26, 1862, described going with her sister, Mollie, to pick blackberries and hearing the sound of cannon coming from the direction of Columbia, Tennessee. Even during the conflict, a few days later she wrote: "Mollie & I went

Figure 3. Possibly the Rowden sisters, Rose of Sharon; Meigs County, Tennessee, c. 1880. Cotton, applique. 95" x 87". McMinn County Living Heritage Museum, gift of Mrs. W.A. Shadow and Mrs. Scott Mayfield. Photo by David Luttrell, courtesy of Quilts of Tennessee.

over to Mrs. Gannaways. We also began to quilt Sister Elvira's 'flower pot' quilt."³⁰

Myra Inman Carter and her three sisters were belles from a well-to-do family near Cleveland, Tennessee. Her diary begins when she was a carefree schoolgirl.

February 8, 1859. I have been sewing all day on Sister's basket quilt.³¹

February 24. A cloudy day, sprinkled a little today. Thinned out some rose bushes.³²

When the Civil War began and the schoolmaster enlisted in the Confederate Army, Myra's school closed. There were great changes. Her mother and sisters worked on behalf of the Confederate cause

Figure 4. Annie Price, quilted by Laura Little, Rose Tree; Shady Valley, Johnson County, Tennessee, 1861, 1884. Cotton, applique. 75" x 71". Owned by Lorene Little Mantooth. Photo by David Luttrell, courtesy of Quilts of Tennessee.

collecting donations of quilts and blankets, making garments and bedding, knitting, and organizing hospital facilities.

September 13, 1861. Been making a pin cushion for solidiers.

[A curious item for war!]

October 1. Tacked a comforter [for soldiers] this morning, Mother and Sister went to sewing society.³³

This same entry was repeated often. Life changed radically with the force of the blockade, lack of men, and departure of servants.

February 26, 1865. I milked the cow alone this eve. The first time in my life.³⁴

Figure 5. Hester Gregg Susong, Whig Rose; Greene County, Tennessee, c. 1835–50. Cotton, applique. 87½" x 68". Owned by Kathryn Susong Neas. Photo by David Luttrell, courtesy of Quilts of Tennessee.

A few individuals prospered because of the war, but most families suffered losses in lives, personal property, and financial resources. Recovery was long in coming. In many homes during the blockade there had been a revival of the almost-forgotten art of weaving. It was a necessity if any worn items of clothing and household articles were to be replaced. One woman wrote:

When I tell you that I have cut out and wove and spun about six hundred yards of cloth since last fall you will overlook my not writing.³⁵

Even in those hard years quilters made quilts and raised gardens but very few were able to lavish the same amount of time on special quilts as they had done in earlier days. In the next generation it was possible to go back to the making of fancy quilts. As before, botanical themes were often used.

Our Tennessee survey provides some information on the kinds and numbers of 19th century quilts which have designs of flowers and trees. While I do not have substantial figures from the other states to include in this study, I think the findings would be comparable. The total number of Tennessee quilts documented was

1425, of which 1050 were pieced, 199 applique, 59 combinations of the two, and the remainder "other." It is obvious that applique was not as popular as pieced work and our figures may represent a proportion higher than the proportion that were actually made. The sparing use of applique "best" quilts accounts for their longevity.

In the survey the majority of botanical quilts were found in east Tennessee, the part of the state most heavily settled by people coming from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Over half the applique quilt patterns were flowers and trees. Pieced quilts, too, had plant life themes. The two groups of applique and pieced quilts with botanical designs made a total of 147, or one-tenth, of all the quilts surveyed.

It is no surprise that the rose was a popular subject. The *Song of Solomon*, with its lilies and roses, was one of the favorite Bible passages read by young ladies. The rose stood for love, purity, beauty, and bliss and those sentimental and romantic connotations remain still.³⁶ The many varieties of roses in a real garden exist just as profusely in the southern quilters' gardens. We found sixty-four rose quilts including Whig Rose, Rose of Sharon, Jefferson Rose, Virginia Rose, Colonial Rose, Ohio Rose, Rose Tree, and some nameless roses.³⁷

The prevalence of the pieced rose was one of the more unusual discoveries of the Tennessee quilt survey. Since becoming aware of it we have seen it in other places as well. I first noticed a pieced rose when I was appraising a quilt being donated to the Tennessee State Museum.³⁸ The quilt made by Mahala P. Batey of Murfreesboro about 1850, is very large and, to me, was dull with its endless repetition of roses. "Even a border would have helped," I thought. Upon closer examination, I saw that the quilt was entirely pieced not, as I had assumed, appliqued.

This experience alerted us to examine closely all rose quilts during our study and we found that twelve of them were, indeed, pieced. In some instances there was additional applique work.

I questioned Cuesta Benberry about the pieced rose pattern. To the surprise of both of us, she discovered that she owned a nearly-identical quilt made in Iowa about the same time as the Tennessee quilt.³⁹ Barbara Brackman wrote that she had seen a similar quilt and had not realized it was of pieced construction.⁴⁰

Figure 6. Mother of Mrs. Sharber, Dutch Tulips; Rutherford County, Tennessee, c. 1890. Cotton, machine applique. $84\frac{3}{4}$ " x $77\frac{1}{2}$ ". Owned by Mildred Locke. Photo by David Luttrell, courtesy of Quilts of Tennessee.

In addition to roses, flowers, trees, and leaves appeared in many forms during the Tennessee survey. Trees were plentiful and in several styles, with the majority relating to the pieced Pine Tree. There was one broderie perse quilt with a tree and two highly original applique fruit trees, making twenty-one trees in all.

Applique baskets and urns with flowers and leaves comprised the next largest group of quilts, totaling sixteen. There were four pieced baskets which had the addition of appliqued flowers.

We saw twelve examples of currants (or grapes) combined with

cockscorn, daisy, or oak leaf. Leaves pieced and appliqued totaled seventeen: nine Oak Leaf, five Maple Leaf, and three Mississippi Oak Leaf quilts. Quilts in the North Carolina Lily, and related Peony patterns were seen eleven times in the survey.

Numerous quilts similar to those from Tennessee, and a few of inventive floral design, have been found in all the states of the Southeast. Many are included in my slide collection and in published books and catalogs. I will cite a few examples.

In a small sampling of Alabama quilts I found the pieced designs more prevalent. There were Peony, North Carolina Lily, Chestnut Bud (pieced and then appliqued to the background), Tulip, Pine Tree, and Whig Rose (pieced and applique), and a single example each of appliqued Oak Leaf and Daisy and appliqued chintz tree.

Among my several hundred slides of Georgia quilts there is greater variety of pattern. Numerous applique examples include a stuffed rose quilt made in 1848 (probably with slave help), vases of flowers, carnations, tulips, more roses, leaves and flowers, and a few pieced lilies and tulips. I found that quilts of the Oconee country near Athens, Georgia, had a distinct quality of lightness. Clear color set on white gave them a cool appearance well suited to the hot climate.

Examples of North Carolina quilts are almost evenly divided between pieced and applique: Rose of Sharon, Whig Rose, North Carolina Lily, Tulip, Lily in a Basket, and Pine Burr. The most unusual one is an appliqued Cotton Boll from Macon County.

My few slides of Virginia quilts are of appliqued chintz trees and flowers, roses, and one pieced North Carolina Lily.

I have found outstanding pieced, applique, and embroidered Kentucky quilts. They include the pieced North Carolina Lily; appliqued Oak Leaf; Pineapple, Rose, and Pink; and a pieced Cockscorn with appliqued Rose border.

The appliqued floral-chintz quilts of South Carolina are highly regarded, along with Pineapple, Rose, Watermelon, and Rose of Sharon.

In addition to the Tennessee survey quilts, I have collected slides of approximately fifty more Tennessee quilts with botanical design similar to those already mentioned. Two-thirds of them are applique, the remainder pieced.

Although I am less familiar with quilts from other states, I find that a regional similarity exists. Migration and trade took place between colonies and states and had a bearing on quilting styles. Then, too, the exchange of ideas and quilt patterns in letters and through personal contact fostered the transmitting of designs. The similarities and differences of the quilts are part of the history of economics, domestic life, social change, and needle art.

Nineteenth-century Southern women lived close to the land. They were part of an agrarian society which maintained considerable self-sufficiency. They enjoyed horticulture and the cultivation of ornamental gardens as well as foodstuffs. They took pride in establishing comfortable homes to the best of their ability, whatever the circumstances. They gained satisfaction from providing their families with quilts for warmth and beauty. And they were fond of using themes from nature in their quilting.

These quiltmakers followed a long tradition of using botanical design in textiles by imitating, and modifying existing models and making new interpretations. They left their flowers for other to enjoy.

Notes and References:

1. Florence H. Pettit, *America's Printed & Painted Fabrics 1600-1900* (New York: Hastings House, 1970) p. 83.
2. Francis Harper, editor, *The Travels of William Bartram* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958) p. 7.
3. Examples may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
4. Pettit, pp. 87-92.
5. Cartter Patten, *A Tennessee Chronicle* (privately printed, 1953) pp. 63-81.
6. The importance of trees to the pioneer woman is ably described by Suellen Meyer "Pine Tree Quilts," in *Quilt Digest IV* (San Francisco: Quilt Digest Press, 1986) pp. 6-19.

7. Laurel Horton, "Nineteenth Century Quilts: Macon County, North Carolina," in *Quilt Close-up: Five Southern Views* (Chattanooga: The Hunter Museum of Art, 1983) pp. 3-10.
8. Several chintz quilts seen in the Tennessee quilt survey were from Virginia and South Carolina.
9. Examples are found in the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Ashmolean Museum.
10. See *Quilters' Journal*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Spring 1979).
11. Exhibited in the British Museum.
12. See Barbara Brackman's study, "A Chronological Index to Pieced Quilt Patterns, 1775-1825" in *Uncoverings 1983* (Mill Valley, CA: American Quilt Study Group, 1984) pp. 99-127.
13. Bets Ramsey and Merikay Waldvogel, *The Quilts of Tennessee: Images of Domestic Life Prior to 1930* (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1986) pp. 90-91.
14. *The American Quilt Tradition* (Bath, England: The American Museum in Britain, 1976) p. 23.
15. The Tennessee survey is summarized in *The Quilts of Tennessee*, Ramsey and Waldvogel.
16. The quilt is in the permanent collection of the Hunter Museum of Art, Chattanooga, TN, gift of Mary Lou Kell Camp.
17. Interview by author with Mary Lou Kell Camp, granddaughter of Mrs. Wood, Kensington, Georgia, May 17, 1983.
18. The quilt is in the permanent collection of the Hunter Museum of Art, gift of Lesley W. Colburn.
19. See Alice Baldwin Beer, *Trade Goods* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970) and Pettit, op. cit., pp. 47-74.
20. Virginia L. Peck, *Life & Works of L. Virginia French*, Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1939, p. 42.
21. The author appraised the quilt for Virginia Frazier Gilman, great-granddaughter of Mrs. French. According to Mrs. Gilman, on one occasion when Forest Home was being pillaged Mrs. French placed the family silver under the embroidered quilt covering the bed and feigned illness to successfully protect her possessions.
22. The quilt is exhibited at the Tennessee State Museum, a gift of Virginia Frazier Gilman. The quotation is taken from the title card.
23. Lucy Virginia Smith French, *War Journal, 1860-1865*, typescript, State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN. The original journal remains in family possession.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
27. Emily Murrell, *Diary*, 1850, photocopy, State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN, p. 10.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
30. Elvie Eagleton Skipper and Ruth Gove, editors, " 'Stray Thoughts': The Civil War Diary of Ethie M. Foute Eagleton," *East Tennessee Historical Society's Publication #41* (1969), p. 117.
31. Myra Adelaide Inman (Carter), *Diary*, 1860-1865, typescript, Chattanooga-Hamilton County Bicentennial Library, Chattanooga, TN, p. 7.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 111 and 113.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
35. Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy* (Richmond and New York: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1936) p. 150.
36. Elly Sienkiewicz, *Spoken Without a Word* (Washington, D.C.; Turtle Hill Press, 1983) pp. 45-46.
37. These roses are more closely related to old fashioned roses than to modern hybrids. Actual 17th and 18th century rose gardens can be seen at the Botanical Garden, Oxford, England.
38. Tennessee State Museum permanent collection, gift of Mrs. A. C. Moore.
39. Letter from Cuesta Benberry, February 18, 1983.
40. Letter from Barbara Brackman, February 6, 1983.

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