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**AN UNLIMITED FANCY:
ANN FLOWER'S SKETCHBOOK,
1753-1765**

by

Amanda Creekman Isaac

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

Spring 2004

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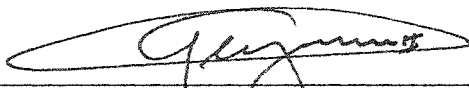
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ABSTRACT

Between the years 1753 and 1765, the Flower sisters of Philadelphia produced at least seven pieces of embroidery significant in the variety of techniques employed and the quality of workmanship. One among them, Ann, also created a sketchbook of over thirty pages of pencil, ink, and watercolor drawings, ranging from whimsical birds and flowers, to figures and houses, bold embroidery designs, and copies of botanical prints. This thesis examines Ann Flower's sketchbook as a component of women's education, as a key to deciphering the creative process that produced Philadelphia embroideries, and as a rare document of drawing practices from colonial America. When compared to the work of contemporary draughtsmen and embroiderers, Ann Flower's sketchbook exhibits her unconstrained experiments in art, her familiarity with the fashionable idioms of the day, and her final determination to direct her drawing to the service of her needlework.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Between the years 1753 and 1768, three Philadelphia sisters crafted a remarkable legacy. Unlike several of their contemporaries, they left behind no chronicle of daily life or varied body of correspondence, no household accounts or evidence in court cases or wills. What survived instead was a rare record of the breadth of female education in the mid-eighteenth century, a body of exercises, literary and artistic, that included seven different pieces of needlework, a commonplace book, and a sketchbook. Their needlework was singled out and quickly recognized by scholars such as Betty Ring and Susan Swan for its significance, making manifest the variety of Philadelphia's "opulent embroidery."¹ The commonplace book took its place with many others as evidence of a particular practice of schooling.² The sketchbook found no parallel, and the significance of the body as a whole went unexplained. A once united body of work dispersed, as did the histories of the sisters, Elizabeth, Ann, and Mary Flower.

When the sketchbook, needlework, and commonplace book were reconsidered together, they prove to be related by far more than the kinship of their creators. Some poems in the commonplace book complemented the pastoral images of the embroidery, while others professed behavior and beliefs seemingly at odds with the lavish silk embroidery and the attention given to peacocks and dress in the sketches. Flowers in the sketches appeared similar to those in the embroideries. Until now, a constant question in studying schoolgirl needlework had been how much

influence the schoolgirl had in designing her needlework, and here it seemed was an ideal test of the question. Who had taught Ann to draw and when? When she sketched, did she draw from nature, copy from a print or existing needlework, or make up a design of her own? To what extent did the sisters rely on their own abilities, a teacher, or pattern drawer to design their needlework?

Apart from its place as a document in the schooling of the Flower sisters, the sketchbook stands out as a critical document amidst the scarcity of drawing of any kind from colonial America, and as especially significant as an index of women's opportunities as artists. In 1973, when William Oedel examined Benjamin West's sketchbook of c.1756-1759, he could only list one sketchbook by John Singleton Copley and two drawings by John Greenwood as surviving examples of American drawing from the period 1607- 1776.³ Doubtless, this was at once a reflection of the exigencies of survival, and the ease with which a thin drawing, having survived two hundred years, might lay buried in a manuscript or archival collection, below the radar horizon of scholars. It also bespoke the fact that opportunities to study drawing of the finest caliber, under the greatest masters, were only to be found abroad, where many early American painters were trained before their emigration, or went in order to complete their training.

Since Oedel's investigation, the list of colonial drawings, beyond mere doodlings, can be expanded. Not only have new drawings come to light, but by including drawings of varied purposes, scholars have turned their attention to works beyond those made by aspiring or professional artists. Thus we now know of a sketch of *Hercules*, c.1750, by New Jersey painter John Watson, and an early pen and ink composition by Benjamin West, *Rebecca at the Well*, c. 1755-57, but we can also add

to this: the Memento Mori drawing, 1767, by Boston cabinetmaker Josiah Waters, the c. 1760 botanical drawings of Philadelphian William Young, the botanical, zoological, and other sketches of John and William Bartram, 1740s-1790s, simple linear illustrations of a botanical manuscript, 1750s, by Jane Colden of New York, an illustrated genealogical book, 1767, by Katherine Fisher of Massachusetts, the sketches of Prudence Punderson, c. 1778, of Connecticut, and the illustrated school notebook, 1760, of Solomon Drowne.⁴ All together, these works acknowledge that colonial Americans appreciated the versatility of drawing. Moreover, the number of works by women suggests that they found drawing a fruitful employment.

How are we to assess the significance of these varied endeavors? Unfortunately, there is a dearth of scholarly studies on the subject of American draughtsmen. Theodore Stebbins, *A History of Works on Paper from Colonial Times to the Present: American Master Drawings and Watercolor*, 1976 is the most comprehensive study to date.⁵ However, a number of recent books on drawing in England offer searching analyses of its varied purposes and use through time, and thus provide a framework by which to gauge colonial American work.⁶ On the one hand, a drawing may be regarded as a window view of the past, a simple record of information. Those done by craftsmen may also offer a study in the transmission of design sources, while those of an artist, a visual narrative. On the other hand, drawings can be seen as conveying a “language of vision” in the estimation of William Oedel, significant in how they record an image as much as what it is. The drawing thus acts “as a tool for negotiating subjectivity” in the words of Ann Bermingham, allowing the draughtsmen to place himself in reference to social and intellectual viewpoints.⁷ Understood on these terms, all drawings, not just those of professional artists, become

significant. Just as documents help the historian to assess a person's place in the social order and by addition, the composition of the aggregate community, so, too, can drawings.

In light of the developments in eighteenth-century England, women's use of drawing functioned as a marker of their relative social and intellectual status. As Ann Bermingham and Kim Sloan have demonstrated, throughout that century, the utility of drawing continued to be contested ground, as did the question of just who should draw, based on age, class, and gender, debates that were complicated by artists' attempts to separate themselves from craftsmen and amateurs.⁸ Over the course of the eighteenth century, women's access to drawing and the serious study of the arts, ever limited, would expand, only to contract at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The ability to draw, once seen as a mark of nobility and urbanity, an appropriate serious employment for a woman, came by the early nineteenth century to represent but a trifling amusement, a mark of woman's inferiority and the limited capabilities of her mind and hand compared to those of male professionals.⁹

How closely did the circumstances of Ann Flower and her contemporaries correspond to those in England? While we have only a handful of drawings by women in colonial America, particularly in Philadelphia, journal accounts, letters, and newspaper ads, help to further identify the drawing activities of women. In the following study, chapter two discusses the Flower family's place in the Philadelphia community as a background to the interpretation of the sisters' needlework and the sketchbook, as well as the theory and practice of education at the time. Chapter three discusses the education of the Flower sisters from the evidence of their commonplace book and needlework. Chapter four investigates the practice of drawing in

Philadelphia, and chapter five examines the sequence, sources, and purpose of the sketchbook. Ultimately, Ann Flower's sketchbook cannot be regarded simply as a sourcebook for embroidery, for its contents do not confine themselves to so strict a purpose. Nor can it be seen as a distraction from her intellectual development. Instead, it reflects the early independence of expression she found in her pencil, the freedom to draw as her curiosity took her, and the chance to test the extent of her abilities.

NOTES

¹ Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework 1650-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), II: 354-359; Susan Swan to Philip Zimmerman, Memorandum of May 13, 1987, Curator's Files, Winterthur Museum, Library, and Garden.

² Karin Wulf and Catherine Blecki, ed. *Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

³ William Oedel, "The Sketchbook of Benjamin West," (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), iv.

⁴ See Theodore Stebbins, Jr. *A History of Works on Paper from Colonial Times to The Present: American Master Drawings and Watercolors* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 12; Jack Lindsey, *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 64; Diana Strazdes, "The Amateur Aesthetic and the Draughtsman in Early America," *Archives of American Art* 19, no. 1 (1979): 20; Joseph Ewan, *William Bartram: Botanical and Zoological Drawings, 1756 – 1788* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968) as well as Edward Carter, III, "A Passionate Avocation: The Foreshadowing of a Philadelphia Scientific Community," in *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 38-39; *The Botanic Manuscript of Jane Colden*, ed. H. W. Rickett, et al. (New York: Garden Club of Orange and Dutchess Counties, 1963); Katherine Fisher's manuscript is held at Historic Deerfield, Massachusetts, and discussed in Barbara Gilbert, "American Crewelwork 1700-1850," (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1965), 38; Laurel 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: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 231, 241; Solomon Drowne's notebook is held at the American Antiquarian Society.

⁵ In addition to Stebbins' work and William Oedel's analysis of Benjamin West's sketchbook, see Jules David Prown, "An 'anatomy book' by John Singleton Copley," in *Art Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1963): 31-46 and Diana Strazdes, "The Amateur Aesthetic and the Draughtsman in Early America," *Archives of American Art* 19, no. 1 (1979): 15-23.

⁶ These include Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Kim Sloan, *'A Noble Art' Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c. 1600-1800* (London: British Museum Press, 2000); Scott Wilcox et al., *The Line of Beauty: British Drawings and Watercolors in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2001); Lindsay Stainton and Christopher White, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); and Richard Carline, *Draw They Must* (London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1968). In addition, Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London: The Rise of Arthur Pond* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) discusses the career of a prominent artist and drawing master, as does Kim Sloan, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens: the Poetry of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). Joan Friedman, "'Every Lady Her Own Drawing Master'" *Apollo* 105, no.182 (1977): 262-267 offers a brief analysis of eighteenth-century drawing manuals.

⁷ Oedel, iv; Bermingham, ix.

⁸ Anne Puetz, "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): 234.

⁹ See particularly Sloan, 'A Noble Art,' 41-43, 217; Bermingham, 205, 224-225.

Chapter 2

PHILADELPHIA FLOWERING

The Flower family enjoyed a long history in the Philadelphia area, to which court documents, Quaker meeting records and scattered accounts, receipts and letters attest, together presenting a skeletal sketch of the family's progress through time. The family's long- tailed history helps to properly frame the story discovered in the sisters' artifacts, offering a rich view of the early years of a few particular lives, as well as the specific educational opportunities available to the daughters of the colonial upper classes.

The Flower Family of Philadelphia

In 1683, Enoch Flower arrived in Philadelphia from Wiltshire, England, a Quaker come to join in Penn's holy experiment. Having a house built "ten foot wide by fifteen foot long by seven ffoot high in the post, enclosed with dale [deal] boards, plained on both sides, and . . . shingled . . . , two floors . . . with a partition across the lower rooome with windows and doors sufficient for the said house, with a flat stept-ladder to goe to the upper floor," was his first concern, but he had much to do in arranging business matters. ¹ Enoch had crossed the Atlantic as a member of the Free Society of Traders, a joint stock company established by William Penn, and before leaving England, he had been empowered by friends and family to purchase 2,000 acres of land on their behalf. It was a wise move, for as a result of the joint purchase, Enoch was entitled to two lots of liberty land in Philadelphia itself. Upon drawing for the lots, he received one lot on Front Street, prominently on the banks of the

Delaware, and one on the central cross street of the city, High Street.² Distributing the lots of land, he kept roughly five hundred acres to himself, but largely it seems as an investment in real estate. He had come prepared to practice in part as a barber, the family trade, but before long, the Provincial Council had sought him out to be the colony's first official schoolmaster.³

Penn's goals for his colony had been not only to establish a haven for the Society of Friends and a prosperous plantation. As a part of these, he had seen the establishment of a state-promoted educational establishment as vital. Accordingly, in December 1683, the Provincial Council named Enoch Flower to teach a basic curriculum at set prices "to learne to read English 4s by the Quarter, to learne to read, write, and Cast accounts 8s by ye Quarter; for boarding a Scholler, that is to say, dyet, Washing, and lodging, and Scooling, Tenn pounds for one whole yeare."⁴ Twenty years of previous teaching in England had been his recommended qualifications, and the practical curriculum satisfied a council, that while dominated by Quakers, was already religiously diverse.⁵

Enoch's chance to mold the minds of young Philadelphians ended swiftly. By September 1684 he was dead, leaving the settlement of his estate to his nephew, Henry, who had come from England with him.⁶ Enoch's land affairs, and the contract on his house had yet to be settled, but Henry Flower was not hindered in his rise in Philadelphia society. In Elizabeth Paschall he found his first wife, and an early alliance with another of the first purchasers. Together, they bore seven children. Henry continued the family trade as a barber, as well as taking on the management of a Coffee House, and the duties of city postmaster. For his children, he saw that they would be well prepared as productive members of society. Henry, junior, left an

elaborate record of his schooling in 1710, a copybook full of decorative penmanship, virtuous maxims, and the graffiti of his classmates, including several Paschall cousins. Casting accounts and writing business and friendly letters were among the principal part of this education, and in turn each of the brothers entered into a different trade, Seth as a tailor, Thomas as a cooper, and Enoch, as an iron cutler.⁷

Marrying again after Elizabeth's death, Henry had four more children by wife Ann Biers: Samuel, William, Rebecca, and Benjamin. While William looked for his fortune abroad, Benjamin and Samuel entered into trade in Philadelphia. Like his half-brother Enoch, Samuel received training as a blacksmith, rising to become iron master at Reading Furnace, one of many burgeoning across the country. There he joined William Branson, husband of his half-sister Elizabeth, and father of his second wife.⁸ The work of Enoch and Samuel would be the forerunner of an enduring family interest in the iron industry.

From 1740 to 1765, Samuel oversaw the furnace, and then retired to Philadelphia to oversee his other land and merchant ventures.⁹ By that time, he was recorded as having the largest estate in East Nantmeal of Chester County, at 2,500 acres, 22 horses, and 13 head of cattle, and 7 servants.¹⁰ In Philadelphia in the 1760s, he maintained at least one house in Race Street.¹¹ Amidst all these achievements, Samuel also distinguished himself as an early benefactor and supporter of artist Benjamin West, welcoming him to his house in Chester County, and recommending his abilities to others.¹²

For his part, Enoch took up his business in Philadelphia and the leadership of the family upon the death of Henry Flower, Sr. in 1736, sons Seth and Henry having predeceased him and his daughter Elizabeth and son Thomas soon following.

Much of the family's early land interest within the city was now sold off, including the Coffee House on Front Street and a lot on Chestnut Street. Late that year, Enoch Flower married Ann Jones, daughter of a prominent Quaker merchant and brewer, and together they prospered, though not by the testimony of the Friends.¹³ The Philadelphia Monthly Meeting disowned Enoch in 1744 for unspecified reasons, but they must have seen that his conduct and ambitions were not those of one committed to a life disciplined by the light within.¹⁴ Instead, Enoch and his half-brother Benjamin seemed to have found the Church of England the true defender of the faith. Enoch would give his daughter Ann a *Book of Common Prayer* the year of her marriage, and Benjamin specified in his will that his daughter was to be instructed in the principles of the Anglican Church.¹⁵ Despite their father's encouragement, Ann and her sisters would never fully renounce their profession as Quakers. Thus, in such accounts as Elizabeth Drinker's copious diary, the Flower family appears on the periphery of the circle of the most active Quakers.¹⁶

Enoch, too, was moving more widely in the social and intellectual circles of the city, becoming a member of the fishermen's and hunters' "Colony in Schuylkill," Benjamin Franklin's Junto, and the Library Company.¹⁷ As a cutler, he took his place among the many blacksmiths of the city, manufacturing especially a variety of cutting tools for home, field, and medical use, from scythes and sickles to items such as pricking and creasing irons.¹⁸ As was the case with his father, Enoch may have ventured into other business affairs as well. The 1754 tax assessment for the night watch provides a relative assessment of Enoch's status. Recorded as having L80 taxable estate, Enoch appears as a successful tradesman, with a moderate amount of property, above the L12 estate of painter William Williams and L20 of milliner

Samuel Howell, but considerably less than L200 of Speaker of the House Israel Pemberton, or the L350 of merchant George Emlen.¹⁹ He surely did not allow his work as a cutler to demean his family's sense of self. In 1763 and 1765, two of his daughters worked the Flower coat-of-arms in silk embroidery, proudly displaying the emblems of the family name, though they could hardly have been said to be either of the English or Philadelphia aristocracy.

With a comfortable living, Enoch and Ann Flower raised four children to adulthood: a son, Enoch, and three daughters, Elizabeth, the oldest, Ann, and then Mary. They also took in young Samuel Wheeler, after the death of his mother in 1754. For two years the Flowers oversaw his education before apprenticing him to another cutler, Thomas Janvier in 1756.²⁰

Sadly, the children of Enoch and Ann would not long outlive their parents. Enoch died in 1773, apparently without a will, and his wife died in 1775.²¹ Their son, Enoch, was recorded as helpless and under the care of a servant by the time he was 33, and it would be the daughters who were left to bring honor to the family name. In 1765, Ann had married Samuel Wheeler at Christ Church, and was subsequently reported "married out of unity" to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting.²² Shortly after their marriage, Samuel was operating his own shop in Second Street "at the Sign of the Hand and Sickle," while maintaining a house and perhaps storeroom "at the Sign of the Scythe" in Church Alley.²³ There the family stayed, seemingly receiving Ann's sisters into the household after their parents' deaths. In 1777, they all moved to Gwynedd Township, just northwest of Philadelphia, reportedly to escape the exigencies of war. Despite Ann's marriage, she, her husband Samuel, her sisters Elizabeth and Mary, and her cousin, Mary Jones, were all received into the Gwynedd

Monthly Meeting that year.²⁴ A few months later, Elizabeth Flower left the household to marry Christopher Marshall, Jr., from the well-established firm of “Druggists and Colourmen.”²⁵ She made a wise choice, financially and otherwise, for the next year in 1778, within days of each other Ann and Mary would pass away.²⁶ Apparently, they had offered hospitality to a sick American soldier, only to contract the disease themselves.²⁷ Their brother, Enoch Flower, would die the next year, and Elizabeth Flower Marshall would survive only until December 1781.²⁸

Ann’s husband remarried the year after her death to her cousin, Elizabeth Jones, and would go on to a long life and an illustrious career as blacksmith, patriot, and representative in the State Legislature. Together, Wheeler and Marshall would administer the estates of their wives family, and preserve their relics. Upon his own death in 1806, Marshall specifically willed his wife’s needlework coat-of-arms to her daughter, Elizabeth F. Marshall.²⁹ She had only been an infant when her mother died. Of the three children left by Ann, her two daughters, Elizabeth, and Mary Wheeler preserved several of their aunt’s, and mother’s property, the commonplace book, needlework, and the sketchbook.³⁰

Education in Mid-Eighteenth Century Philadelphia

When Enoch Flower found himself charged with the care and education of the orphaned Samuel Wheeler, he determined upon a simple solution. Near the Flowers, in Strawberry Alley, lived Robert Coe who taught German flute but also “Reading grammatically, the various Hands in writing, and vulgar and decimal arithmetic,” promising as well that “those who are pleased to favour him with their children may depend upon his care and diligence in teaching and bringing them forward in their Learning.”³¹ After two years under Coe’s tutelage, Samuel would

begin his apprenticeship with cutler Thomas Janvier likely for a seven year term. Samuel was already twelve by the time he entered Coe's school, and other than mention of a brief stint at the Widow Ledrue's, there is no record of his prior education. The limited but fundamental education he did receive was a typical course in the Quaker city, equipping a child with skills of basic literacy and a trade by which to prosper and in turn contribute to the progress and common welfare of the city. It was by no means the only course of education, for by the mid-eighteenth century, a variety of educational situations could be found.

In the Pennsylvania towns outside of Philadelphia, schooling in the three R's was often the most advanced offering available, but within the city a system had developed sufficiently complex to support the diversity of the population.³² One hundred twenty five private schoolmasters advertised between 1740 and 1776, supplementing the institutional arrangements of the Quakers and other religious denominations.³³ Evening schools offered working men and women and youth opportunities for improvement, from instruction in music and art to Latin and foreign tongues. Younger children benefited from early instruction in reading and writing at home or at dame schools.

Amidst all this, the Quaker system of public schools provided the backbone of the educational system in the city. Their Public School, chartered in 1701, had pioneered free education to boys and girls of the poor in conjunction with paying pupils. In the elementary stages, children were placed among a network of Quaker teachers. For secondary education, both charity and paying students advanced to the Public School itself, where they were divided into the English school, to study English grammar, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, and perhaps some French and

rudimentary German, or into the Latin school, where they learned Latin, Greek, and read the classical authors. Girls were excluded from these options until in 1754, Anthony Benezet opened a secondary school for girls.

By the 1740's, though, the Quaker system faced increasing competition as more denominations established their own schools. In 1742, the German Reformed and Lutheran churches, which had operated an elementary school together, began separate endeavors. In 1745, the Moravians established an elementary school, while in 1755, the Baptists opened a grammar school.³⁴ The complexity of the educational hierarchy in Philadelphia reflected both the fiscal prosperity of the city, as well as the “thirst” for improvement that seemed to afflict all from the ruling gentleman to the lower sort, and to which enterprising schoolmasters eagerly catered.³⁵

This growing educational system was animated by a dynamic first described by scholars Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh. On the one hand, it engaged those who viewed knowledge as a matter of ancient languages and wisdom, which could only be properly handled and applied by gentlemen, while on the other, it engaged those who saw education less as a mystery and instead a “practical tool” for the betterment of tradesmen and mechanics.³⁶ Benjamin Franklin’s “Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania” of 1749 represented a moment of potential equilibrium within that dynamic. Franklin had initially envisioned a school whose focus would be preparing boys for an industrious future, grounding them well in English grammar, mathematics, and bookkeeping. Such was not the vision, though, of the persons of “leisure and publick Spirit” to whom he appealed for support, and to win their support, his Proposal included provisions for a classical curriculum.³⁷

Franklin might have found more supporters for his initial idea among the Quakers, for the Society had early promoted just such a system of education. George Fox's protest against the established church included a condemnation of clergy whose authority was based solely on their advanced learning, rather than a life which exemplified Christ's calling and cried out for others to do the same. Accordingly, his followers placed little value on higher education, emphasizing instead that men and women find honor in an industrious and pious life, and that education was only as good as it was useful. Defining what was useful, however, was a task founded on shifting sands. In William Penn's charter for the Friends Public School of 1701, he acknowledged that "the prosperity and welfare [of the colony] depended upon their good education not simply in religion and virtue but in reading, writing, languages, useful arts and sciences suitable to their sex, age, and degree."³⁸ The child himself would in large measure determine what was suitable and useful. Beyond insisting that a child learn reading, writing, and arithmetic, Penn was impatient that he not be unnecessarily burdened with extensive rules of grammar or the erudite classical languages, but instead that his "natural genius to Mechanical and Physical or natural Knowledge" direct him into learning a trade. Active learning by play, "Shaping, Drawing, Framing and Building" was the ideal occupation for a child.³⁹

A half century later, though, the Latin school of the Friends Public School flourished under the protective watch of the Overseers.⁴⁰ The Latin master received a higher salary than that paid the master of the English school, even though, the master of the English school had the care of twice as many boys.⁴¹ Its students included some charity students who had shown a surprising genius for learning, and who would in time find a classical education useful as they pursued a medical or legal profession, to

the benefit of their fellow man. A far greater number of boys found a place there, due little to their genius and more to their status, where a smattering of Latin and Greek was thought by their parents to be the just badge of their elevated social position. The injustice of this became so burdensome that Latin Master John Wilson resigned, protesting that “You use Care and Caution in admitting poor children to learn English which ought to be taught to all, but little or none in admitting Latin scholars which is a science that none ought to learn but Boys of capacity.” It was a waste to educate boys who had “ ‘no great relish for such learned trifles’ and who were other wise intended by their parents to be merchants and mechanics.” “Instead of dissipating your Revenues in humoring the Pride of Rich men and debauching your Offspring with the Rubbish of paganism, let it be your study as it will be your happiness to promote the increase of Christian knowledge,” he warned.⁴² It looked darkly like the Overseers and parents of the boys in the Latin school had been effectively seduced by the world into adopting the cloak of classical learning as a status symbol and cover for an empty life of the spirit.⁴³

Wilson’s protest was to no effect, and despite Franklin’s compromise and hopes for the Academy of Philadelphia, there too the classical education was privileged at the expense of the many students receiving the more applicable English education. The trustees of the Academy realized the injustices of this well before their Quaker counterparts. By 1762, the Latin school was severed from the Academy and incorporated into the College of Philadelphia, thus at last allowing the Academy to focus on the practical education and sound grounding in English Franklin had foreseen as most needed by all.⁴⁴

As masters, parents, and administrators wrangled over the best education for their sons, it came to their daughters' benefit. Two teachers who began as teachers in the upper schools for boys set aside their positions to pioneer an advanced education for girls. Anthony Benezet began his career as a master of the English School at the Friends Public School, at times teaching Latin and Greek when no one else could be found. In his great enthusiasm for his profession, in 1754 he took charge of the Girls School, where he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, French, and English grammar, and reinforced lessons in Quaker piety and conduct. Within a few years, girls were given the opportunity to add the study of ornamental needlework, Latin, or Greek to this basic curriculum. In 1767, he extended his teaching to charity girls as well.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, David Dove, who had begun teaching at the Academy in 1751, supplemented his income with a private school for girls.⁴⁶ His inspiration for its organization came from an article in the British magazine the *Universal Spectator*, which outlined a curriculum to develop young women into creatures of sense and judgment.

"I do not mean that Girls should be taught the Languages, and be made deeply learned, so much is not needful; but, I would have them understand their Mother Tongue, well enough to speak, and read, and write it perfectly well. Their Minds likewise should be furnished with a general Knowledge of Things, from such Books on every Subject as are most plain and easy; for which study some Hours of every Day should particularly be set apart. And, withal, they should be directed to transcribe the most remarkable and useful Passages in their Reading which would be wonderfully advantageous, not only to impress them on the Memory, but at the same Time, to improve their Writing, make them spell truly, and give them a good Style: . . . They should also learn Arithmetick sufficient to keep the Accounts and regulate the Expences of a Family; the Want whereof is often times apparently the fatal Cause of Extravagance and Ruin."⁴⁷

Accomplishments, such as needlework, dancing, music, painting, and company, could easily be pursued in the rest of the elite girl's leisure time. Dove lost his position at the Academy in 1753, but continued to teach the girls and opened a separate private school for boys.⁴⁸

Ironically, the daughters of Philadelphia's elite may have received a better education than their brothers, unencumbered as they were by expectations that they take a heavy-handed course in the classics at the expense of fluency in their native tongue and the development of sound reasoning. Whether educated privately, at home, or at Benezet's school, such girls as Milcah Martha Moore, Hannah Callender, Sally Wister, and Elizabeth Sandwith received an education that would make the women of Philadelphia some of the most literate and pensive of colonial American cities. If there was anything that like Latin or Greek for the boys might skim time from their studies, it was the time-consuming work of ornamental embroidery and household arts. In the estimation of some scholars, it was not until the elimination of needlework from the curriculum of girls' schools, and the trimming of the classics from the curriculum of boys' schools in the nineteenth-century, that a parity of education between the sexes was achieved.⁴⁹

NOTES

¹ As quoted in Joseph J. Kelley, Jr, *Pennsylvania: The Colonial Years 1681-1776* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1980), 47.

² George Wheeler, "Enoch Flower," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association* 23, no. 2 (1934): 56.

³ Enoch Flower's inventory of 1684 lists barber's instruments, see Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Enoch Flower, Will Book A, File 73, 1684.

⁴ "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania," *Colonial Records* (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Company, 1852), I: 91.

⁵ Nancy Rosenberg, "The Sub-Textual Religion: Quakers, the Book, and Public Education in Philadelphia, 1682-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991), 89.

⁶ Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Enoch Flower, Will Book A, File 73, 1684.

⁷ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Thomas Paschall Collection, Schoolbook of Henry Flower, 1710.; Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Seth Flower, Will Book E, File 115, 1728; Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Administration, Thomas Flower, Book D, File 89, 1740; Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Samuel Wheeler, Will Book F, File 254, 1741.

⁸ "The Estate of Henry Flower, Deceas'd and Samuel Wheeler and others Accot.," 1736-1762, manuscript courtesy of Mr. Robert Fisher; Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, William Branson, Will Book L, File 309, 1760.

⁹ Estelle Cremers, *Reading Furnace 1736* (Philadelphia: Archway Press, Inc., 1986), 19.

¹⁰ C. W. Northcote, *A History of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: National Historical Association, Inc., 1932), 39.

¹¹ Notice to Debtors of Samuel Flower, 1 March 1770, *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Advertisement, 23 March 1769, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, also suggests he had a "commodious and elegant house" in Germantown.

¹² John Galt, *The Life and Studies of Benjamin West* (Philadelphia: Moses Thomas, 1816), 45-47, first records this story of Samuel Flower as a supporter of Benjamin West, though, he does not specify where he obtained the information.; William Oedel, "The American Sketchbook of Benjamin West," (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), 11. On p. 33 n.11, Oedel also notes that in 1761, Samuel's daughter "Mary, married Dr. Gerardus Clarkson, the youngest daughter of John L. Clarkson, West's brother-in-law." This occurred after West had departed Philadelphia for Rome.

¹³ William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc, 1973), II: 525.

¹⁴Hinshaw, II: 525.

¹⁵ Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Benjamin Flower, Will Book R, File 396, 1781.

¹⁶ See for instance the entries for June 18, 1759, June 2, 1760, and July 15, 1804 in *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, ed. Elaine Crane (Boston: Northeastern Press, 1991), I: 23, 60, III: 1756. On June 18, 1759, "Polly Howell and Betsey Flower call'd in the Morning." The entry for 1804 reads "Ruth Wood to be buried in friends ground, she was not a member, but one who attended meetings for many years, Aged 99 years, lived many Years in Enoch Flowers family." According to Ann Jones Flower's 1775 will, Ruth Wood was the servant responsible for attending the helpless Enoch Flower, Jr.

¹⁷ Horace Lippincott; *Early Philadelphia: Its People, Life, and Progress* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1917), 303. ; "Original Minutes of the Library Company of Philadelphia, March-May 1746" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 38, no.3 (1914): 373.

¹⁸ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Stauffer Collection, II: 145, Receipt of Enoch Flower to James Bingham, 11 August 1735; Henry J. Kauffman, *Early American Ironware, Cast and Wrought* (Rutland, VT: C.E. Tuttle Company, 1966), 95-97.

¹⁹ Hannah Roach, ed., *Colonial Philadelphians* (Hanover, PA: The Sheridan Press, 1999), 86,91,103.

²⁰ "The Estate of Henry Flower, Deceas'd and Samuel Wheeler and others Accot.," 1736-1762, manuscript courtesy of Mr. Robert Fisher.

²¹ Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Ann Jones Flower, Will Book Q, File 119, 1775.

²² Hinshaw, II: 525.

²³ See for instance Samuel Wheeler, 23 July 1767, 9 June 1768, 21 June 1770, 25 June 1772, 16 August 1775, *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

²⁴ Hinshaw, II: 525.

²⁵ Hinshaw, II: 525.

²⁶ The death dates of Ann, her parents, and her siblings are all listed in: Memorandum, 31 January 1805, Christopher Marshall Daybook, 1800-1806, Collection 313, Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

²⁷ This story is reported in Samuel Wheeler's obituary, 17 May 1820, *Poulson's Daily Advertiser*.

²⁸ On Elizabeth's death, see Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Society Collection, Christopher Marshall, Jr. to Christopher Marshall, Sr., 13 December 1781.

²⁹ Municipal Archives of Philadelphia, Will Books, Christopher Marshall, Jr., Will Book 2, File 47, 1807.

³⁰ Ann Jones Flower's quilt, Ann Flower Wheeler's sketchbook and prayerbook cover, and Mary Flower's Shepherd and Shepherdess silk embroidery and furniture cover all descended with Ann's daughter Elizabeth Flower Wheeler, to her granddaughter Sally Wheeler Paul Morris, to Mary Paul Morris, to Marjorie Paul Morris Brown, and finally to Patricia Brown Wells of Philadelphia. Mary Flower's "The Chace" silk embroidery descended through her niece Elizabeth Flower Wheeler Paul, to her granddaughter Mary Lownes Paul Morris, to her great-great granddaughter Helen Gordon MacLeod Woodhouse before it was acquired by another family, as stated in *Christie's Sale January 27-28, 1995* (New York: 1995), Lot 1075, 262. A flame-stitch Bible cover by Ann or Mary, descended to Ann's daughter Mary from thence to her niece, Mary Paul Lownes, as noted in the Bible itself, now at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The line of descent thereafter is unclear but it eventually came into the care of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Wheeler Morris. The provenance of Elizabeth and Ann Flower's coats-of-arms are likewise undocumented.

³¹ See "The Estate of Henry Flower, Deceas'd and Samuel Wheeler and others Accot.," 1736-1762, manuscript courtesy of Mr. Robert Fisher; Roach, 6; 26 March 1754 and 24 April 1755, *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

³² J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 111.

³³ Bridenbaugh, 35-36.

³⁴ Bridenbaugh, 31.

³⁵ Bridenbaugh, 67.

³⁶ Bridenbaugh, 67.

³⁷ Bridenbaugh, 41-42.

³⁸ Nancy Rosenberg, "The Sub-Textual Religion: Quakers, the Book, and Public Education in Philadelphia, 1682-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1991), 293.

³⁹ Frost, 94-95.

⁴⁰ See Rosenberg, 261-264. In her study of Quaker education, Rosenberg also argues that the Overseers tended to be worldly men, who, in their positions as overseers of the Public School represented Friend's interests in the outside world in a role formerly played by Quakers in the State Assembly.

⁴¹ Bridenbaugh, 32.

⁴² Bridenbaugh, 33-34.

⁴³ Rosenberg, 230.

⁴⁴ Bridenbaugh, 59.

⁴⁵ Bridenbaugh, 48-49.

⁴⁶ Bridenbaugh, 50.

⁴⁷ 29 August 1751, *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

⁴⁸ Bridenbaugh, 49-50.

⁴⁹ Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect & Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1986), 215-221; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 123.

Chapter 3

THE FLOWER SISTERS' EDUCATION

Unfortunately, Enoch Flower left behind none of the careful records for his daughter's schooling as those he kept for his charge Samuel. They, too, may have been under the instruction of neighbor Coe or a nearby schoolmistress. They may have been educated at home or attended the schools of Anthony Benezet and the needlework teacher Ann Marsh, as some secondary evidence suggests.¹ While we cannot name their teachers, the school things they did leave behind record remnants of traditional Quaker instruction, as well as a more worldly effort to refine their artistic, literary, and moral sensibilities.

Ann and Mary Flower's Commonplace Book

On a blue paper cover, the signature "Ann Flower Exer. Bk 1757" introduces a complex object, whose historical precedents and purpose are otherwise straightforward.² Within its cover, Ann signed and dated it again in scrolling script, but the flyleaf bears the title "Collected by Mary Flower," and above Ann's signature and date is written "Mary Wheeler." The book bears its history in its construction. Knotty bindings and changes in handwriting as well as signatures disclose three distinct sections.

In the first section, the writing is closely spaced and contains copyings after manuscripts originally dated 1738-1769. In the second section, Ann Flower neatly signed her name and dated several pages between the years 1757 and 1761. Her writing is delicate and widely spaced, and incomplete poems suggest several pages are

missing. Finally, a third section signed in parts by Mary Flower in 1764 repeats many of the passages in Ann's section using a more closely spaced, but broader hand.

Watermarks on all the pages date the laid paper to the mid-eighteenth century, and it seems likely that Ann used the book first, and then her sister Mary added to it considerably.³ The third signature in the book, that of Mary Wheeler, belongs to Ann's daughter, born in 1768. Of all Ann's children, Mary seems to have taken her Quaker upbringing the most closely to heart, joining the meeting of her own will in 1790.⁴ Her aunt's and mother's work would have been a treasured testament to their memory, but also to their spiritual legacy.

Ann and Mary's book arose as a well sanctioned method of instruction in moral and worldly truths. Aristotle first seems to have advocated commonplace books as a means to collect the sayings of the wise to meditate upon. In succeeding centuries, Erasmus and John Locke offered convenient methods for organizing the many types of sayings that could make their way into a commonplace book. Such books could be made under the watchful eye of a teacher or parent, or as a means to continued reflection and enlightenment in later life. Another type of book, the miscellany, could contain a jumble of verses, household accounts, and correspondence in a disorganized effort to preserve memorable remarks or as a place to record and test witticisms and verse.⁵ Ann and Mary's book drew on these traditions as well as customary Quaker practice. Within the Society of Friends, letters, poems, and whole journals would be circulated for amusement and as testimonies for the encouragement of Friends to lead a godly and disciplined life.⁶ Prose pieces such as these aimed "to reach the understanding and convince the Judgment, and [were] the Dress in which

Truth appears in its most native Simplicity & Beauty, ” all the while training sympathy to react appropriately.⁷

The copyings of Ann’s section, almost all of which reappear in Mary’s section, came together from a wide variety of sources, accessible to Quakers and non-Quakers alike. Here were “The Christian orator on Hearing Samuel Fothergill,” a Quaker minister, and “ A Testimony to the emptiness & vanity of all worldly enjoyments as given by Sir John Mason” alongside generic verse on virtues such as “On Honest Labour” and “Humility Exalted or the Glorious Transformation.” A fable, “The party coloured shield,” that Ann copied in 1760, reappeared in William and Thomas Bradford’s *Almanack for the Year 1767*.⁸ Meanwhile, her copying of the poem “Anna Bullen to Henry ye Eighth,” written by Pennsylvanian Susannah Wright, but printed in *The Spectator* of 1758, linked her to Philadelphians Milcah Martha Moore, Deborah Morris, and Hannah Callender, who also took the pains to copy the haunting letter.

That such books were more than rote copyings, was more clearly seen in the inclusion of letters, real or fictional, and the replies to them, which modeled the exercise of a critical mind. Whether in “A Letter to a Lady to her Husband” and the answer, or “Advice to a Young Lady concerning wedlock” these copyings provided an entry into the discussion of ideas, in this case of woman’s place, and a means of forming one’s own mind. As Karin Wulf has argued, the creation, circulation and copying of manuscripts was one means by which Quaker women contemplated the virtues of marriage and singleness, often defending the latter.⁹ Other women used such books to discuss questions of justice, politics, and life’s meaning.

The Flower Sisters' Needlework

The Flower sister's studies of reading, writing, and literature were complemented by their needlework, a standard in the curriculum of girls for centuries. As early as age four, girls might learn the basic stitches for mending and making garment and linens. Besides teaching a necessary task, it was a means of keeping young hands safely and productively employed in the Quaker tradition. In 1750, Deborah Hill of Philadelphia wrote that she hoped her granddaughters would be able to "write a copy or two a Day" while being taught at home, and sent them some needlework to keep their minds "innocently engaged."¹⁰

Within the Anglo-American world in general, ornamental needle arts among women were prized as a signature of industry and attention to their household. The needlework curriculum known in England was also practiced in the colonies. Girls would begin by making samplers, sometimes one as a plain study in marking stitches at an early age, and another more ornamental sampler when she was somewhat older. Depending on the girls proficiency and her parents ability to pay, she might then go on to further ornamental work. While girls might learn these skills at home, very often they learned the more elaborate and costly stitchery under a teacher who specialized in it, and who could provide the materials.

Each of a girl's productions, framed and displayed in the family home, broadcast her skill, taste, and conformity to a traditional female role, information that would have been especially valuable to suitors. The conflation of embroidery and true femininity had been cultivated over the several centuries it had been in the curriculum, so that by 1753, Lady Mary Wortley Montague would famously declare in a letter to her daughter, "It is as scandalous for a woman not to know how to use a needle as for a man not to know how to use a sword."¹¹ Whether the continual employment of a girl

in ornamental embroidery was a hindrance to a girl's development was much in question, though. Early in the eighteenth century, a female reader of the *Spectator* had protested the need for girls to spend more time with their needlework, as a defense against wasting their time in dressing, posing, and socializing.

By the mid to late eighteenth century, ornamental needlework was increasingly seen as a distraction from a strong, literate education, as had been suggested in the 1751 plan adopted by schoolmaster David Dove of Philadelphia, or later in *Mrs. Chapone's Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a Young Lady* in 1774.¹² By the time of the French Revolution, Mary Wollstonecraft protested the teaching of embroidery, both because it fostered dullness of intellect, vanity, and "aristocratic decadence" and because of its association with weak femininity.¹³ When the private Young Ladies Academy of Philadelphia was established in 1787, its curriculum "to complete the female mind" did not include needlework.¹⁴ For the most part, however, it would not be until the mid-nineteenth century that reformers managed to unseat embroidery's tenure in schools for women. Its initial practical benefits, and its irresistible function as a symbol of a family's status, as much as the girl's upright femininity, presented difficult arguments to surmount.

Of the colonial American cities, by the mid-eighteenth century Boston and Philadelphia had the most highly developed schools of needlework.¹⁵ Thus in Philadelphia, a style of samplers had developed from the traditional seventeenth-century band sampler to a more compact arrangement of verses and borders to what by 1750 was a compartmented arrangement of verses and flowers. Ann Marsh, the daughter of needlework teacher Elizabeth Marsh, seems to have pioneered these designs, which may have been copied by other teachers in the city. Girls under Ann's

tutelage worked their samplers much as they had in the past, copying motifs from a variety of sources under the direction of a teacher, to create a work complete in itself and decorative, as well as a source template for any work they would do in the future. Verses worked amidst the images, copied much as girls filled their commonplace books, were a reminder that these works were instructional, educating the hand, aesthetic sense, and the mind.

Very likely, Elizabeth and Mary Flower also worked samplers, but Ann's is now the only one to survive, though she seemed to have trouble with the task (Figure 1). Dating her sampler 1753, Ann worked the framed borders for the nine compartment sampler, the beginnings of a stylized vine border. She added her name, a verse, and "Oh if my mind should be inclined," and then stopped, her attention apparently having been attracted elsewhere. She may have experienced some trouble in the layout of her piece, as a comparison to later examples shows.¹⁶ Ann's outlines for the top and bottom compartments are not consistent, and the vine runs off the fabric at its peaks. While Mary Webb's 1760 sampler demonstrated some awkward compensations to fit her vine around the compartments, she successfully united the motifs and verses in a neat frame of borders (Figure 2).

Ann's sampler also displays a verse running the width of the top not present in later samplers of the compartmentalized type. A similar verse does appear in a band-pattern sampler by Sally Wister in 1773, its composition a late holdover of a style that went out of fashion in the 1750s.¹⁷ A compartmentalized sampler by Mary Cooper (Figure 3) and this band pattern sampler by Sally Wister, both known to have been worked under Ann Marsh, suggest that Ann Flower may have been instructed by her, though the later date of these pieces makes the attribution tenuous.¹⁸ Ann

Flower's mother, Ann Jones Flower, may also have overseen her daughter's work. A whole cloth quilt of her working, made about 1736, the year of her marriage to Enoch Flower, still survives and is now in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg (Figure 4)

The next surviving piece by the Flower sisters was worked ten years later by Ann, in her early twenties. Whatever her trouble may have been with the sampler, she must have continued to practice in order to develop the cleanly laid lines in her coat-of-arms. In this, and the one worked by her older sister Elizabeth in 1765, they went far beyond many girls of their day, not in their skill, but in the subject of its display. Silkwork sconces and tree-of-life scenes (Figure 5) from the 1730s-1750s in Philadelphia duly earned the city a reputation for excellence. The scenes impressed by their fine needlework and rich materials, using silk threads, silk fabric, and small beads for the distinction of animals' eyes. Only occasionally were metallic, gold and silver threads, used as they were in Mary King's tree-of-life and an anonymous tree-of-life.¹⁹ Indeed, it may be that this final embellishment was considered too ostentatious for girls of a strict Quaker profession. Ann and Elizabeth's coats-of-arms (Figures 6 and 7), in their subject matter and in their use of gold and silver threads, were a rare way to display one's skills and family pride.

Coats-of-arms by schoolgirls had abounded from the 1740s and after in Boston and the surrounding northeastern colonies, appearing in a traditional equilateral diamond shaped frame.²⁰ Patterns for them, while not adhering strictly to heraldic rules, could be adapted from the numerous printed guides to heraldry available for the use of all manner of craftsmen.²¹ Betty Ring's survey of northeastern arms demonstrated that these were the display of families from wealth and prominence

and likely the most expensive embroideries that could be had, given their frequent use of gold and silver thread in addition to the use of silk and their rich framing.²²

Compared to these, the Flower arms betoken an image particular to Philadelphia. The coat-of-arms is emblazoned not on a traditional shield form, but on a rococo cartouche, flanked by roccaile and C-scrolls. Appropriately, sprays of flowers sprout from its corners, similar to sprays found on other of the city's embroideries. The whole is neatly supported on a base with the girls cipher, EF or AF, adapted from *A New Book of Cyphers*, published in 1726 and 1750.²³ Worked on a cream background, primarily in vibrant but pastel tones, its shimmering elegance contrasts with the dark background and rich colors of its New England cousins.

Their sister Mary left behind no silken coat-of-arms, but a silk embroidery of equal fastidiousness has survived, in which a shepherd and shepherdess pause in an artfully composed field (Figure 8). The two peasants occupy center stage, framed by brilliantly shaded trees on either side, or a barn and haystacks in the background. Below them, a swan and her charges swim on a glassy pond, and a rabbit, sheep, flowers, and overlarge strawberries are scattered in the grass. Mary's work emerges as the finest in one of handful of pastoral silk embroideries, the fashionable successors of the silkwork sconces done in Philadelphia in the 1730's, and the elaborate tree-of-life embroideries of the 1750's.²⁴ Besides Mary's work, four other Philadelphia pastoral scenes are known: A piping shepherd attributed to Anne Whitebread c.1768 (Figure 9), a seated shepherdess by Elizabeth Sugar Dawson of Germantown c. 1763 (Figure 10) an anonymous piping shepherd (Figure 11), and an anonymous rural scene based on a French print, "Marie Antoinette dans la Campagne" (Figure 12).²⁵

This last rural scene is perhaps the most elaborate, with its details of a farmstead, field, windmill, and traveller in the distance in addition to the shepherd and shepherdess and their sheep. The profile of the dog at center is carefully delineated, but in this and the others, the shading is patchy and artificial compared to the subtle grading of Mary's. Several elements persist in each of the works to tie them to Philadelphia and its needlework tradition. The heavy black outlines and the drawing of the sun peeping out of the clouds on Elizabeth Dawson's work relates it to the stitching of Anne Whitebread's Shepherd, and a scone by Margret Wistar of 1738.²⁶ At the same time, the brightly colored parrots are found in the anonymous piping shepherd. The tall sprig of flowers behind the goat also recalls the flowers on two unusual silk embroideries of birds in flowering trees by Sarah Wistar of 1752 (Figures 13 and 14) and the vines on the Flower arms. All these scenes bear similar foliage; their fields are filled with sprigs of flowers and an emblematic strawberry bush that recurs again and again.

Of this group the scene of the French print would seem most unusual, but for another of Mary's pictures worked in 1768 (Figure 15). Her hunting scene was copied in detail after "The Chace," a print available in mezzotint or line engraving.²⁷ It seems that Philadelphia needlework teachers were either providing or encouraging such translations. Mary Flower may never have seen a chase quite like that in her picture, but her father belonged to the "Colony on Schuylkill" a club of hunters and fishers, and in "Schuylkill Side", a poem in Ann's commonplace book, the writer muses on the joys of hunting and angling.

The Flower sisters' oeuvre included other embroideries, worked in worsted wool thread over linen rather than silk on silk. Ann Flower's prayerbook

cover of 1765 (Figures 16 and 17) and Mary's furniture cover of 1767 (Figure 18) both employed Irish stitch, but not in the more common, geometric design used for pocketbooks, chair covers, and prayer book covers to quickly create a durable, brightly colored product. Instead, each sister translated floral designs onto the grid of linen, Mary's in particular showing the grace of shading that appeared in her silk pieces. Irish-stitch flowered work was not uncommon, though, tent-stitch was a preferable means of translating the delicate shades of flowers into embroidery, as in the 1765 pocketbook initialed "GM" (Figures 19, 20, and 21). In her record of work from 1757-1760, Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker records an Irish-stitch rose, an Irish-stitch flowered pocketbook, and a fire screen with Irish-stitch flowers.²⁸ In 1762, her friend, Hannah Callender worked a cushion in Irish-stitch flowers.²⁹

The Flower sisters' pieces are excellent examples of this type of canvas work, retaining much of their bright color. Ann's prayerbook cover, made for a 1758 edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*, shows the strawberry and blue flower sprigs on the spine which appear frequently in Philadelphia silk embroidery. On each face, she depicted a bunch of flowers against a rich blue background. Mary's piece is most unusual for its great size, 43"x 19 5/8", and its unidentified purpose. A bold floral design of cut flowers bows within its borders, where the pinks, oranges, yellow, blue and creams of the flowers meld with a deep red-brown background, and a teal fringe. Mary signed her initials and the date at opposite ends in petit point, suggesting that they were to be read from both ends distinctly, perhaps while draped over a furniture top such as a dressing table or high chest. This at least has been the accepted tradition within the family, and no similar piece or document yet exists to dispute this.

Interpreting the Needlework

Captivating as they are in their vibrant color combinations or sleek silks, the embroideries of the Flower sisters and their contemporaries might be easily dismissed as no more historically significant than other schoolgirl embroideries, superfluous products of antiquated educational practices, and nothing more. The distinctiveness of their imagery compared to English and colonial examples suggests, however, that they are subtle documents of the assumptions of the society from whence they came.

The floral imagery common to the canvaswork pieces, that also dominates samplers and fills up silk scenes, appears innocuous, so common as to be meaningless. After all, in the words of one scholar, “It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the decorative arts during the eighteenth century were a glorious celebration of flowers,” and it was at mid-century that the enthusiasm for flora blossomed into an increasing taste for naturalism in its rendering, a development concomitant with the advancing English interest in the science of botany.³⁰ As the natural adornment of the earth, flowers were a luxurious adornment for mankind as well, appropriate to embroidered pocketbooks, chair seats, and dress. In this sense, Philadelphia embroidery merely replicated British taste, but as Betty Ring has noted, floral imagery, particularly on Philadelphia samplers, dominated to the exclusion of equally fashionable motifs as people and buildings.³¹

Likewise, Philadelphians, of all colonists, from an early period embraced the cultivation of flowers out of scientific curiosity, admiration for their beauty, and the Quaker recognition of gardening as an innocent amusement. As early as 1683, William Penn had boasted of his new lands, “The woods are adorned with lovely flowers for color, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London

best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods; I have sent a few to a person of quality this year, for a trial.”³²

The later experiments of John Bartram and James Logan accompanied continual exchanges of specimens and theories. Flowers, fruit trees, and more common fruits and vegetables abounded in the city gardens of Philadelphia’s eighteenth-century elite. While it is not always possible to discern the species of flower embroidered, the most common appearance were made by tulips and carnations, two of the so-called florist flowers, that also included auricula, anemone, hyacinth, ranunculus, and polyanthus, and were “bred to conform to rigorous standards of perfection.”³³ Specific native plants do not usually appear in the embroidery, but as early as 1698, tulips, pinks, carnations, and roses were appearing in Philadelphia gardens.³⁴

Their significance, beauty, and meaning were ultimately known only the mind of the beholder, but floral beauty did provoke philosophical response. For John Bartram, the intricate workings of plants caused him to muse on the nature of the Creator.³⁵ In traditional fables, such as “The Story of Obadiah” in Ann Flower’s commonplace book, the fleeting beauty of flowers was a temptation and snare of the world.³⁶ Clearly, flowers fascinated the mind and imagination of Philadelphians.

Mary Flower’s silk embroidery of “The Chace,” her Shepherd and Shepherdess, and contemporary pastoral embroideries likewise betray themselves as peculiarly Philadelphian. Like floral emblems, the pastoral mode of embroidery, depicting rural scenes peopled with carefree shepherd and shepherdesses, and other laborers, was a commonplace expression of British embroidery.³⁷ Indeed, in 1716, Joseph Addison had observed that women acquitted themselves best when they merely

limned pastoral scenes with the needle rather than attempting to philosophize by putting noble sentiments in the shepherd's mouths of classical poetry:

What a delightful entertainment it must be to the fair sex, whom their native modesty, and the tenderness of men towards them, exempts from publick business, to pass their hours in imitating fruits and flowers, and transplanting all the beauties of nature into their own dress or raising anew creation in their closets and apartments. How pleasing is the amusement of walking among the shades and groves planted by themselves, in surveying heroes slain by their needle, or cupids, which they have brought into the World without Pain. This is methinks the most proper way wherein a Lady can show a fine Genius, and I cannot forbear wishing, that several writers of that sex had chosen to apply themselves rather to tapestry than rhyme. Your pastoral poetesses may vent their fancy in rural landskips, and place despairing shepherds under silken willows or drown them in a sea of mohair."³⁸

In America by the mid-eighteenth century, Boston schoolmistress' had perpetuated their own style of pastoral embroidery. Typically, these embroideries, were worked in tent stitch, wool on linen canvas, and depicted vignettes of courting couples, women fishing and spinning, hunters, amidst a landscape crowded with buildings, animals, trees, and flowers. Often, the disposition of figures in the landscape was taken directly from a print. Related to this group as well are a group of pastoral samplers, pastoral scenes in Romanian couchwork, and pastoral chimney pieces, worked in silk on silk.³⁹

Laurel T. Ulrich, in her interpretation of Eunice Bourne's tent-stitch chimneypiece, has ably demonstrated that these scenes were not mindless exercises of the needle. In the tradition of Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, the pastoral was a mode of poetry that contrasted the corruption of the city with the simplicity and wisdom of the country, in which shepherds were philosophers.⁴⁰ Ulrich argued that the Boston

pastoral embroideries imply an equivalent contrast and commentary, on the realities of mid-eighteenth century Boston, Massachusetts. Eunice Bourne's scene, with its spinning and fishing ladies and hunters highlights a world of peaceful rural labor, at once at odds with the leisured work of the embroiderer and the labor problems of the day. The spinning woman appears particularly nostalgic, as she uses a drop spindle rather than the more modern spinning wheel. It is the more removed from events, as in 1753, there began a campaign to establish a spinning factory for employing the poor.⁴¹ The world of Eunice's embroidery is one of busy industry but also a world where the pleasures of courtship dominate all other activities. Such embroideries, worked by young girls who were or soon would be negotiating their fate in marriage or singleness, represented culture's conventional images and the girl's hopes and dreams.

It is the silk-embroidered Boston pastorals that seem to relate most clearly to the Philadelphia pastorals in their use of similar materials and a lighter palette. Despite these similarities, the Boston silk pieces remain set apart in their preference for the wide chimneypiece format, and their bustling scenes. Most unusual among them is Sarah Derby's chimneypiece. Based on the print "Women Dancing in an Arcadian Landscape," a shepherd provides music on his pipe for the dancing women who are draped in loose classical garb.⁴² As with the other silk and canvas chimneypieces, though, it is a world of social busy harmony. In contrast, the Philadelphia embroideries present quieter, more solitary scenes. Two exhibit a single piping shepherd, a third a shepherdess alone with the animals. Mary Flower's 1764 Shepherd and Shepherdess shows a couple in rural isolation. Only in the anonymous scene with shepherd and shepherdess demurely seated in front of their garden plot and

house, its chimney contently smoking, does a traveller appear in the background to suggest connection with the rest of society.

While the lack of figures may represent an economy of workmanship, more likely it depicts a different tone of pastoral. For while the life of the shepherd and shepherdess might be rendered as a world of social harmony where love reigns, another view of the pastoral life recognized it primarily as a life of solitude that encouraged contemplation. This outlook permeated the literature and letters of elite Philadelphians, nurtured on the writings of Alexander Pope and Joseph Addison, and encouraged by the indigenous Quaker valuation of meditation and contentment. Ann Flower's commonplace book included a poem "On Solitude" that echoed Alexander Pope's early "Ode on Solitude."⁴³ Another poem, "Schuylkill Side" coaxed, "Then if dull cares torment your breast/All sorrows here subside/Sweet solitude and balmy rest/Dwell on lovely Schuylkill Side." Indeed, it was on the banks of the Schuylkill, as well as the outlying areas of Philadelphia in Germantown, that wealthy Philadelphians built their country seats in search of solitude and country retirement, echoing the practice of Roman senators. A 1752 map recorded "over 200 country houses within a 10 mile radius of Philadelphia."⁴⁴ Later in 1785, John Penn would build his country seat on the Schuylkill, and christen it "Solitude."⁴⁵

"I am extremely fond of retiring for a while to the calm delight of a Country life," explained a female friend, likely Peggy Emlen to Betsy, "there we seem more at leisure for serious reflection and the natural beauties around us excite our utmost admiration [...] It was with regret I left it . . ." The garden and summer house in their city lot seemed to replicate the countryside in a small way, she comforted herself.⁴⁶ The virtues of solitude and contemplation were also penned in conjunction

with calls for contentment with a modest lot in life. Ann Flower's commonplace book includes a fragment of poetry that vows "No stately edifice to rear/ My wish would bound a small retreat/ In temperate air & furnish'd neat/ No ornaments would I prepare/ No costly Labours of the Loom/ Should e'er adorn my humble room."⁴⁷ Another poem, "On Happiness," copied by Milcah Martha Moore in her miscellany, conjures up an image that echoes the shepherd and shepherdess scenes of Philadelphia embroidery: "Grant me ye Powers, that I may pass my Life,/ Far from the madding Crowds of noisy Strife/ In some lone Spot/ where unrestrain'd by Art/ Luxuriant nature may her Charms impart/ Far mov'd from Dissipations giddy Round,/ For Happiness is there but seldom found,/ Blest with a Wife, the Mistress of my breast/ In whose fond Bosom all my Cares may rest, . . ." A humble domestic oneness thus fostered, rather than upset, the ideal state of rural retreat.⁴⁸

It was not that the Philadelphia elite, particularly its young women, were careless of the pleasures of society and the thrills of courtship. The letters of Peggy Emlen and Sally Logan are filled with discussions of "rural scenes and amusements" and the "rustic swains" or beaus to be found there. Barbecues, fishing expeditions, and hunts provided ample opportunities to enjoy the variety and fresh beauty of the countryside, socialize, and gauge character, apart from the routines of city dinners and teas.⁴⁹ Yet it was the celebration of solitude that prevailed in the girls' embroideries. Ironically, their teachers, yet unknown to us, used the creation of a luxury ornament to offer a prospect of a virtuous life of quiet contentment, one reinforced by the literary culture of the day.

Pens and Needles

Literacy entwined with artistry as young girls created their first marking samplers, incorporated verses into more ornamental samplers, and gave visual form to poetic ideals. Contemporaries as well as recent scholars recognized that at one level, writing and needlework were equivalent means of expression, requiring both a dexterity of hand and a conscious authorship of composition.⁵⁰ Rarely, though, did they produce equivalent results, with needlework achieving the moralistic artistry of a poem or satire, or the precise phrases of prose. To do so would require both a superior technical skill with the needle, as well as the ability to replicate and rearrange visual elements into a coherent whole, in effect, to translate the achievements of the fine arts to the applied.

Such achievements were not entirely unheard of in colonial American needlework. The petit-point card table cover worked by Mercy Otis Warren of Plymouth, Massachusetts, sometime between 1750-1760, can be seen in hindsight as a witty precursor to her satire, political, and historical writing.⁵¹ Her trompe l'oeil cover displayed cards and counters laid out as if a group had just finished the notoriously high stakes game of loo. Protesting her modest femininity in the grace with which she plied her needle, her choice of subject matter argued a knowledge and willingness to participate in a game of ambition and risk that put men and women on an equal footing. It was a foreshadowing of her future career that while not jettisoning the traditional duties of a wife and mother, she did not shrink to enter the contest of wit and wisdom in the public sphere. Similarly, young Prudence Punderson's c.1770 "First, Second, and Last Scenes of Mortality" offered an explicit meditation on fleeting life and female virtue, an allegory made more potent by its visualization, equal to any conjured imagery of poetry or prose.⁵²

While we do not know where Mercy Otis Warren found her pattern for her table cover, or to what degree she contrived her own design, in Prudence Punderson's case we do know she drew the designs for her own needlework. Great skill in drawing was not necessary for a woman who wished to create an independent work of art in her embroidery. Enough printed patterns and general prints were available, as were the services of pattern-drawers that she could adapt and combine to create her own work. She could additionally improvise the basic outlines of her composition, and leave it to the skill of her needle to more skillfully shade and color them. Yet the ability to draw would certainly offer more flexibility in choice of subject matter, composition, and the achievement of a more successful illusionism. For a woman to learn to draw was to develop an intermediary skill between proficiency with the needle and facility with the pen, to develop a useful tool for a more individual but still feminine form of expression in needlework. Then, potentially, there was the opportunity to depart from the constraints of needlework all together, to explore and comment on the world simply as an artist.

In mid-eighteenth century England, drawing was not an uncommon subject in the education of a woman of the nobility, nor even of a girl of a tradesman's family, but neither was it especially common. To discover then, in addition to the commonplace book and needlework of the Flower sisters, a sketchbook as well is to recover an extraordinary document of colonial history. Ann Flower's sketchbook completed her course of studies, at once complementing and existing independently from her needlework and literary expressions. To understand its relation to her and her contemporaries' general education, as well as its independent existence, requires an investigation of the meaning of female artistry in the period.

NOTES

¹ Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers & Pictorial Needlework 1650-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), II: 377-378.

² Commonplace Book of Ann and Mary Flower, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.

³ The paper was primarily of the Pro Patria and Arms of England watermark. See W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., In the XVII and XVIII and their Interconnections* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger & Company, 1967).

⁴ William W. Hinshaw Card Catalog, Gwynedd Monthly Meeting, 1790, April 27, Special Collections, Swarthmore.

⁵ Karin Wulf and Catherine Blecki, eds., *Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 61-63.

⁶ Wulf and Blecki, *Milcah Martha Moore's Book*, 23-26.

⁷ Susannah Hopkins, October 10, 1771, as quoted in Wulf and Blecki, *Milcah Martha Moore's Book*, 26-27.

⁸ See advertisement of William and Thomas Bradford, 13 November 1766, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*.

⁹ Karin Wulf, *Not All Wives: Women of Colonial Philadelphia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 45-46.

¹⁰ J. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 126.

¹¹ As quoted in Jill Maney and Jonathan Maney, "Having It Both Ways: The Needlework Table Cover of Mercy Otis Warren," in *Textiles in New England II: Four Centuries of Material Life*, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings (Boston: Boston University, 2001), 144.

- ¹² Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London: The Women's Press, Ltd., 1984), 140.
- ¹³ Parker, 139-142.
- ¹⁴ Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1986), 211.
- ¹⁵ Ring, I:12.
- ¹⁶ See Ring, II: 338-342 for the samplers of Ann Flower, Mary Webb (1760), Susannah Head (1781), Lydia Speakman (1785), and Mary Cooper (1789).
- ¹⁷ Ring, II: 337.
- ¹⁸ Ring, II: 337-338.
- ¹⁹ Both Mary King's embroidery and the anonymous "tree-of-life" scene are in the collections of the Winterthur Museum. Mary King's embroidery is illustrated in Ring, II: 356.
- ²⁰ Ring, I: 61.
- ²¹ Ring, I: 62, 75.
- ²² Ring, I: 75.
- ²³ Samuel Sympson, *A New Book of Cyphers* (London: J. Clark, 1726), pl. 2, 31.; This attribution was first noted in Morrison Heckscher and Leslie Greene Bowman. *American Rococo, 1750-1775: Elegance in Ornament* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1992), 13.
- ²⁴ Three sconces of the same pattern are known to date. See Ring, II, 355. One, by "A L" is at Winterthur Museum. For tree-of-life embroideries see Ring, II, 356.
- ²⁵ I am indebted to Carol Huber for calling my attention to these two unattributed pieces and the source of the Shepherd and Shepherdess scene.
- ²⁶ Margret Wistar's scone is similar to that labeled "AL," however, Margret delineates each of the elements of the scene with distinct black outlines. See Ring, II: 355.
- ²⁷ Ring, II, 359; Christie's, *Sale January 27- 28, 1995*, (New York: 1995), Lot 1075.

²⁸ *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, Edited by Elaine Crane (Boston: Northeastern Press, 1991), I: 2-3.

²⁹ American Philosophical Society, George Vaux Papers, Diary of Hannah Callender, 1762, 18.

³⁰ Anne Scott-James and Frances Wood, *The British Museum Book of Flowers* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 108; Natalie Rothstein, "Planning a Careless Air: Rococo in English Silk Design," *Country Life* 176 no. 4541 (1986): 56; Ann B. Shteir, *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's Daughters and Botany in England, 1760-1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 41.

³¹ Ring, II: 330.

³² Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania, in North America* (Philadelphia: Zachariah Poulson, Jr., 1797-1798), I: 251.

³³ Ann Coates, *The Book of Flowers: Four Centuries of Flower Illustration* (New York: McGraw- Hill Book Company, 1973), 13.

³⁴ Elizabeth McLean, "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in Robert P. Maccubbin, and Peter Martin, *British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century: Eighteen Illustrated Essays on Garden History*. (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1984), 137.

³⁵ See Ernest Earnest, *John and William Bartram: Botanists and Explorers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), 64-65. John Bartram writes: "When we nearly examine the various motions of plants and flowers, in their evening contraction and morning expansion, they seem to be operated upon by something superior to only heat and cold, . . . and if we won't allow them real feeling, or what we call sense, it must be some action next degree inferior to it, for which we want a proper epithet, or the immediate finger of God, to whom be all glory and praise."

³⁶ [Story of Obadiah], Ann and Mary Flower's Commonplace Book, Quaker Collection, Haverford College. The untitled story appears to be missing its first page. It relates the story of the hero, Obadiah, his temptation and his return to the true path of life: "Obadiah still continued to walk, without the least Remission of his Ardour, except he was sometimes tempted to stop by the Musick of the Birds, whom the Heat had assembled in the Shade; and sometimes amused himself with plucking the Flowers, which grew on every-Side, or the Fruits that hung upon the Branches."

³⁷ Parker, 110-119.

³⁸ As quoted in Parker, 114.

³⁹ For pastoral samplers see Ring I: 50-51; For pastorals in Romanian couchwork see Ring I: 52-53; For silk on silk pastorals see Ring I: 54-59.

⁴⁰ Laurel 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: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 154.

⁴¹ Ulrich, 157, 162.

⁴² Ring, I: 59.

⁴³ *The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Andrew Crozier (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd., 1995), 1.

⁴⁴ McLean, 137-138.

⁴⁵ McLean, 142.

⁴⁶ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Marjorie Brown Collection, Letters of Peggy Emlen and Sally Logan, 1769-1771, Peggy Emlen? to Betsey, n.d.

⁴⁷ Commonplace Book, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.

⁴⁸ Wulf and Blecki, eds., *Milcah Martha Moore's Book*, 189.

⁴⁹ See for instance, John Smith Diary, entries for May 2, 1748, p. 206, and June 12, 1748, p. 223, in *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, Edited by Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Francis and Leach, 1904); The opening of the fishery season was announced on 1 and 8 May 1760, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Pemberton Papers, Hannah Pemberton to Sally Pemberton, 12 July 1782.

⁵⁰ Maney and Maney, 158.

⁵¹ Maney and Maney, 152, 160.

⁵² Ulrich, 238-239.

Chapter 4

DRAWING IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PHILADELPHIA

When Ann Flower began to draw in the 1750s and 1760s, art was not an inaccessible commodity. While we have no inventory to describe the family's home, prints, satirical or religious, landscapes or portraits may have hung in the hall or public rooms, as was customary at the time.¹ "Curious mezzotinto prints" and others could be bought at the booksellers, druggists, even the milliners in Philadelphia, all of which also sold ink and paper.² Indeed, Ann hardly had to leave her house to encounter the local artistic community. Just opposite Strawberry Alley, where the Flower family lived, "Druggists and Colourmen" Christopher Marshall and Son offered paints "ready prepared or otherwise" at their store in Chestnut Street, as well as a gathering place for artists.³ By the time Ann was thirteen, Benjamin West had taken up residence in Strawberry Alley to train as a painter, and the older artist, William Williams kept his studio nearby in Loxley's Court.⁴ From newspapers, to shop signs, to printed cottons, and portraits, images simple and complex pervaded Ann's world. To pick up pen and paper in response to them was hardly unnatural, but was nevertheless unusual.

According to art historian Theodore Stebbins, not until the 1760s were the American colonies to see a "drawing boom," the result of a maturing economy and culture, in which hundreds of drawing masters catered to a growing population of leisured and learned gentlemen and ladies.⁵ The 1769 proposal of James Smither, an engraver, to open a drawing school in Philadelphia seemed to capture the essence of this demand, suggesting persuasively:

Drawing is a most ingenious, interesting and elegant art, and the study of it ought to be encouraged in every youth, who discovers a peculiar genius towards the practice thereof; its utility being so extensive, that there are few arts or professions in which it is not serviceable. All designs and models are executed by it – Engineers, architects, and a multitude of professions, have frequent occasion to practice it: in most stations it is useful, from the general who commands an army, to the mechanic who supports himself by handicraft. A young gentleman possessed of an accomplishment so exceedingly desirable, both for amusement and use, is qualified to take the sketch of a fine building – a beautiful prospect of any curious production of art, or of any uncommon and striking appearance in nature, especially to persons of leisure and fortune, it affords a most pleasing entertainment and enables them to construct and improve plans to their taste, and judge of designs, &c. with propriety. Of all others this art has the greatest number of admirers, and no wonder, since in a kind of universal language, or living history understood by all mankind, it represents to our view the forms of innumerable objects which we should be otherwise deprived of, and helps us to the knowledge of many of the works of nature and art, by a silent communication.⁶

In fact, Smither was merely offering a loose translation from the introduction of Gerard de Lairese's *Het Groot Schilderboek* [The Art of Painting], published in 1707, heir to a century of artistic tradition, and pirated by almost every English drawing book that would follow.⁷ By the eighteenth-century, the training of professional artists had coalesced into a standard curriculum, originally worked out in the academies of Florence and Rome, whereby the student progressed from copying from prints and drawings, to copying from plaster casts of the human figure, to finally drawing after live models. Throughout the whole process, students acquired mastery by imitation, learning to draw after Renaissance masters, sculptors of Greek and Rome, and ultimately, after the Creator himself, as they studied the perfect proportions of man.⁸

Exclusive as such training might be, the printing press made it seemingly possible for anyone to begin the first steps to artistry. While some books simply provided source material with images of different costumes, landscape scenes, birds and beasts, true drawing books directed the student through an illustrated progression that began with the features, then the whole face and head, then the limbs, and finally the whole body together, displaying a variety of types, men, women, the children and the elderly. Lairesse's *Art of Painting*, was just such a book, and its introduction with instructions that normally pertained to drawing the figure was thought so apt as to appear even in *The Florist*, 1759, a book devoted solely to the drawing of flowers. Odd as this might seem, it reflected the common wisdom, that

As for Beasts, Birds, Fruits, Plants, &c we deem it useless to give Directions for drawing them, as it is well known that he who has so far improved his Ideas as to be able to draw a Human Figure correctly, will find it no Difficulty to perform every other Branch of this Art.⁹

Mr. Smither's testimonial on the utility of drawing, taken like so many others from Lairesse, thus assumed a traditional program of study, even as it was divorced from its original context. Whether Smither's students would advance beyond copying from prints, or whether he would scrupulously train them in the study of the human figure remains a mystery, but his devoted rehearsal of the virtues of drawing imported to America the courtly understanding of drawing as a civic virtue, a duty of the upper-class taken up for the good of society. By this understanding, in learning to draw a gentleman accessed wisdom through the divine order of nature, developed the connoisseur's keen eye for beauty and virtue, and acquired a skill of military science and intelligence.¹⁰ For ladies, drawing, like needlework, was a realm of learning in which they might interest themselves and in no way impugn their femininity. Rather,

by learning to draw a woman developed a knowledge of the arts, an intellectual virtue, that allowed her to complement the wisdom and virtue of her courtier husband. Like needlework, drawing was a “sedentary, clean, and quiet occupation which employed rich materials and resulted in decorative works,” and so did not engage the lady in arduous, ungraceful labor.¹¹

Yet, despite the entrenched heritage which Smither and other drawing masters summoned to their enrichment, the rarity of surviving drawings from Philadelphia’s elite families suggests that they were unsuccessful in attracting and outfitting a generation of virtuosi. The evidence that does survive suggests that rather than seeing a “drawing boom” in the mid-eighteenth century, drawing in Philadelphia attracted few students and enjoyed only a tenuous reputation for its utility.

Drawing in the Service of Science

In the 1750s drawing found its most secure position with the tutors and academies that taught mathematics, which often included such studies as mensuration, geometry, fortification, surveying, and navigation, all competitive skills in an outpost of colonial commerce, exploration, conquest and defense.¹² While it is unclear whether or not the Academy of Philadelphia followed English precedent by having drawing taught at its Mathematical School, established in 1751, numerous private tutors in the city offered their services in technical drawing from trigonometry to surveying and navigation to astronomy.¹³ Whether describing the solution to a geometric problem, composing a map or an elevation, this technical drawing rendered the abstract visible, or reduced the confusion of the natural landscape to a readable schema. Boys educated in these subjects acquired a profession, that while not of the learning of medicine, the law, or the cloth, provided a basic fluency in abstract thought.

Clarity and accuracy were needed in technical drawing as well as botanical drawing, but this latter art had fewer practitioners, and no exclusive path of professional development. In Philadelphia, an early interest in gardening and scientific experimentation by such as Proprietary Secretary James Logan and John Bartram, and the mutual enthusiasm among English botanists to learn of New World flora encouraged gave some encouragement to the art.¹⁴ The experiences of William Bartram in recording the diversity of nature exposed the difficulties of the draughtsman in pursuing his art.

Young William had made his first attempts at drawing plants at age fourteen, advancing in his studies without the benefit of formal instruction, but using what little time he had away from school, Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings, to practice it.¹⁵ His father, botanist John Bartram certainly had a hand in encouraging his skill though. A plan John Bartram drew of his house and gardens still survives. While John Bartram would often speak of the maps and pictures he sent his correspondents as “clumsy,” he knew the value of an image in conveying information across the Atlantic, especially when seeds, dried specimens, and carefully packed plants were lost or damaged, or refused to germinate or take to the English soil. Drawings were still subject to loss and damage from the elements and uncertainty of shipping, but were considerably less fragile than natural specimens, and more telling than words, able to depict the plant on any occasion, in its natural habitat, in its best color, or at varying seasons.

By the time William was fifteen, his father boasted he had
traveled with me now three years & readily knows most of ye plants
that grows in our four governments. he hath drawn most of our oaks &
birches with a draught of ye drowned lands & several of ye adjacent
mountains & rivers as they appeared to him in his Journey by them:
this is his first essay in drawing plants & A map he hath drawn several
birds¹⁶

As John reported his son's advances, his foremost correspondent and patron, merchant botanist Peter Collinson of England provided paper and money for William's work and commissioned turtles, shells, plants and flowers. In 1757, Collinson included in his shipment a drawing book for William to study.¹⁷ Until that time, though, John Bartram had asserted that William drew his subjects "with an exact description of their particular characters, not according to grammar rules, or science, but nature."¹⁸

Such a claim was audacious in the light of the traditional training of an artist, in which drawing from life came after copying from the works of master artists. According to his father's claim, William had been through none of these exercises and was not hampered by mannerism in his art. Yet he was certainly aware of the current conventions for the illustration of natural history. One of William's earliest surviving pictures of a bird was used by George Edwards for his *Gleanings from Natural History* in 1758.¹⁹ In his earlier work, an *Uncommon History of Birds*, Edwards had popularized a style succinctly described by modern scholars as "stump and magpie," to which another sketch by William conforms (Figure 22).²⁰ Besides depicting a bird on a branch in profile, Edwards diminished the negative space on the page by filling it with disproportionately large butterflies and insects, resulting in a curious mixture of accuracy and distortion.

When it came to depicting plants, though, William's ability to capture the essential characteristics of a specimen outshone any formulaic monotony of composition. "Pray compair them [William's drawings] with Catesby's draughts," John Bartram wrote to his friend Peter Collinson, referring him to the illustrations of Mark Catesby's 1731 *Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*,

& see how wildly unnaturally he [Catesby] has placed ye acrons he makes no distinction of summer & winter acrons nor how that thay or ye leaves grows on ye twig or how ye nerves projects yet how is his work applauded indeed his birds snakes & fishes may be excelent as far as I know for I am not so acquainted with them as with plants of which he seems to know little of thair natural growth but hath done all at random except outlines of ye leaves"²¹

By John Bartram's experience, Catesby's image of flora were handicapped by his lack of familiarity with the plants in their natural setting. Trailing his father on his explorations, William had gained a rare knowledge of flora and fauna as found in their natural habitat, throughout the course of their growing season. It was a considerable asset for the scientists and amateurs around the world engaged in the systematic study and classification of nature.

Despite the demand for compendiums of New World nature, only one other Philadelphian for this early period contributed to the visual record, one William Young. Appointed Botanist by the King and Queen in 1764, much to John Bartram's chagrin, he made several attempts at fulfilling his duties by presenting their Majesties with drawings of New World plants.²² Unfortunately, while they may have engaged his patrons, Young's watercolors fell short of providing a distinct portrait of a species. Instead, their "imagination and whimsy frustrate[d] identification" by both contemporaries and modern scholars.²³

In England, William Bartram's drawings received the praise of celebrated flower painter Georg Ehret and the naturalists George Edwards and Dr. Solander, and engraved copies of some of his pieces were included in Philip Miller's *Figures of the Most Beautiful Plants*, as well as Edward's *Gleanings*. In spite of his son's success, and his own encouragement of it, John Bartram considered the realities of the colonial city, and thought it best to curb his boy's enthusiasm. He knew well enough the value of such talent, but wanted no gentleman for a son, and doubted whether a patron with sufficient means to support such work could be found. "I wish he could get a handsom livelyhood by it," John Bartram wrote to Peter Collinson, but barring that it had to remain but a "darling delight."²⁴ It would only be after several years of failed attempts at planting and other careers that William would turn his "darling delight" to his profit, as a commissioned explorer and natural historian of the southeastern United States.

Offspring of a Noble Mind

For those who aspired to a career as an artist of genius, Philadelphia offered few chances for the demonstration of unfettered talent. Patrons of local artists preferred portraits to other genres, and at times were just as depreciative of the skills of colonial painters as painters were of their business. A 1740 advertisement of painters Gustavus Hesselius and John Winter acknowledged that specialization was not an option if one intended to earn a living:

Painting done in the best Manner . . . viz: Coats of Arms drawn on Coaches, Chaises, etc, or any kind of other Ornaments, Landskips, Signs , Shewboards, ship and House Painting, Gilding of all sorts, Writing, in Gold or Color, old pictures cleaned and mended &c ²⁵

By mid-century, only a handful of painters had made Philadelphia a permanent residence.²⁶

Despite the modest success of the earliest painters, it was sufficient to nurture an enthusiastic new generation of artists. A boy who showed promise as an artist, and whose parents did not think the skill unworthy, would enter into apprenticeship just as any other child would be bound for a trade.²⁷ Matthew Pratt was apprenticed at ten years of age to his uncle James Claypoole to study “all the different branches of the painting business, particularly portrait painting,” for six years and eight months. Pratt then set up shop with a Francis Foster, only to abandon it less than two years later to try, at least temporarily, a more profitable venture.²⁸ During the apprenticeship the youth would have learned all the mysteries of mixing colors, preparing ground or canvas to be painted, and the conventions of portrait painting, but a careful training in drawing was not guaranteed, and in the estimation of one scholar, preliminary sketches were rarely practiced by colonial portraitists.²⁹ The lack of surviving drawings from the colonial period has acted as a de facto support of this conclusion. The cultural and economic realities of Philadelphia dictated that painting was craft, not the visual expression of noble ideas.

While England had yet to establish its own Royal Academy of Arts, the case for artistry as a noble profession had been made by English authors such as Jonathan Richardson, in his *Two Discourses* of 1719.³⁰ Richardson’s work discussed the art of criticism and connoisseurship and the elevated status of the artist, reinforcing the idea that the “principal end of Painting is the improvement of the mind, and next to that mere pleasure.”³¹ In 1747, the Philadelphia painter William Williams had lent Richardson’s *Two Discourses* as well as Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy’s *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting with Remarks* to the young Benjamin West, then visiting from the countryside. “Those two books,” West later remembered “were my

companions by day, & under my pillow by night.”³² West had already demonstrated a talent and fascination with the pencil, and these two books initiated his desire not just to paint for a living, but as a high calling. Accordingly, when he came to Philadelphia in 1756, West did not apprentice himself to one of the several painters in town. Instead, he enrolled at the Academy of Philadelphia with the encouragement of the Provost, William Smith. Recognizing West’s great talent, Smith arranged that he should paint during the day, and in the evenings, “. . . direct his attention to those topics of literature which were most suitable to cherish the expansion of the mind,” Smith himself often reading to him from works of classical history.³³

During these years, West benefited from the instruction of several artists, William Williams, James Claypoole, John Wollaston, and a Mr. Hide and William Creamer at the Academy.³⁴ At the Academy, too, he met a number of young men of similar interests from John Groath, the son of a miniature painter, to prospective painters, Henry Benbridge and John Green, who would make it a habit to gather at Christopher Marshall’s “Oil and Colour Shop at the Sign of the Golden Ball, opposite Strawberry Alley . . . in Chestnut Street.”³⁵ West resided nearby, at the home of John Clarkson in Strawberry Alley, where he found not only lodgings but possibly inspiration in the twenty or more prints Clarkson possessed.

Perhaps the most significant testimony to West’s ambitions during this period, beyond his connections and successful rise in the Philadelphia artistic community, is his surviving sketchbook, about thirty pages together, 6.5”x 3 7/8”, from the years 1756-1759. In its pages, West concentrated on studies of the human figure experimenting with poses for portraits and miniatures, adapting models taken from prints for his own taste, sketching allegorical figures, and recording from life

scenes of the street and the parlor (Figures 23 and 24). Such drawings were a descriptive exercise, but in the Academic tradition were also a highly rational endeavor, and more than the finished painting, represented “the very spirit and quintessence of the art.”³⁶ Drawing was the means by which the artist captured his ideas and released them on the paper, the offspring of a noble mind, which saw beyond the world of natural appearances.

Essential to the work of a great mind, however, was both an ability to learn from nature, as well as the great masters of painting, an education which the prints and copies available in the colonies failed to provide. Filling his purse after several commissions in New York, and with letters of introduction provided from Judge William Allen, West embarked for Rome in 1760, where he would establish his reputation as a history painter. He would never return to Philadelphia or the United States, but instead settled in England, there to welcome and train the next generation of American artists.

“A Wild Kind of Imagination”

Despite the singularity of Benjamin West’s sketchbook, it is clear from the written record that drawing, if not expedient for painters, was promoted in other contexts. Before James Smither’s appeal on behalf of the gentility of drawing, William Williams and John M. Kramer offered drawing as one skill among the many accoutrements of a gentlemen or lady. Painter Williams opened a school to teach the hautboy, German and common flutes as well as drawing for “polite youth” in 1763.³⁷ In 1755, John M. Kramer had enumerated a program of instruction that included:

First, The French, Italian and German languages, in a method concise and easy. Secondly, To play the violin after the Italian manner, with a peculiar method of bowing and shifting in solo or concerto. Thirdly, Drawing and miniature painting with watercolours, flowers, insects, &c

--- to imitate nature in the most lively manner, by mixing and applying the colours to the utmost beauty and advantage. Likewise to draw patterns for embroidery, or any kind of needlework.³⁸

Far more than an accomplishment, the ability to draw could also be an economic asset, particularly among those producers of luxury goods. In 1750, painter John Winter offered “Drawing in perspective, as buildings, figures, landskips, &c. ornaments of all kinds, proper for those who intend to be painters, carvers, engravers, or for pleasure”³⁹

The opportunities specifically aimed at teaching craftsmen to draw also included pattern drawing for embroidery. As early as 1738, Noel Ledru had opened an evening school to teach young ladies “Patern Drawing after an expeditious Method” in addition to writing and arithmetic. In 1745, it had been an upholsterer, Peter Hall, who promised to “teach any Person to draw Draughts in a short time for Flourishing or Embroidering, at the most reasonable rates.”⁴⁰ Four years later, a Mrs. Jane Voyer set up school in Philadelphia after having formerly taught drawing in conjunction with needlework in Charleston, South Carolina.⁴¹ Isabel Hewet would do the same in 1768, and while it is possible that drawing may have ordinarily been a part of a needlework education, the fact that these ladies enumerated their capabilities rather than left them unwritten suggests that learning to draw was not a standard element of the needlework curriculum.⁴²

While it may seem logical today that a strong knowledge of draughtsmanship would have been necessary for engravers, carvers, cabinetmakers, and the like, by the mid-eighteenth century the question was one of heated debate. By that time it had become a commonplace to attribute the perceived success of French goods over English manufactures to the better design of French goods and to that country’s program of education that included teaching drawing at an early age. Whether the design of British manufactures should be handed down from an academy

of fine arts to the craftsmen, or whether the craftsmen themselves should be taught superior design provoked dispute. In the interim, drawing books specifically aimed at craftsmen, drawing schools, and the contests held by such as the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce [Society of Arts] attempted to correct the English deficiency.⁴³

Whether practiced by those intent on becoming a professional embroiderer, or those simply wishing not to rely on others for their patterns, pattern drawing required a different attitude than that of the aspiring artist, naturalist, or the ordinary craftsman. Pattern drawing, explained the outspoken author of *The London Tradesman*,

requires a fruitful Fancy, to invent new Whims to please the changeable Foible of the Ladies, for whose Use their Work is chiefly intended. It requires no great Taste in Painting, nor the Principles of Drawing; but a wild kind of Imagination, to adorn their Works with a sort of regular Confusion, fit to attract the Eye but not to please the Judgment; Though if he has a Painter's Head, and a natural Turn for Designing, his Works must have more of Nature, and cannot fail to please better than the wild Scrawls of a mechanical Drawer.⁴⁴

Fancy or imagination, arbitrary and capricious, as opposed to strict reason or a concern to render morally elevating designs, was expected to guide the production of patterns for silk manufacturers, calico-printers, lace-workers, embroiderers, and quilters.⁴⁵ While Campbell was dismissive of the pattern drawer's skills, an article on "designing and drawing patterns for the Flower'd Silk Manufactory, Embroidery, and Printing" in the 1756 *Laboratory or School of Arts* ascribed to the pattern drawer more principled methods. This author observed that the "fancy" of the drawer "ought to be unlimited, neither strictly tied to nor departing or swerving entirely from nature." More than this though, he should "follow the principles Mr. Hogarth gives in his

Analysis, observing the line of beauty, so as to make it the foundation . . . of all his designs, in ornaments, flowers, branches, leafs, &c.”⁴⁶

In his description of the trade, Campbell assumed that pattern-drawers would be men. Contrariwise, a 1756 statement by the Society of Arts in London, expected that this occupation, “where Fancy and Variety are required,” was more suitable to women, expecting men to undertake trades more likely to require drawing of a mechanical or technical nature.⁴⁷ From its start in 1754 Society of Arts had sponsored contests “to bestow premiums on a certain number of boys and girls under the age of sixteen who shall produce the best pieces of drawing and show themselves most capable when properly examined,” and girls and boys had competed in the same categories. The girls competed successfully in the first contest, but the next year, several petitioned to be judged in a class by themselves, arguing that many girls had felt intimidated by the thought of competing with boys, and had not entered the competitions.⁴⁸ Though the girls and boys were thereafter judged in separate classes, the premiums which they could compete for included the categories of both fine and applied arts.

Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century, women artists and designers achieved an unusual degree of success and honor among their male contemporaries. From the 1730s to the 1750s, Anna Maria Garthwaite had attained a reputation as a preeminent silk-designer. Angelica Kauffman, a history and portrait painter whose classicizing designs were used on furniture as well, was one of two women to be elected to the newly established Royal Academy of Arts in 1768. By 1769, Sarah Wilcox designed for Wedgwood, most notably working on the Frog Service (1773-4) for Catherine the Great of Russia.⁴⁹

At the same time, a number of women directed their efforts to a genre of art that mediated between the fine arts, the arts of design, and those of scientific description, the genre of flower painting. Though flower painting had been traditionally considered as a respectable but nevertheless lesser expression in the hierarchy of the arts, in which history painting was the most significant, Dutch painters of the seventeenth-century had brought the genre to exquisite technical and iconographic refinement in their allegorical still lifes. By the mid-eighteenth century, the scientific interest in description, the development of the Linnean system of botanical classification, and a continuing enthusiasm for the beauty of flowers, had made them the dominant design in the decorative arts and the fashionable passion of amateur botanists, eager to collect, describe, and classify, at least with the pencil. While men such as Georg Ehret continued to make a professional career of flower painting, using a style that now focused on describing single specimens or gathering them together into loose bouquets, more and more women amateurs found flower drawing an engaging activity, encouraged by popular drawing books that emerged in the 1750s and 1760s, and the availability of enterprising drawing masters, such as Ehret.

In spite of the traditionally male dominance of the art form, the assumption prevailed that, as repeated in the 1778 *Art of Painting, in all its Branches* by Gerard de Lairese, no genre was “more feminine or proper for women than this; and the reason is plain.”⁵⁰ So plain, that the author refused to elaborate. Seemingly, though, the fragile beauty of the flower was a metaphor for the fleeting beauty of the woman, and thus an appropriate subject for her contemplation and elaboration in art. Unconcerned by such assumptions, Mary Moser pursued flower painting with a

seriousness equal to her male predecessors, and was duly rewarded for it, being elected to the newly established Royal Academy of Arts in 1768 .

This willingness to honor achievements in the minor arts was not to last. In 1799, when flower painter Mary Lawrence asked to exhibit at the Royal Academy, she was refused. The achievements of flower painters of the early-nineteenth century would no longer be honored as significant contributions to the arts, and until 1922, Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffman would remain the only women to be admitted to the Royal Academy. While it easy to see these events simply as setbacks for women's opportunities to pursue training and recognition in the fine arts, Ann Bermingham has argued convincingly, that as men ceded such concerns as flower painting and botanical design to female artists, women discovered in these, arenas where they could unquestionably excel in intellectual and artistic investigations. In doing so, they made the case for their capabilities as draughtsman, and with the founding and success of the Female School of Design in London in 1843, the case for their superior abilities as designers, taking inspiration from organic forms. Through such steps, women sustained methods of art education neglected by the academic curriculum that focused on the human form.⁵¹

Patterns for Embroidery

A regular succession of willing teachers offered their services in Philadelphia from the late 1730's to 1769, catering to "Polite youth," craftsmen, and needleworkers, but their success was questionable. Two young girls are known to have taken up pattern drawing during the period, but we do not know their teachers. Among the journals detailing her daily visitors and activities, Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker recorded "Sally Pemberton came to desire me to draw her a screen, which she

left with me . . .” and subsequently Elizabeth spent the next day drawing.⁵² The diary of her close friend, Hannah Callender, attests that Elizabeth’s pattern making was not a singular affair, as she had drawn a pattern for Hannah in 1758. Several years later, Hannah also recorded the work of her cousin Sally Smith, who drew the designs for two quilts and two dimity pockets.⁵³

Were Sally and Elizabeth possessed of that “wild kind of imagination” that Robert Campbell had thought especially useful for producing pleasing patterns or were their designs much more staid productions? How much training had they had and did they confine their artistic pursuits to this practical pattern drawing or interest themselves in drawing for other purposes? Clearly, their ability set them apart from their peers. One quilt, with the stitched inscription “Drawn by Sarah Smith Stitched by Hannah Callender and Catherine Smith in Testimony of their Friendship 10 mo. 5th 1761, ” does survive to partly answer these questions, as does the sketchbook of Ann Flower.⁵⁴ The body of the quilt is artfully strewn with leafy vines and all manner of flowers, from simple, flat, five-six petalled flowers, to bursting blossoms of carnations, roses, and unidentifiable flowers (Figure 25). At the center, in a circular medallion formed by vines, is a simpler scene. A tree flourishes at center, with scalloped clouds above. At either side of the medallion, on a straight horizon line, stand unadorned rectilinear buildings, while below, a stream winds through a pasture with a few sheep to complete the happy picture.

Indeed, it would seem Sarah was most adept in the floral designs that dominated the decorative arts of the day, the drawing of the medallion exhibiting a more naïve style. In trying to further understand the nature of such girls’ drawing, the sketchbook of Ann Flower significantly multiplies the amount of evidence available.

With over thirty pages of sketches, Ann's book, containing not the final patterns, but the attempts leading up to them, is a rich testimony to the sources, training and interests that directed her work, and suggests the possibilities with which her contemporaries might have experimented. Ann Flower's artistry was not driven by the ambitions of William Bartram or Benjamin West, and never approached the perfection that those men achieved in their art, but neither was it isolated from their work.

NOTES

¹ Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 164.

² See for instance the advertisement of James Claypoole, 31 May 1759, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*; Peter Turner, 13 September 1759, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*.

³ The Marshalls ran numerous ads in both the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* between 1741-1765. During this time, the firm changed from Christopher Marshall, to Christopher Marshall & Son, to Christopher and Charles Marshall. See particularly Christopher Marshall, 22 May 1755, *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Bridenbaugh, 165.

⁴ William Oedel, "The American Sketchbook of Benjamin West" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), 22; "Taxables in the City of Philadelphia, 1754," in *Colonial Philadelphians*, ed. Hannah Roach, (Hanover, PA: The Sheridan Press, 1999), 103.

⁵ Theodore Stebbins, Jr., *American Master Drawings and Watercolors: A History of Works on Paper from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 21-22.

⁶ James Smither, 16 January 1769, *Pennsylvania Chronicle*.

⁷ Joan Friedman, " 'Every Lady Her Own Drawing Master,'" *Apollo* 105 no. 182 (April 1977): 264.

⁸ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 40.

⁹ Carington Bowles, *The Artist's Assistant in Drawing, Perspective, Etching, Engraving, Mezzotinto-scraping, Painting on Glass, in Crayons, in Water-colours* (London: T. Kitchin, [ca. 1760]), 3.

¹⁰ Bermingham, 6-7, 49-50.

¹¹ Kim Sloan, *A Noble Art: Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c. 1600-1800* (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 42, 214.

- ¹² Richard Carline, *Draw They Must* (London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1968), 40.
- ¹³ William Milner, 17 October 1751, *Pennsylvania Gazette*; Andrew Lamb, 29 January 1756, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*; James Cosgrave, 15 December 1757, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*; John Clare, 9 February 1758, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*; T. Thomas, 16 August 1766, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*; Christopher Colles, 26 September 1771, *Pennsylvania Gazette*.
- ¹⁴ Bridenbaugh, 310.
- ¹⁵ Peter Collinson to John Bartram, 10 August 1753, *The Correspondence of John Bartram, 1734-1777*, ed. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), 351; John Bartram to Peter Collinson, 27 April 1755, *Correspondence*, 382.
- ¹⁶ John Bartram to John Gronovius, 16 December 1754, *Correspondence*, 377.
- ¹⁷ Peter Collinson to John Bartram, 10 February 1757, *Correspondence*, 418.
- ¹⁸ John Bartram to Peter Collinson, 3 November 1754, *Correspondence*, 376.
- ¹⁹ Stebbins, 22.
- ²⁰ Joseph Ewan, *Botanical and Zoological Drawings, 1756-1788, reproduced from the Fothergill Album in the British Museum*, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 5.
- ²¹ John Bartram to Peter Collinson, 3 November 1754, *Correspondence*, 376.
- ²² Bridenbaugh, 312.
- ²³ Ella Foshay, *Reflections of Nature: Flowers in American Art*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 95.
- ²⁴ John Bartram to Peter Collinson, 28 September 1755, *Correspondence*, 387. See also Peter Collinson to John Bartram, 27 April 1755, *Correspondence*, 384.
- ²⁵ Stebbins, 16.
- ²⁶ Richard Saunders, "The Development of Painting in Early Pennsylvania," in *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 60.

²⁷ Oedel, 58.

²⁸ Oedel, 64.

²⁹ Oedel, 171.

³⁰ The full title of Jonathan Richardson's treatise was *Two discourses: I. An essay on the whole art of criticism, as it relates to painting . . . II. An argument in behalf of the science of a connoisseur; wherein is shewn the dignity, certainty, pleasure and advantage of it.*

³¹ As quoted in Oedel, 13.

³² As quoted in Oedel, 10.

³³ Oedel, 48.

³⁴ Oedel, 63.

³⁵ Oedel, 65.

³⁶ As quoted in Oedel, 93.

³⁷ William Williams, 13 January, 1763, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*.

³⁸ John Matthias Kramer, 30 October 1755, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

³⁹ John Winter, 31 May 1750, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

⁴⁰ Peter Hall, April 1745, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

⁴¹ As quoted in Betty Ring, *Let Virtue Be a Guide to Thee: Needlework in the Education of Rhode Island Women, 1730-1800* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1983), 38.

⁴² Isabel Hewet, 29 September 1768, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*.

⁴³ For a full discussion of the debate and means by which good design was promoted, see Anne Puetz, "Design Instruction for Artisans in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Design History* 12, no. 3 (1999): 217-239. For a discussion of one school's work in training artisans see Moira Thunder, "Improving Design for Woven Silks: The Contribution of William Shipley's School and the Society of Arts," *Journal of Design History*, forthcoming.

⁴⁴ Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: T. Gardner, 1747), 115.

⁴⁵ See Sumpter T. Priddy, III, "Fancy: Acceptance of an Attitude, Emergence of a Style" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1981), 16 for Dr. Samuel Johnson's 1755 definition of fancy, and the subsequent evolution of its meaning in the eighteenth-century.

⁴⁶ Barbara Gilbert, "American Crewel-work, 1700-1850" (Master's thesis: University of Delaware, 1965), 24-25; Natalie Rothstein, "Planning a Careless Air: Rococo in English Silk Design" *Country Life* 176, no. 4541 (1984): 563.

⁴⁷ Puetz, 224.

⁴⁸ Carline, 53-54.

⁴⁹ Puetz, 224.

⁵⁰ Gerard de Lairese, *The Art of Painting, in All its Branches* Trans. by John Frederick Fritsch (London: S. Vanderbergh, 1778), 474.

⁵¹ Bermingham, 226.

⁵² See entry of 17 May 1760 in *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, ed. Elaine F. Crane (Boston: Northeastern Press, 1991), I: 58.

⁵³ See entries for February 1758, 26 March 1762, 2 April 1762, in American Philosophical Society, George Vaux Papers, Diary of Hannah Callender.

⁵⁴ Patricia Keller, "*Of the best Sort but Plain*": *Quaker Quilts From the Delaware Valley, 1760-1890* (Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine Conservancy, Inc., 1996), 30.

Chapter 5

THE SKETCHBOOK

Corresponding images in the sketchbook and embroideries date the sketchbook to 1753-1765, and define the book's primary purpose as a sourcebook for that artistry of the needle. It is in these sketches, in the degree to which they differ from surviving Philadelphia embroidery, in the reworking of designs, and in their acknowledgment of formal conventions, that they help us to understand the genesis of the embroidery. More than this, though, they also help us to understand Ann as a developing artist, and so recognize her and her peers, as consumers and transforming agents of their visual culture.

The sketchbook itself was a simple creation, fifteen sheets of chain-laid paper, stacked on top of each other and sewn down the middle, resulting in a booklet 7 5/8" x 5". Originally, it may have been purchased from one of the many booksellers in town, perhaps as one of the many blank copybooks or chapman books advertised among their stationery supplies.¹ Ann often began the drawings in pencil, and then used ink to add details or give strength to the outline. For many, she also colored them with watercolor, using a basic palette of red, blue, green, yellow, and brown. Spectroscopic analysis has helped to define the composition of these colors, identifying the use of vermilion, verdigris, smalt, gamboge, and umber among other possible pigments.²

All of these would have been available at such shops as those run by the colourmen Christopher and Charles Marshall, or painter James Claypoole.³ While they

were offered “ready prepared or otherwise,” Ann would have had to have had some basic tutelage in how to mix the colors for use. Some such as gamboge, a type of yellow, could be simply mixed with water and applied. With other colors, such as vermillion, it was necessary to mix the ground pigment with water and a binder such as gum arabic before painting.⁴ Drawing books often provided these instructions, but Ann may very well have received instruction in this from a teacher or from the seller himself.

In Ann’s hands, the book suffered considerable alteration, for it was decidedly a work in progress. Pages were filled in sequence, some were ripped out, a loose leaf was sewn back in, and a space at first left empty was later filled with as many jottings as possible. Ann may have received some instruction in drawing from one of the many masters who advertised pattern drawing, or from the woman who taught her embroidery. However, her sketchbook does not reflect a progressive series of exercises, with each drawing being carefully reviewed by a teacher before the next was attempted and polished. Rather, Ann’s rearrangement of pages, and the grouping of various sketches on one page, instead indicate that her drawings progressed whither her fancy led her. Just as West used his sketchbook to experiment with formal conventions or capturing a caricature, Ann’s sketchbook represents a personal workbook, not a product of a strict curriculum. Still, a progression is discernible in Ann’s developing abilities and interests as an artist, and the sketches, though intermingled, fall into five main groupings: whimsical drawings of birds and vases of flowers, sketches of women and a house, naturalistic sketches of birds, linear designs for embroidery, and botanical drawings.

Series 1: Rainbow Hues

The sketchbook opens with five pages of birds and animals, followed by three later pages of flowers in vases, all characterized by their bright color and inspecific form. On the cover, a flock of birds gads about, from a humble blackbird, to several of a red winged, yellow breasted variety, to exotic purple and blue multicolored ones (Figure 26). All except two lack beaks and feet, which would have been drawn in ink, but Ann never got around to finishing them. Several pages later, a more orderly arrangement of birds perching on branches, with beaks and feet, are joined by a cat with Cheshire grin and a bunny of very round proportions (Figure 27). On another page, oversized birds rest in trees just barely sketched out, while a blue, red, and yellow butterfly flutters above (Figure 28).

All these animals are drawn in profile, the simplest way to approach a subject by capturing the outline of its features, and while they are very colorful, they ultimately all stand as symbols for a bird, cat, or bunny, rather than a careful attempt to capture the unique features of actual animals. They are the early expressions of an untutored perception. Again and again we can imagine Ann trying out this new motif, changing its tail, or colors, the turn of its head to suit her fancy. Her inspiration might have been simply the birds in her backyard, the rabbit in the garden, the cat that prowled the street. Birds as house pets during the time were not uncommon. For instance, John Smith, an ambitious young Philadelphian just establishing himself in his career, recorded his purchase of a “Red Bird for 5/” in the city in 1746. Unfortunately, it died three days later.⁵

Ann might also have found inspiration in a pet bird, but these images are more indebted to the decorative vocabulary of the day. Butterflies and birds flutter about Margaret Rork Callender’s silk on silk tree-of-life (Figure 5), while bunnies less

well fed than Ann's abound in the grass beneath Mary King's tree-of-life of 1754, and Sarah Wistar's two silk embroideries of birds in trees of 1752 (Figures 13 and 14). Brightly colored parrots also appear on Elizabeth Dawson's silk embroidered shepherdess (Figure 10). The conventionality of such motifs is reinforced by their appearance in examples from far distant time and spaces, such as the birds in Elizabeth Pecker's sampler of 1750 from Haverhill, Massachusetts, or the multicolored birds in the Marblehead samplers of the 1790s.⁶

Ann seems to have been especially fascinated by peacocks, as she devoted two full pages to the bird, portraying him first in profile (Figure 29), and then frontally with his full fan of tail feathers (Figure 31). Perhaps in drawing it she recognized it as the traditional symbol of pride, but more than likely she was captivated by its gaudy plumage.⁷ If its love of display had made it a fable to learn by, the peacock's splendor had also made it a favored decorative element, appearing in embroidery, Indian palampores, and china. Since the seventeenth century, pattern books specifically designed for the needle worker, as well as general design source books, had included peacocks as one among many decorative emblems, from flowers and fruits, to beetles, birds, and beasts.⁸

Ann's peacocks bear an especially close resemblance to those in Gerard de Lairesse's *Les Principes du Dessein* of 1719 (Figures 30 and 32). No copy was known to have been available in Philadelphia at the time, but "The Principles of Drawing" advertised by Rivington and Brown in 1762, may have been an English translation of the work.⁹ Whichever source she used, Ann simplified the birds according to her eye for pattern. The peacock with its fan spread might easily be mistaken for a turkey, but period prints arranged the "eyes" of the peacock's tail

feathers in a shingle like fashion, and upon comparison, the cause of Ann's adaptation is apparent. A table cover by Susannah Hiller of Massachusetts, worked in 1779, exhibits silk-embroidered peacocks drawn in a similar manner, reinforcing the conventionality of the motif, and the amateur approach to it.¹⁰

Separated from these images of birds and animals but like them in their bright colors and their debt to convention are three pages of vases filled with flowers (Figures 33, 34, and 35). In each, carnations and roses tower impossibly on spindly stalks, only their heads drooping in response to gravity. Their unusual conception seems to be purely Ann's vision, but the flower piece was a genre with a long tradition in European art. A bewitching illusion of beauty in full bloom mastered by the Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, the flower piece functioned as an allegory on vanitas, the fleeting nature of all earthly beauty.

Did Ann see her flower pieces, like her peacocks, primarily as fables? By the eighteenth century, the allegory on vanitas had been considerably domesticated. Robert Furber's *Twelve Months of Flowers* had employed the emblems of classical vases brimful with flowers to sell seed. A succeeding edition, *The Flower Garden Display'd* of 1732, had specifically recommended the emblems as suitable for "Painters, Carvers, and Japanners, etc, also the Ladies, as Patterns for Working and Painting in Watercolors or Furniture for the Closet", but flower pieces already had established a reputation for themselves as appropriate to everything from japanned high chests to embroidered easy chairs and crewelwork curtains.¹¹ In American needlework, vases of flowers were a common motif that continued to be used well into the nineteenth century.¹² In its ubiquity, though, the force of the flower piece's moral lesson must have lost its strength.

The flower piece did have a distinct history in Philadelphia needlework, though. In the 1730s, three girls under the instructress Elizabeth Marsh worked silk on silk satin sconces depicting a blue vase full of flowers beneath a sunny sky amid a landscape teeming with life. The scone initialed “AL” and one of the pair by Margret Wistar are both dated 1738.¹³ Unlike Ann Flower’s drawings, the flowers dominate the vase, the overlarge blossoms obscuring much of their considerably shorter stems. Another silk on silk piece worked by Ann Marsh about the same time is of considerably less skillful execution.¹⁴ No needlework contemporary with Ann Flower’s flower pieces survives to demonstrate their appearance in thread, but the records of Hannah Callender indicated that as late as 1758 she was working a vase of flowers in tent stitch, and a silkwork piece of a more delicate character, in keeping with the neoclassical fashion, is known to date from 1791.¹⁵

Series 2: Documenting Her World

Ann’s interests were not solely to be confined to the recording and reworking of decorative elements. In a second group of drawings, that included a house and two pages of women (Figures 36, 37, and 38), Ann recorded the immediate surroundings of her world. A smoking chimney and open windows date the house to a specific narrative moment, and it is tempting to demand, which is it and whose house was it? Similarly, her female figures, with their varying dresses and hairstyles, beg the question, who were they?

Honest as their freshness and originality must make them appear, these images tell us more about Ann’s developing powers of observation than they offer quantifiable data about her society. The simple rectilinear outline of the house corresponds to the structures that appear in the quilt drawn by Sarah Smith of 1761

(Figure 25). However Ann's drawing exhibits more details of features familiar on surviving eighteenth-century Philadelphia architecture, such as the pent eave, string course, and single dormer in the attic. Combined as they are with other architectural elements, though, they do not correspond to any surviving homes from mid-eighteenth century Philadelphia, suggesting the possibility that this image may be a distortion of what Ann actually saw. One would expect to find in Ann's drawing a 3 ½ story, 3 bay row house, a door to the side on the first floor, each of the floors above with only three windows, and the chimney at the side of the building rather than in the center.¹⁶ It may in fact represent the wider side of a house which occupies a corner lot, in which the doorway would be centered, or a house not in the city at all.

Ann's detailed observations of women present evidence that both confirms and extends our knowledge of mid-eighteenth century fashion. On the first page of drawings (Figure 37), all the women wear a cut of dress with a flat fronted, conelike bodice, and wide side hoops, the basic cut of a dress fashionable in the 1740s-1770s. The woman on the left exhibits ruffled sleeves, and a close to the head hairstyle that would have been highly fashionable in the 1750s and 1760s. At the far right, the woman wears fashionable sleeve ruffles, but wears her hair plainly with a cap, a step removed from the high-fashionability of the first woman. She also wears a black band around her neck, an accessory of dress that drew the criticism of at least one conscientious Quakeress. In December 1760, Ann Whitall lamented "Oh, will there ever be a Nehemiah raised at our meeting to mourn and grieve! Oh, the fashions and running into them! . . . the girls in Pennsylvania have their necks set off with a black ribbon; a sorrowful sight indeed!"¹⁷ On the center woman, the axe blade style cuffs, while fashionable in 1740-1750, would have been considered conservative by

1755-1765, or so we know from surviving dresses and portraits of the day.¹⁸ The cap the woman wears also marks her subdued fashion. A similar analysis of the second page of women likewise confirms known fashions. Together, the pages also help to corroborate the date of the sketchbook to 1753-1765.

The variety of styles, and the attention given to the fabric of the center woman, raise the question whether they represent women from different walks of life. Certainly the drawings seem to represent women of different tastes, perhaps determined by their economic standing or religious belief, but like the drawing of the house, there is not enough information to draw any certain conclusions about their status. One might assume that the geometric-patterned fabric, the cap, and the conservative cut of dress all distinguish a woman of Quaker origin. However, Ann does not distinguish the fabric in the dress of the other two women, which may have been of a finer quality, or lacking any pattern, and “plainer” than that of the women at center. Scholarship has revealed that Quaker plainness in dress, while given definition in the simplicity testimony, left for wide variation in interpretation, and that Quakers tended to avoid both extravagance and unfashionable peculiarity.¹⁹ The women depicted may all be Quaker, or none of them may be. Given the Flower family’s own history, though, in which Ann’s father had been disowned by the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, these women could very well represent a mixed company of Quakers and non-Quakers.

Ann’s fascination with pattern on the central figure does provide a rare document of every day dress of the 1750s. The pattern of the fabric that Ann plots is not known in any surviving colonial dresses. However, unlike the mysterious conglomeration that made up her drawing of the house, this rendering of fabric does

not seem to represent an improbable pattern. Swatches from a report on the French textile industry of 1743 closely resemble the pattern of checks on the dress in the sketchbook (Figure 39). Woven in cotton, these fabrics competed with English examples to imitate imported Indian silk and cotton goods.²⁰

To modern eyes, these attempts to draw from life might represent an advancement in Ann's skill and perception, but by the standards of her day, these drawings are still beholden to a childish, untutored eye. On the first page of figures, her lack of knowledge of foreshortening has made what should be wide side hoops on the dresses appear as bustles. The repetitive, bright pattern of the center dress holds her attention to the disregard for subtleties in the shading of the dress. Repeated lines of facial profiles testify to her struggle to capture a basic likeness. In the figures' faces, short lines mark eyebrows and mouths, and dots, slits, and almonds stand in place for eyes. Only on the penciled faces that stand out ghostlike from the side of the page does she seem to reach beyond symbolic description of features to try to capture the true sense of them.

By the common wisdom of eighteenth-century drawing books, before she attempted a profile, much less a full figure, Ann should have learned to copy professional drawings of facial features. In doing so, she would learn to see as they did, not in symbols, but in the lines and shadows that came together into identifiable form. Once she had perfected individual eyes, ears, nose in various poses, then she could more convincingly place them in a well-proportioned profiles. Once she had mastered the arms and legs, then she could advance to the full figure.

In her eagerness to capture on paper the elements of her world, though, her efforts resemble the early practice sketches of Benjamin West. On one page of his

American sketchbook, West experimented with posing a man in three-quarter view (Figure 23). Like Ann, West focused his attention on capturing the outlines of dress, hat, and hairstyle, giving little sense of the anatomy beneath the drapery. The features of the face are barely denoted. Yet Ann's drawings, for all their distinction in cuffs, caps, and hairstyles, parade in the same pose with their arm held at the side. However, as simple as West's sketches may appear, they betray a more practiced hand in their awareness of portrait conventions. He worked not to understand what he saw, but to conform what he saw to a fashionable template, the hand in pocket, waistcoat pulled back, full girth exposed, an appropriate formula for a man's portrait of the 1740s-1760s.²¹

A comparison of another page in West's sketchbook (Figure 24), showing a study of a young woman, to Ann's sketches, further clarifies the degree of separation between their work. Here, West again takes care to pose his figure according to the prevailing taste, taking as his model a mezzotint of a celebrated English actress.²² Where Ann renders her subjects in stiff, continuous outline, West is free with his pencil, using flowing lines to capture the silhouette, going over them again and again to correct them, and in the process, modeling the figure with lights and darks, under the chin, on the back of the left arm and skirt, establishing a three-dimensional figure. Short interior lines further suggest folds in the drapery, and a figure seen in the round. By contrast, Ann's figures appear as paper dolls, undifferentiated across their surface. The interior lines that Ann does use to mark the drape of the skirt, bodice, kerchief, and the pattern of the center woman's dress, remain steadfastly in a single plane.²³ Eventually, Ann, too, would learn to put on the grace of the masters through imitation,

but it would not be in the study of the human figure and its perfect proportions, the work of a professional artist.

Series 3: Naturalism

Within the pages of the sketchbook, Ann's persistence in her work began to show, as she moved beyond the symbolic drawing of her first attempts. Three pages of birds in the middle of the book show her developing a keener eye for detail and realism, at the same time she was becoming acquainted with the professional conventions of artistry. One sketch, filling most of the page, depicts a bird in profile (Figure 40). It is unfinished, its lower half missing its eye and much of the detail of its feathers. Having begun it in pencil, Ann then went over it in ink and even began to shade it with a wash and white chalk. In its present form, it is indistinguishable as a particular species, however, the careful placement of what details there are suggest she copied it from a print, perhaps one from a book of natural history. The elements of the profile do resemble the birds in Sarah Wistar's two silk scenes of 1752 (Figures 13 and 14). Sarah's birds are unidentifiable, but occupying as they do the center of the composition, they appear as a more serious study of a bird, in contrast to the fantastical birds that flit about Margaret R. Callender's tree-of-life (Figure 5), Elizabeth Dawson's silk shepherdess (Figure 10), or the earlier silk sconces of Ann Marsh, Margaret Wistar, and "AL."

On another page, three smaller birds twist about branches (Figure 41). Again, Ann began them in pencil and went over them in ink and wash, a great contrast to the bright birds at the beginning of the sketchbook. These birds have no distinguishing characteristic as to their species, but unlike all those before, they exhibit a delicacy and concern with detail not heretofore practiced. The tail feathers of

a bird upside down are sketched in their component parts. On the branch above it, the stretch of the bird's neck, the arch of its back flow smoothly to describe its form, two dimensional as it is. Below it, though, Ann succeeded in capturing a bird from an unusual angle, looking at it from underneath, its legs raking back, its neck twisting sideways. On a final page, one bird pecks at a stump while another snaps after a bee (Figure 42). They are brightly colored like the first set of images, yet the attention to picking out feathers in ink, and their liveliness as they go after a meal, relate them closer to the second set of birds. Ann's depictions of these birds playing in the branches or on a stump she begin to imitate the taste of the time for bird prints. Like George Edwards and Mark Catesby before him, Ann had adopted the "stump and magpie" formula for her vignettes, albeit in a diminutive scale. It was the same formula William Bartram adopted for his bird pictures as he began to draw. He would go on to specialize in natural history illustration and perfect the art. Ann would not, but for a moment, she tried on the naturalist's way of seeing. She may have done so with the expectation of using such illusionistic figures in needlework, but they do not appear in any of her or her sisters' surviving work. Here as with her drawings of people and the house, Ann seems to be drawing out of curiosity, not for a fixed use.

Series 4: Pattern Drawing

In a fourth set of sketches, Ann's drawings took on a new seriousness of purpose, evident in the certainty of her outlines. These linear designs of flowers and decorative borders form the largest single group in the sketchbook, occupying ten pages, and give the book as a whole its primary definition as a workbook for Ann's embroidery (Figures 43-50). Given the drawings that precede and intermingle with these designs, however, it may be more proper to regard the sketchbook in a new light.

A small booklet created by Katherine Fisher of New Braintree, Massachusetts in 1767, includes three pages of floral designs, that in another context, would appear to be for crewelwork. In Katherine Fisher's booklet, however, these designs act simply as ornamental accompaniments to the text that commemorated her marriage and recorded the birth of her children.²⁴ The language of design, in thread or on paper, did not have to conform to a single purpose.

Did Ann begin to draw in order to better have patterns for needlework, or did she begin to draw with an interest in that ability for its own sake? Had she continued in figure drawing, taking up a systematic study of the human figure with a drawing book or master, or had she devoted her time to the observation of creation, her sketchbook might have been much more the record of her maturing subjectivity. As it was, she would be remembered first for her excellence in needlework.

For the most part, Ann drew these designs in pencil first, and then went over them in pen, in the process giving strength and continuity to her lines. Some of the designs are whole vines of flowers, others are spot motifs of flowers, while others are simply decorative borders. Ann's new firmness of line may represent her maturing coordination and skill, or it may simply be she traced these designs from another source, perhaps her teacher's own collection of patterns. Only a few of her designs, though, seem clearly to echo the flowers seen on Philadelphia embroidery of the day.

A simple six-petalled flower that appears on several pages (Figures 49 and 50) is striking in its similarity to simple five and six petalled flowers that abound in Sarah Wistar's two silkwork pictures of 1752 (Figures 13 and 14). They can be found in Mary King's 1754 tree of life, Elizabeth Dawson's silkwork shepherdess, c. 1763 (Figure 10), and on both Ann and Elizabeth Flower's coats-of-arms of 1763 and 1765

respectively (Figures 6 and 7). They found their way on to Ann Flower's Irish-stitch Bible cover of 1765 (Figures 16 and 17), and on a much larger scale, to Mary Flower's Irish-stitch furniture cover (Figure 18). Their simplicity may have made them popular, a welcome break from the usual carnations, tulips, and roses.

The winding vine on another page (Figure 50), much sketchier in its execution than the other designs, appears to be an antecedent of the short vines that sprout from Ann and Elizabeth's coat-of-arms (Figures 6 and 7). While the flowers are arranged differently in the coats-of-arms, the blooms in the sketchbook, the Tudor rose, the carnation, and the tulips, are individually related to those on the coats-of-arms.

The history of many of the other motifs is more difficult to trace. The foliage on one page (Figure 127), curving with the perfect arc of a C-scroll, does not appear in the Flower sister's needlework, nor in their contemporaries, where much of the foliage has either a flame-like independence of shape, or the appearance of an oak leaf with unseparated lobes. The careful outlines of most of Ann's floral designs are similar but tame compared to the robustness of the flowers in Philadelphia tree-of-life scenes.

Puzzling, too, are several border lines that appear in the book. Some form a series of jagged peaks and scooped out valleys (Figures 45 and 46), or a series of scallops (Figure 47), while others bring together neat c-scrolls to peak in fleur-de-lys (Figure 48). Border lines appear in printed works such as the *Ladies Amusement*, published in 1762 by Robert Sayer, and for the most part were intended to be used for japanning. Those in Sayer's prints though are considerably more imbued with the chinoiserie taste, and far from Ann's simple outlines.²⁵ Ann's outlines may have been

intended instead for whitework borders on handkerchiefs or fichus, or even the border of a whole cloth quilt, as it appears on the quilt drawn by Sarah Smith of 1761 (Figure 25).

It is possible, too, that the floral designs may have been used for cutwork, as was done on many of the surviving Philadelphia cutwork samplers. The ring of leaves with flower (Figure 45), in particular resembles the motif in a sampler by Sarah Logan of 1766 that appears again in a cutwork sampler by Frances Paschal of 1788 (Figure 51).²⁶ A small grid in pencil on the back of a ripped page in the sketchbook may support such an interpretation. While it may have functioned simply as a device to help Ann copy a drawing from a print in one scale to the scale of her sketchbook, the intersections of perpendicular and diagonal lines also suggest a grid as may have been used to develop a cutwork pattern.

An important confirmation of the use of such floral designs is found on the inside cover of a Bible that descended in the Wheeler family, through Ann's daughters. The outside of the cover is embroidered in a bright, Irish-stitch geometric design. It would have been a relatively quick to embroider, and the last place one would expect to find an underdrawing of floral designs. However, within the front cover, the unembroidered lines still bears the inked outlines of several flowers, similar to the petalled flowers of the sketchbook (Figure 52). Why they were not embroidered is unclear. Perhaps the embroiderer decided a floral design would be too time consuming, or it may simply have been the remains of a practice drawing, never intended to be used.

In all this, what is clear, is the versatility of Ann's designs. Silkwork, canvaswork, cut work, even crewelwork could all be accommodated by them, and we

know for certain that Ann was adept in both silk and canvas embroidery. As these pages remained in the book, it seems these were practice drawings for what might later be drawn freehand on linen or silk, or more likely, were patterns that could be overlaid and traced on the fabric. While small pin pricks can be found on a number of the pages, they do not conform to the outlines of the design. This suggests that Ann did not prick her designs, place her material underneath, and then pounce powder through the holes to leave the design on the material below, an otherwise traditional method of transferring an embroidery design to the ground material.

Here in these pages, Ann created a sourcebook, both for her own use, and for the reference of friends. Just as we know Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker and Sally Smith Pemberton were offering their designs to friends, so we might suspect Ann did the same, drawing patterns for them, or allowing them to copy from her sketchbook. As a valuable skill, she could keep her patterns or methods a guarded secret, or like Elizabeth and Sally, ply her artistry within the network of female exchange. Letters and poems, original or copied from a magazine, mundane services of sewing and ironing, all entered into the exchange and represented a different level of it. Brought together, as in the 1761 quilt, “Drawn by Sarah Smith Stitched by Hannah Callender and Catherine Smith in Testimony of their Friendship . . .,” they defined the ineffable. Tasks established dependability and friendship among its members, literature provoked intellectual dialogue and edification, and reinforced bonds of sympathy.²⁷ Pattern exchanges provided an outlet for the creative development of some individuals, and a means of defining and redefining an acceptable decorative vocabulary.

Series 5: Botanical Copies

Fittingly, Ann's sketchbook, and her artistic progress, culminated with the appropriation of the latest London fashion. Early in her book, she had demonstrated an interest in knowing nature beyond its decorative function, drawing and labeling "The Tea Plant" (Figure 53). That Ann relied on a print, perhaps out of natural history treatise, is made clear by an existing sketch by Prudence Punderson of Connecticut, from the late-1770s (Figure 54). Prudence did not label her drawing, but the disposition of the stump, leaves, and flowers in her more articulated drawing corresponds nearly exactly with that in Ann's watercolor, and presumably both were copied from a common source. Ann did not continue in this vein, but instead, turned her interest to images which combined scientific description with a decorative finesse.

The last seven pages of her book are filled with botanical drawings copied directly from Augustin Heckle's *The Florist; An extensive and curious collection of Flowers/ For the imitation of /Young Ladies,/ Either in Drawings, or in Needlework*, published in London in 1759. Heckle's work was one of a number of publications from the 1750s and 60s that sought to capitalize on the popularity of floral naturalism in design and the amateur interest in drawing, particularly that of the young ladies.²⁸ While some flower drawing books were aimed at a general audience, most assumed their audience would be female, by a simple assumption of their parallel characters. No record of Heckle's book appears in the catalogues of Philadelphia's colonial libraries, or the ads of the city's booksellers, nor do these list any drawing book devoted to flowers. Ann may have had access to Heckle's *Florist* through an embroidery or drawing teacher.

When she began to copy from it, she did so earnestly. Her images duplicate the same pose and basic outline of Heckle's, and a few are labeled,

including the Province Rose, Virgin Bower, and Scarlet Bean (Figures 56, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, and 67). She seems to have first drawn them in pencil and then gone over them in ink and watercolor. Like other drawing books, Heckle began his with a pirated introduction from Gerard de Lairese's *The Art of Painting*. Patience and precision were the keys to success, as he advised, "tis impossible to become an able Artist without making the Art habitual, and a perfect habit is not to be gained without a great Number of Acts, and without constant Practice . . . drawing is an art of some Length and Time, and to be perfect in it, 'tis necessary that the Hand should be improved in Practice, and the Mind in Judgment every Day."²⁹ No compasses or rules were advised, and tracing was certainly no way to develop an independent judgment and control of line. One was to view the original carefully before beginning, and after finishing the copy, compare it with the original, correct it, and then move on to the next step. To reinforce this idea, his first plate of a tulip showed two preliminary stages before arriving at the completed outline (Figure 55). It is difficult to determine whether Ann devoted such care to her drawings. Ann's own copy of the single tulip does not achieve the fullness of form nor the subtlety of shading presented by Heckle, suggesting she did not bother to develop the general egg shape of the flower first, or attempt to carefully delineate its flame like color (Figure 56). Instead, as with her other images, she simply strove to capture the most critical lines and then washed each part with flat color.

Impatient as she was, Ann was adopting the grace of professionals as each time she traced the gentle S-curve of the tulip, double tulips, and periwinkle (Figures 55, 56, 57, 58, 67, and 68) or the reverse curve of the Virgin Bower and Scarlet Bean (Figures 61, 62, 63, and 64) each time gaining more practice in rendering this line of

beauty. She was also becoming developing an eye for classification, linking names and images as she labeled them in her book. Her ultimate artistry, though, was in her needlework, and her final known work, a prayerbook cover of 1765, made the year of her marriage to Samuel Wheeler, incorporated the flowers and style she had learned from Heckle along with traditional Philadelphia motifs (Figures 16 and 17). On the back and front cover of the Bible are two bouquets, bunches of loose flowers tied with a bow, similar to the bouquets that concluded Heckle's *Florist* (Figures 69 and 70). Comparing Ann's arrangements to Heckle's, it is clear that she did not copy them wholesale for her cover, but instead, took the conceit, and arranged her own flowers in it. Thus one side of the cover includes a bouquet of a tulip, province rose, and several of the five petalled flowers so common in Philadelphia needlework. The stem of the tulip undulates slightly in an attempt to replicate the elegant curves of Heckle's flowers. On the other face, the bouquet again includes a province rose and the five-petalled flowers, with the addition of certain cream and pink petalled flowers. On the spine, Ann embroidered her name and date in the center registers. Then, in the alternating registers, she added the strawberries that appear in the ground of Philadelphia silk embroideries, from the tree-of-life scenes to Mary Flower's Shepherd and Shepherdess of 1768 (Figure 8), and then more of the five petalled flowers. Similar floral work appears elsewhere on a pocketbook descended in the Wheeler-Morris family of Philadelphia, dated 1765 (Figures 19, 20, and 21), and in Mary Flower's furniture cover of 1767 (Figure 18).

Corresponding as they do with the designs of her prayerbook cover, these last botanical designs in her sketchbook would indicate that Ann had filled her book by 1765, the year of her marriage to family friend and blacksmith, Samuel Wheeler.

Her marriage marked a transformation in her life, as she looked to her husband rather than her father as the head of the household, began a new family, and took on the duties of running a house. What did she cast off in this passage? In marrying Samuel Wheeler, a sometime member of Gloria Dei, the Swedish church of Philadelphia, at Christ Church, the Anglican church in town, she was considered to have married out of unity with Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. A few years later, she would recommit herself to the Quaker creed. With no drawing or embroidery surviving from the years after her marriage, it would seem Ann laid aside these employments as well, a common exchange of more pressing duties replacing the unnecessary. Not knowing if Ann ever saw fit to continue her artistic explorations and training, the sketchbook of her youth remains as a testimony to the early flowering of her abilities.

NOTES

¹ Andrew Steuart, 1 August 1760, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*.

² Janice Carlson, "Analytical Report No. 4364 Document 1244," Winterthur Museum Analytical Laboratory, 24 July 2002.

³ The Marshalls ran numerous ads in both the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* between 1741-1765. During this time, the firm changed from Christopher Marshall, to Christopher Marshall & Son, to Christopher and Charles Marshall. See particularly Christopher Marshall, 22 May 1755, *Pennsylvania Gazette*; James Claypoole, 31 May 1759, *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*.

⁴ See for instance *The Florist* (London: Robert Sayer and John Bennett), 3.

⁵ John Smith, *Hannah Logan's Courtship*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (Philadelphia: Francis and Leach, 1904), 87-88.

⁶ Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery: American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework 1650-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), I: 125.

⁷ Edward Maser, ed. *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-1760 Hertel edition of Ripa's Iconologia* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), plates 29 and 126.

⁸ See for example Richard Shorleyker, *A schole-house, for the needle* (London: 1624); Thomas Johnson's *A booke of Beasts, Birds, Flowers, Fruits, Flies, and Worms, exactly drawn with their Lively Colours truly Described* of 1630 as cited in Liz Arthur, *Embroidery 1600-1700 at the Burrell Collection* (London: John Murray, Ltd., 1995), 56, 59; Robert Sayer's *A New Book of Birds*, 1765 as cited in Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), 151.

⁹ Janice G. Schimmelman, "Books on Drawing and Painting Techniques Available in Eighteenth-Century American Libraries and Bookstores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (1984): 202.

¹⁰ Paula B. Richter, *Painted with Thread: The Art of American Embroidery* (Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody-Essex Museum, 2001), 26-27.

¹¹ Anne Scott-James and Frances Wood, *The British Museum Book of Flowers* (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 102.

¹² Ring, I: 178-188.

¹³ Ring, II: 355.

¹⁴ Jack Lindsey, *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 223.

¹⁵ Ring, II: 359; American Philosophical Society, George Vaux Papers, Diary of Hannah Callender, 1758.

¹⁶ Richard Webster, *Philadelphia Preserved: Catalog of the Historic American Buildings Survey* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), 52-55; L. Arnold Nicholson, "Notes on the Design and Architectural Detail of Philadelphia Row Houses, 1740-1850," in Elizabeth McCall, *Old Philadelphia Houses on Society Hill, 1750-1840* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co. Inc., 1966), 9-17.

¹⁷ As quoted in Amelia M. Gummere, *The Quaker: A Study in Costume* (Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach, Publishers, 1901), 160.

¹⁸ Deborah Kraak, e-mail to author, 4 November 2003; Linda Baumgarten, e-mail to author, 7 November 2003; Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: the Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 226-229.

¹⁹ Leanna Lee-Whitman, "Silks and Simplicity: A Study of Quaker Dress as Depicted in Portraits, 1718-1855," (Ph.D. Diss., The University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 8; Deborah Kraak, "Variations on 'Plainness': Quaker Dress in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *Costume* 34 (2000): 56.

²⁰ Montgomery, 401.

²¹ Richard Saunders, "The Development of Painting in Early Pennsylvania," in *Worldly Goods: The Arts of Early Pennsylvania, 1680-1758* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1999), 53-67.

²² William T. Oedel, "The American Sketchbook of Benjamin West" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), 144.

²³ William T. Oedel, "The American Sketchbook of Benjamin West" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), 94.

²⁴ “Jonathan Fisher, junr. His Book 1767, Katherine Fisher Her Writing, Drawing, and painting New Braintree March ye 19: 1767, ” 1956.296, Collection of Historic Deerfield.

²⁵ *The Ladies Amusement, or Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy* (London: Robert Sayer, 1762, facsimile edition, Boston, 1959).

²⁶ Ring, II: 350.

²⁷ Karin Wulf, “Documenting Culture and Connection in the Revolutionary Era,” in *Milcah Martha Moore’s Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 23-31.

²⁸ See for instance, Augustin Heckle, *The Lady’s Drawing Book* (London: T. Bowles, 1753) ; *A New Book of the Principles of Flowers, Dedicated to the Ladies who Delight in that Ingenious Art of Drawing* (London: Francis Vivares, 1756); *The Florist* (London: Robert Sayer and John Bennett, c. 1760); Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 215.

²⁹ Augustin Heckle, *The Florist: An extensive and curious collection of Flowers/ For the imitation of /Young Ladies,/ Either in Drawings, or in Needlework* (London: J. Bowles and Son, 1759).

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

Ann's drawing and embroidered work culminated with flowers, emblematic of her own name, but also the genre deemed highly appropriate for the female professional artist. As she concluded her book, she had mastered a repertoire of visual imagery redolent with moralistic meaning and conforming to the most fashionable styles. She had developed a skill that set her apart from the majority of Philadelphia schoolgirls, a skill that completed an urbane education and distinguished her as privileged to have the time and resources to practice it. At the same time, her ability to draw was a valuable commodity in the informal network of female exchange, and a potentially remunerative and honorable employment if straitened economic circumstances should have required her to work.

In retrospect, while it is easy to see her sketchbook as a handmaiden to her embroidery, when it is considered in its many sections, no such rigid determination of purpose controls its contents. Instead, it was a collection of experiments in art, as her eye ranged from naturalistic drawing to figure drawing to the art of design. Just as West and Bartram would eventually direct their efforts with a specific goal in mind, faithfully recording unknown nature, or visually relating the human drama, before her youth was over, Ann would focus her artistic endeavors to the service of her embroidery. Like fellow Philadelphians Sarah Smith Pemberton and Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, Katherine Fisher of Massachusetts, and Prudence Punderson of Connecticut, she found in needlework a worthy purpose for her drawing abilities.

Many years after Ann Flower had passed away, a descendant painted a cage full of brightly colored, many feathered birds in watercolor (Figure 71). After having been pinned up on display, it was later retrieved and tucked into Ann's carefully preserved sketchbook.¹ In 1790, Jonathan Fisher, whose mother Katherine Fisher had illustrated a genealogical book with designs similar to those used for crewelwork, embarked on a career as an artist.² In 1844, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts opened its sculpture galleries for women artists to use for study purposes, allowing them the chance to master the vocabulary of human form essential to the fully educated artist.³ In 1848, the Philadelphia School of Design for Women opened, following the precedent set by London Female School of Design.⁴ As the Society of Arts in London had set out to do a century earlier, these schools also sought to improve design and thereby their country's quality of manufactures, but now made a focused effort to recruit women to the task. Where opportunities for women to train as artists had seemingly dwindled in the late eighteenth century, they began to grow once again in the mid-nineteenth century.

The legacies of Ann Flower's sketchbook, and Katherine Fisher's genealogical book are essential, if rare, reminders that the accomplishments of one generation do not spring out of virgin soil. While their artistry did not achieve the intellectual significance of master painters, it was nevertheless significant as it perpetuated an artistic tradition, preparing the ground for the achievements of future men and women.

NOTES

¹ The dating of this sheet was determined by visual analysis of the paper and spectroscopic analysis of the pigments. The paper is machine made, cylinder wove paper, first used in Philadelphia in February 1817. Chromium in the yellow and green areas of this loose page, suggesting the use of barium yellow or chromium yellow, two pigments that were not commercially produced until the early nineteenth century, further corroborates such a date. From John Krill, interview with author, 21 July 2003; Norman Wilkinson, *Papermaking in America* (Greenville, Delaware: Hagley Museum, 1975), 40-41; Catherine Matsen, "Analytical Report No. 4489, Document 1244," Winterthur Museum Analytical Laboratory, 22 September 2003.

² Alice Winchester, *Versatile Yankee: The Art of Jonathan Fisher, 1768-1847* (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1973), 16.

³ Edward J. Nygren, "Art Instruction in Philadelphia, 1795 –1845," (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1969), 131.

⁴ Nina de Angeli Walls, *Art, Industry, and Women's Education in Philadelphia* (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2001), xviii; Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 225.

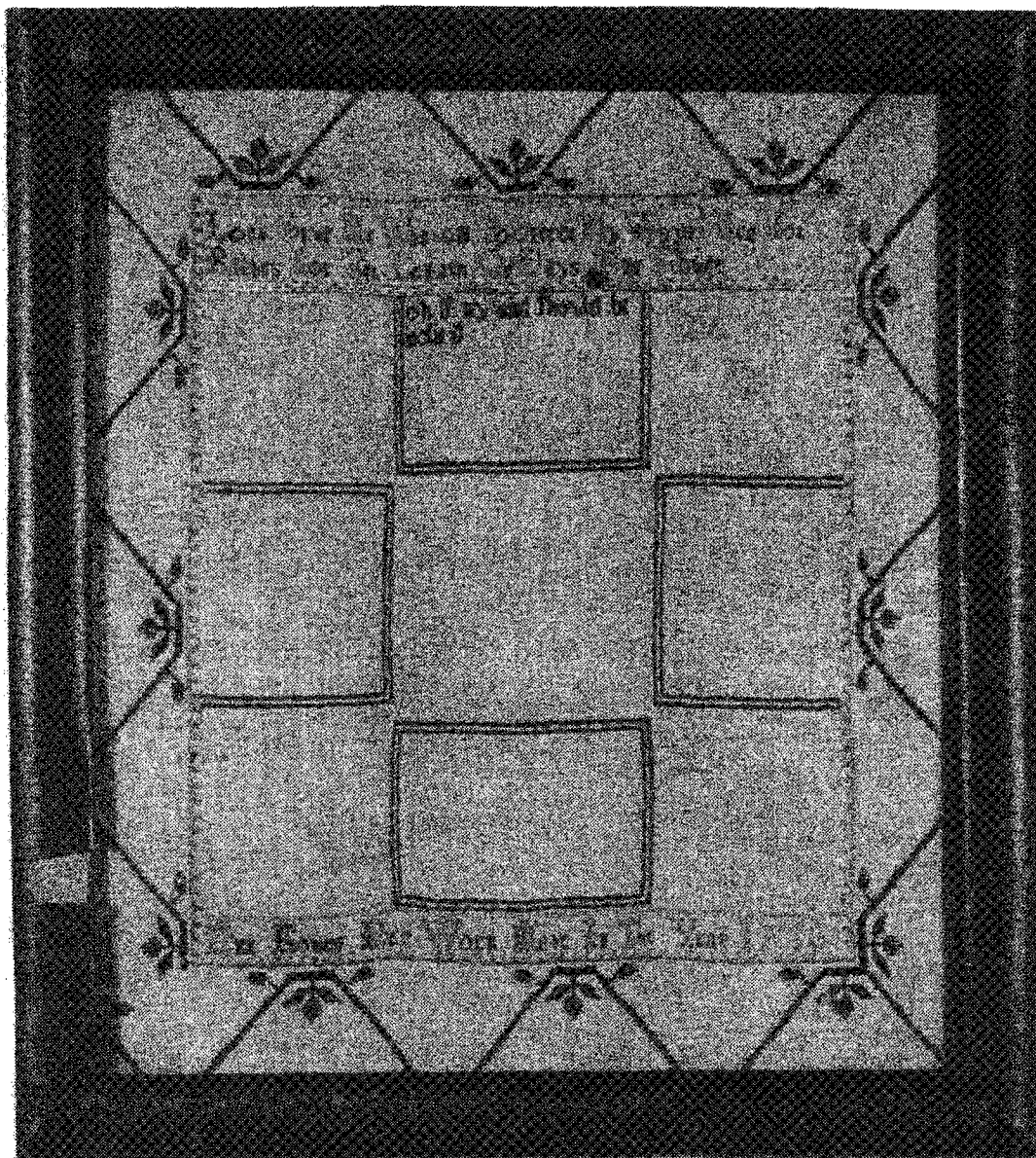


Figure 1.
Sampler, Ann Flower, 1753, silk on linen.
Collection of Anne Flower Cumings Dybwad.
Photograph courtesy, Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 2.
Sampler, Mary Webb, 1760, silk on linen.
Private collection.
Photograph courtesy, Random House, Inc.,
from Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*,
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), II: 339.

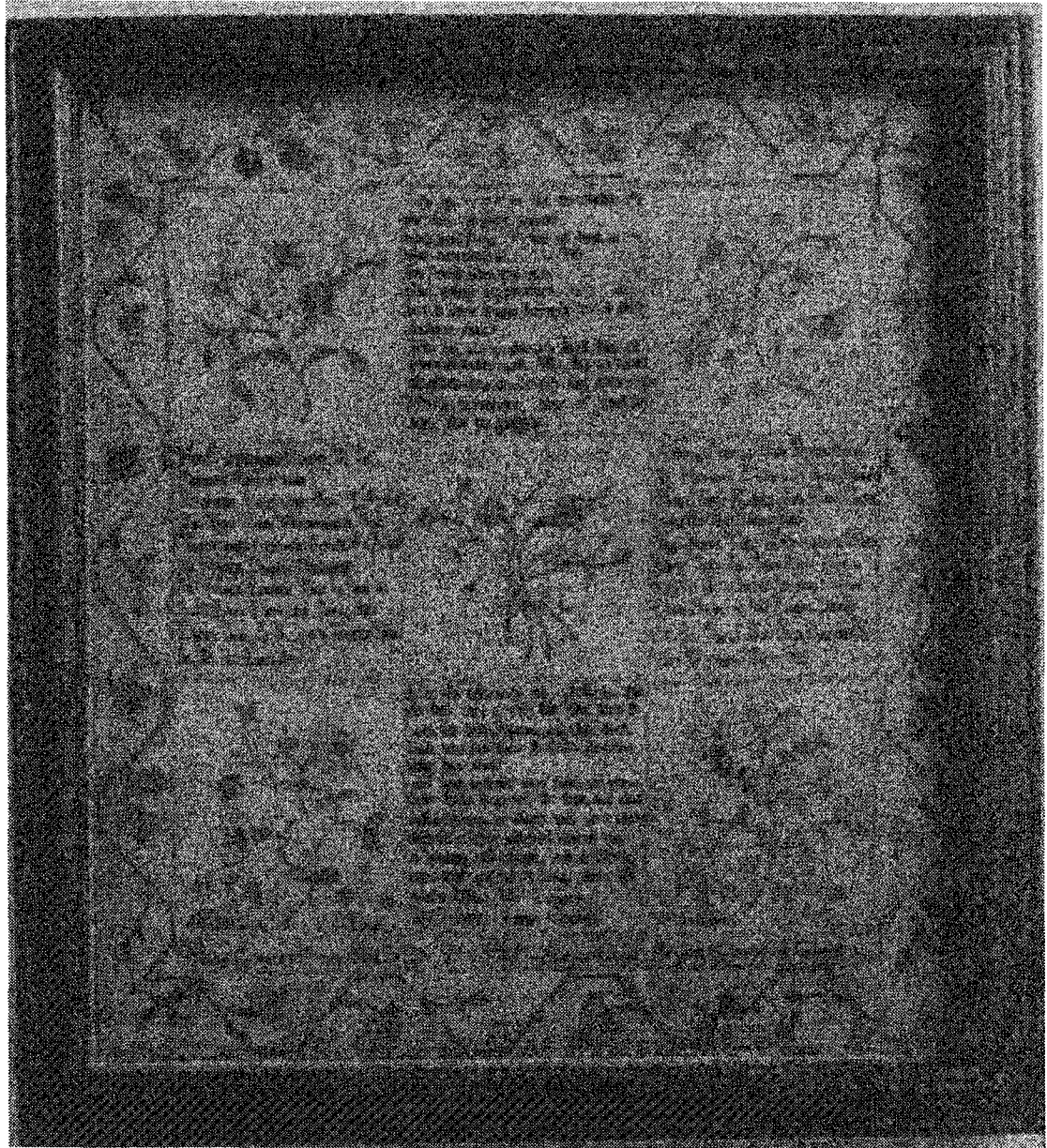


Figure 3.
Sampler, Mary Cooper, 1789, silk on linen.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 5.
“Tree-of-Life,” Pictorial Embroidery, Margaret Rork Callender,
c. 1754, silk on silk.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 6.
Coat-of-arms, Ann Flower, 1763,
silk and metallic threads on silk moiré.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.

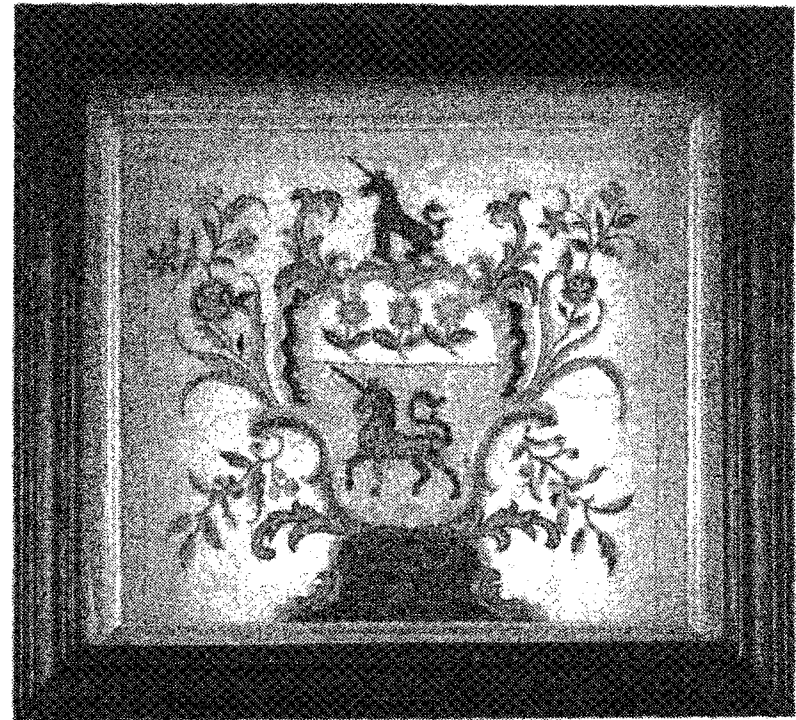


Figure 7.
Coat-of-arms, Elizabeth Flower, 1765,
silk and gold and silver metallic threads on silk moiré.
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Nusrala.
Photograph courtesy, Luigi Pellettieri.



Figure 8.
Pictorial Embroidery, Shepherd and Shepherdess,
Mary Flower, 1764, silk, paint, and mica on silk moire.
Private collection.

Photograph courtesy, Random House, Inc.,
from Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery*,
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), II: 358.

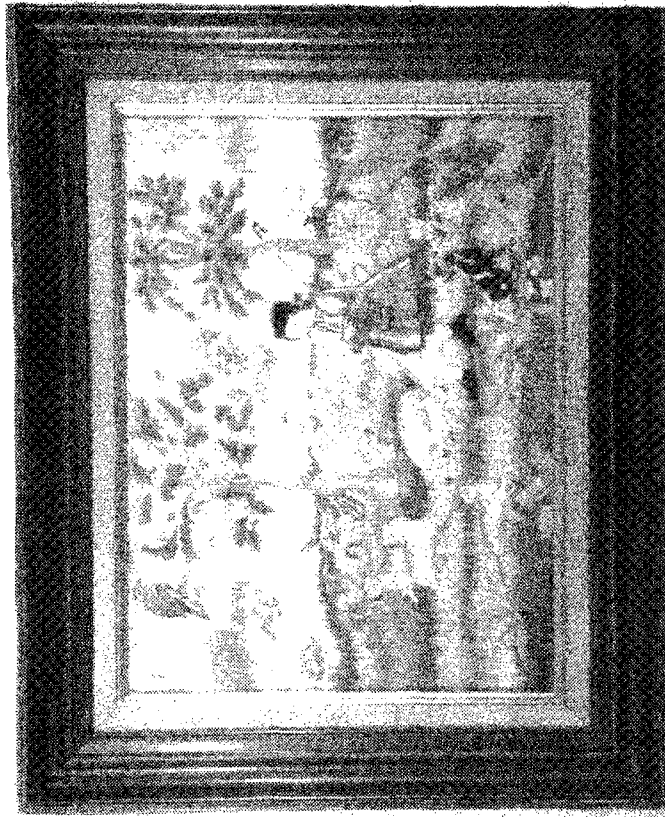


Figure 11.
Pictorial Embroidery, Piping Shepherd,
unattributed, c. 1760-1770, silk on silk.
Courtesy Stephen and Carol Huber.

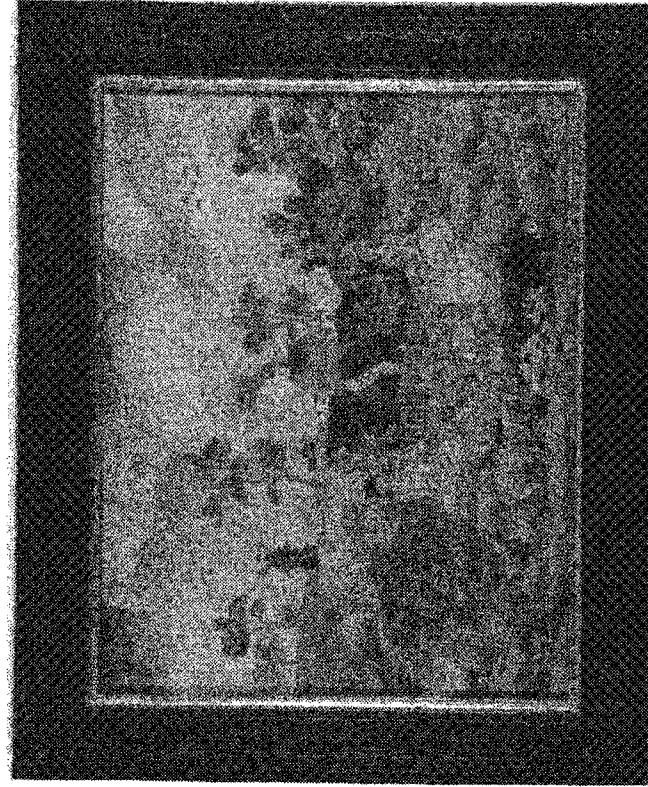


Figure 12.
Pictorial Embroidery, Shepherd and Shepherdess,
unattributed, c. 1760-1770, silk on silk.
Courtesy Stephen and Carol Huber.



Figure 13.
Pictorial Embroidery, Bird in Flowering Tree,
Sarah Wistar, 1752, silk on silk moire.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 14.
Pictorial Embroidery, Bird in Flowering Tree,
Sarah Wistar, 1752, silk on silk moire.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 15.
Pictorial Embroidery, "The Chace,"
Mary Flower, 1768, silk on silk.
Private collection.
Photograph courtesy, Luigi Pellettieri.



Figure 16.
Prayerbook Cover, Ann Flower,
1765, wool and silk on linen.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 17.
Prayerbook Cover, Ann Flower,
1765, wool and silk on linen.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.



Figure 18.
Furniture Cover, Mary Flower, 1767, wool on linen.
Collection of Mrs. Henry Wells.
Photograph by author.

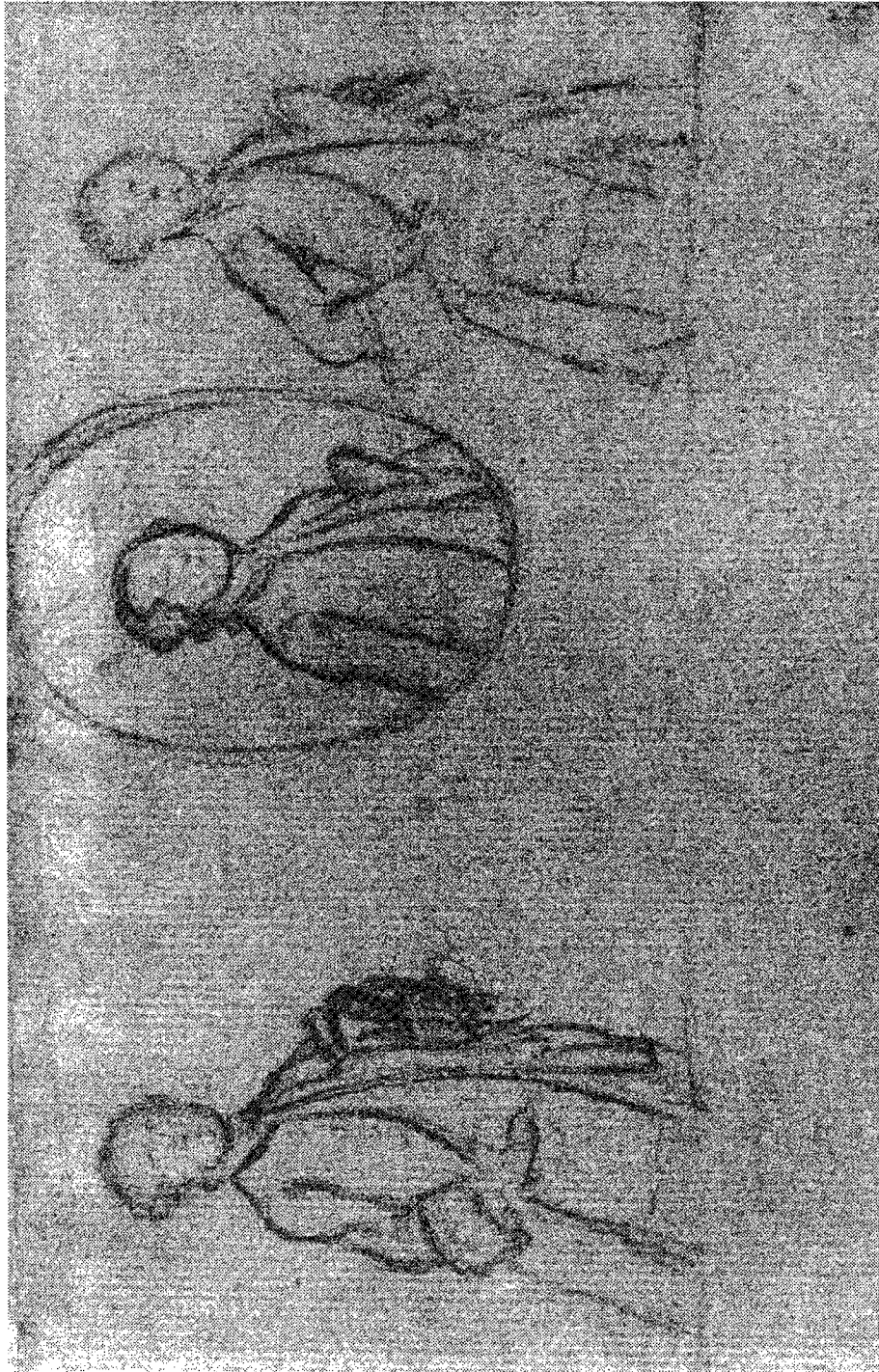


Figure 23. Studies of a Man, Benjamin West, c. 1756-1759.
Courtesy, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

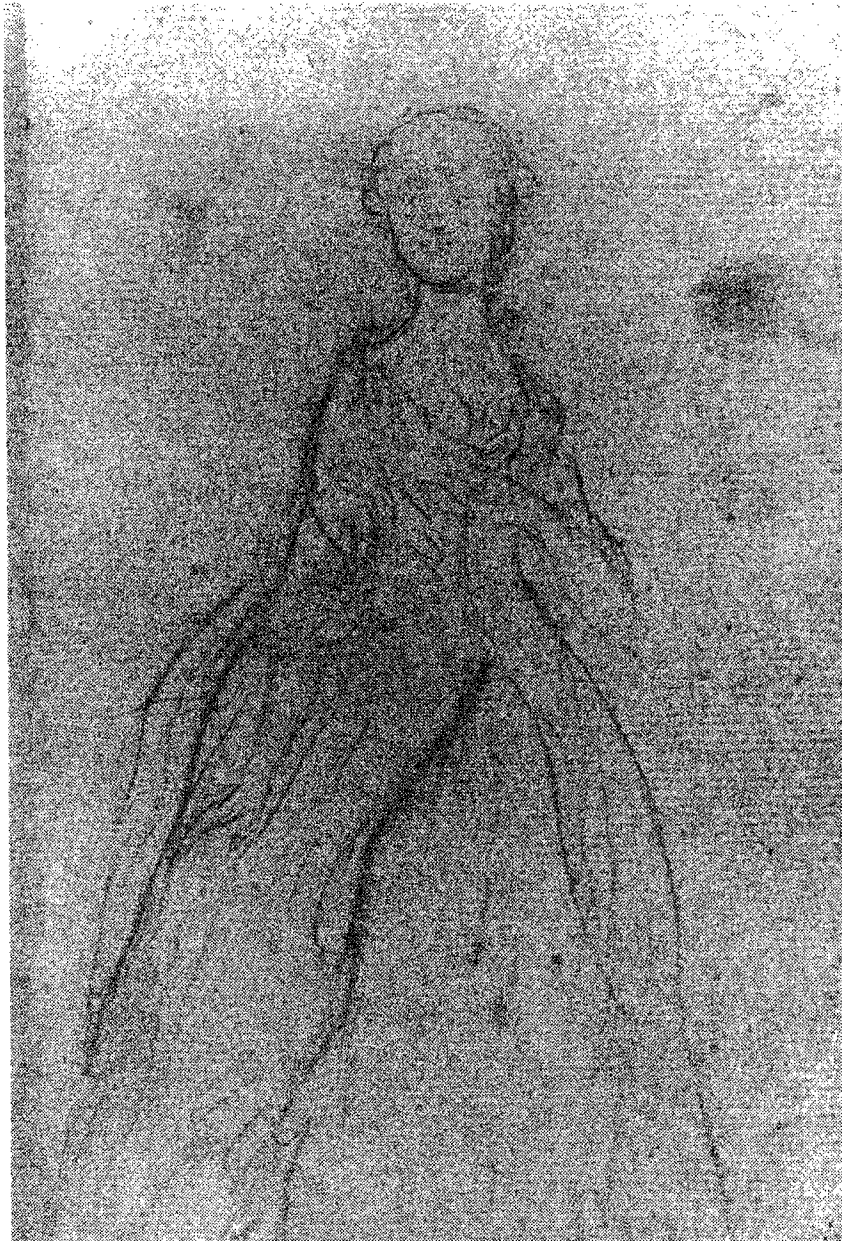


Figure 24.
Study of a Woman, Benjamin West, c. 1756-1759.
Courtesy, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

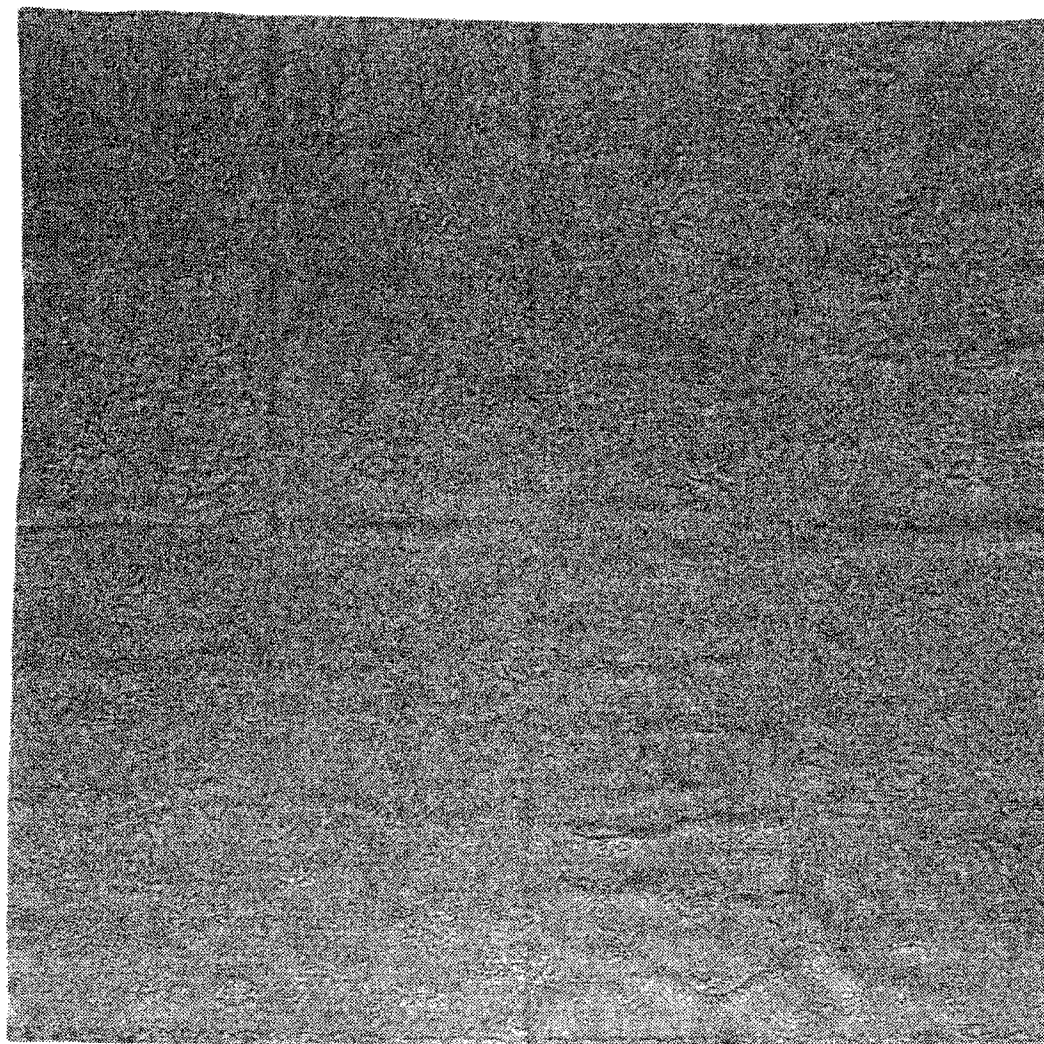


Figure 25.
Whole Cloth Quilt, "Drawn by Sarah Smith
Stitched by Hannah Callender and Catherine Smith
in Testimony of their Friendship 10 mo. 5th 1761," silk, cotton, and wool.
Courtesy, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

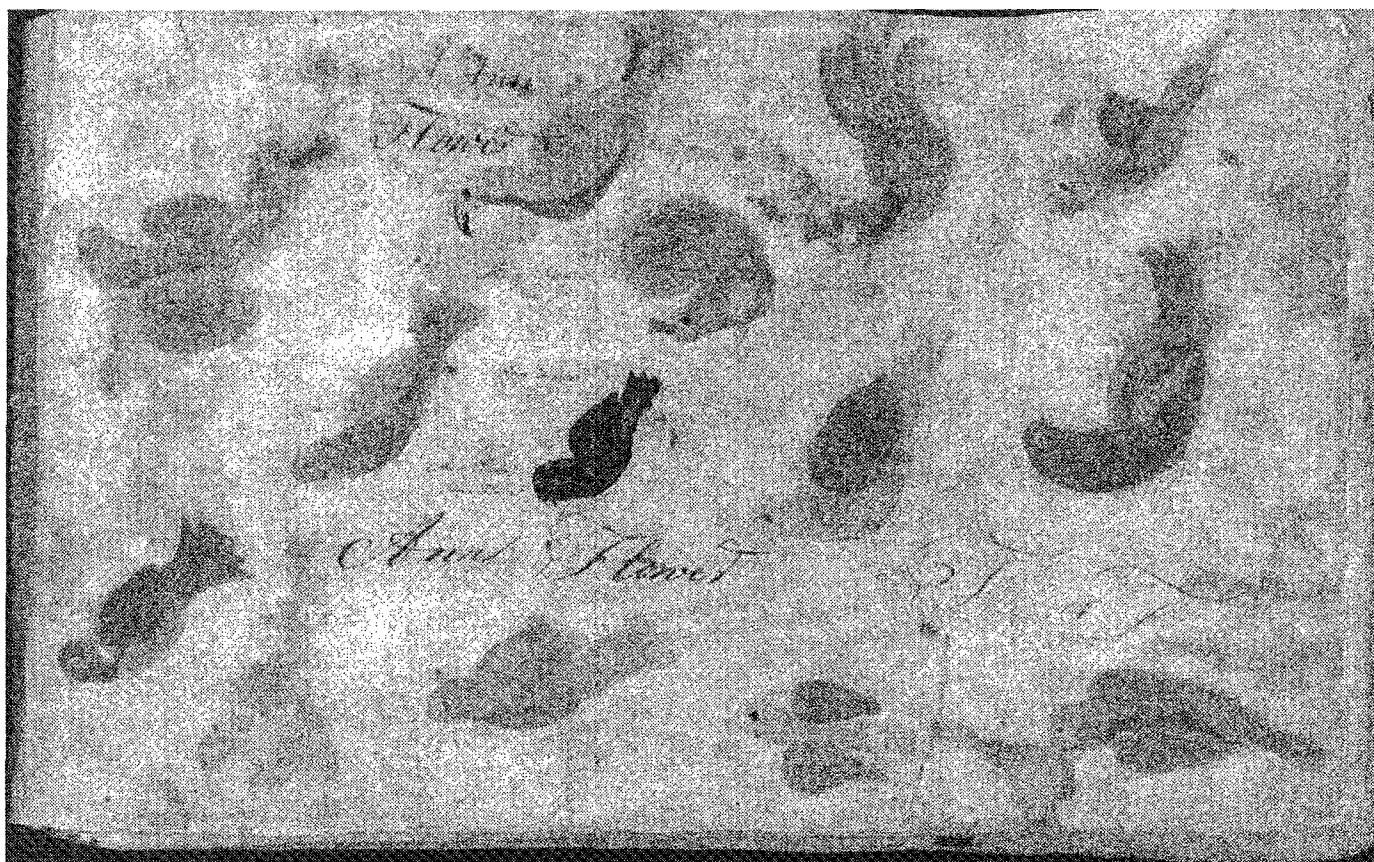


Figure 26.
Cover, Ann Flower's Sketchbook, c. 1753-1765.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

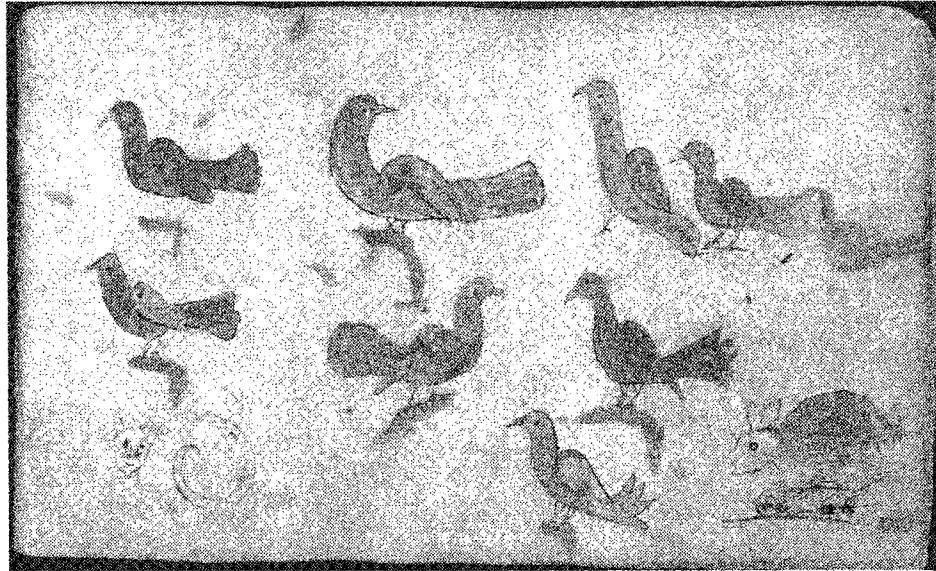


Figure 27. Birds, Bunny, and a Cat, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

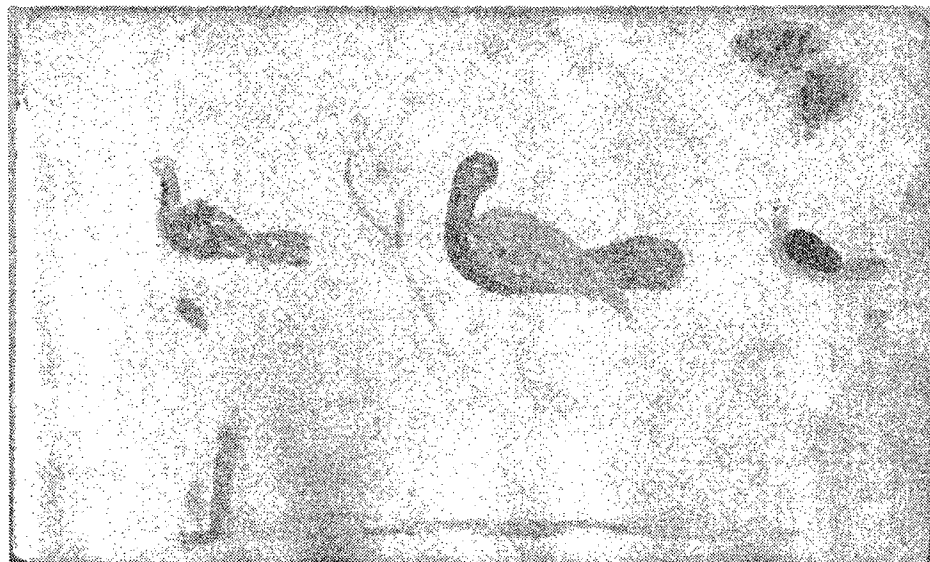


Figure 28. Birds in Trees, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

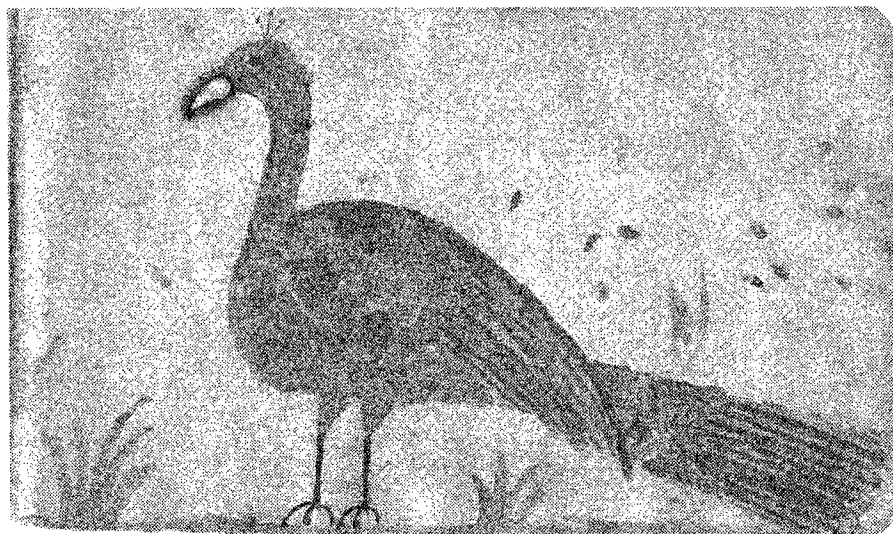


Figure 29. Peacock in Profile, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

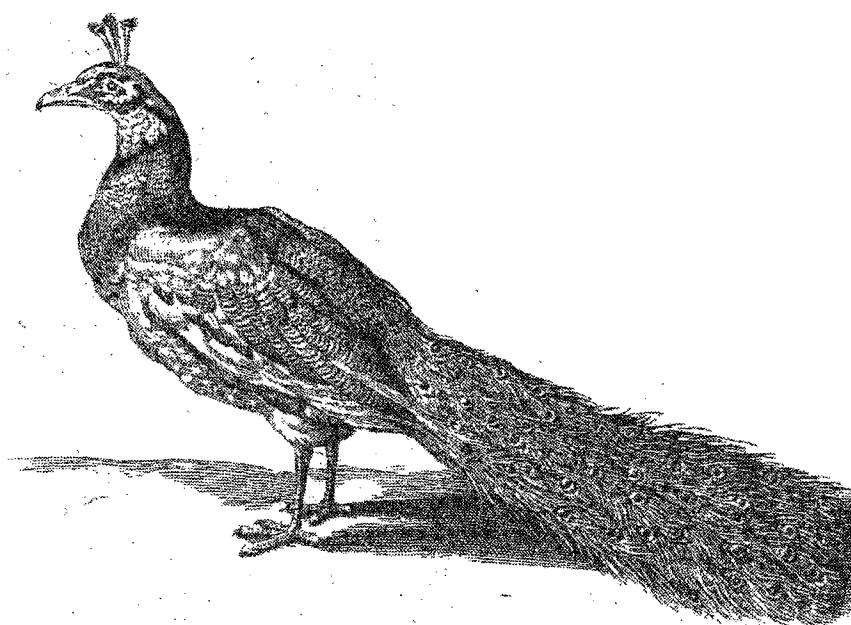


Figure 30. Peacock in Profile, Plate 103,
Les Principes du Dessin, Gerard de Lairesse, 1719.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

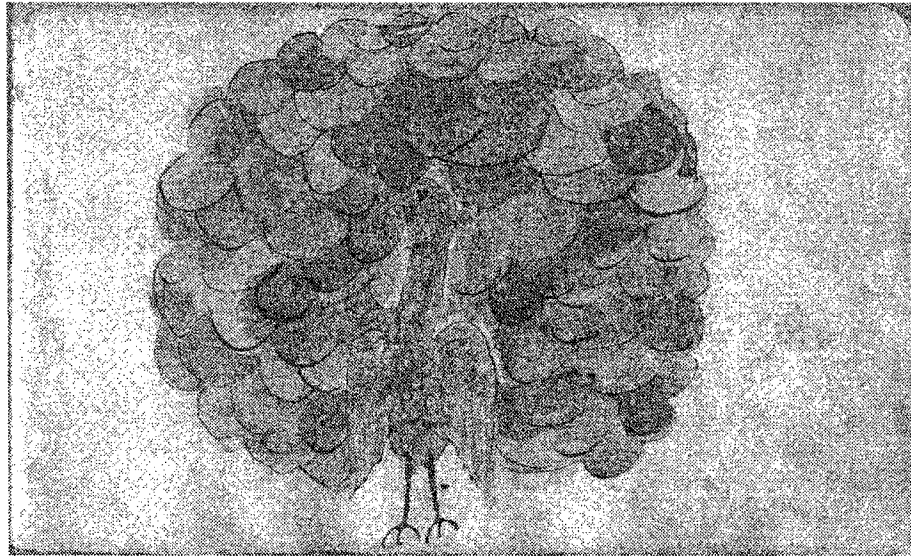


Figure 31. Peacock, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

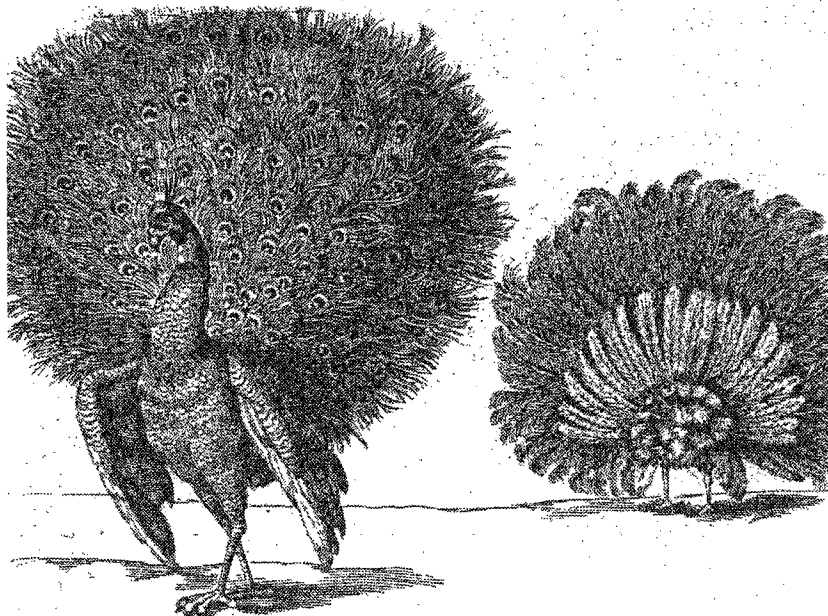


Figure 32. Peacocks, Plate 103, *Les Principes du Dessin*, Gerard de Lairesse, 1719.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

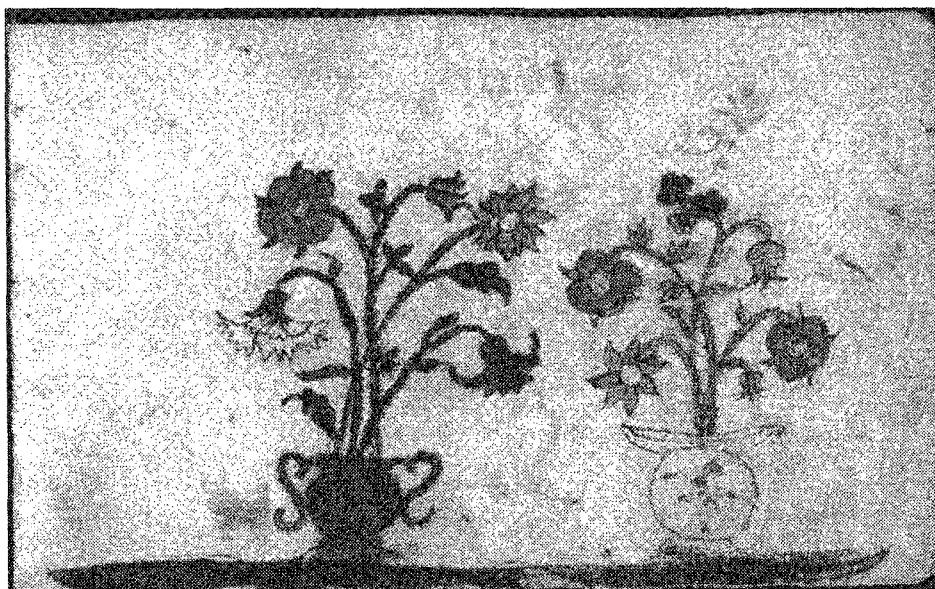


Figure 33. Two Vases, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 34. Single Vase, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 35.
Vase and Tree, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

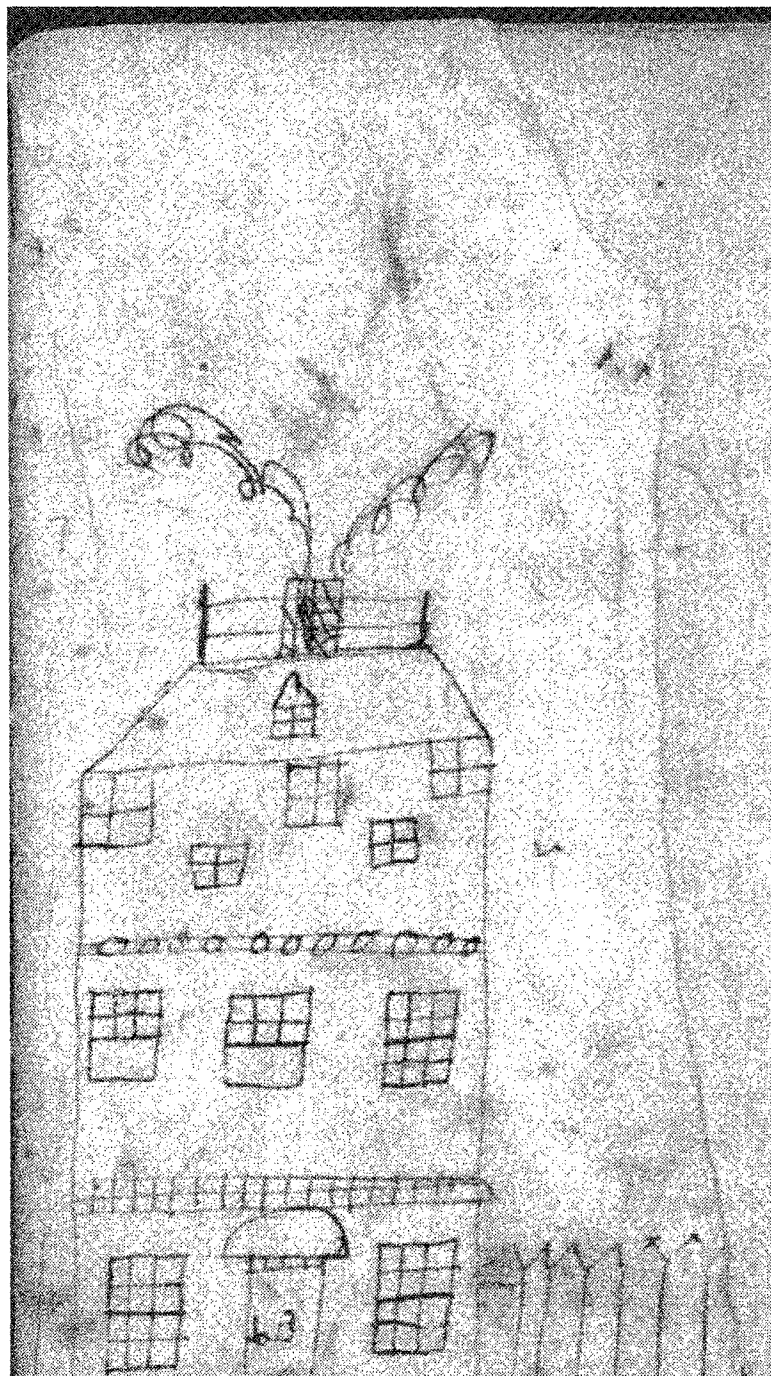


Figure 36. House, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

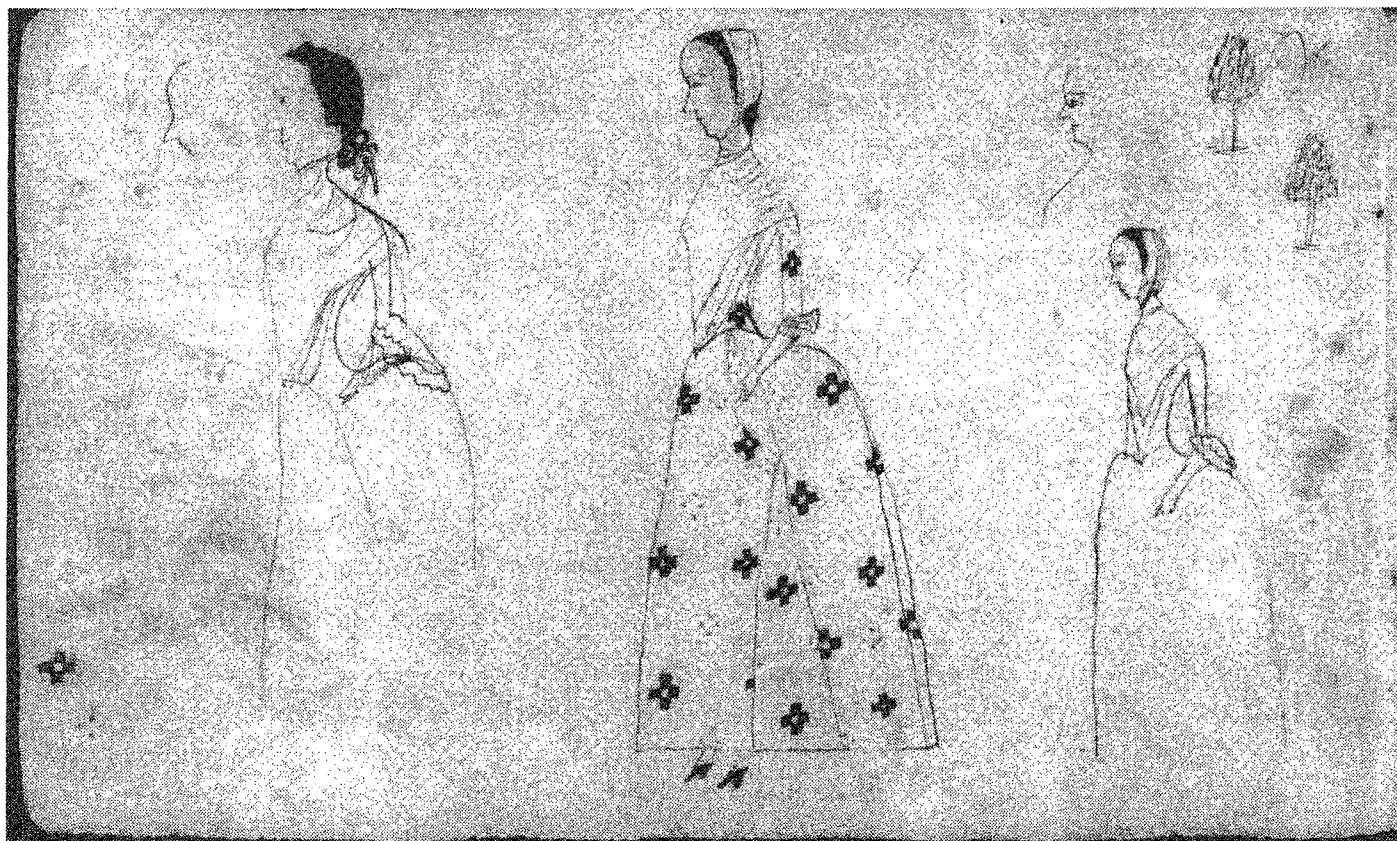


Figure 37. Faces and Three Women in Profile, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 38. Three Women in Profile, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

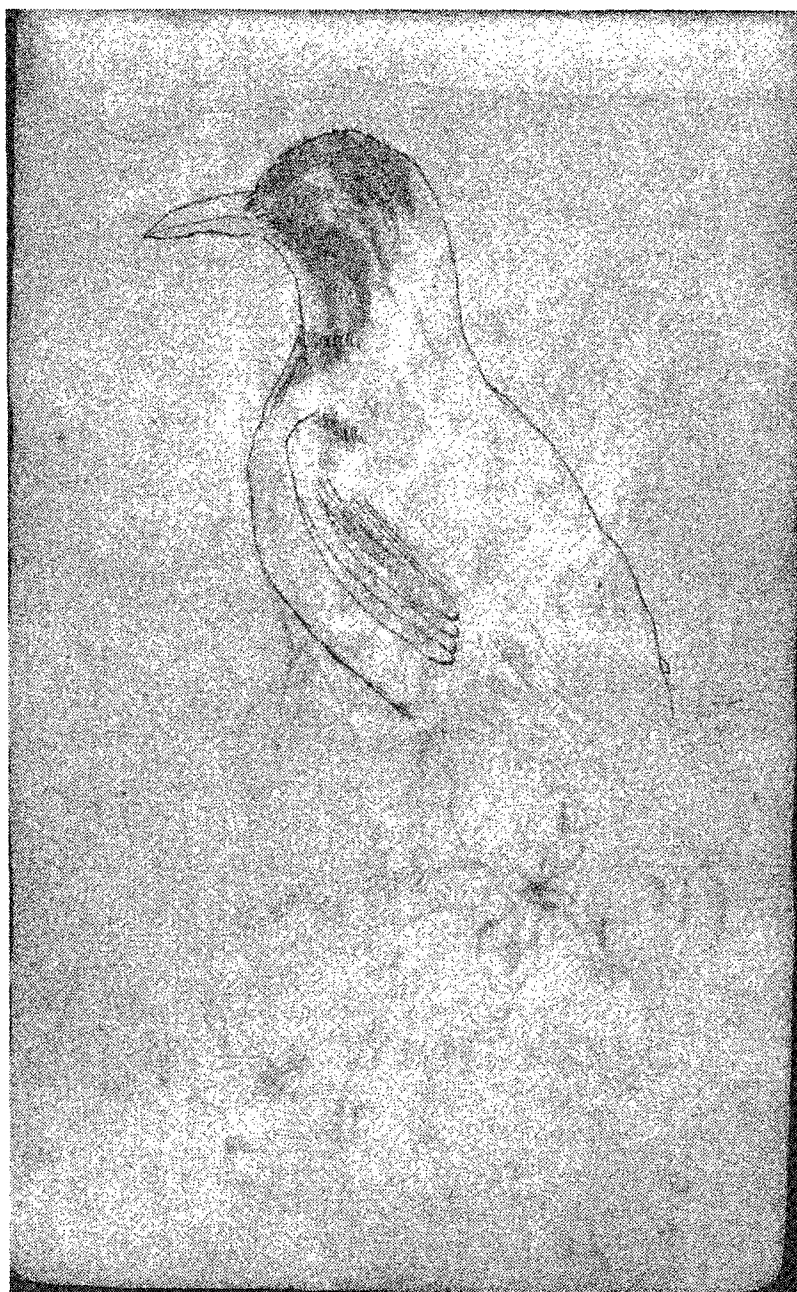


Figure 40.
Bird in Profile, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 41.
Birds on Branches, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 42.
Birds on a Stump, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

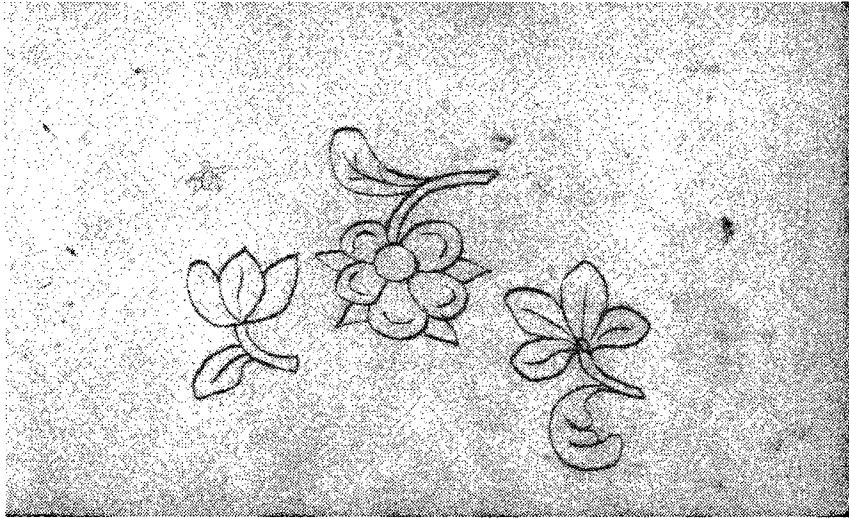


Figure 43. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.



Figure 44. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

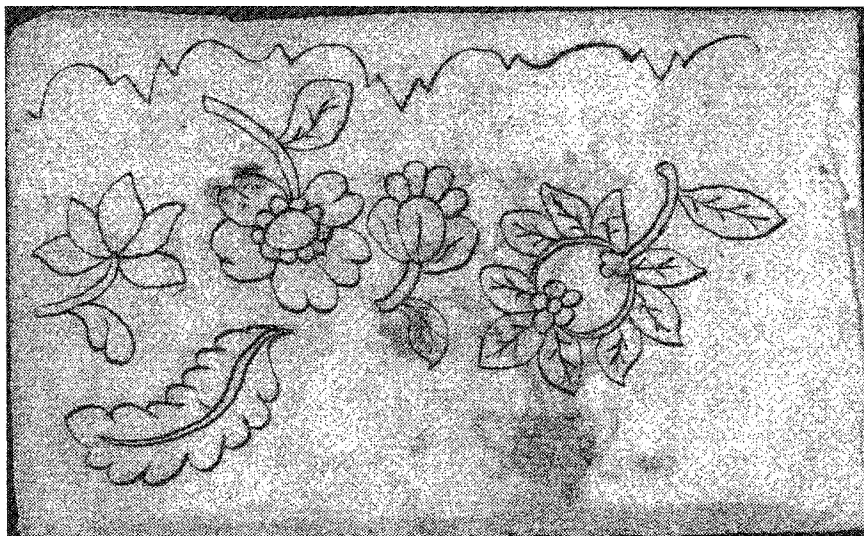


Figure 45. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

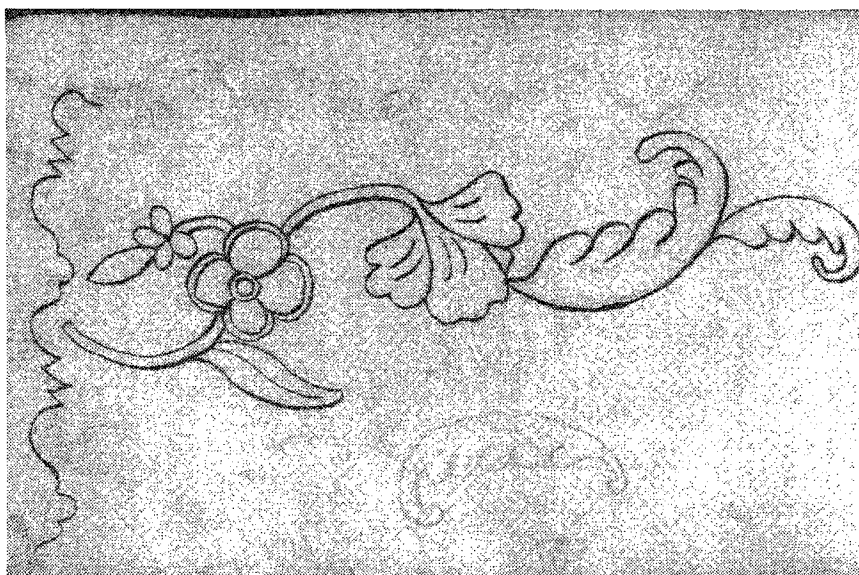


Figure 46. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
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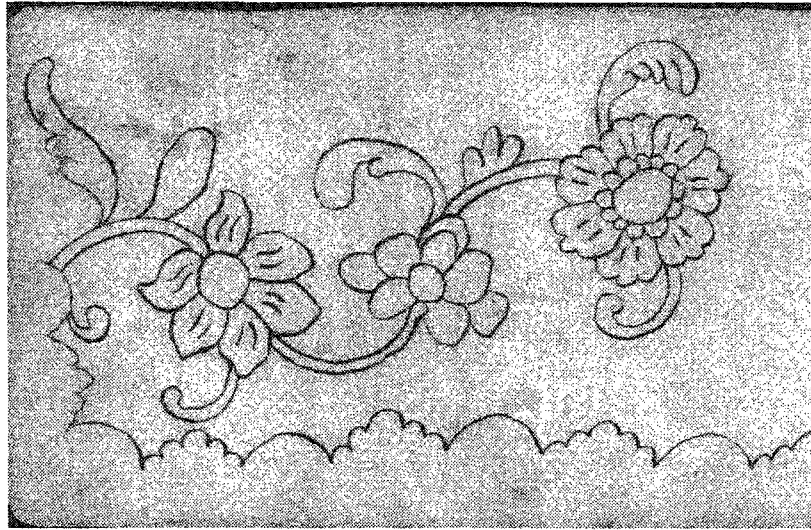


Figure 47. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
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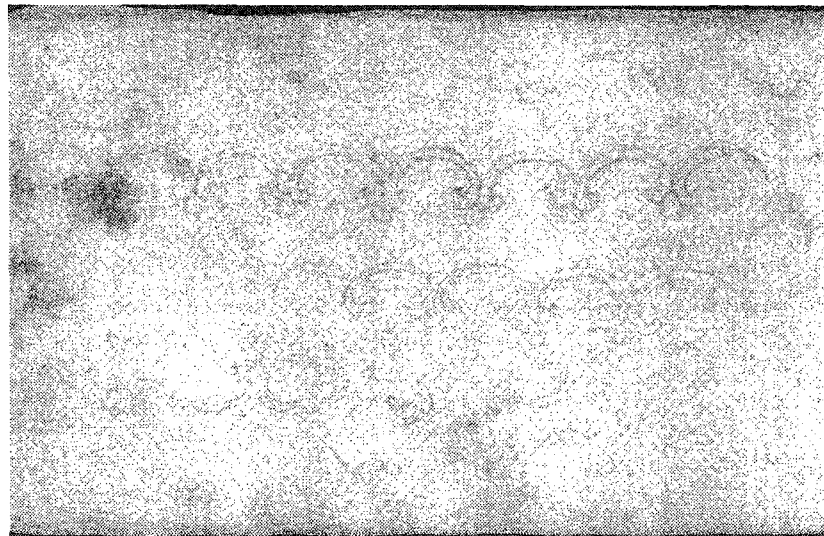


Figure 48. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

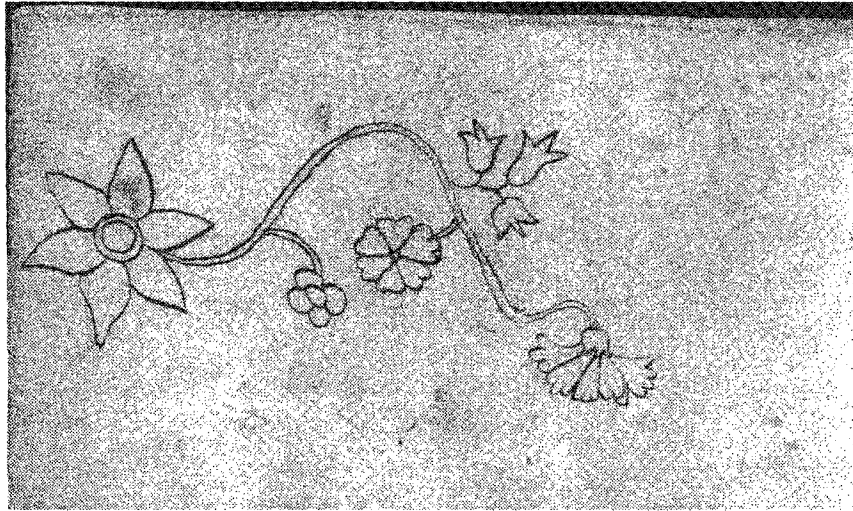


Figure 49. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

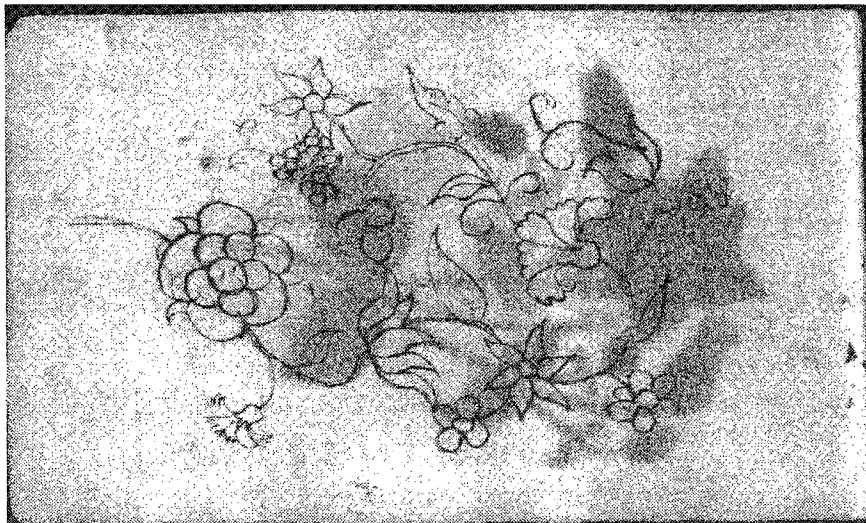


Figure 50. Embroidery Designs, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

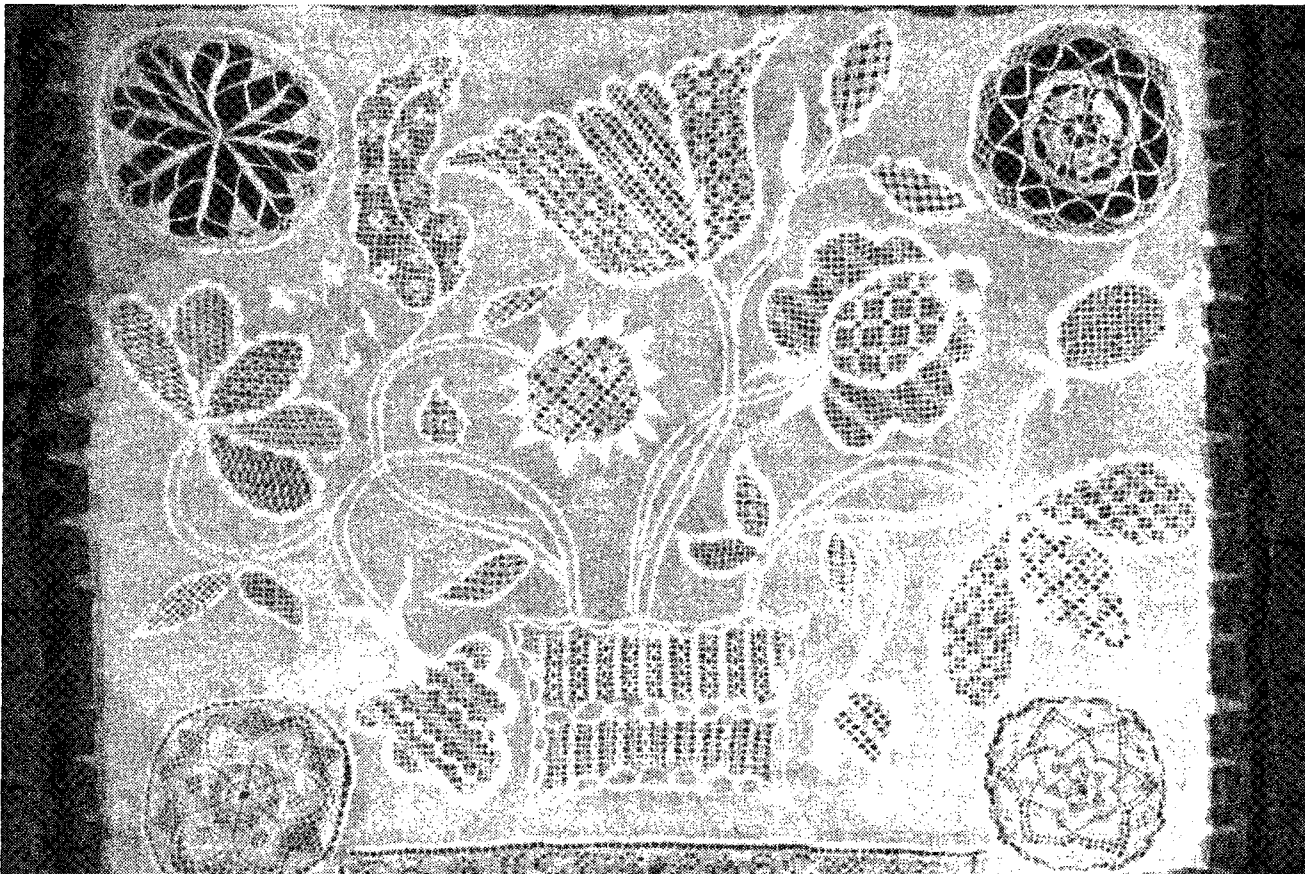


Figure 51.
Cutwork Sampler, Frances Paschal, 1788.
Courtesy, Winterthur Museum.

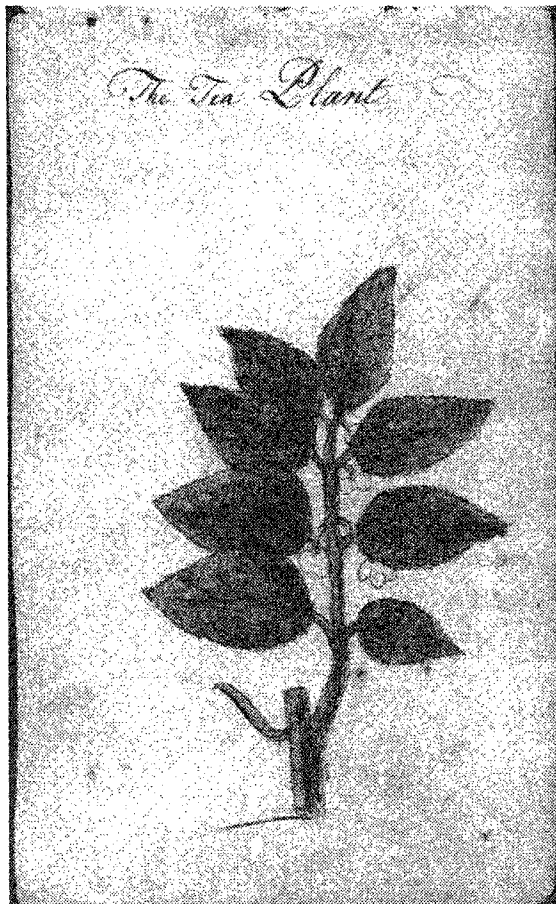


Figure 53. "The Tea Plant,"
Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of
Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

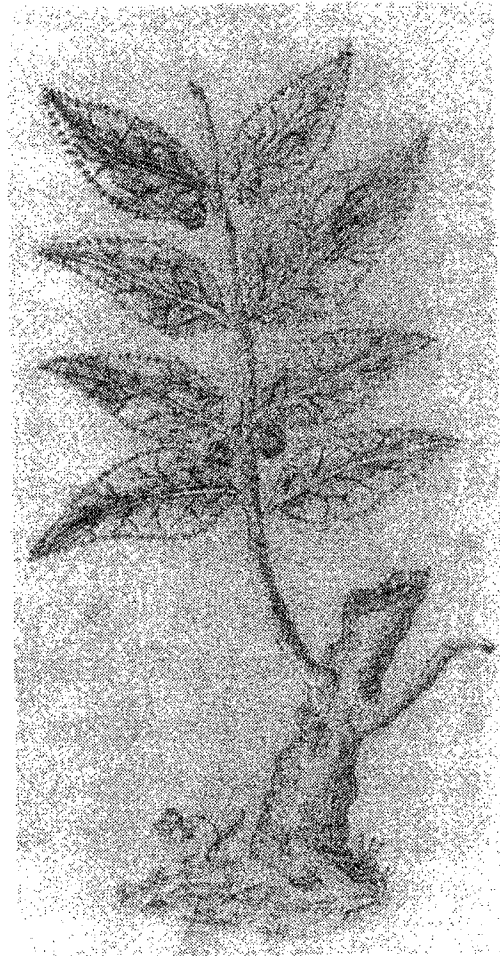


Figure 54. Sketch of Tea Plant,
Prudence Punderson Letter Journal,
c. 1778.
Courtesy, Connecticut Historical Society.

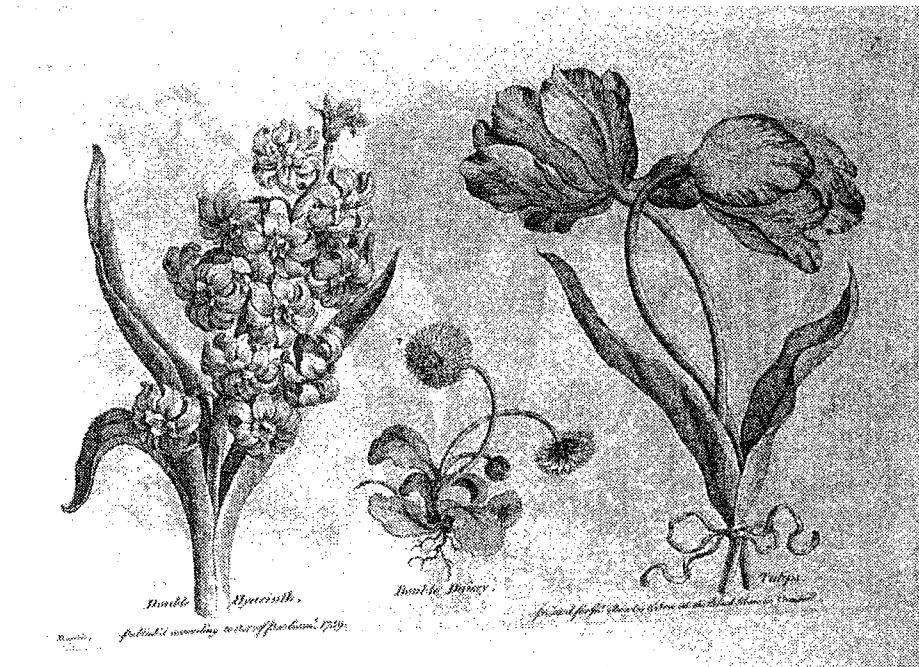


Figure 57. Double Tulip, Plate 7, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

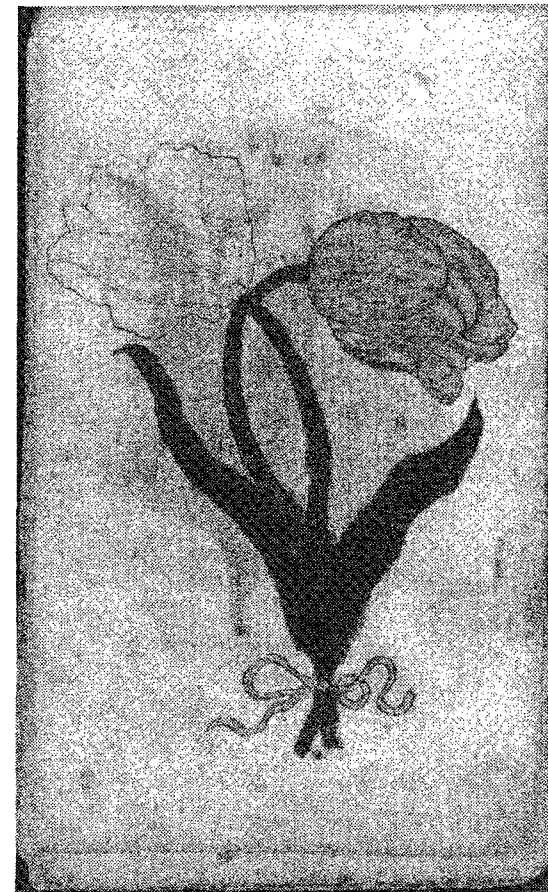


Figure 58.
 Double Tulip, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of
 Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

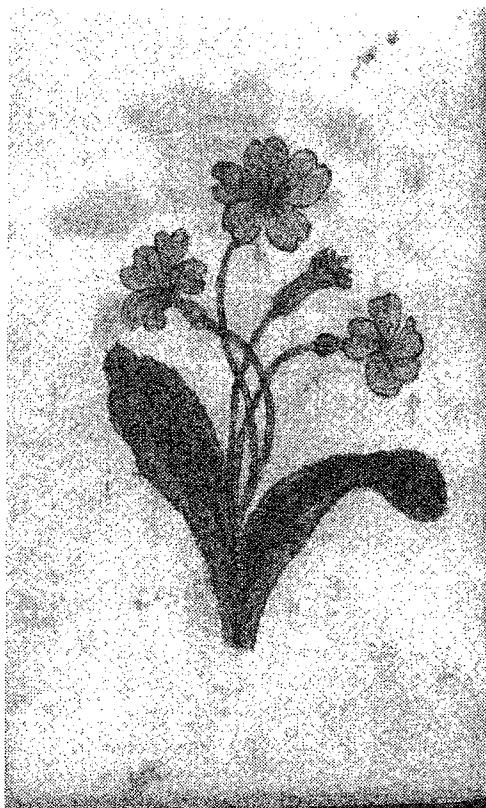


Figure 59. Primrose,
Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of
Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

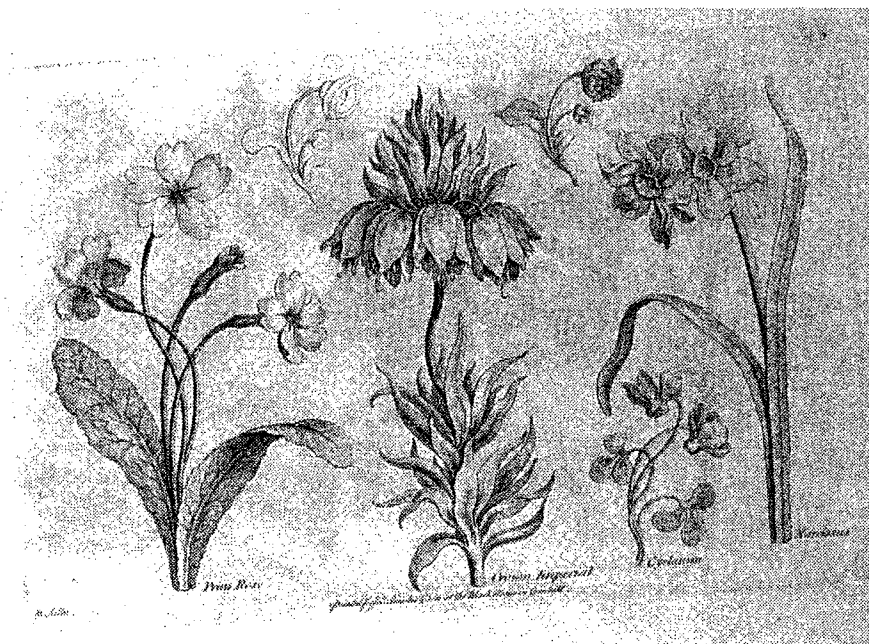


Figure 60.
Primrose, Plate 4, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

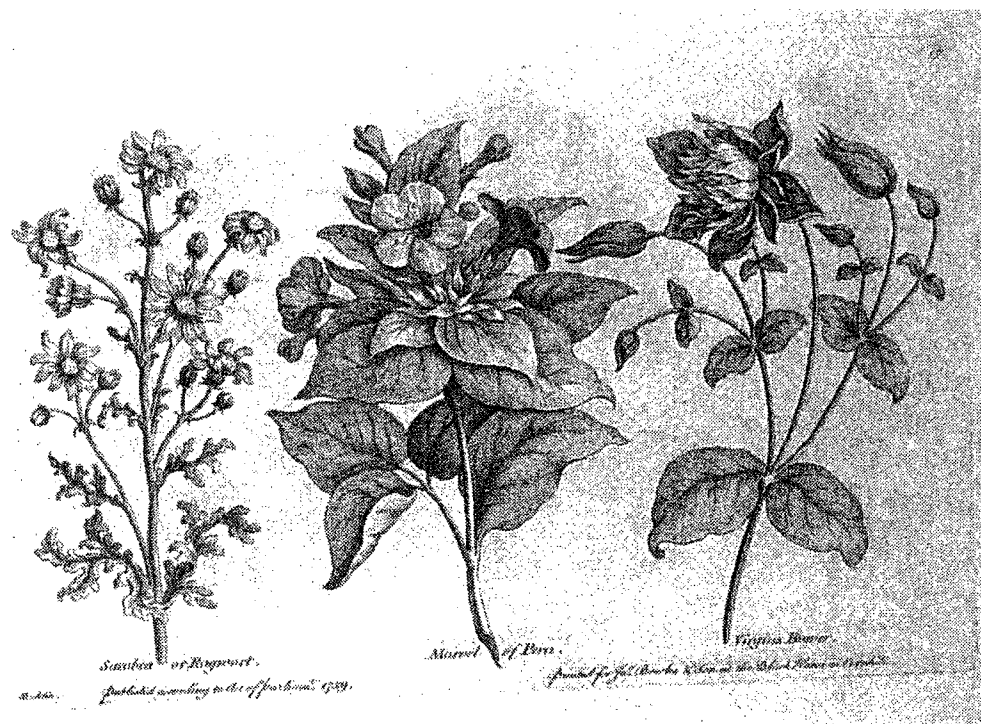


Figure 61.
 Virgin Bower, Plate 17, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Printed Book and Periodical Collection.



Figure 62.
 "Virgin Bower," Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of
 Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

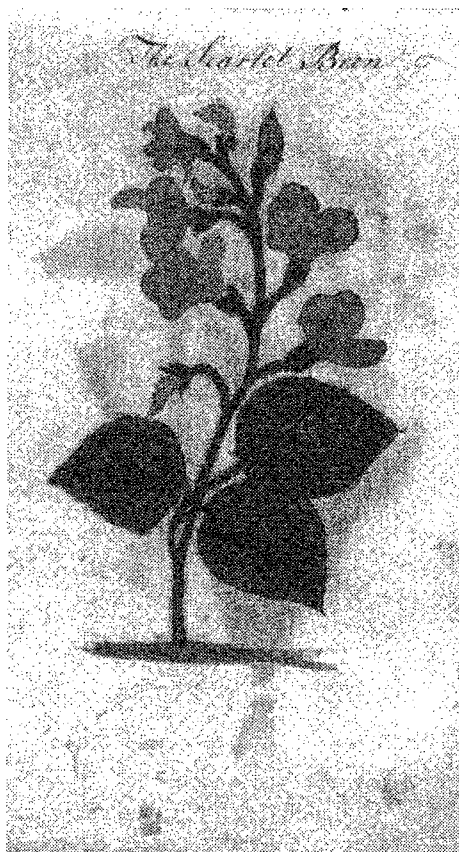


Figure 63.
"The Scarlet Bean,"
Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of
Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

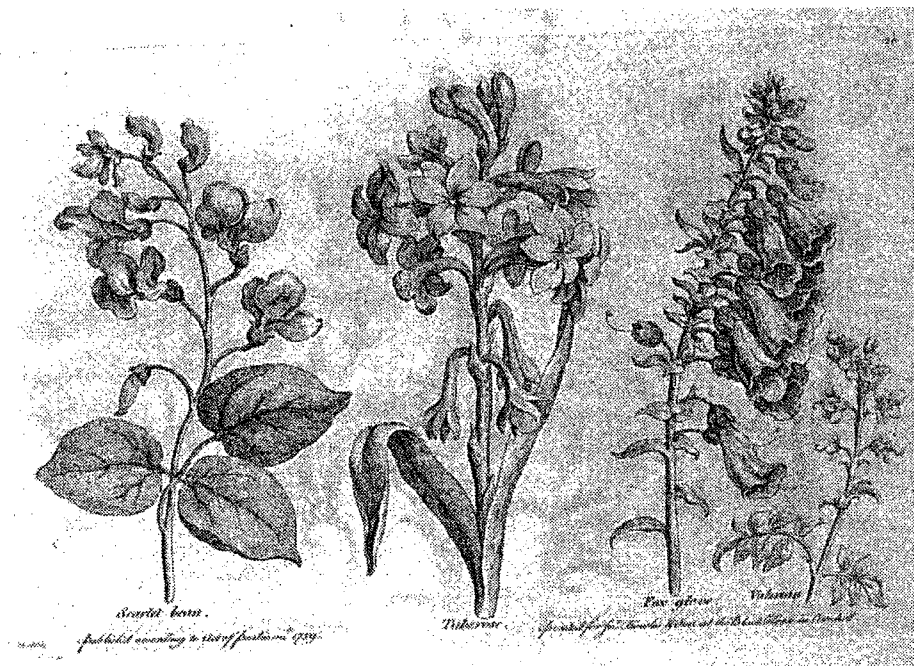


Figure 64.
Scarlet Bean, Plate 20, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

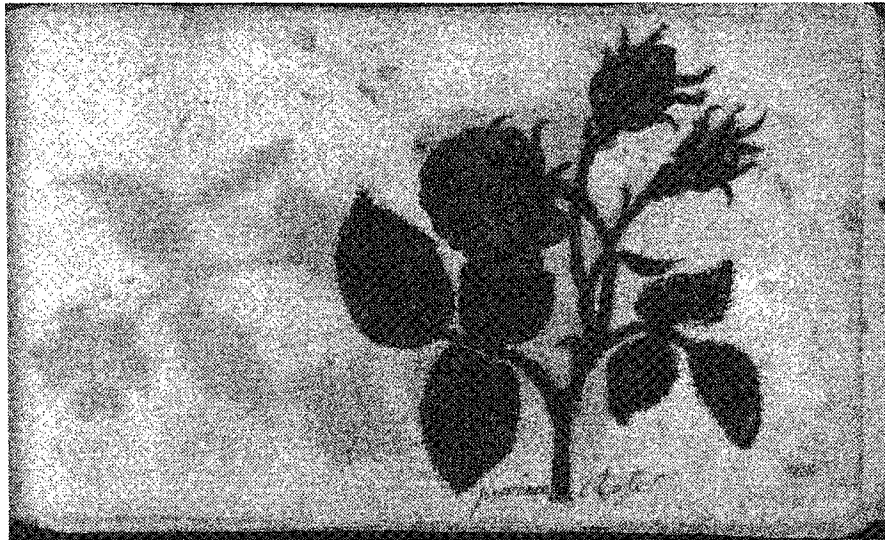


Figure 65. "Province Rose," Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
 Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

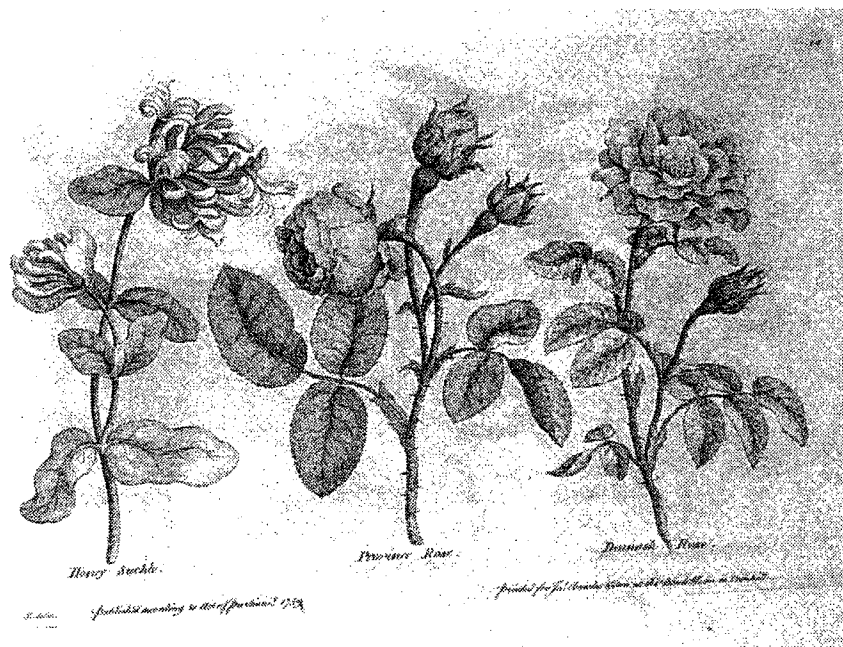


Figure 66. Province Rose, Plate 14, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

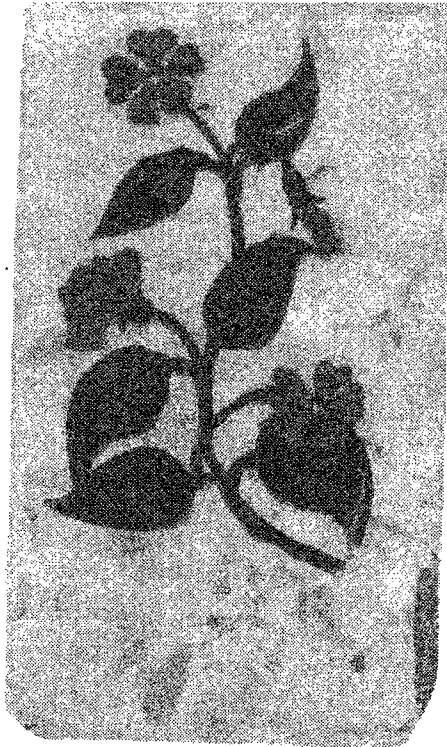


Figure 67.
Periwinkle, Ann Flower's Sketchbook.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of
Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

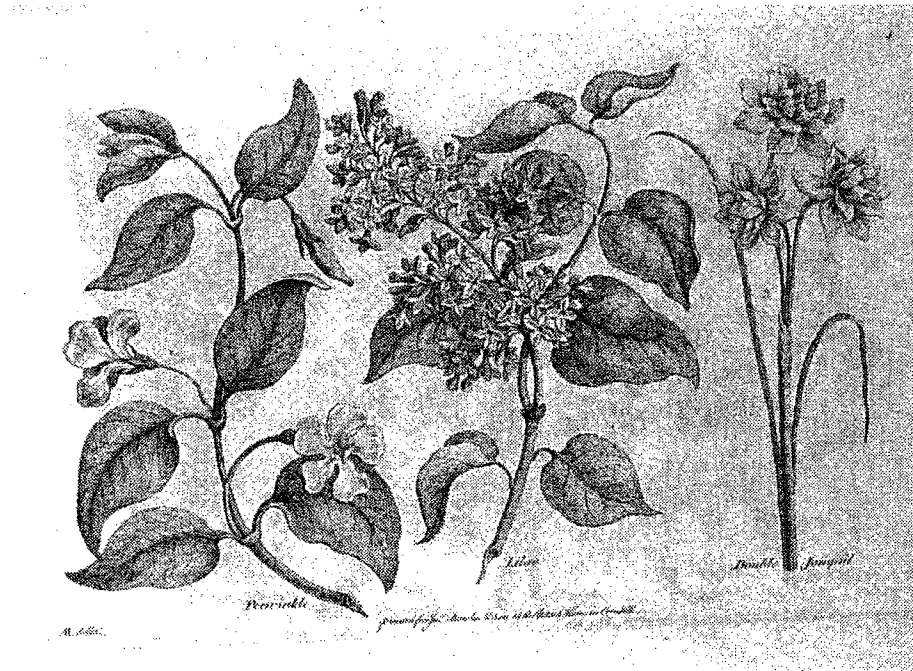


Figure 68.
Periwinkle, Plate 4, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

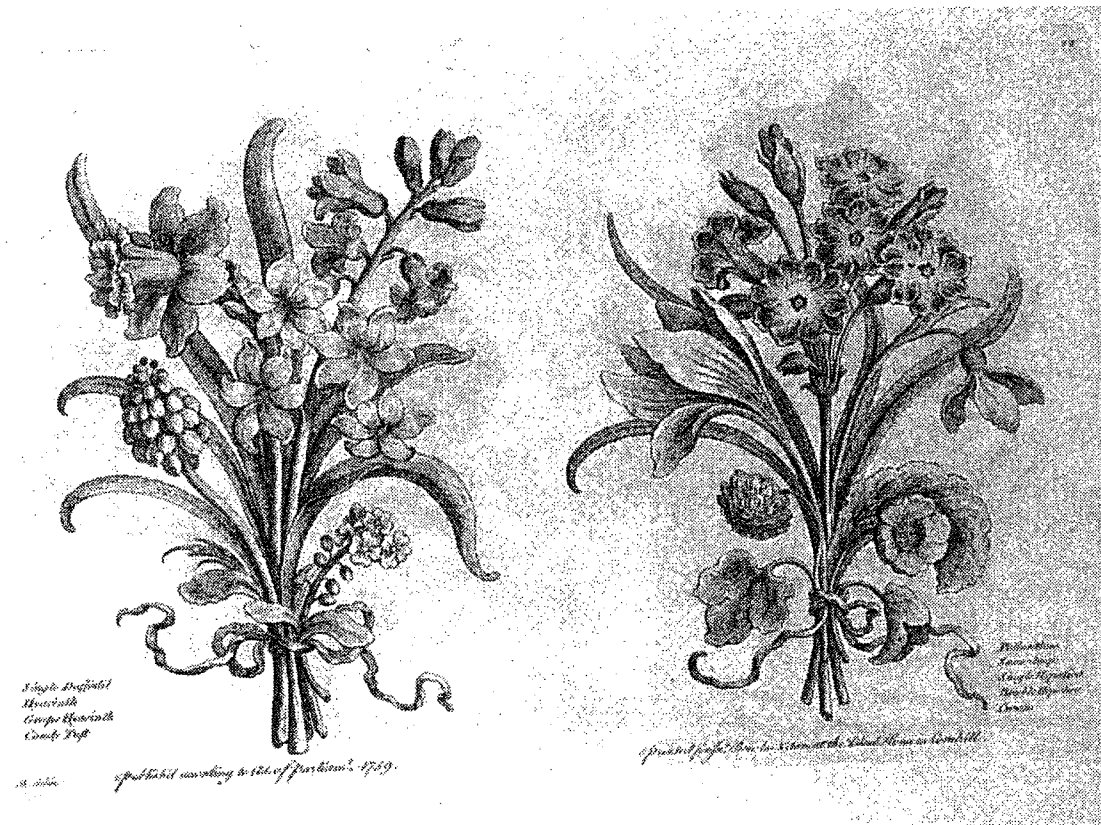


Figure 69.
 Bouquets of Flowers, Plate 22, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
 Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.

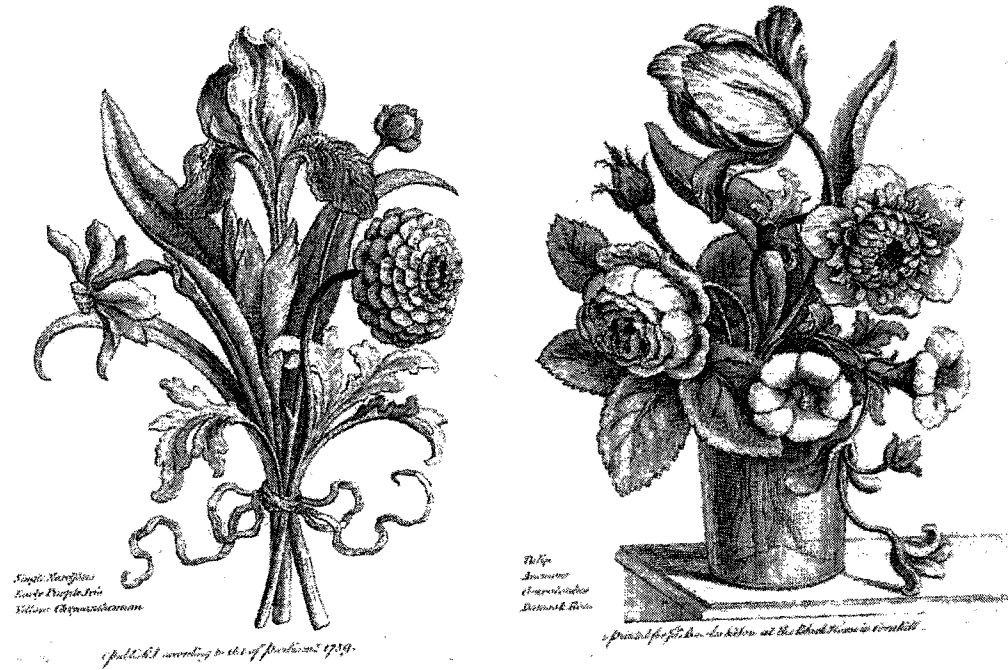


Figure 70.
Bouquets of Flowers, Plate 23, *The Florist*, Augustin Heckle, 1759.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library: Printed Book and Periodical Collection.



Figure 71.
Birds in a Cage, after 1817.
Courtesy, The Winterthur Library:
Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera.

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