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THE TEXTILE TRADE IN BOSTON: 1650-1700.

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THE TEXTILE TRADE IN BOSTON:

1650-1700

By

Linda Baumgarten Berlekamp

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.

June, 1976

THE TEXTILE TRADE IN BOSTON:

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By

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## INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth century Boston was the most important marketing center and port in the American colonies. Throughout the century, Boston's population exceeded that of any other town in the colonies. From a population of 2000 in 1650, Boston grew to 7600<sup>1</sup> persons by 1700. Only in the century following would New York and Philadelphia significantly encroach upon Boston's share of the trade<sup>2</sup> with England.

A large part of Boston's commercial success was the combined result of a central location in the colony and an excellent harbor,<sup>3</sup> allowing large trading vessels to anchor. In addition, Boston's merchants quickly developed workable contacts with merchants overseas. All of these factors gave Boston access to a wide variety and a large quantity of manufactured goods.

The commercial influence of the city reached not only the immediate area but outlying regions as well. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, a pattern of trade with the hinterland was well established. Settlements in outlying areas including Plymouth, the Connecticut River valley, and northeastern Massachusetts relied on Boston to supply textiles and other manufactured goods in exchange for farm products, lumber, and furs.

The records left by the merchant Samuel Sewall give evidence of the widespread influence of Boston upon the surrounding area. Sewall's Business Journal reveals that he sold textiles to customers in the nearby village of Cambridge; further overland at Sudbury and Chelmsford; in the towns of Rowley, Newbury, Salem, Eastham, and Plymouth reached through the coastline trade; and Northampton and Killingworth up the Connecticut River. <sup>4</sup> Thomas Crosby, one of Sewall's customers in Eastham on Cape Cod, bought buttons, thread, knives, ribbons, shot, nails, salt powder, pots, kettles, stockings, <sup>5</sup> and large quantities of textiles. Abell Platts of Rowley purchased <sup>6</sup> similar items. In March of 1688, Sewall sent a consignment of textiles, guns, and hardware up the Piscataqua River between New Hampshire and Maine with Nathaniel Bosworth, who was instructed to trade the items for "boards or oyll or fish making no debts." <sup>7</sup> In May of the same year, Sewall's account reveals that Bosworth returned <sup>8</sup> with a shipment of boards and two unsold carbines. Textiles imported by Sewall into Boston reached as far south as Virginia. In 1685, Sewall shipped to Virginia fish, rum, wine, salt, tar, iron pots, beer, cordage, and "18 yrds  $\frac{1}{2}$  kersy at 3 3 ." <sup>9</sup> Kersey was a coarse wool fabric, most often used for blankets and clothing.

Although businessmen in Salem, Massachusetts had dealings directly with merchants in England, they received some of their textiles from Boston merchants. The accounts of John Higginson of Salem record that he received various textiles and "haberdashry" from <sup>10</sup> James Taylor of Boston. Thomas Maule of Salem received "1 peice

linne clo Sold him" by David Jeffries, a Boston merchant.<sup>11</sup> Stephen Sewall of Salem, brother of Bostonian Samuel Sewall, bought textiles both from his brother as well as from merchants in England with whom his brother helped make contact.<sup>12</sup>

Textiles originally brought in through the port of Boston were often re-shipped to merchants in other areas through the vast trade network set up between towns. Joseph Parsons received textiles, thread and spices from John Mico and Company in Boston. Parsons wrote to Mico informing him that he had sent some of the items to Hartford, where they were awaiting re-shipment to John Christopher of New London, Connecticut.<sup>13</sup> Samuel Sewall is known to have sent some venture cargo to the Connecticut River valley. In 1687 he sent to Hartford goods including glass bottles, books, combs, stockings, cotton wool, textiles and ribbons. Apparently this particular venture was unsuccessful, for Sewall's records show that many of the items were returned unsold the same year.<sup>14</sup>

New York was another area reached through the Boston trade. In 1672/73 John Pole and Nathaniel Davenport shipped to New York duffils, broad cloth, and red bays, all fabrics of wool.<sup>15</sup> Bostonian John Hull was also trading with New York in the 1670's. Hull wrote to John Ive of London that he was having trouble selling the red cloth which Ive had shipped, but "iff peace come and the new yorke trade goe on againe wee may put if of this Sumer."<sup>16</sup> In January of 1675, nine months after the letter quoted, Hull reported that the red

cloth had been sold by "James Lloyd" at New York, and the returns  
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 would be in beaver skins.

From the above discussion, we can see that because of Boston's wide sphere of influence, a study of the textiles imported and sold by Boston's merchants gives an overview of textiles used in an area far larger than the geographical limits of the town.

The colonists recognized the importance of self-sufficiency, and attempts at home production of textiles were made from the earliest years of settlement. The records of John Winthrop and Company for 1634 extracted from the London port books reveal that these early Massachusetts colonists imported a variety of utilitarian manufactured goods from England: woolen fabrics such as bays and perpetuana; another wool fabric called, curiously, Welsh "cotton;" varieties of linen such as canvas and lockram; home furnishings such as bedding, blankets, and ticking; and clothing such as stockings, shoes, felt hats, whalebone "bodyes," coifs, waistcoats, shirts, and smocks. However, the colonists intended to supply some of their own textile needs, as evidenced by two bushels of flaxseed shipped to  
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 Winthrop in March of 1634. In 1641, the Massachusetts General Court offered a bounty on linen, woolen, and cotton cloth produced in the colony. Colonial cloth production was further advanced by the building of America's first fulling mill for shrinking and processing woolen cloth, at Rowley in 1643. Other fulling mills were subsequently built: at Watertown in 1662, Andover in 1673, Ipswich in 1675, and

Barnstable in 1697. There are scattered references in early court records and business papers confirming colonial production of linen, woolen, and cotton fabrics. The inventory of merchant Jacob Sheafe, taken in 1659, lists several items indicative of linen production: 346 pounds of "dressed" flax, 6 pounds of homespun yarn, and a spinning wheel in the kitchen chamber.<sup>19</sup> The Business Journal of Samuel Sewall indicates that he was buying and selling wool fabric made in America and described as "New England seary."<sup>20</sup>

In spite of such evidence of colonial production, the colonists could not begin to satisfy their need for textiles. They were able to provide themselves with some of the plainer woolen and linen fabrics, but the bulk of the fabrics used for clothing and home furnishings was of necessity imported. As the century progressed, fashionable silks, Indian cottons, and fine worsted fabrics were added to the long list of imported fabrics. In his work on the New England trade, Bernard Bailyn gave an example of the limited output of this early textile manufacture:

An idea of the proportion of native and foreign textiles in use is suggested by the fact that during the nine years between 1673 and 1682 the most productive weaver in Rowley...processed at Pearson's mill considerably less cloth than one Boston merchant imported in one shipload in 1650.<sup>21</sup>

From the earliest days of the settlement to the end of the century, most textiles used for clothing and home furnishings were imported, and even farm families in the hinterlands relied heavily on

manufactured goods from England, brought through the port of Boston.

## CHAPTER I

Well before the century under discussion, England was known for her fine quality woolen products. The production of wool had a long history in England, and, by the end of the Middle Ages, England was the greatest producer and manufacturer of wool products in the world. One author stated that woolen and worsted manufactures were "the premier English industry from the twelfth to the nineteenth century." <sup>1</sup> As early as the fourteenth century, English broadcloth, kersey and raw wool were being exported throughout Europe. <sup>2</sup> One important phase of the trade was shipment of cloth to Antwerp during the first half of the sixteenth century, where it was exchanged for luxury continental products: jewels, silk fabrics, silver and gold thread and fabrics, fine camblets, linens, tapestries and household furniture. <sup>3</sup> Before the end of the sixteenth century England's fabric exports consisted chiefly of the heavy woolens such as broadcloth, made from short-staple wool, heavily fullled to shrink the cloth and make it dense, and finally napped and shorn to give it a plush surface. It should be noted that the term "cloth," used to refer to wool fabrics of the seventeenth century and earlier, always meant this specific type of heavy, napped product, and everyone in the trade knew exactly what was meant by the term. Gradually during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nature of England's exports changed from an

emphasis on heavy woolens to lighter worsted fabrics, known at the time as "the new draperies." The shift in product came about for a combination of reasons. Enclosure of pasture lands in the sixteenth century led to better nourished sheep, which produced the longer wool needed to make worsted fabrics. This came at roughly the same time that the market at home and abroad demanded cheaper and lighter wool fabrics. For whatever reason, England's trade in worsted fabrics flourished, and new markets were being opened, especially in the Mediterranean and Africa. With the opening of the colonies in America, England soon found in them another market for her manufactured goods, as well as a source for raw materials as she originally hoped.

During the seventeenth century, the wool trade began to take up a somewhat smaller proportion of the total trade due to a diversification of exports, especially re-export of colonial goods ; nevertheless, even at the end of the seventeenth century, wool fabrics formed almost 50% of England's total exports. In 1699 England's total exports amounted to £ 6,788,160, with woolen goods taking up £ 2,932,294 of that amount. In addition, it is estimated that twice again as much wool was consumed at home. The colonies proved to be important markets for woolens; of all the English manufactured goods reaching the colonies in the late seventeenth century, the woolen trade made up half of that value.

Production of textiles from wool was scattered throughout all of England, with nearly every town producing some wool fabrics. Certain areas, however, specialized in particular types of wool fabrics, often giving their names to the product. Examples include Norwich stuffs, Devonshire kersey, Kendal cloth, Manchester cottons and Taunton serge. Production of the "new draperies," or lightweight worsted fabrics, was centered around Norwich in Norfolk. The production of worsteds can be traced back to the reign of Edward II (1307-27), and was given an impetus by the immigration of Dutch and Walloon weavers in the sixteenth century. These skilled continental weavers are generally credited with improving the manufactures already existing in England. Worsted fabrics were, by definition, made from long-staple wool, combed instead of carded before spinning to make the fibers lie nearly parallel, and woven into fabrics with a relatively smooth finish. Worsteds were not fulled to shrink and felt them as were woolens, nor was a nap raised. Norwich also specialized in fabrics of wool mixed with other fibers as silk, cotton, or linen. Using wool from Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, Norwich produced items known as stuffs (a term meaning a worsted fabric with both warp and weft of combed wool), satins, crapes, and camlets. Special trade names were assigned as early as the sixteenth century to give some of the fabrics an advantage in the market: perpetuanas, buffyn, Fustian of Naples, grograines, mockadoes, valures, pearl of beauty, and paragon. At this time it is not possible to determine exactly what the fabrics were like, or whether they changed over the years.

Essex, to the south of Norwich, made worsted fabric, but was especially known for serge, a fabric with a warp of combed wool (worsted) and a weft of carded wool (woolen).<sup>8</sup> Serges were also produced in great quantities in the west of England, at Exeter, and in the border area between Somerset and Devon. The serges made at Somerset and Devon were called "Taunton serge" after the nearby marketing town. They were woven on a worsted warp, but had a woolen weft and were fulled,<sup>9</sup> thus giving them characteristics of both woolens and worsteds.

Historically, the most important product of the West country of England was broadcloth, on which England's fame in wool had rested for centuries. With its center at Bristol, the manufacture was undertaken in the surrounding areas of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire, where it had been going successfully since the twelfth century. Sometimes woven on two-man looms as wide as 100 inches, the cloth was prized for its heavy felted character and its napped surface. Many of the broadcloths were sold undyed, though by the seventeenth century a demand was developing for dyed cloth. Especially well known were the red cloths dyed at Stoudwater. Another type, medley cloth, was dyed in the wool, with the colors mixed before spinning. "Spanish cloth," developed and produced in Wiltshire, was so named because it was originally made of dyed Spanish wool.

Wales was known for its coarse woolens known as Welsh friezes,

cottons and plains. Welsh friezes were characterized by a nap which formed curls on the surface of the fabric. Cottons were also heavily napped, taking their name from the soft, fluffy surface nap resembling cotton fiber. Plains were simple fabrics with no special surface finish.

In the north of England were produced coarse woolens similar to those of Wales. The area around Manchester produced cottons, friezes (napped woolens) and fustians. Yorkshire was noted for woolens referred to as Yorkshire kersies, penistones, and northern dozens (so named because they were woven in pieces 12-13 yards long). Yorkshire also produced broadcloth. Many of the northern woolens had a reputation of being of inferior quality during the seventeenth century; the quality only improved with the introduction of worsteds in the very late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Organization of the textile production varied slightly with the area involved. In Norwich and the West of England, a clothier controlled the production of the cloth. He was a capitalist who provided the funding, supplied the raw materials to the spinners and weavers, oversaw the processing, and sent the fabrics to the market. The clothier became the middleman between the producer and the customer. Wool production had a definite division of labor; spinning, weaving, dying, shearing—each step in the production was done by a specialized group of workmen trained many years in their profession. This division of labor had a long history in the industry, for a

proclamation of 1364 ordered:

...each of the mysteries of the tenterers, tellers, and fullers must confine themselves to their own mysteries, and in no manner intermix themselves or interfere with the making, buying, or selling of any manner of cloth or drapery....<sup>10</sup>

The clothier was responsible for carrying the raw materials from one step in the manufacture to the next until the final product reached the market. Because the workers did not own the raw materials, they were frequently accused of keeping back a portion, especially in times of economic hardship.<sup>11</sup> Planning and control of the product ultimately rested in the hands of the clothier, and merchants selected from what was available in the open market. Only in limited cases were fabrics purchased by contract in the seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> This was to change in the century following when merchants became involved in the manufacture, often special-ordering pieces of fabric from a sample.

London dominated the textile trade in the seventeenth century. Since the fourteenth century, Blackwell Hall on Basinghall Street in London had been a center where merchants were able to see and purchase textiles brought by the country clothiers or their agents. From every part of England and Wales, textiles were brought to the hall, each sold in a separate room reserved for the particular area of production.<sup>13</sup> From nearby Norwich, from Yorkshire in the north and from Somerset and Devon to the west, fabrics were brought overland by pack horses to London. Even Welsh cloth from the far west

was taken first to the Shrewsbury way station and from there overland to London. Sometimes textiles reached London through merchants who went out to the country fairs frequented by small producers who could not afford to ship their fabrics to London.

The port of Bristol ranked second in importance to London. Bristol had enjoyed a thriving export trade in broadcloth and serges made nearby during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but much of this business was taken over by London in the seventeenth century. Some Welsh cloth was shipped out of Bristol in the seventeenth century, although London dominated this trade, also. In the century following, however, Bristol took a much greater proportion of the export trade, especially in broadcloth and the variety of Welsh woolens called "cottons." The beginnings in the second half of the seventeenth century set the foundation for a very prosperous textile trade with America in the eighteenth century. The coarse Welsh cloth seems to have been chiefly an export item, with little entering the English domestic market; even that shipped overland and sold from London was destined for export and not home use. One of the uses for the coarser varieties of Welsh cloth was as a protective wrapper for finer fabrics being shipped out of London.

Liverpool in the north of England exported some of the coarse woolens made in the areas nearby. Products as Manchester cottons, Kendal cloth, friezes, and fustians were shipped out of Liverpool as well as being shipped to London for ultimate sale. Outports like

Liverpool were able to ship such local products at a savings, because sending goods to London added to their cost, a fact well known to the American merchants. John Hull of Boston wrote to one of his shipmasters that he did not have specific instructions as to port, but if the captain sailed to Liverpool, he should purchase coarse Manchesters, cottons, duffils, or mixed serges—"Such things as are made att or neere the place...may bee bought cheape."<sup>15</sup>

In spite of some export activity on the part of the outports, they were at a disadvantage in that they did not have access to the capital or the great variety of products from all over England and the world which were available at London. Only a small share of the textile export trade was conducted from the outports in the seventeenth century.

Although wool formed the basis of England's reputation in textile production, some silks were produced there in the seventeenth century. As early as the fifteenth century the occupation of silk winding, doubling and twisting was protected by an Act of Parliament.<sup>16</sup>

By the seventeenth century there were 40,000 people in London engaged in silk production.<sup>17</sup> Scattered references to silk weavers can be found in various parts of England, but the chief centers of silk weaving in our period were Coventry, Norwich, Canterbury and the Spitalfields area just outside of London. Coventry is known to have had some silk weavers from an Act of 1627, forming them into a distinct company.<sup>18</sup> Very late in the seventeenth century Coventry

became famous for production of silk ribbons. Although Norwich was noted for worsteds, she produced some fabrics of silk and wool mixed, as well as some fabrics of all silk. Canterbury was producing woven silks in the seventeenth century; her company of silk weavers was formed in 1676, producing "rich striped silks, silks wrought with gold and silver, and fabrics of wool mixed with silk."<sup>19</sup> Canterbury's flourishing silk industry dwindled in the late seventeenth century as Spitalfields rose to become the chief area of production in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Evidence of some silk production within London and at Spitalfields can be found before 1600; Spitalfields had a guild of silk throwers in 1562.<sup>20</sup> Real success did not come, however, until 1685 with the immigration of French silk weavers driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Copying French fashions, Spitalfields became a major producer of fine silk fabrics.

Raw materials for the silk production were imported from Italy or Turkey. Joshua Gee, writing in 1738, distinguished between the quality of Turkish and Italian silks. He stated that Turkish silk was not considered fine or strong enough for use as a warp, but was used for the weft ("shute") of damasks and other colored silks. Italian silk was used for warp and for both warp and weft in the finer silks like lutestring, alamode, and paduasoy.<sup>21</sup> Like the woolen industry, silk production was characterized by a division of labor; each step, whether throwing, dyeing, winding or weaving, was done by someone with specialized training for that occupation.<sup>22</sup>

The silks were woven on large drawlooms located in the weaver's house. The finished products were sold through silk mercers or drapers who supplied the London exporters. John Ive, the London business contact for John Usher, wrote to Boston that he had spent "a good part of 4 dayes" in Spitalfields selecting the goods to be shipped to Boston.

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England produced some linen cloth, but not in amounts or quality to rival the famous linens imported from France, the Low Countries and Germany. Records indicate that Irish linen yarn was brought in through the port of Liverpool and made into fabrics around Manchester on a limited scale. By the end of the seventeenth century, Ireland became the chief producer of finished linens, and England ceased her manufacture of linen. This was spurred by a 1696 Act of Parliament admitting Irish linen fabrics and yarns duty-free, giving Ireland a trade advantage.

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Cotton production in England is closely tied to linen production, as linen yarn was used as warp for cotton fabrics up to the 1770's. Bales of cotton had been imported as early as the thirteenth century, although nothing is known about cotton manufacture in England until about 1600, when it is estimated that Manchester began making cottons with a linen warp. It is difficult to differentiate between the woolen fabrics called Manchester "cottons" and fabrics actually made of cotton fiber, but several early documents are specific enough to indicate the production of cotton

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textiles in the early seventeenth century. A petition to Parliament, probably dating from 1621, states:

...about twenty years past divers people in this kingdom, but chiefly in Lancaster, have found out the trade of making other fustians, made of a kind of bombast or down, being a fruit of the earth growing upon little shrubs or bushes, brought into this kingdom by Turkey merchants from Smyrna, Cyprus, Acra, and Sydon, but commonly called cotton wool; and also of linen yarn most part brought out of Scotland, and no part of the same fustians of any wool at all.<sup>26</sup>

In Treasure of Traffic of 1641, Lewes Roberts stated that cotton wool was purchased in London from Cyprus and Smyrna, and that men of Manchester made it into fustians, vermillions and dimities which were returned to London to be sold.<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that the cotton fabrics made in England in the seventeenth century were the coarser varieties and were woven on linen warps; they did not rival the fine muslins and calicoes imported from India.

Because of the limited production of silks, linens, and cottons in England, the bulk of these textiles was imported through London. Linens and silks from France were prized in England and in the colonies, especially during the periods when trade with France was prohibited, from 1678 to 1685 and from 1689 to 1696. Shortly after the first prohibition went into effect, John Ive reported to Charles Lidget in Boston that "French goods advance very much...the Act is very strikly observed."<sup>28</sup> Prohibition of French imports gave rise to some smuggling but, more important, it encouraged

English production of silks in imitation of the French fabrics at the very time when Spitalfields was coming into its own as a center of silk production. Joshua Gee wrote, "Altho' we have those Manufactures made as good, if not better than the French, yet they are forced to be called by the Name of French to make them sell."<sup>29</sup>

Linen fabrics from the Continent were imported to England in large quantities. Continental linens popular in England included cambrics, lockram, dowlas, Normandy canvas, Ghentings (Kentings), diaper, Holland, Silesia ("Sleassey"), Hamburgh ("Hambro") and Osnaburg ("Oznabriggs"). It is obvious from the list that many of the linen fabrics derived their names from their original place of manufacture.

The fine cotton fabrics which reached England were of Indian origin and included chintz, palampores, pintadoes, and calico. Early in the century Indian cottons were popular for household furnishings, and later they became the vogue for wearing apparel. So fashionable did they become that the local woolen industries feared the competition and an act of prohibition was<sup>30</sup> passed in 1700.

This discussion points out that a wide variety of textiles was available for export from England to the colonies or elsewhere during the seventeenth century. The range of fabrics encompassed fine English woolens and worsteds, domestic and imported silks, continental linens, Indian cottons, and domestic cotton-

linen combinations.

## CHAPTER II

Unable to produce enough textiles and other manufactured products to meet their needs or desires, the New England colonists turned to overseas supplies. The British Navigation Act of 1663 stated that any European goods destined for the colonies had to be taken to England, Wales, or Berwick-upon-Tweed before shipment to the colonies. Violations of the act occurred throughout the century; the colonies were able to import European goods from the Caribbean, from European ports, and from Newfoundland, which was used as a base of exchange. Yet in spite of the possibilities for evading the act, most trade was conducted with England because colonial merchants found it easier to deal with men who shared their language, customs, and background. Just as London dominated the textile trade in her own country, she also dominated the colonial trade. She offered the best market for colonial products, a wide variety of goods for exchange, and a history of dealings with New England that made communication easier.

With their great dependence on Europe--particularly on England--for textiles and other manufactured goods, the colonists searched for products to use as a means of exchange in purchasing these expensive goods. Money was in short supply and was seldom used

for payment.<sup>1</sup> The problem was to find New England products that would be salable on European markets. Since markets and prices for New England's raw materials were changeable, colonial merchants were forced to keep abreast of fluctuations in overseas markets to determine what products would bring good returns. Early in the century, furs met the need for an export that brought high profits. In 1650 and 1651, Henry Shrimpton of Boston sent shipments of beaver and moose skins, which were received by his cousin Edward Shrimpton on Cannon Street in London. Edward sent back woolen fabrics specified as "bayes, say, serge, Norwich stuffs, and duffils; linen canvas; 100 dozen hats, 100 dozen stockings, and 50 dozen shoes."<sup>2</sup> Twenty years later, John Hull of Boston sent some moose skins to his London agent in exchange for manufactured goods, including "any blacke stuffs yt are cheap, either of hair or wosted."<sup>3</sup> But the trade in furs could not begin to match the value of all the manufactured goods needed, especially as supplies of furbearing animals dwindled steadily throughout the century. Boston merchants were compelled to find other ways to pay for imported goods. The products that flowed into Boston markets from the surrounding areas--farm produce, lumber, and fish--were not easily sold in England. The solution was to ship New England products to places where they did find a market, to exchange the produce for bills of credit or for products that would sell in Europe, and to use the proceeds of these complicated ventures to purchase, preferably in England, the needed manufactured goods. The business

records of Samuel Sewall illustrate typical trade arrangements. In 1686, Sewall sent numerous shipments of farm and lumber products to the Caribbean. In 1699, he consigned a shipment of mackerel to his agent in Barbados, advising him to "make returns in good Cotton, Sugar and Melosses. Except you can have good bills for London, Let them be payable to Mr. Edw. Hull at the Hat in hand within Algate."<sup>4</sup> The Englishman Joshua Gee, writing in 1729, gave an overview of the New England trade:

New-England takes from us all Sorts of Woollen Manufactures, Linnen, Sail-cloth and Cordage for rigging their ships, Haberdashery, &c. To raise money to pay for what they take of us, they are forced to visit the Spanish Coasts, where they pick up any Commodity they can trade for. They carry lumber and Provisions to the Sugar Plantations; exchange Provisions for Logwood with the Logwood Cutters at Campeachey. They send Pipe and Barrel Staves, and Fish to Spain, Portugal, and the Streights. They send Pitch Tar and Turpentine to England, with some Skins. But all those Commodities fall very short of purchasing their Cloathing in England.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in its mature stage, the colonial trade with England did not flow in a direct path, but involved a network of commercial contacts in many parts of the world.

Whatever the product sent to Europe, colonial merchants needed reliable business contacts abroad. The factor, or agent, upon whom the Boston merchant relied as his business representative across the seas, was an indispensable part of the trade mechanism and occupied a position of great trust. Although the practice was by no

means universal, factors for New England merchants were frequently relatives living in England. In their quest for new markets, some merchants sent goods to factors with whom they were not personally acquainted, but who had been recommended by fellow merchants. For example, in 1672 John Hull shipped some goods to Richard Benson of Bristol. In his letter to Benson, Hull said:

Although yor selfe to mee unknown yet have made bold to Consigne a little goods unto you viz 224<sup>h</sup> of Newe sugr 6 hh of Leafe tobacco one truss of beaver & 4<sup>tun</sup> & halfe of Loggwod as pr bill of ladeing & invoyce inclosed.

In exchange, Hull asked for lead, shot, and the following wool fabrics: "good sad Collor prest serges & mixt tanton Taunton serges & sad Collor Kersyes." It will be noted that Hull's order was for the serge fabrics made in the Somerset-Taunton area near the port of Bristol. After suggesting price ranges for the textiles, Hull emphasized that "the greatest I desire of you is yt ye Collors<sup>6</sup> bee very good ; our people heare are mostly for sad Collers." Apparently Hull was satisfied with Benson's transactions, because he later shipped another consignment of beaver and tobacco to be traded for serge. On another occasion Hull was not fortunate in his choice of a contact he did not personally know. In violation of the Navigation Act, he shipped logwood and tobacco to James Delaronde of La Rochelle, France, who had been recommended by Samuel Shrimpton. Hull asked for returns in black lutestring and ducape silks. Hull was not satisfied with the goods Delaronde sent back; he wrote a

letter of complaint on March 31, 1676: "Sr No Coloured silks are of any use here; onely black, & of those ye best Taffatas, or Lutestring....I received what you sent by Mr. Samuel Hayman, but they are not vendible here." Complaining that Delaronde had not followed his orders, Hull added, "I hope Sr I need not ad more words to prevail wth you to doe this for me, seeing it is the Custom of Mercht<sup>7</sup> to attend order if they please to accept of any Consighnments."

Even when the factor was a friend or relative of the merchant, the quality and salability of textiles shipped to the colonies continued to be a problem in the view of the New England merchant. In the fall of 1674, John Hull received a shipment of textiles from his cousin Edward Hull in London. The goods were, according to the New Englander, "both the worst Goods & the dearest that I have had from any."<sup>8</sup> In March, 1675, Hull again had to report that "ye role taffatas was greatly discoulord some of ym & very unvendible."<sup>9</sup> In still another letter of complaint, Hull suggested that his cousin was being taken in by men who sold the textiles in London: "You must take heed of beleiveing all that men say of the Goodness of their Wares Least you bee over Injuriouse and alsoe too Discourage-<sup>10</sup>ing unto mee." A merchant was compelled to watch over the quality of the textiles he received, because poor quality would result in loss of profit. Sometimes he went to great lengths to attempt to sell a shipment, sending the fabrics to other shopkeepers or even to another city. John Hull sent some red cloth (probably broadcloth

dyed at Stoudwater) to New York because he was unable to sell it in  
 Boston.<sup>11</sup> Samuel Sewall reported to Thomas Burbank that the serge  
 Burbank had sent was not "vendible" in Boston, although he had tried  
 his best to get rid of the fabric "by putting some to a warehouse  
 to be sold with other goods. Another piece sent to Ipswich to an  
 ingenious and faithfull Shopkeeper there, and yet for all this cannot  
 yet get them off."<sup>12</sup> Samuel Sewall's Business Journal records that  
 he was forced to return money to one of his customers because "she  
 saith yt searge was nott good."<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult to tell whether English merchants deliberately  
 sent poor quality or unsaleable goods to the colonies, or whether the  
 problem was caused by lack of communication. To give their factors  
 some idea of the fabrics and colors that would sell in the colonies,  
 merchants wrote numerous letters informing them of the fashions in  
 Boston. John Hull's letters constantly stressed that bright-colored  
 textiles would not sell among his customers, only black and "sad  
 colors." It should be noted that this does not mean the absence of  
 color in the textile, but that the textile be in a muted color. In  
 an order for some "Sad Coller" serge, Hull added that red or green  
 would be the best choices.<sup>14</sup> Samuel Sewall gave another indication  
 of fashion in color in a letter ordering three pieces of Norwich  
 stuff, one of a sad color, and two of light colors for children's  
 wear.<sup>15</sup> Boston merchants sometimes sent swatches of fabric  
 illustrating the color, pattern and quality desired. To make his  
 point, John Hull sent a letter to England, enclosing "two or three

patterns of what sad Colors are here most usefull." If he did not  
 buy the sad colors, Edward Hull was instructed to send black.<sup>16</sup>

When ordering some fabric for his wife, Samuel Sewall sent a swatch  
 of silk; his letter asked John Ive to "send my wife a piece of silk  
 of the same stripe flower and colour of the inclosed pattern, but a  
 better and firmer silk."<sup>17</sup>

The problem of unsalable products was not unique to the  
 Boston merchants; sometimes colonial shipments were difficult to  
 sell in London, as indicated by a letter from John Hull to James  
 Eyton. Hull gently admonished Eyton for sending unordered goods,  
 but added, "I shall not say any more of yt, bec<sup>18</sup>/āuse/ ye Goods I  
 sent you prove so unvendible."

In spite of the colonist's attempts to control color, style,  
 and quality, selection of the textiles ultimately rested in the  
 hands of Englishmen. In many cases, English merchants selected and  
 shipped textiles to Boston at their own risk, consigning them to one  
 of the Boston merchants. Thomas Buckham and Daniel Allen of London  
 sent calicoes (Indian cottons) to John Hull, who reported in a  
 letter that he had managed to sell a third of the shipment.<sup>19</sup> The  
 1688 inventory of Humphrey Luscomb indicates that he acted as a  
 colonial factor for overseas merchants. At the time of his death,  
 textiles and other manufactured goods belonging to seventeen  
 different merchants were in his warehouse. The textiles included  
 canvas for ships, broadcloth, serge, drugget, kersey, a few silks

and calicoes, and fine-quality wool fabrics like camlet and worsted  
 20  
 prunella.

On some occasions Boston merchants were compelled to receive and try to sell textiles they had not ordered from England. John Hull's letters indicate that this happened numerous times. In 1683 he wrote to John Peake to order Dutch duffils, red penistones, and flannels, "but pray no Such scarlet cloth as now you sent me  
 21  
 without my sending for." In 1679 Hull complained to another business contact, stating:

Pray send me noe more than the ballance for I will note be in debt in England any more if I can help it & indeed you know my orders had they bine observed I had not bine in yor debt. Pray doe not send me such things as will not vend, nor any high Prized things."

22

Hull suggested that black chenys and camlets would sell well.

Early in the eighteenth century, Joshua Gee expressed the prevailing English attitude that the colonies were suitable markets for goods out of fashion in England:

New England and the Northern Colonies have not commodities and Products enough to send us in Returns for purchasing their necessary Cloathing, &c. but are under very great Difficulties, and therefore any ordinary Sort sells with them and when they are grown out of Fashion with us, they are new fashioned enough there; and therefore those Places are the great Markets we have to dispse of such Goods, which are generally sent at the Risque of the Shopkeepers and Traders of England, who are the great Exporters, and not

the Inhabitants of the colonies, as some have  
imagined.<sup>23</sup>

The duties of a factor went beyond the selection of products to be sent to the colonies. He received shipments of colonial goods, saw to their sale, and credited the proceeds to the account of the colonial merchant. Keeping the merchant informed of the status of his account was vital to the smooth flow of business; only in that way could the colonist know how much his goods had brought and how much he might order in return. John Hull explained the importance of account-keeping in a letter to his cousin Edward. "Couzen, Lett me tell you that if you be a factor and take Comision you must never negglect yor accpts and Espetially yor acct of Sales for they are a guid to the owners of the goods."<sup>24</sup>

Because the factor kept an account of the business conducted on behalf of the colonist, he took on the role of banker, crediting accounts with proceeds from sales or bills of exchange, and paying money to other merchants on order. The procedure did not always go smoothly, especially when there was an overdraft on the account, a situation of which the colonial merchant was not always aware, either because of lack of communication from his contact or because his goods had not brought the expected profit in London. John Hull, still troubled by his kinsmen's transactions overseas, complained to another cousin Daniel Allen that he had received a letter from an upholsterer in London "who tells mee he cannot get his mon<sup>y</sup> & that you tell him it was still in New england good Cozen I

besech yo doe not ocassion yor selfe nor mee that discreditt, when  
 you know I sent ye whole retournes & more." <sup>25</sup>

After he selected the textiles from the cloth market and drapers in London, the factor was responsible for arranging packing and shipping. He sent the invoice of the goods shipped, listing additional costs for packing, customs, transportation ("portage") to the ship, loading, freight, and his commission of 2½ per cent. The factor John Ive wrote to John Usher that 2½ per cent was small compensation for the work he did in selecting goods to send to Boston. Ive wrote, "a porter in London is paid better for expence of his time...our Custome house is soe troublesome that a man deerly <sup>26</sup> earns 2 & ½ pct comm...."

Many lengths of fabrics, called "pieces," were packed together in a large bale that was usually wrapped with fabrics of lesser quality for protection. The coarse Welsh cottons were often used as wrapping. Whisks were sometimes included in the bale for brushing such woolen fabrics as broadcloths, cottons, and shaggs, all of which had napped surfaces that would have been crushed in the tight packing. In a footnote attached to one of his orders for cloth, duffall, cotton, flannel and serge, John Hull requested, "Pray the Draper not to for git a Wiske to brush the cloth [ ] tho we are in <sup>27</sup> Woods yet we never yet got any such Wares." Although the contents of the bale were numbered for ease in finding each piece, sorting out the individual lengths of fabric was not always easy. John Hull

wrote to London that two pieces of silk lutestring were missing from the bale in a recent delivery. Three months later he wrote back to apologize, for the silks had been returned by an honest neighbor who had found them when he opened a recently purchased  
28  
piece of cotton.

Often the factor did personal favors for the New England merchant. He was trusted with the selection of fabrics and clothing for the personal use of the New Englander and his family. Such was the case in 1687 when Samuel Sewall asked Daniel Allen in London to have Allen's wife select a piece of fustian, drawn with a design for embroidering bed curtains, valance, counterpane and six chairs. Sewall explained that his wife wanted to put their two daughters to  
29  
work on the project. On another occasion Sewall asked Edward Hull to send his family various wool and silk fabrics, sewing thread,  
30  
buttons, and "a pattern of good strong coloured Silk for a Jacket." Charles Lidget of Boston had a coat made in London. His factor, John Ive, oversaw the project, helping select the fabric, buttons  
31  
and trim.

These instances point out the English factor's great influence upon colonial fashion. Not only did factors select items for the personal use of the merchants, they also had ultimate control over the textiles and home furnishings exported to the colonies. Many times, English merchants selected goods to venture to the colonies at their own risk; in such cases, the Bostonians had no

control over what was shipped to be sold in their colony.

The question of the English sending old fashioned goods has been raised in the quote from Joshua Gee's book: "...when they are grown out of Fashion with us, they are new fashioned enough there...." It is probably true that many old fashioned goods were dumped on the colonies, yet the colonists complained more about receiving textiles of poor quality than they did about receiving old fashioned goods. In addition, many of the goods sent were resisted by the colonists because they were not conservative enough for the New England customer. The colored French silks sent by James Delaronde and the red cloth that had to be shipped to New York for sale were resisted because the colors would not be accepted by John Hull's Boston customers. On one occasion Hull specifically requested old fashioned goods: "If he lit of any black Stuffe a very good Peniworth tho out of fashon he might lay out some mony of mine in ym..."<sup>32</sup> In another letter Hull scolded his uncle for sending a suit and some damask fabric: "You have sent me by Mr. Greenough a pc of white damaske and a chyna sute which I doubt are like to be long house-keepers neithr are they good for the Countrey but onely to nourish Pride."<sup>33</sup>

New trends in textiles, home furnishings, and clothing must have been often introduced to Boston through the goods selected and exported by English factors. Once here, the textiles usually remained, because of the trouble and expense of shipment back to

England. If the textiles did not find a market immediately, they were transferred to other parts of the colony or to another warehouse where they might find a better market. Their very presence in the colonies made a great impact on stylistic trends. Although Bostonians attempted to tell the English what type of textiles to ship, the fact remains that English factors and merchants played the major role in setting styles of textiles used in colonial Boston.

### CHAPTER III

The focus of this chapter is to determine, first, what textiles reached Boston through its merchants in the seventeenth century, and second, how the fabrics were used in home furnishings. A survey of eighty-three merchants' inventories between 1650 and 1700 reveals that Boston merchants offered a wide variety of fabrics to their customers. Some fabric names, such as serge and broadcloth, are familiar to us today. Other fabrics have largely been lost in obscurity-- alamode, toys, French love, and prunella, to name but a few. A counting was made of how many merchants' inventories included a particular fabric, as an indication of that fabric's popularity. (See Appendices A, B and C). No attempt was made to add up yardages, for several reasons: some inventories did not include exact yardages; other inventories had the yardages obscured by destruction of the inventory record through the years; finally, some fabrics were measured in ells, which either meant forty-five or twenty-seven inches, depending on whether the English or Flemish ell was being used. For analysis on the chart, the fabrics were grouped by fiber.

Among the fabrics made of wool, the most frequently mentioned was serge, found in seventy-three inventories. Because serge was

actually part worsted and part woolen, it was a versatile fabric which was used for home furnishings as well as clothing. Serge was sometimes fulled, but was not as heavy as cloth, second most frequently mentioned fabric, found in sixty-one inventories. Cloth or broadcloth was dense and very heavily fulled. Some English broadcloth was so heavily felted that it had a tendency to crack at folds or points of wear. In addition, most broadcloth did not ravel when cut, because the heavy fulling prevented ravelling. Cloth had a napped surface, giving it great warmth. Both serge and cloth were produced primarily in the western part of England, although some serge was imported from the continent, as indicated by the descriptions, "Dutch" and "French." The third most frequently mentioned wool fabric was kersey, found in fifty-eight inventories. This coarse wool fabric was produced in Yorkshire, Wales and the western portion of England. Kersey was followed in popularity by stuff, a worsted fabric usually made at Norwich, England (fifty-three inventories). Stuff was a general term encompassing a variety of fabrics, all characterized by being lightweight worsteds, sometimes mixed with silk or mohair and sometimes pressed or calendered to impart a design (watering). The finest stuffs had a smooth, hard surface sheen resembling silk, especially when woven in a satin or damask weave. Cotton was mentioned in forty inventories. Made primarily in Wales and northern England, cotton was a woolen with a napped surface left long and not shorn like broadcloth. This gave cotton a fuzzy appearance, making it especially suitable for blankets. Several other

popular wool fabrics included say (mentioned in twenty-nine inventories), camlet (twenty), and prunella (sixteen). It is not known exactly how these fabrics differed from one another, though they all appear to have resembled stuff, in that they were worsted fabrics, frequently mixed with wool or hair. Other wool fabrics most often found in merchants' inventories were flannel (twenty), made in Wales; bays (sixteen), a plain, coarse woolen; and mohair (sixteen), probably made of angora goat hair or hair mixed with wool. In summary, one finds that fine worsteds and worsted mixtures were available in the colonies, in addition to the more utilitarian serges, cloths, and napped woolens.

Hundreds of yards of linen fabrics were found in Boston merchants' inventories. Most of the linens were continental or Scotch fabrics first imported to London. Bostonians received their linens from their factors, who purchased them at the London markets or directly from linen importers. A London factor reported to Charles Lidget in Boston that he purchased Lidget's linens from the importers, because "Mead & Ingram import theyr Cloath themselves and can sell it as cheape as any." The most frequently mentioned linen fabrics, ranked in order of importance, were Holland (in seventy-six inventories), linen (fifty-three), dowlas (thirty-five), Oznabriggs, (thirty-one), lockram (twenty-six), Scotch cloth (twenty-three), and kenting (thirteen).

The most popular cotton fabrics were those described as

calicoes, found in fifty-four inventories. The term "callico" referred to cotton fabrics from India; as late as 1788, George Selby Howard defined callico as "a kind of linen manufacture made of cotton....brought hither by the East India Company, and ... re-exported by merchants to other parts of Europe."<sup>2</sup> It is not known exactly when the term came to mean any type of cotton fabric. In his 1835 book, Edward Baines defined calico as any cotton fabric in general, as opposed to linens.<sup>3</sup> Many of the calicoes reaching the colonies were patterned, as indicated by the adjectives, "flowered," "painted," "printed," and "speckled;" others were described as "glazed." Fustians were listed in twenty-nine inventories. This category of fabrics is open to interpretation, for the term fustian referred to either wool or cotton fabrics during the seventeenth century. Many of the cotton fustians with linen warps had a brushed or napped surface, further causing confusion with wool fustian. Spain had been producing a true cotton fustian from the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It has been previously noted that a cotton and linen fustian was made in Manchester in the seventeenth century. Such must have been the fabric Samuel Sewall ordered from London for his two daughters to embroider. (See Chapter Two). The third type of cotton fabric found in great numbers was dimity, mentioned in fourteen inventories. Dimity in the seventeenth century was a heavy cotton fabric with linen warp. The descriptive adjectives, "checkered" and "striped," found in colonial inventories, suggest a fabric patterned on the loom.

Twenty-two inventories listed fabrics described as silk. Some of the silks were further described as "crepe," "fancy," "French," "flowered," and "striped." Fourteen inventories included alamode, a silk fabric used for clothing, especially hoods. In 1788 Howard defined alamode as a "very thin, light, glossy, black<sup>5</sup> silk, chiefly used for women's hoods and men's mourning scarfs." It is probable that Howard's definition can be applied to the seventeenth century, as well as to the eighteenth century. Inventory references to the fabric suggest its use for hoods and funeral mourning scarfs. Among the funeral expenses of William Antrobus, who died in 1675, is a listing of fifteen yards of alamode, "...for<sup>6</sup> the barers." Sarcenet was listed in eleven inventories. Alan S. Cole defined sarcenet as a plain silk, as distinguished from taffeta,<sup>7</sup> satin or velvet.

An overview of the fabrics found in Boston merchants' inventories shows that wool fabrics were most plentiful, especially the serges, broadcloth, coarse napped woolens, and several types of fine worsted fabrics. Great quantities of continental linens reached Boston, followed by calicoes and several varieties of silk fabrics.

Textiles played an important role in the home of Boston colonists during the seventeenth century. A survey was made of 485 household inventories in three, five-year periods. The inventories studied were distributed as follows: 91 in the period 1650-55; 205 in 1670-75; and 189 in 1690-95. (See Appendix D). The survey of

inventories gives an indication of the usage of the textiles in the home.

The most important usage of textiles in the home was for the bed, which retained much of the importance it held in the Middle Ages. One still found beds in the parlor of seventeenth century Boston homes. Starting at the bottom, mattresses were described as being stuffed with the following materials: chaff, down, feathers, flock (shredded bits of wool), hair, "silk grass," and wool. In the three periods surveyed, feather beds outnumbered all other kinds, followed in order by flock and straw. The proportionate usage of feather beds appears to have increased slightly by the end of the century. The coarser types of beds such as chaff, straw and flock declined slightly by the end of the century.

The bed curtains and valances were very important to the appearance of the bed. Bed curtains were often imported ready-made from England. In a letter to his cousin, Edward Hull of London, John Hull asked for thirty pair of striped curtains at twelve shillings a pair; ten pair of printed curtains at fifteen shillings; and ten more striped curtains at eighteen shillings a pair. In 1681 John Usher received from London a bale of "upholstery" containing bed rugs, blankets, coverlets, and the following bed curtains: "4 payre of printed Curtaines of the Broadest sort" and "4 payre Stript Curtaines and Valiants." Bed curtains were sometimes described in inventories by color or pattern, but more frequently by fabric.

Colors mentioned were blue, cloth color, gray, green, red, white and yellow. As suggested by the merchants' orders quoted, striped and printed bed hangings were found in inventories. Most of the bed hangings were of wool fabrics or wool mixtures: broadcloth and cloth, camlet, paragon, darnix, linsey woolsey, say, serge, and worsted. Serge was the most popular of the fabrics for bed curtains, especially near the end of the century. Calico curtains were listed in some inventories of the 1690-95 date period. Two of the calico beds were specified as being "painted," probably similar in appearance to the two "East India" beds listed in two other inventories. Linen curtains were found on beds. Four were described as Holland and one described simply as "linen." Silk bed curtains were found only rarely. One sarsenet bed was found in the 1650-55 range; two other silk beds in 1670-75. Other inventories not counted in the survey further illuminate the usage of bed curtains in the home. The inventory of John Coggan, taken in 1658, gives the picture of a very elegant room: Coggan owned "A silke Quilt...a turke paintado...a turky Carpet..." and "1 paire of silke Curtaines & vallence."<sup>10</sup> William Paddy owned "1 new Suite watchet i.e. light blue or greenish<sup>7</sup> Searg Curtaines valance & Cubberd Cloth" and "1 watchet Rugg new."<sup>11</sup> Paddy's inventory suggests that fabrics often formed matching sets in the home. This trend holds true in many inventories, especially when related to bedrooms or parlors with beds. The inventory of William Tinge, dated 1653, lists "1 blewe shuite for a bed laid wth a tester head cloth and 4 windowe curtaines, 4 back

stooles & 2 lowe stooles laid of the same with blew Covers."<sup>12</sup>  
 Robert Nanny's 1663 inventory listed a matching set of dimity  
 curtains, valance and covers for chairs and stools.<sup>13</sup>

Window curtains were not listed in the appendix, as they  
 were very rarely found in the inventories surveyed. A search  
 through other Boston inventories shows that window curtains were  
 rare, but when present, they were most often found in bedrooms,  
 matching the bed curtains. Nathan Raynsford, whose inventory is  
 dated 1667, owned a bed with "paintado curtins" and "2 paintado  
 window Curtins & rodds."<sup>14</sup> Pintado was the Portuguese word for  
 Indian cotton fabrics, especially the cheaper block printed cottons.<sup>15</sup>  
 This inventory is interesting in its mention of the curtain rod.  
 Another inventory had a listing for "2 Window Strip'd Curtains and  
 Iron rodd."<sup>16</sup>

Bed curtains, and possibly some window curtains, were hung  
 from rings, as indicated by another entry in the inventory just  
 quoted, which lists, "2 dozn Curtain rings." Abbott Lowell Cummings  
 has written that eighteenth century curtain rings were metal,  
 probably hand forged; this type of ring was probably used in the  
 century earlier.<sup>17</sup> Another material for rings is found in the in-  
 ventory of Edward Martindale, a merchant from Bristol who was in  
 Boston when he died. Martindale had "5 Gro: horn curtain Rings"  
 in his inventory.<sup>18</sup>

Other bed furnishings include blankets, counterpanes, coverlets, quilts, bed rugs, and sheets. Blankets were mostly of wool fabrics, especially the warm, napped fabrics like cotton and kersey. One linen blanket was listed. Some of the blanket fabrics leave a question as to their appearance: flock, Guney, homemade, Trucking cloth, and West India. When color was specified, it was most often white. Counterpanes were of calico, cotton, damask, sarsenet, serge, and silk. Coverlets were found in a variety of fabrics, many of which suggest a fabric patterned on the loom: bird worke, checker work, diamond, draught, spotted, and wrought. Quilts were either of calico or silk. No references were found suggesting quilts pieced from leftover fabric swatches or made of anything but very elegant fabrics. Samuel Scarlet owned a painted calico quilt in 1675.<sup>19</sup> Thomas Coytmore of Charlestown had two silk quilts, one red and green and the other red and blue.<sup>20</sup> Most bed rugs were of heavy napped fabrics like cotton, shagg, and woolen, though two silk bed rugs were found. Most bed sheets were of linens such as Holland, flaxen, dowlas, diaper, tow, and canvas; some sheets were referred to as cotton or cotton and linen. Although not found in the periods covered in the survey, calico sheets were found in some seventeenth century inventories.<sup>21</sup>

Table linens were of great importance in the seventeenth century home. Tablecloths and napkins were found in great numbers, usually in sets of a dozen or more. As one would expect, napkins and table cloths were linen, especially diaper. Howard's 1788

encyclopedia defined diaper as "a sort of linen cloth wrought with  
<sup>22</sup>  
 flowers and other figures."

Textiles were used as coverings for cupboards and tables. Cupboard cloths and cushions were found on the important court cupboards found in some homes. Indian imported fabrics, "pintado" and calico, were most popular for cupboard cloths, with linens second in importance. Decorative table coverings were referred to as carpets, not to be confused with floor carpets, which were not found in any of the inventories surveyed. Table carpets were highly decorative. The list of materials for table carpets is topped by Turkey or Turkey work, which could have referred to an imported oriental product, but more probably meant English products with a knotted pile in imitation of oriental rugs. It is possible that Turkey work was being done in the Boston area. The Business Journal of Samuel Sewall shows a credit to Mrs. Mary Avery for half a dozen Turkey cushions and a carpet. The assumption can be made that Mrs. Avery was doing Turkey work and selling her products to  
<sup>23</sup>  
 Sewall. The second most popular carpet fabric was calico, sometimes specified as painted.

Chairs and stools were most often covered with leather, or other non-textile materials like rush, flag, wicker and bass. Leather covered seating furniture outnumbered that covered with any other kind of material, including textile fabrics. Among the chairs and stools covered with fabrics, Turkey work was the most popular upholstery

material, increasing in use toward the end of the century. The continued popularity of Turkey work at the end of the century is illustrated in a 1693 inventory with six "new" Turkey chairs in the hall. Another room in the same house had eight old and two new Turkey chairs.<sup>24</sup> The chairs and stools described as "wrought" may have been covered with embroidered or woven fabrics, or they may have been carved or turned, indicating that the fancy wooden parts of the chair were more important than the fabric when they were being listed for the inventory. Serge upholstery was very popular for chairs and stools, following in the fashion for serge bedcovers. Three of the stools were of "Irish stitch," the term which described flame pattern needlework.<sup>25</sup> Chairs and stools were often found in sets, matching the other fabrics in the room. The 1674 inventory of Thomas Temple had the following matching items: "cloth Curtins & vallens lined with Sarsenett, Carpet, Counterpane of Ditto Cloth 3 Chaires one stoole of Ditto with a Couch to it."<sup>26</sup> Slip covers, called "cases," were used to protect the upholstery. Captain William Tinge owned a green couch, "laid wth a case" and the following chairs: "1 great greene Chaire and 6 high back Chaires and 2 lowe back chaires and 1 old greene Elboe Chaire all cased."<sup>27</sup> Because many seventeenth century chairs had wooden or rush seats, cushions were widely used. Following chair upholstery, most cushions were Turkey work, with other examples described as gilt leather, damask, worked darnick, Irish stitch, silk, velvet, and wrought.

When one takes an overview of the colors found in seventeenth century interiors, one finds that green is most frequently specified in inventory listings. In the categories of bed curtains, bed rugs, cupboard cloths, carpets, chairs, stools, and cushions, green was the most frequently specified. Other popular colors were blue, red, and yellow.

In summary, textile fabrics reached Boston in great quantities in the seventeenth century. By the second half of the century, the trade between England and Boston was well established, with the merchants on both sides exchanging products and letters making their wishes known to their correspondents. Because most Boston merchants had business contacts in London, Bristol, and other large commercial cities, a wide variety of fabrics was available for selection and shipment to Boston. The English factors had access to all of the products that reached England through import or that were made there, so whatever was available to Englishmen was potentially available to the Bostonians who desired or could afford the products. The fact that Boston was behind in some of the latest fashions was just as often attributable to her conservatism as it was to London's deliberately sending old fashioned products. In point of fact, new fashions and colors were frequently introduced to Boston through the selections sent by the factors. Interiors of the seventeenth century were enriched by the use of fabrics. Since the bed was an important status symbol, it was frequently hung with rich

curtains imported from England. Most colonists owned sets of linen table cloths and napkins, numbering in the dozens. If a colonist owned a fine cupboard, chest, or table, he would cover it with a cloth to decorate and protect the top. Some chairs were upholstered or furnished with slipcovers, and those that were not upholstered were usually provided with cushions, as indicated by the great quantities of cushions listed in inventories. Research into seventeenth century household inventories indicates that most museum period rooms have too few textile furnishings to give an accurate picture of daily life in the century. This study suggests that a re-evaluation of period rooms is needed to present a more accurate picture of the quantity and quality of the textiles reaching Boston and the colonies in the seventeenth century.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in the Wilderness (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 6, 143.

<sup>2</sup>Bridenbaugh, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup>Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 40.

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Sewall, Business Journal, Baker Library, Harvard University. (hereafter Sewall Business Journal).

<sup>5</sup>Sewall Business Journal, pp. 21, 46, 51, 60, 80, 87, 94, 118, 122 and 138.

<sup>6</sup>Sewall Business Journal, pp. 37, 56, 74, 77, 92, 118, 126.

<sup>7</sup>Sewall Business Journal, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup>Sewall Business Journal, p. 93.

<sup>9</sup>Sewall Business Journal, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup>John Higginson, Jr. Account Book, Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup>Thomas Maule, Receipt Book, Essex Institute, Salem, p. 50.

<sup>12</sup>Sewall Business Journal, p. 12; John Hull, typescript copy of Letter Book, 1670-1685, p. 167, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. (hereafter Hull Letter Book).

<sup>13</sup>John Mico to Joseph Parson, Volume 62, (Maritime Records, 1694-1706), Massachusetts Archives, Boston, p. 164; John Mico to Nathaniel Byfield and John Mico, Volume 119, (Trade Records, 1645-1754), p. 133. (hereafter Massachusetts Archives).

<sup>14</sup>Sewall Business Journal, pp. 49, 57.

<sup>15</sup>Massachusetts Archives, 119: 42-42.

- 16 Hull Letter Book, p. 167.
- 17 Hull Letter Book, p. 234.
- 18 Extracts from the Port Books for London relating to New England, photostat at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
- 19 Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Probate Court, Records, Microfilm 109, III: 290-294. Libraries of the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. (hereafter SCPR).
- 20 Sewall Business Journal, pp. 85, 87.
- 21 Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 74.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup> E. Lipson, A Short History of Wool and its Manufacture (Mainly in England) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> H. R. Fox Bourne, English Merchants: Memoirs in Illustration of the Progress of British Commerce (London: Chatto and Windus, Picadilly, 1886), pp. 27, 31, 79, and 183.

<sup>3</sup> Bourne, pp. 83-84.

<sup>4</sup> Ralph Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700," in W. E. Minchinton, ed. The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.: 1969), p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution 1603-1714; Norton Library, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.: 1966), p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> Bourne, p. 201.

<sup>7</sup> Lipson, A Short History, p. 130.

<sup>8</sup> E. Lipson, The History of the Woolen and Worsted Industries (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1965), p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth G. Ponting, The Woolen Industry of South-West England (Bath: Adams & Dart, 1971), p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Bourne, p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> John James, History of the Worsted Manufacture in England (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1968), p. 40.

<sup>12</sup> Although the practice was not widespread in the seventeenth century, Mendenhall has found instances of purchase by contract as early as 1619. See T. C. Mendenhall, The Shrewsbury Drapers and the Welsh Wool Trade in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London: Geoffrey Cumberledge, Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 50.

- 13 Mendenhall, pp. 3-49.
- 14 Mendenhall, p. 61.
- 15 Hull Letter Book, p. 166.
- 16 J. F. Flanagan, Spitalfields Silks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries (Leigh-on-Sea, England: Frank Lewis Publisher, 1954), p. 10.
- 17 Flanagan, p. 10.
- 18 Frank Warner, The Silk Industry of the United Kingdom, Its Origin and Development (London: Drane's Danegeld, n. d.), p. 107.
- 19 Warner, p. 315.
- 20 H. H. Manchester, The Story of Silk and Cheney Silks (New York: Cheney Brothers, 1916), p. 28.
- 21 Joshua Gee, The Trade and Navigation of Great Britain Considered (4th Edition, 1738; reprint, New York: Augustus Kelly, 1969), p. 13.
- 22 Flanagan, p. 8.
- 23 Jeffries Family Papers, Vol. XV: 46, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. (hereafter Jeffries Family Papers).
- 24 John Horner, The Linen Trade of Europe during the Spinning-Wheel Period (Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson and Orr, Ltd., The Linenhall Press, 1920), p. 222.
- 25 Edward Baines, Jun. Esq., History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain (London: H. Fisher, R. Fisher and P. Jackson, [1835]), p. 101.
- 26 William H. Price, "On the Beginning of the Cotton Industry in England," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XX, No. 4 (August, 1906), p. 612.
- 27 Quoted in Baines, p. 100.
- 28 Jeffries Family Papers, VI: 38.
- 29 Gee, p. 18.
- 30 John Irwin and Katharine Brett, Origins of Chintz (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), pp. 30-31.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> Occasionally a Boston merchant sent gold to London to be credited to his account, as evidenced in "The Letter Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. I, Series 6. (Boston: by the Society, 1886), p. 8. (hereafter Sewall Letter Book).

<sup>2</sup> Boston, Registry Department, "A Volume Relating to the Early History of Boston Containing the Aspinwall Notarial Records from 1644 to 1651," in Records Relating to the Early History of Boston (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1903), Vol. XIII, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Sewall Letter Book, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> Gee, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 82.

<sup>7</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 298.

<sup>8</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 246.

<sup>10</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 311.

<sup>11</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 222.

<sup>12</sup> Sewall Letter Book, p. 164.

<sup>13</sup> Sewall Business Journal, p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 64.

<sup>15</sup> Sewall Letter Book, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 186.

<sup>17</sup> Sewall Letter Book, p. 120.

- 18 Hull Letter Book, p. 329.
- 19 Hull Letter Book, p. 72.
- 20 SCPR, M-112, X: 467-485.
- 21 Hull Letter Book, p. 114-115.
- 22 Hull Letter Book, p. 425.
- 23 Gee, p. 150.
- 24 Hull Letter, Book, p. 450.
- 25 Hull Letter Book, p. 101.
- 26 Jeffries Family Papers, II: 115.
- 27 Hull Letter Book, pp. 432-433.
- 28 Hull Letter Book, p. 428.
- 29 Sewall Letter Book, pp. 43-44.
- 30 Sewall Letter Book, p. 137.
- 31 Jeffries Family Papers, VI: 48
- 32 Hull Letter Book, p. 389.
- 33 Hull Letter Book, p. 43.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

- <sup>1</sup> Jeffries Family Papers, VI: 48.
- <sup>2</sup> George Selby Howard, The New Royal Cyclopaedia, and Encyclopaedia; Or, Complete, Modern, and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 3 vols. (London: for Alex Hogg, / 1788 /, I: 427, "Callico."
- <sup>3</sup> Baines, p. 14.
- <sup>4</sup> Baines, p. 41.
- <sup>5</sup> Howard, I: 76, "Alamode."
- <sup>6</sup> SCPR, M-110, V: 242.
- <sup>7</sup> Alan S. Cole, Ornament in European Silks (London: Debenham and Freebody, 1899), p. 13.
- <sup>8</sup> Hull Letter Book, p. 495.
- <sup>9</sup> Jeffries Family Papers, XV: 31.
- <sup>10</sup> SCPR, M-109, III: 203.
- <sup>11</sup> SCPR, M-109, IV: 195.
- <sup>12</sup> SCPR, M-109, II: 139.
- <sup>13</sup> SCPR, M-109, IV: 161.
- <sup>14</sup> SCPR, M-109, V: 328-329.
- <sup>15</sup> Irwin and Brett, p. 1.
- <sup>16</sup> SCPR, M-113, XIII: 348.
- <sup>17</sup> Abbott Lowell Cummings, Bed Hangings (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1961), p. 50.
- <sup>18</sup> SCPR, M-111, VIII: 321.

- <sup>19</sup>SCPR, M-110, V: 328.
- <sup>20</sup>SCPR, M-109, II: 51.
- <sup>21</sup>SCPR, M-110, V: 328.
- <sup>22</sup>Howard, II: 699.
- <sup>23</sup>Sewall Business Journal, p. 76.
- <sup>24</sup>SCPR, M-113, XIII: 267.
- <sup>25</sup>Susan B. Swann, "Worked Pocketbooks," Antiques, Vol. CVII, No. 2 (February, 1975), p. 302.
- <sup>26</sup>SCPR, M-110, V: 226.
- <sup>27</sup>SCPR, M-109, II: 138.

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- \_\_\_\_\_ . Ledger of Philip English, 1664-1708.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Receipt Book of Thomas Maule, 1681-1701.
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APPENDIX A:

Ranking of Twenty-four Most Important Fabrics  
in Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
Merchants' Inventories, 1650-99

SOURCE: Suffolk County, Mass., Probate Court, Records, vols. I-XIII.

APPENDIX A

Ranking of Twenty-four Most Important Fabrics  
in Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
Merchants' Inventories, 1650-99

Fabric Name	Number of Inventories Listing Fabric by Name
<u>Wool Fabrics</u> (including fabrics of wool mixed with silk or hair)	
Serge (including Dutch, French, mixt, Princes, Prest, striped, and Taunton)	73
Cloth (including broadcloth)	61
Kersey	58
Stuff (including Norwich, watered, worsted, silk, silk and hair, and wrought)	53
Cotton (including Kendal, shagg, and Penistone)	40
Say (including silk say)	29
Camlet (including hair, watered, and worsted)	20
Flannel	20
Bays (including shag bays)	16
Mohair (including English, silk, and Turkey)	16

Prunella (including hair, mixed,  
silk and worsted)

16

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Total wool fabrics

402

Fabric Name	Number of Inventories Listing Fabric by Name
<u>Linen Fabrics</u>	
Holland (including German, Gentish, Hingham, Nuns, sheeting, silesia, and tufted)	76
Linen (including German, Irish, Merlish, Portugal, painted, speckled, and striped)	53
Dowlas (including broad and Hambro)	35
Oznabriggs	31
Lockram	26
Scotch cloth (including Sleasey)	23
Kenting (including French)	13
	<hr/>
Total linen fabrics	257
<u>Cotton Fabrics</u> (including fabrics with linen warp)	
Calico (including flowered, glazed, lawn, long cloth, painted, printed, and speckled)	54
Fustian (including striped)	29
Dimity (including checkered)	14
	<hr/>
Total cotton fabrics	97

Silk Fabrics

Silk (including crepe, fancy, French, flowered, and striped)	22
Alamode	14
Sarcenet	11
	<hr/>
Total silk fabrics	47

APPENDIX B:

Glossary of Identifiable Fabric Names  
in Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
Merchants' Inventories, 1650-99

## APPENDIX B

### Glossary of Identifiable Fabric Names in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Merchants' Inventories, 1650-99

- Alamode a silk used for women's hoods and for mourning (Beck, Howard, Chambers); manufactured in France throughout the seventeenth century and in England by the late seventeenth century (Flanagan, Warner). Fifteen yards of alamode "for the barers" is listed under the funeral expenses of William Antrobus in 1675 (SCPR, M-110, V:242). "Broad alamode" probably refers to a wider fabric.
- Alliger a type of Indian fabric related to calico. One of John Hull's letters written in 1680 lists "Callicoes, Romalls Alligeers and other cours painted Callicoes fitt for childrens coates and Necloths." "Allegeas" is described as a stuff made in the East Indies, sometimes of cotton and sometimes of herbs spun like flax and hemp (Howard).
- Barrateen probably a worsted fabric, sometimes mixed with hair.
- Barronets "Silk baronet" was found in the inventory of George Corwin, 1684.
- Bastian possibly the same as "bustians," which were worsted fabrics (James).
- Bays a fabric of wool in a plain weave, often having a nap (Chambers, Howard, James, Warner); originally a fine, light fabric, but later coarse (Beck; James; Lipson, Short History; Ponting); made in East Anglia and Yorkshire (Heaton; Lipson, Short History).
- Bengal a fabric of silk and hair, according to the 1773 edition of Johnson (Cummings, Bed Hangings). "Silke bengall" is listed in the inventory of Nathaniel Phillips (SCPR, M-112, XII:265).

- Bird's-eye stuff a fabric whose design, widely used in the worsted trade, gives a neat spot effect (Ponting).
- Buckram a coarse linen, made especially in the Netherlands and France (Horner, Warden) and stiffened with gum (Horner). "Painted buckram" was listed in a 1654 Suffolk County inventory (SCPR, M-109, II: 189).
- Bunting a plain worsted cloth (Ponting). "Buntine" is described as a thin woolen stuff used as colors for ships (Howard).
- Calico a cotton fabric from India (Howard). Many 19th and 20th century sources include cottons made in a English under the term calico (Baines; Cummings, Bed Hangings; Horner). Seventeenth-century inventories record painted, printed, glazed, and plain calicoes used as table and cupboard cloths, bed curtains, sheets.
- Calamanco a worsted fabric, sometimes mixed with silk, made in Norwich (Lipson, Short History; Ponting); a glossy wool satin (Cummin, "Calamanco").
- Cambric a fine linen named for Cambrai in the French Netherlands (Horner). By the nineteenth century, cotton cambric was being made in Scotland (Baines).
- Camlet a worsted fabric, sometimes calendered, mixed with silk or hair (Chambers; Cummin, "Camlet;" Cummings, Bed Hangings; Howard; James; Lipson, History). Ponting distinguishes between "camlet," a cheap coarse worsted, often used for rainwear, and "camlet," a fine plain-weave fabric originally made of camel's hair. Seventeenth-century records indicate that no such distinction in spelling was made at that time.
- Caskeliana a petticoat of "castilliana" is listed in the 1660 inventory of Bridget Busby (SCPR, M-109, III:332).
- Cheny a wool fabric with a crosswise rib, lending itself to calendering and figuring (Brightman); sometimes called "philip and cheney" in the seventeenth century. "Tamy cheney" is mentioned in a 1651 Boston inventory (SCPR, M-109, II:79).
- China an alternate name for cheney (Cummings).

- Cloth in general, any fabric; more specifically a woolen fabric of plain weave, fulled, napped, and sheared. English cloth, made in the west of England and in Yorkshire, was very heavily fulled, giving a dense quality to the fabric (Chambers, James, Ponting). "Broadcloth" was woven on a broad loom, from 54" to 100" wide. "Spanish cloth" was woven in England, especially Wiltshire, during the seventeenth century; it was made of dyed Spanish wool and later of English wool (Heaton; Lipson; History; Mann). Cloth rash was a kind of serge (Mann).
- Cotton and linen an English fabric woven of cotton on a linen warp. English-spun cotton thread lacked the strength needed for a warp (Baines).
- Crepe a light, transparent stuff of silk, used for mourning (Howard). Worsted crepe was a fine fabric made of long-staple wool.
- Cul duroy Duroys were fabrics made of combed wool (Lipson, Short History). "Curle deroy," which is listed in the inventory of George Corwin of Salem (Corwin manuscript), suggests a fabric with a napped or curled surface.
- Damask a silk, wool, or linen fabric whose pattern is formed by a contrast of satin and taffeta weaves (Brightman, Chambers, Howard).
- Devonshire probably Devonshire kersey, a wool fabric.
- Diaper a linen fabric; said to be named after Ypres, "toile d'Ypres" (Horner, Walton, Warner); "a sort of linen cloth wrought with flowers and other figures" (Howard).
- Dimity a heavy fabric woven of cotton on a linen warp (Baines, Walton) and given a napped finish with a teasel (Warner). Two types of late eighteenth century dimity have been described: (1) a heavy cotton with woven stripes on a twill ground, and (2) a cotton with woven checks (Cummin, "Dimities"). It is not yet known if seventeenth-century dimity was striped, though references to "checked dimities" are found in the records.

- Dobbin probably a fabric of wool or of wool mixed with other fibers.
- Dornick a fabric of wool and linen, sometimes with silk details (Thornton "Hardwick Inventory") a coarse linen diaper (Warden). The use of the fabric for table carpets, coverlets, and bed curtains seems to support Thornton's definition.
- Dowlas a linen fabric; named after the district in Germany where much was made; also made in France (Horner, Warden); used for bed sheets and as lining for clothing in the seventeenth century.
- Drugget a fabric of wool or wool mixed with other fibers (Lipson, History; Mann); described as a thin and narrow stuff (Chambers, Howard).
- Ducape a plain-woven stout silk (Lardner); made at Spitalfields, in England, by the late seventeenth century (Warner); used for women's hoods and for mourning in Boston (SCPR).
- Duffel or Duffil a heavy woolen with a long nap on both sides; some made in England, especially Gloucestershire (Mann, Ponting).
- Farrendine probably one of the fine mixed fabrics for which Norwich was famous. A Boston tailor's inventory of 1699 lists a "silk farrendine jackett" (SCPR, M-113, XIV:28).
- Ferritt a fabric made of floret silk, that is, of damaged short fibers that had been carded and spun (Chambers, Warner).
- Flannel a plain-weave wool cloth (Mendenhall, Ponting); can be worsted or woolen (Ponting).
- Flexen or Flaxen a linen cloth.
- Frieze a heavy woolen cloth with a napped finish that was worked into curls on the surface (Chambers, Ponting); made in Wales, the Manchester area, and elsewhere (James, Mendenhall).

- Fustian in the seventeenth century, either a wool fabric napped to give it a soft finish (James), or a heavy cotton fabric, sometimes with a napped surface. Cotton fustian made in the Lancaster area had a linen warp (Thornton, "Hardwick Inventory;" Walton; Warner). These fustians are described in a 1621 petition of London merchants; the petition says that Lancaster had begun producing fustians of cotton and linen, "no part of the same fustian of any wool at all" (Walton). In seventeenth-century inventories, fustian is listed for linings, undergarments, and bed curtains.
- Garlick "Gulix Holland," described as fine, white linen (Howard).
- Gauze a thin, transparent fabric, sometimes silk (Chambers, Howard).
- Grogram stuff made of silk and mohair (Howard). England imported grogram yarn from Turkey (Gee).
- Hingham probably linen. See Holland.
- Holland a fine, closely woven linen, so named because it came from Holland (Brightman, Howard). In Boston, Holland was widely used for cupboard cloths, tablecloths, napkins, sheets, and clothing.
- Housewife's cloth linen cloth "fit for family uses" (Howard). A 1656 inventory lists a pair of sheets of "housewife cloth" (SCPR, M-109, III:105-106).
- Kenting linen named for Ghent (Horner).
- Kersey a coarse, narrow worsted fabric; fulled; produced in Yorkshire and in Devonshire (Howard, Lipson, History; Ponting); during the seventeenth century used for blankets and clothing.
- Lawn a linen fabric (Horner).
- Linen a fabric made of flax.
- Lining a wool fabric made in Wales during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Mendenhall).

- Linsey-woolsey traditionally, a fabric of wool and flax (Ponting). This definition is supported by Bailey's 1753 Encyclopedia (as quoted by Cummings, Bed Hangings) and by a phrase quoted by Beck in his Draper's Dictionary: "A lawless linsey-woolsey brother, /half of one order, half another." Confusion has arisen in that some bedcovers are today called "linsey-woolsey" when they are in fact all wool. Chamber's 1738 work mentions "linseys" as being "slight woollen stuffs." It is not clear exactly what linsey-woolsey consisted of in the seventeenth century.
- Lockram a linen fabric used for tablecloths, sheets, and garments. One source states lockram was unbleached linen, chiefly manufactured in Normandy and Brittany (Horner).
- Lutestring crisp silk taffeta given a sheen by means of a gum dressing; invented in Lyons in 1656, but made in England by the end of the seventeenth century (Flanagan; Thornton, Baroque and Rococo Silks). In the seventeenth century, lutestring appears to have been used exclusively for clothing.
- Manchester probably a rough woollen fabric like the "Manchester cottons" being made in northern England (Bourne).
- Mockado a fabric imitating velvet (James); made of wool (Warner) or of wool mixed with silk or other fibers (Thornton, "Hardwick Inventory"). The records of the Walloons at Norwich indicate mockado was made of flax and wool in 1577 (Moens).
- Mohair a fabric, usually silk, woven with a close grain, sometimes plain, sometimes watered, and occasionally with a wool, cotton, or thread weft (Chambers). Originally mohair meant a "brilliant fabric of goat's hair" (Cummin, "Moreen") or, more specifically, "the fine, silken hair of the angora goat of Asia Minor; cloth made of mohair." Turkey mohair probably refers to such a fabric (Beck).
- Muslin a cotton cloth from India, with a "downy nap." Various kinds of muslins included bengal, betelle, tarnatan, mulmul, tanjib, terrindam, and doria (Chambers). "Leno muslins" were made in Glasgow in 1793 (Baines).

Nail dowlas	a linen fabric. A nail is a unit of length equal to 1/16 yard (Chambers).
Oznabrigg(s)	strong, coarse linen named for Osnabruck, Germany, and later copied in Scotland (Horner, Warden).
Paduasoy	a silk fabric (Bourne, Flanagan, Warner).
Palampore	a painted Indian panel, often with a flowering tree design (Irwin and Brett).
Pantosauy	probably "paduasoy," a silk (Bourne, Flanagan, Warner).
Paragon	a fine worsted fabric, sometimes watered. Double "chamblet" was also called peropus (James).
Penistone	a wool fabric named after the Yorkshire town (Heaton; Thornton, "Hardwick Inventory"). Cotton penistone was probably a heavy woolen with a napped, "cottoned," surface.
Pentado	prints, especially the cheaper block prints, from India (Irwin and Brett); used for cupboard cloth and table covers in Boston.
Perpetuana	a stout worsted fabric used for coat linings (Baines, James).
Philip and cheney	<u>See</u> Cheny.
Plain	a wool fabric simply woven with no dressing, made in Wales (Mendenhall).
Poldavy	linen for ships' use (Warden).
Popus	probably peropus, another term for paragon.
Prunella	a coarse kind of shalloon (Beck). "Prunelle" is a type of twill weave (Ponting).
Rumal	a fabric made in India (Gee); used for neck-cloths (SCPR). Both silk rumal and cotton rumal are mentioned in inventories.
Sagathy	a fabric of combed wool; made in Somersetshire, according to Defoe (Lipson, <u>History</u> ).

- Sarcenet a plain-weave silk (Cole, Lardner); used in Boston for bed curtains and upholstery, which indicates that the fabric must have had substantial weight.
- Satin a smooth-surface fabric woven in satin weave. Satins were silk, "very shining," with the woof hidden. Worsted satins as well as silk satins were made (Chambers, James).
- Sattanisco used for a woman's petticoat, according to a 1667 inventory (SCPR, M-110, V:117).
- Say "a kind of serge, or a very light crossed stuff, all wool" (Chambers); sometimes partly silk in the sixteenth century (Thornton, "Hardwick Inventory"). Some authors call it a fine-quality wool; others, a cheap worsted (James; Horner; Lipson, History); Say, especially green, was much used in Boston for bed curtains, cupboard cloths, and aprons.
- Scotch cloth probably a linen fabric. Scotch cloth shirts are listed in a 1683 inventory (SCPR, M-111, IX:152).
- Serge wool with a worsted warp and a woolen weft, usually fulled (Chambers; Heaton; Lipson, History; Ponting); used for bed curtains, upholstery, and clothing during the seventeenth century. Most English serges were made in the area of Somerset and Devon (Ponting).
- Shagg a wool fabric given a napped finish (Warner). See Bays, Cotton, Frieze.
- Shalloon a worsted fabric imitating the fine worsteds of Chalon, France (James; Lipson, History; Ponting); sometimes glazed (Mann); used for linings (Baines).
- Silk a fabric made from yarn or thread spun from the cocoons of silkworms. England did not manufacture silks to any large extent until the late seventeenth century. The raw material was obtained from Turkey and Italy (Gee, Warner). French silks were very fashionable.
- Slesey probably a linen from Silesia.

- Stammel "stament," a coarse worsted (Lipson; History). "Stamins" were mentioned as worsteds in a 1504 act of Parliament (James).
- Stuff a general term for all kinds of woven fabrics; more specifically, a worsted fabric in which both warp and weft were of combed wool (Chambers; Lipson, History). Norwich stuffs were the fine worsted fabrics for which that area was famous.
- Swanskin probably wool, like "swansdown" (Heaton).
- Tabby a kind of coarse taffeta, watered by means of a calender (Chambers). "Tabbying" according to Chambers, meant "passing a stuff under a calender to make a representation of waves thereon." A 1671 inventory mentions "27 yards of tabbey and other silkes" (SCPR, M-111, VII:231).
- Taffeta "a fine, smooth, silken stuff; having, usually, a remarkable lustre or gloss." The process of making taffeta included treatment with beer, orange juice, lemon juice, gourd water, etc., and stretching the fabric over a charcoal fire to dry it (Chambers). Used mostly for gowns and other garments.
- Tammerine The 1677 day book of John Corwin lists "12 3/4 stript could tamarind."
- Tammy a worsted fabric, often glazed, with both warp and weft of combed wool (Heaton; James; Lipson, History); glazed cloth with worsted weft and cotton warp (Ponting).
- Toys a fabric being made in Norwich by 1611 (Warner); probably all wool or worsted mixed with silk. "Worsted toyes" were sent to John Usher of Boston from London in 1695 (see Jeffries mss., XV).
- Trucking cloth listed in seventeenth-century inventories as used for blankets, bed curtains, and coverlets.
- Vermilion a heavy fabric of cotton, probably on a linen warp (Baines).
- Woolen made of short-staple wool, combed before spinning. Woolen cloth is fullled to make it dense in texture (Heaton; Lipson, History).

Worsted

made of combed, long-staple wool. Worsteds have a harder surface than woolens (Heaton, James).

APPENDIX C:

Listings of Fabrics in Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
Merchants' Inventories, 1650-99

NOTE: The distribution of the inventories by decades was 17 in 1650-59, 22 in 1660-69, 19 in 1670-79, 16 in 1680-89, and 9 in 1690-99: a total of 83 inventories.

APPENDIX C

Listings of Fabrics in Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
Merchants' Inventories, 1650-99

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Alamode						
(Alamott)	-	7	3	2	1	13
Broad	1	-	-	-	-	1
Alligeers						
(Algeir, Al-						
lejars)	-	-	2	1	-	3
Andretto	1	-	-	-	-	1
Avinion	-	-	-	1	-	1
Barrateen(s)	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hair	-	-	-	1	-	1
Barronets	-	1	-	1	-	2
Bastian	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bays (Baize,						
Bayes)	1	6	5	1	1	14
Shagg	1	1	-	-	-	2
Bedtick(s)	-	1	-	3	-	4
Flemish	-	-	-	1	-	1
Bengall	-	1	7	1	1	10
Bermillion	-	1	-	1	-	2
Billetts	-	1	-	-	-	1
Birds eyed stuffe	-	-	1	-	-	1
Boulting cloth	1	-	-	-	-	1

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-99	1690-99	Total
Brode	-	1	-	-	-	1
Buckram	1	6	6	4	-	17
Bunting	-	-	-	2	-	2
Calico	5	12	15	8	1	41
(Callicoe)						
Flowered	-	-	1	-	2	3
Glazed	-	-	1	-	-	1
Lawn	-	1	-	1	-	2
Long Cloth	-	1	-	-	-	1
Painted	1	1	-	1	-	3
Printed	-	-	-	1	-	1
Speckled	-	1	-	-	1	2
Callimanco	-	1	-	-	-	1
Flowered	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mock	-	-	-	-	2	2
Silk	-	1	-	-	-	1
Striped	-	-	-	-	1	1
Worsted	1	1	-	-	-	2
Cambric (k)	4	3	5	2	1	15
Camelion	1	-	-	-	-	1
Haire	1	-	-	-	-	1
Canlet (Camblet,- Camblett, Chamb- let, Chamblett, Chamlet)		1	6	-	1	8
Hair	-	-	2	1	1	4
Watered	1	-	-	-	-	1
Worsted	-	-	3	3	1	7
Candle cloth	-	1	-	-	-	1
Canvas	8	11	4	2	-	25
Broad	-	1	-	-	-	1
English	-	1	-	-	-	1
Noiles (Noyals, Noyles)	-	4	-	5	-	9
Pertree	-	-	-	1	-	1
Sail	-	1	-	-	-	1
Vittery	1	3	-	2	-	6

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Capecloth	-	-	-	1	-	1
Caskeliana (Casteliano, Castilliands)	3	-	-	-	-	3
Cheese cloth	-	1	-	-	-	1
Cheny (Cheney)	2	2	2	-	-	6
Broad	-	1	-	-	-	1
Double	1	-	-	-	-	1
China stufte	1	-	-	-	-	1
Cloth	4	2	2	3	2	13
Broad	12	10	8	4	4	38
Dutch	1	-	-	-	-	1
East	-	2	-	-	-	2
Irish	-	2	1	1	-	4
Portugal	-	-	-	1	-	1
Spanish broad	1	-	-	-	-	1
Yorkshire broad	-	-	1	-	-	1
Cloth rash	-	2	2	-	-	4
Cloth serge	-	-	3	3	1	7
Cotton	9	12	9	4	1	35
Kendall	-	-	1	-	-	1
Kildar	-	-	-	1	-	1
Northern dyed	-	-	1	-	-	1
Shagg	2	-	-	-	-	2
Cotton cloth	4	1	-	1	-	6
Cotton and linen	-	-	-	1	-	1
Cotton penni- stone	-	-	-	-	1	1
Cotton and wool	1	1	-	-	-	2

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Crepe	-	-	-	3	3	6
Worsted	-	-	-	2	2	4
Crispiane (Crispiano)	-	-	1	-	-	1
Crocus	-	-	-	-	1	1
Cul deroy (Curderoys)	-	-	2	-	-	2
Cyprus	-	-	1	-	-	1
Damask	-	1	-	1	2	4
Flowered	-	-	-	-	1	1
"Woosted"	-	-	-	-	1	1
Damico	-	1	-	-	-	1
Darnix (Dornick, Dornock)	-	-	1	-	-	1
Deepe cloth	1	-	-	-	-	1
Devonshire	-	-	1	-	-	1
Diaper	-	-	2	1	2	5
Dimity	1	6	4	2	1	13
"Checkerd"	-	1	-	-	-	1
Dobbin, "Worsted"	-	1	-	-	-	1
Dowlas	6	8	11	5	2	32
Broad	1	1	-	-	-	2
Hambro	-	-	-	-	1	1
Drugget	-	2	3	3	3	11
Mixt	-	-	1	-	-	1
Worsted	-	-	1	1	-	2
Ducape	-	2	3	-	-	5
Silk	-	-	1	-	-	1

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Duffel (Duffil, Duffill)	-	3	2	2	1	8
Dutch	-	1	-	-	-	1
Striped	-	1	-	-	-	1
Farrendine	-	-	4	2	-	6
Silk	-	-	1	-	-	1
Worsted	-	-	1	-	-	1
Ferritt	-	-	-	2	1	3
Filleting	-	-	1	2	1	4
Fingrims	-	-	-	-	1	1
Flannel	1	5	9	5	-	20
Flexen cloth	-	1	-	-	-	1
French falls	-	1	-	-	-	1
Frieze	-	3	4	-	2	9
Irish	-	2	2	-	-	4
Shagg	-	-	1	-	-	1
Frisoneer	-	-	-	-	1	1
Fustian	4	6	9	7	2	28
Striped	-	-	1	-	-	1
Garlick	-	-	-	1	1	2
Gauze (Gause)	-	-	-	2	1	3
Flowered	-	-	-	1	-	1
Gingam	-	-	1	-	-	1
Grézzetat	-	-	-	-	1	1
Grogram (Grogram)	-	1	-	-	-	1
Turkey	-	1	-	-	-	1
Hambrough (Hambro)	2	1	-	1	-	4
Hampshire	1	-	-	-	-	1

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Hartfords	-	-	-	-	1	1
Hinghams	-	1	-	-	-	1
Holland	11	12	13	7	3	46
Duck	-	-	-	1	-	1
Gentish	-	1	-	-	-	1
German	-	-	-	1	-	1
Hingham	-	-	1	-	-	1
Nuns	1	-	-	-	-	1
Sheeting	-	-	-	1	-	1
Silesia	2	2	2	3	-	9
(Slesy, Slezzy)						
Tufted	6	7	1	1	-	15
"Home made cotton cloth"	1	-	-	-	-	1
Homespun cloth	-	-	-	1	-	1
Humanes	-	1	-	-	-	1
Huswives cloath	1	1	-	-	-	2
Inderlands	-	1	-	-	-	1
Itelliano	2	-	-	-	-	2
Hereco	1	-	-	-	-	1
Mixt	1	-	-	-	-	1
Janes	-	-	-	1	-	1
Kenting	-	2	4	4	2	12
French	-	-	-	1	-	1
Kersey	10	16	14	5	3	48
Cotton	-	1	-	-	-	1
Devonshire	-	-	1	-	-	1
Hereco	1	-	-	-	-	1
Long fold	-	1	-	-	-	1
Prest	-	2	-	-	-	2
Yorkshire	1	-	2	-	1	4
Kintling	1	1	-	-	-	2
Kittermaster	-	1	-	-	-	1

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Lawn (Laune)	2	1	-	-	-	3
Silesia	-	-	1	-	-	1
Linen	7	11	7	10	6	41
German	-	-	-	1	-	1
Irish	-	1	1	1	-	3
Merlish	-	-	-	-	1	1
Painted	-	-	-	1	-	1
"Portugll"	-	-	-	-	1	1
Speckled	-	-	1	2	-	3
Striped	-	-	1	2	-	3
Lining, Broad	1	-	-	-	-	1
Linsey woolsey	3	1	4	1	1	10
Lockram (Locorum)	10	9	4	3	-	26
Love	1	1	-	-	-	2
French	-	-	-	-	1	1
Lutestring (Lustring)	-	1	3	3	-	7
Striped	-	-	1	-	-	1
Manchester	1	-	1	3	-	5
"Mazareen Blue"	-	-	-	-	1	1
Mockadoe	-	-	1	-	-	1
Mohair	2	4	2	-	1	9
English	2	-	-	-	-	2
Silk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Turkey	2	1	-	-	-	3
Morrall	-	1	-	-	-	1
Mowotts	-	1	-	-	-	1
Muslin	-	-	-	4	1	5
Napketing	-	1	-	-	-	1
Nayle dowlas	-	1	-	-	-	1

<u>Fabric Name</u>	<u>1650-59</u>	<u>1660-69</u>	<u>1670-79</u>	<u>1680-89</u>	<u>1690-99</u>	<u>Total</u>
Nettle cloth	1	-	-	-	-	1
Noiles (Noyals, Noyles)						
Canvas. <u>See</u> Canvas						
Oznabriggs (Ozenbriggs, Osnaburg)	6	7	9	3	6	31
Padua	-	1	-	-	-	1
Padua serge	2	1	-	-	-	3
Palampores	-	1	-	1	-	2
Pantorsetts	-	1	-	-	-	1
Pantosauy	-	1	-	-	-	1
Paragon	2	1	7	3	1	14
Watered	-	-	1	-	-	1
Penistone	4	8	11	5	1	29
Broad	-	-	-	1	-	1
Cotton	-	-	-	-	1	1
Pentado (Pin- tadoes)	-	1	-	1	-	2
Perpetuana	2	1	3	-	-	6
Persian	-	-	-	1	-	1
Persian silk	-	-	1	1	1	3
Philip and cheney	-	1	-	-	-	1
Plaine	-	-	1	-	1	2
Poldavies (Powel Davies)	-	1	-	1	-	2
Popus	1	-	-	-	-	1

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Prunella	-	3	5	2	-	10
Hair	-	1	1	-	-	2
Mixt	-	-	1	-	-	1
Silk	-	1	-	-	-	1
Worsted	-	1	-	1	-	2
Quintin	-	-	-	1	-	1
Roane(s)	-	1	1	-	-	2
Romals	-	-	-	-	1	1
Rowle	1	-	-	-	-	1
Sack cloth	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sacking	-	2	-	-	1	3
Sagathees	-	-	1	-	-	1
St. Paul's shirting	-	-	-	1	-	1
Saroenet	1	3	4	2	1	11
Satin	-	1	-	3	1	5
Bastard	-	-	-	-	1	1
Flowered	-	1	1	3	1	6
Quilted	-	-	1	-	-	1
Worsted	-	-	1	-	-	1
Satin stufte	-	-	-	1	-	1
Sattanisco	3	4	2	1	-	10
Say	9	6	6	3	1	25
Broad	-	1	-	-	-	1
Harris	-	-	-	-	1	1
Silk	-	1	-	1	-	2
Scotch (Scots, Scotts, Scottish)	3	4	6	5	4	22
Sleasey cloth	-	1	-	-	-	1
Scotch linen	-	-	2	-	-	2

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Scotch silk	-	1	-	-	-	1
Serge	11	14	18	12	4	59
Dutch	-	1	1	-	-	2
French	2	-	-	-	-	2
Mixt	1	-	2	-	-	3
Princes	-	1	-	-	-	1
Prest	-	-	-	1	-	1
Striped	-	-	-	-	1	1
Taunton	2	1	-	1	-	4
Shag candle	-	1	-	-	-	1
Shagg	3	2	-	-	-	5
Shalloon	-	-	5	4	-	9
Sheeting cloth	-	1	-	-	1	2
Silk(e)	-	1	3	3	3	10
Crape	-	-	-	1	1	2
Fancy	-	-	-	-	1	1
Flowered	-	-	2	4	-	6
French	-	-	-	1	-	1
Striped	-	-	-	1	-	1
Striped stuff-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Jolley bayes-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Slesey (Siletias)	-	3	-	-	1	4
Stammels	-	-	-	-	1	1
Straining cloth	-	1	-	1	-	2
Stuffe (Stuff, Stuffs)	3	9	9	6	2	29
East India	-	-	1	1	-	2
Camlet	-	-	1	-	-	1
New fashioned	-	-	2	-	-	2
Mixt	2	-	1	-	-	3
Norwich	1	2	-	-	-	3
Printed	-	-	-	-	1	1
Silk	2	2	-	-	-	4
Silk and hair-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Silk Transil- vania	-	1	-	-	-	1

Fabric Name	1650-59	1660-69	1670-79	1680-89	1690-99	Total
Strip	-	-	-	-	1	1
Watered	1	-	-	-	-	1
Worsted	1	2	-	-	-	3
Wrought	-	1	-	-	-	1
Super fine scarlet	-	1	-	-	-	1
Swan skin	-	2	-	-	-	2
Tabby	-	-	3	2	1	6
Taffeta	1	6	3	3	-	13
East India	-	3	-	-	-	3
Flowered	-	-	-	1	-	1
Tam	1	-	-	-	-	1
Tameletto	-	1	-	-	-	1
Tamezine (Tamet- sine)	1	-	3	1	-	5
Mixt	1	-	-	-	-	1
Tamits (Tamet, Tammatt)	-	1	1	1	-	3
English	1	-	-	-	-	1
Turkey	2	1	-	-	-	3
Tammerine	-	-	2	-	1	3
Tammy (Tamy)	4	8	6	2	2	22
Body	-	1	-	-	-	1
Cheny	1	-	-	-	-	1
Striped	-	-	-	-	1	1
Ticking (Ticks)	3	5	3	2	1	14
Bed	-	-	-	1	-	1
Striped	-	-	-	-	1	1
Tiffany	-	1	-	-	1	2
Tincey	-	-	-	-	1	1
Toys (Tay, Toy?)	-	1	-	-	1	2
Striped	-	-	-	-	1	1

<u>Fabric Name</u>	<u>1650-59</u>	<u>1660-69</u>	<u>1670-79</u>	<u>1680-89</u>	<u>1690-99</u>	<u>Total</u>
Trading cloth	1	1	-	-	-	2
Trucking cloth	1	1	-	-	-	2
Velvit, Beggars	-	-	1	-	-	1
Vermillion	-	1	1	-	-	2
Villananes	-	1	-	-	-	1
Woollen cloth	1	-	-	-	-	1
Worsted (Wosted)	-	1	1	-	-	2

APPENDIX D:

Fabrics Used for Interior Furnishings in  
Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
as Listed in Household Inventories, 1650-99

SOURCE: Suffolk County, Mass., Probate Court, Records,  
vols. II, III, V, VII, VIII, XIII.

NOTE: The 485 inventories were distributed as follows: 91  
in 1650-55, 205 in 1670-75, and 189 in 1690-95. If an inventory  
listed 12 leather chairs, for example, 12 chairs were counted in the  
table. If an inventory did not specify a number for an object, the  
object was counted as 1.

APPENDIX D

Fabrics Used for Interior Furnishings in  
Suffolk County, Massachusetts,  
as Listed in Household Inventories, 1650-95

Furnishings	Number Listed by Type or Description			
	1650-55	1670-75	1690-95	Total
<u>Beds</u>				
Chaff	3	2	2	7
Down	-	1	4	5
Feather	98	252	249	599
Flock	59	88	58	205
Hair	-	3	-	3
Silk grass	-	2	-	2
Straw	5	28	23	56
Wool	1	6	4	11
<u>Bed hangings and bed curtains, by color</u>				
Blue	1	2	1	4
"Cloth color"	-	-	1	1
Gray	-	-	1	1
Green	4	8	6	18
Red	-	-	2	2
White	-	-	3	3
Yellow	1	1	-	2
<u>Bed hangings and bed curtains, by pat- tern</u>				
Printed	-	-	2	2
Striped	6	4	3	13
Red	-	1	-	1

Furnishings      Number Listed by Type or Description

	<u>1650-55.</u>	<u>1670-75</u>	<u>1690-95</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Bed hangings and</u>				
<u>bed curtains, by</u>				
<u>fabric</u>				
Broadcloth, Red	-	-	1	1
Buckram	-	1	-	1
Calico	-	-	10	10
Painted	-	-	2	2
Purple	-	-	1	1
White	-	-	3	3
Cloth	-	1	-	1
Green	-	-	1	1
Camlet	-	-	1	1
Hair	-	-	1	1
Worsted	-	-	1	1
Cotton	-	1	-	1
Damask, Yellow	1	-	-	1
Darnix (Dornicke or Damie)	3	2	-	5
Dornick, "Sade"	-	-	1	1
Draught work, Green	1	-	-	1
East India	1	1	-	2
Holland	-	4	-	4
Linen	-	-	1	1
Linsey woolsy	1	-	1	2
Paragon	-	-	1	1
Sarsenet	1	1	-	2
Say	3	3	-	6
Green	1	-	-	1
Serge	1	3	13	17
Green	-	2	2	4
Sad colored	-	-	1	1
Silk	-	2	-	2
Trucking cloth	-	1	-	1
Worsted, Wrought	1	-	-	1
<u>Blankets, by color</u>				
Blue	-	1	1	2
Gray	-	-	3	3
Red	2	3	-	5
White	15	9	8	32
Yellow	1	1	-	2

Furnishings	Number Listed by Type or Description			
	1650-55	1670-75	1690-95	Total
<u>Blankets, by fabric</u>				
Cotton	2	3	1	6
Cotton, White	-	1	-	1
Cotton and wool	-	2	-	2
Flock	1	-	-	1
"Guney"	3	-	-	3
"Homemade"	-	2	-	2
Kersey, White	2	-	-	2
Linen	-	-	1	1
Linsey woolsey, White	1	-	-	1
Say, Yellow	-	1	-	1
Trucking cloth	-	3	-	3
West India	1	-	-	1
Wool, Woolen	-	3	-	3
<u>Counterpanes</u>				
Calico	-	-	3	3
Cotton	-	-	2	2
Damask	-	-	1	1
Sarsenet	-	1	-	1
Serge	-	2	-	2
Silk	-	-	1	1
<u>Coverlets ("Cover- lids"), by color</u>				
Green	1	-	-	1
Red	-	2	-	2
Sad colored	-	-	1	1
White	1	-	-	1
<u>Coverlets, by fabric</u>				
Bird worke	-	1	-	1
Checkered, Checker work	-	-	2	2
Damix	1	1	-	2
Worked	-	-	1	1
Diamond	-	-	1	1
Draught	1	-	-	1
Homespun	-	-	3	3
"Paynting cloth covering"	-	1	-	1
Spotted	-	-	1	1

Furnishings	Number Listed by Type or Description			
	1650-55	1670-75	1690-95	Total
Tapestry	5	-	-	5
Trucking cloth	-	1	-	1
Woolen	-	1	-	1
Wrought	1	-	-	1
<u>Quilts, by color</u>				
White	-	1	-	1
<u>Quilts, by fabric</u>				
Calico	1	2	2	5
Calico, Painted	-	1	-	1
East India	1	-	-	1
Silk	-	3	1	4
Red	-	-	1	1
<u>Bed rugs, by color</u>				
Black	-	1	-	1
Blue	-	6	1	7
Green	16	22	13	51
"Mingled color"	1	-	-	1
"Mixt"	1	-	-	1
"Muske-colored"	-	1	-	1
Red	5	6	4	15
"Sad colored"	-	-	1	1
Yellow	3	1	-	4
White	4	1	-	5
<u>Bed rugs, by pattern</u>				
Speckled	-	1	-	1
<u>Bed rugs, by fabric</u>				
Cotton	3	27	-	30
Ragg	-	-	1	1
Shagg	-	2	-	2
Red	-	1	-	1
Silk	-	2	-	2
Trucking cloth	1	-	-	1
Wool, Green	-	2	1	3
Woolen	-	1	-	1
Red	-	1	-	1

Furnishings	Number Listed by Type or Description			
	1650-55	1670-75	1690-95	Total
Worsted	-	4	9	13
Green	-	1	5	6
White	-	-	1	1
Yarn, Red	-	-	1	1
<u>Sheets</u>				
Canvas	21	27	5	53
Cotton	3	24	13	40
Cotton and linen (Cotton and flax)	-	34	68	102
Cotton and woolen	-	-	2	2
Damask	1	-	-	1
Diaper	-	-	1	1
Dowlas	-	-	7	7
Flaxen (Linen)	39	10	25	74
Holland	24	52	51	127
"Sletia" (Silesia)	-	-	2	2
"Laced"	-	1	-	1
Tow	-	-	17	17
<u>Tablecloths</u>				
Calico	-	-	1	1
Canvas	-	2	-	2
Cotton	1	2	-	3
Cotton and linen	-	2	-	2
Damask	2	4	20	26
Diaper	16	69	64	149
Flaxen (Linen)	-	2	3	5
Homespun	-	-	3	3
Holland	5	4	1	10
Holland with laid work	1	-	-	1
Oznabrigs	-	-	2	2
"Paintadoe board cloth"	-	1	-	1
Serge	-	1	-	1
Woolen	-	1	-	1
<u>Napkins, by pattern</u>				
Speckled	-	-	7	7
Striped	-	-	14	14

Furnishings      Number Listed by Type or Description

	1650-55	1670-75	1690-95	Total
<u>Napkins, by fabric</u>				
Cotton	-	2	12	14
Cotton and linen	-	9	-	9
Damask	26	43	60	129
Diaper	138	476	455	1,069
Dowlas	-	-	2	2
Flaxen (Linen)	16	82	32	130
Holland	-	22	5	27
Holland with laid work	19	-	-	19
Laid work	24	-	-	24
Laid work and laced	12	-	-	12
Lockrum	12	2	-	14
Oznabrigs	-	14	18	32
Wrought	-	4	-	4
Wrought and striped	24	-	-	24
<u>Cupboard cloths, by color</u>				
Green	3	2	-	5
Red and black	-	1	-	1
<u>Cupboard cloths, by pattern</u>				
Striped	1	-	-	1
<u>Cupboard cloths, by fabric</u>				
Calico	1	6	3	10
Damask	-	-	1	1
Diaper	1	1	3	5
Holland	1	2	3	6
Holland with laid work	1	-	-	1
"Lacest"	1	-	-	1
Linsey woolsey	-	1	-	1
"Pintado"	-	1	-	1
Say	-	1	-	1
Thread linen	-	1	-	1
Woolen	-	1	-	1
Satin, Embroidered	-	1	-	1

Furnishings	Number Listed by Type or Description			
	1650-55	1670-75	1690-95	Total
<u>Cupboard cushions</u>				
Damask	-	1	-	1
Satin, Embroidered	-	2	-	2
Silk	-	-	1	1
Wrought	-	-	1	1
<u>Carpets, for table, by color</u>				
Green	-	1	2	3
<u>Carpets, for table, by pattern</u>				
Striped	3	6	-	9
<u>Carpets, for table, by fabric</u>				
Calico	-	-	6	6
Painted	-	-	1	1
Cloth, Green	-	-	2	2
Darnix (Dornicke)	1	2	-	3
Green	3	-	-	3
"Half silk"	-	1	-	1
Irish stitched	-	-	2	2
Leather	-	1	3	4
Linen, "Brancht"	-	1	-	1
Painted	-	-	1	1
Seal skin	-	-	1	1
Tapestry	1	-	-	1
Turkey	-	3	6	9
Turkey work	-	1	7	8
Valure	-	1	-	1
Wrought	-	-	3	3
<u>Chairs, by color</u>				
Blue	-	3	-	3
Green	1	6	36	43
Red	-	6	8	14

Furnishings                      Number Listed by Type or Description

	<u>1650-55</u>	<u>1670-75</u>	<u>1690-95</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Chairs, by nontextile material</u>				
Bass (Bass bottom)	6	5	39	50
Green	-	-	6	6
Cane	-	-	55	55
Flag	-	-	106	106
Green	-	-	19	19
Leather	19	180	387	586
Calves	-	6	-	6
"Flowered"	-	-	12	12
Red	8	4	-	12
Russia	-	14	30	44
Mat (Matted)	2	28	30	60
Rush	-	-	22	22
Segin bottoms	-	8	-	8
"Slage"	5	-	-	5
Wicker	-	18	3	21
<u>Chairs, by fabric</u>				
Bayes	-	6	-	6
Camblet	-	-	9	9
Canvas	-	-	6	6
Cloth	-	-	2	2
Damask, Red	-	10	-	10
Damask, Yellow	10	-	-	10
Needle work	-	-	5	5
Plush	-	-	1	1
Sarsenet	-	3	-	3
Serge	6	-	90	96
Green	-	9	7	16
Sad colored	-	6	-	6
Turkey (Turkey work)	1	55	174	230
Velvet	-	5	-	5
Woolsey, Printed	-	-	6	6
Wrought	4	16	4	24
<u>Stools, by color</u>				
Blue	6	-	-	6
Green	2	4	4	10

<u>Furnishings</u>	<u>Number Listed by Type or Description</u>			
	<u>1650-55</u>	<u>1670-75</u>	<u>1690-95</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Stools, by nontextile material</u>				
Leather	2	-	-	2
<u>Stools, by fabric</u>				
Cloth, Green	-	6	-	6
Irish [stitch]	-	-	3	3
Needle work	-	-	4	4
Sarsenet	-	1	-	1
Serge	-	-	3	3
Green	-	-	7	7
Turkey	4	6	6	16
Wrought	4	21	10	35
Red	-	-	2	2
<u>Couches, by color</u>				
Green	1	-	-	1
Red	-	-	1	1
<u>Couches, by nontextile material</u>				
Leather	-	-	1	1
<u>Couches, by fabric</u>				
Holland covering	-	-	1	1
Irish stitch	-	-	1	1
Sarsenet	-	1	-	1
Velvet	-	1	-	1
<u>Cushions, for furniture, by color</u>				
Green	6	-	1	7
<u>Cushions, for furniture, by nontextile material</u>				
Leather, Gilt	3	-	-	3

Furnishings                      Number Listed by Type or Description

	<u>1650-55</u>	<u>1670-75</u>	<u>1690-95</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Cushions, for furniture,</u>				
<u>by fabric</u>				
Damask	2	-	-	2
Darnick, Worked	-	-	5	5
Irish Stitch	-	-	1	1
Silk	-	1	-	1
Turkey work	12	41	19	72
Velvet	1	-	-	1
Wrought	-	5	-	5
Green	-	5	-	5