





The Great Cover-up

American Rugs on Beds, Tables, and Floors

By Lee Kogan

The impulse to cover interior surfaces has historically been both utilitarian and decorative. Rugs in particular have been a ubiquitous presence in American interiors since the seventeenth century, whether displayed on the bed, the table, the floor, or, more recently, the wall. Because of their prominent placement and the physical area they occupied, rugs became opportunities for strong visual statements. As many surviving rugs beautifully attest, the best examples transcend function through their graphic power—color and design—and are now considered masterworks. Early American rugs were yarn sewn, shirred, appliquéd, and embroidered; later techniques included knitting, crocheting, and most notably hooking. Hand-sewn and -hooked rugs were once appreciated only within the intimate confines of the home. Today, their public enjoyment provides a fascinating glimpse into the private spaces of American life. “The Great Cover-up: American Rugs on Beds, Tables, and Floors” is the American Folk Art Museum’s first comprehensive rug exhibition since 1974, when Joel and Kate Kopp organized the seminal “American Hooked and Sewn Rugs: Folk Art Underfoot,” which generated an enormous interest in the field that continues to this day.¹

“The Great Cover-up: American Rugs on Beds, Tables, and Floors” will be on view at the American Folk Art Museum June 5–September 9, 2007.

Museum exhibitions are supported in part by the Gerard C. Wertkin Exhibition Fund and the Leir Charitable Foundations in memory of Henry J. & Erna D. Leir.

KNITTED RUG (detail)
Attributed to Eivira Curtis Hulett
(c. 1805–1895)
Probably Hancock,
Massachusetts
c. 1890–1895
Wool
50" diam.
American Folk Art Museum,
promised gift of Ralph Esmerian,
PI.2001.295

Bed Rugs

Some of the earliest handcrafted American rugs were produced by women in their homes and used as bedcovers. Known as bed rugs (derived from the Norwegian *rugga* or *rogga* and also the Swedish *rug*, referring to a coarse fabric or pile covering), these monumental textiles were typically yarn sewn, a technique executed in a running stitch. Highly valued by their makers, they were often signed or initialed and dated. Bed rugs were symbols of wealth and status. Production was labor intensive, and examples were treasured by owners who used them during cold New England winters. Most surviving examples are from the Connecticut River Valley, but bed rugs also have been located in other parts of New England and elsewhere.²

Though no seventeenth-century examples of bed rugs survive, references appear in American inventories and other documents from this period. Fortunately, a small number of extraordinary eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century bed rugs exist, such as the superbly designed and executed *Bed Rug* made in 1803 by a member of the prestigious Fairbanks family of New Hampshire (right). Its predominant carnation motif, which is similarly incorporated in a significant group of about a dozen surviving bed rugs from the Connecticut River Valley, relates to stylized sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English and other European floral embroidery designs.³ Decorative elements of this kind were brought to America via embroidery-pattern books printed in England; in some cases, these were translated from German, French, and Italian sources dating to the sixteenth century.⁴ The carnation surrounded by a foliate arabesque appears on a page in Richard Shorleyker's 1632 pattern book, *A Schole-house for the Needle*.⁵

Like the rose, the carnation is often emblematic of earthly and divine love; for this reason, it is often associated with brides, bridegrooms, and newly married couples.⁶ This motif has persisted in needlework patterns for centuries and is prevalent in border patterns of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and American embroidered samplers. Varieties of the flower are found in needlework

of other European countries as well. In the Fairbanks *Bed Rug*, the central carnation bouquet rises symmetrically from a graceful double-handled oval urn. The composition's similarity to that of numerous other textiles of the era and especially the presence of the oft-featured urn shape strongly suggest a common design source for the overall pattern.⁷ Surrounding the central motif are graceful arcaded and meandering vines and leaves. Tulips and other blossoms fill the ground space between the central pattern and the prominent four-sided surround, adding rhythmic movement and strong patterning to the surface design. The few colors—a palette of browns, gold, and some related red tones—vibrate dramatically on the black background.



BED RUG
Attributed to Deborah Leland
Fairbanks (1739-1791) and
unidentified family member
Littleton, New Hampshire
1803
Wool
101 × 96"
American Folk Art Museum, gift
of Cyril Irwin Nelson in honor of
Joel and Kate Kopp, 2004.14.3

The *Packard Bed Rug* (opposite) inscribed *N/BP/1806*, is one of at least three bed rugs made by Packard family members of Jericho, Vermont.⁸ The contained floral and geometric elements are reminiscent of strapwork, an ornamental scrollwork often seen in Mannerist decoration. The design, in flat, uncut pile with scallop motifs, also shows the influence of Transylvanian-type rugs with strapwork designs seen covering tables in some colonial portraits.⁹ Similarly designed hand-knotted pile carpets, called Turkeywork, were imported to the American colonies



COURTESY AMERICA HURRAH ARCHIVES, NEW YORK

PACKARD BED RUG

Packard family member

Jericho, Vermont

1806

Wool

94 × 90½"

American Folk Art Museum, gift
of Cyril Irwin Nelson in honor of
Cary Forney Baker Jr., 2002.31.1

from Europe. Designs were absorbed into the American sensibility and integrated in several of the decorative arts. The individual floral and leaf motifs of the *Packard Bed Rug* strongly resemble some of the English crewel embroideries that may have had similar sources and decorative counterparts.¹⁰ The scallop-pattern outer border, popular in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century decorative arts, relates to motifs within the design and neatly unites all the elements.

Table Rugs

Rugs that were used to cover the surfaces of tables and chests were contemporaneous with bed rugs. These, too,

within the home. The spare elements feature a house with two gable-end chimneys and a nearby church linked by a double length of fencing that borders a path; this establishes in symbolic terms the close tie between home and church that was fundamental in American life at the time.

The unusual three-dimensional Schwenkfelder *Table Cover* (opposite) from Pennsylvania features a table setting appliquéd and embroidered on a wool foundation. Appliquéd table and hearth rugs became popular around 1840. Appliquéd—a technique also used in quiltmaking—involves cutting elements from one fabric and stitching them onto another. It allows for much greater



PICTORIAL TABLE RUG
 Artist unidentified
 Possibly Otisfield, Maine
 c. 1840
 Wool appliqué, gauze, and
 embroidery on wool
 29 × 53"
 American Folk Art Museum,
 promised gift of Ralph
 Esmerian, P1.2001.293

STEPHEN DONELIAN

were indicative of status and material wealth and were prominently featured in eighteenth-century interior portraits by artists such as Robert Feke and John Smibert. (The table rugs shown in these paintings were imported hand-knotted Oriental carpets, but the English imitation Turkeywork rugs were also used on tables.¹¹)

The elite practice of placing rugs on tabletops was adapted for popular use and continued into the nineteenth century. One such example is the wool appliqué and embroidered *Pictorial Table Rug* (above) that is thought to depict the very home in Otisfield, Maine, in which it was made and used. The graphic architectural representation provided a dramatic background for social activities

pictorial flexibility than can be attained in pieced textiles. The dimensional objects—four place settings and a platter with a neat arrangement of fruits and vegetables—may be likened to whimsical contemporary soft sculpture. The exuberant textile exudes some of the earthy spirit found in Schwenkfelder fraktur examples.

Floor Rugs

In 1810, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defined a floor rug as “a little rug for your hearthstone.”¹² Although examples of earlier provenance are known, large rugs for the floor rather than a bed or tabletop were rare and were likely expensive imported carpets. Hearth rugs were usually

rectangular and, as the name suggests, were placed before the open fireplace to serve as dust covers during warm months and, some say, to protect larger carpets from sparks and soot during the winter.

The handmade masterpiece *Embroidered Carpet* (page 40), also known as the Caswell Carpet, was made between 1832 and 1835. It was intended for and placed on the floor of a rarely used parlor in the maker's house in Castleton, Vermont.¹³ Zeruah Higley Guernsey designed and made the rug more than a decade before she married Memri Caswell in 1846, undertaking the laborious preparatory process of shearing the sheep, spinning and dyeing the yarn, and preparing the homespun-wool foundation.

TABLE COVER
Artist unidentified
Probably Montgomery
County, Pennsylvania
c. 1870
Wool embroidery and cotton
appliqué on wool
31½" diam.
Schwenkfelder Museum,
Pennsburg, Pennsylvania,
18.38.118



Tradition suggests that she used a wooden needle her father, a maker of spinning wheels, had fashioned.¹⁴

The carpet is composed of seventy-six blocks and additional blocks comprising a detachable hearth-size rug along one edge. The entire carpet was embroidered in chain stitch on a tambour frame. Its square-block construction is embellished with stylized leaves, birds, and baskets of fruit that derive from earlier needlework traditions.¹⁵ On the lower left, two blocks featuring cats and one featuring puppies are rendered in a more naturalistic manner, their sources traced to printed prototypes used in other mediums at the time.¹⁶ The pair of courting figures in a block near the center of the rug lends a personal and humanizing

touch. (For some unexplained reason, the maker sewed another square over the couple.)

Zeruah Guernsey embroidered her initials and the year 1835 at the top of the rug. Two squares are known to have been designed by two Native American medical students at the local Castleton Medical College who lived for a time in the Guernsey household and demonstrated interest in the carpet. The square designed by one of the guests, Francis Bacon, bears the inscription *By FB* (sixth row, second from right). The square initialed *LFM* (top row, fifth from left) is thought to be by the other student.¹⁷

The extraordinary room-size *Appliquéd Carpet* (page 41) by an unidentified maker bears resemblance to smaller appliquéd and embroidered bed and floor rugs from Maine from about 1845 to 1870, but its monumental size, flawless condition, exquisite design, and technical virtuosity clearly identify it as a major nineteenth-century textile masterpiece. The composition may be described as a series of densely patterned borders surrounding a central medallion featuring trees, flowers, birds, and a whimsical blue rabbit. But in contrast to the rigid square or rectangular blocks that characterize many other examples from Maine, the repeated flower motifs separated by arch-shaped leafy branches give this carpet a distinguishing dynamic.

Exotic animals intrigued the American public in the early nineteenth century, and the maker of *Bengal Tiger* (page 42, center) may have seen a real tiger in a traveling menagerie. In 1809, Hachaliah Baily, an entrepreneur in Somers, New York, who was known for his commercial ventures organizing animal shows, bought an interest in Nero "the Royal Tiger" from the animal's owner, another Somers businessman, Benjamin Lent. The tiger may have been one of a pair shown in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1808.¹⁸ However, the visual source for this yarn-sewn rug and another nearly identical rug may be traced to an 1800 woodcut in Thomas Bewick's *A General History of Quadrupeds*.¹⁹ During the 1820s and 1830s, tigers and other animals were advertised on posters as part of the Grand Caravan of Living Animals and the American Menagerie, among others.²⁰ Yarn-sewn rugs such as *Bengal Tiger* were typically executed in a running stitch on a homespun woven wool or, occasionally, linen foundation using wool threads in large-scale, foliate patterns inspired by English embroidery.

In Waldoboro, Maine, descendants of a group of Germans who immigrated during the early years of the nineteenth century, bringing with them knowledge of European crafts, developed a distinctive sculptural rug style.²¹ Waldoboro rugs, including the 1860 *Waldoboro-Type Hooked Rug* (page 42, top), are characterized by densely piled cut loops and deeply saturated colors on black, cream, sage green, or sometimes gray linen foundations.²² The loops were cut at different heights, thereby creating a three-dimensional surface. Typical motifs were flowers, leaves, and fruits, as well as lush baskets of fruits and flowers within florid, often scrolled borders. A central oval carries ornamental design, as does the outlying border area. Birds, considered bad luck, were not part of original Waldoboro pictorial elements. However,



© 1988 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK

EMBROIDERED CARPET

Zeruah Higley Guernsey Caswell (1805-c. 1895)

Castleton, Vermont

1832-1835

Chain-stitch embroidery on wool

156 × 147"

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Katharine Keyes
in memory of her father, Homer Eaton Keyes, 1938 (38.157)

the three-dimensional rug style became so pervasive that all rugs with relief surfaces, such as this one, which features several prominent birds, are termed “Waldoboro type” no matter where they originated or which motifs were used.

American floor rugs were also braided, crocheted, knitted, or woven, and sometimes their makers combined techniques. The striking *Knitted Rug* (page 34) attributed to Elvira Curtis Hulett is a tour de force of rugmaking. Hulett, a member of the Shaker community in Hancock, Massachusetts, used a glowing

regulation governed by the Millennial Laws of 1821 and revised in 1845 allowed carpet use by Shakers, but they “were to be used with discretion and made plain.”²³ It has been suggested that this rug may have been placed in an area where sales and business with the “outside world” took place.²⁴

The hooked rug is considered an indigenous American art form.²⁵ By the middle of the nineteenth century, hooking was the most popular technique for making handmade rugs, in both numbers and pattern variety.



JOHN BIGELOW TAYLOR, COURTESY AMERICA HURRAH ARCHIVES, NEW YORK

APPLIQUÉ CARPET

Artist unidentified
Northeastern United States,
possibly Maine
c. 1860
Wool appliqué and embroidery
on wool
112 × 158"
American Folk Art Museum,
promised gift of Ralph Esmerian,
PI.2001.294

autumnal palette, and her rug is knitted in a complex construction of concentric rings patterned with crosses, stripes, diamonds, checkerboards, and strips of contrasting colored wool yarns, giving evidence of the maker’s early experience as a weaver. (Hulett’s name appears on an early nineteenth-century pattern draft for huckaback, a woven fabric.) It is further embellished on the outer ring with embroidered cross-stitching, forming chevrons, and bound with a braided edge. Strict

Burlap, a coarse woven fabric made of fiber from the sturdy jute plant, imported from India by about 1850, was commonly used for sacks to handle dry goods such as coffee, tea, tobacco, and grains, thus providing an inexpensive and readily available cloth to be used as a rug foundation.

Hooked rugs bear resemblance to yarn-sewn rugs in that both rugmaking techniques result in raised loops that can be left as they are or clipped to produce a pile. As

opposed to the earlier technique of yarn-sewing, which employs a running stitch on a wool or linen foundation, rug hooking is accomplished by pushing a hook through the top of a coarse foundation (such as burlap) and drawing the fabric from the underside to the top. A near endless variety of designs can be created by using raw materials as diverse as cut-up rags, fabric strips recycled from old clothes or linens, and yarn. Hooked-rug designs range from repeated simple geometrics to detailed original pictorials.

Printed patterns had become available in the 1850s from Chambers and Leland, in Lowell, Massachusetts, which stamped embroidery patterns and prepared patterns on burlap. Capitalizing on the growing popularity of handmade rugs in the late nineteenth century, an enterprising Maine tin peddler, Edward Sands Frost, introduced preprinted hooked-rug patterns on burlap in the 1860s.²⁶ In 1876, when Frost sold his business, he had about 180 patterns. Today, 742 zinc stencils that made 113 different patterns survive.²⁷ Frost's subjects ranged from florals and animals to patriotic and fraternal designs and countless geometric patterns.

Frost's success led other individuals and companies to print patterns. In 1886, Ebenezer Ross, of Toledo, Ohio, invented the punch needle to replace the crochetlike rug hook, and he sold this new hook along with a catalog of fifty-six patterns, mostly Frost designs. By the early twentieth century, prepackaged kits were widely available. Creative rug hookers often altered the preprinted patterns to produce individualized results.

The Lion No. 7 pattern, in which a large lion reclines amid thin leafy foliage in front of a standing lion cub, was Frost's most successful pattern. Its popularity led other entrepreneurs to alter it somewhat and continue to market the design on preprinted burlap. In Ross's variation of the pattern, used for the *Lion with Palms* rug (right, bottom), the foliage is changed to palm trees. In a third marketed version, the palm trees remain but the lion cub is absent.

The mass production of Edward Sands Frost's patterns set the stage for the development of cottage industries. Among the most long-lived and successful was that spearheaded by Dr. Wilfred Grenfell.²⁹ In 1892, Grenfell arrived in the Canadian province of Labrador and Newfoundland on a hospital ship and founded a mission to help the villagers there augment the subsistence income derived from fishing and trapping through the production and sale of handicrafts. For several months each year, the ferocity of the icy winters resulted in the citizens being landlocked. Grenfell encouraged local women to make mats during these months of enforced idleness, and these mats were marketed throughout North America.

Grenfell himself made cartoon images for some of the rug designs, but it was Rhoda Dawson, who arrived in 1930 from England to assist Grenfell rugmaker M.A. Pressley-Smith prepare rug-hooking kits, who raised the artistic level of Grenfell mats by introducing bold abstraction. Executed in stocking material, Dawson's designs did not conform to popular taste. At one point, she wrote, "I'm afraid my regular customers won't like my new mats. They're too sophisticated."³⁰ In *Sealskin Drying* (opposite), Dawson drew attention to the prized ring-seal pelt, recalling



WALDOBORO-TYPE HOOKED RUG / artist unidentified / Maine / 1860 / wool on probably burlap / 26½ × 36¾" / collection of Jeff Pressman and Nancy Kollisch



BENGAL TIGER / artist unidentified / United States / c. 1820 / yarn sewn on linen / 41¼ × 67" / © Shelburne Museum, Shelburne, Vermont, 9M-11



LION WITH PALMS / artist unidentified; pattern by E. Ross & Co. Manufacturers, Toledo, Ohio / United States / c. 1880-1900 / wool on burlap / 32½ × 62" / private collection

the early years of the mission, when seal hunting was basic to the economy, providing food, clothing, dog harnesses, and household goods for the community.³¹

Symbolic meanings are embedded into the seemingly cryptic early twentieth-century *Degree of Pocahontas Hooked Rug* (page 44, top). The Degree of Pocahontas was the female counterpart of the Improved Order of Red Men, a fraternal organization formed to promote freedom for the colonies that traces its origins to several secret groups founded before the American Revolution, including the

Council Fire of the Great Council of the United States³² convened at Bon Ton Hall, in New York. The arrows and ax are symbols of war, the white dove a symbol of peace.

The pictorial hooked rug *Praying to the Moon* (page 44, bottom) epitomizes the originality of American folk art. The unusual composition depicts a couple facing away from each other and separated by a bold geometric pattern embedded with hearts. The woman extends her arms longingly—or beseechingly—toward a wide-eyed full moon above a tree. The scene hints at romance, courtship, love, and marriage. In her appeal to the moon, often associated with a feminine aspect, the woman appears to be yearning to fulfill her desire for the handsome gentleman depicted on the left. The exact meaning remains open to interpretation, but this seems a safe reading, given that the universal subjects of love and courtship have been identified with the moon and its reflected light in literary and musical works throughout the ages.

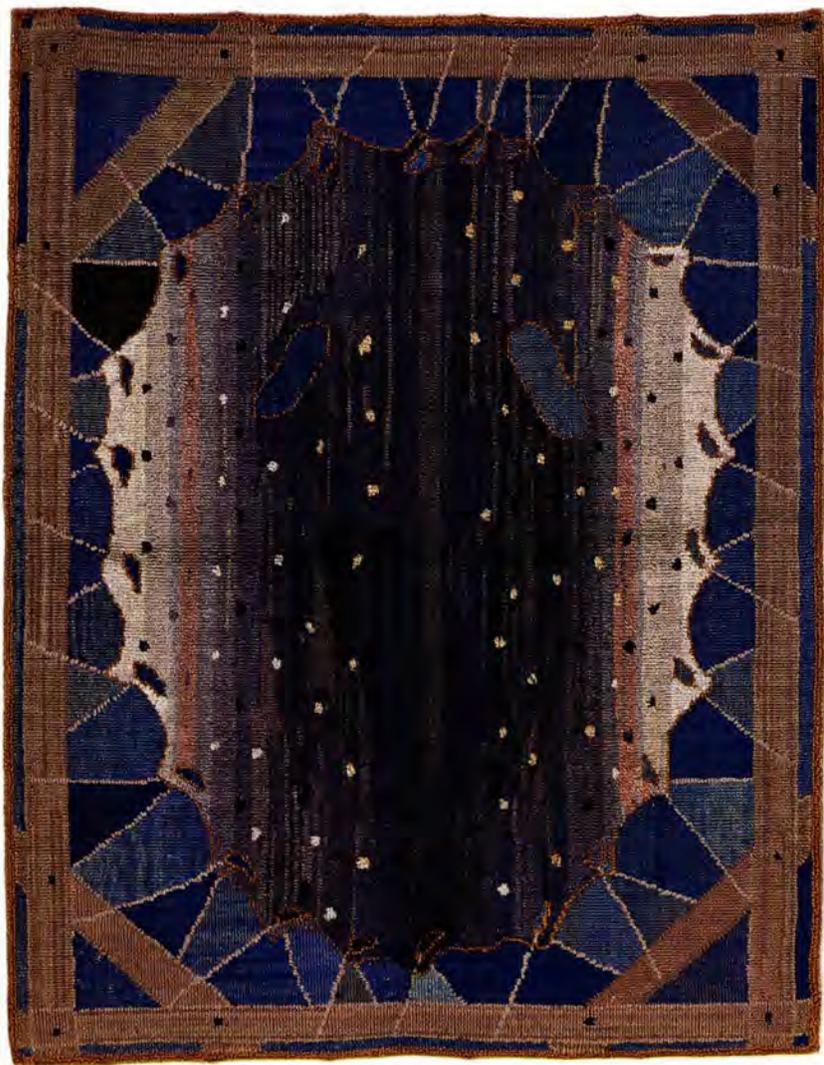
The *Solitary Tree Hooked Rug* (page 45) illustrates the subtlety of color and painterly effects that can be achieved in the hooked-rug medium. Its monochromatic color palette and formal, bold abstraction reflect the modern taste of the first decades of the twentieth century. The flat pile is reminiscent of the densely hooked rugs produced around the same time at the Grenfell Mission.

There has been a resurgence of interest in handmade rugs by both amateurs and professionals. Some talented creators continue to design and make rugs for profit in the spirit of cottage industries. A larger number, however, comprise a community of rug hookers who support regional, national, and international guilds and associations, publications, and exhibitions of handmade rugs. Though their motivations may differ from those of their gifted predecessors, makers of rugs, past and present, share a need for self-expression. Today, exceptional historical and contemporary rugs are displayed on walls and valued for their aesthetic and documentary qualities, as well as for their technical virtuosity. ★

Lee Kogan, the museum's curator of public programming and special exhibitions, is the curator of "The Great Cover-up: American Rugs on Beds, Tables, and Floors."

Notes

- 1 In 1994, the museum presented the exhibition "Northern Scenes: Hooked Art of the Grenfell Mission," organized by Paula Laverty, which specifically explored the Canadian hooked mats produced in Labrador and Newfoundland.
- 2 J. Herbert Callister and William L. Warren, *Bed Ruggs/1722–1833* (Hartford, Conn.: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1972), pp. 13–16.
- 3 Marguerite Fawdry and Deborah Brown, *The Book of Samplers* (Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1980), pp. 14, 15.
- 4 Averil Colby, *Samplers* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1964), pp. 20, 23–24.
- 5 Lanto Synge, *Antique Needlework* (Poole, England: Blandford Press, 1982), p. 66.
- 6 J.C.J. Metford, *A Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1983), p. 60.
- 7 See Marcus Huish, *Samplers and Tapestry Embroideries* (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), pl. 23; Fawdry and Brown, op. cit., pp. 14, 15; and Callister and Warren, op. cit., which shows thirteen related examples—eight with the urn and five without.



SEALSKIN DRYING
Designed by Rhoda Dawson
(1897–1992)
Grenfell Mission, Labrador,
Canada
In production 1930–1935
Dyed silk, rayon, and brin
25 × 20"
Collection of Paula Laverty

Sons of Liberty (1765).³² The ladies auxiliary, established in the late nineteenth century, took its name from the storied daughter of the chief of the Algonquin Indians who was held hostage by English settlers at Jamestown. She became a pivotal figure in reestablishing peaceful relations between the settlement and the Indian nation after a period of hostility. This hooked rug is replete with symbols relating to the nomenclature, implements, and tenets of the organization, whose motto was "Freedom, Friendship, and Charity." The inscription *GSD. 410* (or AD 1902) commemorates the date that the "forty-fifth Great Sun

**DEGREE OF POCAHONTAS
HOOKED RUG**

Artist unidentified

Probably New York

Early twentieth century

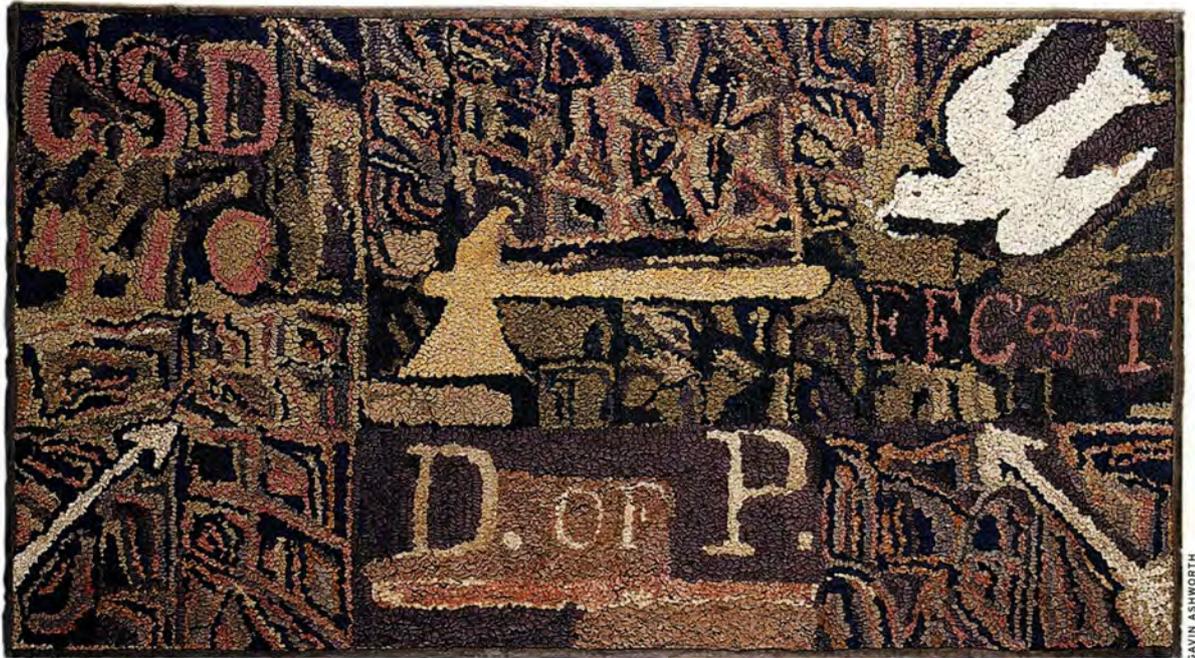
Wool and cotton

27 × 48"

American Folk Art Museum,

gift of Jacqueline Loewe Fowler,

2002.25.1



GAVIN ASHWORTH

PRAYING TO THE MOON

Artist unidentified

Probably New York State

1910-1920

Wool on burlap

29 × 50"

Private collection



PETER WARWICK



SOLITARY TREE HOOKED RUG
 Artist unidentified
 United States
 c. 1910-1930
 Wool on burlap
 29 × 41"
 American Folk Art Museum,
 bequest of Ed Clein, 1988.6.1

JOHN PARNELL

8 According to descendants who donated another example to the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Mich., Rachel Packard of Jericho, Vt., was 71 years of age when she spun, wove, and dyed the yarn used in that bed rug, dated 1805. See also Callister and Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

9 See, for instance, *Isaac Royall and Family*, a portrait painted in 1741 by Robert Feke (collection Harvard University), in Helene von Rosenstiel, *American Rugs and Carpets from the Seventeenth Century to Modern Times* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1978), p. 125.

10 For more information on this rug, see Stacy C. Hollander, "Packard Bed Rug," in Stacy C. Hollander and Brooke Davis Anderson, *American Anthem: Masterworks from the American Folk Art Museum* (New York: American Folk Art Museum in association with Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 297.

11 Callister and Warren, *op. cit.*, p. 15. See also Margaret Swain, "The Turkey-Work Chairs of Holyroodhouse," in *Upholstery in America & Europe from the Seventeenth Century to World War I*, ed. Edward S. Cooke Jr. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1987), pp. 51-64.

12 Marion Day Iverson, "The Bed Rug in Colonial America," *The Magazine Antiques* 50, no. 1 (January 1964): 108.

13 Mary Gerrish Higley, "The Caswell Carpet," *The Magazine Antiques* 9, no. 6 (June 1926): 396-398.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 397.

15 Joel Kopp and Kate Kopp, *American Hooked and Sewn Rugs: Folk Art Underfoot* (New York: Dutton, 1975), pp. 124-127; and Sarah B. Sherrill, *Carpets and Rugs of Europe and America* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), p. 253.

16 Sherrill, *op. cit.*, p. 253; and James Ayres, *English Naive Painting, 1750-1900* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1980), pl. 87, p. 162.

17 Higley, "The Caswell Carpet," *op. cit.*

18 Richard W. Flint, "Entrepreneurial and Cultural Aspects of the Early Nineteenth-Century Circus and Menagerie Business," in *Itinerancy in New England and New York*, ed. Peter Benes (Concord, Mass.: Boston University, 1986), p. 134.

19 Thomas Bewick, *A General History of Quadrupeds*, 6th ed. (Philadelphia, 1810). See also curatorial files at the Shelburne

Museum, Vermont; and Blanche Cirker (ed.), *1800 Woodcuts by Thomas Bewick and His School* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), pl. 27, 28, and 208 no. 3.

20 Flint, *op. cit.*

21 Kopp, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

22 Mildred Cole Peladeau, *Art Underfoot: The Story of Waldoboro Hooked Rugs* (Lowell, Mass.: American Textile History Museum, 1999), p. 5. This catalog contains the most complete and accurate discussion of Waldoboro rugs.

23 Sherrill, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

24 *Ibid.* For more information on the use of Shaker rugs, see Gerard C. Wertkin, "Knitted Rug," in Stacy C. Hollander, *American Radiance: The Ralph Esmerian Gift to the American Folk Art Museum* (New York: American Folk Art Museum in association with Harry N. Abrams, 2001), pp. 523-524.

25 Nancy Carlisle, "Introduction," in *19th Century Maine Rugs* (Lewiston, Me.: Bates College Treat Gallery, 1980).

26 Maine State Museum, Augusta, "Now Open: 'Rugs All Marked Out' at the Maine State Museum," <http://www.maine.gov/museum/exhibits/Rugs.html> (accessed Feb. 21, 2007).

27 *Ibid.*

28 Jane Radcliffe, registrar, Maine State Museum, Augusta, telephone conversation with the author, December 2006. For more information on the Lion pattern and its variations, see William Winthrop Kent, *The Hooked Rug: A Record of Its Ancient Origin, Modern Development, Methods of Making, Sources of Design, Value as a Handicraft, the Growth of Collections, Probable Future in America, and Other Data* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1930), p. 153; and William Winthrop Kent, "A Yankee Rug Designer," *The Magazine Antiques* 38, no. 8 (August 1940): 72, 73.

29 For the most complete discussion of the missionary work of Dr. Wilfred Grenfell and the hooked mats of the Grenfell Mission, see Paula Laverty, *Silk Stocking Mats: Hooked Mats of the Grenfell Mission* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

30 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

32 Tracy Goodnow, letter to Ann-Marie Reilly, Sept. 18, 2002, registrar's files, American Folk Art Museum, New York.