THE APPEARANCE OF SIMPLICITY: WINSTON-SALEM’S MAGGIE BESSIE DOLLS AND TWENTIETH CENTURY ANTI-MODERNISM

Laura Katherine Walters

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Department of History
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Approved by

Advisory Committee

David La Vere
Candice Bredbenner

William D. Moore
Chair

Accepted by

Dean, Graduate School
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the production and consumption of the Maggie Bessie Doll Collection of Old Salem Museums and Gardens, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Margaret “Maggie” Gertrude and Carolina Elizabeth “Bessie” Pfohl produced these playthings in the Moravian Community of Salem from approximately 1890 to 1940. Appearing basic in design, these cloth dolls epitomized simplicity from their handmade construction to the clothes they wore. As a reflection of sentiment following the American Civil War and the onset of industrialization and modernism, the manufacturers and consumers used them to express anti-modern conservative values. The Maggie Bessie Collection illustrates a traditional gender divide, a rejection of mass-produced products of leisure, an alternative to the mass-produced products of leisure, and twentieth century Moravian and White, Southern Identities. The current discourse regarding dolls and doll culture, although growing, lacks a sophisticated analysis regarding the Maggie Bessie Collection; therefore this account provides a necessary component to the existing literature. This analysis utilizes information gathered from material culture, archives, an oral history, and other unpublished documents and compares and contrasts the Maggie Bessie Collection with popular trends occurring in modernizing America.
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DEDICATION

In loving memory of William George Reid and William Reid Walters
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INTRODUCTION

At first glance, the cloth dolls produced by two Moravian women from Winston-Salem, North Carolina appear basic in design. With flat, painted faces and functional, as opposed to fashionable dresses, these handmade dolls resemble toys dating to an earlier period due to their simplicity. However, Maggie and Bessie Pfohl created a collection of toys that embodied the many social, economic, and religious complexities surrounding their small community during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Maggie and Bessie Pfohl belonged to the Home Moravian Church of Winston-Salem, the heart of the town of Salem. Salem, created in 1766, acted as a trade center for the exchange of goods including crafts and produce. In Salem and other Moravian towns, the church played a tremendous role, influencing community life both spiritually and economically. Their communal way of life provided for a peaceful lifestyle devoid of conflict, which was what religious reformers hoped to achieve.¹

Today, this Moravian Village is referred to as Old Salem and dedicates its mission to providing visitors with an

interpretation of life spanning from the town’s creation until the mid-nineteenth century. Old Salem, founded in 1950 by a group of volunteers, promotes an outdoor museum and historic district incorporating numerous buildings and gardens. In addition to the extensive grounds, Old Salem houses the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, also known as MESDA.

Old Salem Museums and Gardens also houses the Maggie Bessie Collection which consists of more than cloth dolls. The seventeen dolls, measuring approximately 13 to 20 inches tall from head to toe by 6 to 8 inches wide from hand to hand, account for the majority of the objects in the collection. However, the collection also includes two sets of miniature doll families, Maggie and Bessie Pfohl's journal with doll requests and pricing, as well as their patterns, and clothing components, and a set of straw doll furniture. Each miniature doll family possesses the following: father, mother, daughter, son, baby, and adult black woman.

The existing information regarding this collection and its makers offers a foundation for future analysis. This account will provide a sophisticated, historical interpretation of the dolls, the producers, and the consumers to bridge the gap within doll literature. Collectors and buyers recognize the significance of Maggie Bessie Dolls, which shows in the prices paid at auction. Auction prices for Maggie Bessie Dolls range
from $7,500, sold in 2002, to $14,740, sold in 2004, with brokered private doll sales reaching $24,000 in 2005.\(^2\) An appraisal in 2005 of a Maggie Bessie Doll prepared for the intended use of tax deduction for charitable donation, estimates a fair market value of $20,000.\(^3\)

Donna C. Kaonis suggests that many doll collectors, much like herself, were introduced to Maggie Bessie Dolls in 1993 at the UFDC (United Federation of Doll Clubs) national convention in Chicago. According to Kaonis, the convention featured a special exhibit “100 Years of Dolls in America” that included rare, early dolls. This exhibit included five Maggie Bessie Dolls, which were the basis of Kaonis’ 1993 report published in the November/December edition of Antique Doll World. This brief report contained basic biographical information regarding Maggie and Bessie Pfohl and signified their introduction into the world of doll collectors. In addition to the 1993 convention, Koanis also notes that two Maggie Bessie dolls won blue ribbons in the 1996 national competition in the antique category.\(^4\)


\(^3\) Smith, “Fair Market Value Appraisal,” 3.

Figure 1. Maggie Bessie Doll, ca. 1890 – 1910.

Collection of Old Salem Museum and Gardens.
AN ANTI-MODERN EXPRESSION

The Maggie Bessie Doll Collection provides insight into the lives of those who created them as well as those who consumed them. Made of cloth, sewn by hand, and dressed in traditional fashion, these dolls can be identified by their simplicity. As a reflection of the transformation following the American Civil War and the onset of industrialization, the manufacturers and the consumers used these dolls to express anti-modern conservative values.

Many changes in the early twentieth century impacted the shift towards modernism. The involvement of the United States in World War I resulted in its role as a major component of the world economy and it also marked the emergence of business-government partnerships. Production became more efficient focusing on steel and electricity, while advances in technology led to more efficient transportation and communication.

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6 For the purpose of this paper, the use of "conservative" refers to the desire of Maggie and Bessie to preserve traditional conditions and institutions and to limit change.
diminishing geographical barriers. This increased globalization allowed for American businesses to expand into foreign markets.⁷

While American soldiers fought in World War I, women and other minorities dealt with their own struggles at home. Women fought for equality and the working class fought for better wages and working conditions. In addition Protestant fundamentalists feared modernism would lead to a more secular nation based on a loose translation of the Bible. All of these factors contributed to a growing sense of nationalism that sought to limit liberal, social reforms.⁸

This transition connects with the message conveyed by Maggie and Bessie Pfohl. A Geertzian analysis of the Maggie Bessie Collection illustrates an anti-modern gender divide, a rejection of mass-produced products of leisure, and twentieth century Moravian and White, Southern Identities. Maggie and Bessie encouraged play and gender roles through these dolls and also through their involvement in the Moravian community. The dichotomy between male versus female depicts gender roles that are more similar to those prevalent during the Victorian Era. The simple production, distribution, and design of the dolls offers evidence of their role as an alternative to the mass-

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produced goods of the twentieth century and it also encourages devotion and respect for their faith while representing Moravian and White, Southern Identities.

The Maggie Bessie Collection is an eloquent expression of conflicted dynamics in North Carolina around the turn of the twentieth century. The dolls provide a foundation for analysis including their design, the materials used, and the way in which they are dressed. The notebook indicating sales illustrated the number of dolls produced and provides basic information concerning those who purchased them. Memoirs, family documents, and newspaper articles tell us about the lives of Maggie and Bessie Pfohl. With doll production extending into the 1930s and 1940s, doll consumers provide us with rich stories of tradition and identity. Maggie and Bessie, in addition to those young children who played with their creations, provide a wealth of information that can help us understand the importance of the Maggie Bessie Collection to Moravian, North Carolina, and American History.

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9 Memoirs are a Moravian Funeral Custom which provide an account of the deceased and their personal life, achievements, and involvement within the community.

10 Betsey Arnett, interview by Laura Katherine Walters, digital voice recording, Winston-Salem, NC, 30 October 2009. This oral history completed with a Maggie Bessie doll donor serves as a major source for analysis; therefore, one doll in particular, Josephine, will be mentioned throughout. Arnett, cousin to Maggie and Bessie Pfohl and the original owner of the doll donated to Old Salem, Inc, provided information ensuring its provenance as a Maggie Bessie Doll. For the remainder of this paper this oral history will be cited as “Arnett to Walters.”
DOLLS AND TOYS – THE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE

Dolls pique the interest of collectors, as is shown by astronomical auction prices and numerous collector guides. Museums and exhibits dedicated to dolls also highlight this interest. For instance, The Strong National Museum of Play, founded by Margaret Woodbury Strong and located in Rochester, New York, possesses a collection that exceeds 12,000 dolls. Strong’s interest in dolls culminated in her amassing one of the largest doll collections in the world.11 In addition, The Philadelphia Doll Museum recognizes the importance of dolls as material culture, which is clear from their mission statement. This museum was established in the 1980s “as an educational and cultural resource institution, dedicated to preserve doll history and culture by presenting the art of doll making and collecting through seminars and lectures.”12

Growing collections and sky-rocketing auction prices encouraged scholars to take a look at dolls and consider their importance to the historical dialogue. In her book Dolls in Color, Faith Eaton addresses problems faced by scholars studying dolls and doll culture. A common problem among historians includes the debate pertaining to the dolls’ use. Is the doll a


child’s plaything? Or is it a decorative and or instructional ornament? She suggests a compromise, that, “A ‘fashion doll’ may have been a necessity to a dress-maker, a whim to a wealthy women; and depending on family circumstances, either a plaything of a strictly ornamental heirloom to a child.”

The purpose of a doll varies depending on those who produce and consume them; however, they still symbolize the complexities of those individuals. Although Eaton devotes the majority of her book to doll images, she sets the tone for future scholars and doll enthusiasts.

Following her advice, authors such as Don and Debra McQuiston demonstrated the immense wealth of information found in dolls and playthings. *Dolls and Toys of Native America* illustrated the regional and cultural meanings conveyed through the objects of a culture. These scholars understood that a miniature canoe carved from a birch tree symbolized more than a plaything intended for a young boy. This canoe, they argue, “carried a burden of history, tradition, design, and practical technique.”

In similar fashion, Native American girls used dolls to practice domestic skills. Both the canoe and the doll served a two-fold purpose. In the McQuiston’s words, “The

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object was to make a clear connection between the play of a child and the work of an adult. At stake was the continuity—and perhaps the survival—of their culture.”\textsuperscript{15} In addition to noting the objective of Native American playthings, this book also suggest that playthings symbolized local culture and that objects varied from Indian nation to Indian nation.

Other scholars also note the importance of dolls as material culture particularly in their representation of minorities. Doris Y. Wilkinson uses “The Doll Exhibit: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis of Black Female Stereotypes” to examine the impact of black dolls and their representation of African American women. Her argument claims, “Toys are not inconsequential play objects but have assumed a prominent function in disseminating values, beliefs, and race and gender norms, and in reinforcing attitudes.”\textsuperscript{16} She focused on dolls produced and sold in the United States and European countries following the Civil War up until the First World War. These dolls and this analysis differed from the previous work because those who manufactured the majority of black dolls were not of African descent, whereas the Native American playthings mentioned were culturally specific, handmade crafts.

\textsuperscript{15} McQuiston, Dolls and Toys, 14.

This study of the Maggie Bessie Collection fits into the developing literature of dolls and doll culture, particularly to Miriam Formanek-Brunell’s *Made to Play House: Dolls and the Commercialization of American Girlhood, 1830-1930*. She addresses the lack of doll literature and suggested this gap existed because, “Dolls as cultural artifacts have not entered the historical discourse.” Responding to the increased interest and vitality in the study of popular culture, Formanek-Burnell examined dolls and their connection to women’s history and also modern consumption, seeking to provide a more complex interpretation of dolls and doll culture. She examined the misunderstanding of dolls and created dialogue that alters the traditional discourse and encouraged a more multifaceted approach. Her concern that, “Dolls continue to be typically misunderstood as trivial artifacts of a commercialized girls’ culture, static representations of femininity and maternity, generators only of maternal feelings and domestic concerns, hindrances to the development of girls as individuals, creations of socially conservative dollmakers, and products of a single national culture,” served as a motivator to provide a more


encompassing and involved monograph devoted to dolls. This is relevant to the analysis of the Maggie Bessie Collection because Formanek-Brunell recognizes the many complexities associated with dolls.

Literature regarding toys and the toy industry is also important to the analysis of this collection. Gary Cross offered expansive insight into the toy industry, particularly in Kids’ Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood. Although Cross’ analysis included more than dolls, he provided historical information pertinent to understanding the trends that took place in toy production and consumption. His argument, based upon consumption and its role in popular culture, encapsulated the traditional versus modern dichotomy. Cross sought to outline the evolution of the toy industry, which initially marketed toys to adults. Overtime, the toy industry, along with the mass media, targeted children as active participants and capitalized upon their role as consumers.

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19 Formanek-Brunell, Made to Play House, 1.


21 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 10.
More recent trends in doll scholarship addressed Barbie and her impact upon not only the toy and doll industries, but also areas such as fashion, psychology, and women’s studies.\textsuperscript{22} Since her introduction in the 1950s, Barbie’s influence extended worldwide. Other doll literature included Doll Encyclopedias, including American and International Dolls, which serves as guides to enthusiasts and collectors and as a foundation to those interested in learning more about dolls and their makers.\textsuperscript{23}

In addition to placing the Maggie Bessie Dolls within the existing doll literature, it is also important to understand the lives of Maggie and Bessie Pfohl, as well as those surrounding them. Their upbringing in Salem and in the Moravian Church played an integral role in the design of the dolls in which they produced.


MAGGIE, BESSIE, AND THE PFOHL FAMILY

Margaret “Maggie” Gertrude Pfohl (1877-1965) and Caroline Elizabeth “Bessie” Pfohl (1870-1959) were sisters and doll-makers whose lives were heavily influenced by the community in which they grew up as well as the pressure derived from political, economic, and social change in the early twentieth century. Maggie and Bessie produced the majority of their dolls between 1900 and 1940, although the consumption of this collection extended into the second half of the twentieth century.

Figure 2. Pfohl Family Photograph, 1894.

Above front, right, Maggie Pfohl; above, Bessie Pfohl.

Courtesy of Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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25 Although the original is located with Moravian Archives, credit must also be given to Collection of the Wachovia Historical Society; photograph courtesy of Old Salem Museums and Gardens.
Maggie and Bessie preserved Moravian culture and family customs. They recognized that through their craft they could provide an object to the community that represented the qualities which were unique to Moravians, focusing on simplicity, service, personal piety, and fellowship. The simple doll design represented the stable force of the Moravian Church that influenced the lives of doll producers and consumers. The hard work and dedication of these women to produce a handmade product showed pride in their craft and also pride in what it represented. These dolls convey the role that tradition and religion played in the lives of the Pfohls.

The Pfohl sisters, daughters of Christian Thomas (1838-1909) and Margaret Siewers Pfohl (1838-1929), descend from Christian Thomas Pfohl (1759-1838) born in Gnadenberg, Silesia.26 Maggie and Bessie’s siblings include four brothers: Bernard Jacob, William Siewers, Samuel Frederick Pfohl, and John Kenneth Pfohl. Bishop Kenneth Pfohl presided over the Home Moravian Church of Salem for many years.27

As members of one of Winston-Salem’s oldest and most prominent Moravian families, Maggie and Bessie Pfohl epitomized what it meant to be devout Christians. Katherine Pfohl, niece to Maggie and Bessie, mentioned in an interview with a Winston-

26 “Pfohl Family Lineage”; Silesia refers to a historical region now located predominantly in Poland.

27 “Pfohl Family Lineage.”
Salem Journal reporter that, “They [Maggie and Bessie] subscribed to Christian magazines and would quote scripture.” A Salem Journal reporter that, “They [Maggie and Bessie] subscribed to Christian magazines and would quote scripture.” 28 Maggie’s memoir illustrated her devotion and also her “sense of responsibility,” and included a poem she frequently quoted:

“Others, Lord; yes, others
And less of self each day;
Help me to live for others;
It is the Christlike way.” 29

Her memoir also stated that, “In 1929, she helped initiate the Christmas Putz among the women of the church.” 30 A Christmas Putz is a decorated village that typically is centered around a nativity scene. Her endeavor to institute this custom in the lives of the community represented her devotion to creating new and lasting traditions. The Christmas Putz, known today as the annual Candle Tea, boasted attendance in 2010 of over 9,000, signifying it as an important Moravian custom. 31

Much like the dolls produced by Maggie and Bessie, the Moravian Christmas Putz inspired increased piety and contained didactic overtones. Karal Ann Marling, in Merry Christmas!: Celebrating America’s Greatest Holiday, addressed the emergence

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30 “The Memoir of Miss Margaret Gertrude Pfohl.”

of Christmas and Snow Villages. Scholars trace the origins of Christmas villages in America to the German Moravians in Pennsylvania. Marling states that, “Beginning in the later part of the eighteenth century, they [Moravians in Pennsylvania] constructed a distinctive ‘putz’ or decoration around the Christmas tree both in churches and in private residences.”

Traditional Christmas Putzes retold the story of the birth of Christ and incorporated music and narration. Later Christmas Putzes included elaborate landscapes and animals found in the stable at Bethlehem and on Noah’s Ark. In addition to Biblical representations, Putzes evolved and incorporated more unique features that represented the community.

Although Marling’s argument uses snow villages to illustrate the secularization of a traditional Moravian custom, she clearly understands the relationship between those who create the miniature villages. An Old World custom of countries in Central and Western Europe, the Christmas Putz provided villagers with a microcosm of the world in which they lived.

Marling notes that the miniature Christmas scenes reinforced social and geographical relationships among community members.

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34 Marling 70.
In addition to the Christmas Putz, Maggie participated in the preparation, implementation, and cleanup of the lovefeasts of the Home Moravian Church for over forty years. Lovefeasts in Salem take place on Christmas Eve and are dedicated to love. They include special music and also lovefeast buns and coffee. Maggie’s memoir claims, “Miss Maggie was always there until the last coffee cup was washed and the last communion glass was dried.” Maggie’s community involvement, including her work at the Elm Street Sunday School and also her work as a teacher at the St. Philip’s Church, resulted in her being distinguished as a “Home Missionary.”

Bessie Pfohl graduated with Honors from Salem Female Academy. Deeply devoted to the Moravian Church, she was a lifelong member of the Home Moravian Church and presided over the Primary Department of the Sunday school for several years. She also served as a member of the Willing Workers Organization, which was a group dedicated to caring for the old and sick of the community. In addition, Bessie’s interests included foreign and domestic missions leading to her involvement with the

35 “The Memoir of Miss Margaret Gertrude Pfohl.”
36 “The Memoir of Miss Margaret Gertrude Pfohl.”
37 “Miss Bessie Pfohl, 89; Devoted Church Worker,” The Twin City Sentinel, (Winston-Salem, NC), August 12, 1959, 5.
According to brief remarks made during the funeral service of Miss Caroline Elizabeth Pfohl, Bessie asked that no account of her life and community involvement be presented at her funeral. Instead, the Funeral Service Program stated that, “The program of this service therefore is to center on five brief portions of the Scriptures, dear to her heart and witnessing to the stability and assurance of her faith; together with some of her favorite hymns.”

This omission of personal achievements and community impact from Bessie’s funeral service represents individual humility and submission of self to the larger good.

As a part of their role as devoted Moravians, these sisters exhibited loyal and deep family relations. Although neither married nor had children, they surrounded themselves with family. Maggie and Bessie spent the majority of their early years at the family home place in Salem and produced many of their original dolls while residing in the Pfohl home located at the corner of First and Main Streets. The sisters resided together at “the Pfohl Memorial Apartment Building” located on West Academy Street during their later years. Maggie and Bessie’s widowed mother and their cousin, Miss Constance Pfohl,

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38 “Miss Bessie Pfohl, 89; Devoted Church Worker.”

39 “FUNERAL SERVICE for Miss Caroline Elizabeth Pfohl, Home Moravian Church – August 13, 1959,” Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, NC.
also called this residence home. According to Maggie’s Memoir, the cheerfulness of the house in addition to the lovely, flower-filled grounds, encouraged family and friends to gather and visit.\textsuperscript{40}

Katherine Pfohl recalls her delight when calling upon Aunts Maggie and Bessie for Sunday afternoon visits. According to Katherine the official time to visit was 4 p.m., but the young nieces and nephews arrived early, unable to contain their excitement. The story concluded with Miss Bessie spreading a quilt on the parlor floor upon which the young children played. Katherine also remembers being at Maggie and Bessie’s house during the week. The aunts served as the equivalent of babysitters.\textsuperscript{41}

The devotion and involvement of Maggie and Bessie Pfohl within the Moravian community and also with the Pfohl family demonstrated their sincerity and their passion for service and worship. Their close, familial relationships with community members provided the basis of their doll production and distribution.

\textsuperscript{40} “The Memoir of Miss Margaret Gertrude Pfohl.”

\textsuperscript{41} Underwood, “A Past Life,” E1.
DOLL PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Since this analysis studies a collection of dolls, highlighting the trends in doll production provides important information regarding their evolution. Much like Moravian history, the history of doll culture is deeply embedded in Germany. German towns, Nuremberg and Sonneberg, emerged as doll-making centers and Germany dominated the doll industry until the early twentieth century.42 One of the popular types of dolls during the early twentieth century was the Bisque doll. Bisque dolls, often incorrectly referred to as porcelain, possessed ceramic faces and cloth bodies. Manufacturers generally produced doll heads in factories that were already producing ceramic goods.43 France and Germany, among the first to act upon this trend, successfully cornered the market due to increased world trade.44

The simplicity of Maggie Bessie Dolls differed from popular dolls being produced at the time. Handcrafted Maggie Bessie Dolls involved more than machinery and maximized profits. Maggie and Bessie used simple materials and a simple pattern. The sisters made alterations to an existing pattern of their


mother’s and with the help of Miss Emma Louisa Chitty they perfected the pattern. Emma Chitty, an unmarried female, born in 1848, devoted the majority of her life to teaching at her alma mater, Salem Academy. Aside from being a regular in the church, she influenced the lives of young women during her forty-nine years with the school. She completed the school year of 1918-1919 despite her failing health and died later that year. Emma Chitty, beloved and respected teacher, served as a model citizen and devout Christian.

Collections at Old Salem Museums and Gardens also contains an earlier doll made by Miss Chitty, who not only assisted with the early design but she also assisted with the actual technique. As a mathematics and needlework instructor at Salem Academy and College, she was proficient in doll design and production, but did not produce dolls on a large scale.

Due to the small number of dolls made, Miss Chitty dolls prove more difficult to find. Figure 3 depicts a rare, Miss Chitty Doll with a smaller Maggie Bessie Doll.
Throughout the many years of production, Maggie and Bessie created dolls in three sizes, naming each pattern by number. Doll Number One referred to the smallest doll, while Dolls Number Two and Number Three increased in size respectively. This explains the difference in height among the dolls in the collection. Their process of production included Maggie and Bessie completing different parts of the dolls. All parts of

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45 Arnett to Walters.
the dolls’ bodies were made separately and then sewn together. The seams found at the joints of the body allowed the limbs to move which also enabled the doll to sit upright. In addition, the seam located in the middle of the back made it possible for Maggie and Bessie to insert a wooden dowel rod, which provided support to keep the doll’s head upright.  

![Maggie Bessie Doll Pattern](image)

Figure 4. Maggie Bessie Doll Pattern.

The components of this doll pattern illustrate their basic design. Maggie and Bessie made pattern pieces from used greeting cards.  

Courtesy of Old Salem Museums and Gardens.

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Maggie and Bessie made their dolls out of cotton and stuffed them tightly. They differed from previous cloth dolls because of their firmness. The fabric used in their creation was off-white cotton and the sisters stuffed the dolls with unbleached cotton batting. Maggie and Bessie painted the dolls’ faces with numerous coats of white paint, most likely to provide an easier canvas for the facial details. Katherine Pfohl recalled a startling encounter when visiting the Pfohl home and stumbling upon “a line of dolls painted dead-white.”

Figure 5. Unclothed Josephine.

This image illustrates both the size of Josephine as well as the seams located at the joints.

Courtesy of Betsey Arnett.

\[^{48}\text{Underwood, “A Past Life,” El.}\]
The hand-painted faces were two-dimensional, resulting in a profile sans nose. Most likely because of her talent and to provide consistency amongst the dolls produced, the task of painting fell to Maggie.49 The hand-painted details depicted pleasant, happy faces. The blue eyes, pink lips, and rosy cheeks were details common to the dolls in the collection. The girls generally had center hair parts, while the boys had side hair parts and brown eyes.

The attire worn by these dolls resembled traditional Moravian clothing styles. The simple dresses on the dolls were generally pink or blue, while the boys wore shorts and a button down shirt. Dresses differed, but for the most part Maggie and Bessie used a variation of a short-sleeved dress, that contained pleats and a belted waist.50 Maggie and Bessie produced everything with the exception of the leather shoes.51

49 Arnett to Walters.


51 Arnett to Walters.
Figure 6. *Josephine.*
Courtesy of Betsey Arnett.

*Josephine*, Figure 6, wears an organza bonnet with lace trim. The bonnet features an adjustable tie in the back in addition to the tie under the doll’s chin.\(^{52}\) *Josephine’s* original dress made of light blue fabric, depicts a functional dress conducive to completing the day’s work. The sleeves are mid-length and the detail on the dress is simple, including machine-stitched button holes and rick rack around the dress’s edge.\(^{53}\) In addition to the dress, *Josephine* also wears light-colored undergarments in a jumpsuit style that buttons at the

\(^{52}\) Arnett to Walters.

\(^{53}\) Arnett to Walters.
top. Her attire also includes light-colored stockings that are held in place by elastic garters adorned with rosebuds.

Figure 7. Maggie Bessie Doll Dress and Bonnet Pattern, c. 1920-1940. Image shows simple, paper patterns used to create Maggie Bessie Doll attire. The pattern shown is for Maggie Bessie Doll #1, which was the smallest of the three sizes and the most frequently made.54

Courtesy of Old Salem Museums and Gardens.

The distribution of Maggie Bessie dolls contributes to their representation of anti-modernism. Much like communities based upon trade or even communities centered on family, Maggie and Bessie provided family members with dolls, denying themselves a profit. Katherine Pfohl remembers having a Maggie Bessie Doll with a pink dress. She recalls that Maggie and

Bessie made dolls for all of the nieces and perhaps the nephews. In addition, according to Betsey Arnett’s notes, when asked, “Do you remember the cost?” She responded with, “No, there was none.” Betsey also indicated that among her childhood friends in Charlotte, North Carolina, she was the only girl with a Maggie Bessie doll. The only young girl she knew who also owned a Maggie Bessie doll was her cousin Camille.

![Betsey Arnett and her Maggie Bessie Doll, Josephine, 1941. Courtesy of Betsey Arnett.](image)

The method in which Betsey Arnett acquired Josephine also illustrates the conservative ideals of both producer and

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55 Betsey Arnett notes, given to Laura Walters, 30 October 2009. Prior to interview, Principle Investigator (Walters) gave Arnett a list of questions for which she should prepare. For the remainder of the paper, these notes will be cited as “Arnett Notes.”

56 Arnett Notes.
consumer. As distant cousins to Maggie and Bessie Pfohl, explained by a detailed ancestral account of the Arnett family, Betsey acquired Josephine as a result of her relationship to Maggie and Bessie. Although she spoke of a family connection, Arnett’s memories of Maggie and Bessie were vague and the bulk of them second hand stories and facts related by her mother and grandmother, or information she learned from research as an adult. This may be due to the age discrepancies between cousins, but it indicates a lack of close, familial connection. However remote the cousins’ relationship may have been Arnett’s acquisition was a result of family ties and close-knit communities. Arnett recalled, “Mother always said that she had Cuddin’ Bessie make this doll for me.”\(^5^7\) Arnett’s mother most likely wanted her daughter to have one of these dolls as a symbol of their family involvement in Salem.

The distribution of Maggie Bessie Dolls signified the presence of a gift economy between Maggie and Bessie Pfohl and those who owned these dolls. Lewis Hyde, \textit{The Gift: Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property}, addresses how art and artisans function in economies based on demand and profit. Instead of a capitalist economy that places emphasis upon the value of a commodity, the gift economy emphasizes the worth of the object.

\(^{57}\) Arnett to Walters.
The marketplace determined the value of a commodity. In this instance, the market for Maggie Bessie Dolls did not exist outside of the Salem Community; therefore, they held little value at the time of production. The number of dolls produced and the stories of those who owned Maggie Bessie Dolls determined the dolls’ worth. According to Maggie and Bessie’s financial journal, they produced over 400 dolls.\textsuperscript{58}

In an interview conducted and written in 1961, Maggie Pfohl recalled making little profit from the sisters’ doll sales. She mentioned that she and her sister produced the dolls for spending money. Maggie also mentioned that Bessie did not want to charge so much that children would not have to do without. They wanted the dolls to be affordable; therefore, they initially charged $3.50 for the cloth dolls. Later, doll prices increased to $5.00. Since maximized profit did not serve as a motivator for Maggie and Bessie, their reasons for producing these cloth dolls included pleasure and their devotion to the Moravian community. Maggie mentioned the enjoyment of making the dolls, noting that she and Bessie, along with their mother, sat together as they worked.\textsuperscript{59}


In addition to the dolls, Maggie, Bessie, and other sewing instructors taught sewing classes to young girls. The classes commenced in 1909 and included over two hundred pupils. The instructors charged five cents for four lessons and the small fee went towards materials. The lessons occurred on Fridays following school and focused on sewing fundamentals including various stitching, hemming, and patching. After the girls learned the basic sewing skills, the instructors permitted the pupils to cut out large rag dolls giving the girls “something to work for.”60 After the pupils cut out the doll pattern, Maggie stuffed them. Maggie also taught the girls how to make clothing for the rag dolls.61

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60 Whisnant, “Miss Pfohl Recalls Making ‘Maggie Dolls,’” C22.

61 Whisnant, “Miss Pfohl Recalls Making ‘Maggie Dolls,’” C22.
TOYS, GIRLS, AND BOYS

While industrialization revolutionized the United States, changes occurred in the public and private lives of American citizens. During the nineteenth century a shift towards the home as the private sphere placed emphasis on family and home life and therefore, created a heavily gendered divide. Some saw this as a reaction to the overwhelming effects of the Industrial Revolution on the workplace and use this shift as an attempt to explain this developing trend. The dichotomy that emerged between public and private intensified because Americans sought to escape the omnipresent consumerist-driven economy that had taken hold in the United States. Not surprisingly, studies of this period focus upon domesticity and gender roles.

Following Victorian America, new ideologies surfaced resulting in modern thought, which represented the opposite of Victorian culture. The emergence of Modernism in the historical discourse affected American culture and the many goods and services produced and consumed during the early twentieth century. According to Norman F. Cantor, "Modernism was anti-historical. It did not believe that truth lay in telling an evolutionary story."\textsuperscript{62} Modernists believed in face-value and that analysis should involve the immediate; they depended upon

\textsuperscript{62} Norman F. Cantor, \textit{Twentieth Century Culture: Modernism to Deconstruction} (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1988), 35.
empirical data. As a result, Americans witnessed a shift from the big and general to the small and particular. This shift appeared in popular mediums such as literature, visual arts, and sports. For instance, the Modernist novels of Ernest Hemingway featured more dialogue, which was responsible for moving forward the action of the book. In addition, Hemingway’s novels leave out key events and general concepts, a characteristic of Victorian novels. Changes involving technological advances such as the radio altered the ways in which Americans received information. Since this transition in America embraced the newness of industrialization and an increasing urbanized culture, it discarded the outdated and traditional.

One of the more relevant features of modernism to this analysis is the rejection of absolute polarities. Cantor states that, “Victorians assumed the polarity of male and female,” whereas Modernism believed the polarities “were integrated with one another.” This interaction within Modernism brought about change because until this point, polarities, specifically male and female, operated in isolation.

The previously mentioned sewing classes taught by Maggie and Bessie provide an excellent illustration of the anti-modern

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63 Cantor, Twentieth Century Culture, 36.
64 Cantor, Twentieth Century Culture, 42, 119-133.
65 Cantor, Twentieth Century Culture, 38.
message conveyed by these dolls and the women who produced them. Unlike mainstream America embracing the results of modern culture, the Maggie Bessie Collection depicts the tradition of gender specific tasks. The encouragement of adult women teaching young girls to sew and to make dolls of their own reinforced out-dated domestic skills that perpetuated the Victorian gender divide.

Similar to common illustrations of Victorian polarities, Maggie Bessie Dolls connect to outdated gender roles and expectations. Gary Cross’ Kids’ Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood, suggests that, “The erector set was supposed to teach boys to dream of becoming engineers and scientists at a time in American history when most adults had faith in a world of endless technological progress. The dollhouse and the babydoll taught the girl to be a modern homemaker and mother during the years when these roles were the expected future of most American girls.”66 These playthings illustrated common ideals that American parents sought to instill in their children. Cross stated, “Toymakers accommodated grown-ups with playthings that appealed to their goals and permitted them to stand between the toy business and their children’s toys.”67

66 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 8.
67 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 9.
New product designs and ideas that replaced the traditional excluded parents and gave children the freedom to explore their imagination and therefore, the world around them. Many Americans embraced the new, while few reverted to the anti-modern, depicting the American desire for new and the enticement of these new products. Thomas Guerrant, father of Betsey Arnett, produced a traditional toy, one of Arnett’s most prized possessions, that connects the Maggie Bessie Doll to anti-modern sentiments. Arnett’s father, Thomas Connally Guerrant, born in 1911 in Danville, VA, experienced a normal childhood growing up in the Greensboro, NC area. Raised as a Methodist, he joined the Home Moravian Church upon his marriage to Arnett’s mother, Ruth Emily Crouse. Guerrant studied art for one year at Carnegie in Pittsburgh, PA but returned to the Piedmont area due to financial constraints. He immediately started with the American Tobacco Company as a tobacco buyer in Winston-Salem, NC. Afterwards, Guerrant worked for Met Life in their home mortgage division.\textsuperscript{68}

In addition to his occupation, Guerrant remained an artist. He built many wooden sailboats and furniture. Guerrant fashioned a wooden, rocking horse for Betsey about the same time that Josephine arrived.\textsuperscript{69} Dapple Gray, Arnett’s beloved horse,

\textsuperscript{68} Betsey Arnett, E-mail to author, 30 March 2011.

\textsuperscript{69} Arnett to Walters.
was outfitted with, “A real leather bridle, [a] real leather saddle, [a] switch of a cowstails for its tail, and it was painted dapple gray.” She recalled spending endless hours playing on Dapple Gray with her brothers and she provided a detailed account of one of their more memorable games. “I remember playing like Dapple Gray was a garbage truck. One of us would be in the saddle and two would be on the sides on the rockers with buckets. We’d be rocking and stop, and here’s the next. They [her brothers] would go and get the garbage and come back.”

Although scholars argue that newer toys facilitate greater creativity and encourage the use of imagination and play, it is obvious that Arnett and her brothers integrated Dapple Gray into their imaginations and successfully transformed this traditional, handmade plaything into an object about which they fantasized. This example of the Arnetts’ play is supported by Cross and his claim that, “Children did have their times of play, and made toys and dolls from rocks, sticks, straw, and discarded crockery and cloth. But seldom did play involve a special space and time set aside for the free development of the

70 Arnett to Walters.
71 Arnett to Walters.
child’s imagination.” Dapple Gray, more than a simple plaything fashioned out of rocks, represents the anti-modern toy and how these children integrated it into their daily schedules.

Arnett and her brothers’ creative game of garbage truck provided them with a sense of adventure and it also signified their interest in the adult world. This story of the Arnett’s play also represents expected roles of men and women as well as boys and girls. Working on a garbage truck was probably more acceptable for males and it was implied through Betsey’s retelling of the story that the boys were responsible for the more daunting tasks such as carrying and emptying garbage buckets. According to Cross, “Anthropologists stress how toys in different times and places both imitate the adult world and protect children from its dangers and burdens.” Toys frequently resembled tools and objects used within the home. For instance, play most often included toys such as pretend weapons for boys and dolls for girls.

Photographs of the Peterson family from the 1910s, who were active members of the Home Church of Salem, illustrate these toy trends. Harry Edward and Josephine, son and daughter of Harry Walter and Bertha Josephine Peterson, epitomize the gender

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73 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 13.
74 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 12.
divide in the consumption of toys. Figure 9 captures Harry Edward playing with a bow and arrow, while wearing an Indian headdress and Figure 10 pictures Josephine playing with dolls and a carriage.

Figure 9. Harry Edward Peterson, 1915.
Figure 10. Josephina Peterson, 1918.
Collection of the Wachovia Historical Society; photograph courtesy of Old Salem Museums and Gardens.

Arnett also told vivid stories of playing with neighborhood girls. Although she described herself as a ‘tomboy,’ Arnett took an interest in having tea parties with friends. Again, her story demonstrated the simple things, such as a tea party, that created a medium through which they could express their creativity. Initial tea parties including Betsey’s mother, Josephine, and other dolls and stuffed toys evolved and

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eventually included more children. As the number of girls increased, Arnett marginalized her dolls, stuffed toys, and even her mother. She relished the outside tea parties with friends. “This was just the neighborhood girls. We would prepare the food from anything we could find in the yard. We would have berries and gravel and mud and sand... I remember my mother gave me a little tin tea set that wouldn’t break outside.”

Arnett and her friends played with this simple tea set and created a fun, playful, and reoccurring game.

Arnett also provided extensive details regarding these lavish tea parties. While tea partying, “When the mimosa trees would bloom, we’d get the flowers and we’d get ready for our dinner... [We’d] take rose petals and put them in [our mouths] and make big lips. We would have rose petal lips and we would have our mud cakes.” These creative substitutes were probably a common practice amongst numerous other children, but in this instance they indicate an anti-modern expression by those consumers who owned Maggie Bessie dolls.

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76 Arnett to Walters.
77 Arnett to Walters.
CREATION OF TRADITION

Consumerism, simply defined as the preoccupation of society with the acquisition of consumer goods, plays a tremendous role in the design and production of the Maggie Bessie Collection. In an effort to understand this doll collection, the women who made them, and those who purchased them, we must also look at economic and cultural trends occurring in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As industrialization transformed the country, the middle class expanded, the working class united, and the rich got richer. The desire to own became increasingly important and, with an influx in individual wealth and cash flow, twentieth century mass consumption became a reality. Maggie and Bessie Dolls, in addition to other toys and products of leisure, are a result of that desire and the methods by which products were marketed.

Consumerism is a complex issue and is closely related to consumption and materialism. Ann Smart Martin, “Makers, Buyers and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework,” attempted to differentiate the meaning of these terms, only to then suggest their most important commonality. She defined consumerism as, “The cultural relation between humans and

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consumer goods and services.”79 The other terms, consumption and materialism, relate more closely to the production and value placed upon such goods and services. Martin concluded that behind all the semantics of defining these key terms they still relate to the common theme based on “the interaction of people, ideas, and material objects.”80 Because of the depth to which consumerism affects past, present, and future, the interdisciplinary study of this topic includes scholars from a host of areas such as anthropology, psychology, economics, and history. The combined analysis from varying perspectives provides a more encompassing interpretation of consumerism and how it relates to the lives of Americans.

The visibility of the division between classes increased as did their desire to consume. The ability to manifest their newly obtained wealth was not limited to the elite, upper class. Middle class citizens played a tremendous role in the consumption rate at the turn of the century. The middle class that existed in some form or fashion even before the Civil War cannot be easily defined. Melanie Archer and Judith R. Blau, in “Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America: The Case of the Middle Class,” argue that the American middle class cannot be


80 Martin, “Makers, Buyers and Users,” 143.
explained as a static term. The middle class strata, these scholars argue was, “Characterized by heterogeneity and a historically shifting social composition.”

Those who formed the middle class evolved over time. For instance, the middle class that consisted of artisans shifted once manufacturing monopolized production. The managerial class and other emerging professionals signified the new middle class who wanted to participate in the consuming rituals that had previously been limited to only the upper, social echelon.

Another change seen in the development of this new middle class related to their income. Previous artisans and manual laborers were paid a wage, or paid for the product made or service offered. Once unskilled laborers flooded the factories, the managerial and middle class workers were paid salaries based on profits. This also led to specialization among the middle class, which distinguished them from the working class.

Like most, toy manufacturers initially targeted the middle class, not the masses. Instead of devoting factories and materials to the production of toys, manufacturers sidelined toy production by using factories that were already using similar materials for other products. The cost and benefit of producing

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and marketing toys had not yet been uncovered; therefore, even after the Civil War and industrialization, toy production remained conservative.\footnote{Cross, \textit{Kids' Stuff}, 21-26.}

Industrialization and urbanization contributed to the defining characteristics of the middle class in the early twentieth century. Changes in the workplace brought about changes in the home as well as changes in the community. New customs and cultural norms emerged alongside the consumption of goods and services that were now available to the masses. With increased mobility, people and families with common interests and backgrounds separated themselves from others in regards to housing and appearance.\footnote{Archer and Blau, \textit{“Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century America,”} 25.}

Not only did quantity impact consumerism, but the range of goods and services produced and offered increased dramatically. Historian P. N. Stearns, in \textit{“Stages of Consumerism,”} explains that, \textit{“Consumer interest and consumerist approaches could apply to a wider range of life activities than before.”}\footnote{Peter N. Stearns, \textit{“Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization,”} \textit{The Journal of Modern History} 69, no. 1 (March 1997): 109.} Stearns argues that fashion and household goods including Oriental carpets and pianos accounted for the majority of products produced and consumed on a massive scale during the early modern
stage of consumerism. Eventually, production shifted to include goods associated with leisure and sporting activities, essentially commercializing fun.\(^{86}\)

According to Stearns, the mass press affected this “new” consumerism. In other words, “Not only dress and family environment, but now also sources of information, travel, and uses of free time were open to the opportunities and manipulations of a consumerist society.”\(^{87}\) Alongside the emergence of this “new consumerism” came the business of advertising. Consumerism also contributed to creating new traditions. For instance, once the greeting card became commercialized, card companies and florists promoted new holidays such as Mother’s Day.

While it is important to place the Maggie Bessie Doll Collection in the context of mass consumption it is also necessary to analyze it in regards to the production and consumption of tradition. Jane S. Becker, in *Selling Tradition: Appalachia and the Construction of American Folk*, examined the relationship between consumerism and the production of folk objects. *Tradition* and *folk* can be a bit ambiguous and are traditionally defined by biased constructs such as gender and politics. However, in this instance these terms are used to

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describe handmade goods, services, and events produced by craftsmen and artisans.\textsuperscript{88}

As America embraced an industrial-capitalist based economy, interest in pre-industrial society and culture continued. People wanted the feel of a close-knit community. They wanted a sense of community that relied upon the handiwork of its citizens, not the exploitation of the working class and their families. Becker suggested that, “Folkways flourished in simple societies not dominated by industrial organizations and production; in such worlds, communications were presumably personal and informal, the community took care of its members, human and spiritual values reigned, and beauty and value lay in carefully crafting from raw goods, the materials necessities of everyday domestic life.”\textsuperscript{89} Becker also commented that folk cultures arose out of opposition to mainstream America. The industrial-capitalist America was being fueled by technological advances intended to maximize profit.

Becker also argued that although tradition played a tremendous role in the popularization of folk art by setting it apart from newer commodities, the “selling of tradition” ignored the complexities of culture and history which made them more appealing to the masses. According to Becker, “Tradition – of


\textsuperscript{89} Becker, Selling Tradition, 3-4.
skills, peoples, and things – gave modern consumers access to the values and standards of an imagined past without sacrificing the conveniences and options of the present.”90 This allowed current consumers to enjoy the relics of the past, but within the comfort of the modern world.

The dichotomy that exists between traditional and mainstream American consumption is a result of the increasingly industrialized society. At the turn of the twentieth century Americans were dealing with issues regarding public versus private and handiwork versus mass production that influenced their decisions on goods and services to produce and consume. Events such as the two world wars and the Great Depression allowed for reflection by some, which in turn led to the preservation of traditions and customs like those of the Moravians in Salem.

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90 Becker, Selling Tradition, 191.
Figure 11. Maggie Bessie Account Book and Production Components.

These objects including a thimble, needle, rick rack, ribbon, buttons, and doll limb components indicate the simple production method and tools used that suggest the rejection of mass-produced toys.

Courtesy of Old Salem Museums and Gardens.

Some Americans disregarded new, modern trends in production and design and sought to create traditional or folk objects. The design and production of the Maggie Bessie Collection in addition to the lack of advertisements suggest that Maggie and Bessie produced their dolls as an attempt to preserve the past. Maggie and Bessie Pfohl kept production and assembly simple as it changed little over time.

Whether Maggie and Bessie Pfohl produced these dolls out of love and appreciation for the Moravian Community or to educate
young children through play, they remain symbolic of the traditional community in which they were produced and consumed. Their basic design would not make them as appealing as other dolls being produced at the same time because they lacked the shine and luster of dolls such as Kewpie. Those who owned them most likely had a similar concern or connection for preserving the Moravian Heritage or folk culture.

Figure 12. Betsey Arnett kissing Josephine, 1941. Courtesy of Betsey Arnett.

It is evident that those involved in producing these dolls were devoted to the tradition of selflessness, service, and simplicity, but those who consumed the Maggie Bessie Dolls were
also invested in the Moravian Church. Marjorie Almy, one of the women who donated her Maggie Bessie Doll to the collection at MESDA, remembers the main function of her doll. Purchased in the late 1920s or early 1930s, this Maggie Bessie Doll was a prized possession of Marjorie’s mother. This doll was “admired and protected,” said Almy, “I never played with her.”

Almy revealed the importance of this doll within this family by noting that the Almy family lived in Pennsylvania at the time of purchase, so the doll had to be shipped. Although the Almys and Pfohls were not relatives, they were connected by their devotion to their faith.

Another Maggie Bessie Doll donor also recognized the importance of her Moravian heritage. Betsey Arnett, donor of Josephine, was born in Winston-Salem, but she moved to Charlotte at the age of two. Raised as a Moravian, Arnett was a seventh generation legacy student at Salem College, which emphasized Arnett’s deep roots and connection that the traditional community in Winston-Salem shared.

During the Great Depression, following the crash of the stock market in the late 1920s, another shift in the popularity of tradition surfaced. Romanticizing the pre-industrial way of life, many embraced traditional customs and objects that

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91 Marjorie Almy, Lancaster, PA, to author, Wilmington, NC, 11 March 2009. Almy’s name and contact information was given to the author by Old Salem.
reminded them of simpler and more stable times not associated with material wealth and status. Becker argued that because of this the 1930s, “Offer rich material for exploring the construction of folk and tradition in the nation’s consciousness.”\textsuperscript{92} Her sentiments can be depicted by the involvement of Betsey Arnett’s father in the United States Navy. Arnett noted that the trying times of the depression and the Second World War were difficult on her family. She recalls her father being stationed in Honolulu where he was being trained by the Navy as a meteorologist. In his absence, Arnett commended her mother and her efforts to care for three small children while using ration books. These accounts of Arnett and her family depict the importance this family bestowed upon heritage and patriotism as well as their ability to adapt to the changes. The act of Guerrant leaving his family during such a trying time illustrated his selflessness and his devotion to the preservation of tradition. In turn, these qualities were instilled in Arnett.

During the difficult Depression years Americans sought again to redefine what it meant to be American. The optimists of the present overlooked the divides that had fueled America into its current state. According to Becker, “Collectors like

\textsuperscript{92}Becker, Selling Tradition, 5.
Henry Mercer and Henry Ford sought out the everyday objects of common people and enshrined them in their museums; state and local historical societies flourish; and new historic sites, markers and military monuments commemorated universal figures rather than high-ranking heroes." This trend commemorating common men as opposed to glorifying the few, elite men became increasingly popular in American culture. The trend of honoring the common relates to the Maggie Bessie Collection because these dolls signify everyday life as Moravians. From their simple design and production, to their representation of a heavy gender divide and tradition they tell the story of the lives of Maggie and Bessie as well as Arnett and other doll owners.

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93 Becker, Selling Tradition, 15.
REJECTION OF THE POPULAR

The Maggie Bessie Collection highlights the divide between traditional and modern. As previously mentioned, Maggie Bessie dolls wore traditional dress. Their outfits resemble the current costumes of Old Salem interpreters who recreate life in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Due to the time period in which Maggie and Bessie produced dolls as well as their devotion to community and service, a rejection of current, popular trends is evident in their design.

The fashion trend of embracing the natural shape of women occurring around 1908 signified the beginning of modern fashion. The desire for the unnatural S-shaped figure, which was the result of manipulation by corsets and bustles, decreased as popular fashion houses introduced new lines that incorporated looser waists. Paul Poiret, the Parisian credited for this transition, pioneered the modern tailored suit of the early 1900s. Poiret’s creation featured an “off-the-ground” skirt and a “comfortable, loose-waisted jacket.”94 Color also impacted modern fashion trends. Designers abandoned dull browns and grays and embraced vibrant colors such as blue and violet.95


95 Ewing, History of 20th Century Fashion, 62-68.
An advertisement illustrating women’s fashion in the early twentieth century printed in Winston-Salem Journal in January, 1910, shown below, depicts common advertisements promoting modern styles. Although most trends in fashion originated in cities such as Paris and New York, the presence of popular trends in local newspapers suggests their availability and consumption within the Winston-Salem area.

Figure 13. Women’s Fashion Advertisement.

In addition to fashion, another rejection of trends in the early twentieth century occurred regarding children and toy consumption. As leisure products and services became more accessible, companies expanded their marketing to include a new demographic. Children, whose voices had previously been whispers or non-existent, became an integral component of mass-consumption and marketing. In addition, the buying power of children also reflected the growing consumer desires of parents.

The position of children as a target for mass-marketing has been questioned by scholars such as James McNeal, author of *Children as Consumers: Insights and Complications*, but the legion of games and toys that flooded shelves speak otherwise. Critics generally argue that children were not researched as consumers until the mid-twentieth century, but that merchants were cognizant of children influencing purchases. McNeal notes that, “There is little question that business began to research children as consumers during the 1950s television bonanza; otherwise manufacturers would not have committed millions of dollars of advertising to them...However, it was very unacceptable for business to pursue a typical/business relationship with children.”96 Since many deemed this relationship as

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inappropriate, businesses were extremely reluctant to divulge any information regarding this practice.\textsuperscript{97}

Marketing products to children in the early twentieth century proved more difficult than today or even during the 1950s bonanza, due to the lack of mediums through which goods and services could be advertised. Nonetheless, toys, games, and other leisure products wound up in the homes of children across the nation. Current scholars explain the change in the toy market following the industrial revolution and accredit American society as being more influential than the manipulation of advertisers and manufacturers. Leading up to the turn of the twentieth century, children’s ownership of playthings remained minimal and those simple toys they did possess frequently conveyed adult messages. Toys previously regarded as childhood staples including building blocks and trains were being modified or outright abandoned as newer, more appealing toys were introduced.\textsuperscript{98}

One popular doll, introduced following its appearance in a cartoon strip, emerged after capturing the attention of American businessman Fred Kolb.\textsuperscript{99} Rose O’Neill, Kewpie’s creator, used her illustrations that looked more like “real toddlers,” than

\textsuperscript{97} McNeal, \textit{Children as Consumers}, 134.

\textsuperscript{98} Cross, \textit{Kids’ Stuff}, 8.

\textsuperscript{99} Formanek-Burnell, \textit{Made to Play House}, 130.
previous “Victorian cherubic images.” The whimsical image of Kewpie was characterized as featuring a rounder head, not proportionate to the rest of the its body, a top-knot hairstyle, and little clothing. Kewpies did not possess identifying physical traits, but depictions referred to Kewpie as “he.” The modern Kewpie differed from Maggie Bessie Dolls in almost every regard.

Kewpie dolls and Maggie Bessie Dolls also varied in their representation of age. Maggie Bessie dolls represented children, while Kewpies represented babies or toddlers. Previously, “babies” referred to dolls of all ages. The term “baby” became less encompassing at the turn of the twentieth century and eventually solely described dolls that were infants or babies. Cross notes that, “Modern adults have ceded key elements of traditional play to their children. Slowly they gave up mimicking the gods with masks and dolls and using miniatures as idols.” This resulted in the transition from dolls as an expression of spirituality to the use of dolls as a child’s “baby” or playmate.

100 Formanek-Brunell, Made to Play House, 124.
101 Formanek-Brunell, Made to Play House, 124.
102 Formanek-Brunell, Made to Play House, 124.
103 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 14.
104 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 14.
Kewpie Patent illustrates popular trends in the toy industry.

While Kewpie represented a new American childhood based upon being a baby and a world that existed independently from adults, Maggie and Bessie dolls depict an anti-modern way of life. Cross suggests that, "Until recently, children were obliged to work, helping parents with baby siblings and doing the housework that mothers had not time for." Maggie Bessie


106 Cross, Kids’ Stuff, 13.
dolls, dressed in traditional, day dress, represent a childhood comprised of doing chores and serving as a part of the community. Moravian children in Salem had responsibilities and had a more regimented routine.

In the town of Salem, boys and girls entered into their appropriate house and began apprenticeships and learning life skills during their adolescent years. Parents frequently determined the future occupations of young boys. Once decided upon, trade masters taught all aspects of their craft, in addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Moravian girls were traditionally trained in homemaking skills. In addition to these domestic skills, the Church urged young women to cultivate a “spirit of service.”

This description of children’s lives and the values and practices of the Moravian community relates the Maggie Bessie Dolls and their consumers. Young children in Salem and the Arnett children learned trades and tasks for which they were responsible.

This tradition of responsibility was inherent in Maggie Bessie owner, Betsey Arnett. As a child she remembers the chores assigned to her and her brothers. She noted, “We had to make our beds everyday; no breakfast unless your bed was made.”

\[107\] A Laudable Example, 9.

\[108\] Arnett to Walters.
many children, provided an additional chore to those involving the upkeep of the Arnett yard. Arnett remembers that yard-duty, involving sweeping the sidewalks, fell to the children of the house. Arnett also recalled being taught life skills from the family maid, Minnie. According to information provided by Arnett, Minnie Crockett was an African American, born on a “sharecropper cotton farm near Orangeberg, SC,” who left home around the age of eighteen to find domestic work in a white household. Arnett recalls, “Her [Minnie’s] stories about chopping cotton and all of the drudgery on the farm were interesting and sad.”

While Arnett’s father served in Honolulu, her maternal grandmother provided the Arnett family with a maid, who worked five days a week. After the war, Minnie stayed with the family in a lesser capacity, working only a few days a week but still provided assistance and guidance to the Arnett family. Arnett remembered Minnie’s most emphatic advice pertaining to two basic chores. “Minnie decided that I needed to learn two things: I need to learn how to make biscuits and how to iron men’s shirts.” As a result, Arnett learned two homemaking skills that many believed necessary to a woman’s repertoire.

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109 Arnett to Walters.

110 Betsey Arnett, E-mail message to author, 24 February 2011.

111 Arnett to Walters.
MORAVIAN IDENTITY

The Maggie Bessie Collection embodies America’s search for identity. With the production of this collection ranging between 1890 and 1940, the period encompasses an era focused on an identity crisis associated with industrialization and modernism. In addition, this search for identity also emphasized the celebration and triumph following the involvement in the First World War. The Maggie Bessie Collection connects to Moravian identity and the regional assimilation of the Moravian community of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Americans experienced an identity crisis during the early twentieth century. A nation characterized as lacking tradition, Americans found comfort in an attitude resembling hero worship. Emphasizing the significance of early American History and its founders contributed to popularized trends of the past including architectural styles and decorative arts. Not surprisingly, the Colonial Revival excluded minorities and adversity. Books such as Creating a Dignified Past: Museums and the Colonial Revival and Re-creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival provide an understanding of the relationship between museums and historic sites and the popularity of America’s Colonial Revival.
Harvey Green’s “Looking Backward to the Future: The Colonial Revival and American Culture,” in Creating a Dignified Past, addresses many key points pertaining to the rise of America’s search for identity. According to Green, several factors led to the Colonial Revival during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Historians frequently tie the beginning of this quest for the colonial to the Centennial celebration in 1876.\textsuperscript{112} With American founders no longer living, citizens doubted that such a rapidly changing nation would have difficulty maintaining its original integrity. In 1886, Thomas P. Gill published North American Review, in which he argued that reconstructing the nation as Jefferson and Adams developed in the 1700s would be impossible. In this claim, he addressed the assumption that Americans would always have enough free land, or public domain, to protect them. This was no longer the case; Americans would not be able to flee the industrialization of cities for uncultivated open areas.\textsuperscript{113}

Green outlined strategies for regeneration, mentioning that during this crisis, white, middle and upper classes emphasized sports and leisure. The quest to increase American


\textsuperscript{113} Rossano, Creating a Dignified Past, 7.
participation in sports swept across the country including large cities, rural towns, colleges, and schools. Green noted that, “For many it became an obsession, filled with the seriousness of a quest for the holy grail of health required to preserve that nation’s future.”

In addition to sports, Green suggested an increase in leisure activities including craft work. Although skilled artisans existed, many Americans, particularly women, participated in craft production such as pottery-making. This relates to Maggie and Bessie because according to Green, craft work reflected a more dignified and cultured time. He states that, “Americans feared and distrusted the workers of the new industrial order, they revered the craftsmen of the colonial era.”

The increasing number of immigrants also contributed to the rapid evolution of America, particularly in the North. Since common laborers played an integral role in this new industrial-based economy, the need for workers in mass numbers skyrocketed. Aside from working in the steel, chemical, and mining companies, common laborers were also needed for infrastructure

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114 Rossano, Creating a Dignified Past, 8.
115 Rossano, Creating a Dignified Past, 10.
construction and maintenance such as suspension bridges and subways.\textsuperscript{116}

Not only was their physical presence an issue, but their new customs and cultures threatened an already cynical America. Just as Americans began to reevaluate their culture and heritage, the customs of other cultures were infiltrating their already unstable worlds. Immigrants were most often characterized as being poor, therefore burdensome to the American economy. They were also frequently associated with alcohol, particularly the Irish and the Germans who incorporated beer into many of their activities and organizations.\textsuperscript{117} Perhaps the most worrisome difference between Americans and its new immigrants was religion. Fundamentalists, who adopted a literal translation of the Bible, feared that the liberal Protestants, who embraced modernism, would translate God’s word too loosely. Religious fundamentalists worried that Americans would exhibit decreased morality. The typical American, at least those defining themselves, was white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant.

Americans also adjusted to an increasingly industrial-based economy. Along with a growing industrial nation came an increased division between classes. Factory workers, typically


\textsuperscript{117} Rossano, \textit{Creating a Dignified Past}, 5.
categorized as being poor and most likely immigrants, began to unite making the lower class a more solid force with which to reckon.

More specific to the Moravian town of Salem, the transition in “Southern” Moravianism between 1865 and 1903, deeply affected the Salem Community.\textsuperscript{118} Benjamin Peterson observed that the Southern Province underwent fundamental changes following the Civil War. The destruction of the Civil War led towards a version of Moravianism that incorporated elements of the Northern Moravian Brethren with that of Southern Protestantism. Peterson refers to this assimilation as “Southern” Moravianism.\textsuperscript{119}

Moravian attempts to increase and expand following the Civil War characterized a separation from their northern counterpart by incorporating revivals and Sunday school. This transition also appeared in church publications, material culture, and evangelical outreach programs.\textsuperscript{120} Moravians in the South combined the success of revivals and Sunday school with their commitment to unite with Christians worldwide. Moravians across the globe practiced this act of unification, but this


\textsuperscript{119} Peterson, “A Church Apart,” 7.

\textsuperscript{120} Peterson, “A Church Apart,” 73.
variation of Moravianism allowed the members of Salem to employ religious practices that benefitted them, while remaining faithful to their “heart religion.” Peterson uses material culture, such as architectural styles, to illustrate “The Mature Southern Church.”

Much like the architectural styles Peterson uses to convey the assimilation of Southern Moravianism, the Maggie Bessie Collection conveys a similar message of identifying characteristics that make this community and its citizens unique. The design incorporating traditional dress hints towards Maggie and Bessie’s rejection of mainstream fashion, while their production method contrasts with more efficient, technological approaches to manufacturing. The involvement of Maggie in establishing the Christmas Putz as an annual custom, as well as Maggie and Bessie’s close relationships with family and friends signifies their efforts to make this Moravian community special. As a result, Maggie Bessie dolls personified Southern Moravians.

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121 Peterson, “A Church Apart,” 98, 74-94.
WHITE, SOUTHERN IDENTITY

Moravian Archivist, C. Daniel Crews, used *Neither Slave nor Free: Moravians, Slavery, and a Church that Endures* as a means to educate readers about the slave population at Salem and also to offer an explanation for the obvious exclusion of this African American population in previous interpretations provided by Old Salem. The account prefaces with,

“This booklet...is a story of honor and arrogance, of communion together and fear of THEM. It is presented in the hope that we can take one more - yes, many more - steps as we seek to become, as Paul the Apostle hoped so long ago, neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, but 'all one in Christ Jesus' (Galatians 3:28).”

Since tolerance provided the basis of Moravian religion, many of its followers incorrectly believed their treatment of slaves and African Americans to be more civilized than others. The earliest African Americans in Forsyth County were those who arrived in the Moravian community. Slave labor fueled the economy of the community, whether their labor was used to erect new buildings or to complete domestic chores, blacks were involved in its construction and maintenance.

Moravians were not able to own slaves individually; therefore, the enslaved population was owned by the church. It is likely that the church and congregation felt that communal

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ownership indicated a more tolerant attitude regarding black servitude which aligned more appropriately with Moravian practices. Initially, blacks and whites worshipped together in the Home Moravian Church of Salem. However, the white community succumbed to outside pressures and enforced segregation of the congregation in 1822. Vulnerable to growing sentiment regarding blacks in the South, the black population in Salem could no longer worship alongside the whites, nor could they be buried in God’s Acre. Even though whites allowed blacks to attend worship services in a separate building it was at their discretion and began as only a monthly occurrence. Whites used this as another attempt to control the black population and prevent an uprising.\textsuperscript{124}

Scholars devoted to the history of religion in the South frequently suggest homogeneity among denominations, but Peterson dissents. Peterson concludes that most denominations experienced similarities regarding change during the nineteenth century, but, “The Moravians... version of Southern Protestantism was not the result of war or the question of slavery.”\textsuperscript{125} While Southern Moravians hoped for increased interest and membership as part of this assimilation, avoiding


\textsuperscript{125} Peterson, “A Church Apart,” 102.
racial conflicts proved impossible. Peterson continued, “Moravians actively assimilated themselves into the religious mainstream of Southern American society after the Civil War, in part because they began to feel like strangers in their own backyard.”\textsuperscript{126}

While the Salem community dealt with their own conflicts regarding race relations, the nation also dealt with changes following the Civil War. For instance, the independence of African Americans brought about an emergence of leaders who sought to take blacks from freedom to equality. This group of leaders ranged from politicians to writers and included well-known figures such as Booker T. Washington. During the Southern Renaissance, these individuals were responsible for an inspirational movement that enlightened and encouraged the black community. Interestingly enough, this period of romanticized notions concerning freedom and equality was also the period in which critical propaganda increased in popularity. Minstrel shows and other forms of expression, such as Joel Chandler Harris’ \textit{Uncle Remus}, emerged and served as a means to perpetuate the racial divide.\textsuperscript{127}

\textsuperscript{126} Peterson, “A Church Apart,” 96.

These forms of popular expression connect with the Maggie Bessie Dolls because while the Pfohl women are most widely known for their doll production, the Maggie Bessie Collection at Old Salem also includes two sets of miniature doll families. Although the miniature sets proved less common, an example of an intact set included a father, mother, daughter, son, baby, and an adult, black woman. The white family members appeared similar to the larger Maggie Bessie dolls, mainly differing in size while the adult, black woman provides the main contrast. She was fashioned in simple dress like the larger Maggie Bessie Dolls and made with similar materials. The most notable difference, excluding size and skin color, is the garment worn on the miniature doll’s head. The Maggie Bessie Dolls wore haubes, while this miniature doll is adorned with a red kerchief. Other illustrations of female African American women created and consumed during the same time period appear similar to this miniature black doll.

\[128\] Attribution for the dolls has been given to Maggie and Bessie. Recent miniature doll sets indicate possible production by Maggie and Bessie’s cousin, Connie. Miniature sets are undergoing examination by Old Salem’s Research Department to determine provenance.
The small difference regarding headdress is symbolic of conflicting attitudes towards African Americans at the time of production. First of all, the haube, which indicated to which choir a Moravian belonged, represents the religious affiliation of the Maggie Bessie Collection. Choirs, or groups, provided the foundation of organization in the early Moravian Church. The church instituted this system, which divided members into groups based on age, sex, and marital status, to meet the needs of the community. The women’s choirs included young girls,

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girls ages 13-17, single women 18 and up, married women, and widowed women.¹³⁰

The Pfohl women created the miniature, black doll devoid of the same religious indicator. The red rag, or ‘kerchief,’ appearing on top of the miniature doll’s head signifies the headwear of a domestic, working woman. The role this doll was designed to play within the doll family was most likely situated in the domestic realm. Whether Maggie and Bessie’s home life included the help of African Americans is not clear, but many other homes during the same period functioned with the assistance of employed domestic workers.

While influential African American figures strove for the betterment of blacks, white women from a traditional, religious community created miniature dolls for young girls that evoked a conflicting message. This disconnect following emancipation exemplifies a common occurrence and can be found in other popular works. Fictional books, including Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 1852, and Margaret Mitchell’s Gone with the Wind, 1936, provided differing sentiments regarding slavery and race relations, but both novels are representative of white representations of African Americans. Although written at different times, Uncle Tom’s Cabin before doll production and Gone with the Wind at the end of doll production, both of these

¹³⁰ A Laudable Example, 8-11.
novels provided illustrations of a lasting stereotype, which remained popular well into the twentieth century.

The pictures below depict common images regarding black domestic workers. The first, a production poster from 1886, illustrates an adult black woman, wearing a red kerchief and apron, cradling a child. The second, taken from the film adaptation of Gone with the Wind, highlights the submissive role of the domestic worker and also provides a contrast of the two Southern women.

![Poster for George Peck’s Grand Revival of Stetson’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 1886](image)

Figure 16. “George Peck’s Grand Revival of Stetson’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” 1886.  

Diane Roberts, author of *The Myth of Aunt Jemima: Representations of Race and Region*, examined the writings of white women in the antebellum South and the implications that these writings had upon the image of black women, including both Aunt Jemima and Jezebel. Roberts believed that books such as those written by Stowe and Mitchell, served as ‘transmitters’ of popular black images. White women, although privileged because of their skin color, used creative outlets in order to express their beliefs. Issues regarding economics and politics were the concern of men. Therefore, these novels conveyed the prejudices of those who created them, much like the Maggie Bessie dolls.

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132 Film adaption of Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone with the Wind*, 1936. Image accessed via [www.niahd.wm.edu](http://www.niahd.wm.edu).
This connection supports the anti-modern message inherent in these dolls.\(^{133}\)  

Anti-modern messages can also be found in Olivia Bristol and Leslie Geddes-Brown’s *Dolls’ House: Domestic Life and Architectural Styles in Miniature from the 17\(^{th}\) Century to Present Day*, a book devoted to exploring the evolution of dollhouses varying in time and location. This book includes an interpretation of life in a New York Mansion in the nineteenth century. The kitchen, located in the lower right-hand corner of the dollhouse, features two black dolls. The caption noted that these “black bisque servant dolls are dressed in their original matching uniforms.”\(^{134}\)  

Wendy Lavitt, doll expert, also addressed the production and consumption of black dolls in *American Folk Dolls*. She noted that, “In the plantation nursery, the mammy reigned. To help in raising both the master’s children and her own, she conjured up a variety of amusements including dolls she made in her own image.”\(^{135}\)  

Lavitt suggested that black dolls fit into two categories: character dolls and utility dolls. Manufacturers sold black character dolls to tourists in the


South during the 1930s and utility dolls also incorporated some sort of domestic tool such as a broom or duster. In addition, Lavitt mentioned that black dolls, “Always wore the traditional bandana scarf wrapped tightly around the head. Ample figures were almost hidden by the huge aprons that covered simple, homemade dresses.”\textsuperscript{136} Finally, she noted that images of black dolls often depicted mammys holding black or white infants, such as the depiction of the black miniature doll shown in Toy Museum of Old Salem.

Doris Wilkinson, “The Doll Exhibit,” examines the representations of African American descent of black dolls. She mentioned that “darkey” labeled a class of American dolls including objects dating to pre-Civil War and Mammy caricatures were popular black dolls that also extended into the 1920s. Wilkinson’s article, based on dolls featured in Department Store Catalogues includes a Mammy doll description similar to others with kerchief and apron, while also including white dolls marketed as “Sweet Alice” and “Society Belle.”\textsuperscript{137}

Other examples of black doll design and production emerged during this time. Patent applications submitted to the United States Patent Office during the 1930s depict the common trend in African American dolls. Aside from the drawing provided, both

\textsuperscript{136} Levitt, \textit{American Folk Dolls}, 70.

\textsuperscript{137} Wilkinson, “The Doll Exhibit,” 23.
patents include the term “pickaninny.” One patent illustrates a
doll head design in which the producer seeks to improve the
arrangement of tufts upon the doll head. Aside from rearranging
the hair, the author of this patent also suggest the object of
this invention is to “give the impression of a pickaninny.”\textsuperscript{138}
The other, US Patent 1,698,653, submitted in 1928, claims an
objective as providing “a doll of this character” that would
simulate a pickaninny. The original designer also described
that, “Hair may be simulated in any suitable manner, but
preferably kinky hair will be simulated by using black wool
yarn.”\textsuperscript{139}

\textsuperscript{138} U.S. Patent 1,627,511 filed by Rudolph Aldridge Hope September 17, 1926, and issued May 3, 1927.

\textsuperscript{139} U.S. Patent 1,698,653, filed by Carrie Catherine Poole May 1, 1928, and issued January 8, 1929.
The association of Maggie Bessie dolls to the African American community and race relations during the twentieth century is significant not only in regards to the Moravian community of Salem but also to the lives of those young girls who played with the dolls. The presence of Minnie in the life of Betsey Arnett illustrates the continued presence of blacks in the American home. Betsey grew up in a household that included the help of a black domestic worker. The story of Minnie teaching Betsey to iron men’s shirts and also make biscuits
exemplifies Minnie’s knowledge and presence in completing housekeeping chores.

Minnie’s presence and influence within the Arnett family supports the paradoxical role played by African American in the white home during the twentieth century. Representations of the twentieth century family do not offer both black and white; these families overlapped. The presence of blacks as domestic workers within the American home reinforced their position as second class citizens. Micki McElya, Clinging to Mammy: The Faithful Slave in Twentieth-Century America addresses the continued presence of blacks in white households. She writes, “By 1920, domestic work in the United States was performed primarily by black women, who had available to them few other options for employment.” However the majority of domestic workers no longer lived in the house in which they were employed. McElya argues that this distinction resulted from “limitless service” endured by blacks when living with owners. Many families developed loyal and loving relationships with


141 McElya, Clinging to Mammy, 211.

142 McElya, Clinging to Mammy, 211.

143 McElya, Clinging to Mammy, 211.
those working in their homes, but the fact remains, these workers were paid for their help. While their housekeeping and child-rearing assistance was appreciated, they were not true family members.

Literature such as McElyea’s examines the relationship between worker and family. Scholars allude to the relationship among black, domestic worker and white woman and their families as being unnatural, considering the events occurring in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. McEyla suggested, that these relationships founded on domestic labor, “Required a great deal of effort on the part of white employers to reify and continually assert faithful servitude.”

However, Betsey Arnett’s story of Minnie depicted the complex relationship that developed between woman worker and woman employer, particularly in the South. Betsey’s mother took care of Minnie in an almost maternal fashion. According to Betsey,

“Minnie developed diabetes in the 60s and my mother saved her life by getting her to the hospital in time and then helped her learn to inject her insulin and manage the other aspects of treating the disease. She was illiterate, so my Mother managed her few business issues, got her into Social Security very early, and took her to medical appointments that were not on the bus routes. Minnie called my Mother her "White Mother".”

144 McElya, Clinging to Mammy, 224.

145 Betsey Arnett, E-mail message to author, 24 February 2011.
Betsey also remembers, “Minnie was the salt of the earth, faithful, and a much loved by us and our extended family.” Minnie’s seat on the family pew at the funeral of Betsey’s mother also indicated her place in the family and her dedication to the Arnett family remained consistent until her death in 1981.

In addition to being representative of hierarchical race relations, the presence of the black doll as a part of a family of dolls symbolized the complexities of gender. Mentioned above, due to their absence in the decision-making process of the political and economic matters, women used other outlets to express themselves. According to Roberts, Mitchell’s Gone with the Wind embodies, “A mixture of conservatism and feminism: she critiques ladyhood yet punishes her protagonist for deviation from it.”

She provided readers with a conflicting message, which was similar to the status of women during the early twentieth century. During this time American women joined forces to accomplish their own goals. For instance, working-class women living in urban cities in the North combated an industry which paid them minimally and treated them poorly. Cognizant of their poor treatment, upper-class women united with working-women in their attempt to be treated fairly. Similarly,

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women in the South united and fought for issues that concerned them. Ironically, while American women fought for equality, Maggie and Bessie produced dolls conveying anti-modern messages of domesticity and submission.
CONCLUSION

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encompass tremendous change throughout America and this Collection symbolizes the lives of its producers and consumers. Not only because of their traditional design and method of production, these dolls reflect the conflicting attitudes regarding gender and equality, occurring before and after women’s suffrage. Gender specific toys encouraged gender specific play, even though American women fought for equal opportunity. This collection also serves as an alternative to the mass-produced products of leisure, including Kewpie and other popular toys. Industrialization functioned as a catalyst in the toy industry, altering their design, production, and consumption. Lastly, the Maggie Bessie Collection illustrates Moravian and White Southern Identities, resulting from the tumultuous race relations following Emancipation. As a religious community located in the South, the Moravians faced difficulty in the years following the Civil War.

The Maggie Bessie Collection produced by the Pfohls and consumed by young girls and women with ties to the Moravian Community of Old Salem encourages scholars and enthusiasts to abandon the traditional discourse regarding dolls and transition to a more multi-faceted approach. As a part of the growing scholarship devoted to Dolls, this research and analysis bridges
the gap and provides a detailed interpretation of Maggie and Bessie Pfohl and their creations.
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