SECTION E

Research and Persona Development for Cast Members.

DEVELOPING A PERSONA: THE CYNIC DOES HIS RESEARCH

PART I

By Edward C. Maurer

BEING A STUDENT OF history and a well-trained cynic, I have learned to have little faith in the "facts" of history as they are related to me by others. This forces me to research everything that I use in my living history pursuit. Too many times have I heard the grizzled old buckskinner spew forth information that sounded plausible at the time, only to find out later that he was full of, well, you know. To make matters worse, I've found that many old sources, once considered to be infallible, are just as misleading. This is not to mean that the graybeard know-it-all or age-old book are useless. They each have their value, primarily as a source of ideas and signposts leading to hidden facts—facts best found in primary sources.

Now, this is the dry part, so bear with me for a few paragraphs until we get to the neat stuff. So what the heck is a primary source? Well, it's information from someone who had first-hand knowledge of an event or condition. This would include journals, letters, legal records, paintings and other art work, as well as statements made by the observer or participant. Granted, verbal statements by observers of the American Revolution are not forthcoming, but written renditions of those events may be available. Also keep in mind that an old man's (or any buckskinner's) statements about his youth are frequently embellished as he gets older or less sober. He may not actually be lying (hah!), but sometimes the facts get clouded with age or imagination. If they are written by an observer, they are considered primary sources, whereas renditions of interviews can be labeled secondary sources.

That's just what we need, someone inventing things and passing them off as authentic for the pre-1840 era. Be forewarned, some folks will do anything for a buck.

A secondary source is generally trustworthy, as long as it can be sufficiently substantiated by another unrelated source, since the recorder may interject his or her own interpretation of a statement in an attempt to make it clear to the reader. This is occasionally incorrect and can be misleading. It is also not uncommon for the author to put in his own ideas, passing them off as those of the person being interviewed! These sources are more common than primary sources, considering the number of biographers, reporters and storytellers. And since there are so many secondary sources, they are frequently the fodder that makes up the last type, known as the tertiary source.

The tertiary, or "third" source, is about as reliable as a flatlander with an IOU. Tertiary sources commonly use secondary sources and sometimes primary sources as their sources of information. And all too often they are just bunk. Although some tertiary sources are extremely reliable, because of the honesty and professionalism of the author, most are very questionable.

Allow me to use an actual incident to illustrate this point. I had a question about an item described and illustrated in a sketch book that came out several years ago. I had been researching the item for quite awhile before the book came out, and the author stated that his rendition was authentic for the period in question. Well, I just had to find out what his source was, so I wrote him and he was kind enough to reply. He stated that he liked the *idea* of the item so much that he just had to include it in his book. He went on to say that he got the design from a painting made in *this* century! He even went so far as to assign a date to it! That's just what we need, someone inventing things and passing them off as authentic for the pre-1840 era. Be forewarned, some folks will do anything for a buck.

So, how does one determine whether the source used to authenticate an item is reliable? This is probably one of the greatest challenges the historian faces when researching a specific event or subject. The best way to ensure the greatest accuracy is to use the "scientific method," which requires the use of at least three different, unconnected sources to verify a fact. These may be the statements of three different observers at a battle or three different artists' views of a scene. If all three depict the same facts, we can generally consider the information to be accurate. On the other hand, if an *original* item is found in a fort or similar place and is depicted in a *photo*, that is sufficient information to authenticate it, as long as it is accurately dated.

Now, on to the good stuff. I'm gonna start this series with excerpts from Captain John Knox's journal, *The Siege of Quebec*. Written during his stay in America, these excerpts cover the period from July 1757 through September 1760. This is a very good work and it brings to light some interesting facts and raises even more interesting questions. I borrowed this book from Fred Gowan a couple of years ago and studied it while I was going to an Air Force leadership academy that I didn't want to attend. They (my first sergeant and commander to be exact) reminded me to study so that I could pass on what I learned.

Being the obedient fellow that I am, I studied the heck out of Knox's journal! They weren't specific about what they wanted me to study, but doing as I've been told, I'm going to share what I learned. Knox was born in Ireland and fought in the War Of Austrian Succession (1743-48). For "gallant conduct" he was made an ensign in the British army's 43rd of Foot. He purchased his rank of lieutenant in 1751. In 1757 he was sent on garrison duty to Nova Scotia, formerly known as Acadia. He died February 8, 1778 (Knox 7).

In July 1757 Knox wrote:

A body of rangers, under the command of Captain Rogers, who arrived with the

ier troops from the southward...these ·ops have, at present, no particular iform, only they wear their clothes short, d are armed with a firelock, tomahock small hatchet, and a scalping knife; a llock's horn full of powder hangs under ir right arm, by a belt from the left ulder; and a leathern, or seal's skin g, buckled around their waist, which igs down before, contains bullets and a aller shot of the size of full-grown peas: or seven of which, with a ball, they nerally load: and their officers usually rry a compass fixed in the bottoms of ir powder horns, by which to direct m when they happen to lose themselves the woods. (22)

This excerpt contains some interesting itements concerning the uniforms and uipment used by Rogers' Rangers at the ne. Rogers' journal states that 40 men ere sent to Nova Scotia to assist the gulars sent there (Roby 38). The rangers ere not wearing clothes identifiable to nox as uniforms, and having had their iks increased by General Abercrombie's ders of February 6, 1757, they were not t authorized to do so (Roby 34). Knox o mentions the Rangers' use of a bullet uch that hangs down in front much like artridge box. This pouch is most likely t a cartridge box, since Knox was all too niliar with such devices and would ve identified it as such, however this is supposition on my part.

In the above quote, I also find the ingers' use of a compass mounted in the owder horn intriguing. I would suggest at a very small compass would fit nicely the butt of a horn; the brass ones we ive available may work just fine, even ough they may be a bit large.

"The enemy [the French] never fire a ngle ball, for they always load with six seven smaller ones (which are called ickshot) besides their usual musket ill..." (Knox 41). Here and in the above uote, Knox bothers to mention he use of what we call a "buck nd ball load," besides the iormal charge of a single ound ball, leading me to elieve that this was unusual to him and may have been a New World or French levelopment. Buck and all is very effective in open ountry and increases the hooter's chances of hitting his irget in close terrain like the Eastern oodlands.

Knox also gives a very good description of winter moccasins used by many of the soldiers, woodsmen and others. In December 1757 he wrote:

...these slippers [moccasins] are generally made of the skin of beaver, elk, calf, sheep or other pliant leather, half dressed: each moggasin is of one intire piece, joined or sewed up in the middle of the vamp, and closed behind like the quarters of a shoe; they have no additional sole or heel-piece, and must be used with three or four frize socks, or folds of thick flannel wrapt round the foot; they are tied on the in step with thongs of the same leather.... (53)

The "elk" was most likely moose, elk being the name used for this animal in Europe at the time. Frize, more commonly spelled "frieze," is a "coarse woolen stuff worn by poor folk" and flannel of this period was made of wool, not cotton (Gehret 281). Note that these are not the "shoe packs" commonly associated with soldiers and other whites of the time. Knox addressed the difficulty of winter footwear in the following quote, also from December 1757:

...the troops throughout the province are obliged to have recourse to various expedients to prevent meeting with accidents by falling [on the ice]: some by wearing coarse stockings over their shoes, with an additional sole or two, of thick frize or other woolen cloth; some wear moggosans [moccasins]; and others again use what are by us termed creepers, which are an invention calculated for the hollow of the foot, that buckles on like a spur; it is a small plate of iron an inch broad, with ears that come up on both sides of the shoe between the ankle and instep, with a stud on each of them, for the leathers: from the extremeties are four stout points turned downward, to the length of two thirds of an inch, which, by the weight of the person who wears them, are indented in the ice..." (64)

Ice Creepers

The creepers in this reference are available to us from several different blacksmiths and suppliers. A number of different sketch books show them and photos of originals are found in the *Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*. The points don't necessarily have to be 2/3-inch long; it is only necessary that they are long enough to stick into the ice. Remember also that they should be wide enough to fit comfortably on your winter moccasins. If they are too narrow, they will pinch and cause problems.

This is a good place for me to mention another advantage of using primary resources. Many of us who participate in Colonial-period activities, especially the French and Indian War, think that knee breeches were the only type of pants worn. But in the following, written in April 1759, Knox speaks of wearing long trousers:

...for this cause [protection against mosquitos] we always wore long linen trousers, with crape or green gauze nets sewed to our hats...with a running string at the bottom to gather it round the neck occasionally." (110)

I found this quite surprising, so I did what we should all do when we find something we are not familiar with—I investigated it. I've read many different accounts of clothing and descriptions of runaway servants and workers and do not recall long trousers being mentioned, so I re-read some of my clothing books and found that they were indeed worn throughout the Colonies and were not uncommon. In *Historic Colonial French Dress*, trousers are mentioned as being available to the French as early as 1735 and that they were the choice of farmers and slaves. They also cost less than knee breeches. These are described as being looser fitting and extending from mid-calf to the ankle (Johnson et al 25). I found another reference to trousers in *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing* by Ellen J. Gehret where they are defined as "A garment enclosing the legs and extending from the waist to the ankles. Its legs not shaped but varying in degrees of looseness" (287). These extended to just below the calf and were available from about 1730 until the end of the century. Both of these references kindly included the sources they used—kind of like leaving a trail, huh.

Another interesting item mentioned in the quote above is the mosquito net attached to the hat. Not only would one of these be nice for camping but it would be helpful on river trips. Here is a good example of an item being authenticated for us with a full description by the person who actually used it, a rare find indeed!

General Wolfe was a British commander of great repute and of unusual intelligence who sought ways to improve

Sleeveless Coat over Sleeved Waistcoat

the efficiency and welfare of his troops, admirable attributes seldom found even in this day and age. One example of Wolfe's concern is given in May 1759 in Knox's journal:

> *Major General Wolfe directs:...the sleeves of the coat are put on the waistcoat...the lapels remain...besides the usual pockets, he [the soldier] has two, not so quite as high as his breast, made of leather, for ball and flints; and a flap of red cloth on the inside, which secures the ball from rolling out, if he should fall....his canteen down his back...covered with cloth...*" (118)

Wolfe found that by removing the sleeves from the coats, his soldiers would have adequate protection from the milder climate of America. Accordingly, his troops would have less heat stress and greater flexibility. The addition of the ball and flint pockets to the coat would improve the speed at which his men could reload, another brilliant move in light of traditionally stodgy, military thinking. So, what useful information do we have here? I feel the uniform modification is very interesting and would be a handy adjustment for moderately cold weather. But most interesting are the pockets. Here is an authenticated way for a post-1759 Colonial to carry loose balls right at hand, especially when participating in a load-from-the-horn speed shoot. It is also a good idea for those of us who carry the really large caliber guns that do not lend themselves to the use of a loading block. I stress post-1759 because this is the first reference I have seen that refers to these pockets. Could they be Wolfe's original idea or did he see them used elsewhere? That may alway be a mystery, but see all the neat things they had and how, with research, we can authenticate them for our own use?

The following phrase was written by Knox in July 1759: "...with his double-barreled fusil killed two..." (157). Just a tempting little comment, once again authenticating that this type gun was used in frontier America but was still unusual enough for Knox to mention it. Had he said something like "with his fusil killed two," or not even bothered to mention the gun at all, we would naturally assume that he meant a single-barreled gun or that he was using a gun common enough to be unremarkable. But the fact is, he did describe it. This is a good example of one of the problems we run into when researching: when an object is described, as the fusil is in this case, it is usually an indicator that it was not an ordinary item and was worth the author's comment. Those of us who find and adopt something unusual like this have problems when a number of our friends follow suit, thus treating the item as "commonplace" and adopting it themselves. This in turn sends the message that all men of that particular era had one and so should we. It eventually gets out of hand, and we find ourselves with another "Hawken rifle situation," which many of us survived in the 70s, when it seemed that everyone had to have a "genuine Hawken rifle!" Waugh!!!

Health was a common concern in the military. In July 1759 Knox says, "The troops are permitted to bathe...which greatly conduce, much to the health of the soldiery" (164). I only mention this for one reason, which is that bathing was known to be healthy and bathe they did. In spite of what your tour guide told you when you visited that historical site, many people *did* bathe and they *did* know it was good for them! So, if someone says you smell like a dead horse, I just shot your excuse dead!

Another health concern was scurvy, which was prevented in a variety of ways, including drinking spruce beer. Speaking of spruce beer, Knox says, "it is made of the tops and branches of the Spruce tree, boiled for three hours, then strained in casks, with a certain quantity of molasses; and as soon as cold, it is fit for use" (41). Anti-scorbutics, such as spruce beer, prevent scurvy, a disease caused by the lack of vitamin C. Scurvy causes bleeding, weakness and swelling of the skin. In March 1760 Knox mentions ginger being issued to the troops as an anti-scorbutic (240). Just another reason to carry ginger snaps in your haversack! Rosehip tea is another good source of vitamin C on the trail.

This concludes my comments on Knox's journal. What have we gotten out of it? I have not only used a primary source, I have shown how to improve our understanding of certain statements by using other sources. I have authenticated a bunch of neat stuff with just a little research. With a good library at hand, a little time and a lot of diligence, you should be able to solve almost any authenticity problem you will run across, whether it's a question about winter moccasins or mosquito nets.

For you Rocky Mountain fur trappers, I plan to pay more attention to the Western part of the country in the future. Boy, have I got some surprises for you—like who was the first recorded white trader to go into the Rocky Mountain area? Yup, it's a test.

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CREATING A PERSONA

With Particular Attention to the Ladies

By Cathy Johnson

I long to hear that you have declared an independancy . . . in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors . . . If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

Abigail Adams to her husband,
future President John Adams
March 31, 1776

THAT WAS quite a declaration of independence of of her own. This was not the passive, obedient female that we've imagined our ancestors to be—but unrealistic expectations or characterizations of women in our society are nothing new. As living historians we need to take a good look at the past in order more closely to portray it as it was, not as we've been *told* that it was. Whether you are a man or a woman, in order to represent the past with as much truth as possible, further research is in order.

Do you ever get the feeling that in living history situations, roles for women are limited to camp follower—or camp follower? Or at most, goodwife or hussy?

Cathy Johnson is an artist, illustrator and writer and has worked for Country Living *and* Early American Life, *among others. Johnson has written two books,* Living History; Drawing on the Past, *and* Who Was I?.

Perhaps you've been told that you can't portray whatever it was you've chosen; you can only cook, nurse or do laundry (actually among the jobs of a military camp follower, which was *not* synonymous with a whore, as many people suppose.) Perhaps someone has assured you in no uncertain terms that there were no white women at rendezvous, unless they were captives. Or, gentlemen, maybe you've been told that your wife and family have no place with you at a reenactment or rendezvous.

The 1990s mind set and politics aside, we're talking history here. We're talking about facts, what life was like as nearly as we can tell in the Colonies, at fur trade era rendezvous and on the frontier (and remember, the frontier stretched from Pennsylvania westward.) Granted, since we were not actually there, we have to work from an interpretation of those facts, but accepting the limited (and limiting) roles women have been assigned leads not only to terminal boredom, but also to a significant distortion of the facts. The public deserves more from us; we deserve more from ourselves. Let's look into the reality of women's lives and explore the range of roles that actually existed. That range is in fact broad and satisfying, even by today's standards. All it takes is some digging, and research is the lifeblood of the living historian no matter what gender.

I can't take someone else's word for what is "correct" for my persona or time period. It's my responsibility to do my own research and find my own sources—the fact that it's as much fun as a scavenger hunt is pure gravy. Finding those sources is, for the most part, the same whether you're researching a male or female persona. So ladies and gentlemen, if you've gotten this far, read on.

How do you go about creating a persona? Where do you find the research materials? How do you decide what to do and why does it matter?

Having a persona in mind helps direct your research in concrete ways. It provides a focus—a specific person, time and place—rather than a vague "fur trade era" or other fuzzy idea. It is much easier to identify with a specific person, either an

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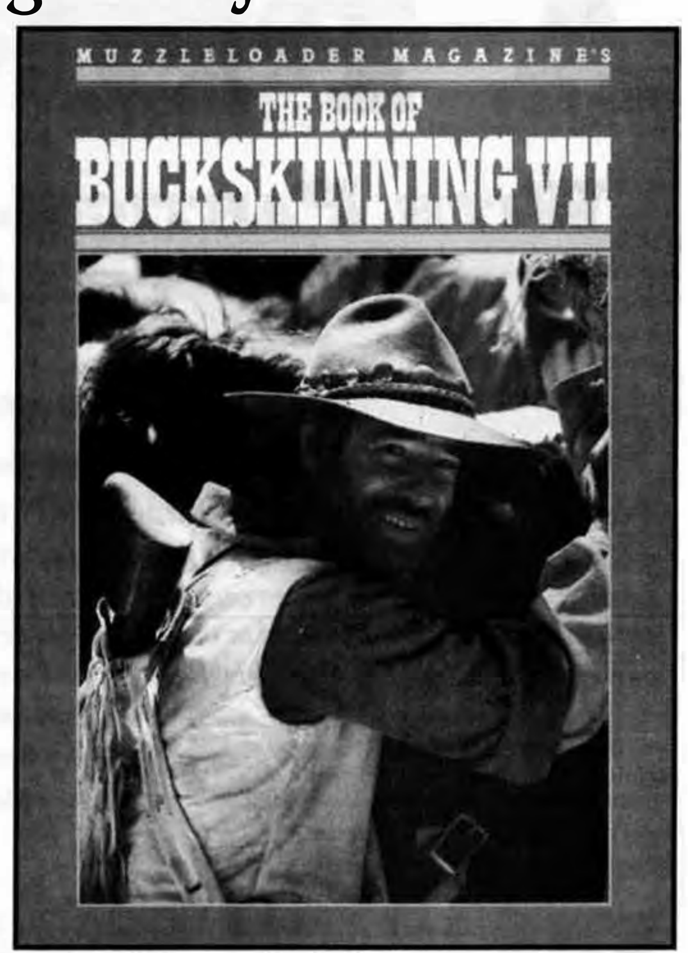

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Dinah Henderson works at her loom.

historic person you've chosen to emulate or a composite character you've created in your mind. It's also easier to discover what might have been appropriate for your chosen person's location, economic status, ethnic background and occupation as well as gender than it is to understand history on the basis of generalities. There is no generic human, never has been. This character development entails discovering or extrapolating what may have been appropriate in terms of clothing, accoutrements, even attitudes and speech patterns, should you get into interpretation so deeply. The more you know about this persona, real or otherwise, the better your interpretation of the past will be.

This kind of exploration into character can keep you from making mistakes, such as using an article of clothing from a later period or mixing Western with Eastern goods in your camp when it would not be appropriate. Whether you plan a first- or third-person approach (or a combination, which is admittedly tricky and can be confusing), researching in this way not only provides a focus, but it makes the whole enterprise more fun.

Do remember, of course, that we need *not* to project our 20th century expectations, opinions or politics on the past. We know how things turned out, our ancestors didn't.

Here are a few keys to get you started on researching a believable persona; they are meant as signposts only.

Know your site. If you do the majority of your reenacting at a specific site, know all you can about that place. Who was present, why were they there, what did they do—both on a day-to-day basis and on the more historical scale? For instance, what was happening in the world around them that brought them to this place?

KNOW YOUR time period. What were common attitudes and beliefs? What religions were represented? What was the scientific or political world-view? Although it was more common for gentlemen to discuss issues like politics, by the way, women were often expected to know these things so that they could converse intelligently, according to *The Young Lady's Own Book* by Key and Biddle in 1832.

If you are doing first-person interpretation, particularly, it's acceptable to use a tool or discuss events or beliefs that existed earlier, but obviously not later, than the time you portray. If you interpret 1812, you do not talk about the Civil War. That should go without saying, but I've heard people do it and it destroys the integrity of what you're trying to represent, especially at a specific site.

Finally, know yourself. This is not in the cosmic sense, just *common* sense. What do you already know? What do you enjoy doing that can be "backdated" to the period you portray? This can be as simple as playing draughts rather than checkers—same game, different name. Think about what you enjoy. Art or music? Sewing? Gardening? Research early songs or instruments; study period sewing or gardening techniques. (There were women agronomist in Colonial times, including one who experimented on better methods of producing indigo and "Lucerne grass" or alfalfa.) Discover what tools and techniques were available at the time, which would allow you to "be yourself" with authenticity.

If you know something about your own ancestors, you can base your persona on truth—*always* easier to maintain over the long haul than a fabrication. Were they Irish immigrants? Did they migrate westward or settle in Massachusetts? Were they Quakers, Catholics, Hutterites or Puritans? Married, single? Townspeople or backwoods farmers? Step into their shoes.

A genealogical library can set you in

the right direction, or talk to an elderly aunt about the family legends. Use a tape recorder; the aunt won't be around forever, and the tape may contain information that may not interest you for another ten years. Data banks like those maintained by the Mormon Church (Latter-Day Saints) are invaluable. Your local library can give you their address. The Mormon Church keeps genealogical records for members and non members; they are very willing to help and will be glad to receive any information that you are able to supply in return. Your local branch of the RLDS church may also be able to tap into this network by computer.

However it isn't necessary to base your persona on your ancestors. Find someone who shared your interests or occupation and either portray that person as closely as possible (more of a research challenge) or invent someone related to or taught by your chosen subject.

If you do anything too far from the norm—that is, what the common person would have been doing—you're in for more intensive digging. You'd best have your documentation tucked in your pocket, because more than likely you'll be asked about it either by the public or by another reenactor. This is a chance to share history and learn something at the same time.

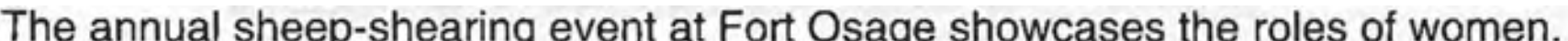
However be careful that your uncommon choice does not become misleading. As has often been pointed out, if you do an unusual job or use an uncommon tool, the reenactor next to you may think, "That's neat. I want to do that, too." Or, "I want one of those!" And then everybody does and it begins to look as though it were common. Make it clear that it *was* unconventional.

For instance, I am an artist and botanist. I collect plant samples to study and paint. When I'm relaxing I may record the scene about me in my journal, using period art supplies and techniques. In order to explain why I have time for such things—and even think of doing them—it was necessary to put in quite a bit of research.

THE WOMAN I portray was raised as a Quaker and is thus somewhat educated since Quakers educated their young women as well as their young men. Natural sciences were emphasized, since nature was seen as a manifestation of the Creation and a loving God. There were a number of Quaker women who did just what I am doing, particularly as it related to botany. But Quaker or not, throughout history, women and plants have enjoyed a close association, whether as botanists, herbalists or gardeners. Staying close to what I already do in my real life occupations makes it easier to be believable. I can share "new" discoveries with the public (as long as they were pre-1812 or pre-1850 or whatever period I am portraying), or I can just sketch in my journal.

Researching period materials and techniques rounds out the picture of a woman engaged in an unusual pursuit. The materials and techniques, of course, are of use to either gender. Making art was a fairly common activity, be it painting portraits or cutting silhouettes for pay, or doing needlework pictures and sketches as leisure activities.

I discovered women artists who supported themselves and their families as early as the 1700s. Deborah Goldsmith (1808-1836) was a self-taught itinerant "limner" who supported herself and her aging parents by making portraits of her neighbors. Ruth Henshaw Bascom (1772-1848), whose 52 volumes of journals are



The annual sheep-shearing event at Fort Osage showcases the roles of women.

Music was a big part of our lives. Here Barbara Duffy prepares to play her hammered dulcimer.

in the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, worked as an artist throughout her long marriage. She noted with satisfaction receiving payment for her efforts. Keeping a journal was also common among those who could write. There are several published sketch journals kept by women (Sophie DuPont, Liwwat Boke), in addition to a number of journals kept by female captives or travelers such as Mary Jemison or Madam Sarah Kemble Knight.

From Colonial to Victorian times, women were engaged in many occupations besides camp follower (or other common pursuits). There were writers, scientists, farmers, publishers and artists. From 1750 to 1850, we also find female astronomers, naturalists, entomologists and botanists working either as amateurs or as researchers. In fact botanist/geologist Amos Eaton said in 1822, "I believe more than half the botanists of New England and New York are ladies" (Bonta 71).

One of these ladies, on whom I base much of my botanical information, is Jane Colden (1724–1766), the daughter of Cadwallader Colden. She discovered a number of plants new to science, compiling ink and watercolor renderings of over 300 plants in her area. With her father she produced the first natural history of plants in New York and was admired by the naturalists Peter Kalm and John Bartram.

It is true that there were far more common occupations, and as mentioned above, it's best to portray them if at all possible so as not to present a distorted picture of the past. But any pursuit requires research to make it alive.

That's the key—research. Actually, this kind of investigation can expand your enjoyment well beyond specific events; the "season" is yearlong and knows no locale, especially if you have like-minded friends with whom to share your finds. The people I know who are serious about living history are as excited as a kid on Christmas when they unearth a new fact, a previously unknown period song or a tool with which to experiment.

There are several kinds of research: primary, secondary, and tertiary, and what I like to think of as experiential, or research by being there and doing the job.

Primary research is going to the original document (or microfilm, facsimile or reprint) for information. The person who witnessed the event or lived the life is writing about it. A participant in a battle, a traveler in the wilderness, an artist with a daybook of commissioned works or a captive—these would be examples of primary sources. Look for journals, account books, duty rosters, indentures and inventories, for example Madam Knight's journals or the account book of the portrait painter Joseph Whiting Stock. Look also for books like the many first-person accounts of the New World published in Britain and France. The latter were often written with the intent of enticing people to immigrate, so it's necessary to take too rosy a picture with the proverbial salt grain. It's best, too, if you can find an account written at the time rather than a memoir. Memories are all too faulty and subject to change over time.

Secondary sources consist of accounts written by someone who wasn't there, non-participants who have only heard about an event. Secondary sources can be books, newspaper accounts or the recollections of a family member back home. "As told to" books and essays, interviews and quotes are still wonderful sources, but they are subject to the opinion and the slant, political or otherwise, of the interviewer.

EVEN A DIRECT quote in a secondary resource can be taken out of context. It depends on the opinion or feelings of the writer and how they chose to utilize the quote. Read some contemporary accounts of Ben Franklin, for instance. Scientists like Bartram and Kalm found him learned and fascinating. Others thought him a debauched old coot. The picture must be filtered through your own intelligence.

Tertiary sources are books and magazine articles that present an historical overview and interpretation of the facts. They may be written hundreds of years after the event. These are still useful resources but again are subject to the interpretation and agenda of the author.

Experiential research consists of actually using the tools or accoutrements

Chris Hunsberger works at the dye pots.

Experiential research consists of actually using the tools or accoutrements and finding out what works. Mark Baker, columnist for this magazine, often talks of learning by doing. No one cooks on an open hearth the first time and turns up with much. No one automatically knows how to keep warm without the thermal underwear until they experiment with period clothing and fabrics.

Be aware of a tendency today of rewriting history in light of 20th century beliefs or attitudes. "Revisionist history" may turn on semantics, reinterpreting a statement or event in terms of what we understand the words to mean today. Some of these treatises can be quite interesting, but others appear to have been written simply to stir controversy and make a name for the writer. Controversy sells books. That's why your own research into primary documents is so important. Use a variety of period dictionaries or modern compilations of period terms to understand what is being said, if necessary. For instance who today would recognize a "gammon" as a smoked ham?

There are a variety of sources, both easily accessible and otherwise. Living history sites, museums, books, magazines and even television and movies can help you develop a persona and discover what skills he or she might have had. Be careful with these last two though. They may or may not be completely accurate, but they will convince you of the possibility of fun as a part of research. (If you become bored, you'll give it up. Take a break and watch *Mohicans* again.)

Living history sites let you see artifacts (or reproductions) in action, especially at weekend events with lots of volunteers at these sites. At Missouri's Fort Osage, for instance, you can see soldiers and militia drilling or going about off-duty activities. Wives and families work and play nearby. A woman concocts a salve from herbs she has gathered, while another stirs the dye pot. A man works a draw-knife at the shaving horse, and someone else uses an adze on a dugout canoe. A woman emerges from the nearby woods escorted by two armed men, her botanist's tin full of samples. On the porch another woman dresses a distaff with flax or works at her tape loom.

You learn by watching, by doing and by asking questions. Living history programs were designed with this in mind, whether you're at Fort Osage, Conner Prairie in Indiana or Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. Verify the accuracy, authenticity and appropriateness of the demonstrations that you see through asking questions of people whose opinion you trust and by digging on your own. Ask in a non-threatening way where the demonstrator got his or her documentation and you can learn a lot.

Another place to begin is with a visit to a national or state historic site. These places are often geared to the casual visitor, but if you need to research in greater depth, make an appointment with the appropriate curator. It's best to make an appointment at least two weeks ahead, since many sites are woefully understaffed. If you do not have a set time, you may be disappointed or face a long wait.

Russ Young, a material culture historian who is working on a book on powder horns, suggests sending a letter with perhaps five queries that can be answered right on your original letter. Use letterhead paper if you have it and keep your queries short and concise. Be sure to include a self-addressed, stamped envelope. You may then decide on a research expedition, or you may have had your questions answered in the letter itself.

These sites may also stage reenactments, and many have good libraries available to the serious student of history.

A TRIP TO A museum can also get you started. If you've made an appointment or have proper credentials, you may get to handle textiles or tools, including those not normally on display. (Be sure to take along white cotton gloves and observe proper museum etiquette—i.e., no ink pens around original documents or textiles.) Although occasionally an artifact is mislabeled, for the most part what you see is accurately presented. Many museums mount excellent shows for which catalogs

find a specific person featured, on whom you can base a persona, or see artifacts that your persona might use.

Don't overlook art museums. Many of these have paintings and drawings depicting the people and activities of the period that interests you. Again, the facts are subject to the interpretation, skill or intent of the artist. Remember that some works are allegorical, while others are done long after an event (you may see Biblical scenes enacted by people in Regency-period clothing). Still others are like trick questions. If you didn't know that for a while it was the fashion for noblewomen to ape the poor, you would think everyone dressed as milkmaids. You'll need to dig beneath the surface to understand the works in art museums.

Folk art collections are invaluable and, combined with the information gleaned from art museums, make possible a much more complete picture. Formal portrait painters often worked within certain conventions (the face was the focal point; details of clothing were usually secondary). Folk art painters sometimes painted the bodies at home, then added the faces of their patrons on the road, but other times they included fine detailing. Be aware that paintings may have been updated, changing the original clothing or age of family members.

These museums may also have excellent libraries. Or you may be able to get answers in a phone call alone. Contact the museum or site of your choice and ask for the appropriate curator. Ask if this is a convenient time, and make sure that your queries are not frivolous (write them down before you call). You may also want to ask if there is a women's studies, new social history, or minorities program or curator. Many sites now pay special attention to the past as it regards these subjects.

Inside the compound, wives of the militiamen do handwork.

Public libraries generally have a good history section but don't limit yourself; art books, books on costume and scientific books may tell you a great deal as well.

You may be able to conduct genealogical research at the library also. Many libraries own a selection of original daybooks, journals, financial records and so forth in large manuscript collections, according to Stacy Roth, a living history specialist who is also a former manuscripts librarian. These may be in print, microfilm or CD-ROM, as are many rare materials.

VISIT STATE or county historical society libraries and university libraries as well. Although you may not be able to check out books at the latter, often you can make photocopies of information that you need. Look at adjacent books, because they will be related. Don't overlook the rare book room. I found the entire set of original 18th century Diderot Encyclopedias containing information about hundreds of occupations (there were numerous women in unusual pursuits by the way) at Linda Hall Library on the campus of the University of Missouri at Kansas City. A nice side benefit is that you often meet knowledgeable people who are more than willing to help.

Academic libraries may have professional journals as well as books. Some of these professional journals may only have circulation of fifty or so, but you may find a nugget of information that's appeared nowhere else.

"An invaluable index is *America: History and Life*," says Roth. "It is available in most academic libraries and it can also be searched by computer through Dialog . . . Another useful reference is Francis Paul Prucha, *Handbook for Research in American History: A Guide to Bibliographies and Other Reference Works*, Lincoln, Nebraska."

If the book you want is not available locally, request an interlibrary loan. The Research Libraries Network (RLIN) can be searched by any librarian who is at a member library. "RLIN is basically a shared cataloging system," says Roth. "There are individual databases for books, rare books, manuscripts, 18th century books, etc."

If you find a specific woman who interests you, contact your state's historical society library (or hers, if you've chosen someone out of state) for personal papers, letters, diaries and such. I am currently researching a woman who visited St. Louis in 1818 and painted the first known watercolors of the people, landmarks and landscapes of that area. These tell us a great deal about how the people lived and what they wore. (This library also sent me over 40 letters dating back to 1812 to transcribe—a treasury of information that will keep me busy for some time to come.)

Don't forget wills, probates, censuses, and marriage, birth and death records. Though less likely to reveal as much about women as men, you can still find a great deal about historical living conditions as well as specific people. Old cemeteries tell us a great deal by the information contained on their gravestones. Take photos as well as notes. It's easy to transpose numbers, and if all you have is your written notes, the truth can be lost.

The American Antiquarian Society in Worchester, Massachusetts, has copies of perhaps 85 percent of all material printed before 1840: newspapers, broadsides, religious tracts, books. It's been around since the late 1790s. If you visit be sure to write or call well ahead. They can take only about twelve researchers a day and are both busy and understaffed.

That is the case as well at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Founded by Benjamin Franklin in the 1740s, they admitted the first woman, Ekaterina Dashkoza, in 1789. She was sponsored by Franklin himself. The next women were not admitted until 1869 and included Maria Mitchell, the astronomer.

Most of the larger bookstores have well-developed history, costume, art and science sections. Check their sale tables as well. Don't forget mail-order booksellers like Barnes and Noble, Edward D. Hamilton and others who often have closeouts on wonderful books for almost nothing.

Bookstores that specialize in old or rare books may have volumes original to your time period or published a lot closer to it than modern texts. Look especially for period encyclopedias, reference books and almanacs. I have a growing collection of period books on natural history and history, of journals, of books that profile great (and ordinary) men and women, and of miscellaneous books by authors both known and unknown. Some of these are colored by the prevailing sensibilities of the time in which they were written, if not the period they are about (Victorian romanticism, bigotry), but they can be a good place to start.

Some of these stores may also carry original documents. I have a two-page indenture from 1780 that bequeaths land to a woman; unusual, but primary evidence that it did happen.

Look for books from reprint specialists like Dover, Heritage Books, Readex

Microprints, Burt Franklin and University Microfilms. The latter's *Directory of Dissertation Abstracts* lists sources by author, subject and title. Zebrowski Historical Services and Publishing Company also offers reprints of journals and accounts of captives. Stephanie Zebrowski points out that a disproportionate number of these latter were written by women, some of whom attained high status among their captors.

Many university presses also specialize in reprints. These are often exact replicas, except for the cover, of original volumes. You may find a copy of a book intended to entice settlers, a naturalist's journal or a famous speech, or diatribe, that shaped thought of the period. Wilde Weavery and Trading Company also carries books of this sort.

Don't overlook bibliographies, which may point you to additional unusual or primary sources. Footnotes are also often fine leads. Photo credits may direct you a museum that you'll want to add to your vacation itinerary.

THERE ARE A number of magazines aimed at those interested in history, from **MUZZLELOADER** to *American Heritage*. These offer usually well-researched pieces, photos or illustrations, and often bibliographies or resources that can lead you to further investigation. Don't overlook unexpected sources like *Traditional Home* and *Colonial Home.* They often feature articles about sites or shows mounted by these sites.

Check the encyclopedia. These entries are written by experts and often contain a list of the most useful sources in their bibliographies.

There are some research tools that you may want to own with other members of your living history group in order to have things "in the gene pool," so to speak. If one or more of you are computer literate, tapping into the Internet puts you in touch with all of the major museums in the nation, not to mention most schools and universities worldwide. You may also want to invest in a copy of *The Official Directory of American Museums* ($150.00), also available at libraries. This annual publication of the American Museum Association lists museums alphabetically by state, then within cities in each state.

Join one or more of the living history organizations to find out more about places and published works. Consider the Association of Living History Farms and Museums (ALHFAM); the Living History Association; Mid-America Open-Air Museums Coordinating Council (MOMCC); Society of Workers in Early American Arts and Trades (SWEAT); or a local group that offers workshops on research or persona development.

Consider volunteering at a site of your choice. These often provide in-depth training sessions at least once a year and offer access to their libraries and documents. Offer to transcribe original documents. What better way to learn?

By now you will have found that the range of women's occupations in the years from 1750 through 1850 was much wider than we might have expected. Colonial-era newspaper advertisements disclose women in occupations as diverse as blacksmith, tinsmith, tanner, gunsmith, barber, shoemaker and printer, in addition to the more expected shopkeepers, seamstresses and school teachers (see Ulrich 35). *Notes on American Artists, 1754-1820*, a compendium of ads in New York newspapers of the day, includes mentions of a woman sculptor. She was credited with hiding American soldiers during the Revolution. When she died she was mourned as a patriot as well as an artist (Kelby 9-10).

Women were in fact acting as midwives, nurses and doctors, although not officially in this last category until Elizabeth Blackwell earned the first medical degree awarded a woman in 1849. Women were also running businesses, collecting fossils, writing novels and news, and otherwise supporting themselves and their families with their skills from our earliest days. In fact some historians believe that women were much more likely to act independently in Colonial times than in the unyielding Victorian era, since roles were not yet so rigidly defined. If the woman did not have a separate occupation outside the home, often she supplemented the family earnings, station or comforts by a system of bartering goods, services and skills with others.

We've broadened the horizons of women's roles circa 1750 to 1850 in this article, and, I hope, pointed the way to helpful resources. **M**

Parts of this article are discussed further in the author's new book, Who Was I?, reviewed in this issue. The author would be delighted to hear from you with suggestions and ideas; write to her in care of this magazine.

Specialty Book Sources:

Burt Franklin (Lenox Hill Publishing & Distribution Company), 235 East 44th Street, New York, NY 10017.

Readex Microprint Corporation, 58 Pine Street, New Canaan, CT 06840-5408; (800) 762-8182.

University Microfilms and the Directory of Dissertation Abstracts, Bell and Howell, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; (800) 521-0600.

Wilde Weavery and Trading Company, 603 East Third Street, Lee's Summit, MO 64063.

Zebrowski Historical Services and Publishing Company, RD 1, Box 53, Bloomingburg, NY 12721.

Organizations:

American Philosophical Society, 104 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106-3386.

American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury, Worchester, MA 01609-1634.

Association of Living History Farms and Museums (ALHFAM), Conner Prairie, 13400 Allisonville Road, Fishers, IN 46038.

Early American Industry Association.

Family History Library (Mormon Church Genealogical Library), 705 West Walnut, Independence, MO 64050.

Living History Foundation, P.O. Box 2962, Leesburg, VA 22705; 703-955-3454.

Mid-America Open-Air Museums Coordinating Council (MOMCC), c/o Judith Sheridan, 8774 Route 45 Northwest, North Bloomfield, OH 44450.

Society of Workers in Early American Arts and Trades (S.W.E.A.T.), 606 Lake Lena Boulevard, Auburndale, FL 33823.

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Bonta, Marcia Myers. *Women in the Field: America's Pioneering Women Naturalists.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991.

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Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England 1650-1750.* New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

The Young Lady's Own Book. Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1833.

SECTION F

Clothing of the 18th Century Frontier Settlers

Clothing in the late 18th Century

Author's Note

There has always been discussion concerning the type and authenticity of clothing worn by the Frontier Players. The discussion involves those who are active reenactors, attending many living history events a year, and the once-a-year players, who make Frontier Spirit, 1799 their only event of the year. The discussion centers around whether it is worth requiring our players to be strictly authentic in their clothing presentation. The two questions which should be asked are: Do we want some T.V. interpretation of frontier dress (Fess Parker as Daniel Boone, yuck!)? And - Does it cost any more to do it right? The answer to both of these questions is, "No!"

We will attempt to give you, the cast member, some good, basic guidelines for effective period clothing, with some do's and don'ts, along with some references in an attempt to steer us all in the right direction.

Caution:

"Well, my buddy has been a buckskinner for twenty years, and he said this is what they wore."

Well, your buddy may have been a buckskinner for all those years, but did he do his research, looking at primary resources, or did he get his information from one of his buddies. Besides, "buckskinners" usually refers to western mountain man types, and they ain't us.

People on the frontier were very frugal and used things until they were no longer usable. Therefore it is acceptable to wear things that would have been used during the Revolutionary War times and maybe even during the French and Indian War times, because fashions changed slowly on the frontier and if an item was still serviceable, then there was no reason not to use it or wear it. However, it is also true that anything of a time before 1799 is not acceptable. We will point out some examples as we go.

We will cite our resources for clothing information at the end of this section, so you can check us for accuracy.

Remember:

We want to help you to give the best presentation possible. Frontier Players is not just a group of people putting on a production, but we are a group dedicated to supporting each other and helping each other learn. We encourage all to share their knowledge and expertise, and to help each other along the trail of history.

.....Now, just how were those frontier people dressed?

Yard goods, cloth, and so forth...

Well things have certainly changed since the 18th century. Today cotton is the fabric of choice, and linen is considered the more expensive of the two. However, in the 1700's linen was the cloth of choice since flax was easier to process than cotton. Cotton was used, of course, but it was more expensive.

The key to 18th century yard goods is all natural. This means linen, cotton, wool, and silk. ***Polyester, nylon, or any other man-made fabric is not authentic and should not be used.*** Besides, natural materials are more comfortable (our forefathers were smart people).

Plain color fabrics are always a good choice, but stripes and checks (both large and small) were popular. Prints were used also, but they were not small, complex prints, but were medium to large prints, made by wood block or copper plate printing methods. ***Small print calico is not authentic to the 1700's. It is acceptable for 1820's, but not for us.*** Primary sources for the 1700's refer to "calico" cloth, but this was simply a plain or medium size print cloth used for shirts or petticoats (skirts).

A good compromise for linen is a material known by various names, such as fustian or linette. This is simply a cotton / linen blend and it is available at many yard goods stores. Less expensive than linen, but looks like the real thing. This material was also available in the 1700's, and so is very authentic.

Depending upon the weight of clothing desired, various types of cotton may be used: muslin, osnaburg, ticklenburg, duck, and canvas, to name a few.

Wool was used for all types of clothing. It is warm, retains its insulating value even when wet, and it was the cloth of choice for chasing away the chill. Many weights and weaves were used: worsted, broadcloth, frieze, kersey, and linsey-woolsey, to mention the most prevalent.

The best advice is "keep it simple." Use natural materials of cotton, linen, and wool and the material should be either a solid color, simple stripes, or a less complex print. Check out prints carefully before making up your clothing to make sure it is an acceptable style. Attending high quality trade fairs and observing the participants and asking the traders questions can also be a very valuable learning experience. They will usually steer you in the right direction in making your clothing choices.

Eye Wear

If you have less than perfect vision, as many of us do, then you have three choices: No glasses, contact lenses, or eighteenth century style glasses. Eighteenth century style glasses have fairly heavy duty metal frames, usually with two hinges per side, one where the earpiece meets the glasses frame and the other hinge about 1/2 of the way back and small to medium sized lenses, usually oval or round (but not hexagonal). They are sometimes referred to as "Franklin spectacles" after old Ben. The small-wire framed "granny glasses" are nineteenth century and are not appropriate for our time period. Good 18th century frames are available from James Townshend and Sons, or Smiling Fox Forge. (see suppliers list).

Footwear

There are several types of footwear which are period correct for Frontier Spirit 1799. Probably the least expensive and easily obtainable are Woodland Indian style center-seam moccasins. These can be made by the individual cast member or you can have them made to fit you at a reasonable price. Moccasins were worn by both Indians and whites on the frontier, and by men, women, and children.

Shoe packs ("white man's mocassins" or "Ligonier" style) are authentic and documented to the pre-Revolutionary period as unearthed at Fort Ligonier, Pennsylvania.

The footwear of choice would be men's or ladies colonial shoes. These are more expensive, but definitely lend authenticity to one's portrayal. These were worn in both the buckle and tie variety.

Military style (Revolutionary or French and Indian War), knee high boots would be very appropriate for a military, ex-military, or well-to-do townsman portrayal.

If your portayal is of one of Scottish descent, then ghillie-brogues would also be acceptable.

Wooden shoes were also worn on the frontier, particularly by those of Dutch, French, and/or German descent. These are great "mudders" when the weather turns wet.

Of course, for children bare feet are always a possibility.

Caution: Suede mocassins, knee high Apache lace-ups, "Dyer" style

mocassins, Souix mocassins, Minnetonka mocassins, “Chinese” rubber soled slippers, anything rubber-soled, army boots, or Reeboks are not authentic to this period. Leave them at home!

Hair

Women commonly kept their hair long, however it was seldom ever seen except by their immediate family. The average woman kept her hair gathered under a cap and it was left that way except for washing and sleeping.

Men wore their hair in several different ways. Of course, the most familiar is the hair long in the back, braided into a queue, clubbed and tied with a ribbon. Hair was also worn long and loose, falling to the shoulder or longer. Short hair was also common, especially among tradesmen and soldiers, but also with the general populace.

The well-to-do gentleman or military officer might wear his hair very short, or even shave his head to facilitate the wearing of a wig.

Men's Clothing

Shirts

The typical man's shirt was a full-cut, long sleeved, pull-over, fastened with one button at the collar. Well to do gentlemen or military officers may have ruffles at the cuff and collar. Typically made from linen or cotton, the man's shirt was *underwear*. The shirt was almost universally worn with a waistcoat (vest) or jacket over it. Shirts were cut long, falling almost to the knee, because the shirt was also sleeping attire. The shirt would be tucked into a pair of breeches, unless one is dressed in the longhunter style, then it would be worn out, falling to the knees, and drawn at the waist with a woven sash, in which the longhunter would carry his knife and his hatchet.

Breeches

Trousers were worn by a few individuals by 1799, typically some military and tradesmen. Pantaloons (skin-tight, tapered, full length pants) were coming into fashion in Europe, however we're on the frontier and not at the height of fashion.

Breeches were the clothing of choice for the frontier male. These were of a high-waisted, fall front variety, which buttoned snugly below the knee. Long stockings held up by garters were worn to complete the look.

Not all men on the frontier opted for breeches. Certain individuals such as longhunters, militia, or scouts chose to borrow fashion from the Indians and wore a **breechcloth.** This was very commonplace on the frontier. The Reverend Joseph Doddridge in his *Notes on the Settlements and Indian Wars of the Western Parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1763-1783* tells us that frontiersmen would even attend church wearing breechloths and hunting shirts.

Leggings

Leggings were typically worn when in the woods, scouting or hunting. They were worn over the stockings and breeches, or just over the legs themselves if one were wearing a breechcloth. The leggings protected clothing and skin from thorns and brush. They were usually side-seamed, normally made of buckskin, although in winter woolen leggings were sometimes worn. They started at the point where the foot meets the ankle and usually came most of the way up the thigh, although "Indian style" leggings usually were cut halfway between knee and crotch. The leggings were

held up by a thong attached to the breechcloth waist thong or buttoned to a breeches button sewn on for that purpose.

Hats and Headwear

Okay, let's get this established up front. Frontiersman didnot commonly wear dead animals on their heads. Fur skin hats were not in fashion at this time! Forget the Daniel Boone T.V. show, forget Hollywood movies! (In fact, when interviewed by one of his contemporary biographers, the real Daniel Boone ridiculed those who wore coonskin hats.) Every painting or drawing of Boone in his lifetime which showed him in hunting attire showed him with a wide-brimmed slouch hat.

Fashion aside, furs also represented money. A fur hat was equivalent to walking around with money on your head and most frontierspeople had greater need for the money or the trade value of the fur. A felt hat was cheaper and more practical.

Hats on the Ohio Frontier were of various designs. Felt hat styles included tri-corns, bi-corns, wide-brimmed slouch hats (often turned up in the back), narrow-brimmed with one side turned up in the military style. Hats were often trimmed in various colors of ribbon and decorated with a cockade.

Silk head-scarves were commonly worn by longhunters, militia, and scouts, with black being the most-mentioned color, although other colors were certainly worn.

Knitted woolen caps, often in the style known as "voyager's" caps were worn in winter, as well as caps made from woolen blanket scraps.

Workmen and tradesmen often wore linen work caps. These were a plain, tight-fitting skull cap.

If one were of Scottish descent (many Scots emigrated to America after the English committed the "Highland clearings" after 1745) , then the Highland Bonnet might be worn.

PICKING THE 18TH CENTURY MAN'S POCKET

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,

Today is another hot, sunny day and I have many things that need to be done, but I promised myself that I would take the time to write to you. I so enjoyed your last letter. It was nice to hear that the new receipts that I sent were useful to you and that your family liked the food you prepared from them. I will certainly send along any others I happen to find.

We have been having a lot of hot, dry weather. Fortunately, there seems to be just enough rain for the garden, and everything is growing well. Last night it rained for a while and everything looked quite fresh this morning. I am ready to go and plant a second crop of some vegetables to be harvested later in the fall if we don't get an early frost. It is worth the risk to have a longer season of fresh food. I am glad that the garden is enjoying this hot, sticky weather, because none of us are. I do not like the days to be so warm. Cooking or baking is most unpleasant, as is any work outside in the middle of the day. Of course, I complain just as much when the coldest days of winter are upon us, don't I?

Sewing has been keeping me busy when I am not outside working. Several friends needed new waistcoats and my friend Patty wanted a new jacket and could not make it herself. I have been putting new leather binding on an old pair of stays for myself. I am hoping to get some more wear out of them. The old binding was not leather, and some of the boning had worked its way through, making them most uncomfortable to wear. I am almost finished and am anxious to see how they are when I am wearing them. Leather is not my favorite thing to sew through, but so far I have only given myself one long scratch with the needle. That's better than my usual record when sewing leather.

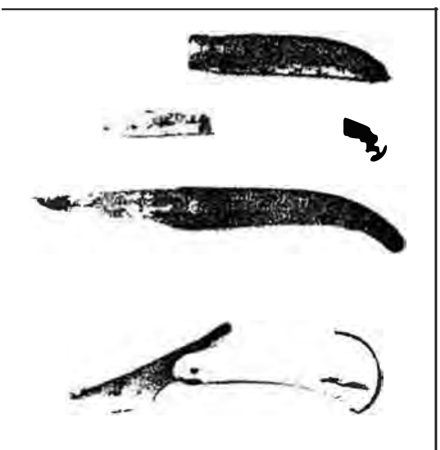
Chris and our dog, Nutmeg, have been out looking for birds in the woods in preparation for the fall hunt. They like to see if there are new broods and where the birds are so that they can go back to those spots for hunting. Chris does not hunt this time of year because the new birds and animals are still relying on the adults for food. Unfortunately, Nutmeg has not been smelling many birds, and Chris thinks the population is down this year. We don't know why, but it may be the late snows we had last winter. Sometimes the birds don't survive heavy snow because they cannot find any food.

The other day I was repairing one of the pockets in Chris's coat when I asked why it had worn through. When Chris told me what he carried around in there, I was no longer surprised that the cloth had worn out. It seems that there are quite a few items that he considers indispensable to daily life and thus carries around in his pockets. Being of a curious nature, I checked with some other people to see what they carried and found that many have similar items.

Probably the most common item carried is a knife of some sort, and most of these are folding knives. My friend Tom Ames has been most helpful in educating me about folding knives. This type of knife is most convenient to have in one's pocket because the blade is contained in the handle when closed and thus it is very safe to carry around. Tom calls this type of knife a clasp knife, and, indeed "all sorts of clasp knives" are included in a listing of many items imported from London advertised for sale by Edward Blanchard in Boston (*Boston News-Letter* 17 July 1760). They are also called folding knives, jack-knives and pocket knives. These knives are a popular item to carry not only here in New England, but also in Pennsylvania. "Clasp knives became the rage at Conestoga Town. At least 50 of them, of various sizes and shapes, were found here, as opposed to straight knives of which there were only 25" (Kent 232). Conestoga Town is an early settlement in the Susquehanna region of Pennsylvania. Madison Grant says that the folding knife "seem[s] to be a universal companion to either soldier or settler. This is emphasized by the great number of knives, both whole and in part that have been recovered from battle sites, ruins of trading posts, Indian graves as well as those in good condition that have survived" (150).

Chris carries a nice clasp knife. It is four inches long when folded. The handle is made of dark colored horn that has an incised design of a line lengthwise with many lines at an angle to it, much like I would draw a feather. The underside of the handle has a piece of steel set in lengthwise. This is tapered slightly and has angled nicks along the side to carry through the design from the sides. The handle is curved at the end opposite the blade and capped with brass. The brass also has chasing to carry through the design. Unlike many folding knives, this one does not have a bolster at the end of the handle where the blade pivots. The blade is of steel, of course, and pivots on a steel rivet and locks in place. The blade is quite decorative. It tapers to quite a point and the back of the blade has small nicks and a curlicue design that makes the blade look like the head of a serpent or dragon.

While most pocket knives have only one blade, there are examples with multiple blades. Our friend at Number 4 reports that Captain Stevens has sold some with four blades. Often an extra blade would be a small one for cutting quills. Many extra

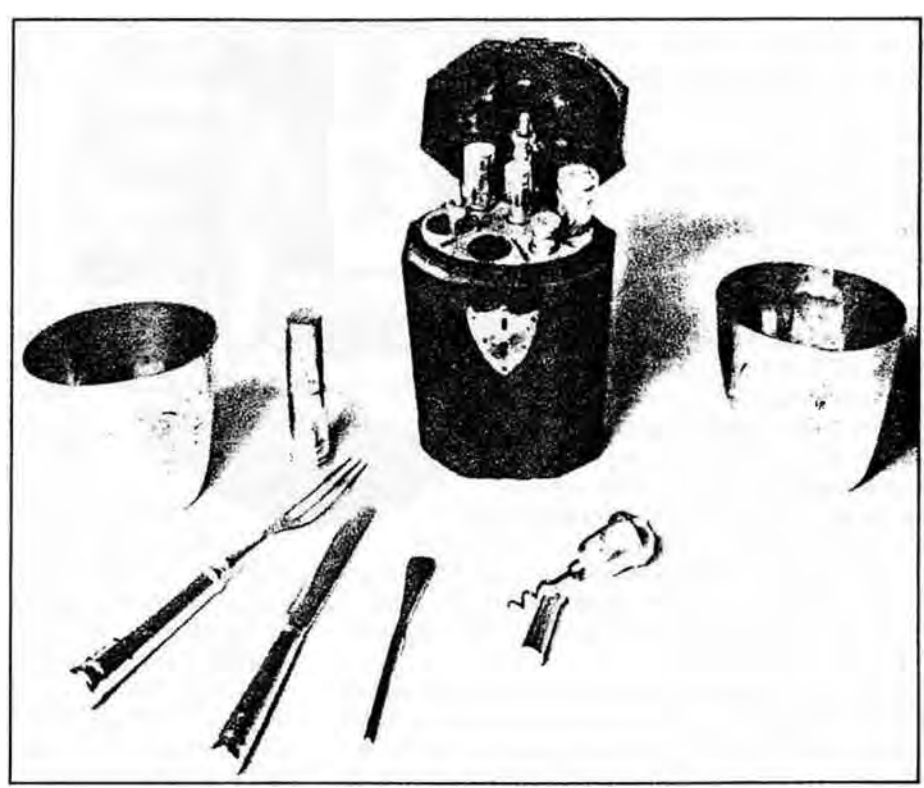


Clasp or pocket knives.

"blades" aren't really blades at all. Some knives have forks that fold out opposite the blade and some have long needles that can be used for sewing grain bags or perhaps even repairing sails. (For pictures of this type of knife, see Neumann 248-9.)

Another folding item that can be carried and is most useful when traveling is a spoon. While a spoon is not hard to carry even when it does not fold, folding the handle up to the bowl does save space in one's pocket. For the very well-to-do there are traveling sets of eating utensils that come in their own cases. At the very least these are sets of a fork and eating knife in a leather case or that fit into each other's handles. The most expensive is a gentleman's necessary. The utensils come in a wooden or shagreen[1] case that is fitted with silver tumblers that nest into each other, a fork and knife with handles that screw onto the eating parts, a nutmeg grater, salt and pepper container, a corkscrew and perhaps a marrow scoop. I am enclosing a drawing of one of these sets for you. Such sets are certainly a rarity to see, but the individual items can all be of a much more common sort and thus carried by many.

Many people carry small nutmeg and spice holders when traveling as well as a folding corkscrew. Chris has a very small folding corkscrew that is made of steel. Even though it is quite small he has no trouble pulling out any cork with it. Nutmeg cases are usually large enough to hold one nutmeg and have a grater inside the cover. Or, like our friend Jeff, you might just carry the nutmeg loose and have a separate grater of punched tin in your pocket. Travelers also frequently carry salt and pepper. Small containers made of horn suit this purpose nicely. They are not very expensive and keep the salt dry. I have enclosed some pictures for you of horn containers. Some are still in the shape of a horn, while one has been turned on a lathe, has a cover that screws on and does not resemble a horn at all.



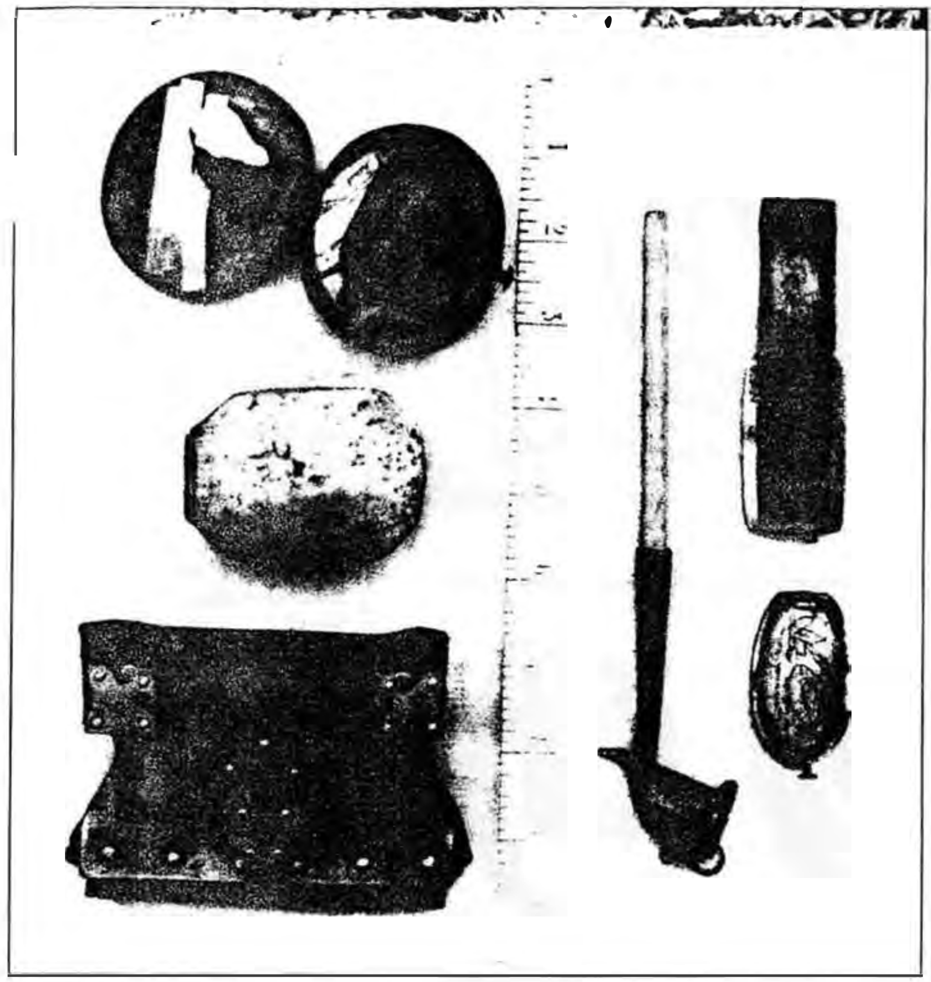
Tumblers are 3-3/4 inches tall (c. 1723-4).

Folding spoons, horn spice or salt and pepper containers.

Accessories for smoking are also commonly found in men's pockets. Many men enjoy a pipe now and then and like to have tobacco with them. Tobacco may easily be kept in a bag, but I am told that it stays fresher when kept in a steel box. Tobacco boxes are commonly tin or brass and less commonly silver or, I suppose, even gold. The tin ones are usually plain, perhaps with a domed top and the brass ones are often elaborately decorated and quite handsome. Tobacco boxes vary in size to suit the needs of the owner. Most tobacco boxes have hinged lids and a small button to a spring catch for holding the lid closed. Chris has an interesting one that is of a size that could be used for either tobacco or snuff. The catch is made in such a way that someone who is unfamiliar with opening this box will be pricked with a sharp pin when pushing the button to open it! I think this is a rather clever way to keep people from "borrowing" your tobacco!

Many men who smoke carry a pipe with them. You are probably familiar with the long clay pipes that come in from London. These eighteen-inch-long pipes are not practical to carry around. There are clay pipes made with short stems that are much more convenient, or a long pipe with a broken stem will work also. I have seen clay and metal pipe bowls that are made to have a removable stem. These stems appear to be made of something like a hollow reed. These two-piece pipes would be very practical for carrying in a pocket and of course the metal bowl would not break. Another ingenious item for carrying a pipe is a wooden or metal case. Shaped like a pipe, these cases are hinged and fit a short-stemmed clay pipe. In order to light his pipe, a man might carry a small box with a flint and steel and charred cloth, as tobacco can be lighted from a spark caught on charred cloth. Of course,

[1] Shagreen is a type of skin, commonly thought to be from sharks and rays. This is not always true, however. It is normally green or black. For a description of how shagreen is made, see Jagger 109-110.


nder boxes, leather tobacco pouch, two-piece metal pipe, tider boxes with the steel built ound the outside.

when the man is near a fire, he will use tongs to get a small coal. Another type of box has the steel built in around the outside. The little hinged lid opens to hold a small flint and probably some charred tinder fungus. These boxes are usually quite small and easily carried.

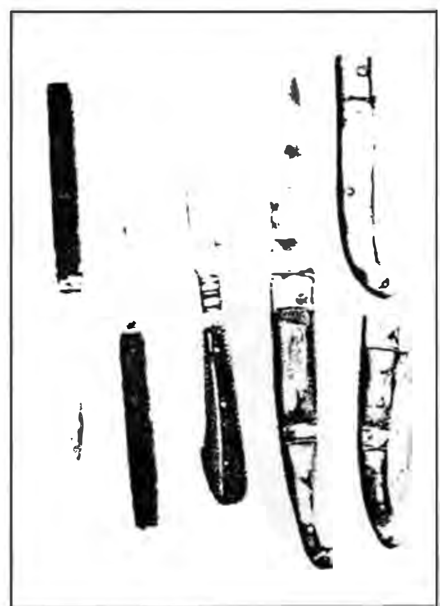
Our friend David carries his tobacco in a leather pouch that is quite interesting. This pouch has a steel fastened along the outside of the bottom edge. He carries his tobacco and flint and char inside the pouch. A two-piece pipe would also fit into this pouch quite nicely. A pouch like this keeps all of the necessities for smoking in one handy place.

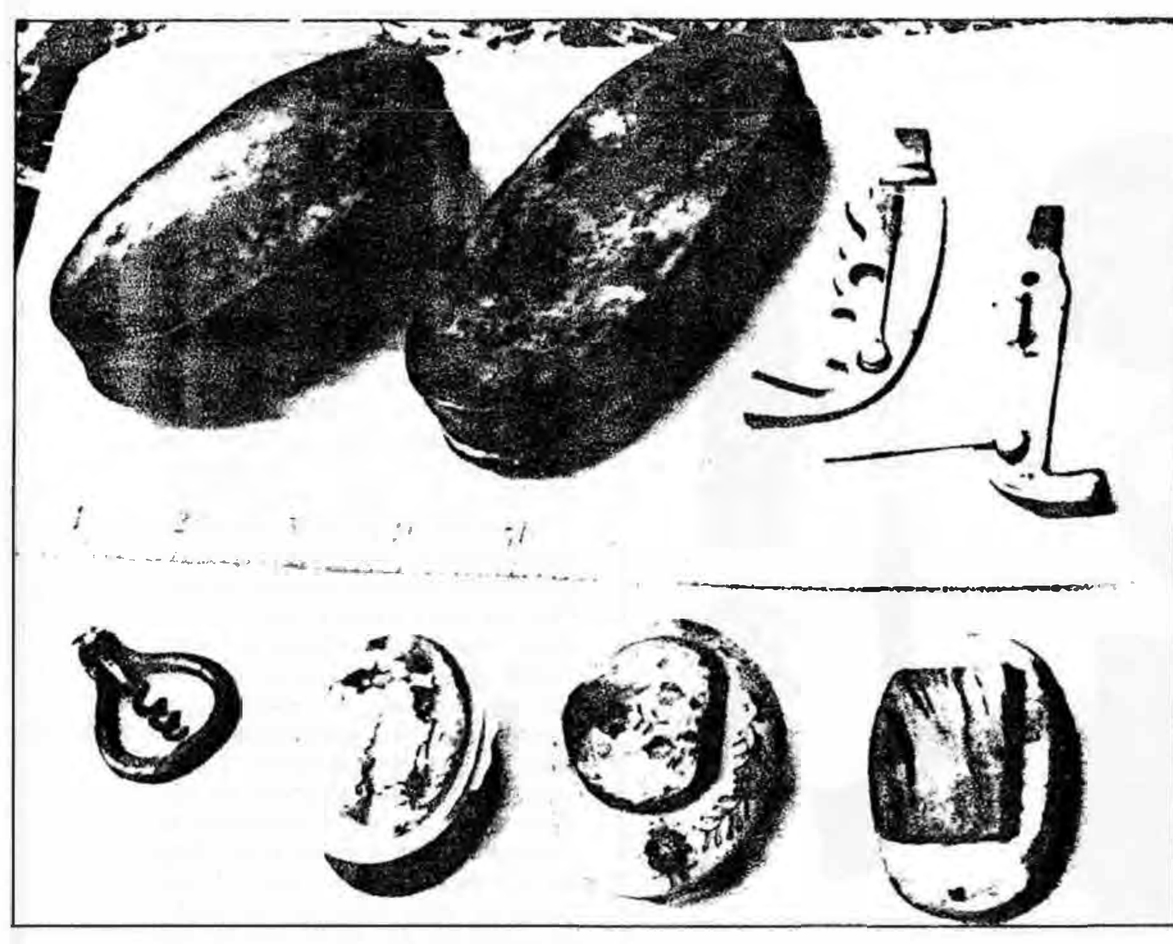
Not everyone who uses tobacco smokes it in a pipe. Many people are now using snuff, which is a very finely grated tobacco. Most people carry snuff in small boxes, although I know that the Scots use containers called mulls, which are small horns fitted with silver lids. Snuff boxes are often quite pretty. Wooden ones are often made of highly figured wood or inted with decorations. Quite expensive ones are made from enameled metal that have painted scenes on the lids. Generally snuff boxes are small enough to fit in the palm of your hand. Snuff has been an affectation of the wealthy, which is probably why many of the snuff boxes I have seen have been rather fancy. But now that using snuff is becoming more common for the middle class, we are seeing plainer snuff containers of tin, wood and even little ones made from horn with wooden bottoms and tops.

Pipe smokers may also carry a multi-purpose tool in their pocket for tamping the tobacco and clearing the stem. I am enclosing a picture of a tool that my good husband makes which can be used for these purposes. But the interesting thing is that it was designed as a multi-use gun tool. The pick is used as a vent pick, the curved edge is hardened as a striker, one end is a screwdriver and the other, which can be used as a pipe tamper, is a hammer for knapping flints. It never occurred to him that it could be used for a pipe until a pipe smoker looked at it and thought that was what the tool was designed for.

Another thing found in many men's pockets is a pair of spectacles for reading. These spectacles have round lenses and are called nose spectacles when they sit on the nose and slightly pinch to stay on. Newly developed in the early 1740s were temple spectacles. They have hinges sticking out from the sides of the lenses and have straight pieces that pass over the temples and then have round loops at the end so a tie can be passed around the back of the head to keep them on. These side pieces are short in that they come to about the top of the ears. Towards the end of the 1740s side pieces were lengthened by using a hinge in the middle. So the temple spectacles we see now in the 1750s have a hinge sticking out at the side of the lens and another in the middle of the side piece. These side pieces still have round loops on the ends for a tie around the back of the head. The side pieces are probably hinged so that the spectacles can still be put into a relatively small case. Commonly, the frames of spectacles are made of steel. Chris has seen a couple of pairs of brass frames, and I would imagine that some wealthy gentlemen have silver ones, but they are certainly not widely seen. Spectacles are generally magnifying lenses for reading. It is uncommon to see someone wearing spectacles throughout the day. Certainly a farmer would not need to be wearing magnifying lenses while tilling his fields or tending the cattle! I have heard of men wearing spectacles throughout the day, but it must be very rare. It is said that the great Dr. Franklin wears them daily and has even been painted wearing his spectacles (*Portrait of Benjamin Franklin* by Pierre Michel Alix in Winkler plate G38).

If you carry your spectacles around in your pocket, it is wise to keep them in a case to prevent scratching or breaking. Chris owns a nice steel case that is an oval

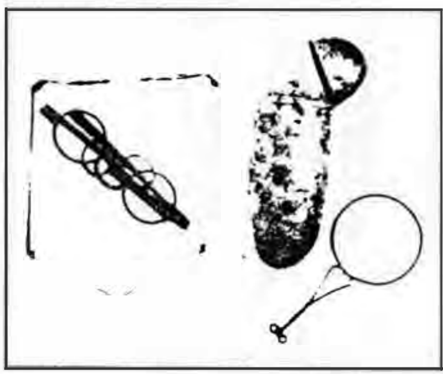

Knife and fork that slide into each other's handle. Fancy eating fork, clasp knives.



Two steel tobacco boxes, gun tools, folding steel corkscrew and three snuff boxes—enamel and decorated wood.

about six inches long and two inches wide. This case fits nicely into your hand, having slightly domed sides. Rather than opening with a hinge on one long side, the case opens across one end, about one quarter of the way down the length of the oval. We have also seen wooden and leather cases. Cases for nose spectacles are smaller than the one Chris has because nose spectacles don't have side pieces that need to fit into the case.

Not everyone uses spectacles for fine work or reading. To obtain the needed magnification many people use a hand-held glass. For the wealthy these glasses may have silver or gold frames, but commonly we see them with brass and, mainly, iron frames. The frame is quite thin, really almost a wire circling the lens.

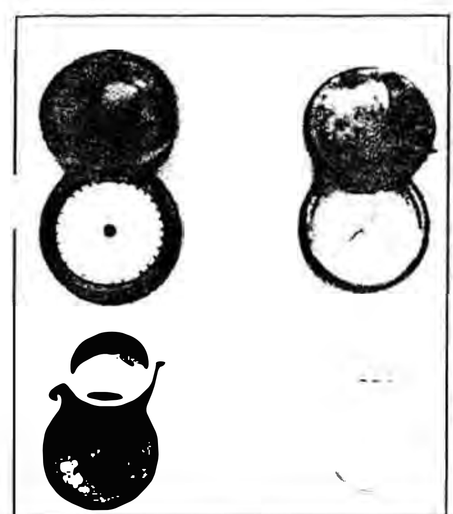


Spectacles, case and reading glass.

The wire then comes down to make a short handle about two inches long and finishes with two curlicues on the ends. Reading glasses often have lenses about two inches in diameter and are held in the hand at a distance from the print that makes it clear to the user. Sometimes a reading glass is hung around the neck on a ribbon and it may have a case attached that swings on a hinge (see portrait of Joseph Baretti, 1774, by Sir Joshua Reynolds in Gaunt plate 97). There is a bonus when carrying a reading glass in one's pocket. Because it is a magnifying glass, it can focus the sun's rays onto tinder and start a fire if need be. Many reading glasses have cases that fit rather tightly. They usually open about one-third of the way down from the top and are shaped like the glass they are intended to hold. These cases are often made of shagreen, wood or hard leather (Winkler 53.)

When Chris goes into the woods for hunting or on a scout, he takes a compass. The terrain of the woods here in Warwick makes it very easy to get bewildered, and the couple of times when he has been without a compass he has had a very long walk home because he wasn't where he thought he was. Common compasses have wooden or metal cases. Chris has one with a wooden case that is also a sundial. It has an upright gnomon (needle) that acts as the sundial and the whole dial is free floating to act as the compass. Its dial is rather plain compared to the compass our friend Warren owns. His compass has a brass case and the paper dial is painted along the starburst that shows the different compass points. While these are both nice compasses, they are of the ordinary sort. A more expensive type that a gentleman might own is made like a watch. I have enclosed a picture of just such a compass. It has a case the shape of a watch complete with a stem. The case is of gilt and the face is white enamel. There is a little lever at the stem to lock the needle in place when the compass is not being used. Chris especially likes this type of compass because it appeals to his mechanical mind. I am sure he would love to own such a fine instrument. Some men carry pocket sundials that do not have a compass included. These can be metal with a gnomon that folds down flat or perhaps a ring sundial that works with a tiny hole through which you focus the sun. Of course the fortunate man would not need a sundial to tell the time because he has a watch in the watch pocket of his breeches.

An item that may not be common to most men's pockets is a pocket book. They are usually a paper book carried for scribbling notes. However, John Perkins



Sundials and compasses: sundial compass, ring sundial, flat sundial, metal compass, "watch" compass.

of Boston advertises Spanish pocket-books and pocket ivory memorandum books for sale *(Boston Gazette* 13 June 1763). I must admit that I do not know how you write on the ivory pages, but they do wipe off and are reusable. I would think that it would be easy to make your own pocket book to carry, as it would just be pieces of paper folded in half and sewn down the middle. There would not even be a real need for a cover, but one could be made of cloth or leather. I am going to ake one for myself, as I often need to make notes.

Some pocket books are also used to hold money. Many men use a small purse[2] to carry any coins they might have. Paper money is held better in a flat envelope. Pocket books that have one or two pouches are suited to carrying both money and papers. John Foley advertised in the paper for a lost Pocket-book "containing Five Guineas and sundrey papers..." *(Massachusetts Gazette* 8 July 1775), so he was using his pocket book for both purposes. Pocket books used to hold money are commonly leather, although some are cloth or worked in embroidery or Irish stitch. Some time ago I sent you a picture of the Irish stitch one that I made for Chris, (**MUZZLELOADER**, September/October 1988) and I also have one that I use. Leather is more practical if the pocket book will be subjected to much rough use.

While many women carry keys hung at their waists, men who carry keys keep them in their pockets. These keys may go to locks on a door to a strong box or trunk nd perhaps the spice box. Most keys for utside house doors are quite large, so they are not carried in one's pocket very often, but the keys for trunks and boxes are small and easily carried.

This has been quite a list of things found in men's pockets and I did not even include the odd musket ball or shot I often find. No wonder they get worn out! And to think I thought that I carried a lot in my pockets.

As I have been sitting here the flowers of the bee balm have been drawing the hummingbirds and they are fun to watch out of our back door. These birds are hardly bigger than the dragonflies that swarm in the evening to eat mosquitoes. They are feisty little birds who are quite territorial. A male will sit on an open branch and swoop and chatter if another male comes into the same area. You would think that such a little bird would be nicer. They also come quite close to us as they fly by, seeming not to be at all afraid of people.

Well, the chores will not wait any longer so I must end this letter. I hope your crops are growing as well as ours are. I have been concerned that you are close to some of the Indian raids we have been hearing about due to the current war. We worry about you every time the news arrives that there have been new troubles. But you have not mentioned anything in your letters, so I suppose that I should not be overly concerned. With any luck the Post rider will come by the tavern this week, and I will be able to send this letter on its way to you.

With warm regards I remain,
Your Friend,
Beth Gilgun

[2] Defined in 1735 as "a little Bag to put money in," qtd. in Schiffer 37.

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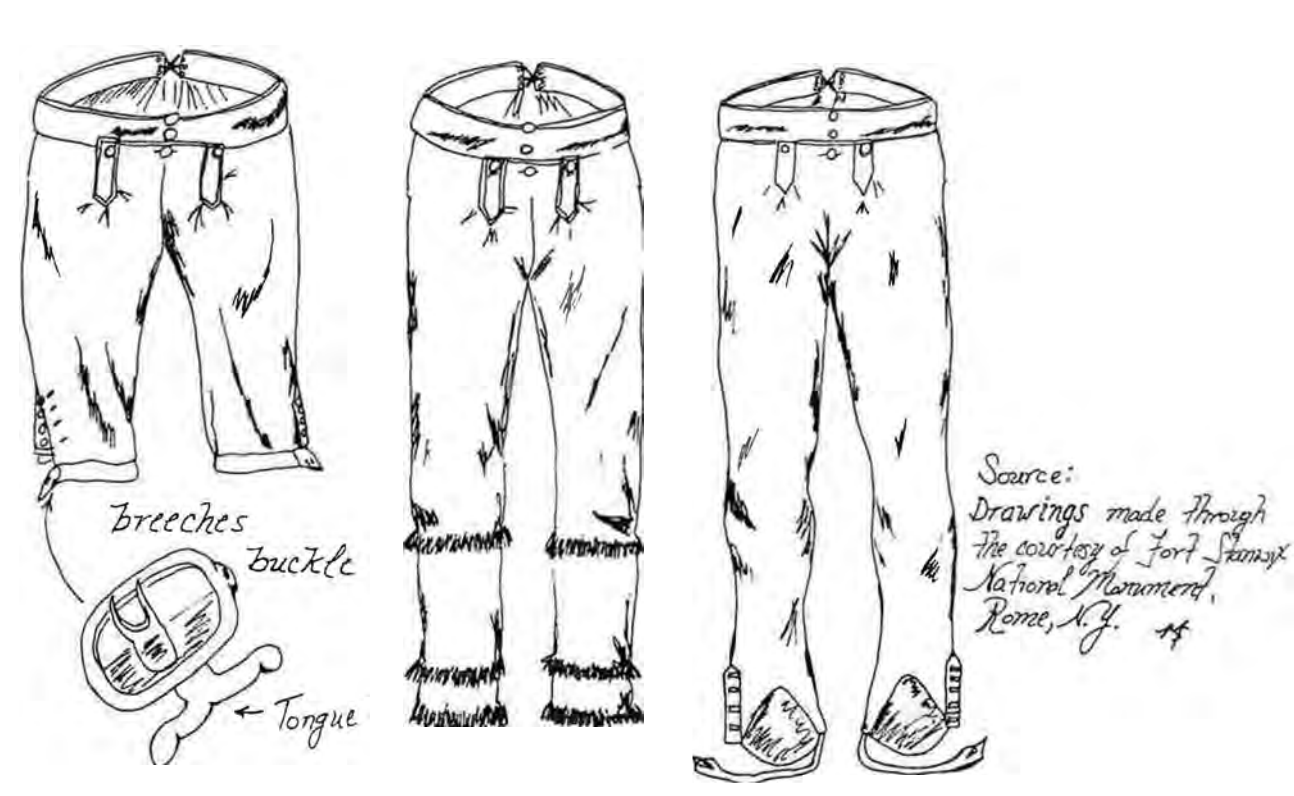
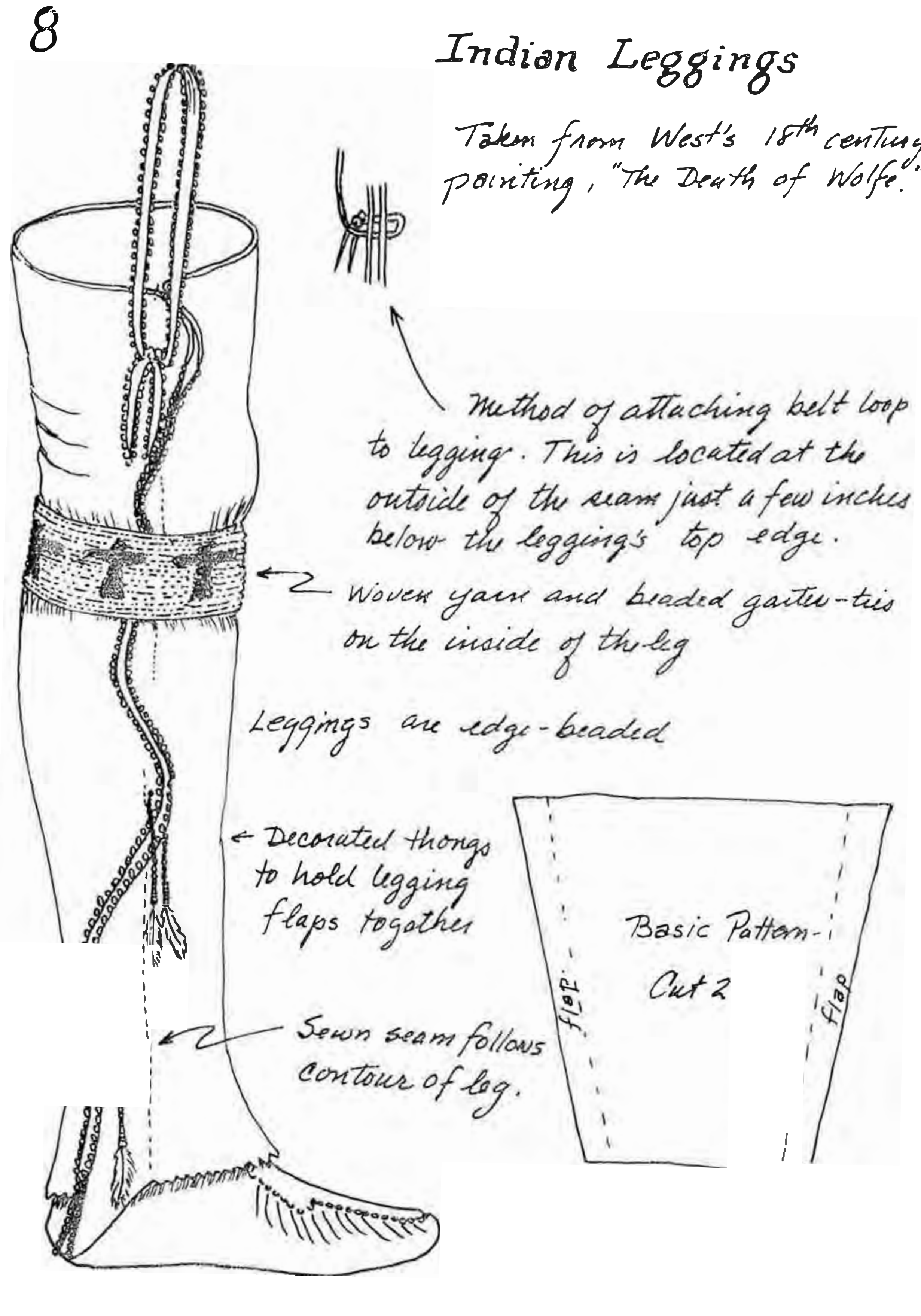
Headgear

Breeches, Trousers and Overalls

Usually made of homespun linen, linsey-woolsey or deerskin, breeches and trousers were made exactly like those worn in the east, i.e., puckered back, drop flap, tight in the leg, loose in the seat, etc. However a decorative fringe was often added to the trousers. While breeches could be worn with stockings or leggings, trousers seem to have been more popular. Deerskin breeches were extremely popular in the east and it created a need for a steady supply of hides- one of the main reasons the long hunters penetrated the mountains in the late 1760's and early 1770's. Overalls were also worn by Continental riflemen. In 1778, Posey's riflemen requested overalls along with hunting shirts and shoes.

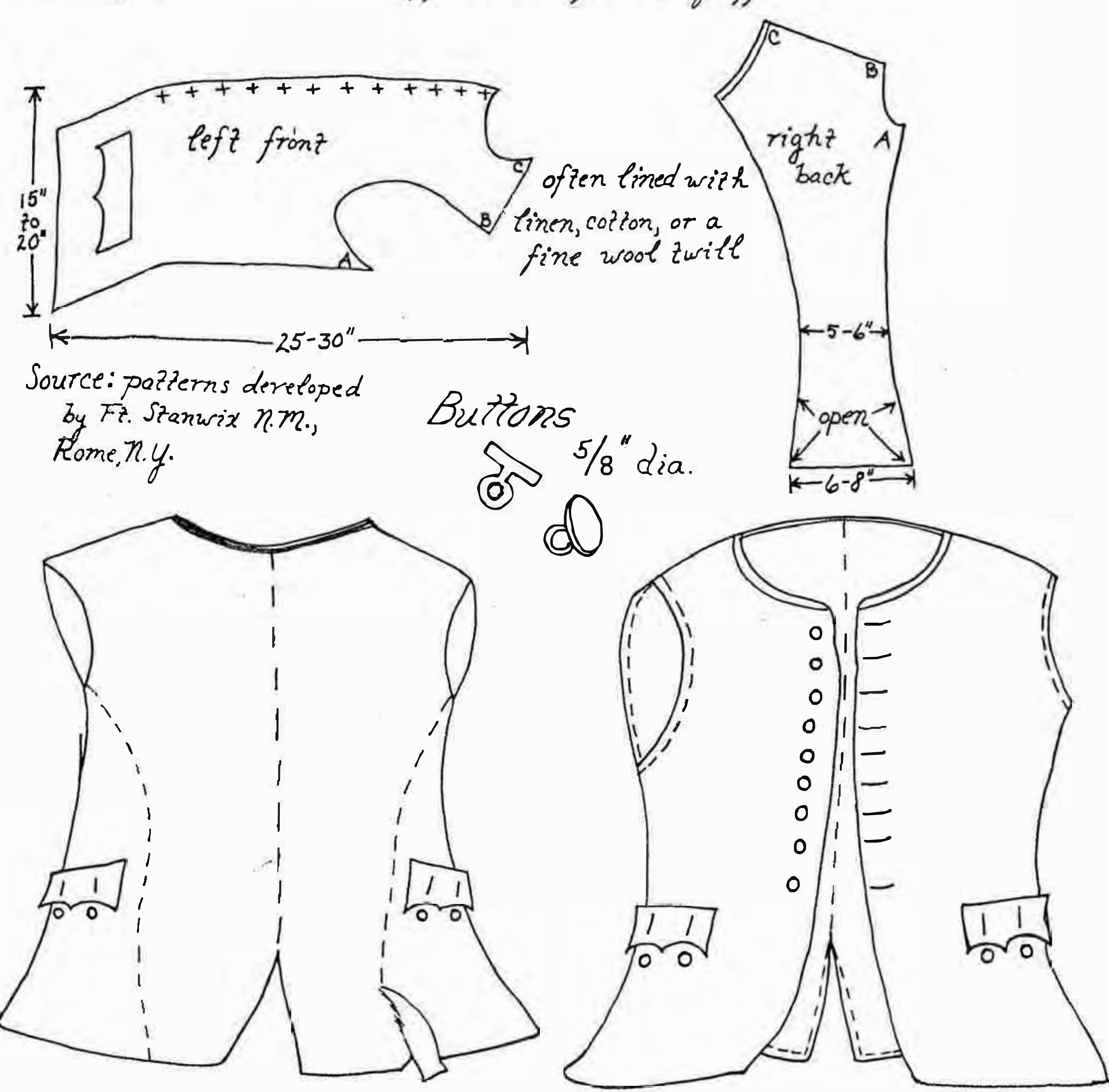


Indian Leggings

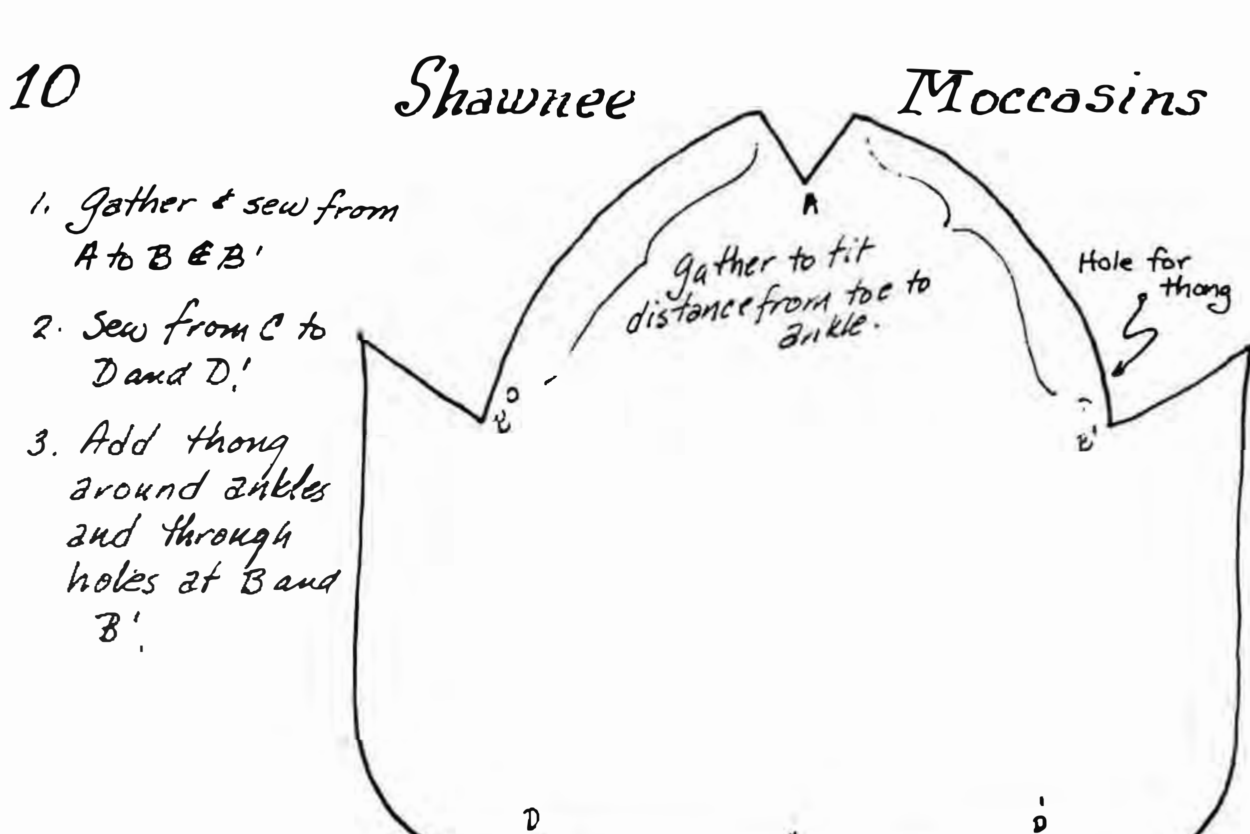


Waistcoat (or Weskit)

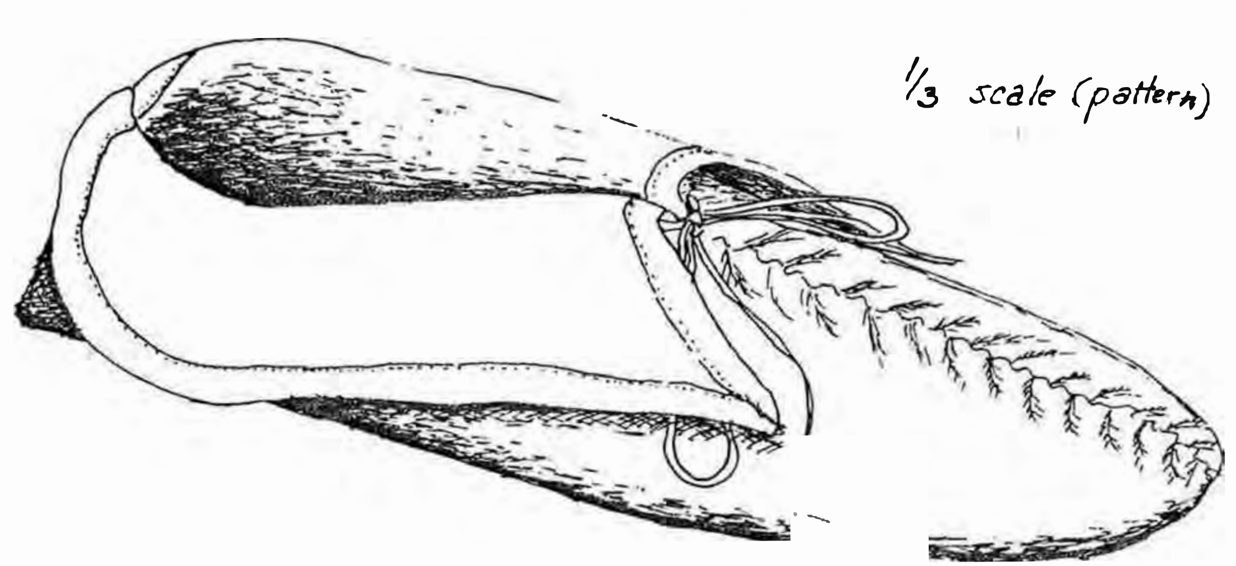
Waistcoats, although not necessarily a part of the rifleman's dress, were worn by officers and frontier farmers. They were made of linen or fine wool twill. A buff color was favored by officers.



10 Shawnee Moccasins



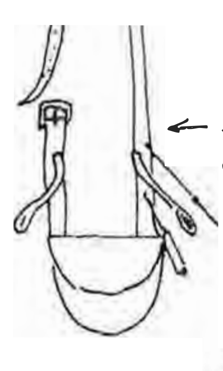
These moccasins have purple ribbon binding around the flaps. The drawstring which passes around the ankle has only two holes (in front) to "locate" it.



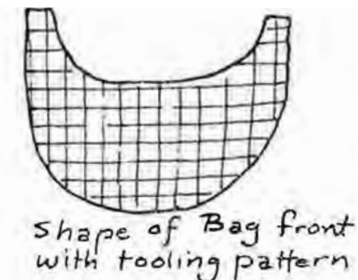
Hunting Pouches

A well-made Pennsylvania bullet bag with interesting decorative features, such as pinked welt edgings.

All seams are welted. Black finish. Sewn with linen. Single compartment.



← arrangement of attachments to bag strap



← 3/4 scale
Museum of the Fur Trade.

← Cross section of bag showing bags side gore.

Longarms

Carry any gun you want, as long as it's flint and shoots a 2" diameter group, 19 of 20 balls, at 50 yards.

"Kentucky" fowler stocked in tiger maple, circa 1775.
- National Park Service, Morristown, New Jersey.

Fine brass mounted Pennsylvania or Kentucky rifle made by Henry Albright, circa 1790-1800.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, N.Y.

Heavy iron-mounted Southern rifle of the type used by Davy Crockett. Ca. 1830-40. Ex-Walter Cline Collection

Unmarked Pennsylvania rifle, ca. 1750. Wood sliding patchbox. Smithsonian Institution.

PAYING ATTENTION TO DETAILS

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,
It is raining today so I have some time to sit here and write to you. If it was sunny I would have to be outside tending the garden as things are growing, including all the weeds. If only the weeds were good to eat! After the long, cold winter and gray spring it is good to see flowers and green even if tending the garden is work.

Chris has been busy building several fowlers and is almost finished with two of them. Actually one is finished except for the browning of the barrel. He has sighted in both of them and figured out the best size ball. He has also been busy doing some jewelry work for a friend who wanted a ring made. It came out quite nicely and was engraved with initials. We have not heard from her yet, but I am sure she was happy with it.

Sadly, I have not done any sewing for the last month. My hands are troubling me and it makes using scissors and holding cloth to sew very difficult and painful. This has been going on since last June, so I thought if I stopped sewing completely it might help. I have also needed a lot of help lifting pots from the fire and in doing other chores around the house. I find it quite annoying to need help for things I normally do myself. I hope that another several weeks of inactivity will do the trick.

This weekend brings the annual "gentleman's" shoot at our friend's farm in the town of Hardwick. We are fortunate that the roads are in good enough shape for travel, as many families come from quite some distance. Last year the weather was very strange with snow Friday night and a beautiful warm day by Sunday. I am hoping that we have temperate weather this year, since we are outside or under tents the whole time. The weekend is planned for mid-spring before any of the families have to stay home for milking their cows. The men shoot quite competitively and enjoy friendly rivalries. The women have a chance to sit and visit or play ninepins while the children play games of their own devices. We all contribute to a feast and are well-sated by Saturday evening.

Lately I have been thinking about the finishing touches we all put to our appearance. These finishing touches may be conscious or unconscious and are not always good additions to the total effect. The purpose of this letter is to help make you aware of the little things that can make or break your total look. One of the things that started me thinking about this happened during our January gathering when people were dancing late at night. My friend Betsy looked just wonderful in her gown and pocket hoops. But she ruined the 18th century impression as she danced with her cap removed and her hair at shoulder length and with bangs (in a page boy). The other thing that got me thinking was a picture of myself wearing my green wool gown. I realized that we don't really see what we look like even when a full-length mirror is available. When looking in a mirror, we often miss the details that are helping or hindering our total appearance. It is very difficult to put aside our 20th century ideas of what looks good and bad and enter into another century's ideals, but that should be our goal if we are truly trying to portray someone from a different time. When looking at a photo, it is easier to be objective and really pay attention to whether the total look is right. It is also easier to compare your appearance to paintings of the period and see where you might fall short. Several of us plan to use my Polaroid camera to take pictures of ourselves this summer so that we can all scrutinize our appearances immediately and get ideas from everyone.

We will look from head to toe. The finishing touch that most commonly mars one's appearance is perhaps the way hair is worn. A modern hairstyle completely ruins the attempt to portray a pre-1840 person. In my mind a prime example of this was in the movie *Dances With Wolves*. I had a hard time looking at a woman who had lived with the Indians since childhood having a layered, curled hairdo. It seems more probable that she would have had her hair done the way all the other women in the tribe did. Admittedly, it is more difficult for the Indian reenactor to solve the problem of hairstyle because their hair is not usually covered up. For those of us portraying settlers or adventurers, however, it is much easier.

IN THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES, MOST WOMEN wore caps as part of their everyday wardrobe. These caps were white, usually fine linen and covered most if not all of the woman's hair. As a practical consideration, caps keep hair cleaner and out of the way while working, but it was also the fashion to wear caps. Caps of many styles can be seen in engravings and paintings of whatever pre-1840 period you portray. Wearing a cap does not need to make you feel unattractive. Because caps were made in many styles, you should be able to find a style that suits your face. Just as one hairstyle does not look

good on everyone, neither does one style of cap, and it is worth your effort to find a style that looks good on you and that you can be happy with.

However, just wearing a cap may not give you the right look. In most of the 18th century and during the period from 1820 to 1840, most women wore their hair up off their shoulders. You do see some escaping ends, but on the whole, hair was mostly covered by the cap. So long flowing locks with a cap perched on top will not give you an 18th or 19th century look. Wearing a cap with your hair tucked into it is the perfect way to cover up an inappropriate or short hairstyle. Bangs are another problem when trying to achieve the right 18th century look. It is rare to see long bangs on an 18th century woman. My friend Betsy was kind enough to allow her picture to be used as this example. She feels that she does not look good without her bangs. However to the rest of us she just looks different. She is our friend and always looks good, but to our 18th century eyes, she looks better without her bangs.

Men also need to be aware of their heads. It is easy to find pictures and references to men wearing their own hair. Men's hair was not always long, either. We have all grown up with the image of 18th century men's hair being curled over the ears with a queue in back. However, farmers, journeymen, laborers, sailors, military men and servants often wore their hair short. If you choose to wear your hair short, you should still be aware of length of sideburns. Working men often wore soft cloth caps, and the addition of a cap or hat almost always improves the overall look.

For the middle and upper classes, a more formal hairstyle is often needed. A gentleman would not go around town doing business wearing short hair so if your hair is not long enough to tie into a queue, you need to embellish it in some way. An interesting addition to medium length men's hair might be a false queue. One description of a runaway stated: "wears his own hair, with a false tail..." (Bailyn, after 352). This false queue would be made from a weft of hair folded back and forth onto itself to the length of the man's back hairline. A weft of hair is a 36-inch strip with strands of hair either sewn or woven along its length. It is possible to order wefts of hair from your local wig supplier and they are not very expensive. The false queue is attached to the man's head using ties that go up behind the ears

Nancy looks wonderful except for her twentieth century hair.

and under the hair on top of the head. It is best if the man's hair is long enough in the back to cover the top of the hairpiece. This arrangement works quite well if he wears a hat.

Of course, an appropriately styled wig is also a good option. Even in the 18th century wigs were not cheap. According to *The Wigmaker in 18th-Century Williamsburg*, "it appears that a man could outfit himself with hat, coat, shirt, breeches, hose, and shoes for about what his wig would cost him." This means that a journeyman might have to spend his wages for two to three weeks to buy a wig (24-26). Because wigs were often the most expensive item of a man's apparel they were targets for theft. One man servant who ran away in New York had stolen from his master "two grey wigs" (*New-York Gazette Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy* 19 Aug. 1751). Although wigs in portraits are often white, that is not necessarily the color you should wear. According to the present-day wigmakers at Colonial Williamsburg, white wigs were worn for battle, dancing and while having one's portrait painted, which implies that people did not wear white wigs for everyday. Men might also want to consider facial hair or the lack of it. Most men in the 18th and early 19th centuries were clean-shaven (although that doesn't mean they shaved everyday).

A jarring reminder of the 20th century is most types of glasses. Have you ever been to an event and seen someone whose outfit is just perfect but all you can see are the brightly colored plastic frames on their glasses? It is not only the plastic that makes these glasses a problem but also the lens size. Wire frames are not right either if the lenses are too large or the wrong shape. And either type of frame is especially jarring when fitted with photo-gray or dark lenses. I have heard people say that there is nothing to be done about glasses, but that is not true. There are frames available that reproduce the right look and your prescription can be put into them. I have one friend who went to wearing contacts because she portrays an Indian and would not have worn glasses of any type. Your choice of what to do may hinge upon how serious you are and how much you can afford, but it certainly should be something to think about.

Another 20th century intrusion is the type of jewelry we wear. Plain wedding rings were worn but the modern diamond engagement ring is definitely not in the 18th or 19th century style. Leaving your diamond at home is not only a good idea from the standpoint of the character you are portraying, but it also keeps the ring safer. Notice that I said leaving it home, not taking it off when you get there. I have lost a ring by putting it in a supposedly safe place (my change purse). My rings stay home on a ring stand. Earrings are another thing to think about. If you choose to wear any type of jewelry, it is important to consider the class and nationality of the person you portray. Plain hoop earrings are a neutral choice. I have seen a portrait of a New York woman of Dutch descent wearing cone earrings just like the ones used for the Indian trade. I portray a Dutch woman so that I can have my own business while still having a living husband (that would be a problem if I were an Englishwoman) and the women of Dutch descent also kept their own wealth in the form of jewelry. Thus, I can wear more jewelry than someone portraying a camp follower, farm woman or middle class Englishwoman. A glaring anachronistic jewelry accessory is the wristwatch. There is no excuse for wearing a wristwatch. They are not appropriate for the 18th or 19th centuries. If you must know the time, carry your watch in your pocket.

Modern glasses can spoil a good period impression. It is also rare to see long bangs on an 18th century woman.

One thing I want to use photos for this

The large sunglasses really ruin this reenactor's look.

summer is to look at the total silhouette. In the 20th century, we women are convinced that the ideal is to be tall and thin. This is not what was popular in most of the 18th and 19th centuries. Stays and corsets were used to reshape the upper body and hoops, false rumps and, later, corded petticoats were used to re-shape the hips and skirt shape. The 18th century woman had hips. Wearing several petticoats or adding a quilted petticoat adds to the bulk around the hips, as does making your petticoats from more cloth. It is important to get away from thinking that the clothing makes you look fat. That is a 20th century idea. Instead, look to see if the clothing makes you look like you walked out of a painting or engraving of your period. My friend Carrie was looking at photos from last summer and realized that she looks too thin in most of them. Carrie is model tall and thin in the 20th century, so her 18th century clothes tend to hang on her. She has decided to make her petticoats from more fabric and also is going to pad out her hips and rump to give a better 18th century line. I looked at a photo taken while I was wearing my woolen gown and realized that I needed to work on my silhouette, too. Looking in a mirror I had always thought that my petticoats and gown skirt were full enough, but looking at a photo I realized that they weren't and that I need to wear small pocket hoops as well as a quilted petticoat to look really good. I use photos of Chris to check things like the length of his breeches and how his waistcoats fit. I also find photos useful to check lengths of coats on men.

Another anachronistic accessory is the cigarette. It is so upsetting to see someone who has spent a lot of time and money getting their outfit just right ruin the whole effect by smoking a cigarette. This is particulary true when at a well-attended event for the public. A clay pipe is correct throughout the period. If that doesn't work for you, smoke someplace out of sight. Yes, I admit that I do not smoke so I cannot put myself in your shoes but this is something that really needs to be addressed. I know it can be done because I have some friends that always surprise me when they smoke cigarettes in a 20th century situation, because I never see them smoke cigarettes in the 18th century.

Another reason to take photos and compare your looks to those in an original painting or engraving is to see if your garment is the same garment. Years ago Sue Grant and I were discussing bed gowns. She had an engraving of a woman who we thought was wearing a bed gown. The woman was seated with her back to the viewer. So I put on my bed gown and sat in the same pose while Sue took my picture. (This would have been a good use of a Polaroid because we could have had instant feedback.) If the garment looked the same on me as it did in the engraving, it would be a clue that the woman was wearing the same thing. It is easier to assess the looks of a garment in a photo than in real life because you are comparing a picture to a picture.

Michael would be fine if he had removed his watch!

Look at paintings and engravings of your period to determine "the look" of the 18th and 19th century.

So, this summer while you are at events, have someone take random pictures of you. Scrutinize what is there and try to see what isn't and should be and you will probably find that you get a little bit better with everything you do. I know I am going to try it. It will probably stop me from leaving my hair down in the morning and encourage me to always be "picture ready." I was going to say "picture perfect," but since I will most likely never be perfect, I decided to hedge!

One of the best ways of getting your eyes used to looking at the 18th and early 19th century is to look at paintings and engravings of your period. When you do that, it is important to keep in mind where and how the garment is worn. This helps to keep you from wearing an item that was considered underwear as an outside garment. A good example of this is when a woman wears just a shift or a shift and petticoat when portraying someone who is "out in public." This outfit is 18th century underwear. It is no more appropriate to wear it as a finished outfit than it is today to walk down the street in just your underwear. Men should also be aware that it is not really appropriate to walk around in just breeches and shirt if you are not working in a shop or in the fields. A waistcoat should be added to be properly attired. Also, if you find an unusual garment it is important to find the same type of garment in a painting by another painter. This helps to ensure that you are not seeing a figment of the artist's imagination.

I am anxious to hear from you soon. Now that the roads have firmed up from the mud we should be a more regular post. We are quite isolated during mud season as carriage wheels sink to their axles and horses find the roads impassible. Even oxen have trouble with the mud. The rain has let up and the wind is getting quite gusty. The weather certainly is unpredictable this time of year. I must go start some supper as the afternoon is waning rapidly. Please give the children a hug from us.

With respect and Warm regards,
Your friend,
Beth Gilgun

PLEASE NOTE! *All of the people mentioned in this article and shown in the pictures agreed to be examples. The pictures* ***were not*** *taken at random or without consent!*

Further Reading:

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West*. New York: Knopf, 1986.
This book has many good runaway descriptions after page 352.

Baumgarten, Linda, *Eighteenth-Century Clothing at Williamsburg*. Williamsburg, VA.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986.
This book contains pictures of original clothing and paintings and engravings of the period as well as an informative text.

Buck, Anne. *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979.
This book deals with all classes of people in England, what they wore and how they wore it.

Johnson, E.D.H. *Paintings of the British Social Scene from Hogarth to Sickert*. New York: Rizzoli, 1986.
Good collection of paintings of people doing things rather than just sitting for portraits.

Pointon, Marcia. *Hanging the Head*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
Well-illustrated book on portraiture with good accompanying text.

Smith, Charles Saumarez. *Eighteenth-Century Decoration*. New York: Abrams, 1993.
Excellent collection of paintings of all sorts. The author is discussing interior decoration but almost all the paintings also have people in them. Many color plates and the paintings are grouped in twenty-year increments.

The Wigmaker in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg. Williamsburg Craft Series. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990.

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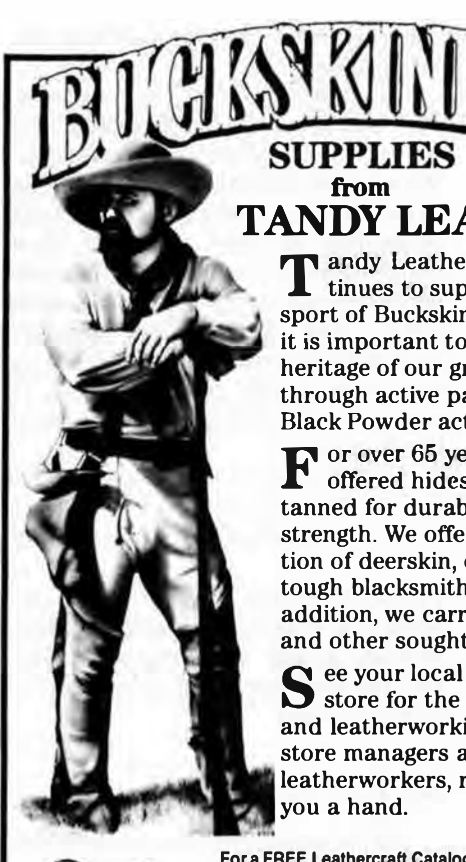

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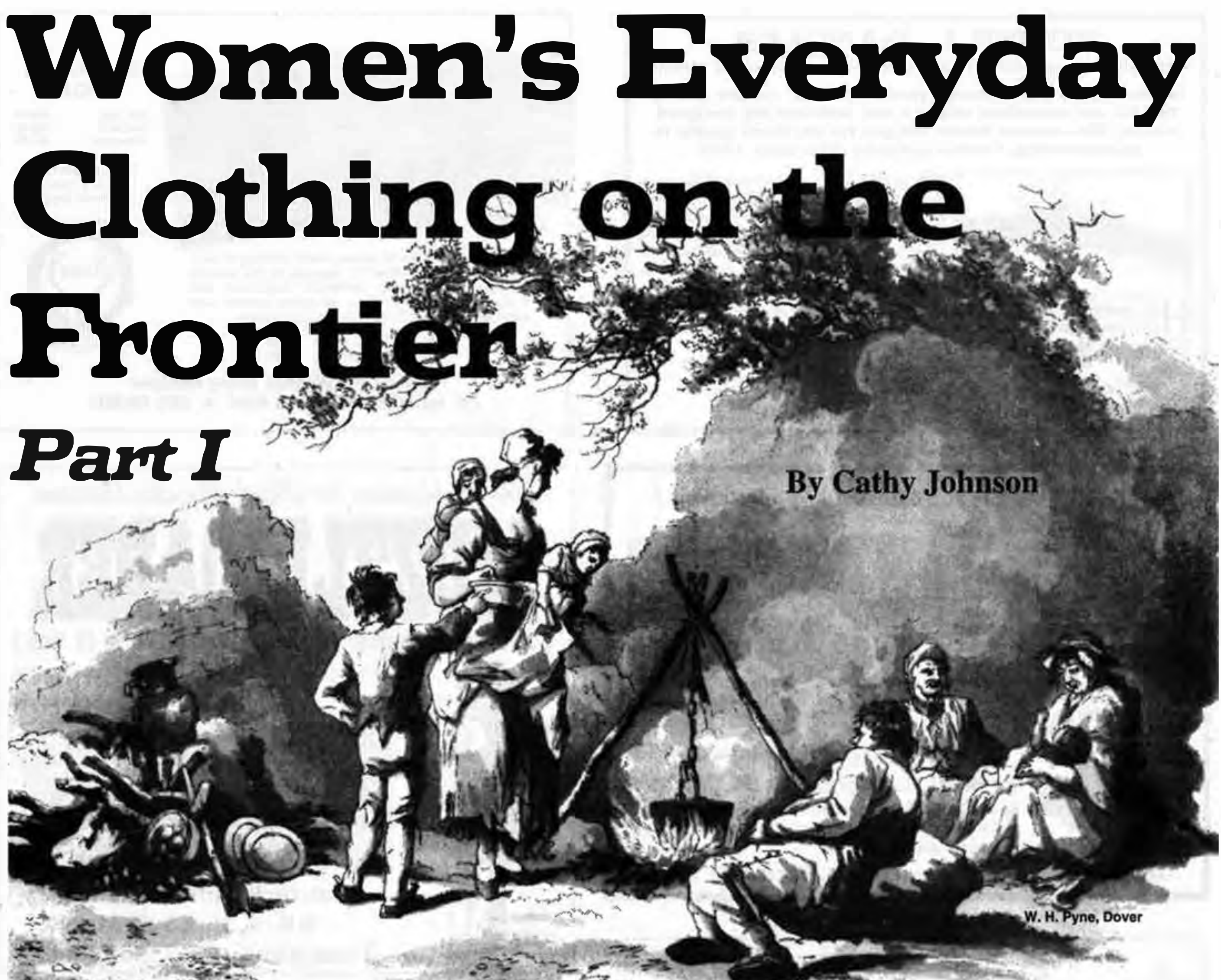
Women's Everyday Clothing on the Frontier

Part I

By Cathy Johnson


W. H. Pyne, Dover

MUCH HAS BEEN written about the clothing of men on the frontier—the *coureur de bois,* backwoodsmen, scouts, even naturalists and such. We know something about how Rogers' Rangers dressed, and the hunters of the Cumberland. We have John James Audubon's description of Daniel Boone, as well as several paintings of Boone from other sources, and Audubon's sketch of himself in fringed hunting shirt and leggings in the early 19th century. But there is comparatively little firsthand documentation on everyday garments of the female settlers who also occupied the farthest edges of civilization and beyond.

That women were indeed *there* is fact, some performing heroic deeds and earning a place in the historical record. Some women trapped and hunted alongside their husbands, like Mrs. Edward Pentry in the Adirondacks wilderness of 1672. Some rode and shot as well as a man, like Louisa St. Clair, daughter of Gen. Arthur St. Clair. "Mad" Anne Bailey of Virginia, among her other exploits, risked her life during the Revolutionary War by riding over 100 miles for powder to save Fort Lee, near present-day Charleston. Some of these remarkable women who made their way into history are described as wearing clothing that would have been considered highly unusual, but undeniably practical.

In William Fowler's *Women of the Frontier*, Mrs. Pentry's utilitarian attire was described as "a close-fitting tunic of deer skin reaching to the knees, with leggings to match," and later, "trowsers of deerskin and a short tunic and moccasins of the same material" (57, 63). The beautiful and educated Louisa, whose father was governor of the Northwest Territory, was described as a fine shot. "[L]oading and firing with the expertness of a back-woodsman . . . [she] often went out alone into the forest . . ." according to a Professor Hildreth, who had seen Louisa in 1791 (*Dispatch*). In the book *Arthur St. Clair, Rugged Ruler of the Old Northwest,* Louisa was said to be "dressed Indian-style, with a short rifle strapped to her body" (Wilson 241).

The heroic (and eccentric) "Mad" Anne Bailey was probably the most often described of these frontier women, appearing in literally dozens of accounts, reliable and otherwise. After her first husband's death in the Battle of Point Pleasant in 1774, she became "disordered in her intellect" and turned to revenge. It was said that she "differed little in appearance from the ordinary scout of the border," having "discarded female attire"

Cathy Johnson is a reenactor as well as a writer and researcher who likes to put her research to work. Johnson has written and illustrated twenty books, three of which relate to living history. Each of these three were published by her own company, Graphics/Fine Arts.

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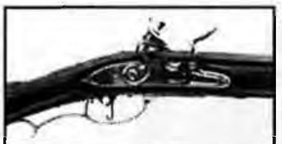

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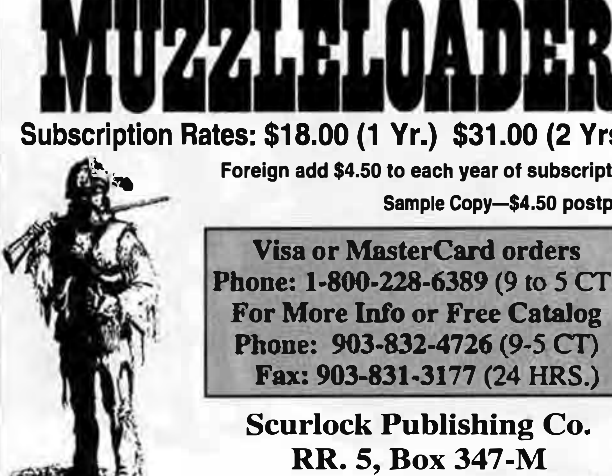

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(McKnight 709). She may also have worn a combination of men's and women's clothing, depending on the occasion—a man's old coat and a petticoat in some sources (Hall 40). One source states that she attired herself "in hat, hunting shirt, leggings and moccasins" (Buell, qtd. in Hall 42). Given her reported work as border scout, messenger and spy in the employ of frontier forts, including Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) and Fort Lee, her "work clothing" would be not only functional but would have allowed her to pass for a man, at least from a distance, a much safer option under the circumstances (Hall 28).

THESE WOMEN were obviously the exception, not the rule. We hear less about the wives and daughters of ordinary hunters who lived in lonely frontier cabins and of their clothes; perhaps their garments were simply less remarkable. Reenactors portraying these women sometimes have a difficult time finding documentation to back up their choices. The result is that female interpreters sometimes look more like Munro's daughters *before* their ordeal at the hands of Magua: lovely, but too perfect—spotlessly clean, coordinated and sweet-smelling. We tend to graft 20th century attitudes and expectations onto the roots of the past, but there are ways to avoid the pitfalls.

Most books and articles that deal primarily with clothes refer to fashion in the sense suggesting the latest change, the mode. Thanks to these sources, we do know a great deal about the clothing of the middle and upper classes. These garments often appear in formal portraits. They are what we most often find preserved in museums as well, since they may have been well cared for or passed down through generations. These sources, however, don't tell us much about what frontier women wore. Those garments are long since worn out, remade or used as rags.

Contemporary books that concentrate on the clothing of working classes, indentured servants or slaves (often somewhat interchangeable with frontier dress) are harder to come by. Ellen Gehret's *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing* and Merideth Wrights's *Everyday Dress in Rural America 1783–1800* both deal more with work clothes than with fashion, coming much closer to what we might have found on the frontier, at least for those women who were not of French extraction. Although they concentrate on specific places, many of the garments were of common styles. Site- or area-specific documentation rounds out the picture.

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Primary documentation such as journals, diaries, wills, inventories, advertisements and runaway ads offer firsthand tidbits. Well-documented secondary sources are also good places to find hints, whether on styles, textiles or degree of wear and tear. Visual sources from the period and locale are few, but useful. Artists like Audubon, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Karl Bodmer, Anna Maria von Phul, Lewis Miller, Liwwät (Elizabeth) Böke, Peter Rindisbacher and others left sketches and paintings that offer hints. The results of such research can be surprising and sometimes liberating, since these clothes may be both less expensive to reproduce and somewhat more comfortable than the more elegant clothing of the East.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft described several families living in the Missouri Territory during the winter of 1818–1819. Earlier Nicolas de Finiels, a French military engineer who was stationed in Upper Louisiana from 1797 to 1803, described the French families living in tiny settlements like Ste. Genevieve and Portage des Sioux, as well as their American neighbors in the towns and outlying countryside. Men like the Reverends Joseph Doddridge, Charles Woodmason and John Heckewelder portrayed families living on the frontier in the 18th century.

To get an idea of the difficulties faced by frontier women that may have taken their minds off more traditional or refined concerns, we need to become familiar with these early jouralists who visited their backwoods' cabins and the tiny forts that brought families together in times of danger. Here we can read firsthand accounts that often describe the occupants and their clothing.

When Henry Rowe Schoolcraft traveled where cabins were few and far between, he described a much more Spartan existence than sources that take town dwellers as the norm. He observed that the women were often exposed to the hardships of weather and fatigue, "doing in many instances the man's work, living in camps on the wet ground, without shoes . . . Being deprived of all the advantages of dress, possessed by our fair countrywomen in the east . . . their whole wardrobe, until the age of twelve, consisting of one greasy buckskin frock, which is renewed whenever worn out" (104). He later notes articles brought upriver for trade, this time near Bull

W. H. Pyne, Dover

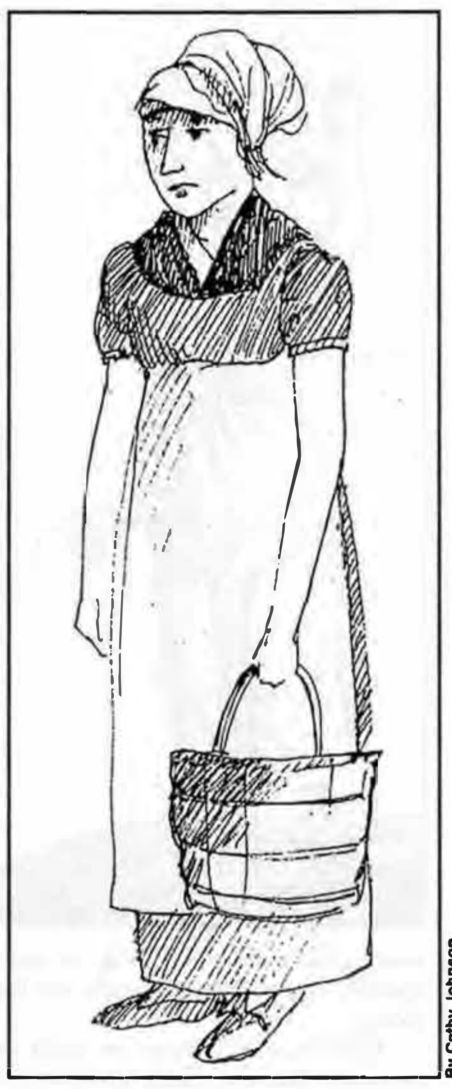
Shoals, which is in present-day Arkansas: "chiefly flour, salt, and whiskey, with some coffee, calico, and a few smaller articles." Perhaps grown women got to wear the calico rather than buckskin frocks (Schoolcraft 142), but it is not likely that what they wore could by any stretch be called fashionable.

JOSEPH DODDRIDGE remembered the common dress of the backwoods' women who were his friends and neighbors in Western Pennsylvania and Virginia of 1763–1783. The "linsey petticoat and bed gown," he writes, "were the universal dress of our women . . . they went barefooted in warm weather, and in cold their feet were covered with moccasins, coarse shoes or shoepacks." Doddridge goes on to describe clothing storage, saying, "The coats and bedgowns of the women . . . were hung in full display on wooden pegs . . ." (93).

It's hard to know whether Doddridge meant the women were wearing coats or whether he was referring to *petticoats,* but otherwise the references are most helpful. Occasionally the same question arises on looking at sources like wills and inventories, since "coats" will sometimes be listed among women's garments. That may have been the common "short form" for petticoats; it may also have been that, since most of these inventories were compiled by men, they simply weren't aware of the proper term. They may have referred to bedgowns or long shortgowns (which were also called jackets in some instances). If it looked like a coat to the person who held the quill pen, it may have been listed as such.

Schoolcraft also described a family named M'Gary who lived on the White River. These people were apparently more civilized than some he had met, for the isolated log cabin, "though very far from being either neat or comfortable, bore some evidence that the occupant had once resided in civilized society . . . Some part of the wearing apparel of himself and family was of foreign manufacture" as opposed, probably, to the buckskins mentioned above or homespun (Schoolcraft 81).

Describing the dress of the French in the Louisiana Territory, de Finiels says, "Female costumes have the same simplicity [as the men's, which he has just described]: a skirt of blue gingham and a short calico vest in the summer or wool in the winter; a sort of long cotton cloak . . . ; a blue or sometimes white kerchief knotted over the forehead, the other two corners of which hang down behind the head—this constitutes daily dress" (113).


By Cathy Johnson

In *Kaskaskia under the French Regime,* a 20th century reference, Frenchwomen in that oddly cosmopolitan town were described as wearing "bodices of red and blue stuffs, waists [vest-like waistcoats?] of flowered muslin, skirts of scarlet drugget [heavy wool] and printed calico" (Belting 48). Since the French were more likely to purchase yard goods (weaving in the home being outlawed by the French government for a time), their fabric choices were wider and their colors brighter.

Although it has been suggested that people took a fair amount with them to make the move to the frontier, many early documents from the Cumberland, Illinois, Ohio and Louisiana Territory offer a different perspective. When she moved to Ohio from Germany in the 1830s, Liwwät Böke made a careful inventory of their clothing. It was sparse and soon had to be supplemented with clothing made from skins she and her husband Natz trapped and dressed (Knapke 62). She listed her clothing, which included long underwear, stockings, belt, jacket, gloves, woolen petticoat, apron and a "button skirt." In her trunk she lists a chemise, dresses, snow cap, stockings and "nightgowns" (sources suggest that nightgowns were not, in fact, worn for sleeping). Other than the fact that Liwwät uses the plural *dresses,* this list appears quite abbreviated for a move to another continent (Knapke 35).

Doddridge's previously quoted description of clothing storage also suggests that the frontier women they encountered owned relatively few garments. Many inventories bear this out, including one from Marie Catherine Baron in Kaskaskia of 1748. Here there are several articles of clothing that must have been her husband's, including breeches and capots. Those garments that can be identified as belonging to a woman are six chemises, one dressing gown, one taffeta petticoat, one cotton dress, and one calico dress (Belting 51). And even at that, it must be remembered that Kaskaskia was indeed a town with a brisk trade. This is opulent compared to the true frontier.

BY TAKING A CAREful look at *where* women of the frontier lived and what it was like, we can get a better idea of how they lived—what was considered necessary, as well as what was available. The true frontier was a very different place from the towns and villages that popped up near the big rivers, like Kaskaskia and Ste. Genevieve. There stores, schools and churches provided civilizing influences; hatters, tailors and mantua-makers plied their trade. A variety of fabrics were available for purchase or barter for skins, honey, bear's bacon or other goods. Beyond these villages, however, staying alive was a more pressing concern than staying in style. Traders who bought once-fashionable and sometimes badly worn clothes back East carried them to the frontier for barter for furs or skins. However it was obtained, clothing was kept and worn far beyond its brief fashionable life and passed on in wills and inventories. Garments listed in these sources are often described as old or worn but were still thought to be worthy of consideration.

The idea that where families moved into a crude backwoods' cabin a town quickly followed is not entirely borne out by the primary documents. Some areas remained isolated for decades (or longer). John P. Hale gives an account in *Trans-Allegheny Pioneers* of areas along the Ohio River that were repeatedly settled

and vacated as whites were driven back, always to return. When Mary Ingles made her incredible thousand-mile journey in 1755, there were no white settlers. Fifteen years later the area near Point Pleasant had been surveyed, but it was 1789 before the first cabin appeared. It was soon abandoned. Nicolas Cresswell wrote about the few settlers along the Ohio and Kanawha Rivers in 1774–1777, an area "Very Thinly inhabited," he writes, noting some forty miles between cabins in one place (69–70).

In a map drawn in September of 1808 by Capt. Ell Clemson, later the military commander at Fort Osage, we find somewhat over 100 indications of settlers in an area encompassing most of the current state of Missouri and parts of Kansas, Arkansas, Illinois, Mississippi, Tennessee and Kentucky. (The map, which was enclosed in a letter to the secretary of war, is in the National Archives.) There's a lot of space between those tiny marks, and influences from the outside world must have been minimal, including those of fashion. Ten years later, as he traversed the same area shown in the map, Schoolcraft indicates that was still the case.

It is also the case that while civilization continually pushed toward the Rockies, some people simply preferred to live on the edge and moved on at its encroachment. Elias Pym Fordham traveled in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and the Illinois Territory from 1817 to 1818. He describes backwoods' occupants as they come to the frontier in waves. The first, with whom we are most concerned here, are the hunters, whom he describes as a "daring, hardy, race of men, who live in miserable cabins . . . They are unpolished, but hospitable, kind to Strangers, honest and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a Cow or two, and two or three horses belonging to each family . . ." (This indicates, obviously, that there were women and children with these first hunters, as Fordham has earlier remarked.) "[T]his class cannot be called first settlers, for they move every year or two." He then describes the first true settlers as not, in fact, much more settled. They do have livestock, but "[t]hey follow the range pretty much; selling out when the Country begins to be well settled, and their cattle cannot be entirely kept in the woods" (Fordham 125–126), a practice also mentioned by Brackenridge in his "Views of Louisiana."

Schoolcraft also writes, "Their habitations are not always permanent, having little which is valuable, or loved, to rivet their affections to any one spot; and nothing . . . but what they can carry with them; they frequently change residence, traveling where game is more abundant . . ." (86–87). Here, by the way, Schoolcraft is describing not lone hunters, but family men; he has just previously described the homes of four families at Sugar Loaf Prairie and two at Beaver Creek.

IN SOME AREAS OF the country, it was indeed the case that towns (with their tendency toward social and fashionable concerns) soon followed the earliest cabins and back-country forts. Once the native tribes were relocated westward this was more likely to be true, but for much of the 18th century and at least the first few decades of the 19th, we read of the dangers of frontier life and of river travel on the Ohio and Mississippi.

Even with the presence of towns, usually built along the rivers where trade was a good possibility, many people did not live close enough to one another to have much influence, or even, apparently, too much interest in each other. Christian Schultz writes that in the very early part of the 19th century there were some 52,000 people in the Louisiana Territory. "This small number of inhabitants is dispersed in a few settlements over a tract of fourteen hundred miles, and excepting the lower three hundred miles, which contain seven eighths of the whole number, are separated by pathless wildernesses, and generally have no communication with each other, except that afforded by the trading boats" (216).

Even in the 1830s, there were great distances between settlers, and not only in the Louisiana Territory. As noted, Liwwät Böke described the rugged Ohio frontier and the hardships—and pleasures—of life there. Philip Gosse, an English schoolmaster in Dallas County, described hunting trips in his "Letters from Alabama." "In the comparitive solitude of these vast forests," wrote Gosse, "the clearings are small compared with the immensity of the untouched wilds; the dwellings few and remote from each other. . ." (qtd. in Griffith 307). Isolation such as this doesn't lend itself to much more than a simple concern to be decently clothed as comfortably as possible.

Women did what was necessary to survive on the frontier; that may have included far more than gardening, cooking and sewing. Concerning the constant danger of the Ohio frontier, traveler and letter writer Christian Schultz said that it was necessary to teach both sons and daughters to shoot "as soon as they were big enough to raise a gun . . . On more than one occasion I have seen these Spartan females, while engaged at the spinning-wheel, or on some other domestic occupation, snatch up the loaded rifle, and fell the bounding deer as he incautiously passed within shot of the cabin" (21).

Working in the orchards, small frontier gardens and fields, women likely dressed for the job at hand; outdoor work is hard on nice things. Even if they owned anything that fit that description, it is likely that it was saved for the Sabbath or some other occasion.

Some sources say women helped to build the cabins and open the clearings like Mrs. Pentry. Liwwät Böke drew women working in the fields and helping build their homes. Schoolcraft also

Dover

Dover

suggests that these women may have been quite capable and even satisfied in their rough frontier life. He wrote of the hunter's wife, Mrs. Roberts, who could tell "as well as her husband" information about trails, game "and other particulars, evincing a perfect acquaintance with the subject" (26). Schoolcraft and his partner, Pettibone, were ill-equipped for their scout, and this same backwoods' goodwife didn't hesitate to tell them so. "She told us, also, that our guns were not well adapted to our journey; that we should have rifles [they carried shotguns]—and pointed out some other errors in our dress, equipments, and mode of traveling, while we stood in astonishment to hear a woman direct us in matters which we had before thought the peculiar and exclusive province of men" (26–27). Obviously it was not a matter of fashion that Mrs. Roberts was chiding the travelers on, but survival.

That some women simply were not as interested in traditionally ladylike pursuits that required (or allowed) more genteel fashion is also borne out in the early documents. Schoolcraft described the wives and daughters of the hunter Wells in such a way that makes it clear they were more interested in the things that affected their daily lives, "bears, hunting and the like . . . The rude pursuits, and the coarse enjoyments of the hunter state," than small talk "such as passes current in every social corner" (71).

Circumstances, be they economics, health, ethnicity or weather, certainly affected dress. One interesting story concerns the "old Dutch woman" who accompanied Mary Ingles on her escape from the Indians in present-day Ohio. Their initial dash for freedom was followed by weeks of fear, hardship, starvation and madness, and the old woman was driven to threaten cannibalism. Mary prudently left her on the far side of the river. Alone, the Dutchwoman stumbled upon a hunters' camp, where she was delighted to find "an old pair of leather breeches; these the old woman appropriated to her own personal use and adornment, being by no means fastidious about the fit, or the latest style of cut, or fashion, her own clothes being almost entirely gone" (Hale 88). The "old Dutch woman" was practical if not fashionable.

CONVENTIONS were often relaxed on the frontier if they conflicted with need. Just before the Revolution, Charles Woodmason describes his backwoods' parishioners with dismay. Their dress is a "Great Novelty" he writes. "The Women bareheaded, barelegged and barefoot with only a thin Shift and under Petticoat—yet I cannot break [them?] of this—for the heat of the Weather admits not of any [but] thin Cloathing" (61).

A traveling Anglican minister, Woodmason had recently come from England, where such dress would indeed have been somewhat unusual. It may not have been in the back country of America. Margaret Van Horn Dwight traveled from Milford, Connecticut, to Ohio in 1810. The Dutch women of western Pennsylvania were apparently clothed in a fashion similar to that described by Woodmason. "The dress of the women grows worse & worse—we find them now with very short petticoats, no short gown, & barefoot" while working in the orchards and dressing flax (Dwight 21). We may assume that they were still wearing shifts, or Dwight would certainly have taken note of topless field workers, although assumptions can be problematical.

Some feel that these descriptions still meant the women of the frontier were wearing stays, the thought being that stays were so common they simply were not mentioned by the writers. However petticoats and shifts were just as common, if not more so, and they *were* often written down for posterity. It's one of those fine points of interpretation that each must decide. The book *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* lists page after page of the belongings of the deceased. Only two of the numerous inventories in this source, examined by the author, mention stays, although inventories were often so complete that they noted a single hairpin.

Some women may have chosen to retain traditional ethnic dress, especially for a period after immigration. Not only was it what they had, but it was what they knew, what made them comfortable with themselves in a sometimes hostile land.

Women may have clung to familiar styles, perhaps those they learned to make at their mother's knee. French styles are most often described in the Louisiana Territory and Illinois Country, but Pennsylvania–Dutch or German styles seem to have been as distinctive. Several of Liwwät Böke's sketches of herself and family have a decided Germanic, peasant look. Dr. J. R. Johns of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, describes German country-women around 1800 as wearing a chemise and petticoat for work (Wright 32), as we saw Margaret Van Horn Dwight note on the Ohio frontier.

German women are also described as wearing a distinctive shift, according to a 1799 letter from Thomas Hill as he travels from New Brunswick to Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. "Their dress—one petticoat striped blue linsey, a man's hat, and a shift, some of them with wristbands . . . I noticed their shifts being made exactly like shirts, except the collar—they button with one button at the top" (qtd. in Gehret 34). It's not too much of a stretch to consider that the German women who moved with their families to the edge of civilization may have clung to these same styles. Some sources suggest Irishwomen clung to their shawls and Scotswomen their arisaids, the great, plaid wrap that functions rather like a matchcoat (Wilcox, unnumbered illus.).

Cultures certainly intermingled in this new land, especially along the frontiers. The Moravian minister John Heckewelder lived among the Indians for many years. He describes a female hermit, a Native American woman who, when she again saw Indians sometime before 1765, "was astonished to find them dressed in European apparel" (Heckewelder 201). She needn't have been. It's a natural progression for cultures to borrow from one another. In depicting the Cherokees who lived near Fort Massack in the Illinois Country in 1807, Christian Schultz noted, "The women and girls are all habited in short gowns and petticoats, after the fashion of the white people, from homespun cottons of their own manufacture; but instead of the hat and stocking, they use a cloak and moccasin" (2: 8).

On the other side of the coin, Americans were as likely to be influenced

by their Indian neighbors. Woodmason describes his backwoods' female parishioners in Carolina as "tying it [their hair] up behind in a Bunch like the Indians—being hardly one degree removed from them . . ." (61). Kalm noted that "Every day but Sunday they [French women] wear a little neat jacket and a short skirt which hardly reaches halfway down the leg, and sometimes not that far. And in this particular they seem to imitate the Indian women" (402–403). Most early sources that describe women's clothing on the frontier mention that they have adopted "Indian shoes" or moccasins, others note that Indian women have in turn adopted the petticoat and shift, although they often chose to wear the shift on the outside.

William Joseph Snelling recorded his memories of life in early Minnesota

before his death in the 1830s. Recalling the influx of Red River colonists in the 1820s, Snelling wrote:

The spouses of the emigrants had found it expedient to adopt the costume of the half-breed females, as better adapted to the country than their own. It consists of a short waisted upper garment, cut and shaped like a hussar jacket, and skirt, with a pair of leggins, all of cloth. A pair of moccasins, sometimes ornamented with porcupine's quills, a knife stuck in the girdle, and the hair hanging down the back in a queue as thick and as long as a large Bologna sausage, completed the toilette. Some of these ladies wore caps, some men's hats, and others were bare headed. (130–131)

Daily work also affected clothing choices and condition. Laundresses, cooks, housekeepers, field workers and others (mentioned in sources as various as George Sibley's [government factor at Fort Osage between 1808 and 1822] unpublished diary, Dwight's travel journal and Schoolcraft's meticulous records) obviously dressed to suit the task. Or they simply wore the few things that they owned until they fell into rags, as Schoolcraft suggests.

Nor would women have looked as though they had access to modern laundry facilities. Yesterday's clothing did not have the advantage of chlorine bleach and spot removers or smell like detergent or fabric softener. Our forebears were less conscious of cleanliness than we are, although not to the extent imagined by some. British traveler Nicolas Cresswell mentions washing clothing and bathing several times, as does C. C. Robin in the Louisiana Territory of 1805. Liwwät Böke writes of washing hands as well as clothing. Those who have washed their clothes in lye soap and laid them in the sun to dry know that special feel and scent. With the aroma of woodsmoke, it is the smell of the frontier on wash day.

Schoolcraft paints this picture of frontier cleanliness (or the lack of it):

The dress of the children attracted our attention. The boys were clothed in a particular kind of garment made of deer-skin, which served the double purpose of shirt and jacket. The girls had buck-skin frocks, which it was evident, by the careless manner in which they were clothed, were intended to combine the utility both of linen and calico, and all were abundantly greasy and dirty. (69)

IT'S LIKELY THAT then as now some people were simply cleaner than others, and when it was inconvenient because of time, work constraints or weather, even the cleanest might lack by today's standards.

It seems that the frontier imposed its own logic on clothing choices and possibilities, and practicality was foremost in the minds of sensible people. Women adapted to their changed circumstances as best they could, making do and learning to clothe themselves and their families with the new materials at hand, be they hemp or nettles or buckskin. Sturdy fabrics and styles appeared more often among the people of the backwoods, as they did among lower classes everywhere. Although fashion's changes were an important indicator of wealth and position in towns and cities, on the edges of civilization they took a back seat to survival. **M**

Parts of this article were adapted from Who Was I? Creating a Living History Persona *and* Walk Softly: Moccasins in the Primary Documents, *both by Cathy Johnson.*

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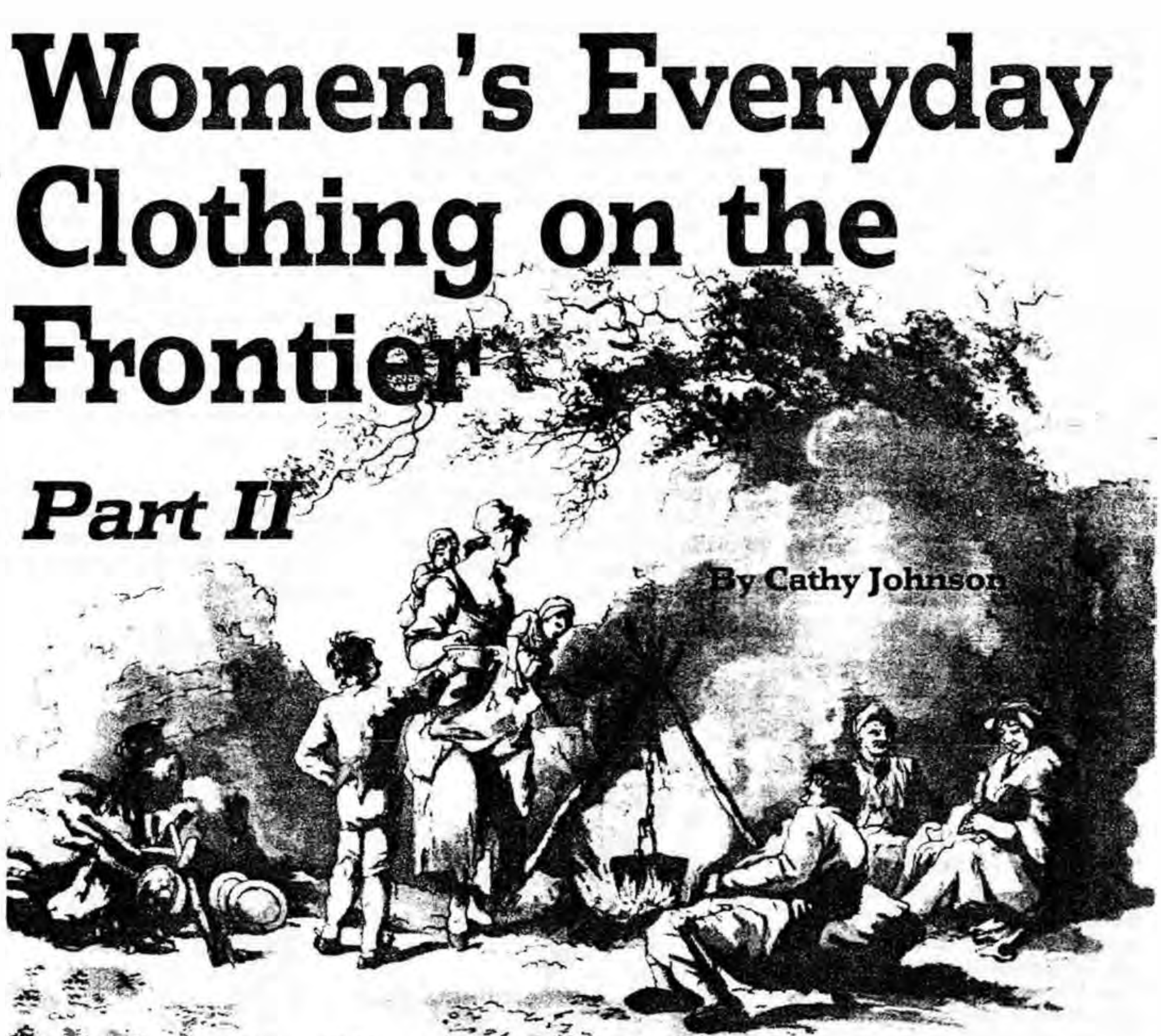
Women's Everyday Clothing on the Frontier

Part II

By Cathy Johnson



LIFE ON THE LONELY AND often hostile frontier forced women to look beyond the concerns of civilization and the life they had left behind them. Or perhaps the kinds of women that thrived on the frontier were not so interested in the vagaries of fashion in the first place. From journals and diaries, inventories and advertisements for goods or runaways, we learn much about these women and their lives. The information gleaned from firsthand sources is a window that opens onto the past, and the things we see there are not always what we expect. Clothing has always been a highly visible indicator of class or economic position, and many people immigrated to escape such distinctions.

There are relatively few working-class garments of the 18th and early 19th centuries surviving in collections. Here we'll discuss a few of them and explore those garments that appear most often in the primary documents, well-researched secondary sources and sketches and paintings of the period. Keep in mind that portraits were usually done of the relatively well-to-do. Genre paintings depicted people engaged in their day-to-day lives and were far less likely to be influenced by changes in fashion or taste.

Today we tend to dress in nicely coordinated colors and patterns even when reenacting. If the few visual records with color added are any indication, that was not necessarily the norm in the past. People apparently wore what they had whether it matched or not. Tastes may simply have been different as well, and to our 20th-century eyes, their colors clashed and patterns fought one another. Look at Scottish portraits from the 1600s and 1700s, before the post-Culloden ban on tartans in 1742, and you're likely to see three or four different plaids all worn at once.

ONE ODDITY SEEN AT reenactments is mismatched *couples*, which is quite different from an energetic, vibrant mix of fabrics. Even at some of the best events, many of the men appear to have just come from a backwoods' fort or a campaign

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with George Rogers Clark while their ladies look more like they just left Philadelphia society. It's far more believable to appear to be from the same economic status and locale. Perhaps most women would have cared more about their clothing than their men did, as is sometimes suggested by the period documents. Their garments might have been cleaner, or mended more neatly, or of a prettier fabric, unless that fabric were simply too expensive for the person being depicted. But to look like you and your mate would be total strangers is odd.

Normal wear and tear is appropriate for a frontier interpretation for either gender. Mended garments would have been common, as clothing was either relatively expensive or difficult to come by. Clothes that became ripped and torn beyond repair, like those of the old Dutch woman who accompanied Mary Ingles on her escape from Indian captivity, were likely replaced with whatever one could lay their hands on—even if that were breeches or trousers (Hale 88). During the hard winter of 1779–1780, leather tanned at Boone's Station was made into jackets and trousers worn "principally by the men, but some of the women were under the necessity of wearing them" as well, according to the Draper Manuscripts (20C:84 [25]).

EVEN HOME-PRODUCED buckskin clothing was apparently used until it was completely worn out. Such was the case with the families encountered by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft as he traveled through the backwoods' area that is now southern Missouri and Arkansas in 1818 (104). While not that many 20th-century reenactors may be interested in appearing at an historical site in "abundantly greasy and dirty" attire as Schoolcraft describes, it did happen on the frontier (69).

Individual taste and basic caring came into play then as now. Some women were concerned enough about fashion (if they lived where they were likely to know what that might be) to construct even rough work clothes to reflect that interest. Some shortgowns had high waists during the Regency period—clothing reflected this style from the 1790s to the early 1820s. The six long shortgowns mentioned by Margaret Van Horn Dwight in western Pennsylvania of 1810 may have been cut in this way (Dwight 16). The Kentucky artist Anna Maria von Phul painted such a high-waisted, jacket-like garment on a working Creole woman in 1818 when she visited her brother in St. Louis. This painting, along with one that shows a young Creole in what appears to be a high-waisted brown work dress and jumper-like apron, is in the collection of the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis, Missouri, suggesting that at least in town, fashion influenced even work clothes. Other women, as we've seen, obviously didn't give a rip and simply dressed any way they could.

As always the young were in the market for the new and daring, clothing "calculated to attract the opposite sex," when they could manage it, as Nicolas de Finiels and the Revs. Charles Woodmason and Joseph Doddridge point out. Woodmason, in fact, describes young backwoods' women as pinning their chemises and petticoats tightly about their bodies to display their curves "for they are generally finely shaped" (61). The uptight Anglican minister appears to have noticed. De Finiels, the French engineer assigned to Upper Louisiana from 1797 through 1805, wrote:

> *Young women and maids already disdain the costumes of the mothers and have relegated them to old age for covering their wrinkles and the ravages of time. Embroidered muslin, tarlatan, fine and brilliant silk, and lawn cloth have replaced modest cotton, printed calico and bergopzoom [coarse woolen cloth]. Elegant corsets gallantly delineate waistlines that were once covered by jackets and suggest the seductive figures that they scarcely conceal. Long tresses of hair are no longer restrained with cotton kerchiefs; they float in voluptuous swirls or are artfully braided. Ribbons and flowers are skillfully added in order to draw out more advantageously, divers nuances* . . . (115)

Here, however, he is obviously describing French girls living in towns and villages along the great highway of commerce that was the Mississippi, not the frontier per se.

Anna Maria von Phul visited St. Louis in 1818 and painted working Creole women. These sketches are drawn from her original paintings and show two young women of French extraction, both wearing turbans or kerchiefs tied on their heads. Both wear moccasins and handkerchiefs at their necks.

The Clothing

WRITTEN DESCRIPTIONS are often tantalizingly vague. If we don't know what articles of clothing and accoutrements looked like, we may be in the dark from the name alone. For instance, when carried off by Indians in the 1700s, Susanna Johnson describes her daughter as carrying "her maushum which is a little sack or bag hanging from the left shoulder . . ." (117). But whether the maushum looked like a haversack, a colonial wallet or a reticule, we can't tell. Women's clothing described by the frontier journalists, who were mostly men, is likewise confusing at times. What exactly is the "short vest" that Frenchwomen were said to wear? It sounds suspiciously like that controversial but all too ubiquitous "French bodice."

Some writers, like John S. Wright in 1819, briefly described men's clothing but refused to attempt a similar description of women's garments. "The family who inhabit this splendid mansion [as he sarcastically referred to a log cabin], are clothed in linsey-woolsey. The men and boys wear hunting shirts and legging: you will excuse me from attempting to describe the costume of the ladies, as, with all my veneration for the fair sex, I am quite unequal to the task. I would only remark that stripe seemed to be the favorite material" (60).

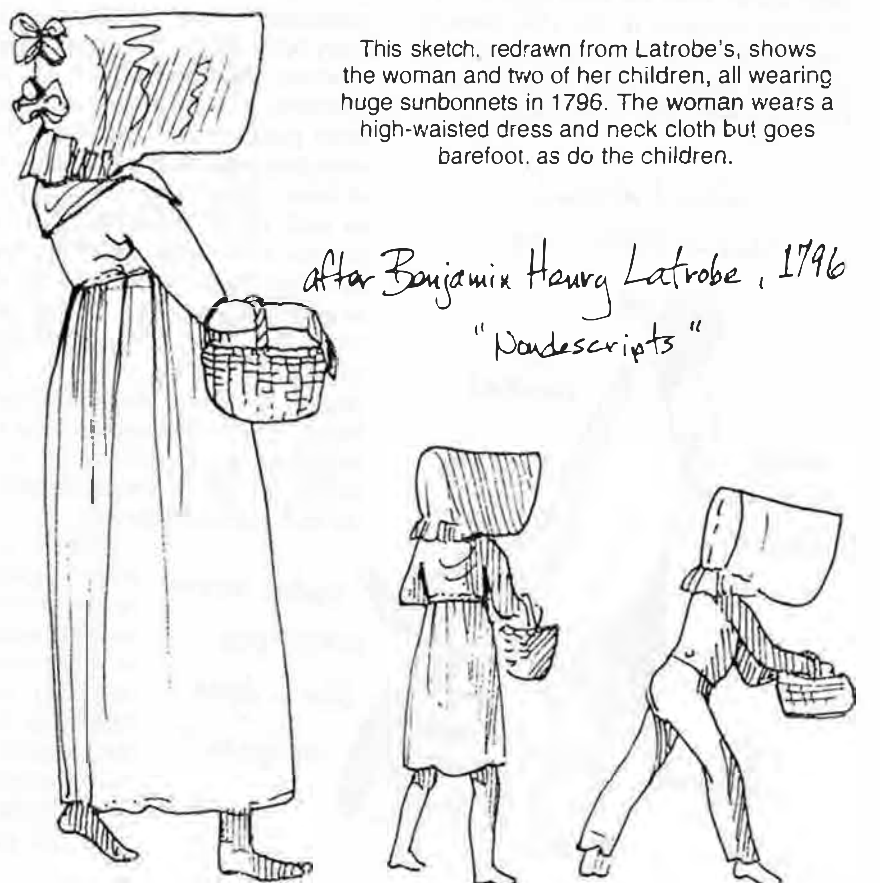
Unfortunately, travel journals kept by women who might be more familiar with the terms used for various garments, say relatively little on the subject of dress. Sarah Kemble Knight, who rode from Boston to New York in 1704, and the youthful Margaret Van Horn Dwight in frontier Ohio of 1810, offer only brief, generic mention such as "short-gowns," "petticoats" and the like.

There are, however, some descriptions by both male and female writers of working women wearing only shifts and petticoats or going without stays, as previously noted. We occasionally see drawings of women at work with stays showing. The mention of jumps is tantalizingly rare, but there are a few original visual sources that appear to be of women wearing a short, unboned bodice-like garment.

Names of garments changed over the years as well. "Petticoats" were skirts rather than slips, as they are called today. "Skirts" were often the lower part of a coat or jacket. Even period dictionary definitions are slippery. In *An Universal Etymological, English Dictionary* from 1776, a "shift" is described as "a shirt or smock." Looking under "smock," we find "a linnen innermost Garment worn by women," but a "shirt" is "a Linen Garment, worn by Men next their Skin." Either gender, then, could be said to wear a shift. In areas where French influence was strong, this same garment was a chemise for both sexes and a smock might be worn by a laborer.

"Shortgowns" were common work garments, perhaps originally literally cut "short" from worn gowns. They were a jacket-like garment without set-in sleeves (although they usually had an extension sewn on to lengthen the sleeve). They were made in lengths from just below waist length to hip length and pinned or tied shut at the natural waist, or above during the Regency period.

Rare visual sources tell us more about how people looked, but we are not given the names for the various elements that would allow us to match up what we see with what we read. Formal portraits are sometimes problematical sources, since artists may have taken liberties, deliberately chosen to portray their subjects in classical garments intended to suggest dignity or opulence or otherwise changed what they saw. Genre paintings of common people at work or casual sketches are much more reliable. Visiting Indiana in 1797, the artist and architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe sketched a barefoot mother in ragged, high-waisted dress. The woman and her children all wear what appear to be poke-style bonnets—including the boy. Latrobe also drew women in shortgowns and petticoats, which were worn by whites and slaves alike.



This sketch, redrawn from Latrobe's, shows the woman and two of her children, all wearing huge sunbonnets in 1796. The woman wears a high-waisted dress and neck cloth but goes barefoot, as do the children.

Shifts

THE "LINNEN INNERmost garment" in the back country, may have indeed been linen or tow (coarser flax-based fabric) or cotton and perhaps even hemp. There are a few mentions of wool shifts. Rather than the fine Irish linen or lawn undergarments of their Eastern sisters, women on the frontier are sometimes described as wearing brown linen shifts, probably the natural color of the flax (qtd. in Baumgarten 32). Some garments had natural linen bodies, which would remain covered, and white sleeves, which would be expected to show. "Bleached country linen" as mentioned in an advertisement from the *Missouri Gazette* is a good choice for an interpreter wishing to suggest a backwoods' interpretation. Natural linen can be half-bleached to an interesting color somewhere between white and gray and, of course, a natural

This sketch shows a washerwoman wearing what may be a bedgown with its sleeves rolled for work over her petticoat. Her apron appears to be simply a rectangle of fabric tucked into her waist.

linen chemise is perfectly appropriate, as the usual bleaching process required weeks of applications of cow dung, lye, buttermilk and sunshine and would have added significantly to the cost.

We know that native American women adopted articles of European dress just as white women on the frontier appropriated some Indian styles. In Jonathan Carver's journal of 1766–1768, there is an engraving of an Ottigaumies woman wearing what is obviously a short linen shift loose over a knee-length petticoat. The shift is mid-thigh length with a slit up the side (perhaps her own addition) and wrist-length sleeves with a ruffle (Gelb 115).

Interestingly an invoice for merchandise shipped to "La Be'e" of Green Bay, Wisconsin, 1725 also included eighteen women's shirts—which may have meant shifts—or it may not (qtd. in Wheeler 45). Native women also used a man's shirt to answer for this purpose, according to many primary documents (see *Their Bearing Was Noble and Proud,* an excellent collection of primary source material edited by James F. O'Neill).

Depending on ethnic background and the clothing under which it was intended to be worn, the shift, smock or chemise may have had long or short sleeves, full or tight-fitting sleeves and usually had either a drawstring at the wrist (or elbow) or a band. Many original paintings and sketches clearly show the band, although most surviving garments do not. The neckline was cut to fit over the head without adjustment or, rarely, it too was gathered to a band. Sometimes the shift was decorated with ruffles, but on the frontier that would probably have been rare, as ruffles get in the way of necessary work.

Like many garments, shifts were cut to take advantage of the full width of the fabric to avoid waste. Thus when the cloth was narrow, we often see seams on each side at the selvage (self-edge) with a narrow triangle of cloth cut from the top, inverted and added to the bottom for fullness. Shifts were cut mostly of rectangles, with fit adjusted by means of drawstrings or bands; there was no seam at the shoulder. An underarm gusset allowed room to move freely. Sleeves may have been gathered, tucked or sewn on with no easing measures at all.

Petticoats

THE FRENCH HAD THE tendency to wear their petticoats quite short, as mentioned by Peter Kalm, but Redmond Conyngham also described Amish immigrants of 1707 as wearing skirts just covering their knees (qtd. in Gehret 45). Low German women in the old country and in Ohio may have worn their petticoats short, at least for work. Six to eight inches from the floor appeared to be fairly common in the 18th century (varying from place to place), getting gradually longer in the 19th century. Petticoats were also worn shorter when working outdoors or around a fire. On rare occasions a petticoat was shortened by taking one or several tucks parallel to the hem, as shown in Gehret's *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing*. Hems were usually much narrower than we see c today's garments, being little more tha a rolled hem.

These garments may have been made of cotton, linen, tow, wool, fustian (linen\cotton weave) or linsey-woolsey (linen\wool) on the frontier. They were sometimes quilted for warmth. One surviving quilted petticoat at the Masillon Museum in Masillon, Ohio, is of a relatively simple design. It was dyed with logwood, now weathered to a brownish color from its original purple. Rarely are silk petticoats mentioned in the towns and villages.

The original garment shown in *Rural Pennsylvania Clothing* has a narrow waistband with a button closure at center front. Others have lost their waistbands, so we don't know how they were fastened.

after Latrobe's "Market Folk" 1819

red · red kerchief · wrapped in a tan blanket · dark apron · gray petticoat · pulled in at waist · seated woman wears pale blue – gown? bedgown?

Shortgowns

SHORTGOWNS, AS DEscribed in Pennsylvania Dutch records as well as by Doddridge, Christian Schultz and man others, were worn for a period of mo than 100 years, although they may hav gone by other names. These too were constructed simply, to take advantage of every bit of fabric. Rather than a gusset, however, these generally had a curved underarm seam. Some shortgowns had small gusset-like inserts at the bottom, when they were made from narrow widths of fabric. Other original garments show no such insert. Some had wrist-length sleeves, some much shorter. They may have been pinned to hold them closed, tied or simply lapped over in front and held with an apron. "Jersey Nanny," a mezzotint by John Greenwood, 1748, in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows what appears to be such an arrangement, augmented by a single straight pin, with an obvious bias pull across the front (See Nylander 44).

Shortgowns were generally made without a shoulder seam. That is, when being cut out, they laid the fold of the fabric the shoulder. The were sometimes fitted with the use of darts and pleats or

with drawstrings at the waist and sometimes the neckline. Such arrangements made them wonderfully adjustable for work or pregnancy.

This versatile work garment knew few ethnic boundaries. *The Irish People: An Illustrated History* by Kenneth Neill shows several original examples of women wearing these jacket-like garments over a period of many years.

Lewis Miller painted many of his Pennsylvania Dutch (German) neighbors similarly attired, and Latrobe sketched backwoods' Americans and slaves in shortgowns and petticoats, sometimes quite ragged ones. Cherokee women are described as wearing shortgowns, as are the French.

It appears from original sketches that slaves and indentured servants often wore matching petticoats and shortgowns, apparently because they were cut from the same bolt of cloth. Free women more often appeared to mix fabrics or patterns, sometimes quite colorfully.

Bedgowns

LIKE SHORTGOWNS, THE less common bedgowns were also worn over a long period of time. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* lists nine references to bedgowns between 1765 and 1783. There are 99 references to shortgowns. They were mentioned by the Rev. Doddridge as being worn in the period of his memoir (1763–1783). They were shown by Garsault in 1769 and were still in use at least by the mid-19th century as seen in period art, especially among older women. W. H. Pyne's drawings show many English women wearing what may be bedgowns, as do several of the examples in *The Irish People: An Illustrated History* (Neill 77, 78, 88).

We generally see two styles that we consider to be bedgowns, the *manteau de lit* as drawn by Garsault, complete with cutting directions, and the shortgown-like style shown in Linda Baumgarten's *Eighteenth Century Clothing at Williamsburg* (242). Interestingly, one English garment considered to be a bedgown is made almost exactly like the Folkwear Pattern Company's Turkish Coat, but that may reflect an 18th century vogue for Oriental style and probably didn't appear on the frontier.

These loose garments were worn over other clothing, were sometimes held shut with an apron, and would have been practical during pregnancy or for winter wear. *Had on and Took With Her* lists five or six bedgowns, one white, one calico and "2–3 homespun linsey" (Mullian and Huesken 25). *North Carolina Wills and Inventories* lists three bedgowns in two separate inventories, one undescribed, one calico and one flannel (Grimes 530, 566). Flannel usually meant wool, and wool means warmth. Several in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* are linsey or wool and linen. Baumgarten quotes an ad from the *Virginia Gazette* of July 3 of 1752 that describes a runaway woman wearing a striped bedgown along with fine, pink worsted stockings, checked apron and a brown quilted petticoat (32).

The Cunningtons mention a bedgown only as a man's garment in *English Costume in the Eighteenth Century*, although it was clearly an article of women's clothing. John Rutherford, captured by Indians in 1763, was ransomed by a French family. Back in civilization, he wrote, ". . . Dressing myself *en Canadian* with a clean French shirt and long ruffles, a new breech clout, with a mantles exactly like a lady's bedgown, and a new pair of legging, I began to feel somewhat comfortable" (48). Norah Waugh describes a bedgown as a "countrywoman's three-quarter length gown" in *The Cut of Women's Clothes 1600–1930* in the period between 1720 and 1770 (70).

Aprons

APRONS ARE NOT MENtioned in the early documents that I examined as often as other garments, although they were mentioned 179 times in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. This protective garment often appears in original engravings and sketches. David D. March (a secondary source) says that French women sometimes wore a deerskin apron over their clothing. The Rev. Charles Woodmason tells of a harrowing river crossing, wherein the backwoods' women stripped him of his clothes to keep them dry and wrapped him in their aprons (19).

One of the French inventories from Kaskaskia, this one dated 1747, lists two aprons, one of calamande and one of satin, then goes on to mention eleven more of unidentified fabrics (Belting 51). Most of the aprons mentioned in the North Carolina inventories appear to be of the dressier sort—gauze and embroidered aprons, rather than working garments.

Anna Maria van Phul's 1818 paintings from predominantly French St. Louis show aprons in use by the working-class Creole women but not in her portraits of well-to-do Frenchwomen.

Footwear

ALTHOUGH STRAIGHT-last shoes were available even on the frontier, especially at trading posts like that belonging to George Morgan at Kaskaskia in the Illinois Country, moccasins were apparently very common footwear for whites as well as native Americans, as mentioned by Doddridge (93) and William Joseph Snelling (130–131). They were easily obtained by trade or by home manufacture. Frenchwomen in Kaskaskia were described as wearing Indian moccasins in the mid-1700s—perhaps purchased at Morgan's post (Belting 48). The working Creole women shown by von Phul in 1818 wore moccasins as well.

Assistant surgeon Nathan Jarvis, assigned to Ft. Snelling in the 1830s, collected native American artifacts, sending some home to his daughters. He wrote, "I hope the girls were pleas'd with the moccasins sent them. There is but one old woman in this country who can make or garnish them equally neat" (Shaw). Böke records in the 1830s that "Natz and I use prepared deer hide for shirts, shoes and vests. Bear hide with the hair left on inside is very warm in dry cold weather

and is durable" (Knapke 62).

As mentioned, women also wore "coarse shoepacks" in the winter (Doddridge 93). These, according to Alice Morse Earle, were "shoe shaped like a moccasin, without a separate sole, but made of tanned leather" (226). Doddridge wrote this about them:

Those who could not make shoes could make shoe-packs. These, like moccasins, were made of a single piece of leather with the exception of a tongue piece on the top of the foot. This was about two inches broad and circular at the lower end. To this the main piece of leather was sewed, with a gathering stitch. The seam behind was like that of a moccasin. To the shoepack a sole was sometimes added.

(113)

Both of these descriptions are somewhat different from our usual definition of a shoepack. These may have been similar to the moccasins often shown by Peter Rindisbacher.

Some form of wooden shoes (be they clogs, *sabot*, *klompen* or *holsken*, as Liwwät Böke calls them in Low German) were worn outdoors as work shoes, especially in wet weather. Common among people of French, Dutch and German extraction, they may have been little used in England, according to the French artist Diderot, and perhaps seldom adopted by Americans of British descent. Several examples in the collections in Missouri museums, in St. Joseph, Ste. Genevieve and in the state museum in Jefferson City, are all labeled as being of German or French origin. Some shoes were all wood, carved from a single piece, and others had wooden soles with leather uppers. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, both styles were known as "*sabot*" among the French.

Women were also described as going barefoot whenever possible. Several runaway ads in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* that mention Irishwomen also state that they had no shoes or stockings. Going barefoot may have been an ethnic holdover, since it was also common for French and Celtic women to go without shoes. C. C. Robin noted, "Footwear is not a particularly brisk item of trade [in the Louisiana Territory]. A great number of the ladies go barefoot around the house for a part of the year on their wooden floors: especially in the country" (45). The Indiana mother in Latrobe's sketch is barefoot, as previously noted, as are the women working in the field in Liwwät Böke's sketch (134).

Head Coverings

CAPS AND HEAD COVERings on the frontier were varied, often along ethnic lines. German-style caps with long points on the cheeks and a padded cap with long lappets are seen. Other sources note that French women in the Louisiana Territory wore a scarf tied in the turban-like fashion mentioned by de Finiels. A similar arrangement is shown in the 1818 paintings of working-class Creole women by Anna Maria von Phul in the collection of the Missouri Historical Society. In Latrobe's *View of America, 1795–1820*, female headwear is described as "a kind of bonnet very commonly worn, which . . . disfigures them amazingly; it is made with a caul, fitting close on the back part of the head, and a front stiffened with small pieces of cane, which projects nearly two feet from the head in a horizontal direction. To look at a person at one side, it is necessary for a woman wearing a bonnet of this kind to turn her whole body round" (qtd. in Carter et al. 78). Latrobe's sketch of a backwoods' family shows a similar bonnet.

It appears that sometimes women wore no head covering at all but allowed their hair to flow in "voluptuous swirls" (Finiels 115). C. C. Robin wrote "The ladies here [in the Illinois Country] have the desirable custom of always going bareheaded in the summertime. They wear bandannas made of English cloth; these are constantly changed, and they appear in new colors, shades and stripes" (45). The Snelling quote from the 1820s already mentioned points out that some of the emigrants "wore caps, some men's hats, and others were bare headed" (131). Woodmason noted his parishioners going bareheaded and barefooted, and the *Pennsylvania Gazette* mentions bareheaded runaways.

At times women may have simply used a string or ribbon in their hair. Amish immigrants of 1707 were described by Redmond Conyngham as wearing "neither bonnets, hats, or caps but merely a string passing around their heads to keep their hair from the face" (Gehret 63n). *Pioneer Families of Missouri* describes a backwoods wedding in which the bride wore her long hair tied back with a buckskin string "which is all the go here." When she began to sneeze, it came loose and flew all over her face, to the amusement of the early 19th century wedding guests (Bryan and Rose 78).

Dressing for Warmth

BEYOND THE EDGE O civilization, frontier wome may simply have followed the Indian habit of wrapping up in a blanket. They may also have worn their husband's coats if that was all that was available. "Mad Anne" Bailey is described as wearing a man's coat, and one of W. H. Pyne's drawings from the late 18th or early 19th century shows a woman from the back in similar attire. Some of these coats had hoods, as did some cloaks, to keep the head, neck and ears warm.

Other sources mention mantles, mantlets, cloaks and capes, also called capuchins, as well as shawls, the latter among the Irish especially (Earle 79). Alice Morse Earle writes in *Costume of Colonial Times* that the first mention of shawls she found was a sale in the *Salem Gazette* in 1784, perhaps reflecting the opening of the East India Trade (216).

Peter Kalm wrote in the mid-18th century, "When they go out of doors they wear long cloaks, which cover all their other clothes and are either gray, brown or blue. Men sometimes make use of them when they are obliged to walk in the rain The women have the advantage of bein in dishabille under these cloaks, without anybody's perceiving it" (417). Other sources note that red was a common color, hence the name cardinal—they were the color of a cardinal's cloak (Earle 81). *Had on and Took with Her* turned up eleven cloaks, only one of which was red or, actually, scarlet; others were brown, black, white, gray and "light-coloured" (Mullian and Huesken 25–26).

The North Carolina inventories contain a mention of a "woman's short cloak" as well as "One Old Gown, One do Cloack" "do," of course, meaning "ditto" (Grimes 567, 529). According to the Cunningtons, Brown Hessian[2] would be used for poor women's and girls' mantles; a poor "country lass" might wear "a light-colored camblet gown, a coarse apron, an old chip hat and a red cloak," although of course these references are for the English (124). In this country, particularly on the frontier, styles may have varied. (Hessian was a coarse hemp cloth, available in both brown and white in Philadelphia in 1767 and was often listed with sailcloth, osnaburg, Russia sheeting and other coarse cloths [Montgomery].)

Americans of 1776: Daily Life in Revolutionary America by James Schouler states that "Cloaks, sometimes an oiled linen cape, after the pattern we still observe in the sailor's tarpaulin, guarded either sex against the elements" (66–69). Pitot's tariff schedule includes "Waterproof cape, 1/2 to 3/4 anas wide" (168; "ana" was Spanish for "ell," a measurement approximately 45 inches wide).

Underpetticoats were sometimes worn for warmth, usually made of coarser fabric. They may also have been referred to as "Under Coats" in one inventory from the North Carolina list (Grimes 529). Mitts or mittens are mentioned in a few sources. One source noted white knit mittens (Mullian and Huesken 29). Although he was apparently describing men's clothing, de Finiels does record the use of mittens (112).

The more we read, the more we learn—and often in the oddest places. A book on Irish artists immigrating to America discloses a bit here, one on naturalist John Bradbury's explorations uncovers another. A military man's report contains a tidbit on women's clothing. Finding a treasure pulls the curtains back and sheds a bit of light on the past. Research into what was common and available in your area allows you to create a believable persona as well as to make any deviations from the norm logical, practical and documentable. **M**

Parts of this article were adapted from Who Was I? Creating a Living History Persona *and* Walk Softly: Moccasins in the Primary Documents, *both by Cathy Johnson.*

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UNDERPINNINGS

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,

What a year it has been for weather!

The Post Rider has brought reports of bad flooding to the west. We hope that you have been unaffected and have been able to plant as usual. Our temperatures have been quite cool. The plant are all about two weeks behind in growth compared to last year. It al o seems that we have had many cloudy days and have still needed fires to keep the house warm. Today dawned sunny, but here it is only mid-morning and clouds are covering most of the sky. I still look out my window at trees with no leaves, and it is May! Our friends in the Middle Colonies wrote and reported that their trees are already leafed out and the tulips have gone by. I am jealous of their early spring but must reflect that I would not want to endure their hot, humid summer. One good sign is that the birds think it is spring. I have yet to see a hummingbird, but all the other summer birds are back. The tree outside my window has been filled with finches of red and yellow. We also have larger birds that are yellow and black, along with the blackbirds that have red on their wings. It is pleasant to be awakened in the morning with all of them singing.

Christopher delivered a beautiful silver-mounted fowler several weeks ago. The new owner was very pleased and felt that it was worth the wait. Since the man who ordered it likes an older style, part of the furniture is quite old-fashioned. One aspect that I particularly liked is an engraved serpent that appears to be attacking the top of the butt cap. The rest of the furniture is highly engraved with all sorts of conventions.

I have been doing but little in the way of gardening, as the weather has not cooperated. This i not to ay that my time has not been filled. I have been working hard at clothing commissions. I have made three fine coats over the last month and must get to work on several others. Some of these require breeches and waistcoats to go with them. One coat is a beautiful blue with buttons of gilt. It is a very fine coat for a friend who is a talented musician. At some point in time I must replace at least one of Christopher's waistcoats, and he is in great need of a new white linen shirt. I must finish that this week, as the annual Gentleman's Shoot is next weekend, and Chris must be dressed appropriately. I do hope that the weather cooperates for a good shoot.

I received your letter with requests for some undergarment patterns and am happy to oblige by sending them along. The undermost garment for a woman or girl i the shift or chemi e, worn by women of every cla s under all other clothing. (Plea e note: Pantaloons or drawers are an early 19th century invention. They were not part of an 18th century woman's wardrobe.) The shift i always made from either natural or white cloth, generally linen, depending upon your station in life. Natural linen will eventually lighten to almost white with numerous washings and by laying on the grass in the sun to dry. The quality of the linen—course or fine—is also dependent upon a person's wealth.

I have sent the measurements and directions for a shift previously (Gilgun 42–44), but I would like to add some ideas for finishing the sleeves. While a drawstring in a casing is one easy way to finish the sleeves, another way that gives a nice look is to put on narrow cuffs. Leave the seam of the sleeve open for two to three inches and gather the sleeve onto a band that is no more than one inch wide when finished. Narrower is actually nicer looking. The band is closed either with a thread button and buttonhole or two buttonholes—one on either end of the band—for using sleeve buttons (two buttons linked together into "cuff links") or a ribbon bow. In the novel *Pamela*, the heroine speaks of "two yards of black ribband for my shift leeves" (Cunnington and Cunnington 83). Sleeve buttons and ribbon are removed on wash day, when linen is boiled and scrubbed. A button that is sewed onto the band should be of thread because of the harsh treatment in the wash. A button of horn or wood will be damaged by the boiling water and will not last the life of the garment.

WOMEN ADD VARIOUS LAYERS OVER THEIR shifts, depending upon their activities. An under-petticoat is often one of the e layers. Under-petticoats are usually white. They can have ruffles or decorative bands along the bottom. Usually they are shorter than other petticoat , reaching to mid-calf. Pamela had "two flannel undercoats" (Cunnington and Cunnington 83). Remember that flannel is a type of wool, but they are also made from cambric, dimity and calico, calico being a plain muslin. "Send to my Mother for under petticoat 16 yards of tufted Dimmothy to wear under an Hoop, and three or four yards of very fine cambric" (qtd. in Cunnington and Cunnington 94 from Purefoy Letters, 1739). During cold weather petticoats usually worn as outer layer are often pressed into service as under-petticoats. During the winter wearing four petticoats is not unu ual, as it helps to keep the wearer warm.

Hanging pockets are often worn over the under petticoat, but they can also be worn just over the shift. "All the money I have, which, God knows, is a very small stock, I keep in my pocket, ty'ed about my middle, next to my smock [shift]" (from a 1701 novel, qtd. in Van De Krol, "Ty'ed" 3-4). They are reached through slits in the sides of the petticoat or gown. Women's clothing does not have pockets built in. Pockets are separate bags with slit openings that tie around the waist. The woman's waist, rather than her garment supports the weight of the pockets, which often hold a wide variety of items. A woman can wear one or two pockets. If she wears two pockets they are often matching and are attached together.

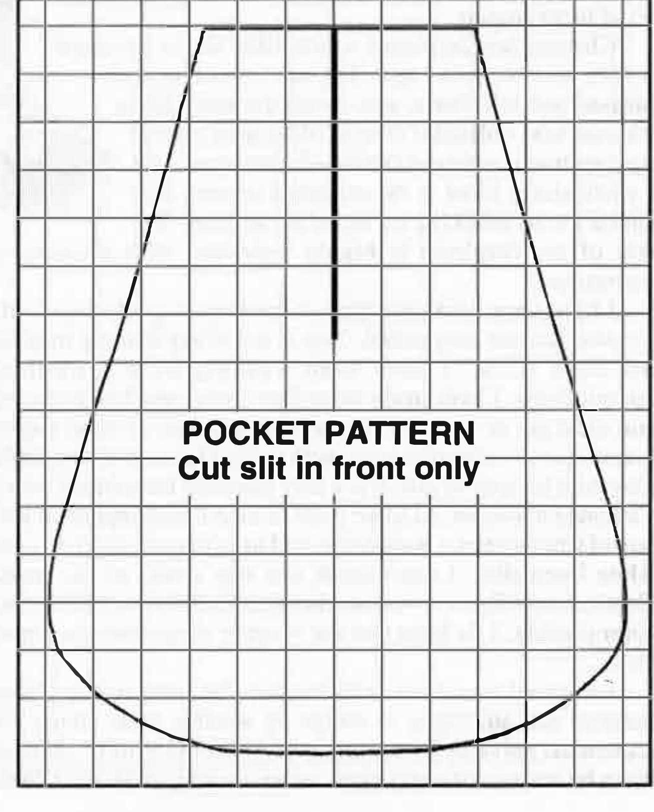
Plain or fancy, pockets are not worn specifically to be seen although happenstance may cause your pocket to be visible. There is no evidence that embroidered pockets were worn over outer clothing by single women to show off their skill with a needle. In her extensive analysis of detached pockets, including their size and design, uses and references in print and written sources, Yolanda Van De Krol found that artists consistently use visible pockets as "largely negative symbols of greedy and miserly women, working-class women, and disreputable women" ("Ladies' Pockets" 441; complete work in " 'Ty'ed about My Middle, Next to my Smock': The Cultural Context of Women's Pockets," master's thesis, University of Delaware, Newark, 1994). Prints often show working women wearing their pockets over their petticoats but under their aprons. The pockets can be seen if the apron is pulled aside so the woman can reach into her pocket. In a print by James Gillray caricaturing Queen Charlotte's miserliness (wife of George III), her pocket, which is patched, hangs visibly. However it is tied under her apron as well as her gown. The skirt of the gown has been drawn to the back so that the pocket can be seen as an artist's convention (Van De Krol "Ladies' Pockets" 442). With all this in mind, it is unlikely that any woman deliberately wore her pocket to be seen, and if it was a normal thing for a single woman to use a pocket to display her talents, print and painting sources as well as written sources would show some evidence.

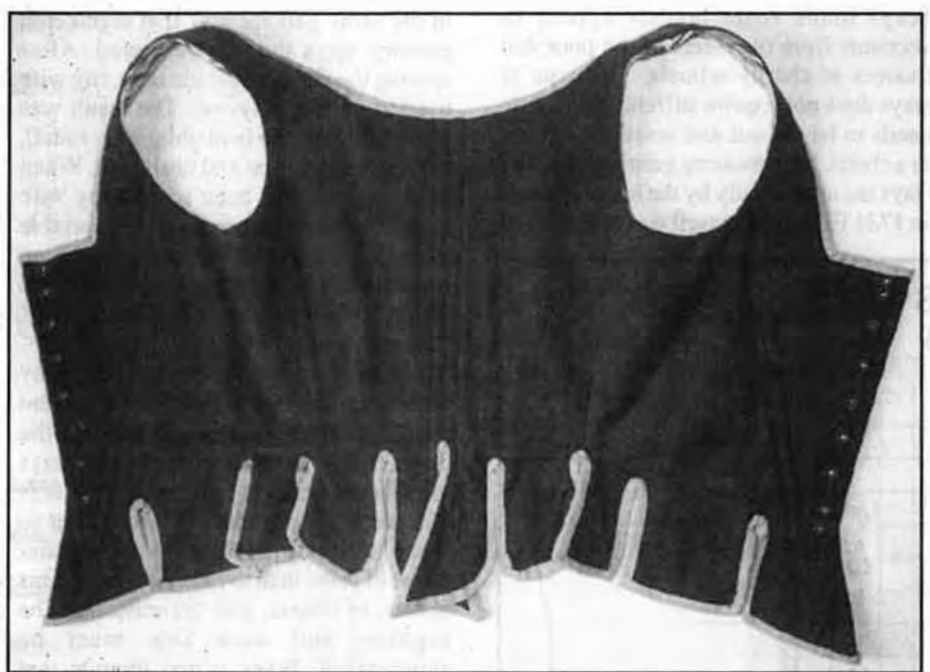
Embroidered pocket made by the author. Crewel (wool) embroidery with a cross-stitch inscription.

Pockets can be made to suit the wearer. Most are quite large, made to carry a number of items from sewing tools to drinking cups. They can be plain or fancy, made of whole cloth or pieced. They are a good way to use scraps or pieces of other partially used textiles. Many pockets are made to be pretty. They can be decorated with crewel embroidery, made from small pieces of printed fabrics or even decorated with Irish stitch. Some decorated pockets are given as presents. I gave embroidered pockets to my friends Carrie and Michele as presents for the New Year. "Lady Eleanor Butler recorded in her diary on New Year's Day in 1790 that she and her female companion exchanged petticoats and pockets that day as gifts" (Van De Krol, "Ty'ed" 11. While the design I used was not symmetrical, most embroidered pockets have patterns using vines, flowers and leaves, often mirrored on either side of the center slit opening. I think this is a nice, personal gift for a good friend.

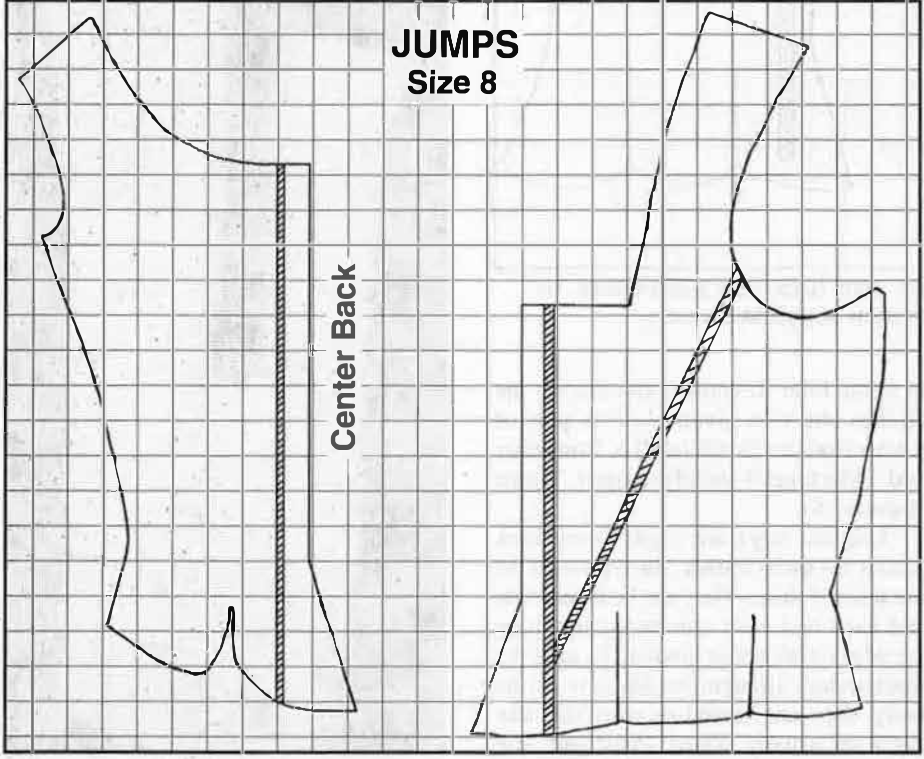
POCKETS ARE QUITE EASY TO make. I have enclosed a pattern, although any size you prefer is all right. I often encase the edges of the pocket and the slit with tape. For some reason I find this method faster to sew. The embroidered pocket that I made for Carrie, of which I am enclosing a picture, was sewn first with wrong sides together and then turned to have right sides together to be sewn a second time. This encases the raw edges so that they will not ravel, and the pocket should last longer. The tapes for tying around the waist can either run in one length across the top of the pocket or be two separate ties attached to either edge of the top of the pocket.

To achieve a fashionable shape, women wear stays on their upper body. A less fashionable alternative for shaping the upper body is a pair of jumps. There are questions about the exact definition of jumps. Samuel Johnson, in his 1755 dictionary, defines them as: "a waistcoat, a kind of loose or limber stays worn by sickly ladies." (Sickly may also mean





Note that these jumps have center back boning, diagonal boning on the front and boning along the center fronts.



A 5/8-inch seam allowance is included on fronts, center back, side seams and armhole. No seam allowance on neck or bottom edge. Lines show suggested boning.

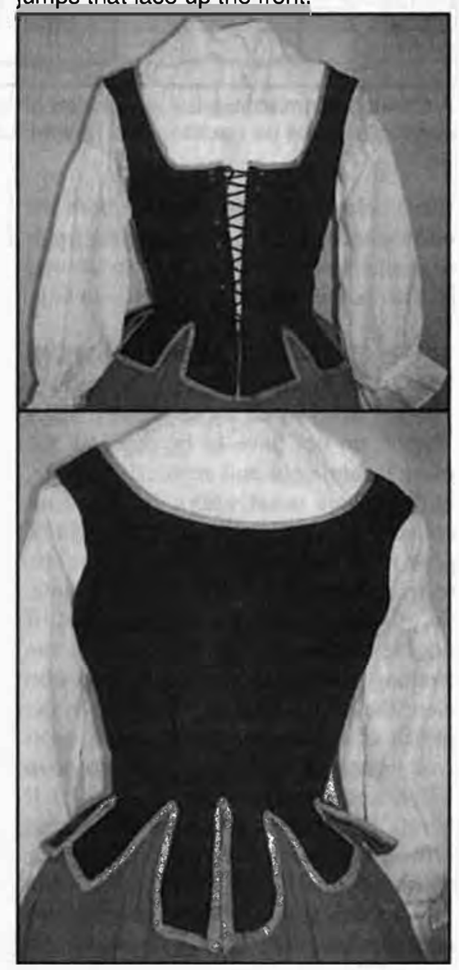
pregnant.) By 1792 the definition in Barclay's Dictionary is a little more informative: "a sort of loose or limber stays with a movable stomacher, usually laced or tied before."

Ladies of fashion wear jumps for undress. In the 1752 play *Taste*, Lady Pentweasel tells the portrait painter for whom she is sitting, "Don't mind my Shape this bout, for I'm only in Jumps—shall I send for my Tabbys [stays with tabs along the lower edge]" (qtd in Mactaggart and Mactaggart, "Ease" 41). Jumps are not regarded as fashionable dress. In a poem called "Beauty and Fashion," a girl is criticized thus, "Now a shape in neat stays, now a slattern in jumps" (Waugh 65). In a 1749 letter from Holborn, England, describing a hot day in May, Horace Walpole described "old-clothes women panting without handkerchiefs, and mopping themselves all the way down within their loose jumps" (qtd in Mactaggart and Mactaggart, "Ease" 42). In Walpole's letter and in the line from the poem, jumps are equated with less than respectable behavior. In fact, throughout the 18th century, loose, sloppy dress is equated with loose, sloppy morals.

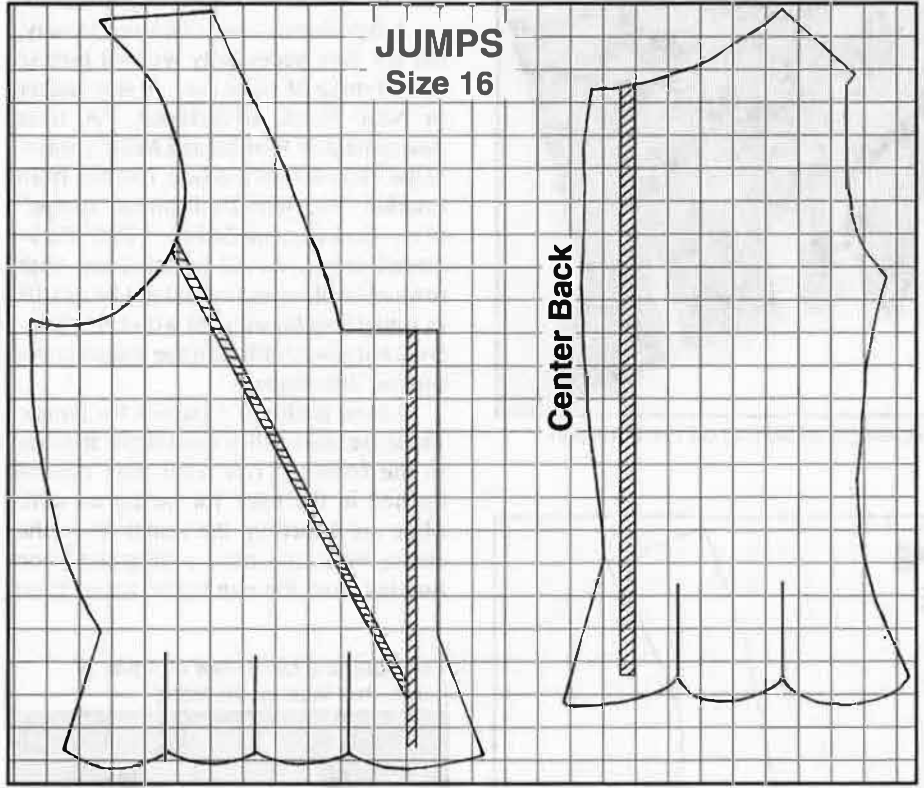
Jumps do not have to be laced loosely, nor are they necessarily without boning or stiffening of some sort. A stay-maker in New York advertised, "A neat Assortment of Women and Maid's Stays, in the very newest Fashion, directly from London. Womens Pack-thread Jumps" (*New-York Gazette* 24 Feb. 1766). Pack-thread jumps would be stiffened with rows of cording and would not be as stiff as something boned with wood or whale-bone but would still lend the wearer some support and shape.

I have enclosed a pattern for jumps. These are tabbed, like most stays, and lace in the front. If you wish they can be opened in the back for lacing as well. Mine are boned up the center front, the center back and have a diagonal bone running from the arm to the center front

The front and back view of a pair of jumps that lace up the front.



waist. You can choose how many bones and where to place them for yours. There should be bones at the center fronts to keep the lacing holes from pulling. The bottom and top edges may be finished with binding or tape, or the garment can be sewn inside out and then turned for finished edges. It is important to choose sturdy, closely woven cloth for both the outside and the lining when making a pair of jumps so that they do not stretch and so that they will give you some shaping.



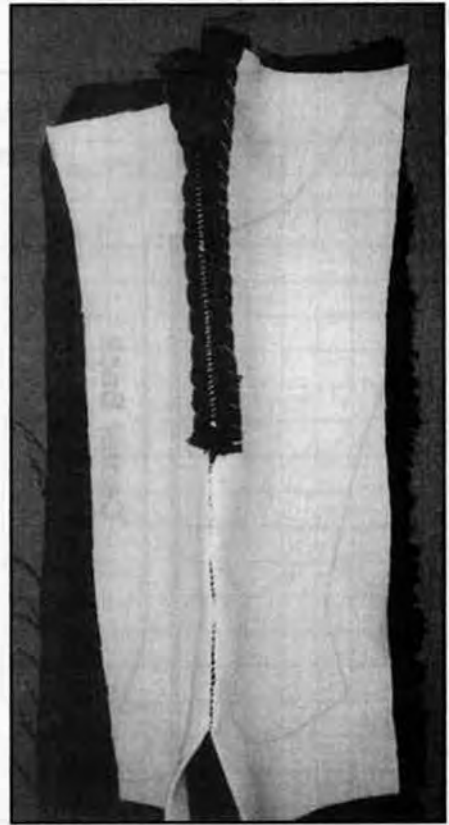
A 5/8-inch seam allowance is included on center front, back, side and armhole. No seam allowance on neckline and bottom. Lines show suggested boning.

STAYS GIVE MORE SHAPING and support than jumps and are worn by all social classes. Stays do not have to be made in the most fashionable and restrictive shape, and in fact most stays in museum collections in this country are made of plain fabrics and are of a shape that is less restrictive than haute couture of the time. Stays were considered enough a part of decent clothing to be included in the clothing provided to women and girls who were the parish poor in England. In the parish of Acton Round, Marey Evason was given nine shillings " 'to by stays' in 1769, and in 1785 Ann Ward, of All Saints Hertford, was found guilty and ordered to be whipped, for stealing a pair of stays value 5/- [five shillings?] from the Overseers of that Parish" (Mactaggart and Mactaggart, "Some Aspects" 1).

Stays made from leather appear in accounts from overseers of the poor and trustees of charity schools. This type of stays does not require stiffening and only needs to be cut out and scored, resulting in a cheap, long-wearing garment. Leather stays are used mostly by the lower classes. In 1731 Elizabeth Linsell was apprenticed to tailor John Reynolds, and among the clothes she was given was "A pair of leather Boddice 2s. 6d. [and] A Stomacher 10d" (Mactaggart and Mactaggart, "Some Aspects" 8).

Leather stays are made from thick (about 1/4 inch) leather, the type used for the soles of shoes. They can be laced front and back and even can be bound along the edges with softer leather. To give the leather stays enough flexibility to fit the body, they are scored to copy the way stays are usually boned. Peter and Ann Mactaggart copied a pair of leather stays found in an exhibition in Brighton, England. They discovered that "as the 'boning' could have been indicated without cutting the surface, by using a hot wheel or a creasing tool, we began to wonder whether the scoring might not be functional after all. We discovered that if a number of parallel cuts were made in the surface of a piece of leather its flexibility was increased in one direction without impairing its stiffness in the other. We therefore decided to score the copy in the same general way that eighteenth century stays tend to be boned. After scoring the right-hand side only, my wife tried to put the stays on. The result was that while this side bent obligingly round, the other stayed flat and unshaped. When the other side had been scored, my wife found our copy surprisingly comfortable to wear and it did not prove to be an impediment to any normal household duties" (Mactaggart and Mactaggart, "Some Aspects" 8).

In an age of poor nutrition and many diseases, stays were thought to prevent physical deformity by supporting the body. Many children were put into stays to ensure a straight spine and shoulders that were not rounded—it was better to make the body conform to the regular shape of stays than to risk deformity. This means, of course, that the stays must be regular, and each side must be symmetrical. When it was thought that even a slight irregularity such as a knot in the thread might cause the body to bend away from it and therefore not be symmetrical, a solution was to make stays that had no wrong side and could be worn either side out. This also prevents a pair



Seam treatments for stays. For lined stays all layers are folded to the inside and then the seam is sewn. For turned stays, the seam allowances are folded to the inside and then the seam is sewn.

Shift, under-petticoat, pocket and stays. Shift has sleeve buttons on the cuffs.

of lightly boned stays from forming to the body because of body warmth. This type of stays is called "turned." John Jones, a staymaker from London, advertised in New York that he "Takes this method to acquaint the ladies and gentry, that he makes all sorts of stays, both turn'd and single; pack thread or bone, whale, waist, or French Hips, &c" (*New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* 11 Jan. 1773). I think turned stays last longer, too, as the wear is more evenly distributed. I have owned several pairs of turned stays.

Stays are made in sections. The sections are channel-stitched and boned and then attached to each other. This is done by folding the seam allowances between the exterior and interior, if the stays are to be reversible, or, if not reversible, by just folding all seam allowances to the inside. Put the right sides of the sections together and overcast the seams. Pick up just a few threads below the folded seam edge. When the seams are fully sewn, the sections are opened up and pulled taut. The seams should then be butted and very short stitches will show on the outside. Once the sections are attached, the binding on upper and lower edges can be applied. Stays can be made larger by adding sections to the sides. In household accounts quoted in *The History of Underclothes,* it is reported that "Mrs. ____'s stays let out a lap on each side and bound 5/? and Mrs. ____'s stays let out three bones on each side /3?" (Cunnington and Cunnington 91). These stays were let out for the original owners, but since there was a large trade in secondhand clothes, including stays, it is likely that many of the examples that have had sections added were modified so they would fit a new owner. Of the five sets of stays that I studied at the Memorial Hall Museum in Deerfield, Massachusetts, two had been let out.

WHILE EVERY WOMAN wears a shift, pockets, under-petticoat and some type of jumps, stays or "boddice," the last garments that I will include as underpinnings are worn only some of the time. Hoops, pocket hoops and hoop petticoats are not worn universally. They are not necessary for undress wear, but a fine sack gown requires a hoop of some sort to give it support. Even in undress, a small hoop can really help give a fashionable silhouette. I recently made a hoop petticoat and thought I would pass along the pattern should you ever need it. I also have a single hoop that I wear and find that to be most serviceable. Making a hoop is not difficult, but it is time-consuming. The most difficult part is to get the angle of the waistline right for you. The hooping can be made of cane or whalebone. (A modern alternative is metal hooping.)

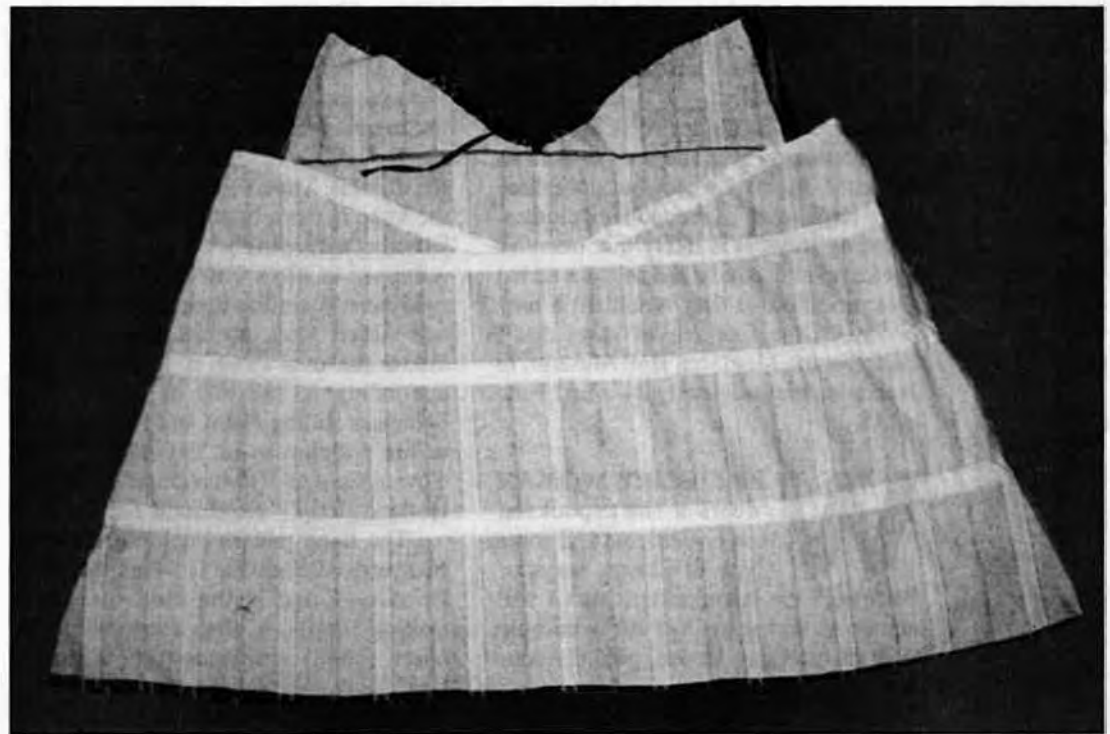
Hoops began the century with a dome shape. Gradually, the front and back flattened and by mid-century the shape is more oval or kidney. Pocket hoops, which are separate hoops hung on either hip, can be used to support the petticoat at either side for more informal wear. A hoop petticoat gives some shape to the front and back of the petticoat that pocket hoops cannot. Long and short hoop petticoats were advertised for sale (or barter, as the ad states that the maker "will take Pork or Beef in Payment, or any other Commodity that will answer") in Boston early in 1752 (*Boston Evening Post* 6 Jan. 1752). The pattern that I have enclosed can be made smaller or larger, shorter or longer and can be adjusted for shape using stay pieces on the inside of the hoop. A hoop using only the diagonal canes and one oval cane is dated 1760. It is shown in *Corsets and Crinolines* (Waugh 52) and on the end paper of *Costume in Detail* (Bradfield). The exact date is known, as the hoop is worn by the effigy of Queen Elizabeth I, which was cleaned and redressed in 1760. This hoop ends at the oval cane. A similar hoop in the Victoria and Albert Museum has cloth hanging below the oval cane. It is dated 1778 according to the bill of sale: " 'A. Schabner Riding Habit and Robe Maker at his warehouse in Tavistock Street Covent Garden' by Miss Davis as a "Pink Holland Hoop' " (Rothstein 143).

The hoop pattern enclosed requires two yards of cloth that is 54 inches wide. Hooping—that is the cloth used for making hoops—is often a stripe or large check (plaid) and needs to be a sturdy fabric. Dorcas Viscount, the woman who offered hoop petticoats for sale, also advertised hooping Hollands. *Textiles in America* defines them as "A linen textile which [Alice Morse] Earle suggests was used for petticoats into which reeds or bones could be run to stiffen them . . . The Holker manuscript [c.1750] contains three swatches of hooping . . . According

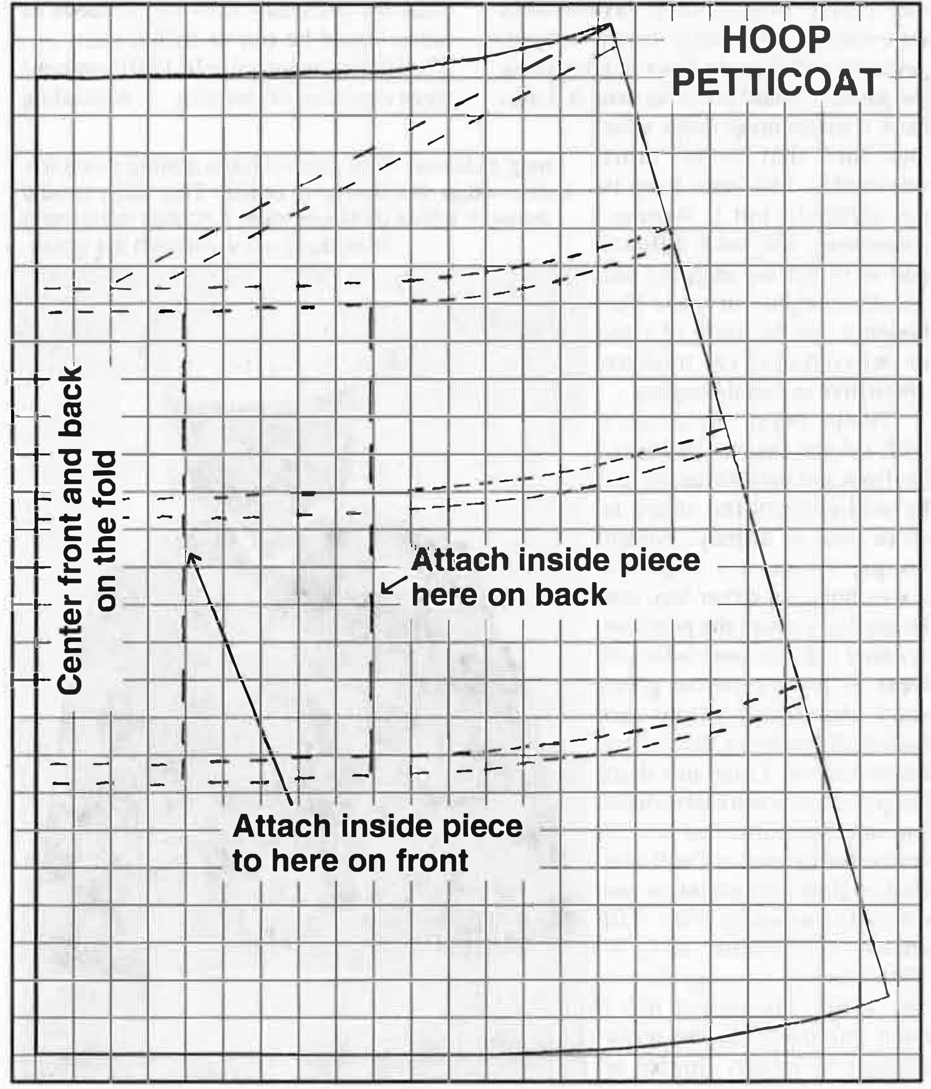
Hoop petticoat. This doesn't have boning along the bottom edge, but that is an option. This hoop should be worn with a petticoat over it so that the boning lines don't show through the gown.

to Holker, they were sold for ladies' paniers" (Montgomery 261).

To make the hoop, turn under a small rolled hem on the center fronts of the yoke pieces and sew the center backs together. Also make narrow hems on the sides, as the hoops will have openings on either side so that you can reach your pocket. Then make a narrow casing along the top edges of the yoke pieces so that you can thread a narrow piece of tape through for a drawstring. The front and back yokes are only connected with the drawstring. The yoke pieces can then be sewn to the skirt pieces and the sides of the skirt pieces sewn together. The channels for the caning can be made either by sewing tape along the lines on the inside or by folding the hoop fabric along the caning lines and making channels. Either way, be sure to leave an opening in the channel so that you can insert the caning.



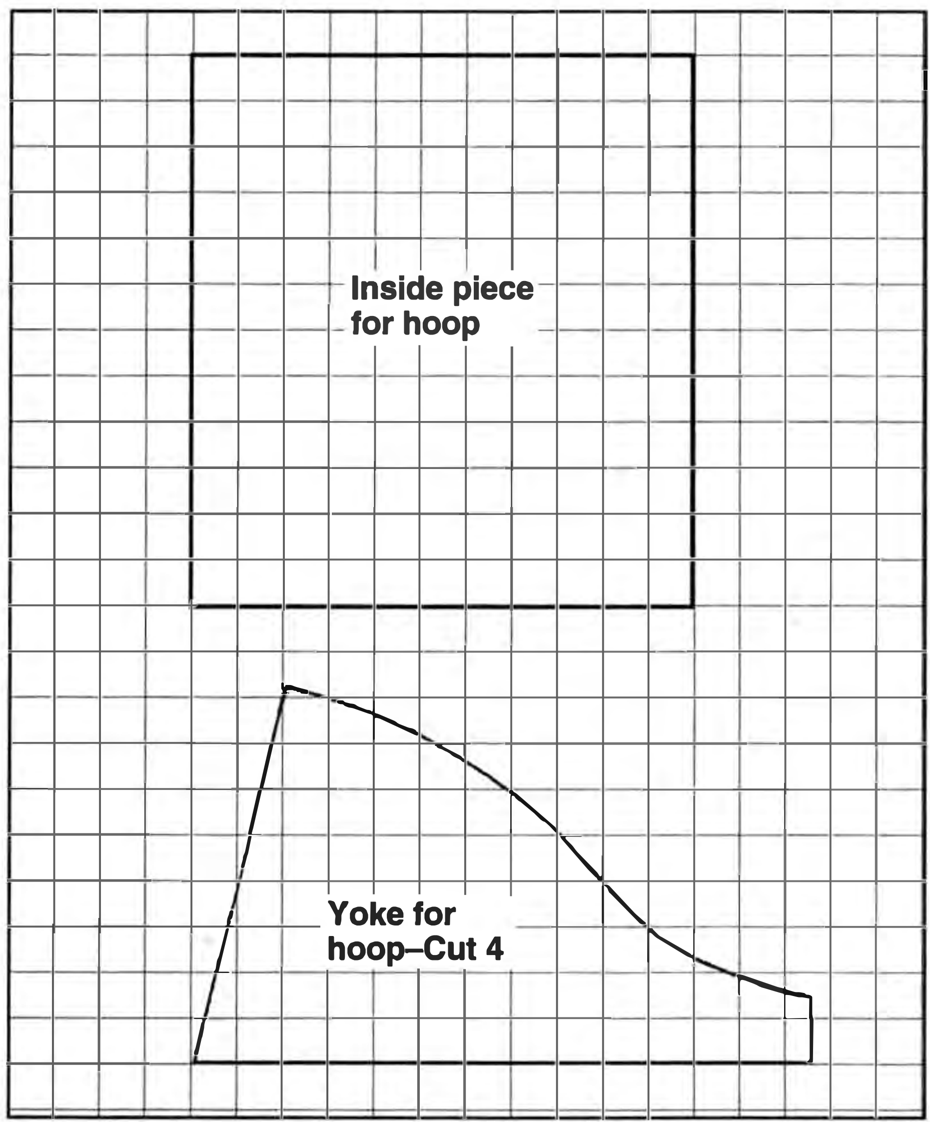
The interior of the hoop petticoat before the boning was inserted. You can see where the yoke pieces were attached and the boning channels.



A HOOP PICTURED IN *Revolution in Fashion* (47, 49) has double rows of caning covered with the hooping fabric and then sewn to the straight sections between. This hoop is constructed with two rows of cane at each level, with a total of four double rows of caning. The last row of caning forms the bottom of the hoop. This hoop does not have the diagonal canes at the waist, and the first row of caning rides higher on the body. Making a hoop this way would require measuring the circumference of each row of caning first. Constructing the fabric hoop and then inserting the caning is easier.

I hope that you will be able to use some of these patterns. If you have any questions, please write by return post, and I will endeavor to answer quickly. I must now get to work on the new white shirt for my good husband. I was fortunate to get a lovely piece of linen for it the last time I was in Town. It will be made for use with sleeve buttons, as he has several pairs of them. The sun has come back out, and that will make for easier sewing.

We hope to hear from you soon with news that you are fine and that you have



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not been flooded. I hope that by then our weather will have warmed up and the plants caught up to where they should be. Please give the children a hug and our best to your good husband.

I remain, your Friend,
Beth Gilgun

Author's note: When making jumps or stays, it is best to construct the garment and then order the boning to length. It is also important to try these garments on over a shift and petticoat, not modern clothes. From experience I will say that you will save time, and perhaps having to make a second garment, by fitting over 18th century clothing. M

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HATS OF EVERY SORTE

By Beth Gilgun

DEAREST FRIENDS,

We are beginning to feel the warmth of spring and even have a very early crocus blooming. It appears to have seeded itself in next to the foundation of the house where the sun shines all afternoon and warms up the stones and earth. I have never seen a flower this early in the year. The tulips are poking through, but it will be weeks before we see them bloom. Today there have been snow flurries in the air and a blustery wind, but you know the saying, "March comes in like a lion and goes out like a lamb."

Eighteenth-Century French Fashion Plates, Dover

The weather has been mild enough that people were able to start collecting maple sap early this year. So far the sap has been running well, but not exceptionally. Our nights have not been cold enough to cause a really good flow. Maybe today's weather will help. While the sap may not be really plentiful, the sugar is of very good quality. There has been no snow, so we have not been able to treat ourselves with sugar on snow, that wonderful chewy concoction of boiled syrup poured over snow to cool.

Chris has been busy working on a long fowler for a customer. Winter is a good time to get such projects finished, as there are no farming chores to take care of. This gun has required a lot of extra work, and while the work has been satisfying, the slow progress is frustrating. He hopes to be done in a week or two and will be glad to deliver it. The stock is of beautiful walnut and the furniture of silver. I think that Chris does an excellent job of inlaying the furniture.

> ***"Women, in general, from the highest to the lowest wear hats, which differ from each other less in fashion than they do in fineness"* (Carl Philipp Moritz, 1782, qtd. in Buck 128).**

I have been sewing for several people. After several waistcoats and pairs of breeches, I was able to do something a little more fun. My friend Lynne needed a new wool petticoat and jacket, and I was able to make them for her. The jacket is quite nice. It is a warm, medium brown with black cuffs and robings. I also helped Carrie to cut out a new sack-back jacket. It is of gold colored linen and looks really nice on her. She did a lovely job sewing and fitting it. I would like to get my new linen gown sewn up—it has been cut out for quite some time, and I have yet to put in a single stitch. It seems that doing work for payment always takes precedence over doing something for myself!

Besides making clothing, I have also been making hats. There is no milliner in town, and there is a demand for ladies' hats, so I have undertaken to meet some of that demand. I thought I would pass along some of the things that I have learned so that you might be able to make a hat for yourself, if you so desire. I know that you are quite handy and would be able to fashion a hat in the latest mode.

We have been able to get hats from Boston when someone from town travels there or when a peddler comes through. According to the Boston *Gazette*, from the shop of Elizabeth Murray we can purchase "Horse-hair and straw Hats" (27 Nov. 1753). In the Boston *News-Letter*, Hunt and Torrey offer "women's chip hair & sattin hats," and yet another shop offers "plain and plaited black sattin hats; Prussian and Raneleigh bonnets" (18 Dec. 1760; 29 Jan. 1761). However waiting for an order from Boston can take some time, and what is received is not always what was ordered. So having a hat made in town is often quicker and more satisfying.

Straw hats imported from England are manufactured from wheat straw. Hats have been manufactured in the districts of Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Essex for over a century (*Workwoman's* 278). In his account of a visit to England in 1748, Peter Kalm reported that he saw the women of Hertfordshire wearing hats "they have made themselves from wheat straw. Several women who were very busy in making straw hats which they afterwards sent hither and thither to be sold" (Buck 124). Wheat straw makes a somewhat coarse plait, but a very serviceable hat. Fashionable women choose hats made from a very fine plait produced in Leghorn, Italy. The hats available for purchase in Boston are imported from London and can be of either type of straw.

[As an aside: Betsy Metcalf of Providence, Rhode Island, who "made a straw hat out of split and braided straw in 1798, is widely considered to have been the first young woman in New England to have done so" (Sloat 89–90). The straw she used was rye straw, which was an abundant byproduct of New England farming. However the straw was better for braiding before the grain ripened. During the early 1800s, the braiding of straw for hat making was a major household industry in central Massachusetts. It seems odd that immigrants who had come from sections of England where braiding straw and hat making were

common didn't continue to do this in the Colonies, but there appears to be no record of it.]

Braids for hats can also be made of chip or horsehair. Chip plaiting is made from fine shavings of willow or poplar wood and crafted in the same manner as is straw. Horsehair can also be plaited into a multi-strand braid. I should mention that the plaits of straw, chip or horsehair are made up of anywhere from three to sixteen strands. The straw hats I have are made from plaits of seven straws. If you would like directions for plaiting, bleaching and dying straw, they are in *The Workwoman's Guide* (278–290). I have never braided my own straw, chip or horsehair, preferring to let someone more skilled manufacture the plaits. I have also not made up my own hat from ready-made plaits, although I have modified a manufactured hat. [Once again a note: Synthetic horsehair braid is currently available. It is used to stiffen the hems of gowns. I do not know if it is stiff enough to make a hat.]

The current fashion for hats is to have a very low crown and large brim. These hats are called Bergere hats, after the French word for shepherdess. While straw and chip hats have been used extensively in rural areas for years, they became fashionable when Rousseau promoted the "return to nature" and it became the fashion for ladies to dress like their rural cousins. These straw and chip hats often have only a ribbon around the crown and ribbon ties for decoration. Michael Kroll of Upper Salford Township, Pennsylvania, sold leghorn straw hats in his shop (1766–1774). When people purchased these hats, they generally purchased 1-1/2 to two yards of ferret at the same time (Gehret 85). Ferret is a silk tape or ribbon. The ferret would be used for ties and decoration. Straw and chip have an advantage as they are not ruined by the rain. In fact they will keep your head dry for some time in a rainstorm as the water will roll off for a while.

I have modified several straw hats with high crowns to have a more fashionable low crown. This method will not produce a very short crown, as the geometry doesn't work, but will produce a more fashionable look than a hat with a four- to five-inch-high crown. Measure up from the brim and draw a line around the crown. You need to measure because the straw braids are in a spiral, and you want an even cut. Cut around the line you made. Then drop the crown as low as you can go and still sew it back to the brim. Because of the original shape, the top of the crown will be smaller than the bottom. You will be able to pull in some of the bottom as you sew, but you will not be able to make a crown much lower than two inches. Trim off the excess straw braids and sew around the crown to reattach it. Part of the crown will be two layers of straw, but you will be able to cover the seam with ribbon or some other trim.

William Hogarth

In the painting the brim of this milk maid's hat is blue. Notice the wreath of daisies around the crown.

Sometimes the under brims of straw hats are lined. Lining makes a hat more comfortable. It helps to keep the hat in place upon the head, and a dark lining can help reduce glare from the sun. Linings can be of a plain color, printed chintz or even a silk brocade. Several hats in the paintings of Mr. Hogarth have solid blue linings. A blue lining is also on the hat of Nellie O'Brien in the portrait by Joshua Reynolds (1763; Boucher pl. 778). I have also seen hats lined with printed chintz. On one such hat, the lining has a dark red background with small leaf designs scattered all over (Bradfield 55). Another hat is brown straw lined with a silk brocade on a brown ground. The crown of this hat is only 1/4 inch high. This hat has bright red ribbons. There is a red ribbon bow at the center front of the hat, and the ribbon ties go across the brim, over the crown and back across the brim, on the diameter of the hat (Maeder 44, 184). It must be noted that flowered fabrics are used for linings but do not seem to be used on the top sides of hats.

Crown after being cut down from five inches to 1-1/2 inches high. You can detect a slight ridge where it overlaps.

LINING A HAT IS A SIMPLE project if the brim of the hat is totally flat. If the brim does not lay flat when placed on a table, it can be lined, but you must allow for the extra width of the brim and sew it very carefully. Lining a hat is a good way to use a small piece of expensive cloth that you may have. You need enough to cover the underside of the brim, at the very least. The crown can be lined with either the same cloth or a piece of plain cloth. The crown is lined either with a circle or a straight strip of cloth, depending upon the height of the crown. Place the lining cloth on a flat surface such as a table. Then place the hat on top of the cloth. Weight around the brim so that it will not move. Draw a line around the outside edge of the hat. Remove the hat, and then draw a second line about 1/2 inch outside of the first so that you have enough cloth to turn under for a finished edge. Cut this circle out, turn under the extra cloth and stitch to the edge of the hat with either a small running stitch or a whip stitch. Once the edge of the brim is sewn, cut the cloth under the crown. Make pie-shaped pieces and cut just to where the crown meets the brim. Sew around the crown and then trim

the cloth to about 1/2 inch. You are now ready to line the crown.

If the crown is very short, it can be lined with a large circle of cloth. Measure from where the brim and the crown meet, up the side, across the top and down the side. Add about one inch to this measurement to allow enough for turning under a finished edge. This measurement is the diameter of the circle you need. To cut a circle use a piece of string tied to a pin. Tie the string around the pin so that it can rotate around it. Then figure half the measurement you took of the crown to obtain a radius. Mark the string with this measurement. Pin through the cloth into something that will anchor the pin (several layers of paper or cloth will work). Then pivot the string around the pin while using the measured mark on the string as a guide to mark your cloth. Turn under the edges of the circle and sew it to the brim lining, covering all raw edges. Make sure to allow enough ease in the cloth for it to rise to the top of the crown.

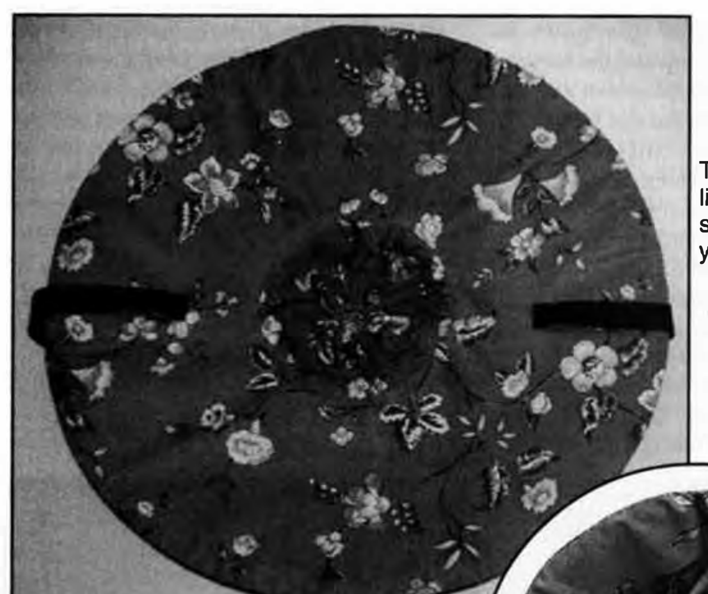
A taller crown requires a lining made from a straight piece of cloth that is drawn up at the top. Measure up along the hat crown from the brim to the center of the top. Add about one inch to this measurement so that you have an allowance at both the top and the bottom. Then measure around the crown and add about 1/2 inch so that you can turn under a finished edge. Cut a strip of fabric to these measurements. Make a casing along one of the long edges of this strip. Then run a string or thread through it. Sew the other long edge to the lining of the brim, turning up the raw edge of the strip and covering the raw edge of the brim lining. Overlap the edges, making sure to turn the top one under so that there is no raw edge showing. Pull up the drawstring in the casing so that the lining fits the crown.

I RECENTLY LINED ONE OF MY hats that is fifteen years old. The straw was beginning to break, and I thought that if I lined it I could get some more wear out of it. One of the edges of the brim looked like a mouse had eaten it, and where the crown meets the brim there is one hole. I removed one round of braid from the outside edge so that it is now smooth. The lining I chose has a coral-red background with a print of trailing flowers. I lined the brim and had to use the strip method for the crown, as it is two inches high. The lining stabilized the straw edge, and strengthened the area where the crown meets the brim. Bows on either side of the crown are very common decorations for hats. I had some dark green grosgrain ribbon and used it to make two bows that were attached to either side of the crown, one of which covered the hole. I also used this ribbon for the ties. I liked the way the hat brim looked if I attached the strings midway along it and tied them behind my head, so that is what I did. I hope to get several more years of wear out of this hat and I hope that you do not think that I wasted my time in lining such an old, worn item. I feel that it is akin to patching an article of clothing to prolong its life.

Hats do not have to be made from braids of straw, chip or horsehair. Women wear hats made from felt and even cloth-covered pasteboard. I recently made a hat modeled on the one in the portrait of Hannah Loring by John Singleton Copley (1763). In the painting she is holding her hat by its ribbons so that you can see the top. Not wanting to purchase a straw hat, I figured out a way to make a hat form from buckram. Buckram is a coarse cloth with a heavy stiffening applied to it. It is often used for interfacing the fronts on men's coats. Buckram will not stand up

Photo by Gary Cralle at the Fortress of Louisburg, Nova Scotia

Carrie Fellows, on the far right, with a straw hat tied behind her head, which brings the brim down around her head. The crown is decorated with flowers and a band of ribbon. In the center Sharon Lewis has a straw hat lined with a dark chinz print. Her hat is stylishly tipped up at the back and has flowers tucked in. The author, Beth Gilgun, is wearing a green and pink silk covered hat with a wreath of silk roses around the crown.



This new chintz lining saved my old straw hat for more years of service.

Detail of the gathered crown lining in the hat at left.

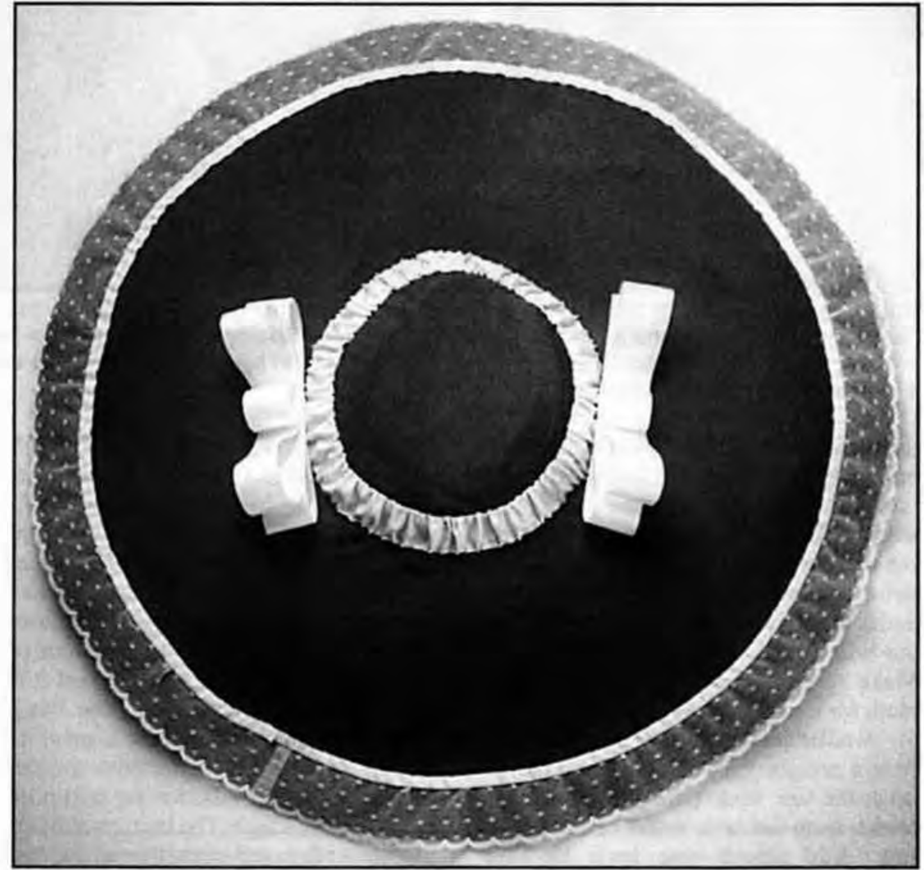
to a good rain, but then neither will the silk covering it. I cut two layers of the buckram for the brim to make sure that the hat would be stiff enough. Hat brims are generally 15 to 18-1/2 inches in diameter. I sewed the two circles together along the outside edge. To make the crown, I found a bowl with a flat bottom and rounded sides that was about the right size. Crowns of the most fashionable hats are usually four to six inches across and anywhere from 1-14 to one inch high. (These figures are based upon measurements of extant examples in the catalog of *An Elegant Art* by Edward Maeder.) I cut an oversized circle from the buckram and got it thoroughly wet by soaking it in warm water for a short time. You do not want to rinse out the stiffening. I then molded the circle over the bottom of the bowl and left it to dry. When it was dry, I folded up the edges so that I had a flat edge sticking out from the sides of the crown. I measured the crown and drew a circle the same size on the middle of the brim and then cut it out. The two brims could be separated and the flat edge of the crown slipped between them. Then I sewed all three layers together and had a very usable hat form that did not cost very much money. (If you cannot find buckram, you can make your own by using needlepoint canvas and either liquid starch or a product called Stiffy® that is available in craft stores.)

My hat is covered both top and bottom with blue silk. I used a band of needle-gathered white taffeta to decorate around the crown and a taffeta edged piece of white net around the edge of the brim. Many fashionable hats have ribbon bows on either side of the brim, as did the one in Mr. Copley's painting, so I added two to my hat. The white ribbon strings are attached under the brim and will be tied over my cap at the back of my head.

MANY HATS ARE DECOrated in a similar manner, with trim of pinked silk, lace, gauze or ribbon circling the crown and the outer edge of the brim, ribbon bows and strings. Fake flowers are also used, generally at the center back or circling the crown. One hat that I found particularly pleasing is a hat of leghorn straw. The crown is circled with a fancy braid with a tassel. The underneath of the back has green and pink satin ribbon drawn up in pretty pouffes, trimmed with white rosebuds. This forms a band that covers the back of the head.

I have another hat that is made from silk covering a buckram form. Its brim is 14 inches across and its crown is one inch high. It has a wire sewn around the edge of the brim to help keep it stiff. Wiring the brim also makes turning up the front and back easier, as the brim will stay where you put it. It is quite fashionable to turn up part of the brim on your hat. This hat has pink silk on the underside and green silk on the top. The crown is circled with a wreath of pink silk flowers and has a large pink ribbon bow at the back. This

The finished blue silk hat that I made over a buckram form.



This is the inside crown of the silk hat at lower left. It has a very low crown lined with a circle.

poor hat is in great need of recovering. The green silk has faded most dreadfully and the pink silk is quite stained. The staining is not from wear as I always follow the fashion and wear a cap under my hat, but rather it is from being packed on top of one of Christopher's black felt hats. The black rubbed onto the silk. I have since obtained my own box for my hats so they will not get soiled in that manner again.

I earlier mentioned hats of "paste board silk" (Schiffer 60). This is another type of hat form that can be easily made. The crown is best made out of something like buckram, since it has to be shaped and formed. The brim is easily cut from paste board. (Cardboard that is the weight used for the backs of pads of paper is perfect.) The brim can be wired or not, as you desire. Paste board is as easy to sew through as two layers of buckram, so fashioning the hat is not difficult. Of course, this type of hat can be ruined in the rain, but that should not really be a problem.

"The flat hats [are] also made in black felt for common wear" (Buck 126). I have heard that in the middle colonies many women have flat hats of white beaver felt. A Polish traveler in America wrote that in Frederickstown, Maryland, "Old women with coifs tied under their chins, wear on top of them white hats without crowns like huge flat plates" (Gehret 84). These hats have diameters of about 18 inches, crowns about 5-1/2 inches wide and 1/2 inch high. Holes for a tow cord tie are placed about halfway in on the brim. The crowns are lined with a circle of white silk, whipstitched around the juncture of crown and brim. Felt hats are usually made by a professional hatter, but it is possible to make one yourself. My friend Patty has a white felt hat that she made years ago. She used a good quality wool felt. While a professional hatter is able to form these hats without a seam at the base of the crown, it is easier to make one in two pieces. The crown can be formed like the ones made from buckram. The felt must be thoroughly wet and molded over a form. Get it as smooth as possible. Let it dry and trim to the right height. Stitch the crown to a brim. If you need to stiffen the hat, coat it top and bottom with white shellac, such as would be done for a man's hat.

Straw hats are not always worn in their natural color. I have described one of brown straw previously, and black is a common and fashionable color. The *Workwoman's Guide* has two recipes for dying straw black, although the directions are for dying the straw before it is made into a hat. I think that I will settle for covering a hat with black cloth if I cannot purchase a straw one that is already dyed.

I have been writing as if all hats have large brims, but that is not the case. Smaller brims are seen in many paintings. Francis Hayman painted *George Rogers with his Wife and Sister* (c. 1750; Deuchar fig. 65). She is wearing a black hat with the brim turned up both front and back. The diameter of this hat is probably 12 to 14 inches. Another painting that shows a smaller black hat is *John, Anne, and William Orde,* by Arthur Devis (c. 1755; Deuchar fig. 68). Her hat is also tipped up both back and front and has a tassel or ribbon hanging down off the left side. I have seen this type of hat, with the back and front brims turned up and a tassel or ribbon off the side in other paintings as well and not all of them are black. Small brimmed hats are not always tipped up front and back. Especially when the fashion for very tall hair came into vogue in the later part of the century, small hats were worn with their brims flat and the whole hat tipped toward the forehead on the tall hair.

I HOPE THAT THESE DIRECTIONS and pictures are a help to you in creating a fashionable hat. A hat to match your gown, as well as a hat to wear everyday may be a luxury, but when you can make your own forms and cover them, it is not a very expensive luxury. It is fun to decorate your hat according to your whim and in the current mode. If you look at paintings and drawings, you will be able to get some good ideas for your own decorations.

I must end this letter now. The chores do not get done by themselves, nor does the supper cook itself. I hope you are having a good season of sugaring. It is nice to have a good store of maple sugar put by. It will soon be time to plant some seeds. Right now our kitchen garden is very wet, so I am hoping that it will dry out in time. I may have to move part of it, as one end seems to be in a wet spot. The soil does not warm up as quickly when it is wet, so the plants at that end take longer to produce. And our growing season is short enough already!

We anxiously await your next letter. Our post has been very slow of late, which is quite frustrating. I hope this gets to you in a timely manner and finds the family well. We have weathered the winter with no sickness in our house, even though others around us have become quite ill. I hope that you can say the same.

With Respect and Warm Regards
Your Friend,
Beth Gilgun

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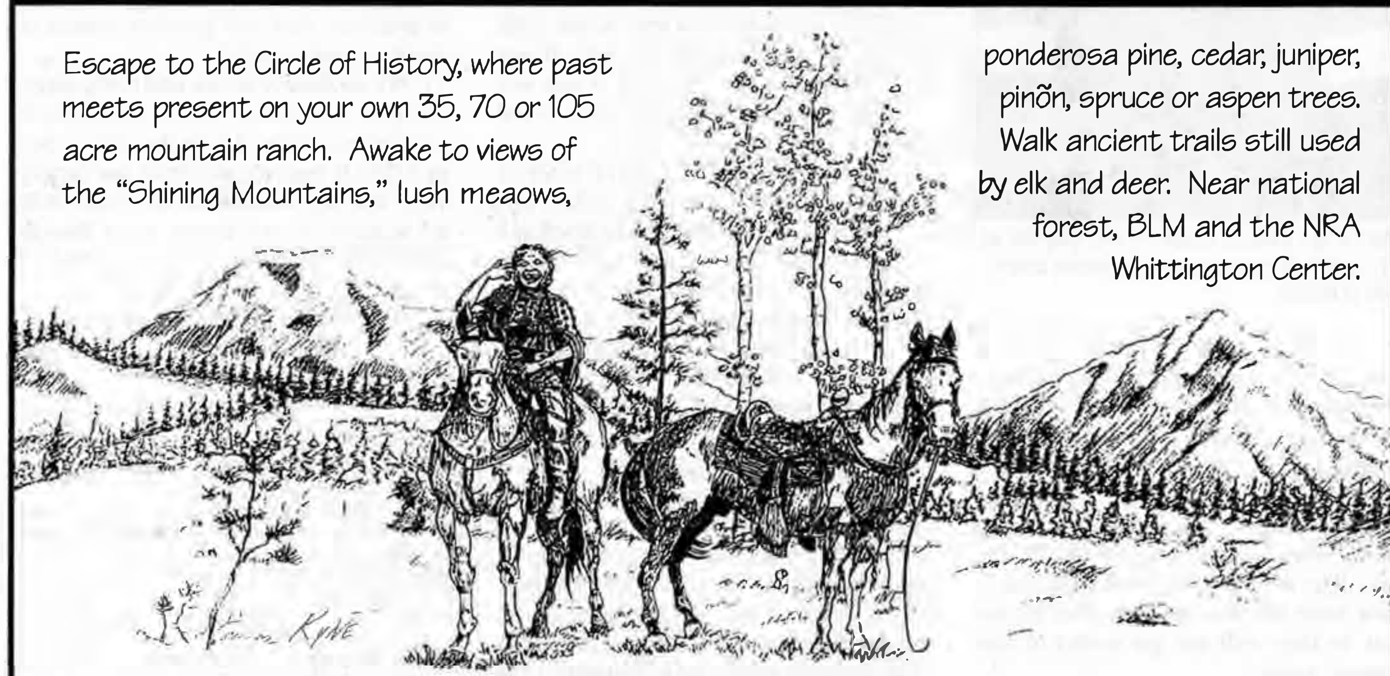

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SECTION G

Indians

SHAWNEE HISTORY©

"So live your life that the fear of death can never enter your heart. Trouble no one about their religion; respect others in their view, and demand that they respect yours. Love your life, perfect your life, beautify all things in your life. Seek to make your life long and its purpose in the service of your people. Prepare a noble death song for the day when you go over the great divide. Always give a word or a sign of salute when meeting or passing a friend, even a stranger, when in a lonely place. Show respect to all people and grovel to none. When you arise in the morning give thanks for the food and for the joy of living. If you see no reason for giving thanks, the fault lies only in yourself. Abuse no one and no thing, for abuse turns the wise ones to fools and robs the spirit of its vision. When it comes your time to die, be not like those whose hearts are filled with the fear of death, so that when their time comes they weep and pray for a little more time to live their lives over again in a different way. Sing your death song and die like a hero going home."

Chief Tecumseh, Shawnee Nation

[Note: This is a single part of what will be, by my classification, about 240 compact tribal histories (contact to 1900). It is limited to the lower 48 states of the U.S. but also includes those First Nations from Canada and Mexico that had important roles (Huron, Micmac, Assiniboine, etc.).

This history's content and style are representative. The normal process at this point is to circulate an almost finished product among a peer group for comment and criticism. At the end of this History you will find links to those Nations referred to in the History of the Shawnee.

Using the Internet, this can be more inclusive. Feel free to comment or suggest corrections via e-mail. Working together we can end some of the historical misinformation about Native Americans. You will find the ego at this end to be of standard size. Thanks for stopping by. I look forward to your comments...Lee Sultzman.]

Shawnee Location

Originally southern Ohio, West Virginia, and western Pennsylvania. The Shawnee were driven from this area by the Iroquois sometime around the 1660s and then scattered in all directions to South Carolina, Tennessee's Cumberland Basin, eastern Pennsylvania, and southern Illinois. By 1730 most of the Shawnee had returned to their homeland only to be forced to leave once again - this time by American settlement. Moving first to Missouri and then Kansas, the main body finally settled in Oklahoma after the Civil War.

Population

Estimates of the original Shawnee population range from 3,000 to 50,000, but a reasonable guess is somewhere around 10,000. By 1700 they were still scattered, and accurate estimates were impossible ..perhaps 6,000. The first good count occurred in 1825 and gave 1,400 Shawnee in Missouri, 110 in Louisiana, and 800 in Ohio. There were also a couple hundred in Texas at this time, so the total should have been near 2,500. There was only a minor decline by the time of the 1910 census: Absentee Shawnee 481; Eastern Shawnee 107; and Shawnee (Cherokee Shawnee) with the Cherokee Nation 1,400. Currently, there are more than 14,000 Shawnee in the United States in four groups - three of which are in Oklahoma. The 2,000 Absentee Shawnee in the vicinity of Shawnee, Oklahoma organized in 1936 under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act and continue to be the most traditional of the Shawnee groups. The Eastern Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma are descended from the mixed Seneca-Shawnee band which left Lewistown, Ohio and came to the Indian Territory in 1832. Recognized as a separate tribe in 1867, they organized as the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma during the 1930s and have 1,600 members.

The largest Shawnee group is the Loyal Shawnee, who constituted the main group of the Shawnee prior to the Civil War. Relocated to Oklahoma from Kansas, they purchased land and were incorporated into the Cherokee in 1869. A separate business council handles the affairs for 8,000 Shawnee, but the BIA still considers them as part of the Cherokee Nation. There is also the 600 member Shawnee Nation United Remnant Band (URB) which claims descent from Ohio Shawnee who somehow managed to avoid removal during the 1830s. Organized in 1971, they were recognized in 1980 by the state of Ohio and have since purchased 170 acres near Urbana and Chillicothe. However, they are neither federally recognized nor accepted by the three official groups of the Shawnee.

Names

Shawnee comes from the Algonquin word "shawun" (shawunogi) meaning "southerner." However, this referred to their original location in the Ohio Valley relative to other Great Lakes Algonquin rather than a homeland in the American southeast. Shawnee usually prefer to call themselves the Shawano - sometimes given as Shawanoe or Shawanese. South Carolina colonists knew them as the Savannah or Savannuca. Other names: Ani-Sawanugi (Cherokee), Chaouanons (Chauenon) (French), Chaskpe (Chaouesnon) (French), Chiouanon (Seneca), Cumberland Indians, Ontwagnnn (Iroquois "one who stutters"), Oshawanoag (Ottawa), Satana (Iroquois), Shawala (Lakota), and Touguenha (Iroquois).

Language

Algonquin. Southern Great Lakes (Wakashan) dialect closely related to Fox, Sauk, Mascouten, and Kickapoo.

Sub-Nations

Five total:

> Chillicothe (Calaka, Chalaakaatha, Chalahgawtha), Hathawekela (Oawikila, Thaawikila, Thawegila), Kispoko (Kiscopocoke, Kispokotha, Spitotha), Mequachake (Maykujay, Mekoce, Mekoche), and Piqua (Pekowi, Pequa).

Villages

A number following a name means there was more than one village of the same name, while a tribal name indicates a mixed population.

> Auglaize (OH), Black Bob's (MO), Blue Jacket's Town (3) (OH), Bulltown (WVA), Captain Johnny's (OH), Chartierstown (PA), Chillicothe (5) (OH), Conedogwinit, Cornstalk's Town (OH), Coshocton (Koshachkink) (Delaware-Munsee-Mingo), Girty's Town (OH), Grenadier

Squaw's Town (OH), Hog Creek (OH), Kagoughsage (OH), Lewistown (Mingo) (OH), Lick Town (OH), Logstown (Delaware-Mingo) (PA), Long Tail's Town (KS), Lowertown (Lower Shawnee Town) (2) (OH), Maguck (OH), Macachack (Mequachake) (OH), Nutimy's Town (Delaware-Mahican) (PA), Olathe (KS), Old Shawnee Town (OH), Paxtang (Delaware) (PA), Peixtan (Nanticoke) (PA), Pigeon Town (OH), Piqua (Pequea) (5) (PA-OH), Sawanugi (AL), Sawcunk (Delaware-Mingo) (PA), Scoutash's Town (Mingo) (OH), Sewickley (Delaware-Mingo) (PA), Shamokin (Delaware-Iroquois-Tutelo) (PA), Shawnee Mission (KS), Shawneetown (IL), Snake's Town (OH), Sonnioto (Sonnontio) (Delaware-Mingo) (OH), Tippecanoe (Prophetstown) (IN), Sylacauga (AL), Venango (Delaware-Ottawa-Seneca-Wyandot) (PA), Wakatomica (Mingo) (OH), Wakatawicks (OH), Wapakoneta (Wapaughkonetta) (OH), Will's Town (2) (MD-PA), and Wyoming (Delaware-Iroquois-Mahican-Munsee-Nanticoke) (PA).

Culture

The Shawnee considered the Delaware as their "grandfathers" and the source of all Algonquin tribes. They also shared an oral tradition with the Kickapoo that they were once members of the same tribe. Identical language supports this oral history, and since the Kickapoo are known to have originally lived in northeast Ohio prior to contact, it can safely be presumed that the Shawnee name of "southerner" means they lived somewhere immediately south of the Kickapoo. However, the exact location is uncertain, since the Iroquois forced both tribes to abandon the area before contact. The loss of their homeland has given the Shawnee the reputation of being wanderers, but this was by necessity, not choice. The Shawnee have always maintained a strong sense of tribal identity, but this produced very little central political organization. During their dispersal, each of their five divisions functioned as an almost autonomous unit. This continued to plague them after they returned to Ohio, and few Shawnee could ever claim to the title of "head chief." Like the Delaware, Shawnee civil chiefships were hereditary and held for life. They differed from the Delaware in that, like most Great Lakes Algonquin, the Shawnee were patrilineal with descent traced through the father. War chiefs were selected on the basis of merit and skill.

During their stay in the southeast, the Shawnee acquired a some cultural characteristics from the Creek and Cherokee, but, for the most part, they were fairly typical Great Lakes Algonquin. During the summer the Shawnee gathered into large villages of bark-covered long houses, with each village usually having a large council house for meetings and religious ceremonies. In the fall they separated to small hunting camps of extended families. Men were warriors who did the hunting and fishing. Care of their corn fields was the responsibility of the women. Many important Shawnee ceremonies were tied to the agricultural cycle: the spring bread dance at planting time; the green corn dance when crops ripened; and the autumn bread dance to celebrate the harvest. Besides Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa (The Prophet), famous Shawnee include: Cornstalk, Blackfish, Black Hoof, and Bluejacket.

History

Little is known of the details of the Shawnee's expulsion from the Ohio Valley during the first part of the Beaver Wars (1630-1700). Blame is usually placed with the Iroquois, but the Shawnee may also have warred at some earlier period with the Erie and Neutrals. By 1656 the Iroquois had conquered and assimilated their Iroquian-speaking rivals except the Susquehannock and had started to clear the Algonquin tribes from the Ohio Valley and lower Michigan. Most of these enemies ended up as refugees in Wisconsin, but some of the Shawnee apparently were able to hold on for a few years as Susquehannock allies. In 1658 the western Iroquois (Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga) attacked the Susquehannock in what would be the final chapter of many years of warfare between them. It took the Iroquois until 1675 to defeat the Susquehannock, but the Shawnee lacked firearms and were forced to abandon most of the upper Ohio Valley during the late 1660s. Rather than retreat enmass to Wisconsin, they dispersed into four groups.

Two of these moved south towards the Cherokee in eastern Tennessee. Although relations between them had not always been friendly, the Cherokee were already beginning to have their own problems with the Iroquois

and allowed one group of Shawnee (Chillicothe and Kispoko) to settle in the Cumberland Basin as a buffer against the Chickasaw (traditional Cherokee enemies). When the French began to explore the Ohio Valley in the 1670s, they first met the Shawnee on the Cumberland River, although they were told at the time the Shawnee had lived on Ohio. The Cherokee gave permission to the second Shawnee group (Hathawekela) to cross the Appalachians and settle on the Savannah River in South Carolina to provide protection from the Cherokee's Catawba enemies in the east. After the settlement of South Carolina in 1670, British traders first encountered Shawnee, who they called Savannah, on the upper Savannah River in 1674.

The other two Shawnee groups went in opposite directions. Following the Iroquois destruction of the Susquehannock, some of the Piqua moved east in 1677 and eventually found a refuge with the Delaware who allowed them to settle at the junction of Pequa Creek and the Susquehanna River in southern Pennsylvania. As part of their peace with the Susquehannock, the Iroquois apparently tolerated the presence of this small group of Shawnee, but there were confrontations between Shawnee and British colonists along Maryland's Gunpowder River. The last group of Shawnee retreated west towards the Illinois country, where they became known to the French as Chaskp (Chaouesnon). In 1683 there were almost 3,000 of this western group of Shawnee living in the vicinity of the French trading post at Fort St. Louis on the upper Illinois River. Allied with the Miami and Illinois, the Shawnee continued their war with the Iroquois, and in 1684 the Seneca attacked the Miami, because they had allowed some of these hostile Shawnee to settle near their villages in northwest Indiana.

For a period of 70 years following its conquest by the Iroquois during the 1660s, the Ohio Valley (Indiana, Lower Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, and western Pennsylvania) was almost entirely uninhabited. The Iroquois never occupied the area but preferred to use it as a private hunting preserve. Freed from the pressure of its former human population, the Ohio Country quickly became a prime hunting territory. Although the Iroquois prevented permanent settlements, small groups of Shawnee returned frequently to the Ohio Valley to hunt, so during their many years of exile, the Shawnee never completely surrendered the claim to their homeland. Meanwhile, they were proving to be unwelcome guests in their new locations. Despite the common threat posed by the Iroquois at the time, the crowded conditions near the French trading posts in Illinois eventually provoked a violent confrontation between the Shawnee and Illinois Confederacy in 1689. The Shawnee soon left the area to join their relatives in Tennessee, but forever afterwards, they had a strong dislike for the Illinois and often returned to raid their villages.

Not all of the Shawnee from Illinois went south to the Cumberland in Tennessee. One band continued east until they reached eastern Maryland which is where a Munsee (Delaware) and Mahican hunting party found them in 1692. As the Algonquin "grandfathers," the Munsee were able to convince the Shawnee to accompany them back to northern Pennsylvania and settle in the Lehigh Valley. Although both the Mahican and Munsee had been Iroquois allies and members of the covenant chain since 1677, the Shawnee from Illinois were still on the Iroquois "hit list" as enemies. For obvious reasons, there were strong protests when they Munsee provided refuge, and the Iroquois were preparing to deal with the situation through force if necessary. The Mahican, however, intervened and still commanded enough respect in the League councils that the Shawnee were allowed to stay with the Munsee. After making peace with the Iroquois in 1694, the Shawnee in eastern Pennsylvania also joined the covenant chain.

After their first meeting in South Carolina, the Savannah quickly became an important part of the British trade pattern of deerskins and captured native women and children as slaves in exchange for trade goods (firearms and whiskey). Within a few years, the Carolina colonists became increasingly concerned by the Westo, an aggressive tribe which had only recently arrived in south Carolina which lived in a single fortified village very near the settlements. Probably either a band of Yuchi or Erie refugees, the small Cusabo tribes in South Carolina were afraid of them and warned the colonists the Westo were cannibals. In 1680 British traders armed the Savannah who attacked and destroyed the Westo fort. The Westo dropped from sight afterwards, and any Westo who survived were captured and disappeared into the slave system. Unfortunately, relations between the Savannah and the South Carolina colonists turned sour shortly afterwards.

The Cherokee had allowed the Shawnee to settle in the area as protection from the Catawba, and they did this job almost too well. As fighting erupted between the Savannah and Catawba, the British did not remain entirely neutral. The Savannah were less cooperative and seemed hostile to further settlement. Meanwhile, they

were attracting Iroquois war parties to the area which posed a danger to everyone, including whites. Under constant attack from the Catawba and Yamasee who were well-armed by the British, the Savannah began to leave the area in small groups between 1690 and 1710. After the main body had been weakened by constant defections, the remaining Savannah met a final defeat by the Catawba in 1707, the date which marks their final expulsion from South Carolina. Some of the Hathawekela went north to Pennsylvania in 1706 and joined the Shawnee who were already part of the Iroquois covenant chain. Others found refuge with the Creek in Alabama settling first on the Chattahoochee and later the Tallapoosa. The rest joined their relatives in Tennessee. The Savannah never forgave the Catawba, and the war between them continued for 60 years. Meanwhile, they had left the Catawba in a second war with the Iroquois. By 1763 the Catawba were almost extinct.

The Cherokee also had problems with the Shawnee drawing Iroquois raiders to Tennessee, but thousands of new Shawnee from Illinois in the Cumberland Basin during 1690 changed their status from buffer against the Chickasaw to dangerous rival. During the winter of 1692, the Shawnee made a slave raid on a Cherokee village while its warriors were absent on a hunting trip. The incident was covered over at the time, but even more Shawnee arrived in the area from South Carolina in 1707, some of whom settled with their Creek enemies. The Shawnee had also began to trade with the French and allowed a trader named Charleville to build a post at Nashville near their villages. British allies and trading partners, the Cherokee allied with the Chickasaw (traditional enemies but also British allies) and defeated the Shawnee in 1715. A few Cumberland Shawnee found refuge with the Savannah living among the Creek, but by 1729 most had moved north into Kentucky - the Dark and Bloody Ground - and towards their old homeland in southern Ohio.

Meanwhile, the other Shawnee were leaving eastern Pennsylvania, but for different reasons. In 1737 Pennsylvania cheated the Delaware out of their last lands in the Lehigh Valley. The loss forced the Shawnee to also leave the area. They settled for a time with the Munsee and other Delaware on Iroquois lands in the Wyoming and Susquehanna Valleys, but the crowded conditions soon had them looking at western Pennsylvania. Except for the Wyandot, who the Iroquois were trying to lure away from the French alliance, and a few groups of Mingo (Iroquois descended from Huron, Neutrals, and Erie adopted during the 1650s), no tribe had occupied the area since the onset of the Beaver Wars. Small hunting camps on the upper Ohio were soon followed by permanent Shawnee villages, and the Mingo not only did not object to this, but even settled with them in the same villages. Encouraged, the Shawnee invited the Delaware to join them, and during the 1740s, thousands of Delaware and Shawnee left Iroquois domination on the Susquehanna and moved to western Pennsylvania.

After nearly a century of separation, the different bands of Shawnee were finally coming back to their original homeland, but the moves toward their eventual reunion were not always smooth. One group of Pennsylvania Shawnee continued south and, after making peace with the Cherokee in 1746, resettled the Cumberland Basin. The peace, however, did not include the Chickasaw, and the Shawnee were attacked and driven from Tennessee after a battle near Nashville in 1756. Afterwards, they moved north to Ohio where most of the other Shawnee were living at the time. Meanwhile, a large group of Cumberland Shawnee had settled in 1745 at Shawneetown which was near a new French fort on the Ohio in southern Illinois. The location proved to be too exposed to attack by the Chickasaw, and after only two years, they left and moved to western Pennsylvania. By 1758 all of the Shawnee, except for the few still with the Creek in Alabama, were living along the north side of the Ohio between the Allegheny and Scioto Rivers.

In 1740 Ohio and western Pennsylvania were claimed by the Iroquois by right of conquest, the French by right of "discovery," and the British since the treaty ending the King William's War (1688-97) had placed the Iroquois under British "protection" - a favor for which the Iroquois had never asked. The results of these conflicting claims were conflicting self-interests. Although an important member of the French-inspired Algonquin alliance which had driven them from the western Great Lakes between 1687 and 1701, the Iroquois chose to treat the Wyandot as their viceroy in Ohio. Shortly after the Shawnee and Delaware began to relocate to western Pennsylvania, the Wyandot indicated their approval and invited them to settle even further west in Ohio. The Iroquois made no objection since this placed members of the covenant chain in Ohio which would prevent its occupation by French allies. The French were pleased because they had been trying since the 1720s to draw the Shawnee north for purposes of trade and alliance, and the British saw it as an excellent opportunity to open the Ohio Valley to their traders.

Unfortunately, no one remained pleased for very long. By 1744 the Ohio tribes (Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo) had become too large and important to be ignored. Located in a large arc stretching from Sandusky River to northeastern Ohio and down the Ohio River, their mixed villages had a combined population approaching 10,000 with 2,000 warriors. There was little actually fighting in Ohio during the King George's War (1744-48), but there was increasing competition for its trade. The French continued to court the Shawnee using a Mtis, Pierre Chartier (French father and Shawnee mother). Chartier's efforts succeeded in getting some Shawnee to attack British traders, and the British worried that the Ohio tribes were coming under French influence and urged the Iroquois to order the Shawnee and Delaware to return to the Susquehanna. The League was angry that the British had interpreted the Lancaster Treaty in 1744 as the cession of Ohio when the Iroquois had only intended to give them permission to build a trading post. The Iroquois finally agreed to the British request to relocate the Ohio tribes, only to find its orders were ignored. Threats followed, but no one left Ohio, and it was the Iroquois' turn to become alarmed.

The French were also having serious problems. A British blockade of Canada during the King George's War had stopped the flow of trade goods, and as a result, their alliance with the Great Lakes tribes was coming apart. Taking advantage of this, British traders were all over the Ohio Valley. The Wyandot were openly trading with them, and other loyal allies were conspiring to do the same. To keep the British out, the French needed to keep its old allies and bring the Shawnee and Delaware over to themselves. Although the British still regarded the Shawnee and Delaware as subordinate to the Iroquois, their refusal to return to the Susquehanna obviously meant something was very wrong. At the Treaty of Lancaster in 1748, they urged the League to restore the Ohio tribes to the covenant chain as a barrier against the French, and the Iroquois created a system of "half kings" - Iroquois authorized to represent the Shawnee and Delaware in League councils. The new arrangement satisfied the Ohio tribes, and when a French expedition tried to expel British traders and mark the Ohio boundary with lead plates in 1749, the Mingo demanded to know by what right the French were claiming Iroquois land.

In desperation, the French decided to use force, but the Detroit tribes were friendly with the Ohio tribes and reluctant to attack them. In June, 1752 the Mtis, Charles Langlade, recruited a war party of 250 Ojibwe and Ottawa from Michilimackinac which destroyed the Miami village and British trading post at Piqua, Ohio. Stunned, their allies quickly rejoined the alliance, and the French followed their success with an attempt to block British access to Ohio with a line of new forts across western Pennsylvania. The Shawnee and Delaware had no wish to be controlled by the French and asked the Iroquois League to stop this. The Iroquois turned to the British, and in 1752 signed the Logstown Treaty confirming their land cessions in 1744 and giving the British permission to build a blockhouse at the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh). The French destroyed this before it was even completed and proceeded to build Fort Duquesne at the same location. Virginia sent Major George Washington to demand the French abandon their forts and stop building new ones. His first visit in 1753 met with a polite refusal from the French commander, but his second expedition in 1754 resulted in a fight with French soldiers and started the French and Indian War (1754-63).

Throughout the summer of 1754 the Shawnee, Delaware and Mingo stood ready to join the British against the French, but this changed in the fall when it was learned the Iroquois had ceded Ohio to the British during the Albany Conference in May. The Ohio tribes not only lost confidence in the Iroquois but decided the British were also enemies who wanted to take their land. However, they stopped well-short of allying with the French and refused to help them supply or defend their forts. The French were finally forced to assemble a force of 300 French Canadians and 600 allies from the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes tribes to defend Fort Duquesne against the British, but this would include only four Shawnee and no Delaware. The Shawnee and Delaware were angry but neutral while the British assembled an army to take Fort Duquesne. Unfortunately, they did not appear this way to the British. In 1753 The Pride, a Shawnee war chief, had been captured in South Carolina during a raid against the Catawba. After he died in a British prison, his grieving relatives retaliated in 1754 with raids against the North Carolina frontier.

In July, 1755 General Edward Braddock met disaster when his 2,200-man army was ambushed just before reaching Fort Duquesne. Half the command was killed (including Braddock himself) and when the news reached the colonies, disbelief was followed by a violent anger towards all Native Americans. Although the Shawnee and Delaware had not participated in the battle, they chose a very poor moment to send a delegation

to Philadelphia to protest the Iroquois cession of Ohio. Pennsylvania hanged them, and the Shawnee and Delaware went to war against the British, not for the French, but for themselves. In 1755 war parties struck the frontiers in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland in a wave of death and destruction that killed 2,500 colonists during the next two years. In the process, the Shawnee got their final revenge on the Catawba for their expulsion from South Carolina in 1707 when they killed Haiglar, the last important Catawba chief - an event generally regarded as the end of Catawba power. The Iroquois ordered the Shawnee and Delaware to stop but were ignored.

The raiding continued until a peace was signed with the eastern Delaware at Easton, Pennsylvania in October, 1758. Pennsylvania unilaterally renounced its claims to the land west of the Appalachians purchased from the Iroquois in 1754. Word of this agreement quickly reached Ohio, and the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo offered no resistance when the British captured Fort Duquesne in November. In July, 1759 the Shawnee and Ohio Delaware made peace with the British and ended their attacks on the frontier. Quebec and Fort Niagara fell in the fall, and with the surrender of Montreal in 1760, the war in North America was over. The Ohio tribes had taken over 650 white prisoners during the war. These were exchanged on Ohio's Muskingum River in 1761, but surprisingly, half refused repatriation and remained with the tribes which had adopted them. With the war ended, prisoners exchanged, and their claims to Ohio extinguished, the Shawnee and their allies expected the British to leave. Instead they built Fort Pitt at the site of Fort Duquesne and garrisoned it with 200 men. When the Shawnee and Delaware signed a final treaty at Lancaster in 1762, they felt betrayed.

No longer forced to compete with the French, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, the British military commander in North America, decided to treat the native allies of the French as conquered peoples. Annual presents to alliance chiefs ended and the supply of trade goods was restricted, particularly gunpowder and rum. Since the tribes had grown dependent on these items, there was a severe reaction. By 1761 the Seneca were circulating a war belt calling for a general uprising against the British. Only the Shawnee and Delaware responded, but the British Indian agent, Sir William Johnson, discovered the plot during a meeting at Detroit with members of the old French alliance. The unrest continued and by the spring of 1763 had collected around the leadership of Pontiac, the Ottawa chief at Detroit. The Pontiac Rebellion caught the British completely unaware with the sudden capture of six of nine forts west of the Appalachians. The Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo besieged Fort Pitt and hit the Pennsylvania frontier with a series of raids which killed 600 settlers.

Only an informer saved the garrison at Detroit, but Forts Niagara and Pitt were surrounded and isolated. In desperation, Amherst wrote the commander at Fort Pitt, Captain Simeon Ecuyer, suggesting he deliberately attempt to infect the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo besieging his fort with gifts of smallpox-infected blankets and handkerchiefs. Ecuyer took this as an order and did exactly that. It proved particularly effective because the Ohio tribes had little immunity having missed the 1757-58 epidemic among the French allies contracted during the capture of Fort William Henry (New York). The Shawnee were fighting the Cherokee in Tennessee at the time, and they carried the disease to them, and then the Shawnee living with the Creek Confederacy. From there it spread to the Chickasaw and Choctaw, and finally the entire southeast. Before it had run its course, the epidemic had killed thousands, including British colonists.

Pontiac's Rebellion collapsed after its failure to take Forts Pitt, Niagara, and Detroit, and the French refusal to help their former allies. In August the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo were defeated by Colonel Henry Bouquet in a two-day battle at Bushy Run which broke the siege of Fort Pitt. They retreated west into Ohio and continued to raid Pennsylvania, but Bouquet's army followed them west while Colonel John Bradstreet went after the Ojibwe, Wyandot, and Ottawa near Detroit. Pontiac was forced to retreat west into Indiana, and his allies began to defect to make their own peace with the British. Amherst was replaced by Thomas Gage who restored the supply of trade goods to previous levels, and in November the Delaware and Shawnee signed a peace with the British at Coshocton releasing 200 white prisoners. The British government was shaken by the uprising and issued the Proclamation of 1763 prohibiting further settlement west of the Appalachians. However, this provided little relief for the Ohio tribes and a great deal of grief for the British.

Unlike Pennsylvania, Virginia had never renounced its claim to Ohio and in 1749 had chartered the Ohio Company with a large land grant at the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh). Virginia's claims were far more extensive than Pennsylvania and included the entire Ohio Valley west to the Illinois River including Kentucky, West Virginia, and lower Michigan. Many colonists (including George Washington) had invested in Ohio land

speculation, and the British refusal to open the area for settlement started many of the more wealthy colonists on the path towards revolution. Poor frontiersmen had a simpler solution - they ignored the proclamation and settled on lands in western Pennsylvania. Meanwhile, white settlement was beginning to encroach on the Iroquois homeland. This was the setting in 1768 when the British and Iroquois met at Fort Stanwix and produced a treaty where the Iroquois (who could no longer control the Ohio tribes) ceded Ohio to the British (who could no longer control the Americans).

Shawnee protests to the Iroquois went unanswered except for a threat of annihilation if they refused to accept the agreement forcing the Shawnee to take matters into their own hands. In what proved to be the opening moves towards the western alliance, they made overtures to the: Illinois, Wea, Piankashaw, Miami, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Wyandot, Ottawa, Delaware, Mascouten, Ojibwe, Cherokee and Chickasaw. Meetings were held on the Sciota River in Ohio in 1770 and 1771, but William Johnson (also a land speculator) was able to prevent the formation of an actual alliance, which left the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo alone to face the Long Knives (Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiersmen). The Iroquois cession of Ohio had included Kentucky, but this area was also claimed by the Cherokee - no one bothered to consider the Shawnee claim to Kentucky as hunting territory. At Watonga (1774) and Sycamore Shoals (1775), the British were able to get the Cherokee to sell eastern and central Kentucky to the Transylvania Land Company (Henderson Purchase).

These agreements which opened the Ohio Valley to settlement were essentially private purchases by land speculators in violation of British law. After the treaty at Fort Stanwix, the British government had basically washed its hands of the whole affair other than invalidating the claim by the Wabash Company to lands in Indiana. The British closed Fort Pitt (only Michilimackinac, Kaskaskia, and Detroit had garrisons) and sat back "to watch the fur fly." By 1774 there were 50,000 frontiersmen west of the Appalachians spoiling for a fight. Most had been fighting Indians for several generations, and they could be as brutal and merciless as any warrior. When they sold their rights to Kentucky, the Cherokee had tried to warn Daniel Boone that the Shawnee would fight if the Americans tried to settle there, but Boone already knew this. They had killed his oldest son James during a hunting expedition in 1773.

Tensions were already high in the white settlements along the upper Ohio between Pittsburgh and mouth of the Muskingum. Both Virginia and Pennsylvania claimed the area around Pittsburgh and were almost ready to fight each other for it. Having seen this kind of thing before, the Delaware made plans to move and in 1770 obtained the permission of the Miami to settle in Indiana. Fighting started when Virginia sent survey crews west of the Kanawha River to map Kentucky for settlement. Knowing what this meant, Shawnee warriors harassed them, and that fall 650 Kispoko and Piqua Shawnee left Ohio and headed west towards Spanish Missouri. Early in 1774 Virginia militia took over the abandoned Fort Pitt to use as a supply base for a possible war against the Shawnee. There were more clashes between the surveyors and Shawnee in Kentucky that spring, and believing the war had already started, Michael Cresap and a group of vigilantes attacked a Shawnee trading party near Wheeling in April killing a chief.

The following month, another group of Long Knives massacred a peaceful band of Mingo at Yellow Creek (Stuebenville, Ohio). The victims included the Shawnee wife of Logan, a Mingo war chief. Several days later, Logan's brother and pregnant sister were also murdered. However, the Shawnee chief Cornstalk wanted to avoid a war and went to Fort Pitt to ask the Virginians to "cover the dead." Meanwhile, Logan went to the Shawnee-Mingo village of Wakatomica and recruited a war party. While Cornstalk was talking at Fort Pitt, Logan's gruesome revenge killed 13 settlers on the Muskingum River. Lord Dunmore's (Cresap's) War (1774) began in June. Logan tried to tell colonial officials in July the killing had ended, but the Virginians had gathered into forts awaiting reinforcements from the east. Rather than resolve matters through negotiation, the governor of Virginia, John Murray (4th Earl of Dunmore), raised a large army of militia and brought them west to Ohio.

Weakened by the recent defections of their tribesmen to Missouri, the Shawnee sent a war belt to the Detroit tribes which was refused. Most of the Delaware also chose to remain neutral, so the Shawnee and Mingo were badly outnumbered. Dunmore's militia destroyed Wakatomica and five other villages, and in October was gathering at Point Pleasant (West Virginia) on the Ohio for a second invasion, when Cornstalk and 300 warriors launched a sudden attack. The battle lasted most of the day with heavy casualties on both sides, but Cornstalk was finally forced to withdraw across the Ohio. A month later, he met with Virginia officials and

signed the Treaty of Camp Charlotte relinquishing Shawnee claims south of the Ohio and promising not to settle there. Immediately afterwards, the remaining Hathawekela Shawnee left Ohio and moved to the Creek in northern Alabama. Lord Dunmore's War opened Kentucky for settlement, and in March, 1775 James Harrod founded Harrodstown, the first permanent American settlement in Kentucky. By the time Daniel Boone led a second party through the Cumberland Gap and settled at Boonesborough a month later, the first shots of the American Revolution had been fired at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts.

True to his word, Cornstalk kept the peace with the Long Knives after 1774, but he could not speak for all Shawnee. With the beginning of the revolution, the British ceased being an interested observer and began urging the Shawnee and others to attack American settlements. Some tribes chose neutrality, but by arguing the Americans were going to take their land, the British succeeded with the Detroit tribes, St. Joseph Potawatomi, Mingo, and the Saginaw and Mackinac Ojibwe. They also got an alliance between the war factions of the Shawnee and Cherokee (Chickamauga). In July, 1776 the Chickamauga attacked two frontier forts in the Carolinas which provoked an American retaliation against all of the Cherokee. Meanwhile, Chickamauga and Shawnee war parties roamed through Kentucky attacking Americans. Before the Iroquois themselves were drawn into the war in 1777, the League demanded the Shawnee stop their attacks, but by this time, they almost expected to be ignored.

Besides encouragement, the British supplied arms and paid bounties for American scalps without regard to sex or age. The result was a vicious private war between the Ohio tribes and Kentucky settlements separate from the conflict east of the Appalachians. In July, 1776 near Boonesborough, Daniel Boone's 14-year-old daughter and two of her friends were captured by a Shawnee-Cherokee war party. Boone rescued them after a three-day chase and pitched battle. The situation deteriorated so rapidly into personal hatreds and reprisals that Cornstalk was losing control of his warriors. Accompanied by his son in 1777, he went to Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) to warn the Americans the Shawnee were going over to the British. Rather than being grateful for this, the soldiers took Cornstalk hostage and later murdered him to avenge the killing of a white man. Cornstalk's successor was Blackfish, a bitter enemy of the Americans, who retaliated with raids throughout Kentucky and western Pennsylvania.

By July Boonesborough, Harrodsburg and St. Asaph's (Logan's Fort) were the only settlements left in Kentucky. The other settlers had either moved into the forts or returned east. However, even the forts were not safe. In September, Fort Henry (Wheeling) was attacked by 400 Shawnee, Mingo and Wyandot. Half of the 42-man garrison was killed before relief arrived, and before withdrawing, the war party burned the nearby settlement. In February, 1778 General Edward Hand left Fort Pitt with force of Pennsylvania militia on a punitive raid into Ohio. Hand never caught any hostiles, but his "Squaw Campaign" destroyed two peaceful villages and almost brought the Delaware into the war. Hand resigned and was replaced by General Lachlan McIntosh. Meanwhile, a white scout at Fort Pitt named Simon Girty became convinced the Americans would lose the war and deserted to the British. Known as the "Great Renegade," Girty would soon be leading Shawnee war parties and become one of Long Knives' most brutal enemies.

In May Blackfish and Half King led 300 Shawnee and Wyandot warriors in an attack on Fort Randolph to avenge Cornstalk. The fort's commander, however, refused to allow his men outside to fight, and frustrated after a week-long siege, the war party left and moved up the Kanawha River to attack settlements near Greenbrier. Daniel Boone had been captured by the Shawnee in February, but Blackfish refused to turn him over to the British and adopted him as his own son. Boone escaped in June to warn Boonesborough of an impending attack. This finally came in September, and while his warriors besieged Boonesborough for nine-days, Blackfish stood outside the walls and berated Boone's ingratitude and betrayal of his adopted father. Despite Hand's "Squaw Campaign," the Delaware went to Fort Pitt in September and signed a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Americans. They also agreed to the construction of an American fort on the west bank of the Tuscarawas in Ohio to "protect them from the British" but balked at joining an expedition to capture Detroit. This lack of cooperation made the Long Knives suspicious, and in November while escorting them to the site of the new fort, the Delaware head chief White Eyes was murdered by the Americans.

The Americans won a major victory in 1778 when George Rogers Clark captured the British forts at Vincennes (Fort Sackville) and Kaskaskia in August and took control of the Illinois Country. With the help of the Detroit tribes, the British re-occupied Fort Sackville in December, but Clark counterattacked and forced its surrender

in February, 1779. British prisoners were spared, but Indians were executed by tomahawk. As if cursed by White Eyes' ghost, Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas became a death-trap for the Americans. In January, 1779 a detachment was attacked a Mingo war party led by Simon Girty. A month later, 18 soldiers were killed directly in front of the fort, and the Mingo and Wyandot kept it surrounded until relief arrived from Fort Pitt in March. By August it had been abandoned as indefensible. The Kentuckians retaliated for Shawnee raids in May when John Bowman and 300 mounted volunteers crossed the Ohio River and burned Old Chillicothe. Blackfish was killed, and the Shawnee moved their villages from the Scioto farther north to the Mad River.

The Long Knives were in an ugly mood. They not only rejected a peace offer from the Wyandot and Shawnee but attacked a delegation of Delaware (American allies at the time) enroute to meet with the Congress at Philadelphia. Tired of the fighting, the last of the Kispoko and Piqua left for Spanish Louisiana leaving the Chillicothe and Mequachake as the last Shawnee in Ohio. At the beginning of 1780 the British were planning a three-pronged offensive to capture the entire Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. Captain Henry Bird left Detroit in April with 600 warriors, and by the time he reached the Ohio, there were 1,200. Throughout the summer American settlements burned while their residents were tortured and killed. Clark retaliated against the Shawnee villages on the Mad River in August. He took only seven prisoners, but for Clark this was a new record so far as mercy was concerned.

The cycle of atrocity and revenge continued during 1781, In the spring Daniel Brodhead burned the Delaware capital at Coshocton. Women and children were taken prisoner, but men were executed by tomahawk. By the time a war council met at New Chillicothe in June, there were no neutral tribes in Ohio. During the summer, war parties, often led by Simon Girty, struck throughout Kentucky and Pennsylvania. By August George Rogers Clark was gathering an expedition to capture Detroit, but a group of Pennsylvania militia coming to join him was ambushed near the mouth of the Miami River (Cincinnati) by Canadian Iroquois and Tories led by the Mohawk Joseph Brant. Afterwards, Brant waited to ambush Clark on the Ohio. Clark, however, avoided the trap and reached safety at Fort Nelson (Louisville), but Detroit remained in British hands until 1795.

In March, 1782 Pennsylvania militia massacred 90 peaceful Moravian Delaware at Gnadenhuetten (Ohio) giving the Delaware good reason for revenge. In June an American offensive against the Sandusky villages was defeated during a two-day battle in northern Ohio. The American commander, Colonel William Crawford was captured by the Wyandot and turned over to the Delaware. While Simon Girty watched and taunted him, the Delaware burned Crawford (a personal friend of George Washington) at the stake. In August Girty led another raid against Kentucky, this time at Bryan's Station. Pursued by militia, he ambushed them at Blue Licks on the Licking River. Sixty Americans were killed including Daniel Boone's son Israel. The Mingo burned Hannastown, Pennsylvania, and in October a 300-man war party attacked Fort Henry at Wheeling, West Virginia for a second time. The following month, Clark with 1,100 mounted riflemen defeated the Shawnee on the Miami River and burned six of their villages, including New Chillicothe.

The Revolutionary War ended in 1783 with the Treaty of Paris, but the war between the Ohio tribes and Long Knives continued with few interruptions until 1795. Although the British asked their allies to stop their attacks on the Americans, there was a great deal of hypocrisy in this request. The British continued to perform the old French role of resolving intertribal disputes while at the same time encouraging an alliance to keep the Americans out of Ohio. While there was never a formal military alliance between them, the British provided aid and arms to the Ohio tribes from forts on American territory which they continued to occupy in violation of the peace treaty. Nevertheless, the British were more of an opportunist than instigator in this conflict. After seven years of brutal warfare, both sides still had scores to settle. Although the United States and Great Britain had made peace, the Long Knives did not feel this changed anything between themselves and the Shawnee. There was only a lull in the fighting, while each party sized up the intentions of the other.

The western (Northwest) alliance formed during a meeting at Sandusky in 1783. The British did not actually attend, but they brought the Mohawk Joseph Brant from Canada which was even better. A delegation from the alliance visited Detroit afterwards and was assured of British support. The first council fire of the alliance was at the Shawnee village of Wakatomica. After it was burned by the Americans in 1787, and the capitol was moved to Brownstown (Sindathon's village), a Wyandot village just south of Detroit. The treaty signed in Paris gave the United States the Ohio Valley but said nothing about Native Americans who lived there. It is

doubtful, however, the Americans would have accepted such a provision if it had been included. The America intentions became very clear in 1784, when they forced the defeated Iroquois to confirm their 1768 cession of the Ohio Valley through a second Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

The new American government needed to sell the land in Ohio to pay debts from the Revolutionary War, but 12,000 Long Knives were already north of the Ohio squatting on native lands. Squatters usually do not pay for the land they occupy, but they can still start costly wars. The American military could not stop this encroachment, so Congress needed to set a frontier with the Ohio tribes so that settlement by "paying customers" could begin. Since they considered the western alliance as a British plot, the Americans decided to negotiate only with the individual tribes. In January 1785 representatives of the Delaware, Ojibwe, Ottawa and Wyandot signed the Fort McIntosh Treaty acknowledging American sovereignty in Ohio and agreeing to a frontier at the Cuyahoga, Tuscarawas and Muskingum Rivers. Congress then sold the land rights to the Ohio Company and a New Jersey syndicate. A similar agreement was signed with the Shawnee at Fort Finney (Greater Miami Treaty) a year later.

Neither the American government nor the chiefs who signed these agreements really spoke for their constituents. Many of the alliance warriors wanted the Ohio, not the Muskingum, as the boundary, while the Long Knives would not be satisfied until they had taken the entire Ohio Valley. Only Molunthy (Mequachake) signed at Fort Finney (which involved more than a little intimidation and threat), but Blacksnake and the other Shawnee were ready to fight. That spring the Iroquois attempted to convene a conference at Buffalo Creek (New York) to resolve the growing crisis, but none of the Ohio tribes attended. Representatives from the alliance came to League's meeting in July but only to request its help against the Americans in case of war. The Iroquois did not commit themselves, but the British at Detroit did.

By the spring of 1786, there were already 400 Americans squatting among the French population at Vincennes on the lower Wabash River. There were several confrontations with the Miami and Kickapoo, but in July a large war party arrived in Vincennes and announced to the French they had come to kill all of the Americans. The French stalled, while the Americans forted-up and sent to Kentucky for help. Just as in the "good old days," George Rogers Clark arrived in the fall with Kentucky militia, but just as in the "good old days," half of them soon quit and went home. The desertions did not prevent Clark from sending a detachment to Kaskaskia to arrest a British trader thought to be a Spanish agent. As Clark was on the brink of starting a really big war, the American military commander, Josiah Harmar ordered him to disband and go home.

At its November council, the Chickamauga (driven from Tennessee to Ohio by the Americans) formally joined the alliance during its November council. The membership now included: Iroquois (Canadian), Wyandot, Mingo, Miami, Kickapoo, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Chickamauga, Fox, Sauk, and Mascouten. Joseph Brant managed to get a consensus favoring the Ohio River as the boundary with the Long Knives. However, the council decided on a temporary truce to allow time for their demands to reach Congress. If no answer was received by the spring, the raids would resume. Unfortunately, the message did not reach Philadelphia until July, and by that time, the war had resumed. After several Mingo, Chickamauga, and Shawnee raids terrorized Kentucky during the spring and summer, Colonel Benjamin Logan attacked the Shawnee villages on the Mad River in Ohio. Wakatomica and Mequachake were burned, but the innocent were much easier to find than the guilty, and the wrong Shawnee had been attacked. Molunthy was killed by Logan while holding treaty he had signed at Fort Finney.

The Shawnee moved their villages even farther north to the headwaters of the Miami. In December, the alliance council met to consider a request from the American governor, Arthur St. Clair, for a meeting to be held at Fort Harmar to set a new boundary for settlement. The council was badly divided. Some were willing to accept the Fort McIntosh boundary on the Muskingum, but the Shawnee, Miami, Wabash, and Joseph Brant were strongly opposed to this. Brant demanded a repudiation of all treaties ceding land in Ohio, but when the Wyandot decided they would attend, he left in disgust and returned to Ontario. The divisions within the alliance continued throughout 1788. American soldiers constructing the meeting house at Fort Harmar were attacked in July by an Ottawa-Ojibwe war party. Meanwhile, the Kickapoo ambushed an army convoy near the mouth of the Wabash. The Americans were furious, but the Wyandot finally were able to convince the Delaware, Potawatomi, and Detroit tribes to join them at the conference.

ıed at Fort Harmar (January, 1789) was the final attempt by both parties to resolve the issue shed the Muskingum as the boundary, but since the Shawnee were conspicuous by their dot also promised to take their lands and force them to leave Ohio if they did not remain at ıttle chance of this actually happening, and with half the alliance determined to ignore the Long Knives ready to take all of Ohio, the Fort Harmar Treaty was worthless from the moment it was signed. After Patrick Brown's Kentucky militia attacked the Wabash villages that summer, the Shawnee and Miami were able to establish a consensus for war. A Shawnee delegation visited the Iroquois in New York to request their help against the Americans, but when Iroquois declined, they lost whatever influence they still had within the alliance. When it became apparent the militants had gained control of the alliance council, the Americans decided to use force.

With 2,000 warriors led by the Miami war chief Little Turtle, the alliance soon proved it was very capable of defending itself, and the initial American moves against the alliance villages in northern Ohio ended in terrible defeats. In October, 1790 Colonel Josiah Harmar's expedition was ambushed on the upper Wabash near present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana. A year later, Arthur St. Clair's army met an even greater disaster in western Ohio - 600 killed and 400 wounded, the worst defeat ever inflicted on an American army by Native Americans. The Americans however, could not afford to quit, and President Washington sent "Mad Anthony" Wayne to Ohio. Wayne established himself at Fort Washington (Cincinnati) and began training his Legion, a large force of regulars, to back the frontier militia. At the same time, he started building roads and a line of forts to support a major offensive to the north.

As the alliance watched Wayne's careful preparations for their destruction, it began to come undone. The Fox and Sauk left because the alliance lacked the means to feed its warriors for extended periods. Meanwhile, the Americans had attacked the Wabash villages and captured many women and children. Holding them hostage in Kentucky, they were able to force the Wabash Miami and Kickapoo to sign a treaty in 1792 and withdraw from the alliance. In October the council met at Auglaize (Defiance, Ohio) to discuss its position in a meeting with American peace representatives. Joseph Brant and the British urged continued resistance, but the Shawnee cast their vote by intercepting and murdering two of the American commissioners on the Ohio River. A second delegation arrived in the summer of 1793 and, since it included Hendrick Aupamut (Stockbridge Indian), was protected by the Delaware. However, the talks failed to reach an agreement, and in October President Washington ordered Wayne to begin his advance into Ohio.

Although Little Turtle wiped out one of Wayne's supply detachments at Ludlow Springs, Wayne established himself at Fort Greenville 80 miles north of Cincinnati. In response, the British built Fort Miami at the falls of the Maumee in the spring of 1794. The alliance took this as a sign of support, but it was only a bluff, since the British government had already decided to reach an accord with the Americans. Wayne left Fort Greenville in July building more forts to support his advance. A Shawnee attack on Fort Recovery failed, and the Americans kept moving closer to the alliance villages on the Maumee River. At the council on August 13th, Little Turtle argued for caution but was overruled in the debate by the Shawnee war chief Bluejacket. The council decided to fight, and Little Turtle was replaced by Blue Jacket as the alliance war chief. When it finally faced Wayne's Legion at Fallen Timbers a week later, the alliance could field only 700 warriors. As the warriors retreated following the battle, the British at Fort Miami refused to open their gates to them.

Wayne spent the next three days destroying crops and villages in the area. Then in a show of force, he marched his Legion up to the gates of Fort Miami but turned around and went back to Fort Defiance. In October he destroyed the Miami villages on the upper Wabash and built Fort Wayne as a symbol of American authority in northeastern Indiana. Afterwards, Wayne returned to Fort Greenville and waited. In November the Jay Treaty was signed, and among other things, Britain agreed to abandon its forts in the Northwest. The following August, the alliance made peace with the United States and ceded all of Ohio except the northwestern corner. The treaty forced the Shawnee to surrender their lands on the Great Miami River. Some moved to the headwaters of the Auglaize, while others joined the Delaware on the White River in east-central Indiana. While the treaty was being signed at Greenville, the Americans failed to note the absence of a minor, but rising, Shawnee chief named Tecumseh (Tekamthi). However, Black Hoof and the other Shawnee chiefs noticed and knew it meant trouble.

In 1774 the Hathawekela Shawnee had left Ohio and moved to the Upper Creek in northern Alabama.

Tecumseh's mother, who had just lost her husband (a Kispoko) at the battle of Point Pleasant, went with them but left her two sons to be raised by their older sister Tecumpease. Tecumseh and his brother grew up as orphans, but in many ways this mirrored the circumstances of the Ohio Shawnee. Large groups of Shawnee had left Ohio in 1773 and 1779 and settled in southeast Missouri. The Spanish appreciated them as a means of checking the Osage and a defense against the Americans east of the Mississippi. Spanish emissaries came to Ohio in 1788 to urge more Shawnee and Delaware to emigrate, and more groups left. In 1793 Baron de Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, gave the Missouri Shawnee a 25 mile square land grant near Cape Girardeau. Groups of Ohio Shawnee unwilling to accept the Greenville treaty joined them, and two years later, the Hathawekela left the Creek in Alabama and immigrated to Spanish Louisiana.

By 1800 the Hathawekela, Kispokotha, and Piqua were in Missouri, and only the Chillicothe and Mequachake remained in Ohio. After fighting Shawnee in Ohio for 30 years, most Kentucky frontiersmen would have found it difficult to believe there were more Shawnee in Missouri than Ohio in 1795. The Missouri Shawnee maintained close ties to the Delaware who settled with them, but both tribes had problems with the Osage who had a nasty habit of taking other people's horses. There were also problems with the Kaskaskia (Illinois) east of the Mississippi who, because of memories of earlier wars with the Shawnee, usually refused to allow the Shawnee to hunt or travel across their territory to visit their relatives still in Ohio. This erupted into open warfare during 1802 when the Shawnee attacked a large Kaskaskia hunting party. The Kaskaskia lost so many of their few remaining warriors, they never again challenged the Shawnee's right to move as they pleased through southern Illinois.

The alliance just disintegrated after Fort Greenville, and most of the political and social organization of the individual tribes went with it with alcohol a major problem. Wayne recognized Bluejacket as the Shawnee chief, but after an attempt to revive the alliance failed in 1801, the leadership of the Ohio Shawnee passed to his rival Black Hoof, a Mequachake. Black Hoof may have been a "peace chief" favoring accommodation with the Americans, but he was no fool and was determined to keep his people's lands. During a visit to Washington in 1802, he startled Secretary of War Henry Dearborn by asking for a specific deed to the Shawnee lands in Ohio. After some frantic consultation, the request was denied. Meanwhile, almost as a challenge, Tecumseh had located his village on the deserted grounds of Fort Greenville. Individual Americans who met him found him friendly, intelligent and even charming, but he was also absolutely determined to fight any farther expansion of settlement.

In 1805 a Shawnee drunk named Lalawethika ("the rattle" - the Shawnee did not intend his name as a compliment) underwent an spiritual awakening in which he received a religious vision. Afterwards, he stopped drinking and changed his name to Tenskwatawa (The Open Door) - Americans simply called him the Shawnee Prophet. His message was essentially the same as the Delaware prophet Neolin had been 40 years earlier: return to traditional ways and forsake the white man's whiskey and trade goods. However, unlike Neolin, Tenskwatawa did not have to wait for a Pontiac - his brother was Tecumseh! While his own people watched this sudden transformation with amazement, Tenskwatawa gathered a large following among the Shawnee and Delaware but there was an ugly side to his movement. Americans were children of an evil spirit, the Great Serpent, and anyone who disagreed with him was likely to be killed as a witch or traitor. This side showed itself during his visit to the Delaware and Wyandot villages in the spring of 1806. The Delaware head chief and several Christian converts were burned as witches, and similar incidents occurred at the Wyandot villages in Ohio.

The witch hunts turned most of the Delaware and Wyandot against the Prophet and his followers. However, Tenskwatawa dramatically predicted a solar eclipse (some would say with the aid of a British almanac) in June, and his influence spread during the next two years as thousands visited him at Greenville. Tecumseh added a political element to his brother's religion: an alliance of all tribes to halt the surrender of land to the Americans. Perhaps the greatest of all Native Americans, Tecumseh was brave, respected, a skilled politician, and spell-binding orator. In the years following 1795 the Americans had been steadily chipping away at the Greenville Treaty line. The Delaware had sold a part of southern Indiana in 1803, and the Wyandot surrendered much of southeastern Michigan in 1807. Tecumseh believed that no chief had the authority to sign away his tribe's lands nor could any tribe sell lands that were used in common. By 1808 he had a promise of support from the British in Canada and had placed himself in direct opposition to Black Hoof Little Turtle, and the other peace chiefs.

The dislike was mutual, and Black Hoof's opposition insured that Tecumseh and the Prophet had few followers among the Ohio Shawnee. With most of their support among the tribes in the western Ohio Valley, Tenskwatawa abandoned Greenville in the spring of 1808 and, with the permission of the Kickapoo and Potawatomi, established his new capitol at Prophetstown on Tippecanoe Creek in western Indiana. The chosen location was no accident and was intended as an insult and challenge to Little Turtle, the Miami peace chief. In August the Prophet visited Vincennes and met William Henry Harrison, the American governor of the Indiana Territory who would soon prove to be Tecumseh's nemesis. The meeting ended on a friendly note, but Harrison remained suspicious and in the spring sent spies to Prophetstown. Their reports confirmed his worst fears, for it appeared that Tecumseh had assembled almost 3,000 warriors, from different tribes, ready to fight American expansion.

Harrison had instructions from Congress to end native land titles in Indiana and Illinois. In 1809 he concluded treaties with the Delaware, Miami, Kaskaskia, and Potawatomi at Fort Wayne and Vincennes ceding 3,000,000 acres of southern Indiana and Illinois. When he heard what had happened, Tecumseh "went ballistic" and threatened to kill the chiefs who signed. The following June his followers executed Leatherlips, a Wyandot chief, and brought the wampum belts and calumet of the old western alliance to Prophetstown. The reaction of the Brownstown council was to denounce Tenskwatawa as a witch. Tecumseh met with Harrison at Vincennes in August, but the exchange of harsh words almost resulted in a fight between Harrison's soldiers and Tecumseh's escort. They met again during the summer of 1811, but by this time both were convinced war was only a matter of time. Immediately afterwards, Tecumseh left for the south to try to recruit the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Cherokee. Before leaving, he gave his brother specific instructions that, during his absence, he was to avoid any confrontation with the Americans.

Unfortunately, he would probably have done better to have told this to Main Poche and the Potawatomi. Tecumseh was barely south of the Ohio River when they attacked settlements in Illinois bringing the frontier to the point of war. Harrison assembled 1,000 regulars and militia at Vincennes and in September moved against Prophetstown. After pausing to build Fort Harrison on treaty line just north of Terre Haute, he arrived at Prophetstown in November and camped just across Tippecanoe Creek from it. Shots had yet to be fired, but the Prophet ignored his brother's orders and decided to kill Harrison with a suicide squad. The ensuing battle ended in a draw, but the Americans lost 62 killed and 126 wounded. The warriors eventually were forced to withdraw, and Harrison burned Prophetstown. Tippecanoe was not significant as a military victory, but it destroyed Tensquatawa's reputation as a prophet. Angry Winnebago held him prisoner for two weeks, and when Tecumseh returned from the south in January, his alliance was in shambles and the War of 1812 (1812-14) was only months away.

By the time of a formal declaration of war in June, Tecumseh had gathered over 1,000 warriors in Canada to fight for the British. However, after a council with Tecumseh and the Prophet on the Mississinewa River (Indiana) in May, the Shawnee, Delaware, and Wyandot decided to remain neutral. Some even supported the Americans, but few joined Tecumseh and the British. The war began with a series of disasters which sent the Americans reeling. General William Hull invaded Canada in July but, upon hearing a rumor 5,000 warriors were coming down Lake Huron by canoe, retreated to Detroit. In truth, Hull's opposition was only 800 of Tecumseh's warriors and 300 Canadians. After several detachments were attacked near Detroit, Hull surrendered in August without a fight - an act which earned him the dubious distinction of being the only American general ever court-martialed for cowardice and sentenced to death by firing squad. The victory at Detroit brought more warriors to Tecumseh and set off a series of raids against American forts and settlements across the frontier as far west as Missouri.

Following the death of Little Turtle in July Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa returned to northern Indiana to recruit warriors from the Miami. In September the Prophet ended the military side of his career with an unsuccessful attack on Fort Harrison - garrisoned by 50 regulars commanded by Zachary Taylor. William Henry Harrison was given command of the American army in the Northwest and launched a series of attacks which forced the Prophet and his followers to return to Canada. Early in 1813, Harrison built Fort Ferree on the upper Sandusky and moved the Delaware from Indiana to the Shawnee villages at Piqua and Auglaize in Ohio to preclude any chance of their joining Tecumseh. However, a unit of 900 Kentucky militia commanded by General James Winchester was ambushed on the Raisin River in southeast Michigan with 300 killed. After

surrender, 50 prisoners were massacred while British officers just stood and watched. There would have been more victims if Tecumseh (who had a strong personal aversion to torture and massacre) had not arrived and personally intervened. Afterwards, he berated the British officers as cowards for their failure to protect American prisoners.

Despite the setback on the Raisin River, Harrison kept inching forward and built Fort Meigs on the Maumee River in February. Tecumseh, meanwhile, had returned to Indiana for more warriors and increased his force to almost 2,000. In May they joined the new British commander, Colonel Henry Procter, to attack Fort Meigs, but the Americans held on, and many of Tecumseh's warriors became discouraged with siege warfare and went home. Proctor was forced to end the siege but made a second unsuccessful attempt in July to take Fort Meigs. By August Harrison had assembled an army of almost 8,000 and, after Oliver Perry's naval victory on Lake Erie, was ready to take the offensive. Proctor's resources at Fort Malden (Amherstburg Ontario) were already strained, not only with having to feed Tecumseh's 1,500 warriors, but also 12,000 members of their families. When Harrison began his advance, the British could offer only limited resistance.

Ultimately, Proctor was to prove every bit as incompetent and cowardly as the American's William Hull. Detroit surrendered, and Proctor abandoned Fort Malden without even bothering to inform his native allies. Tecumseh described him as "a fat animal, that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted ...drops it between his legs and runs off." Harrison pursued Procter east across Upper Canada. Tecumseh did his best to cover the British retreat and slow the American advance. The British attempted a stand at the Battle of the Thames (Moraviantown) on October 6th, but Proctor and his staff suddenly left the field abandoning their own troops and leaving Tecumseh and 600 warriors to make a last stand in a small patch of swampy woods. When Tecumseh was killed late in the afternoon of October 6th, 1813, the last possibility of united Native American resistance to American expansion died with him.

After the war, Tensquatawa remained in Canada, but most of his followers made peace with the Americans at Indian Springs in 1815 and returned to Ohio the following year. He was finally lured back to the United States by Michigan governor Lewis Cass in 1823 to encourage Black Hoof's Shawnee to surrender their Ohio lands and move to Kansas. In 1826 he left Ohio with a party of 200 Shawnee. Their two-year journey to Kansas was a horror tale of deprivation and hunger. When he died in 1836, the Prophet was hated as much as his brother was loved. Several hundred Missouri Shawnee and Delaware left the United States in 1815 and moved to Texas where, once again, they were welcomed by Spanish as a barrier against the Americans. They became known as the Absentee Shawnee. The Spanish had also invited groups of Cherokee to settle in eastern Texas for the same purpose. After Texas won its independence from Mexico in 1836, the loyalty of these Shawnee and Cherokee became suspect, and both were expelled into Oklahoma by military force during 1839. The Delaware, however, had managed an alliance with Texas. This lasted until 1859, when they also were forced to leave.

At the Second Treaty of Greenville in 1814, Harrison and the Delaware, Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandot who had been American allies made peace with the Kickapoo, Miami, Ottawa and Potawatomi who had joined Tecumseh. Ohio had become a state in 1803, and with the British threat ended, the Americans proceeded to take the remaining native lands within its boundaries. In 1817 the Shawnee, Delaware and Wyandot signed the Fort Meigs Treaty ceding their remaining lands in Ohio in exchange for reservations. The Shawnee received three reserves totaling 173 square miles: Wapaughkonetta, Hog Creek, and a separate reserve for the mixed band of Shawnee and Seneca (Mingo) at Lewistown. These were enlarged slightly at the Treaty of St. Marys the following year. Missouri entered the union as the 24th state in 1821, and the federal government moved in 1825 to extinguish the Shawnee claims under the Spanish land grant.

In November the 1,400 Shawnee in Missouri agreed to a treaty signed at St. Louis with William Clark (Lewis and Clark fame and George Rogers' brother) exchanging their lands near Cape Girardeau for 2,500 square miles in eastern Kansas. They also received $ 14,000 in moving expenses plus $ 11,000 to pay debts owed to white traders. Further provision was made to allow any of the 800 Ohio Shawnee who so desired to join them in Kansas. When they settled on the south side of the Kansas River the following year, the Shawnee became the first of the eastern Algonquin tribes to settle in Kansas. Problems arose, however, when the very traditional Black Bob's band balked at uniting with the Ohio Shawnee. Instead of moving to Kansas after the treaty, they went south and settled in Arkansas. During the next two years, all efforts (including bribery) failed

to persuade them to move. After threat of military force, they settled at Olathe in 1833.

However, the elderly Black Hoof fought every effort to make the Shawnee leave Ohio. Despite the defection of 200 who followed the Prophet to Kansas in 1826, most Ohio Shawnee respected his opinion and remained. Pressure mounted after the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830. The Seneca of the Sandusky (Mingo) were the first to accept removal in February, 1831 and agreed to relocate to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) next to the Western Cherokee. The mixed Seneca-Shawnee followed suit in July. After Black Hoof died in August, the 400 Shawnee at Wapaughkonetta and Hog Creek ceded their Ohio lands in exchange for 100,000 acres of the Shawnee Reserve in Kansas. By the time 85 Shawnee volunteered as scouts for the American army against the Florida Seminole in 1837, all of the Shawnee were in eastern Kansas - the only exceptions being the Absentees in Texas and the mixed Shawnee-Seneca band in Oklahoma.

However, after years of separation, factionalism was a serious problem in creating a workable tribal government. Most of the Ohio Shawnee had accepted Christianity and white ways, and this bothered many of the other Shawnee. After the Absentee Shawnee were expelled from Texas in 1839, they settled in central Oklahoma. In 1845 a large group of traditional Shawnee left the Kansas reserve and joined the Absentee near present-day Shawnee, Oklahoma bringing their number to about 300. Some of these eventually emigrated to northern Mexico with the Kickapoo. The other Shawnee adjusted quickly to their new homes on the Kansas prairie. Because they were serious farmers, few became professional buffalo hunters like the Delaware, and as a result, they had fewer problems with the plains tribes. This was not the case with their "civilized" white neighbors just to the east.

In 1854 preparations were underway to open Kansas and Nebraska for white settlement to facilitate construction of a transcontinental railroad. In April the Shawnee received a proposal from the government to purchase most of their reserve. The following month they signed a treaty surrendering 1,600,000 acres for $829,000 (less than $1.00 per acre) while receiving 200,000 acres to be distributed in individual allotments (no provision for citizenship). Only the traditionalist Black Bob Band continued to hold its land in common, and a portion of unallotted land was set aside for the Absentee Shawnee if they decided to relocate to Kansas. Within days, Congress passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and immediately large numbers of white Americans moved into Kansas to fight each other over black slavery. For the most part, the Shawnee chose to side with the anti-slavery forces, but even abolitionists were willing to take Native American land, and the Shawnee were victimized by both sides. Allotment of the remaining Shawnee land was completed in 1857. Of the 200,000 acres granted by the 1854 treaty, the Shawnee were left with with only 70,000 acres (20,000 of which had been set aside for the Absentee Shawnee). The remaining 130,000 was sold for white settlement.

Congress authorized ownership patents for the Shawnee allotments in 1859, but by then the Shawnee had lost so much of their land to squatters and fraud, they were considering the idea of leaving Kansas. The following year, they requested that the government sell the lands reserved for Absentee Shawnee but Congressional approval was interrupted by the Civil War. Most Shawnee served with the Union Army during this conflict, and in 1862 Kansas Shawnee and Delaware attacked the Confederate Wichita Agency in Oklahoma. After their agency had been destroyed, the Tonkawa living there headed south for their old homes in Texas. Very few of them made it. Intercepted enroute by the Comanche (old enemies), most were massacred. In October Quantrill's Confederate guerillas retaliated for the attack on the Wichita Agency with a raid at Shawneetown, Kansas.

As the war continued, pro-Union tribes in Oklahoma fled to Kansas as refuges. Unfortunately, this did not prove a haven from violence, and in 1863 Black Bob's band went the opposite direction to join the Absentee Shawnee who had chosen to sit out the war in Oklahoma. Kansas statehood came in 1861, and within three years, the legislature was calling for the removal of all Indians from Kansas. Implementation had to wait until the end of the war, but in 1864 attempts were made to tax the Shawnee allotments. A two-year court battle ended in favor of the Shawnee, but it was obvious they were no longer welcome in Kansas. The 1866 treaty, forced upon the Cherokee as punishment for their support of the Confederacy during the war, allowed other tribes to purchase unoccupied Cherokee lands in Oklahoma.

This provided the Shawnee with an opportunity to leave Kansas. The removal of the emigrant tribes was virtually complete in 1867 after the Seneca-Shawnee, Illinois Miami, Ottawa, Quapaw, and Seneca

surrendered their last lands in Kansas. The treaty signed that year also provided for the separation of the mixed Seneca-Shawnee band into two tribes - the Shawnee portion becoming known as Eastern Shawnee. In 1869 Congress finally approved the sale of the Kansas lands which had been reserved for the Absentee Shawnee, and the Kansas Shawnee (now known as Loyal Shawnee for their service to the Union) used the proceeds to purchase land and membership from the Cherokee Nation and left for Oklahoma. They got a good price on the lands they bought from the ex-Confederate Cherokee considering they were a bunch of "damn yankees" ...probably had something to do with the fact that the name of the Shawnee meant "southerner."

First Nations referred to in this Shawnee History:

- Catawba
- Cherokee
- Delaware
- Erie
- Huron
- Kickapoo
- Mahican
- Neutrals
- Susquehannock

Comments concerning this "history" would be appreciated. Direct same to Lee Sultzman..

Books authored by Shawnee

Histories Site

First Nations

HURON HISTORY ©

Note:

This is a single part of what will be, by my classification, about 240 compact tribal histories (contact to 1900). It is limited to the lower 48 states of the U.S. but also includes those First Nations from Canada and Mexico that had important roles (Micmac, Assiniboine, etc.).

This history's content and style are representative. The normal process at this point is to circulate an almost finished product among a peer group for comment and criticism. At the end of this History you will find links to those Nations referred to in the History of the Huron.

Using the Internet, this can be more inclusive. Feel free to comment or suggest corrections via e-mail. Working together we can end some of the historical misinformation about Native Americans. You will find the ego at this end to be of standard size. Thanks for stopping by. I look forward to your comments....Lee Sultzman

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Huron Location

Ouendake (called Huronia by the French) was the original homeland of the Huron occupying a fairly compact area of central Ontario between the southern end of Georgian Ba_ and Lake Simcoe. After the dispersal of the Huron b_ the Iroquois in 1650 one group relocated to Lorette (just north of Quebec) where it has remained ever since. The remaining Huron (merged with Tionontati, Erie, and Neutrals) spent the next 50 years wandering as refugees through Wisconsin, Minnesota, and upper Michigan. By 1701 they had moved to the Ohio Valley between present-day Detroit and Cleveland where they were known as the Wyandot. They remained there until they were removed to Kansas during the 1840s. Only one group of Wyandot managed to remain in the Great Lakes, when a small band of the Canadian Wyandot in southwest Ontario was given a reserve near Amherstburg. For the Wyandot relocated to Kansas, problems began with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) which opened their lands to white settlement. The majority opted for citizenship and allotment and are currently have state recognition as the Wyandot of Kansas. Most still live in the vicinity of Kansas City, Kansas. The more traditional Wyandot left Kansas for northeast Oklahoma after the Civil War to became the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

Population

If combined with populations of the Neutrals, Tionontati, and Wenro, the Huron in 1535 probably numbered somewhere between 30,000 and 45,000. French estimates of the four core tribes of the Huron Confederacy in 1615 varied from 20,000 to 30,000 and 16 to 25 villages. After European contact, the Huron population loss was dramatic. By 1640 epidemic and war had reduced them to less than 10,000. After their dispersal in 1649 by the Iroquois, only 300 Huron were able to relocate safely at Lorette near Quebec. Another 1,000, mixed with Tionontati and Neutrals, escaped to the western Great Lakes to become the Wyandot. The number of Huron adopted into the Iroquois League is uncertain but must have been considerable. In 1736 the population at Lorette had remained near its original 300, while the Wyandot, relocated to the west end of Lake Erie, had increased to near 1,500. By 1908 the Lorette population had risen slowly to 466 but afterwards increased dramatically. In 1994 the Quebec government listed it at 2,650. There were about 100 Wyandot at the

Anderdon Reserve (southern Ontario) in 1829, but they have since been absorbed by other native peoples. The United States currently has more than 4,000 Wyandot organized in two main groups: the Wyandot Nation of Kansas; and the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma. Only the Oklahoma Wyandot are federally recognized as a tribe. The Kansas Wyandot, organized in 1959 from the "absentee" or "citizen" Wyandot, are recognized by Kansas and have applied for federal status.

Names

Americans usually do not realize that Huron and Wyandot are the same people. Originally, more than a dozen of the Iroquoian-speaking tribes in southern Ontario referred to themselves collectively as Wendat meaning "island people " or "dwellers on a peninsula." Rendered variously as: Guyandot, Guyandotte, Ouendat, Wyandot, and Wyandotte. The French, however called the members of a four-tribe confederacy the Huron, a derogatory name derived from their word "hure" meaning rough or ruffian. This has persisted as their usual name in Canada. When they were living in Ohio after 1701, French and Canadians continued to use Huron, but the English and Americans referred to them as Wyandot. Currently, most groups prefer Wyandot rather than Huron. Also called: Aragaritka (Iroquois), Hatindia Sointen (Lorette Huron), Marian (Christian Huron), Oenronroron (Iroquois), Telamatenon (Delaware "coming out of a mountain or cave"), and Thastchetci' (Onondaga).

Language

Iroquoian

Sub-Nations

Arendahronon (rock people); Attignawantan (Attignaouentan, Attignousntan) (bear people)· Attigneenongnahac Attiguenongha) (cord people); and Tahontaenrat (Scanonaerat, Scahentoarrhonon) (deer people). After the inclusion of Wenro (1639) and Algonkin (1644) refugees, the Ataronchronon were considered a fifth member tribe.

Ontario Villages-Missions (before 1649):

Andiata, Angoutenc, Anonatea, Arendaonatia, Arente, Arontaen, Cahiague (St. Jean Baptiste), Carhagouha, Carmaron, Contarea, Ekiodatsaan, Endarahy, Iahenhouton, Ihonatiria (Immaculate Conception 1), Karenhassa, Oeniro, Onentisati, Ossossane (Immaculate Conception 2), Oukhahitoua, Ste. Agnes, Ste. Anne, St. Antoine, Ste. Barbe, Ste. Catherine, Ste. Cecile, St. Charles (2), St. Denys, St. Etienne, St. Francois Xavier, Ste. Genevieve, St. Joachim, St. Louis, St. Martin, Ste. Marie (2), Ste. Terese, Scanonaerat (St. Michel), Teanaustayae (St. Joseph), Teandewiata (Tonache or Teadeouita), Teanhatenaron (St. Ignace), Tondakhra, and Touaguainchain (Ste. Madeleine)

After the dispersal in 1649, the Huron who were not killed or captured divided into two groups. One settled near Quebec. The other moved to the western Great Lakes before settling permanently in Ohio.

Upper Michigan Villages-Missions (after 1649):

Taenhatentaron (St. Ignace), and Tiedonderoga

Quebec Villages (after 1649):

Ancienne Lorette, Jeune Lorette, and Wendake

Michigan Villages (after 1701):

Brownstown (Sindathon's Village), and Maguagua (Monguagon).

Ohio Villages (after 1701):

Anioton, Conchake, Cranetown (2), Half King's Town, Junqueindundeh, Junundat, Lower Sandusky (2), Solomonstown, Snipes, Sunyendeand, Upper Sandusky (3), Tarhetown, Wingenundtown, and Zanes.

Wisconsin Villages (1658-70):

Chequamegon and Lake Pepin.

Culture

The Huron Confederacy was the first of the great Iroquian confederations in the region, and as such, probably the inspiration for the later formation of the Iroquois League. As early as 1400, the Attignawantan and Attigneenongnahac had entered into an alliance. It is believed that sometime after the formation of the Iroquois League, the Laurentian Iroquois living along the St. Lawrence River between Montreal and Quebec, were forced to move west. Two groups of them, the Arendahronon (1560) and the Tahonaenrat (1570) joined the Huron Confederacy. As the most numerous group, the Attignawantan usually dominated the other members. The purpose of the Confederacy was similar to that of the Iroquois League: prevent blood feuds and fighting between its members. With a capital at the village of Ossossane, each tribe sent representatives to a council whose purpose was to resolve internal disputes and decide matters of common concern regarding peace, war, and trade with outsiders. Otherwise each member tribe retained control of its own territory and was free to pursue its separate interests.

In like manner each of the Huron villages managed its own internal affairs. These villages varied in size, but the larger ones were usually fortified and had populations well over 1,000. Fortification and large size probably resulted from the region's constant warfare, but the densely populated villages and large communal bark-covered longhouses (sometimes 200' long) made the Huron vulnerable to European epidemics. In most ways, the Huron lifestyle closely resembled that of the Iroquois. Beginning around 1100, the Iroquian people in this region began large-scale agriculture. A dramatic increase in population followed which, unfortunately, was accompanied by a similar increase in organized warfare. The Huron diet relied heavily on agriculture (corn at first, with beans, squash, and tobacco added later). It was supplemented by hunting, fishing and gathering. Villages had to be relocated every 20 years or so as the fertility of local soil declined.

Social organization began with extended families and a matrilineal clan system. Rather than the patrilineal descent of Europeans, Huron clan membership was determined by the mother -- although it was possible to switch clans through adoption. The original Huron clan names have been lost, but they were grouped into three phratries (clan groupings for ceremonial and social purposes) corresponding roughly to names of the member tribes: Bear, Cord, and Rock. After fifty years of wandering to escape the Iroquois, the Tionontati constituted the largest single group of the Wyandot. Two of the three Wyandot phratries (Wolf and Deer) belonged to them. Only the Bear clan of the Turtle phratry was Huron. By 1750 the Wyandot had ten clans in three groups: Turtle (Big Turtle, Hawk, Prairie Turtle, Small Turtle Prairie Turtle); Deer (Bear, Beaver, Deer, Porcupine, Snake); and Wolf (one clan of the same name). The Wyandot were governed by a council made up of the chiefs of each clan. These were chosen by the clan mothers from the male members of each clan. One member of the council was elected head chief, although by custom, he was usually the chief from either the Bear or Deer clan.

Unlike the Iroquois, the Huron women did not directly own all property. The farmland was owned by the matrilineal clans. Unique to the Huron was the "Feast of the Dead." Held every 10-12 years, the remains of all who had died since the last ceremony were disinterred and re-buried in communal burial pit. Only then were their souls able to go to the "land beyond where the sun sets." Huron justice could be harsh. Convicted murderers were often tied to their victim's corpse and allowed to starve. In later times offenders were shot by firing squad. One critical difference between the Iroquois and Huron was the birchbark canoe. Iroquois constructed their canoes from elm-wood (which made them heavy), and as a result, they usually preferred to travel on foot, but the Huron, surrounded by a network of rivers and lakes, used their canoes to travel great distances and trade their agricultural surplus with other tribes, including the Iroquois.

It was this advantage in transport and trade which first aroused the interest of the French in the Huron. The fur trade, reinforced later by Jesuit missions, blossomed into a political and cultural alliance that endured beyond the defeat and dispersal of the Huron by the Iroquois. The Huron did disappear in 1649, but survived to become the Wyandot. Allied with the Ottawa, they became the "eldest children" of Onontio (French governor of Canada) and the cornerstone of the French alliance with the Great Lakes Algonquin. Within this organization, the Wyandot were regarded as something akin to a "founding father" with important links, through their adopted Huron relatives, to the Iroquois League. Even after the French defeat in 1763, the Wyandot commanded a respect and influence among the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley tribes far greater than the number of their warriors would have suggested.

History

Based on linguistic evidence, it appears that the Iroquian-speaking people Jacques Cartier encountered in 1535 on the St. Lawrence River at Hochelaga (Montreal) were Huron. Sometime after Cartier's last visit in 1541, Hochelaga was abandoned – probably due to wars with the Iroquois and Algonquins. Two groups of these so-called Laurentian Iroquois from the St. Lawrence, the Arendahronon and Tahonaenrat, moved west and by 1570 had combined with an older alliance of the Attignawantan and Attigneenongnahac to form the Huron Confederacy. Other Iroquian tribes in the region organized themselves in a similar manner, the most notable example being the Iroquois League in upstate New York. The Huron occupied the area of central Ontario at the south end of Georgian Bay. To the west, in the hills near the southeast end of Lake Huron, were the Tionontati, and southwest between Detroit and Niagara Falls were the Neutrals, another large confederacy so called because they remained neutral in the wars between the Huron and Iroquois.

A relatively small group, the Wenro, lived west of the Iroquois in southwest New York (Jamestown) and protected itself through alliances with the Neutrals to the north, and the Erie whose territory extended inland from the southern shore of Lake Erie near Erie, Pennsylvania westward across northern Ohio. South of the Iroquois along the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania were the Susquehannock, a traditional Iroquois enemy. To the east, the Mohawk and Oneida of the Iroquois League faced Algonquins: the Mahican of the Hudson Valley; and the Adirondack, an unidentified Algonquin group who may have been Western Abenaki or the Pequot-Mohegan before they moved to eastern Connecticut. Along the St. Lawrence the Montagnais and Algonkin after 1541 had moved into the territory vacated by the Laurentian Iroquois and were fighting with the Iroquois.

While the Iroquois generally fought with their neighbors, the Huron had good relations with many of theirs through a pattern of trade which extended north through the Ottawa and Nipissing to the Ojibwe at Sault Ste. Marie. The rivalry and warfare which existed between the Huron and Iroquois before the arrival of the French was balanced by extensive trade. However, warfare was pervasive enough that it had caused the rival confederations to group their large, fortified villages into compact areas for mutual support. No borders existed in the European sense with most of the lands in between the relatively compact areas of occupation either being shared or disputed depending on the circumstances. Lured by the fur trade, the French returned to the St. Lawrence in 1603 and established their first permanent settlement at Tadoussac. The quality of fur obtained from the local Montagnais and the Algonkin through the Ottawa River Valley encouraged the French to push farther west. Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec in 1608 and the following year, through Algonkin traders, he had his first meeting with the Arendaronon of the Huron Confederacy.

Unfortunately for the French and their hopes for the fur trade, the St. Lawrence west of Quebec was a war zone and had been this way for at least 50 years before their arrival. It was a disputed area claimed by the Iroquois, Huron, Algonkin, and Montagnais. After listening to the complaints of his trading partners against the Iroquois, Champlain decided in July, 1609 to accompany a mixed Algonkin, Montagnais, and Huron war party against the Mohawk. In a battle fought at the north end of Lake Champlain, the Iroquois had their first experience with French firearms, and the French had found themselves a new and dangerous enemy. After this French-assisted victory, the Huron signed their first trade agreement with Champlain. The destruction of a Mohawk fort on the Richelieu River the following year helped drive the Iroquois south and opened the upper St. Lawrence to French trade. The French impression of the Huron was not favorable at first, and with their

villages so distant, they were inclined to focus on their trade with the Algonkin. However, this soon changed after Étienne Brulé visited the Huron villages in 1611 and remained through the winter. He learned the Huron not only had better fur than the Algonkin and Iroquois, but access through trade with other tribes to areas of even higher quality. If the French had doubts about siding with the Huron against the Iroquois, they ended right there, and in 1614 a formal treaty of trade and alliance between the French and Huron was signed at Quebec. The following year, Champlain made the long journey to the Huron villages and, while there, joined a Huron-Algonkin attack on Oneida and Onondaga villages to the south in upstate New York. After 1616, the Huron were the middlemen for the French fur trade with the Nipissing, Ottawa, and Algonquins in the western Great Lakes.

The French alliance with the Huron and Algonkin forced the Mohawk to abandon the St. Lawrence Valley in 1610. This setback proved only temporary, since the Mohawk were soon able to trade with the Dutch on the Hudson River. Understanding the advantage in weapons the French trade gave their enemies, the Mohawk jealously guarded their trade with the Dutch. After wars with the Susquehannock (1615) and the Mahican (1624-28), they emerged as the dominant Dutch trade partner. Unfortunately, the Iroquois homeland did not not have many beaver, and in attempting to supply the Dutch, the Iroquois quickly used up what little they had. Dutch attempts to bypass them and gain access to the St. Lawrence trade through the Mahican had only intensified the dilemma and had led to the Mohawk war with the Mahican in 1624. However, their victory over the Mahican had merely eliminated a rival and did not provide them with access to more fur. The Huron homeland had a lot of beaver in the beginning, but it also became exhausted from trade with the French. However, the Huron easily overcame this through trade with tribes to the north and west. Surrounded by enemies, the Iroquois had no such opportunity, and threatened with the loss of their trade position with the Dutch, they desperately needed the Huron to supply them with fur, or at least allow them to hunt outside their homeland. The Huron would not allow either of these things. Their fur went directly to the French, and the Huron were powerful enough to keep Iroquois hunters confined to their own lands.

At this point, the French decision to ally with the Huron appeared to have been correct. History might well have taken a different course except for a war which began in Europe during 1627 between Britain and France. After a British blockade of the St. Lawrence, Quebec surrendered to a fleet commanded by Sir David Kirke in 1629. The Treaty of St. Germaine-en-Laye did not return Quebec to France until 1632. During those three long years, the Iroquois, because of their uninterrupted trade with the Dutch, gained an arms advantage over the Huron and Algonkin. Beginning in 1629, a new round of warfare for fur and territory began which evolved into the Beaver Wars (1630-1700). After the British left, Champlain had to begin anew. Attempting to regain the advantage for his native allies, he began to supply them with firearms and limited supplies of ammunition for "hunting." Dutch and British traders responded with similar weapons for the Iroquois beginning an arms-race. Meanwhile, the Huron took revenge on the man responsible for their problem. Étienne Brulé had betrayed Champlain by guiding the British to Quebec in 1629. Afterwards he found refuge among the Huron until he was killed (and eaten) following an argument in 1632.

French missionary efforts had begun as early as 1615 when Franciscan missionaries were sent into the St. Lawrence Valley. A Recollect priest, Father Joseph Le Caron had accompanied Champlain on his visit to the Huron villages in 1615 and spent the winter with them. However, his attempt in 1623 to establish a mission failed. A more serious effort began with the arrival of the Jesuits in New France during 1625, but the "Blackrobes" first mission in Huronia during 1626 also failed. Further efforts had to await the return of Quebec to France in 1632. The Jesuits returned in force to the Huron during 1634 building their first mission at Ihonatiria. Three years later, their main mission was moved to the Huron capital of Ossossane, followed by a final relocation to Ste. Marie in 1639. Conversions were slow in coming at first, but with the onset of major epidemics in 1635, many Huron turned to Christianity as protection against sickness. In their zeal, priests were not above using their influence to secure special privileges (firearms) for those who accepted baptism. Despite the best intentions of the Jesuits, their success was a disaster for Huron unity. The new religion frequently divided Huron communities into Christian and traditional factions at the very time they needed to unite against the Iroquois. The priests usually would not allow their converts to attend tribal ceremonies, and things finally got so bad that Christian and traditional Huron often refused to join the same war party.

Even worse were a series of devastating epidemics which swept through the Huron villages – influenza, measles and smallpox. Between 1635 and 1640, these new diseases killed over half of the Huron. Reduced to

less than 10,000, the Huron also lost many of their experienced leaders. All the while, the Jesuits were fighting the French commercial interests to isolate the Huron from the social corruption of the fur trade. The confusion created had the unfortunate effect of making the French government in Quebec act almost as a neutral in the Huron's increasingly serious war with the Iroquois. The tide began to turn after the Seneca inflicted a major defeat on the Huron in the spring of 1635. The Iroquois first isolated the Huron by attacking their allies. Separate Iroquois offensives during 1636 and 1637 drove the Algonkin deep into the upper Ottawa Valley and forced the Montagnais to retreat east towards Quebec. The first victim of the Beaver Wars was the Wenro. Deserted by their Erie and Neutral allies, they were overrun by the Iroquois in 1639. Abandoning their villages, they fled north across the Niagara River into Ontario, where eventually 600 of them found refuge among the Huron.

A major escalation in the level of violence occurred in 1640. Latecomers to the fur trade, British traders from New England attempted to break the Dutch trade monopoly with the Mohawk by offering firearms. To counter this, the Dutch began to supply guns and ammunition to the Iroquois in unlimited quantities. Suddenly much better armed than anyone else (including the French), the Iroquois offensive increased dramatically. The French issued more guns to their allies, but these were generally inferior to Dutch weapons, and at first, given only to Christian converts. The Algonkin and Montagnais were driven completely from the upper St. Lawrence Valley during 1641 by the Mohawk and Oneida, while in the west the Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga concentrated their attacks on the Huron.

With the founding of Montreal at the mouth of the Ottawa River in 1642, the French attempted to move their fur trade closer to the Huron villages but soon found themselves exposed and under attack in this new location. Iroquois war parties moved north into the Ottawa Valley during 1642 and 1643 and attacked Huron canoes carrying furs to Montreal. In the process, the Atonontrataronon (an Algonkin tribe) was forced to abandon the valley and flee west to the Huron. During 1644, the Iroquois captured three large Huron canoe flotillas enroute to Montreal and brought the French fur trade to a complete halt. The French had little choice but to seek peace if they wanted to continue trade, and the Iroquois, who had suffered losses to war and epidemic similar to the Huron, were also willing so they could gain the release of their warriors being held prisoner by the French. A peace treaty signed in 1645 had no lasting effect because it ignored the main problem. The Iroquois expected a resumption of their fur trade with the Huron, but this did not happen. Instead, the Huron continued to trade all their fur to the French.

After two years of trying to resolve this through diplomacy, the Iroquois resorted to total war. While the French remained neutral and tried to abide by the peace treaty, the Iroquois destroyed in 1647 the Arendaronon villages. Very few furs from Huronia reached Montreal that year. In 1648 a 250-man Huron canoe flotilla fought its way past the Iroquois blockade and reached Quebec. During their absence, the Iroquois struck deep into Huronia in July destroying the mission-village at St. Joseph and killing the Jesuit priest. The final blow came in March, 1649. In coordinated winter attacks, 2,000 Mohawk and Seneca warriors slipped silently across the snow and in two hours destroyed the mission-villages of St. Ignace and St. Louis. Hundreds of Huron were killed or captured, while two more Jesuits were tortured to death. In the aftermath, Huron resistance abruptly collapsed. Abandoning their capital at Ossossane, most of them fled.

Only the main Jesuit mission at Ste. Marie remained, and it braced for an attack which never came. Isolated, it was abandoned in May, and its Jesuit, French, and Huron residents made their way by canoe to Christian Island in Georgian Bay. Other Huron joined them, swelling the island's population to over 6,000. During a terrible winter of 1649-50, thousands starved, and in June, the French and Jesuits, accompanied by several hundred of their Huron converts, left for New France. About 300 of these settled just north of Quebec at Ancienne and Jeune Lorette. They were joined by another group from Trois Rivieres in 1654 and have lived there (Wendake) ever since. Through the years afterwards, the Lorette Huron remained loyal French allies and are the only Huron group to have survived the dispersal intact. The other Huron scattered, but the Iroquois were not content to let them go. Down to less than a thousand warriors after their victory, the Iroquois decided to replenish their population by absorbing all of the other Iroquian-speaking tribes.

Some Huron surrendered immediately and, along with the Huron already captured, were adopted, but the Iroquois tracked down the others. The Attignawantan Huron had fled west in 1649 and found a refuge with the Tionontati only to have the Iroquois attack both of them. In December the Iroquois overran the main Tionontati

village, killing two more Jesuit missionaries. Only a thousand of the Attignawantan and Tionontati – who afterwards would merge to form the Wyandot – escaped the onslaught by retreating far to the north where they spent the winter of 1649-50 on Mackinac Island near Sault Ste. Marie (upper Michigan). By 1651 constant threat of attack by the Iroquois forced them even farther west, and they moved to an island in Green Bay (Wisconsin) with the Ottawa (who were also fleeing the Iroquois).

The Tahontaenrat, meanwhile, had retreated into the Neutrals homeland - who true to their name had remained neutral through all of this - and, from here, continued to make war upon the Iroquois. Blaming the Neutrals for permitting this, the Seneca attacked and defeated them in 1651. A few Neutrals and Huron escaped to the west to join their relatives at Green Bay. Most, however, including the Tahontaenrat, surrendered enmass. The Tahontaenrat were adopted by the Seneca, while the captured Arendahronon went to the Onondaga, and the balance of the Attignawantan became part of the Mohawk. However, large groups were able to elude capture and fled south to the Erie, who accepted them, but in a status of servitude which was not much of an improvement over what the Iroquois were offering.

In the east, the Mohawk and Oneida were still engaged in their war with the Susquehannock and had found them a tough foe. In the west, only the Erie remained and were stubbornly refusing Iroquois demands to surrender the Neutrals and Huron they had living with them. The situation steadily worsened, but before starting a war with the Erie in 1653, the western Iroquois (Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga) first took the precaution of signing a truce with the French. With less than 300 of them in all of North America at this time, the French were hardly a military threat to the Iroquois, but the agreement assured the Iroquois that the French would not provide arms to the Erie. It also allowed French Jesuits to establish missions in the Iroquois villages for Huron converts adopted by the League. The advantage for the Iroquois was that it lessened the chance their adopted Huron would revolt during a war against their kinsmen who had joined the Erie.

It took the Iroquois until 1656 to finally defeat the Erie. After another round of mass adoptions, another tribe had disappeared into the League. At this point, the Iroquois no longer needed the French to insure the loyalty their adopted Huron, and forced the Jesuits to leave. For the mixed group of Huron, Tionontati, and Neutrals (now called Wyandot), northern Wisconsin may have been hundreds of miles from the Iroquois homeland, but it definitely was not a refuge. They were attacked by the Mohawk and Seneca in 1652 and 1653. In 1655 the Seneca travelled west and attacked the Illinois because they had taken in a few Wyandot refugees. The relentless pursuit of their defeated enemies by the Iroquois may seem insane, but it made perfect sense. During the ten years following their defeat of the Huron in 1649, the Iroquois population had increased from 10,000 to more than 25,000 through mass adoptions. Having absorbed so many former enemies, the Iroquois could not allow even small group to remain at-large without inviting an insurrection from within their own ranks. In many cases, the Iroquois warriors attacking the Wyandot in Wisconsin were their own relatives.

After the destruction of Huronia in 1649, the French had been powerless and were forced to remain neutral while the Iroquois swallowed one tribe after another. All that remained of their former allies (other than the small group of Huron at Lorette) were the Wyandot and Ottawa far to the west. Rather than confront the Iroquois along the Ottawa River themselves, the French encouraged their former trading partners to come to Montreal to trade. Because they had grown dependent on French trade good, the Wyandot and Ottawa, in spite of all they had endured, accepted. Reinforced by Ojibwe warriors and travelling together in large canoe flotillas to break the Iroquois blockade, the Wyandot and Ottawa brought furs to Montreal although not in the previous amounts. This continuing trade was a source of considerable annoyance to the Iroquois, and after their war with the Erie ended, they no longer had any reason to appease the French.

The fragile peace between the French and Iroquois ended with the murder of a Jesuit ambassador in 1658 and the expulsion of the missionaries from the Iroquois villages. As war resumed along the St. Lawrence between the French and the Iroquois, there was also no reason for the French to avoid travel to the Great Lakes, and two French fur traders, Pierre Radisson and Médart Chouart des Groseilliers, accompanied by the old Jesuit Réné Ménard, took this opportunity to ignore the travel ban imposed by the government of Quebec and joined a party of Wyandot and Ottawa on their return journey. Following the Ottawa to their village of Chequamegon (Ashland, Wisconsin) on the south shore of Lake Superior, they spent the winter and became the first Europeans to see this largest of the Great Lakes. Father Ménard wandered off into the woods and apparently was killed by the Dakota (Eastern Sioux). However, they reached the Dakota villages at the western end of

Lake Superior the following spring and managed to trade. When they returned to Quebec, Radisson and Groseilliers were promptly arrested and had their furs confiscated for ignoring the travel ban.

The arrest discouraged others, but the Wyandot and Ottawa continued forcing their way to Montreal. There was a massive battle along the Ottawa River in 1659. but the Iroquois could not stop the heavily-armed convoys and decided instead to go after their source. The Beaver Wars had forced thousands of Algonquin to abandon lower Michigan and the Ohio Valley. Most had retreated west and resettled in northern Wisconsin. The sudden increase in the native population west of Lake Michigan over-stressed the available resources, especially the beaver needed for trade with the French. Facing starvation, the refugee tribes were disorganized and fighting among themselves. In the midst of this chaos, the Wyandot and Ottawa acted as middlemen collecting furs from the rival tribes and then organizing the canoe fleets to take it to Montreal. After the Iroquois decided to go after the source of the fur reaching the French, their war parties made the long journey to Wisconsin and began attacking, not only the Wyandot and Ottawa villages, but also those of the refugee tribes supplying them with fur.

To distance themselves from Iroquois war parties, the Wyandot left Green Bay in 1658 and moved inland to find new sources of beaver. Following the Black River into western Wisconsin, they settled on an island on the Mississippi River at Lake Pepin. Their relocation went unchallenged until the visit of Radisson and Groseilliers made the Dakota aware of the value of beaver. Upset the Wyandot were killing the beaver in the area, the Dakota began applying pressure to force them to leave. Faced with war in 1661 if they remained, the Wyandot moved north to the Ottawa village at Chequamegon on the south shore of Lake Superior where Radisson and Groseilliers had spent the winter of 1658-59. This new location did not entirely please the Dakota, but for the moment, they tolerated it. However, it did not take the Iroquois long to learn that their enemies were gathered in one place and came after them. Chequamegon was, however, just a little too far. In 1662 the Wyandot, Ojibwe, Nipissing, and Ottawa discovered a large Iroquois war party at Iroquois Point (just west of Sault Ste. Marie) and annihilated them. The Iroquois never again tried another attack while they stayed on Lake Superior, and the Wyandot had finally found a refuge beyond their reach. But the Dakota were every bit as dangerous as the Iroquois and were losing patience with the Wyandot and Ottawa whom they regarded as intruders. Even worse for tribes accustomed to feeding themselves with agriculture, the short growing-season and thin soil on the south shore of Lake Superior made raising corn difficult, if not impossible. After an early frost destroyed their corn, 500 Wyandot and Ottawa starved to death during the winter of 1661-62.

Although the Iroquois continued to range through the Ottawa Valley until the late 1660s, they did not occupy it and could not stop the convoys. The French in 1664 finally decided serious measure would be required to deal with the Iroquois. The French king assumed direct control of Canada and sent the Marquis de Tracy with a regiment of French soldiers to Quebec. At the same time, the ban on travel to the Great Lakes was lifted which permitted French traders and Jesuits to go west and reestablish direct contact with the Wyandot and Ottawa. During the years which followed several permanent trading posts and missions were built in the western Great Lakes. Father Claude-Jean Allouez arrived at Chequamegon in 1665 and established the mission of La Pointe de St. Espirit for the Wyandot and Ottawa. Four years later Father Jacques Marquette would also serve at this mission. Things changed dramatically in Quebec after the arrival of regular French soldiers. The Iroquois had been harassing French settlements and (as could be expected) attacking the Huron at Lorette. The soldiers had many lessons to learn about Indian warfare, but by 1666 they began a series of attacks against the Iroquois homeland. The Iroquois, who were preparing for a war against the Susquehannock, agreed to a peace in 1667.

There had been other treaties between the French and Iroquois, but this one was notable in that it extended to native allies of the French, including those in the western Great Lakes. Taking advantage of this, large numbers of French traders and missionaries travelled west. Trade resumed and by acting as mediators in disputes between the Algonquin refugees tribes in Wisconsin and upper Michigan, the French were able to end the chaos in the region and organize a defense against the Iroquois. The peace of 1667 also ended Iroquois efforts to destroy the Wyandot. Although the Iroquois burned the Jesuit mission at Mackinac in 1671 they were no longer a serious threat, and with another war looming with the Dakota in 1672, Father Marquette was able to convince the Wyandot and Ottawa to leave Chequamegon and move east near his new mission at St. Ignace. Protected in this location by the Ojibwe, the Wyandot and Ottawa began to range south into the northern part of the lower Michigan.

It took the Iroquois eight long-years to defeat the Susquehannock, but after 1676 their attention turned west again. The establishment of a new trading post by Robert La Salle in the Illinois country had Illinois hunters ranging east into lower Michigan and Indiana (land claimed by the Iroquois by right of conquest). Iroquois protests led to the murder of a Seneca chief at Mackinac in 1680, and with this the peace ended and the second phase of the Beaver Wars began. The Seneca attacked and almost annihilated the Illinois that fall. A second attack came the following year, but in 1684 the Iroquois failed to take Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River which is considered the turning point of the Beaver Wars. The warfare at first was confined to the Illinois country which was well south of the upper Great Lakes, but the Wyandot and Ottawa at Mackinac were drawn into the fighting as French allies.

After the Iroquois were defeated in Illinois, the French attempted to organize an alliance against the Iroquois, but its first offensive was poorly organized and failed. Joseph La Barre, the governor of Canada, panicked and signed a treaty with the Iroquois conceding most of the Illinois country. He was quickly replaced by Jacques-Renede Denonville who repudiated La Barre's agreement, strengthened French forts, organized an alliance of the Great Lakes Algonquin (included the Wyandot), and provided it with guns and ammunition. Just prior to the beginning of the King William's War (1688-97) between Britain and France, the alliance began an offensive which by the 1690s had the Iroquois on the defensive and rapidly retreating back across the Great Lakes to their homeland in New York.

As the war between Britain and France was drawing to a close in 1695, the Wyandot and Ottawa became concerned that the French would abandon the alliance and make a separate peace with the Iroquois. On the verge of defeat, the Iroquois were trying everything they could think of to weaken the alliance. Secret contacts were made with the Wyandot and Ottawa offering peace and access to the British traders at Albany. As the original French trading partners, the Wyandot and Ottawa were the "eldest children" of Onontio, the French governor of Canada, and as such, the most important members of the French alliance. As the only Iroquian-speaking member of the alliance, the Wyandot had relatives among the Iroquois, so the offer must have been tempting. Nevertheless, the Wyandot did refuse, and the fighting continued until 1701 when a formal treaty of peace was concluded between the French alliance and the Iroquois League.

Meanwhile, the French and their allies had taken control of an ever-larger portion of the Great Lakes. Because of the Beaver Wars, much of this area had been a no-man's land after 1650, and with little or no hunting, the beaver population had recovered. While the warfare continued, fur flowed east to Montreal in unprecedented amounts and soon produced a glut on the European market with a drastic drop in the price. As profits fell, the French king decided it was finally time to listen to Jesuit complaints about the corruption which the fur trade was causing among the native peoples, and in 1696 issued a royal proclamation suspending the fur trade in the Great Lakes.

Trading posts closed, and the French began leaving the western Great Lakes. Nothing could have pleased the Jesuits more, but watching their alliance disintegrate and the fruits of military victory slip away, the French in Canada pleaded with their government for relief. With British and Iroquois traders making serious inroads among their allies and the approach of the Queen Anne's War (1701-13), permission was finally granted for the establishment of a single new post to retain the loyalty of the Great Lakes tribes. Responsibility was given to Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the commandant at Mackinac, and in June, 1701, he arrived to Detroit to build Fort Ponchartrain. Just as the Jesuits hated the fur trade, Cadillac despised Jesuits and their missions, so he took a special delight in asking the Wyandot and Ottawa to leave the St. Ignace mission at Mackinac and move south to Detroit. After the last Wyandot left Mackinac in 1704, the Jesuits closed their mission and returned to Quebec.

If Cadillac had limited his invitation to just the Wyandot and Ottawa, things might have been different. Instead, he invited almost all of the alliance tribes to move to Detroit which overwhelmed the available resources in the vicinity. As the Wyandot, Ottawa, Ojibwe, Peoria, Potawatomi, and Miami crowded into the area, tensions rose. With the arrival of 1,000 Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten in 1710, the rivalries exploded into a Fox attack on Fort Ponchartrain and a civil war between the members of the alliance (Fox Wars 1712-16 and 1728-37). After the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the trade restrictions were lifted. The French were able to put down the revolt of the Fox, build new posts, and reoccupied many of their old ones. However, it was a case

of too little and too late. The French may have defeated the Iroquois in war, but during the peace that followed, the League almost destroyed the French by offering high-quality and inexpensive British trade goods to their allies.

The Wyandot had supported the French in the war against the Fox, but for reasons already mentioned, they found the Iroquois offers of trade attractive, and they were not alone in this. British trade with French allies grew rapidly, especially after the Iroquois gave permission for the British to open a trading post at Oswego in their homeland. Wyandot and Ottawa were regular visitors, and by 1728, 80% of the beaver traded on the Albany market was coming from French allies. The French were aware of what was happening, and in 1730 they urged the Wyandot to leave Detroit and move to Montreal to keep them away from the Iroquois and British. The Wyandot decided to stay near Detroit, but some groups moved south into Ohio and settled along the southern shore of Lake Erie and the Sandusky plains setting the stage for a century of war for control of Ohio.

At the time, Ohio was empty ..no one lived there, and because of this, it was especially attractive, not only for its rich farmland, but hunting since there had been virtually no human habitation for the previous 50 years. The Iroquois claimed it by right of their conquest of the Erie, Shawnee, Kickapoo, and several tribes whose names have been lost because they disappeared during the Beaver Wars before European contact. The League also claimed Kentucky and the entire Ohio Valley west to the Illinois River for the same reason. This was simple enough, but the next part may be confusing! The British also claimed Ohio since the Iroquois had been placed under their protection by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) which ended the King William's War between Britain and France. It would take some time before the Iroquois (or anyone else) could understand how an agreement signed in Europe between European kings gave the British a right to Iroquois land. Meanwhile, there were rival claims by Virginia and Pennsylvania to the British claim to the Iroquois claim. The French claim was less complicated: exploration of the area during the 1660s and their military defeat of the Iroquois. Their was no mention of any claim of the native allies of the French who did the actual fighting.

By mutual consent, Ohio was considered part of the Iroquois domain in 1730, and, hoping to lure the Wyandot away from the French alliance and into their "covenant chain" by offering British trade, the League made no objection when the Wyandot began easing south in northern Ohio. Within a few years, the Sandusky Wyandot regularly attended Iroquois councils and were considered the League's representative in Ohio, a position which only added to the prestige the Wyandot already enjoyed within the French alliance as the "eldest children" of Onontio. However, the Wyandot never became the League's puppet, and Ohio slipped rapidly from Iroquois control. Beginning in the 1720s, independent groups of Iroquois hunters had started leaving the Iroquois villages to settled in eastern Ohio. For the most part, these Ohio Iroquois (Mingo) were descendants of the Huron, Erie, Neutrals, and Tionontati who had been forcibly incorporated into the Iroquois during the 1650s. Although the League did not object to their presence in Ohio so long as they paid lip-service to its authority, the Mingo were effectively independent of its control. By the end of the 1730s the number of Mingo in Ohio had become significant.

At the same time, large groups of Delaware and Shawnee had tired of Iroquois domination and the crowded conditions of their villages along the Susquehanna River in eastern Pennsylvania and began relocating on their own to the upper Ohio River in western Pennsylvania. During the 1740s, the Wyandot gave permission for them to also settle west in Ohio. These tribes were also nominal members of the "covenant chain, although an important reason for their leaving the Susquehanna was to free themselves from this arrangement. They were soon joined by small groups of Mahican, Abenaki, and New England Algonquin who had even less allegiance to the League. Meanwhile, groups of Miami (French ally) moved east into western Ohio to gain better access to the British traders. Within a very short period, Ohio was occupied by thousands of Native Americans living in mixed-villages who owed not the slightest allegiance to either the Iroquois, British, French, or American colonists who claimed the land on which they lived.

In 1738 Orontony (Nicholas), a Detroit Wyandot chief, refused to participate in a raid against the Cherokee (British allies) south of the Ohio River. Going well beyond this, Orontony also helped the Cherokee ambush a Detroit war party which earned him the lasting hatred of the Ottawa, Ojibwe, and other Wyandot near Detroit. The Wyandot came to the verge of civil war, but the clan mothers intervened to keep Wyandot from killing Wyandot. When the other Detroit Wyandot refused to allow the Ottawa to punish Orontony, the resulting

quarrel ended a hundred years of close cooperation between them. Orontony and his followers left Detroit to establish a new village on the Lower Sandusky River in Ohio. By 1740 he was trading openly with the British and encouraging the Wyandot near Detroit to do likewise. With the outbreak of the King George's War (1744-48), the Detroit Wyandot, Ojibwe, Ottawa, and Potawatomi sent their warriors east to help the French defend Montreal from an expected British invasion. However, the Sandusky Wyandot and Mingo remained neutral and stayed home.

Meanwhile, Orontony strengthened his ties with the British. In 1745 he concluded a separate peace with the British-allied Cherokee and Chickasaw. He also allowed Pennsylvania traders to build a blockhouse near his village. By 1747 the French alliance was falling apart after a British blockade of Canada had cut the flow of French trade goods, This strengthened the competition from British traders, and attempts by the French to prevent this only made matters worse. Encouraged by the British, Orontony organized a conspiracy against the French and in 1748 burned their trading post at Sandusky. When he moved against Detroit, the Detroit Wyandot refused to join him, and fearing retaliation, Orontony and his followers abandoned their villages and moved west to the White River in Indiana. Orontony continued efforts to form an alliance with the Ottawa, Ojibwe, and Miami to defy the French, and his followers did not return to their old villages until after his death. In 1750 the French built a fort at Sandusky to limit Wyandot trade with the British.

The revolt of the Wyandot, their most important ally, sent shock waves through New France. In 1749 Pierre-Joseph Céloron was sent into Ohio to expel British traders and mark the boundary of the French claim with lead plates. His reception by the Ohio tribes was cold, almost hostile, since they did not recognize the French claim to the area. A second expedition in 1751 by Chabert de Joncaire met with a similar response, and a Mingo chief asked him by what authority France was claiming land belonging to the Iroquois. Faced with another revolt, the French could only count on the support from the tribes at Detroit and Mackinac, but the Detroit Wyandot were considering trading with British themselves and had no wish to fight the Ohio tribes. The situation simmered during a smallpox epidemic that swept through the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley in 1751. In June, 1752, Charles Langlade, a mixed-blood Métis, led 250 Ojibwe and Ottawa warriors from Mackinac in an attack on the British trading post and Miami village at Pickawillany (Piqua, Ohio).

Afterwards, the French lowered their prices, increased the supply of trade goods, and began construction of a line of forts intended to block British access to Ohio. The revolt within their alliance collapsed. The Wyandot renewed their attacks on the Chickasaw in 1752, and by July of the following year, the Miami, Potawatomi, and Sauk had stopped trading with the British. However, the Ohio tribes (Mingo, Delaware, and Shawnee) still refused to recognize the French claim and wished to continue their British trade. Seeing the new French forts for what it was – an attempt to bring them under French control, they turned to the Iroquois and British to prevent it. In 1754 Virginia sent troops commanded by a 23-year-old militia major (George Washington) to demand the French remove their forts. The resulting confrontation started the French and Indian War (1755-63).

After Washington's failure, the British began to assemble a large army under General Edward Braddock to capture Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh). As the war clouds gathered, the members of the alliance (including the Wyandot) supported the French, but the Ohio tribes (Mingo, Delaware and Shawnee) should have been British allies, or at the very least neutral. This was the case until they learned the Iroquois, at the Albany Conference of 1754, had ceded Ohio to the British. At this point they gave up on the British and Iroquois, and declared that Ohio belonged to the people that lived there. However, they still did not immediately turn to the French. In July, 1755 Braddock's army moved on Fort Duquesne, only to be defeated in the woods by a mixed force of French and native allies from Canada and the Great Lakes. The leader of the natives was Alhanase, a Huron war chief from Lorette. Afterwards, Delaware and Shawnee warriors entered the war and, in direct defiance of the Iroquois, raided British frontier settlements in Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Wyandot and other French allies went east to fight in the French campaigns in northern New York.

After the Great Lakes warriors returned from the siege of Fort William Henry in 1757, smallpox swept through the Great Lakes during the winter of 1757-58 which fairly well ended further participation of the alliance tribes in the war. With the capture of Quebec and Fort Niagara in 1759, the war in North America was over. After Montreal surrendered, the British occupied Detroit in 1760, and only the Illinois country remained under French control until 1765. The members of the French alliance had to come to terms with the British and

in 1761 agreed to meet at Detroit with Sir William Johnson, the British Indian Commissioner. It was a large conference attended by Iroquois, Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Mohican, Kickapoo, Miami, Ojibwe, Mingo, Ottawa, and Potawatomi. In keeping with the traditions of the old French alliance, the Wyandot were made the keepers of the council fire.

Johnson wisely did not wish to change past relationships but only adapt them to British authority. Unfortunately, Lord Jeffrey Amherst, his superior and the British commander in North America, had different ideas. Viewing the former French allies as a conquered people, Amherst raised prices on trade goods and limited the supply of gunpowder. This was a disaster. After 150 years of trade, Native Americans had become dependent on European goods. Tensions rose, and aggravated by crop failures and epidemic during 1762, erupted into the Pontiac Rebellion in 1763. The Wyandot reluctantly joined Pontiac and attacked the British fort at Sandusky, but as the siege of Detroit dragged on, the Detroit Wyandot were among the first to ask the British for peace. Pontiac signed a preliminary truce with the British commander at Detroit in October and withdrew to Indiana. In August, 1764 the Ohio Wyandot made peace with the British and signed the Treaty of Presque Isle. The Detroit Wyandot followed suit in September.

During the French and Indian War, Pennsylvania had unilaterally renounced the Iroquois cession of Ohio at the Albany Conference in 1754, and this was a major factor in the lack of resistance the British encountered when they occupied the Ohio Valley in 1760. In the wake of the Pontiac rebellion, the British halted settlement west of the Appalachians in 1763. However, faced with growing discontent in the American colonies, they began negotiations with the Iroquois in 1768 to open Ohio to settlement. After the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, American frontiersmen (Long Knives) swarmed into western Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and eastern Ohio. The alliance had collapsed with the failure of the Pontiac Rebellion, but having learned in 1754 not depend on the Iroquois, the Shawnee in 1769 made overtures of alliance to Illinois, Wea, Piankashaw, Miami, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Wyandot, Ottawa, Delaware, Mascouten, Ojibwe, Cherokee and Chickasaw. Meetings were held at Sciota in 1770 and 1771, but William Johnson's threats of war with the Iroquois kept the tribes divided, and the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo were forced to stand alone against the "Long Knives" during Lord Dunmore's (Cresap's) War (1774).

With the beginning of the American Revolution in 1775, the British ended their neutrality in the struggle between the "Long Knives" and Ohio tribes and urged the Indians to attack American settlements in Kentucky and Pennsylvania. The Shawnee were the most active in this, but they received increasing support from the Detroit and Ohio tribes, In September, 1777 a force of 400 Wyandot, Mingo, and Shawnee attacked Fort Henry (Wheeling, West Virginia) and burned the nearby settlement. The following year, Half King's Wyandot made a feint at Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant, West Virginia) and then attacked settlements on the Kanawha River. They also attacked a blockhouse near Fort Union and later joined the British expedition of Captain Henry Bird which ravaged the Kentucky settlements during 1780. In March, 1782 Pennsylvania militia massacred 90 Christian Delaware at the Movarian mission at Gnadenhuetten (Ohio). Victims included men, women, and over 30 children, and this senseless act added a bitter note of revenge to the struggle. That June an American force under Colonel William Crawford was sent to attack the Sandusky villages. Defeated by a combined force of Delaware and Wyandot, Crawford was captured by the Wyandot. Half King turned him over to the Delaware who burned him at the stake in revenge for the Movarian Delaware killed at Gnadenhuetten.

With the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783,the Wyandot had only 100 warriors. The British asked their allies to stop their attacks, but there was little chance of this. The bitter fighting between the Ohio tribes and Long Knives had taken on a life of its own beyond the control of either the British or United States. The warriors fighting for Ohio were determined to keep the Americans out, and the Long Knives did not consider the peace with Britain included "Injuns," so the fighting continued. The new American government needed to sell the lands in Ohio to pay its debts from the war, and the British knowing this, saw an opportunity to regain their colonies through economic collapse and refused to withdraw from its forts in the Ohio valley until the Americans paid the obligations to British loyalists required by the peace treaty.

The Long Knives' solution to this impasse was simple. George Rogers Clark, whose victories had given the Americans the Ohio Valley, asked for authorization to raise an army and conquer all the Indians. Congress thanked him for past services but politely refused. Faced with an invasion of Ohio which might threaten

Canada, the British encouraged the formation of a new alliance against the Americans. It was formed at meeting held at the Sandusky villages of the Wyandot in 1783. Although the British did not attend themselves, they brought the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant from Canada to speak and promise their support. Those joining included: Mingo, Wyandot, Miami, Delaware, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Sauk, Ottawa, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Chickamauga (Cherokee). The first council fire was at the Wakatomica (Shawnee), but this was burned by the Americans in 1786. Later that year, the council fire was moved to the Wyandot village of Brownstown (just south of Detroit).

Wishing to avoid an expensive war, the Americans in 1784 negotiated a second Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois confirming their earlier cession of Ohio. The next step was to reach an agreement with Ohio tribes, but this would be difficult since the Americans refused to recognize the alliance which had been formed at Sandusky the previous year. The Treaty of Fort MacIntosh (1785) was signed with the Wyandot, Ottawa, Ojibwe, and Delaware where they agreed to American sovereignty over Ohio in exchange for a boundary with white settlement. Half King signed for the Wyandot but later repudiated the agreement. In 1786 a similar treaty was signed with the Shawnee at Fort Finney (Greater Miami Treaty), but both of these agreements were doomed. The chiefs who signed did not represent the consensus of the alliance, and even before Congress had been able to sell the Ohio land rights to the Ohio Company and a New Jersey syndicate, American frontiersmen were flooding into Ohio and squatting on land beyond the agreed boundaries. There were 12,000 white settlers north of the Ohio in 1785, and General Josiah Harmar, the American military commander, could neither keep them from encroaching on native lands nor remove them once they were there.

Fighting resumed in 1786. When the alliance met in council that fall, it was decided to demand the Ohio River as the frontier. A truce was called to give the Americans time to respond, but by the time the message reached Congress in July, the fighting had already resumed. The Americans made final attempt to avoid war and resolve the dispute through treaty. In December, 1787, Arthur St. Clair asked for a meeting at Fort Harmar at the falls of Ohio's Muskingum River. The alliance agreed and decided to settle for the Muskingum as the boundary. However, there was considerable disagreement, and American soldiers building the council house for the meeting were attacked by Ottawa and Ojibwe warriors in July, 1788. Joseph Brant returned to the alliance council demanding they repudiate all treaties ceding any part of Ohio. The Shawnee and Miami agreed, but Tarhe, a Wyandot chief, decided to negotiate and was able to convince the Delaware, Ottawa, Potawatomi, and Ojibwe to join him.

The Treaty of Fort Harmar was signed in January 1789 agreeing to the Muskingum as the boundary of settlement, but the Wyandot and other moderates within the alliance had lost control. By summer the Shawnee and Miami, with British support, had built a consensus and afterwards dominated the alliance. In the fall, the Shawnee asked the Iroquois to join them in the fight for Ohio. The Iroquois already had enough trouble defending their own homeland from settlement and declined. They would have no further influence among the Ohio tribes after this. Meanwhile, as American settlers continued to encroach, the United States had ratified the Constitution creating a new form of government. It's first president was a war hero and Virginia farmer who just happened to have his personal fortune invested in land along the Ohio River – George Washington.

While Washington formed his administration and decided how to take their lands in Ohio, the Wyandot in Canada were under British pressure to surrender land in southwest Ontario for the resettlement of American Tories displaced by the Revolutionary War. In May, 1790 they signed a treaty with Alexander McKee ceding their lands east of Detroit in exchange for two reserves: a small tract opposite Detroit; and a larger one at Anderdon on the Canard River near Amherstburg. Washington finally decided to take Ohio by force and ordered General Harmar to move against the alliance. In October Harmar's army was mauled while trying to cross the upper Wabash River in northeast Indiana. Washington, who had a bad temper, replaced Harmar with Arthur St. Clair, but in November, 1791 St. Clair's army was nearly annihilated in western Ohio. With 600 killed and 400 wounded, it was the worst defeat ever inflicted on an American army by Native Americans.

Above all else, Washington should be remembered as someone who did not surrender in the face of adversity. In 1792 he sent Anthony Wayne to take command in Ohio. Americans knew him as "Mad Anthony," but the Indians would call him "Blacksnake," because, like the blacksnake, Wayne sat quietly, patiently waiting for the right moment to strike. Wayne trained an army of regulars while building a line of forts aimed straight into the heartland of the alliance in northwest Ohio. As the alliance chiefs nervously watched Wayne's slow,

methodical approach, American commissioners made overtures of peace. The British again urged resistance, and the Shawnee killed two American representatives enroute to a conference with the alliance. The alliance, however, was beginning to unravel. It could field 2,000 warriors but had trouble feeding them over an extended period, and Wayne was definitely extending the conflict. In 1792 the Wabash tribes (Peoria, Piankashaw, Kickapoo, and Wea) signed a treaty with the Americans which caused them to leave the alliance and remain neutral. The Fox and Sauk also withdrew at the same time.

In July, 1793 American commissioners met for the last time with the alliance. At first, only the Wyandot, Shawnee, and Miami favored continuing the war, while the others were undecided. Finally, the majority decided to fight, and the meeting ended. In October Wayne received orders to begin an advance north from Fort Washington (Cincinnati). One of Wayne's supply trains was destroyed at Ludlow Spring, but he established himself at Fort Greenville (80 miles north of Cincinnati). As the time of confrontation approached, doubts emerged within the alliance, and the Shawnee chief, Blue Jacket opened separate negotiations. The start of Wayne's advance may also have played a part in the British decision to finally close its forts on American territory and reach an accommodation with the United States. After a desperate attack on the Americans at Fort Recovery failed, the alliance had only 700 warriors in August, 1794 to face Wayne's Legion at Fallen Timbers. After the battle, the retreating warriors sought refuge with the British at Fort Miami, only to have them close the gates on their former allies.

Wayne's army marched right up to the British fort but did not attack. Afterwards, the Americans burned several of nearby Indian villages and destroyed their food supplies. Then Wayne returned to Fort Greenville and waited. After a hungry winter, the alliance made peace. No longer able to rely on British help against the Americans, the Wyandot and other tribes signed the Treaty of Fort Greenville in 1795 ceding all of Ohio except the northwest. This allowed the Wyandot to remain at Sandusky and Detroit, and Cranetown was the only one of their villages which needed to be relocated to conform to the Greenville treaty line. With defeat after a long, bitter war, there was a terrible period of social disintegration within the tribes of the alliance after 1795. Whiskey became a major problem, and civil authority broke down. The "peace chiefs" (Walking-in-the-Water was the Wyandot peace chief) controlled the tribal councils and were determined to cooperate with the Americans. Although sometimes this was helped by bribery, most were doing the best they could, and it was, in general, a thankless job which all-too-often put them in danger from their own people.

There was little cooperation between the individual tribes, and an attempt to resurrect the alliance at Brownstown in 1801 failed. The Americans, however, were not satisfied with the lands gained at Greenville and were soon pressing for more cessions. In 1805 the Wyandot (also Delaware, Ottawa, Ojibwe, Shawnee, and Potawatomi) signed the Treaty of Fort Industry ceding more land and agreeing to a new "permanent frontier." The time was ripe for an upheaval and revolt. That year, a prophet arose among the Shawnee with a message of spiritual renewal, rejection of the whiteman's trade goods and whiskey, and return to traditional ways. His name was Tenskwatawa (The Open Door). He had several rivals for spiritual leadership, and his teachings were similar to Neolin, the Delaware Prophet whose new religion had provided the impetus for Pontiac's Rebellion in 1763. What made Tenskwatawa different was his brother was Tecumseh.

Tecumseh was a respected warrior, natural leader, and spell-binding orator. Completely opposed to further land cessions to the Americans, he also favored the formation of an alliance of all tribes, even former enemies, to accomplish this. Tecumseh gave his brother's religious movement a political purpose directly opposed to the authority of the peace chiefs. After Tenskwatawa predicted a solar eclipse in 1806, his movement gained a large following in several tribes. Because of their important position within the old alliance, Wyandot support was crucial for Tecumseh, but the new religion had an ugly side which alienated many. In 1806 Tenskwatawa visited the Wyandot villages. After making several converts, the Prophet denounced four women as witches. Only the intervention of the Wyandot chief Tarhe prevented their execution. Similar events occurred among the Delaware with fatal results for the accused.

Despite the growing strength of Tecumseh and his brother, the land cessions continued. In a treaty at Detroit in November, 1807, the Wyandot – with the Detroit Ottawa, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi – surrendered a large part of southeastern Michigan. Another treaty in 1808 allowed the Americans to build a road (Detroit to Columbus, Ohio) through their lands. Tecumseh was furious and travelled to Canada where he received promises of support from the British. In 1809 at the Treaties of Fort Wayne and Vincennes, major cessions were made in

southern Indiana and Illinois, and Tecumseh went after the peace chiefs. During the summer of 1810, the Wyandot chief Leatherlips was assassinated by Roundhead, a Detroit Wyandot chief loyal to Tecumseh. Other Wyandot on the lower Sandusky killed two women as witches, and the calumet and wampum belts of the alliance were transferred from Brownstown to Tecumseh's capital at Tippecanoe. The reaction of the Brownstown council that fall was to denounce the Prophet as a witch.

Tecumseh never achieved more than partial support among the important tribes of the alliance, Wyandot, Delaware, and his own people, the Shawnee. His strength lay with the tribes in the west which were part of the alliance fighting the Osage. He travelled constantly trying to gain more support. It was during one of these journeys in 1811 that governor William Henry Harrison marched on Tippecanoe. Ignoring his brother's orders, Tenskwatawa ordered an attack on Harrison's army and lost. Tippecanoe was destroyed, the Prophet's credibility seriously damaged, and Tecumseh had to rebuild his alliance. There was little time before the outbreak of the War of 1812. Tecumseh sided with the British, but most of the Wyandot, Delaware and Shawnee chose to remain neutral. The Michigan Wyandot under Roundhead, however, were among Tecumseh's staunchest supporters. Tarhe and his followers fought for the Americans. The division of the Wyandot continued until Tecumseh and Roundhead were killed at the Battle of the Thames (October, 1813).

Afterwards, the war in the Great Lakes came to an end. The pro-British Wyandot remained in Ontario at Anderdon. In July, 1814 at the second Treaty of Greenville, the Wyandot, Delaware, Seneca (Mingo), and Shawnee loyal to the Americans agreed to end hostilities with the tribes which had sided with Tecumseh (Kickapoo, Miami, Ottawa, and Potawatomi). Major land cessions came later. In September, 1817 at the Treaty of Maumee Rapids (Fort Meigs), the Wyandot surrendered their remaining lands in Ohio in exchange for two reservations: the Grand Reserve on the upper Sandusky (12 by 12 miles) and the Cranberry Reserve (one square mile). The Ohio Delaware, Shawnee, and Mingo received similar small reservations. The following year, the Wyandot signed two treaties at St. Marys. The first enlarged the Grand Reserve in Ohio (to 12 by 19 miles) and added a reserve at Big Springs for any of the Canadian Wyandot who wished to return to the United States. In the second treaty, the Michigan Wyandot surrendered Brownstown (capital of the alliance) in exchange for a reserve on the Huron River.

There were no further land cessions by the Wyandot until after Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Then pressures began to mount for them to sell their lands in Ohio and Michigan and remove to Kansas. Since the Wyandot lands were protected by treaty, the government's plan was to eat away at their land base by taking advantage of factions within the Wyandot. In 1832, the Wyandot at the Big Spring Reserve signed the Treaty of McCutcheonsville selling their reserve to the United States. These were mainly Canadian Wyandot who were expected to take the money and return to Canada, but the agreement was opposed by the Sandusky tribal council until provisions were made for the Big Spring Wyandot to move to the Grand Reserve and payments made directly to the Wyandot council. There was a four-year pause before the Wyandot lost more land. In 1836 the Ohio Wyandot signed another treaty selling the Cranberry Reserve and 60 square miles on the east side of the Grand Reserve. Meanwhile the Canadian Wyandot had surrendered a large portion of their reserve just east of Detroit.

Two years later, two Ohio Congressmen were appointed as special agents to get the Wyandot to agree to removal. Several Wyandot delegations visited Kansas, and arrangements were made for them to purchase land from the Shawnee. The Senate however, failed to ratify the treaty, and the Wyandot remained divided about removal until 1841. In November the Wyandot chief Summundewat and his entire family were robbed and murdered by two white men who they had fed and given shelter. The murderers were captured but never prosecuted. The failure of American laws to protect them convinced the Wyandot it was time to leave. In March, 1842 they ceded all their lands in Ohio and Michigan and agreed to move to Kansas where they were to receive a new reserve of 148,000 acres. In addition, they were to be paid the full value of the improvements made to their Ohio lands, $10,000 for relocation expenses, and an annual annuity of $18,000. They were also entitled to 35 sections of any unclaimed Indian lands west of the Mississippi.

In July, 1845, 664 Wyandot (including 25 from Michigan and 30 from Canada) left for Ohio by steamboat from Cincinnati. Passing the grave of William Henry Harrison overlooking the Ohio River, the Wyandot fired a rifle volley in salute. Their reasons for this can only be guessed. When they arrived in Kansas, the Wyandot discovered the Shawnee did not wish to sell, and they had no land. In December they reached an agreement

with the Delaware to purchase (with their own money) 36 sections at the eastern end of the Delaware reserve. The Delaware also gave the Wyandot three additional sections out of respect and in gratitude for when the Wyandot had allowed them to settle in Ohio during the 1740s. The agreement was subject to congressional approval, but there was some doubt this would be given. To be safe, the Wyandot applied for lands on the Great Osage River but this was rejected since the lands had already been allotted to other tribes. The government also tried to appraise the value of the improvements to their Ohio lands at half their actual worth.

Approval of the purchase from the Delaware was not received until 1848. In the meantime, Wyandot volunteers had served in the American army during the Mexican War (1846-48). In 1849 several other Wyandot left Kansas to join the California gold rush. Eight years after the 1842 treaty, the Wyandot still had not received the 148,000 acres promised them and were living on lands purchased with their own money. In 1850 a Wyandot delegation sent to Washington, D.C. proposed a new treaty whereby they would become citizens, accept individual allotment of the lands they had purchased, and surrender their claim to the 148,000 acres promised them in exchange for $185,000. The treaty was signed in April, but the version ratified by the Senate removed provisions for citizenship and allotment. The attitude of the government changed after passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854.

To prepare the route for a transcontinental railroad, Kansas and Nebraska were opened to white settlement. However, this required the breakup of the blocks of land assigned by treaty to the Indian tribes relocated to Kansas from east of the Mississippi. The treaty signed by the Wyandot in 1855 ended their tribal status, but allowed them to become citizens by taking their lands in severalty. Their excess lands were sold to the government for $380,000. Although the treaty was approved by a large majority, a sizeable minority, wishing to retain their traditional tribal status and government, was strongly opposed to the agreement. The majority prevailed and the Wyandot ceased to exist as a tribe. Besides opening Kansas for white settlement, the Kansas-Nebraska Act had set aside the requirements of the Missouri Compromise and allowed the question of slavery in Kansas to be decided by "popular sovereignty." As white zealots from both north and south flooded into Kansas, the question of slavery was decided not by the will of the majority, but by a violent preview of the Civil War known as "Bleeding Kansas."

The Wyandot and other tribes in Kansas found themselves in the middle of a white man's war and were forced to take sides. For the most part, the Wyandot were against slavery, and several members were prominent in the "Underground Railroad" to help black slaves escape to Canada or free territory. By 1857 200 Wyandot (Emigrant or Indian Party) had had enough of the benefits of American citizenship and left for the Indian Territory where the Seneca (Mingo) allowed them to settle on their lands in the northeast Oklahoma. After the beginning of the Civil War, Confederate troops occupied the Indian Territory. In 1862 they swept through the Seneca Reserve. Because of their pro-union and anti-slavery sentiments, the Wyandot living there were forced to return to Kansas. While there, the Indian Party organized their own tribal council and began negotiations with the Oklahoma Seneca (also refugees living in Kansas) for the purchase of a part of their lands as a Wyandot reserve.

After the war, the Indian party returned to Oklahoma. It refused offers of reconciliation with the Citizen Party and petitioned the government to renew their tribal status. An omnibus treaty signed in 1867 granted recognition and permission for the Oklahoma Wyandotte to purchase 20 000 acres between the Neosho River and the Missouri state line as a reserve. This was later broken up into individual allotments by the Dawes Act. Some of the "citizen or absentee" Wyandot from Kansas were allowed to rejoin the tribe through adoption but in general, the Oklahoma Wyandotte no longer recognized the Kansas Wyandot as tribal members and would not allow them to settle on their Oklahoma reserve without permission. Beginning with the division between Christian and traditional within the Huron Confederacy which contributed to their defeat by the Iroquois, factionalism has plagued the Huron and/or Wyandot for the last 400 years. The bitter fight for recognition between the Citizen and Indian Parties has persisted to the present-day between the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and the Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma.

In the Huron History reference is made to the following First Nations:

<u>Abenaki</u>
<u>Algonkin</u>

Comments concerning this "history" would be appreciated. Direct same to Lee Sultzman.

Wyandot Clothing

by C.A. Buser
(Used with permission of the author)

For the matter of clothing. It is necessary to freeze your subject in time because the clothing changed quite rapidly after mid-eighteenth century. I will try to describe what an "unspoiled" Wyandot as he might have gazed accross the Detroit River aboiut 1777. Even so, the costime varied with the season and changed somewhat from the ceremonial to the day-to-day dress and also had to be adjusted for the hunt or the war path.

Physically, the Wyandot was typically slender and wiry, capable of traveling great distances but was not usually of the great stature or muscular physique of the Andastes for example. Not many Wyandots were outside the 5' 9" to 6' height range. Contrary to some reports, Walk-in-the-Water was well under 6'. The only Wyandot well documented at 6'4" in those days was Chief Tarhe.

Both Wyandot men and Wyandot women usually had long black hair, sometimes braided, sometimes not. However, on the war path every style imaginable could be found. Some removbed all the hair except a scalplock. Some Wyandots and Hurons from earlier days plucked the hair on one side and not on the other. Some used the "Mohawk" cut. It was a matter of personal choice.

I know there is no danger in your using a Plains Indian headdress. Those were handsome war bonnets, but were not Wyandot. Wyandots and other Iroquoians used feathers from the wild turkey, with now and then a hawk or eagle feather.

On ceremonial or other dress-up occasions, the Wyandots and Hurons and most other Iroquoians wear now and wore the finger woven sashes.

Dress moccasins, tunics, breech clouts, kilts and leggings were quite often made of blackened buckskin. Borders were often in red, especially after black cloth began to replace black buckskin. Clan symbols and other figures were rather larger on Wyandot clothikng than some other tribes, were often painted in red and stood out well against the black background.

Dyed porcupine quillwork was widely used as well as dyed moosehair embroidery. Canadian Hurons are still noted for moosehair decorations, rosettes, etc.

Quite common in eastern woodland cultures was the use of some version of a double curve design and care must be taken in that regard. Wyandots and other Iroquoians used)(. Algonquians used ( ).

Just as it was often possible to determine a tribe by the way a pot was hung over a fire, it was also possible to determine the tribe of a discarded piece of clothing.

If you choose the traditional warrior headdress, use no more than one upright feather although the Wyandots sometimes had a similar, but trailing feather as well as a dozen or so small "nest" feathers. The Iroquoian headdress was called "GUS-TO-WEH". The Mohawks used three upright feathers. The Onondagas used two. The Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Oneidas and Senecas used one. The Wyandots used one or two, usually with one upright and one trailing. The Mohawks used a cap with open sections. The Wyandots and others used a closed cap.

In warm weather, the Wyandot warrior wore either a breech-clout (A-TE-NI-ON-TA) or kilt (O-FA-SA). Fringes were cut at the bottom either if made of buckskin and a sewn border when made of cloth.

The kilt extended from the waist to just above the knee. A drawstring type belt made of a buckskin thong secured the kilt at the waist and tied at the side. I regret to say that I don't know if it tied on the left side or

right.

The breech-clout was normally about twelve inches or a bit less in width and hung almost to the knee both front and back.

In cool weather, both men and women wore a sleevless tunic. It was usually made of two deer skins sewn together with fringes cut at top and bottom. The tunic normally extended to about the knees. In cold weather, sleeves were added but were not sewn to the tunic. They were joined by straps that ran accross the back of the shoulders.

Both men and women wore leather belts under the tunic on which separate leg coverings could be hung. The same belt was used by the women to secure their skirts. The top of the skirt was folded over to hide the belt. The skirt was a wrap-around garment that overlapped on the left.

In the very cold weather, robes were worn, usually with the hair left on. Some were worn with the hair inside and some with the hair outside. It is likely that early descriptions of such robes without hair were actually fur robes with the hair side worn inside.

Wyandots were particularly fond of black fox robes. The pelts were sewn together with the tails hanging down to form an attractive border.

Wyandots used the bull-nose or gathered toe type moccasin. They often, but not always, had flaps. Dress moccasins were beautifully decorated with moosehair rosettes and embroidery, plus quill-work of outstanding quality.

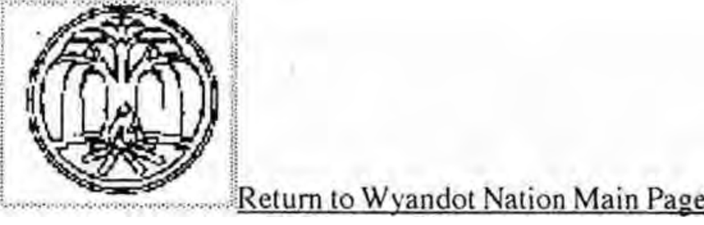
In winter, Wyandot men wore the GUS-TO-WEH but in summer they usually wore no cap and usually no more than one feather.

In snow or in muddy conditions, men and women wore overshoes made of cornhusks. For travel over snow, snowshoes were used and Hurons in Canada continue to make very fine snowshoes to this day.

When not working in the fields or hunting or whatever, Wyandot men often carried beautifully decorated shoulder purses or pouches. Such pouch was always worn over the left shoulder with the pouch at the man's right hand. A version of this pouch was also used to carry food or bullets. Such pouches were common in the eastern woodlands, but the Wyandot was distinguished by a flap or envelope type construction. Most other tribes' pouches did not have the flap.

Leg coverings were usually tied to the belt but decorated garters were common and garters were always used when leggings were worn.

Finally, floral patterns for the most part reflect white influence. Geometric patterns or simple curves were more "indian".


Return to Wyandot Nation Main Page

c. 1759

Delaware

"The Real Men"

The Delaware refered To Themselves as the "Lenni Lenape" meaning The real men... they worship "Manitou" A or the great spirit. They ranged from New Jersey to eastern Pennsylvania. They were good in hunting, did some fishing and were active at farming corn, beans, squash as well as gathering nuts, roots and herbs. They also gathered the maple sap and made maple sugar.

Allied with the English... but some seem to have also remained quite active in raiding white farms to include Anglo settlers along the frontiers.

They had a fondness for white men's jewelry and cloth clothing items, ie: shirts, coats blankets... they were able at war, yet gentle among their own people.

They used both floral and geometric designs to decorate with.

This Delaware is wearing a mix of white and native clothing. An English farm shirt and woolen breech-clout is worn with native deers hide fringed leggings. The leggings are undecorated. His moccasins are decorated. The shooting pouch is highly decorated with beads, colored yarn and paint dye. He has white metal ear rings as well as arm bands. The powder horn is of white mans crafting. His fusil is a heavy 1720s era Dutch .740" smooth bore and quite well made when new.

The Delaware lived in bark long and dome houses.

T. Spring
12/91

Hurons
1758
Shown here are woven woolen waist sashes, cloth beaded leggings, moose hair embroidery quill works beaded pouches powder horns cartridge boxes traditional bow elaborate feather head dressing made from the many types and colored feathers obtained from white traders.
Quebec Hurons or Hurons "Lorette"
Blanket robes and blanket over coats or "capotes" were common place to the Indians by the mid 1750s.
A mix of the old and new in weapons was quite common by 1750-60 era...
T. Spring 12/91
8.

The Indian in War

For the N.E. Woodland Native American war was nearly regarded as a social event... the chance to go into battle, big or small, was most exciting. In fact, the constant wars during the late 17th and on into the mid 18th century were a large contributing factor to the real decline of the Indians' population in N.E. America.

War was a social-religious event and pipes were smoked in pre-battle ceremonial councils where battle plans were made and war leaders chosen. War dances and body painting were often other pre-battle preparations as were long hours of drum beating and striking a war post with tomahawk or clubs. Medicine men sang pre battle songs calling upon the spirits to bless the warriors soon to depart the village en-route to the enemy village or white settlement etc.

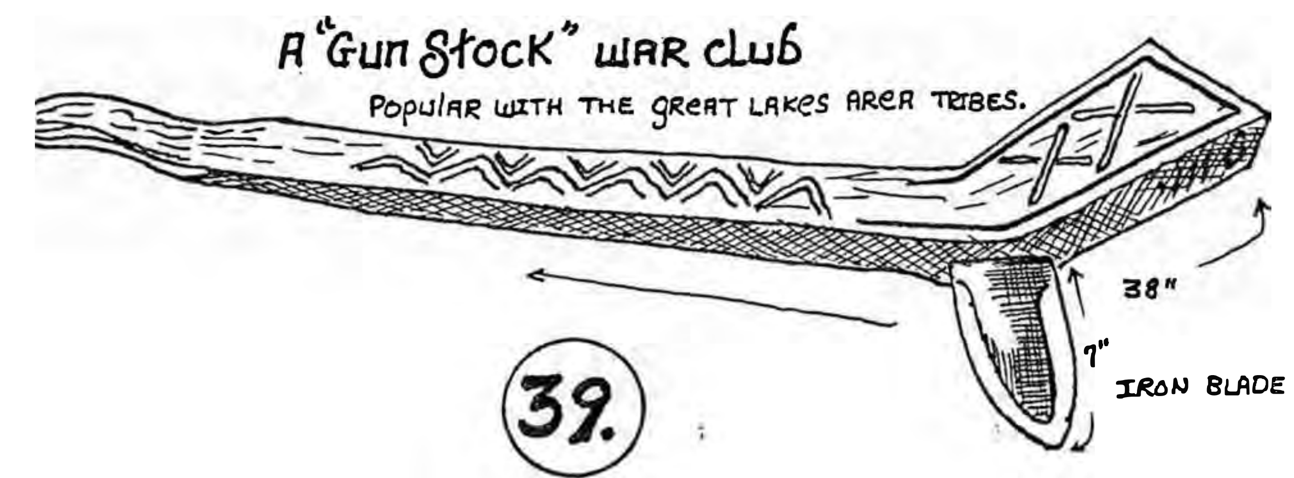
Making War

The Hollywood stereotype of the fearless savage warrior should be discounted... that is to say that not all Woodland warriors were fearless nor were they all savage and brutal at combat. The gaping hole of a musket ball or iron axe wound was found as sickening to as many 18th century braves as white men in battle. As a rule the Woodland Indian fought quite well and did display much skill in close hand to hand combat. War brings out the worst behavior in all men. The 18th century Woodland warrior was given to brutal treatment of enemy braves when prisoners were taken... white prisoners may have faired a little worse in many cases and the torture of a white could often be "state of the art" as to describe. The burning, skinning, dismemberment, scalping and the torture of captives well dominated the frontier war scene. Scalping for a bounty payment from the French or British became very popular during the French and Indian war era.

Making War cont....

Most battles began by an early pre-dawn attack on the enemy ville or troops. Indians would often fight in the dark of night. Torches and or fire arrows were used upon the enemy long houses or settlers cabins and forts. Routes of enemy escape were also covered by other braves laying quietly in wait for ambush along the trails and paths. Those braves armed with muskets and ball oftimes formed a superior attacking force... Thus the desire by the woodland Indians to obtain large numbers of the white mans' "thunder sticks" also created a huge gun trading – fur trading – scalp trading market for war.

English and French forces both payed for the woodland Indians' loyalty in combat roles along the frontier... goods of little cost to the whites were used to buy the Indians' loyalty... the politics of the whites held little interest or understanding among the Indian auxiliaries to remain allied. Although many Indians were supplied with French or English muskets, the main weapons of the woodland Indians did remain traditional. The stone war axe, Ironwood war club, bow and arrow, flint head lance, knife and fire came into play during French and Indian war battles. The traditional weapons were augmented with new white made iron and brass head tomahawks, steel or iron bladed trade axes and knives, swords, iron arrow heads, halberds and some few pistols.



Indian Guns

Tulle calibers vary from .575 to .710 in civilian fusil models.

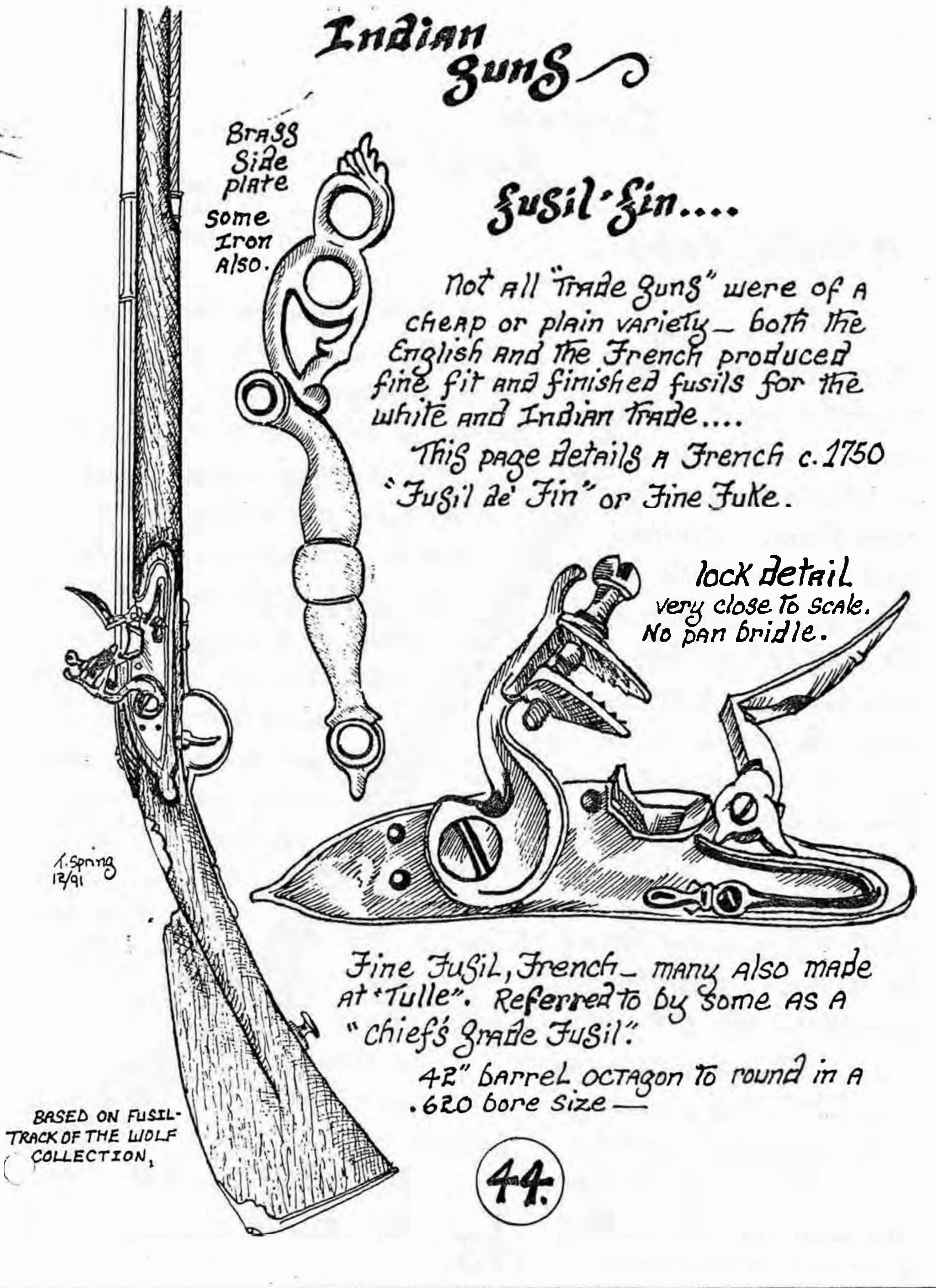
A "Tulle" fusil...

Tulle hunting muskets were so named via the town in France where they came from. Civilian and military Tulle fusils were quite common during the mid 18th century in North America. A most famous was the *model 1734 Tulle Sea Service musket issued to the French Marine forces in New France. Early French long guns had a reputation for "bursting", but this problem seems to have ended in French "Trade guns" by the early years of the 18th century, with French muskets and fusils being high in demand by 1750 and known for good reliability and shooting quality... French long guns were known to be used by English hunters as well as the hunters of New France

A Tulle "Fusil de Chasse" or hunting fusil 44" long barrel in a .650 caliber smooth bore. Barrel is secured to stock with 3 pins and tang screw. Iron furniture and or brass was both in common use. Wooden ram rods with 2-3 rod pipes and many had an entry thimble also. Octagon to round barrel with a single simple band. Thin metal band at nose to protect stock final. Wide comfortable butt plates were used. Good fit and finish.

T. Spring 1/92

* See Vol II "The French Marines"


Indian Guns
Brass Side plate
Some Iron Also.
Fusil-Fin....
Not all "Trade Guns" were of a cheap or plain variety_ both the English and the French produced fine fit and finished fusils for the white and Indian trade....
This page details a French c.1750 "Fusil de' Fin" or Fine Fuke.
lock detail
very close to scale.
No pan bridle.
Fine Fusil, French_ many also made at "Tulle". Referred to by some as a "Chief's Grade Fusil".
42" barrel octagon to round in a .620 bore size —
T. Spring 12/91
BASED ON FUSIL-TRACK OF THE WOLF COLLECTION,
44.

English
BROWN BESS

Indian Guns

A popular long gun with the frontiersman, Indian and the standard long gun of King George. Introduced into the British ranks during the reign of Queen Anne 1702-1714... Bess had several "minor" improvements 1715—1740 but remains the basic "Bess" through the mid 18th century. in the 1730s the lock had a bridle to the pan cover added and a wire ram rod was introduced in the late 1750s. The wooden ram rod was most common during the French and Indian War period here in North America.

Bess had a heavy breech and was known for being quite safe to shoot.

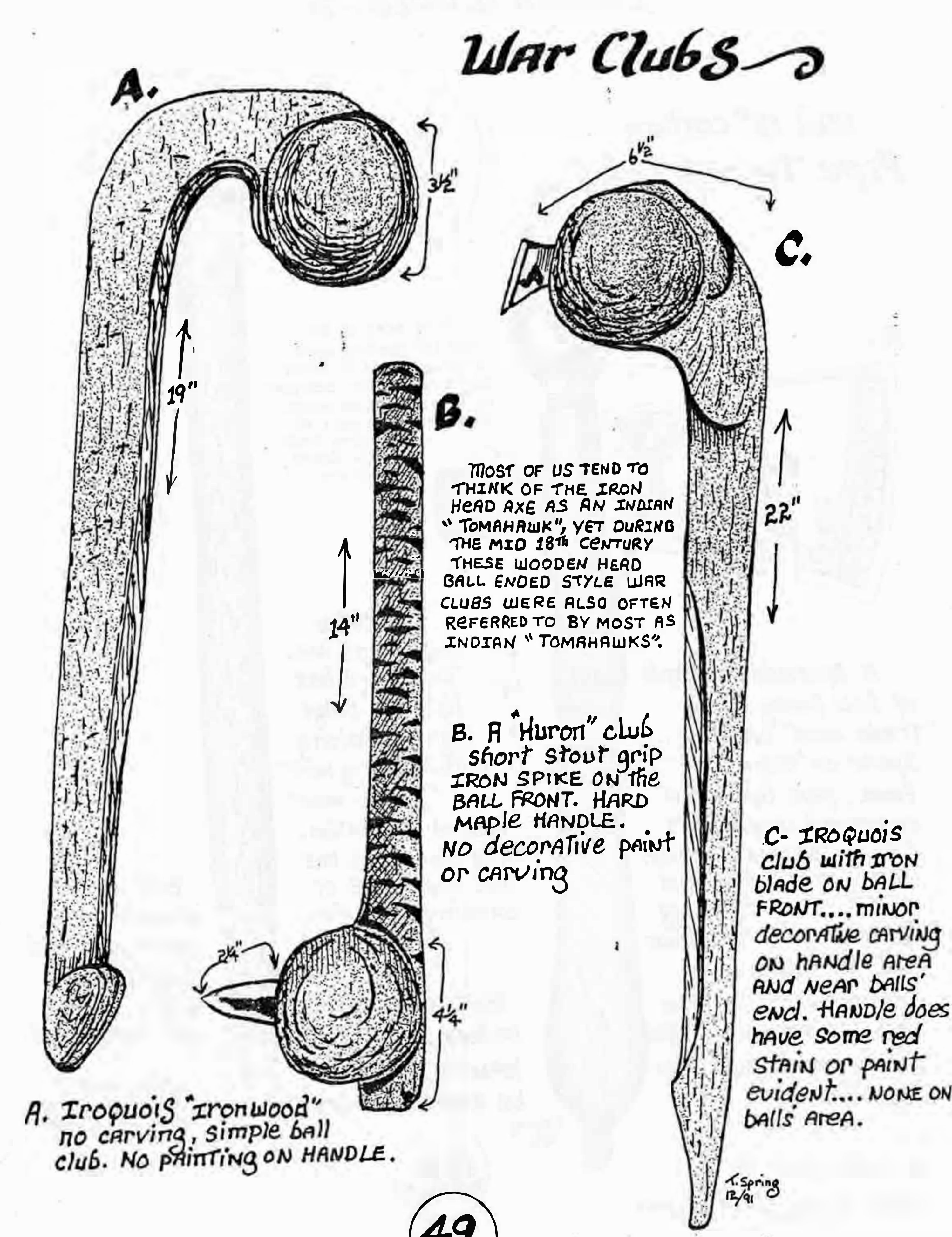
Avg. caliber was .735 round ball.

Deadly in battle at over 100 yards, Accurate to 70 yds, The smooth bore musket was a fine Hunting gun. The large heavy ball at over 900 ft. per second at 50+ yards was Powerful for even the largest of game animals... loaded with small drop shot, the 11 or 12 ga. musket was a fine choice for hunting birds and small game.

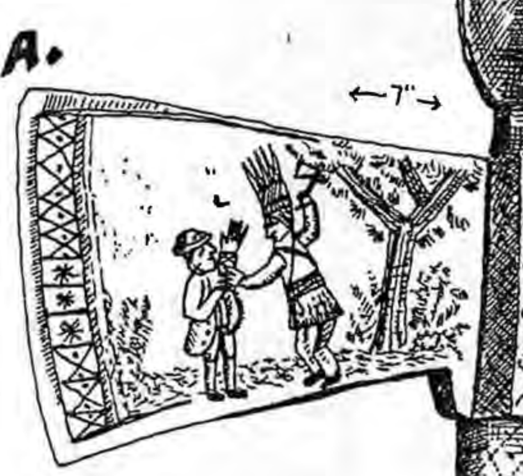
BROWN BESS OF .740 BORE SIZE... BRASS FURNITURE, WOODEN RAM ROD, FOUR ROD PIPE MODEL OF ABOUT 1750 ERA. REAR SLING LOOP MOUNTED ON BRASS TRIGGER BOW. BARREL IS HELD TO FULL STOCK BY PINS. LOCK SECURED BY TWO SCREWS. O/A weight IS 13 1/4 LBS. WITH 46" BARREL. TOP MOUNTED BAYONET LUG. NO REAR OR FRONT SIGHTS MOUNTED.

T. Spring
1/92

ARMS COLLECTION
FT. TICONDEROGA


War Clubs
A.
3½"
19"
6½"
C.
B.
22"
14"
2¼"
4¼"
MOST OF US TEND TO THINK OF THE IRON HEAD AXE AS AN INDIAN "TOMAHAWK", YET DURING THE MID 18TH CENTURY THESE WOODEN HEAD BALL ENDED STYLE WAR CLUBS WERE ALSO OFTEN REFERRED TO BY MOST AS INDIAN "TOMAHAWKS".
B. A "Huron" club short stout grip IRON SPIKE ON the BALL FRONT. HARD maple HANDLE. NO decorative paint or carving
C- IROQUOIS club with IRON blade ON BALL FRONT.... minor decorative carving ON handle area AND Near balls' end. HANDle does have some red stain or paint evident.... NONE ON balls' area.
A. Iroquois "Ironwood" no carving, simple ball club. No painting ON HANDLE.
T. Spring 12/91

mid 18th century Pipe Tomahawks



B.

← 6½" →

2⅜"

20¾"

Pipe axes of the mid 18th century were made of Iron or Brass. England, France, Germany Holland, Spain, all made Trade axes as well as many being made here in North America.

A splendid example of how fancy some "Trade axes" could be... Spear or "esporroon" final, pipe bowl, an engraved woodlands battle scene along with line and dot line and chisel point engraving make this pipe Tomahawk quite desirable to any Indian owner. The iron head was originally buffed quite so smooth as to shine like silver.

Another good Trade axe. Iron head has line and bulge figuring along with "weeping hart" and "quarter moon" incised decoration. The pipe bowl has line and bulge or banding decoration.

Both axes have hollow drilled handles and can be used as a pipe.

Both axe handles are hard wood and unpainted or staining has not been used.

white metal end cap serves as mouth stem.

T. Spring 12/91

BRITISH MUSEUM - LONDON

MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN NEW YORK

Iroquois Bark Long House

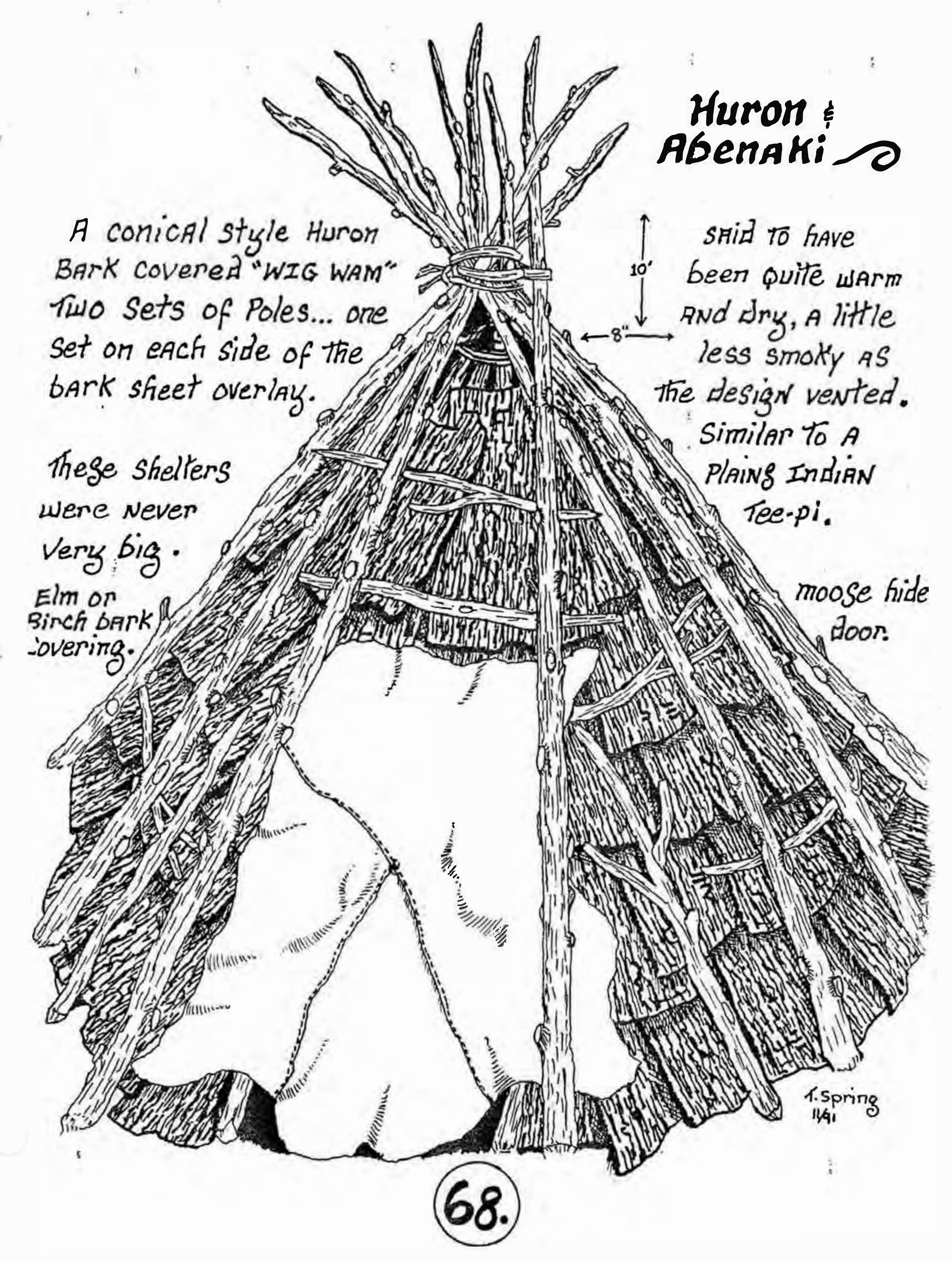
Bark covered "Long Houses" ranged from 20' to
long and 10' to 18' wide and 9' to 13' high center r
arch... Several groups of a same family clan may
together in one long house, as many as 18 to 30 resid
The center of the end of the days' activities.

The long houses were
vented at the roof center 2-3 times
to let fire smoke escape, yet, said to still be rather dark and
smoky inside. They were fairly rain proof. Interior pit fires
As h any bark or wooden structure, T y did require constant

Algonkian

The Algonkian Shelters were a pole frame bent to form a dome interior skeleton... woven mats of natural fibres were layed over the framework and tied into place.

These shelters were not easily made as the hand woven mats took much time to weave. Said to have been quite water proof and well above freezing with an interior fire pit. large enough for 6 people... Some were bigger holding 8-10 people. quite smoky inside, deer or moose hide or blankets used as doors.


Huron & Abenaki
A conical style Huron Bark covered "WIG WAM" Two sets of Poles... one set on each side of the bark sheet overlay.
10'
8"
said to have been quite warm and dry, a little less smoky as the design vented. Similar to a Plains Indian Tee-pi.
These shelters were never very big.
Elm or Birch bark covering.
moose hide door.
T. Spring 11/91

Alternative Shelters for Rendezvous

The Wigwam

By Rex Norman

AMONG HUMANITY'S MOST enduring and widespread shelters is the small dome-shaped dwelling known to most as the wigwam. All over North America, this logical little shelter found favor. The Ojibwa, Winnebago, East Coast cultures and many Indian nations down to Virginia and south used this type of structure in a variety of forms. The Chumash of California used a grass-thatched version and the Kickapoo, a variant they called a wickiup (Nabokov and Easton 310, 75). First described in writing by the Italian seafarer Verrazano in 1524, the wigwam was the most common shelter form encountered on his expedition to the Eastern Atlantic Coast. The word "wigwam" is Algonquin in origin and was adopted as a general term by many cultures (Nabokov and Easton 52, 56). Although the literal translation is up to debate, we all know what a wigwam is: a small dome or semi-conical shelter that is framed with bent sapling poles and covered with bark, reed mats or canvas. The wigwam was in general use by tribes throughout the Eastern Woodlands and averaged from seven to twelve feet in diameter. The Western Plains tribes used the same type of structure for their sweat lodges and occasionally used them for dwellings. Western trappers used a half-face variation of the design, as shown in *The Mountain Man's Sketch Book,* Volume II by James Hanson (48).

Rex Norman enjoys researching and reproducing period clothing, equipment and arms. As an artist painting in both watercolor and acrylic, Norman focuses much of his work on historical subjects.

Today buckskinners and reenactors are becoming increasingly interested in shelters that are not only authentic, but also regional to their location. A few years ago, buckskinners in the Old Northwest began to show up at rendezvous with wigwams and other shelters of the Great Lakes tribes. Some of these were made to be easily transported, using poles dried into shape. At the 1992 NMLRA Eastern Primitive Rendezvous, I used a small half-faced wigwam as my shelter for the week. The curious little lodge attracted a great deal of attention, and more than one person who visited my camp commented on the simplicity and appeal of the design.

Many, if not most, of the Woodland cultures carried their mats and bark rolls from one camp to the next, cutting and bending poles as needed. Although there is no real evidence that the wigwam-using tribes ever actually transported their poles with them, it is a very practical arrangement for today's nomadic buckskinner. The whole affair can be bundled up into a small package that is easily carried by the smallest of cars. When set up it successfully resists strong gusts of wind. Mine has easily stood up to 60 mph gusts. The best part of the deal is that it's cheap.

Framing styles varied, with an arching grid type being the most widespread. I have made frames of this type but found them to be time-consuming to construct. A very easy structure to assemble is shown in Figure 1 on the following page. The poles in this frame all bend in and meet at the apex. To build this type, your first step will be in procuring green saplings for the frame. In the Eastern part of the country, hardwood saplings of maple and ash are abundant. In the West you may have to hunt a bit for suitable wood. Willow, cottonwood and even eucalyptus saplings that are green and supple will work very well. Be sure you have any needed permission before you go cutting.

THE SIZE OF THE SAPLINGS is important. At the butt end, they should be one to 1-1/2 inches in diameter. The length will depend on how large your finished lodge is to be. My wigwam is about nine feet across, so I chose saplings of about ten feet in length. Trim all small branches down completely and fashion a point on the butt end with your hatchet. For the basic frame, you will need eight saplings for the side poles. You will now have to obtain enough lighter saplings to create two tiers of brace poles running horizontally. The basic frame construction is shown above. This arrangement sets up in about 30 minutes, making it very practical for weekend events.

To build the frame, lash hardwood stakes 1-1/2 to two-feet long to the base of each side pole, as shown in the diagram.

FIGURE 1: BASIC FRAMEWORK

Lashings

Apex

Side Poles

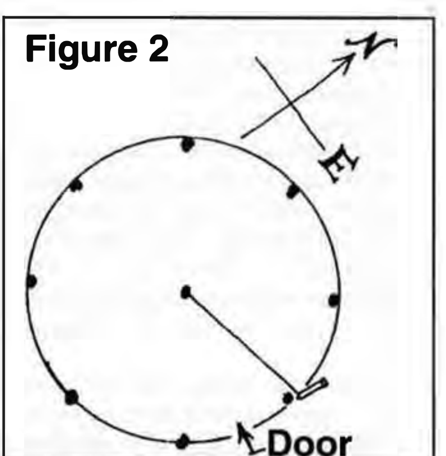
Brace Poles

Door

Steps 1 & 2 Step 3 Step 4 Step 5

By lashing these stakes securely to each pole, the pole will have the proper tension needed for an even and strong setup. Now, go out to a good level spot in your backyard. Plant a small stake in the ground and attach a 4-1/2-foot-long cord to it. This will be used to lay out the nine-foot diameter of the lodge and the location of the poles. In Figure 2 the pole locations are shown, as well as how the rope is used to lay them out. This is not strictly necessary but will help you to lay out a nice even circle. You may choose to set it up with an oval floor plan.

Figure 2



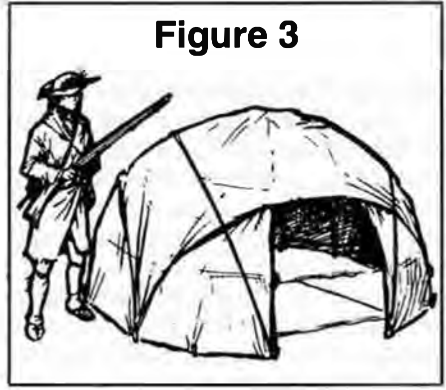
Once pole locations are evenly marked, select the space between that will be used as your door. Ideally, this should face to the east so your door will catch the morning light. Use a good stout peg to drive a shallow starter hole for each pole. Next, take your two strongest poles and pound them in opposite one another.

Bend them in and lash them very securely together. This will form the first arch under which all the other side poles will be held. Pound the other poles into their places and carefully bend them down and secure them under the arch. Once all eight poles are in place, tie them together at the apex.

You are now ready to lash on the two tiers of brace poles. Heavy sisal twine works well. Start at the door and work your way around to the back, lashing them on as you go. When all your brace poles are in place, lash an arching pole over the doorway to support the cover above the door and provide extra bracing. The frame is now complete. Let the frame stand as is for three to four weeks or more to allow the wood to dry into shape. Once dried, the frame can be disassembled and bundled up for transport.

In order to complete your wigwam, you will need a cover. I use the three liner sections from a twenty-foot tipi. Figure 3 shows the completed wigwam with its canvas covers in place. The canvas is staked to the ground in the same manner a tipi is staked—using cords and pebbles. Ropes are stretched over the structure to hold the cover sections secure from wind.

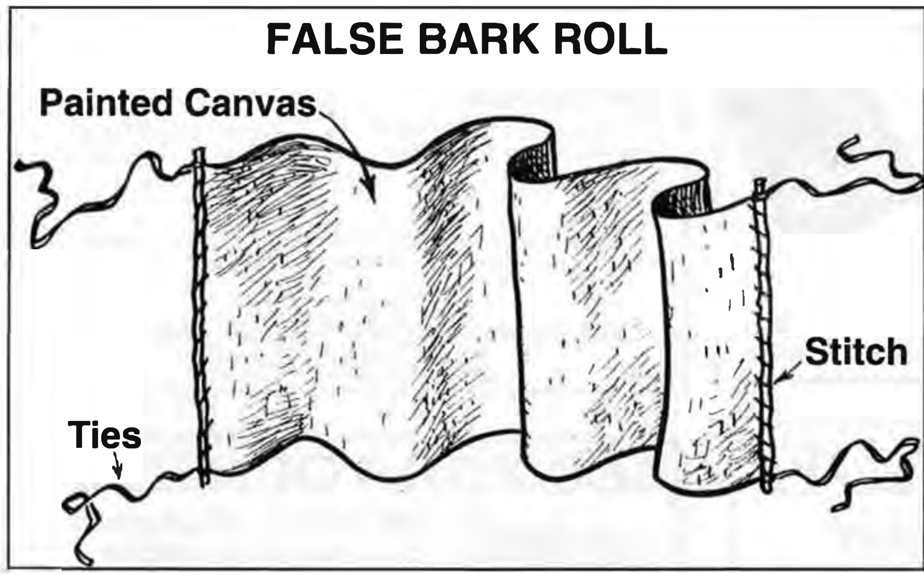
Figure 3



Another option for covering is to use mats. If you are inclined to, you can gather

and laboriously stitch cattail reeds, or simply take a trip to your local import shop. Many such stores sell woven grass beach mats. A plastic strip is often sewn on the edges, but this is easily removed. Several of these inexpensive mats can be laced or pinned together with small wood skewers and stretched over the frame. This looks fantastic but is not sound protection from a very heavy rain.

Birch bark was a traditional covering and can also be used, but it is difficult to obtain. A nice substitute is to make false bark rolls out of strips of canvas. A piece of heavy canvas cloth three feet wide and about six feet long can be painted heavily with gray and tan latex paint on both sides. Stitch a light pole to each end and you



have it. By making enough of these rolls, you can create a shelter that strongly resembles a real bark-covered lodge. I usually use the tipi-liner canvas, since it allows me to set up the shelter in a variety of ways. You may wish to fashion some type of door cover with a blanket or piece of canvas. I often use a grass mat with a pole tied to the bottom.

Once you have your wigwam finished, you can set it up in different ways to suit the weather and camp. You can use a wide door setup, shown in Figure 4, by eliminating one of the side poles. For warm weather camps, a half-face, also shown in Figure 4, works very well. This was a very common shelter for the fur trappers of the West and is easy to set up. For a cold winter camp, two half-faces can be set facing each other. Straight poles can then be tied on connecting them and a large tarp tied on forming a small longhouse. Shown in Figure 5, this shelter is open on the side, allowing a good reflector fire to warm the interior. Such a shelter will sleep several people. I set up the longhouse variation at the 1993 NMLRA Eastern with great success, despite the constant rains. The basic wigwam frame can also serve the tipi dweller as an excellent sweat lodge.

The interior can be floored with tarps, oil cloths, grass mats or skins. The frame inside makes a very convenient place to hang bags, tools and furnishings. If you desire, a small fire pit can be used inside to cook on and heat the interior. You will have to arrange the covers so as to provide an adequate smoke hole on top and insure that air enters the wigwam from the door or base of the covers. Because of the small size of the dwelling, it will pay to use good sound hardwood for your small fire, so as to avoid a smoky atmosphere inside. The larger and higher the wigwam, the more efficient it will be for an interior fire.

Figure 5

At the last few rendezvous that I have attended, I couldn't help noticing that so many of the camps looked alike. Tipis, wall and wedge tents are great shelters, but once in a while, I like to do something different, something "primitive." Unique, efficient and authentic shelters don't have to cost you a fortune. By using the methods and materials of the ancestors, we can create shelters that fend off the wind and rain and do so in an inexpensive and very authentic manner. In the region you live, there may be many other types of dwellings you can try. This is not only fun but adds an additional aspect of realism to the rendezvous scene. M

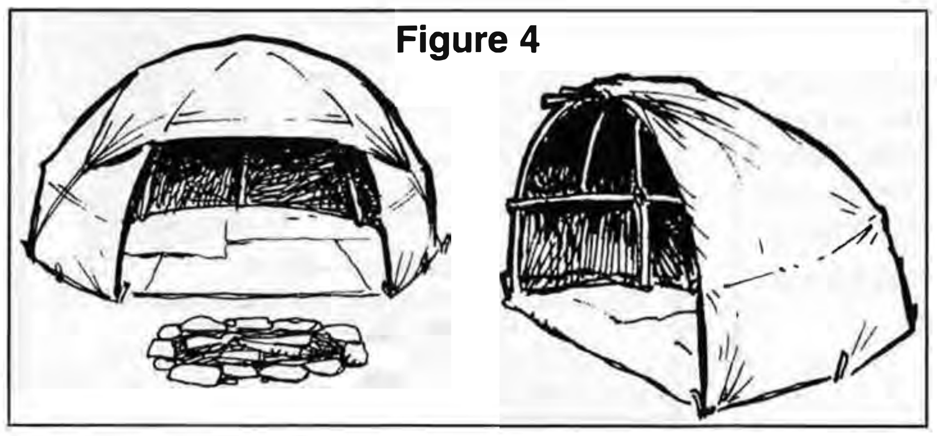


Figure 4

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2. Crazy Crow Trading Post.................................. www.crazycrow.com
3. Townsends.. www.townsends.us
4. Log Cabin Shop .... www.logcabinshop.com
5. Moore's Primitives.. www.mooresprimitives.com
6. Panther Primitives .... www.pantherprimitives.com
7. Smiling Fox Forge .... www.smilingfoxforge.com
8. Bethlehem Trading Post .... www.bethlehemtradingpost.com
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14. The Wandering Bull, LLC .... www.wanderingbull.com
15. Old Dominion Forge.. www.olddominionforge.com
16. Turkey Foot Trading Co. & Forge .... www.turkeyfootllc.com
17. Track of the Wolfe, Inc .... www.trackofthewolfe.com
18. Tecumseh's Trading Post................................. www.nativeindiancrafts.com
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21. Fugawee (boots and shoes)............................. www.fugawee.com