Assuming Identity: Material Exchange in Southeastern Euro-Indian Encounters, c. 1680 – 1750

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MA-Res History

Abstract

From the beginning of colonisation, Southeastern Native Americans used and adapted European materials in to their day-to-day lives. In particular, textile exchange held a central place in Euro-Indian relations, with clothing and style used to express identity and judge character. This thesis explores the role of material in relations and personal identity, using inventories, travel accounts and art to explain the accumulation of items as well as the ways they were used. By looking at the development of trade and style from 1680 to 1750, the autonomy of Native Americans are illuminated as they were able to retain traditional markers of their identity, while also actively using and engaging with European textiles.

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Word Count: 29, 349

Submitted: 15/09/2017

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Chapter One: Material

The contours of exchange undeniably shaped relations between European settlers and Native Americans. From initial interactions through to the growth of settler societies, the passing of items and goods solidified alliances and dictated relationships. Popular items such as tools and guns have dominated discussions surrounding Euro-Indian encounter, yet one of the most defining products of exchange was material.[1] Alongside food and drink, clothing was ”regular consumer expenditure” which had the power to present concepts and display beliefs – in addition to providing functionality.[2] Materials were rooted in societal values that informed European and Native identity, as well as how they perceived one another.[3] Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the growth in global trade led to a consumer revolution, allowing for new fabrics to rapidly enter the market.[4] The colonial southeast – encompassing the modern day states of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia – was inundated with European textiles. These items became routine fixtures in trade with the Natives, reflected in the inventory lists and accounts kept during these transactions. The adoption and use of European materials have been interpreted as shifting Native identity away from traditionalism, and indicative of dependence on colonists. Yet, this assessment overlooks the complexities surrounding material exchange – for one, European materials were not the sole textiles in circulation. Native products such as animal skins continued to be used and sought after – as James Merrell asserts, the “two key commodities” wanted by settlers were “slaves and deerskins.” [5] Materials were consumed for a variety of reasons, considered against the constraints of

[1] Terminology usage surrounding ‘Native American’, ‘Native’, and ‘Indian’ differ
[2] Robert S. Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650 – 1800* (Cambrdige: Cambridge University Press, 2016) p.4
[3] Timothy J. Shannon, ‘Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion’, *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 52:01 (1996) p. 353
[4] John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 2007) p. 1
[5] James Merrell, *The Indians’ New World: Catawbas and their neighbors from European Contact through the era of removal* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009) p. 35

climate, aesthetic, durability and identity. The assumption that European items were adopted solely for being European is greatly overstated - if Natives found no function in a European item, it would not be used. Both societies wanted, and provided, materials from one another and retained key facets of their identity despite merging dress and presentational styles. This thesis explores the centrality of material in Euro-Indian exchange, using a range of inventories and accounts to interpret and explain developing interactions between the two societies.

Throughout the past century, the study of Euro-Indian relations has undergone countless revision and growth. While initially Eurocentric and limited in scope, the growing focus on Native American history, and Natives' active part within interactions has been stressed. Particularly with regard to exchange, greater attention is now given to Native American participation – abiding Native customs, for example, were an integral component of successful relations.[6] Incorporating different paradigms has further strengthened understanding of Native American history, particularly with the works of James Axtell and Neal Salisbury concerning ethnohistory. Ethnohistorians ultimately argued it was necessary to perceive Native culture as a whole prior to cultural change, to fully understand the effects of outside forces such as colonisation.[7] This informs a central facet of exploring the impact of materials on European and Native cultures. Furthermore, emphasis on diversity shaped the study of Euro-Indian relations – considering Native societies as different and unique from one another is integral. Historians including James Merrell, Claudio Saunt and Joseph M. Hall have produced works focusing on the Catawba, Creeks and Yamasees, ultimately arguing tribes had differing attitudes and beliefs. This diversity is important to consider when exploring primary sources, as settlers had biased and differing attitudes tribe to tribe. The question of which tribe settlers were more willing to trade

[6] James Axtell, *The Indians' New South: Cultural Change in the Colonial Southeast* (London: Louisiana State University Press, 1997) p. 31
[7] Donald Lee Fixico, 'Introduction' in Donald Lee Fixico (ed.) *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) p. 4

with, as well as how their opinion of them dictated modes of interaction, provides an important facet of material exchange.

Alongside the growth of Native American history, studies of the southeastern colonies have similarly thrived. Historians Robert Paullett, Julie Anne Sweet and Daniel K. Richter have emphasised the individuality of southeastern colonies. A generalised assumption places the colonies growing and developing at the same rate – almost as one homogeneous space. However, unique challenges faced every colony and development occurred at different speeds. Within the southeast, the hotter climate and difficult terrain meant there were certain needs from materials and clothing, and thus trade was affected by its geographical location. Economies and cultures were specific to colonies, particularly with the developing geo-politics of the interior of the Carolinas and Georgia, as well as the influences of the French and Spanish. The differences between the colonies are vital context to Euro-Indian relations within, and the process of, material exchange. With regard to the Carolinas, settlers were influenced by the colonising effort in Virginia as there was a "landscape of possibility" to spread plantation economy.[8] Building on the knowledge of the first colony, emphasis was placed on developing plantation culture and continuing trade links with Native tribes – as Kathryn Braund asserts, "trade and alliance went hand in hand."[9] Coastal Natives, including Tuscarora in the North and Yamasee in the South, were some of the key "navigators" for settlers.[10] Further inland, the Creek and Catawba were essential trading partners. Moreover, emigrants from Barbados altered the landscape of the colony. Incentives including land grants and representation meant that the Carolinas were attractive to a great number of settlers.[11] Collaboration with Native Americans was essential to the development of the

[8] S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (London: Harvard University Press, 2006) p. 13
[9] Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*: *Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685 – 1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) p. 26
[10] Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise,* p. 28
[11] Ibid, p. 224

colony, both in matters of trade and the establishment of buffer zones.[12] Within the Carolinas, trade grew to involve slavery – including African and Native slaves. This development permeated the landscape of colonisation and bore considerable relevance to material exchange.

By 1729, the Carolinas separated into the crown colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina. Arising from conflicts between the planter elite and the Lords Proprietor, the separation of the colony resulted in South Carolina operating differently to the North. While the plantations of North Carolina focused on tobacco, South Carolina concentrated more on rice cultivation and slavery. The slave trade was an important part of exchange and trade, as bodies were circulating the markets as well as materials. Native slaves, in particular, posed complex issues for Native American tribes and Euro-Indian relations. Alan Gallay maintains Natives involved in the capturing and trade of slaves were forced to reconsider their identities and links with other tribes.[13] The Westo were a notable tribe that raided and contributed to the slave trade, enjoying trading relations with settlers as a result. Valuable goods were exchanged for slaves, making it a promising venture for Natives. The slave trade affected relations greatly, ultimately leading to violent disputes and wars in the 1710s – such as the Tuscarora and Yamasee wars. The aftermath of wars and conflicts resulted in population loss and destruction of land. Trade conduct was also affected, with more regulation put in place to limit trade abuse and reduce the potential for further conflict.[14]

Wars and the disruption of exchange affected Euro-Indian relations throughout the eighteenth century, and particularly framed the development of Georgia. Founded in 1732, Georgia represented a move away from a plantation economy towards smaller farming endeavours. The rejection of a slave system was a starkly different to previous colonies, deployed in part to

[12] Michelle LeMaster, 'War, Masculinity, and Alliances on the Carolina Frontiers' in Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood (eds.) *Creating and Contesting Carolina Propriety Era Histories* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2013) p. 167
[13] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 10
[14] Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (New York: Penguin, 2001) p. 236

encourage white labour.[15] Although this did not continue throughout the colony's development, the intent behind growing white population was of key concern. Due to the losses of people and economic downturn following the wars of the 1710s, peaceful interactions were encouraged between settlers and Natives. As Daniel K. Richter argues, the development of Georgia threatened the "fragile equipoise" of European, Creek and Choctaw forces.[16] Some of the most notable Native tribes to operate in Georgia were Cherokees inhabiting the North and Chickasaw meeting settlers near Augusta. Following the impact of wars and losses, Native Americans were acutely aware of their place within the colonies. The need to be useful to the settlers, namely through trade, was integral to survival. The Creek confederacy with Georgia emerged as one of the key trading partners, as well as valuable suppliers of deerskins.[17] Throughout the development of Georgia, it would be fair to assert the use of European goods reached its zenith. The settlement of Georgia occurred in the midst of European items being utilised and adopted by countless Native tribes – as well as deemed essentials for living.

The role of material and clothing in Euro-Indian exchange has emerged as a burgeoning part of understanding relations as a whole. James Axtell asserts that with one look, settlers believed they could ascertain how 'civilised' a tribe was.[18] Material occupied a central place within both societies, used to display identity and conform to ideals. The arrival of new fabrics within existing regimes had the power to challenge traditional understandings, and thus how these materials were used and applied inform shifting interpretations of identity. Within the study of dress and appearance, historians including John Styles and Aileen Riberio have contributed works exploring the ideological beliefs and aesthetic preferences of clothing. More recently, Robert S. Duplessis investigated the role of dress in understanding new cultures and

[15] LeMaster, 'War, Masculinity, and Alliances on the Carolina Frontiers', p. 242
[16] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East From Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (London: Harvard University Press, 2003) p. 184
[17] Robert Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732 – 1795* (London: The University of Georgia Press, 2012) p. 5
[18] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) p. 57

how it affected economies as well as identities. The ability of material to be distributed through various means such as trade, gifting and ceremony is also a key point of Duplessis's work.[19] Moreover, the interweaving of colonisation and commercialisation was an important facet of material exchange emphasised in Kathryn Braund's work on the Creek and deerskin trade. The rise in the skin trade affected Natives significantly, shifting realms of traditional labour and placing more importance on male members of society. However, both Europeans and Natives were active participants in material exchange, and used dress as a tool to understand one another – it was "a critical guide to understanding both their own societies and those newly encountered."[20] Fascination with material and clothing therefore figured strongly in descriptive accounts, inventories and lists. The popularity of items, as well as their worth, was keenly documented. While there are gaps in coverage within sources, there is significant insight into material exchange and its centrality.[21]

The circulation of materials within the colonial southeast expanded exponentially with increased European presence. To fully comprehend and assess these materials, understanding the textiles and styles that were utilised by European and Native societies prior to interactions is of upmost importance. Across Europe, material usage varied depending on climate, trade, tradition and preference. Similar themes emerged across the continent, however, such as the dominance of woven fibre textiles. Materials such as linens and wools were widely available across socio-economic class, constituting the "bulk of any member of society's wardrobe."[22] Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, cotton fabrics emerged to challenge the "supremacy" of other materials such as woollens, linens and silks.[23] It is worth noting, however, that cottons manufactured within Europe were of far lower quality than their Asian counterparts, due to them being combined with

[19] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic* p. 80
[20] Ibid, p. 5
[21] Gregory A. Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Trade in Southeastern North America', *New Faces of the Fur Trade: Selected Papers of the Seventh North American Fur Trade Conference* (1995) p. 193
[22] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic*, p. 28
[23] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 109

other fibres.[24] Woven fabrics were easier to decorate and manipulate than hardier textiles. The richer in society were able to afford more colourful and better quality items, displaying their higher-class identity. The poor wore cheaper and coarser fabrics, likely sourced from local manufacturers.[25] Variations in availability and spread differed region to region, yet the emphasis on woven fabrics is apparent. An important part of European materials was its association with societal beliefs – particularly regarding gender. For example, wool was associated with masculinity and therefore woollen items were likely to be gifted and worn by men.[26] Gender was a "respected foundational structure", thought by Europeans to be essential to social upkeep.[27]

For Native Americans, choice in materials similarly served a societal and functional value. Natives differed to their European counterparts in their use and processing of raw materials, including animal furs and skins as well as bark.[28] While fur was not uncommon in Europe, within Native America it was a necessity. Animal fibres were used for a myriad of items, such as match coats, pouches and ceremonial wear. In particular, animal pelts were utilised as they were easily found and easily styled into multiple functions.[29] The emphasis on animal skins would later become a prime component within trade, with a growing interest in and demand for deerskins throughout the eighteenth century.[30] While this part of exchange will not be the key focus of this work, the prominence of the material and its centrality in Native dress cannot be disregarded. The majority of materials used by Natives were able to withstand laborious tasks such as hunting, and were far more durable. Women were integral to making clothing and utilising materials, with most

[24] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 30
[25] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 23
[26] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 30
[27] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500 – 1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995) p. 83
[28] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic* p. 7
[29] Ibid, p. 47
[30] James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their neighbors from European Contact through the era of removal* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009) p. 35

items made and worn at home.[31] Compared to European manufacturing methods, it is fair to assert the Native homemade production attached a more personal and cultural meaning to articles, deeply rooted to place and identity. As well as fabrics, it is worth noting Natives would use oils to enhance their appearance via skin, and create additional extravagance through the use of bird feathers – yet again emphasising the Native consumption and selective processing of raw materials. Prior to European contact, there was a lack of woven fibres in circulation yet they were not completely absent. However, the popularity of these items would not surge until colonisation took effect.

How societies styled materials reflected ideals and identity. For Europeans, styles were integral to their ideas about society as well as their aims abroad. On the whole, clothes were fitted and covered most of the body.[32] As a sign of civility, covering the body pertained to good manners and orderly behaviour. Within England, popular male dress included linen shirts, waistcoats and breeches.[33] This did not differ considerably between the rich and poor – as has been discussed, the richer would have had high quality clothing and more of it. For women, linen shifts with overlaying petticoat and gowns were the regular style.[34] While these styles were the norm, variations could frequently reveal the person's occupation as well as their class. John Styles notes that aprons, especially when worn by men, would signify they worked in particular trades.[35] Adornments and accessories often set the poor and the wealthy apart. Accessories were worn across the classes but much like clothing, were worn in greater amounts and in higher quality by the wealthy.[36] Both men and women wore shoes with removable buckles, as well as stockings. Men would likely wear a hat and some type of neckwear, while women would wear a linen cap and neckwear such as a shawl.[37] Adornments came in various qualities and styles, though rarely on the skin in the form of tattoos – however, tattoos

[31] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 30
[32] Ibid*,* p. 27
[33] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 35
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid, p. 45
[36] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 31
[37] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* pp. 35 - 36

were worn by limited parts of society.[38] European style on the whole derived from Christian beliefs and modes of morality. Dress was meant to convey societal values, of which the presentation of civility was paramount. Regulations on clothing were common although not necessarily enforced – yet this further emphasises the messages placed on European dress.[39]

In contrast to European styles, much of Native clothing was draped rather than fitted, with skin visible and bare. The 'nakedness' of Native Americans was keenly noted by settlers, which dominated the perception of them thereafter. The phrase 'naked', however, referred to several levels of undress and not necessarily complete nudity.[40] Often it denoted dress below the waist but not above – usually cloth would cover the genitals.[41] Native clothing was simpler in design compared to Europeans but nonetheless remarkably nuanced, whereby adornments and ornamentation differentiated tribes as well as social status.[42] The standard wardrobe of southeastern Natives comprised of draped garments such as blankets and match coats, as well as protective leggings.[43] Vibrant colours were popular in Native items, most notably blues and reds.[44] Colour was symbolic – red, blue and black were reoccurring concepts within Native storytelling.[45] Red was often used with regard to warfare, or in Cherokee lore it was associated with success.[46] The use of clothing to differentiate status varied – in the case of the Creek "there was little distinction in the clothing worn by Creeks and leaders," suggesting there was some fluidity.[47] Among tribes, similar items were used in different ways. For example, breechclouts were draped in the Powhatan confederation, but

[38] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 24
[39] Ibid, p. 33
[40] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (London: Cornell University Press, 2000) p. 49
[41] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 25
[42] Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733 – 1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 38
[43] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 47
[44] Ibid, p. 31
[45] Saunt, *A New Order,* p. 17
[46] Thomas E. Malis, *The Cherokee People* (Tulsa: Council Oak Books, 1992) p. 101
[47] Saunt, *A New Order,* p. 39

fitted in other groups.[48] Key differences between cultures were reiterated in dress and materials. The styling of hair and decoration of skin, as well as garments, painted Europeans and Native Americans as inherently different from one another. Despite this, settlers were not completely dismissive of Native clothing choices – acknowledgment of climate constraints, in particular, were recognised.[49]

Europeans and Native Americans exchanged materials through various mediums. While trade was the most prominent way to disseminate materials, the role of gifting was also considerable. Euro-Indian interactions occurred regularly, with gifting an important way to solidify new alliances and relationships.[50] Gifting differed from trading in that there was not an expectation of an item exchanged in return. However, the receiver would likely be indebted to the giver.[51] Clothing and garments constituted the bulk of presents, due to their high quality and functionality. Moreover, materials were sturdier and easier to transport than perishable goods and so served well as gifts. A variety of materials were used for presents, subject to gender and status distinctions – men would often receive wools and heavier fabrics, while women were presented with lighter linens.[52] Gifting was tied to diplomacy – a necessity for positive relations and growth in the New World. For instance, Francis Nicholson was advised on his visit to South Carolina in 1720 to include "compleat suits of clouts" to be gifted to headmen and "stroud match coats" presented to attendants.[53]

Trade naturally played an instrumental part in bringing natives and newcomers together, and patterning affiliations (as it had long done between indigenous groups) though the cultural meaning and assumptions associated with commerce could differ. In the southeastern Chiefdoms, a "prestige-goods

[48] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 48
[49] Ibid, p. 24
[50] Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013) p. 3
[51] Joseph M. Hall Jr., *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian – European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) p. 7
[52] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 94
[53] Ibid*,* p. 93

economy" dominated wherein those who controlled resources from external trade exerted the most power.[54] The hallmarks of Native American diplomacy were "trade, tribute and gifting", and were essential to maintaining political and economic systems.[55] Within Europe, a transactional relationship between buyer and seller was key, wherein the objects took precedence over personal relations.[56] Fabrics and textiles were an essential part of trade, and throughout the eighteenth century more than half of the total English exports and re-exports were comprised of textiles.[57] A Euro-centric approach is often applied to Euro-Indian exchange, yet Native Americans shaped the development of trade within the Southeast – for European materials to be profitable there had to have been a significant demand from both settlers and indigenous people.[58]

The slave trade further impacted the economy and culture of the southeastern colonies, as well as the dynamics of material exchange. While new materials were flooding the market, there was similarly an influx of bodies entering the colonies. Slaves from Africa contributed to a fast growing population, regularly outnumbering settlers in certain areas. The emergence of Native slaves strained inter-tribe relations, as often tribes would engage in the slave trade to benefit from better quality trade items. Most notably, however, the slave trade affected material preferences.[59] African slaves were dressed in cheaper, coarser fabrics – usually woollens such as plain strouds and duffels.[60] About two-fifths of woollens in South Carolinian merchant inventories comprised of duffel, and it was often used for slave blankets.[61] Plain varieties of wools dominated slave wear, and similarly shaped Native American preferences.

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[54] Daniel K. Richter, 'Tsenacommacah and the Atlantic World' in Peter C. Mancall (ed.), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550 – 1624* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 32
[55] James D. Rice, 'Escape from Tsenacommacah: Chesapeake Algonquians and the Powhatan Menace' in Peter C. Mancall (ed.), *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550 – 1624* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), p. 117
[56] Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts,* p. 7
[57] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 7
[58] Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts,* p. 9
[59] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 130
[60] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 82
[61] Ibid, pp. 77 - 80

Although there was overlap in materials worn by slaves and Natives, bright and colourful varieties were almost exclusively demanded by the Natives. Moreover, Natives rejected textiles such as “negro cloth”, demonstrating Natives were less likely to desire materials associated with slave wear.[62] The reasons for these preferences are not overwhelmingly obvious, but the lack of colour and abrasive texture of slave wear were likely explanations. This demonstrates that Natives were eager consumers of new textiles, but were particular in their choices.

Within the frameworks outlined above, this chapter will use a range of sources to explore in more depth the circulation and impact of material within southeastern societies. It will principally use inventories, lists and accounts, and draw on The South Carolina Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, as well as the Colonial Records of the State of Georgia. Some records on Indian trade were meticulously kept and these types of sources incorporate a wide range of social groups and locations.[63] Moreover, information on specific items and their worth illuminate their popularity and use.[64] For example, French trading lists from the 1740s reveal silver earrings had a surge in demand.[65] Similar lists also attest cloth variety had a “marked increase” after 1750, suggesting between 1670 and 1750 new textiles were only beginning to circulate and create an impact.[66] These accounts are able to glean trends, exploring fluctuations in material variety, quality and price.[67] In the case of Georgia based inventories, exact exchange rates between European and Native goods are provided due to enacted treaties.[68] However, these types of sources are not without limitations. Clothing made up the bulk of trading lists but it was also one of the most varying commodity categories. Terminology varied greatly, with items referred to under different names by

[62] Jessica Yirush Stern, *The Lives in Objects* (Chapel Hill: The North Carolina University Press, 2017) p. 133
[63] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 10
[64] Ibid, p. 1
[65] Waselkov, ‘The Eighteenth-Century’, p. 200
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid, p. 193
[68] Julie Ann Sweet, *Negotiating for Georgia: British-Creek Relations in the Trustee Era, 1733 – 1752* (London: The University of Georgia Press, 2005) p. 122

different traders. This lack of uniformity means these sources have to be utilised carefully and require investigation.[69] Moreover, how materials were used and adapted cannot be ascertained from inventories – while a garment could prove popular, whether Native Americans used them similarly to Europeans is uncertain. Gaps in coverage were not uncommon – Gregory Waselkov notes brass thimbles were barely referenced within lists despite knowledge that they were in popular supply.[70] Yet, these sources prove indispensable to the study of material exchange, contributing an overview of cost and demand that cannot be ascertained from settler accounts alone.[71]

The rest of this chapter will explore the most popular materials in circulation and the items they were crafted into. It is no surprise materials had multiple uses, and thus tracking how they were used and what they meant to the wearer is integral. Inventory lists often reveal both the item and the material it was made out of, as this related to its worth. In the case of accessories and footwear, however, the textile they are made from was not always emphasised. By using descriptions and other sources, the materials can often be ascertained, though there were alternative names for the same material, which creates some interpretive difficulty. One such example was the use of the word 'cloth' itself, which encompassed a wide variety of materials such as cotton, linen and wool. Within the South Carolina Commissioners of Indian Trade Journals, the request of "cloth for a Present to made out to the Catabaw Chief King" suggests the importance of cloth while not delving into specifics.[72] Not necessarily relating to clothing, in the Colonial Records of Georgia there are mentions of "Cloth for Sails" among other items.[73] Although there is no mention of the type of fabric needed, the continual emphasis on cloth throughout does illuminate the extent to which cloth was traded and exchanged, as well as its multiple uses.

[69] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 9
[70] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 193
[71] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 10
[72] Minutes, May 9,1711, *JCIT,* p. 178
[73] Stephen's Journal, February 10, 1738, *CRG, 4:79*

One of the more specific types of cloth referenced was 'broadcloth' – any cloth "over a yard wide" usually a type of wool.[74] Broadcloth was constructed out of a heavier woollen material, which steadily became cheaper throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[75] It had a dense weave, allowing it to be cut without unravelling. Durable and heavy, broadcloth proved to be a popular alternative to furs among Natives Americans. Used for match coats and blankets, the fabric was incorporated into Native style with relative ease.[76] Within a South Carolina account of goods in 1716, "Broadcloth coat" could be traded for 30 skins.[77] The popularity of 'broadcloth' waned during the mid-1700s, achieving most usage in the 1720s. In the Journal of the Assembly of South Carolina, "1 broad cloath flapp" and "a Blew broad Cloth Coat" was gifted to the leader of the Tallapoos.[78] Similarly, in 1726 a "blew broad Cloth coat, Trim'd with lace" was to be gifted to the "Long Warriour of Tunnissee…"[79] Evidently, 'broadcloth' was popular within gifting and particularly in the form of coats, with more lavish gifts also utilising lace trimmings and brass buttons. However, there is a lack of reference to broad cloth within Georgia, as well as further mentions later on in the eighteenth century. The reasons why the fabric became less utilised could be due to the climate of the southeast. Robert S. Duplessis notes urban areas such as Charleston had "more varied textile consumption", using lighter fabrics such as linens.[80] Furthermore, the variation in term usages meant that 'broadcloth' was confused with 'strouds' or the more general term of 'cloth'.[81]

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[74] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth Century' p. 205
[75] Carole Shammas, 'Changes in English and Anglo-American consumption from 1500 to 1800' in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.) *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1994) p. 192
[76] Laura E. Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves" Native Consumers and Native Images on the Pennsylvania Trading Frontier, 1712 – 1760', *Winterthur Portfolio,,* 43:01 (2009) pp. 123 - 124
[77] 'An Account of the Prices of Goods', April 30, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 89
[78] Minutes, June 9, 1724, *JCHA,* p. 20
[79] Minutes, December 21, 1726, *JCHA,* p. 45
[80] Robert S. Duplessis, 'Cloth and the Emergence of the Atlantic Economy' in Peter A. Coclanis (ed.) *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2005) p. 75
[81] Cory Willmott, 'From Stroud to Strouds: The Hidden History of a British Fur Trade Textile', *Textile History,* 36:02 (2013) p. 203

While lighter fabrics permeated southeastern trade, variants of wool continued to pervade the New World economy. Some of the most popular items, such as match coats and blankets, were made from wool. Cory Willmott asserts in both terms of "bulk and value" woollen textiles were the most "significant category of trade goods."[82] Popular in Europe prior to contact, the use of wool did wane as cottons became more popular. England was one of the main suppliers of wool, from "true 'woollens'…through 'worsteds'…to hybrid woollen-worsted fabrics."[83] Duplessis asserts, due to the size of the wool industries, Atlantic markets were "more important for them than for cottons."[84] Throughout the sixteenth century, focus on "fustians" within the textile industry prevailed, with linen-wool mixes.[85] Yet, wool was still an incredibly important export for England "before, during and after the rise of cotton textiles."[86] As the southeastern colonies were predominantly in English control, the prevalence of wool is perhaps unsurprising. Wool was presented in various forms within Euro-Indian exchange, including 'broadcloths', 'strouds', 'serge', 'duffel' and 'flannel'. Flexible and able to provide warmth, wool was as beneficial as it was desirable – particularly heavier varieties in colder seasons.[87] However, cottons and linens did grow in popularity and there are a multitude of reasons why wool became less utilised throughout the eighteenth century. One such reason can be attributed to production - cotton demanded far less energy to produce for an increasing population.[88] The economy and climate of the south placed more emphasis on human labour and livestock, such as cattle and horses, rather than sheep. The lack of sheep, by extension, meant less wool production. It was not necessarily changing fashions, therefore, which lessened the need for certain materials.

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[82] Ibid, p. 196
[83] Markus Kupker, 'Manufacturing' in Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History 1350 – 1750, Volume 1: Peoples & Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) p. 515
[84] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 242
[85] Kupker, 'Manufacturing', p. 515
[86] Giorgia Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) p. 249
[87] Marshall Joseph Becker, 'Match Coats and the Military: Mass-Produced Clothing for Native Americans as Parallel Markets in the Seventeenth Century', *Textile History,* 41:01 (2010) p. 153
[88] Riello, *Cotton,* p. 242

As has been noted, the use of wool was often for heavier outerwear such as coats and was far more associated with men and masculinity than femininity– although women still enjoyed wool for outerwear.[89] "Superfine wool" was available to richer men, whilst silks and velvets were more likely to adorn women.[90] There were two main strains of wool – denser woollen and higher quality worsted. Wool was useful due to its durability, which made it a good substitute for animal skins. In particular, it did not weigh considerably much more when wet compared to dry – unlike animal skins.[91] Marshall Joseph Becker notes, originally, woollen goods that replaced skin garments were "simple lengths of cloth cut from the bolt" and only over time did more elaborate designs and construction emerge.[92] Match coats and blankets were the most prominent items forged from wool, with blankets created from a plain or twill weave and match coats from blankets with simple seams and sleeves.[93] In Colonel William Stephen's account from Georgia, he provided new sets of clothing – including woollens – to his plantation workers.[94] Its use for both richer individuals and poorer workers – including slaves – attests to the fabric's versatility.

Stroud was one such variety of wool that pervaded exchange, emerging as one of the largest-selling woollens among Native Americans throughout the eighteenth century.[95] Referenced throughout accounts, its popularity can be gleaned from how regularly it was sold, exchanged and gifted. Also referred to as 'strouds' and 'stroudwaters', stroud was a "coarse woven, dyed woollen" primarily used for match coats and flaps.[96] Stroud was of medium-quality and initially made and dyed within the Gloucestershire area of the same name.[97] Although used within Europe, often for red soldiers' uniforms, it became one

[89] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 30
[90] Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008) p. 47
[91] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', p. 119
[92] Becker, 'Match Coats', p. 156
[93] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', pp. 123 - 124
[94] Stephen's Journal, December 11-12, 1739, *CRG, 4:468*
[95] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 239
[96] Wazelkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[97] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 239

of the key woollens of choice by Natives.[98] Cheaper than other woollens and made from rags, it was manufactured eighteen inches wide and dyed various bright colours – most commonly red and blue.[99] There were multiple uses of strouds, beyond outerwear and blankets, including "men's leggings, women's skirts, and men's breechcloths" along with "lightweight match coat[s]."[100] Its popularity, therefore, can be attributed to its adaptability as well as its durability. Although of lower quality than other woollens, such as duffels, its popularity suggests it was not so much quality as utility that encouraged usage. More so than other woollens, strouds were made to Native specifications. Robert S. Duplessis explores the role of manufacturer-consumer relationships with regard to strouds, stating that Native Americans insisted on blue and red dyed strouds with stripes. Throughout inventory lists and accounts, strouds were often described as either red or 'blew', correlating with Duplessis's assessment**.**

As noted, stroud was routinely exchanged and gifted among the southeastern colonies. Native Americans' requested and regularly incorporated stroud items; therefore the gifting of it was a clear way to maintain good Euro-Indian relations. The aforementioned gift advice given to Francis Nicolson in 1720 included "stroud matchcoats" for a headman's attendants.[101] Whilst a higher quality fabric was gifted to the leader, "stroud matchcoats" were deemed good items to present to his attendants – still in a significant place within the hierarchy. Leaders could still expect stroud items however, such as the gift of "1 Pr. Strouds" to the "Head Warrior" of the Chickasaws in 1756.[102] This is similarly relayed in the Colonial Records of Georgia, with "The Presents thought to be necessary to be sent to the Coweta Town…some few Strouds…for the Head Men in Particular."[103] Strouds could be decorated to a higher quality, such as "blew Strouds Trim'd with red Cadiz" gifted to "head

[98] Willmott, 'From Stroud to Strouds', p. 196
[99] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* pp. 122 - 123
[100] Ibid, p. 123
[101] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 93
[102] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 91
[103] Proceedings Of The President and Assistants, August 9, 1754, *CRG, 6:450*

men" within South Carolina.[104] There are also references to strouds being used for compensation, reiterating its popularity among the Native Americans.[105] Moreover, in Colonel William Stephen's account, there is a reference to "Men and Indians, plundering the Camp of three Pieces of Strouds" among other items – further emphasising its value.[106]

'Half Thicks' were another variant of wool commonly exchanged. Half thicks were similar to strouds, in that they were a coarse woollen cloth.[107] Although lower quality than other wools on the market, it was used frequently and manufactured in a number of places –primarily in England. During 1772 in Yorkshire, half thicks were sold for twenty-five shillings per piece.[108] The number of New World references to half thicks within inventories suggests it maintained the same popularity as in England. Half thicks were fashioned into outerwear, primarily coats, but could be bought in yards much like other woollens. In South Carolina, "A Half Thicks Coat" was worth twenty skins - in comparison, "A white Duffield Blanket" was worth sixteen.[109] Half thicks could be adorned with items such as lace, elevating the worth and quality.[110] For instance, one account makes note of "Half Thicks Coats, laced", worth between fourteen to twenty one skins depending on the quality.[111] It also had the ability to be dyed – usually in red. Moreover, there is a reference to a "Pair of Half Thicks Stockings", suggesting it was a fabric used for more than just outerwear.[112] While other forms of wool circulated more, half thicks were cheap, bright, durable and flexible, and experienced a similar popularity to strouds.

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[104] Minutes, December 21, 1726, *JCHA,* p. 45
[105] Minutes, January 28, 1717, *JCIT,* p. 154
[106] Stephens' Journal, April 29, 1739, *CRG, 4:325*
[107] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[108] John James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1968) p. 283
[109] 'An Account of the Prices of Goods', April 30, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 89
[110] Carol I. Mason, *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields, Macon, Georgia* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2005) p. 99
[111] Letter to Capt. Charlesworth Glover, June 3, 1718, *JCIT,* p. 281
[112] Minutes, December 13, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 139

A final heavy wool that figured prominently within Native trade was duffel, a "coarse, felted woollen cloth."[113] Duffel, also referred to as 'Duffields', differed from strouds by having a thick nap and coarser texture. It was typically woven 1-¾ yards wide and generally 20 – 30 yards long per piece of material.[114] Traditionally produced in Belgium near Antwerp, duffels could be "white, red, blue, or striped."[115] Blue duffels were particularly popular, with continual references to "blew Duffields" throughout the sources.[116] As with other woollen items, duffels were often manufactured into match coats and blankets.[117] As noted in the Colonial Records of South Carolina, in return for beaver skins Cherokees were given "One Yard and a Half of blew Duffields for Match-coats."[118] However, duffel items tended to be more expensive. With regard to blankets, the Creeks in Georgia could expect to obtain a blanket in return for "eight pounds of leather" – bullets and beads were frequently worth one pound of leather, in comparison.[119] Furthermore, another account in the Colonial Records of South Carolina asserts "Indians make frequent Complaints of the Dearness of Goods…particularly in the Price of Duffields."[120] As Kathryn Braund argues, duffel items were "prized winter wear" and were far more valuable than cheaper wool varieties such as strouds and flannels.[121]

Lighter variants of wool were also an important part of material trade, especially for the hotter climate of the southern colonies. One such example was flannel, a "plain or twilled fabric…with a brushed surface."[122] Flannels differed from other woollen items as it had raised naps, which made it less smooth than fabrics such as broadcloths.[123] Often taking on a more 'felt'

[113] Wazelkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[114] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', p. 123
[115] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 122
[116] Ibid.
[117] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', p. 124
[118] Minutes, July 18, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 82
[119] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 127
[120] Minutes, September 10, 1717, *JCIT,* p. 205
[121] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 122
[122] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[123] Willmott, 'From Stroud to Strouds', p. 224

consistency, flannel was frequently designed with striped patterns.[124] It tended to have a softer, spongier feel compared to other woollens. The production of flannel, compared to other items, was sourced from a variety of places.[125] Within Europe, labourers would often wear flannel shirts, as it was cheaper than other materials.[126] Within the New World, flannel was similarly cheaper to other forms of wool such as duffels. Flannel could be made into a wide array of clothing items, such as leggings, shirts and lightweight coats – exemplifying the fabric's versatility.[127] While it would be fair to assert flannel was less of a valuable commodity than other woollen items, it was also a common item in "the trader's pack." [128] Within the Colonial Records of South Carolina, "four Pieces stript Flannel" were to be "sent up to the Catabaw Factory, for Sale to the Indians."[129]

As well as flannel, 'plains' were a lighter worsted cloth that became an important commodity within Native trade.[130] The material, compared to other woollens, was often "spun from long wool fibres." [131] However, it is worth noting that plains would also refer to woven cotton – although the vast majority were woollen.[132] Plains were cheaper than flannel and of rougher quality, yet used for a number of clothing items such as coats, breeches, jackets and caps.[133] Referenced throughout the sources, its popularity can be gleaned. The minutes of the Commissioners of Indian Trade in South Carolina recorded in 1716 that **"**for ten Pieces Plains….for the Use of the Trade" it would amount to "the Sum of one hundred and fifteen Pounds."[134] In another

[124] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[125] Marshall Joseph Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism and Change in One Aspect of Native American Clothing', *Ethnohistory,* 52:04, (2005) p. 767
[126] Kathleen Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (London: Yale University Press, 2009) p. 30
[127] Willmott, 'From Stroud to Strouds', p. 205
[128] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 122
[129] Minutes, July 10, 1717, *JCIT,* p. 198
[130] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 122
[131] Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism', p. 767
[132] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[133] Duplessis, 'Cloth', pp. 77 - 80
[134] Minutes, November 8, 1716, *JCIT*, p. 124

price list, a yard of plains would total to two deerskins.[135] Furthermore, its use in exchange is also expressed, wherein one example details "four Pieces Plains" were given to a Native after he "desired" some.[136] As with other woollen items, plains could be dyed various colours and adapted in to different decorations and styles such as "striped." [137] Among the textiles sold by South Carolinian James Poyas from 1760-65, 60% of the woollens traded were plains.[138]

Another light wool that held some relevance in the colonial market was caddice. While not as widely consumed as other woollens, the appearance of the fabric reveals insight into the gendered perception of materials. Produced in France, caddice would later become defunct for more popular worsteds.[139] Caddice, also known by 'cadiz' or 'cadis', was a light woollen cloth that was dyed vibrant colours such as red.[140] It was primarily used for "bindings and garters", sold either in yarn or tape.[141] Whilst more popular in the French dominated Canada, caddice none the less made some appearances in southeastern trading lists.[142] One such example appears in a 1754 list of goods wanted for Georgia, requesting "Gross Body Cadis in pieces 12 yards each…"[143] The occurrence 'cadiz' was often in regard to Native females. While the fabric was not explicitly only used for women's wear, details of "Ear Rings and some Tape Cadiz" suggest it was more female orientated.[144] As it was a lighter worsted, its association with female garments is not unsurprising. However, the reasons why it was used less than other woollens stems more so from settler preference than Native choice. In the primarily

[135] 'A Table of Rates to barter by', April 23, 1718, *JCIT,* p. 269
[136] Minutes, January 30, 1717, *JCIT,* p. 155
[137] 'Letter to Capt. Glover', December 13, 1716, *JCIT*, p. 295
[138] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 80
[139] Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism', p. 765
[140] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 205
[141] Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism', p. 765
[142] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 219
[143] Peter C. Mancall, Joshua L. Rosenbloom and Thomas Weiss, 'Indians and the Economy of Eighteenth-Century Carolina' in Peter A. Coclanis (ed.) *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2005) p. 307
[144] 'Message from the Governour and Council', June 3, 1718, *JCIT*, p. 281

British dominated southeast, caddice was less stocked than other materials. While Native Americans were able to specify the textiles they wanted from exchange, settlers did ultimately control what was available to be traded.

Beyond woollens, other fabrics similarly permeated the colonial southeast. One of the key materials was linen, which had been a mainstay of European wardrobes prior to New World contact. Produced from the fibres of flax plants, linen was a lighter fabric able to be manipulated with ease.[145] It was often constructed into shirts, which grew to be an essential item for much of the population. Much like wool, there was an array of linen qualities as well as prices.[146] Softer linen was more likely to be worn by the upper classes, while the poor dealt with the "coarser stuff." [147] Within England, linen was particularly popular. By the eighteenth century, it was consumed and worn in large quantities across the social strata.[148] Yet, linen grew to be "a thing universally worn and wanted."[149] The gendered nature of materials was again applied to linen – suitable presents for men often contained the fabric.[150] However, women would regularly wear linen skirts and it was not purely a masculine material. Furthermore, linen had a particular social status connected to it. Linen shirts were a marker of civility on European bodies, and thus its transfer to the New World was a way of promoting European ideals.[151] White linen symbolised purity, as well as wealth.[152] Kathleen Brown asserts, due to its uses as undergarments, linen had the power to dignify the body in "undignified moments."[153] Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the growth of cloth production allowed for more affordable linens on

[145] Amelia Peck (ed.), *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500 – 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) p. 305
[146] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 28
[147] Ross, *Clothing*, p. 47
[148] Riello, *Cotton,* p. 250
[149] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 98
[150] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 94
[151] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 6
[152] Ibid, p. 27
[153] Ibid, p. 28

the market. Therefore, acquiring linen garments was a tool for social mobility and not purely utilised by the rich.[154]

The use of linen within the colonial southeast also grew in popularity. By the late eighteenth century, English exports of printed cottons and linens to the New World amounted to around 60% of their exports.[155] Similar to wool, linens could be dyed vibrant colours and were also offered plain and bleached.[156] White linen shirts were one such item to frequently appear in accounts. In South Carolina, a "course Linnen Shirt" was available for three deer skins.[157] By the 1750s, linen shirts had been largely adopted by Native Americans, whether acquired by gifting or trade.[158] Another account in South Carolina detailed a Native requested "some white Shirts, or Linnen".[159] Shirts were often loose fitted and knee length, lighter than woollen fabrics.[160] Furthermore, linen was one of the new key materials utilised within Native American garb. The combination of new items with old was a regular occurrence – for instance, waistcoats made of linen adorned with beads would often be worn with items made of animal skins.[161] Robert S. Duplessis asserts that in South Carolina, merchants' linen stocks frequently comprised cheap linens – with which the slave population were often dressed.[162] Georgia's Colonel William Stephens requested both linens and wools to dress his plantation workers, again alluding to the material versatility in the working population.[163] Coarser linens were popular for slave garments, much in the same way plains were.[164] However, trends led to more linens and cottons being circulated. By 1730, South Carolinian urban merchants tended to stock more linen than wool.[165]

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[154] Ibid, p. 30
[155] Riello, *Cotton,* p. 150
[156] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 206
[157] 'A Table of Rates to barter by', April 23, 1718, *JCIT,* p. 269
[158] Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism', p. 749
[159] Minutes, January 30, 1717, *JCIT,* p. 155
[160] Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism', p. 746
[161] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 124
[162] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 63
[163] Stephen's Journal, December 11-12, 1739, *CRG, 4:468*
[164] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 108
[165] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 76

There were several varieties of linen within the material trade, varying in quality. At the cheaper end of the spectrum, 'osnaburg' was an unbleached type of linen used largely for slave garments and popularly produced in places such as Germany, Holland and Belgium.[166] Similarly, 'garlix' was a cheaper form of linen used to clothe slaves.[167] 'Garlix', otherwise known as 'garlits' and 'garliz', was originally produced in Gorlitz.[168] Whilst it was given exclusively to Native Americans to begin with, it was also used to clothe slaves and settlers as colonisation developed.[169] One present given to the head warrior of the Tallapoos in 1724 included "1 fine garlick shirt", as well as other shirts of unspecified fabric – however, a form of linen would have been likely.[170] The far-reaching adoption of 'garlix' suggests it was not the lowest quality of linen, although perhaps cheaper than higher quality forms. More expensive linens included 'Holland' linen, which was regularly used for gifts.[171] Made in Holland, the linen was finely woven and softer than other types.[172] Higher-class women and gentlemen, for their "shirts and shifts", often used the cloth.[173] Moreover, the rising trend of fustian mixes must be noted. Near the end of the sixteenth century fustian mixes, which combined linen with either cotton or wool, gained momentum.[174] Throughout the seventeenth century, they became more a more popular item to distribute in the colonies.

One of the most influential materials to make an impact on colonial trade was cotton. Throughout the eighteenth century, cotton fabrics emerged to challenge the "supremacy" of other materials such as woollens, linens and silks.[175] Despite this, it is important to note its surge in popularity occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century; at the start, cotton was "the least

[166] Peck, *Interwoven Globe,* p. 306
[167] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 82
[168] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*p. 123
[169] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 82
[170] Minutes, June 9, 1724, *JCHA,* p. 20
[171] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 82
[172] Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, p. 305
[173] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 27
[174] Kupker, 'Manufacturing', p. 515
[175] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 109

important garment fabric for all groups."[176] Not only was it a fashionable fabric, the cultivation of cotton became economically integral to the survival and growth of plantation colonies such as South Carolina. Prior to contact, Europeans had been manufacturing lower quality cottons combined with other fibres – inferior to Asian imports.[177] Cotton was manufactured from the seed hair plants and cultivated across the globe.[178] Cheaper than wools, cottons became available to a wide range of people.[179] By the end of the century, the "middling sort and even peasants" were using cotton goods in Europe, whereas within the colonial southeast, wools were still predominant for most of the eighteenth century, but linens and cottons rose to challenge.[180] The gradual increase in cottons can be attributed to the increase of settlers and decrease of Natives – settlers had a greater penchant for cottons due to its prior uses.[181] However, as will be explored, Native Americans adopted cottons for various uses. Cotton eventually became one of the most traded consumer goods in the world, and thus its affect on the colonial trade cannot be overlooked.[182]

Cotton was a material that could serve multiple uses, with an ability to be dyed and manipulated. As with woollen items, it could be dyed popular colours.[183] Lighter than wool, cotton was used for items not needed to withstand durability – such as woollen outerwear. Some of the most popular garments included shirts, breeches, and gowns.[184] One account notes "Cotton Stockings" were an appropriate gift to Native Americans.[185] It could also be used for accessories. Cotton handkerchiefs, for example, were popular amongst Native Americans. Worn on their heads, these handkerchiefs could

[176] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 80
[177] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 30
[178] Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, p. 305
[179] Willmott, 'From Stroud to Strouds', p. 200
[180] Janine Maegraith and Craig Muldrew, 'Consumption and Material Life' in Hamish Scott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History 1350 – 1750, Volume 1: Peoples & Places* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) p. 386
[181] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 79
[182] Riello, *Cotton,* p. 266
[183] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 109
[184] Duplessis, 'Cloth', p. 79
[185] Letter from Col. Hastings, July 12, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 77

hold feathers or plumes. A “flap of red or blew cotton” could also be used to cover nakedness.[186] The use of new materials with more traditional styles was a constant theme throughout Euro-Indian trade. Kathryn Braund asserts that the dominance of cottons, among other European materials, altered Native society, with greater dependence leveraged on men to obtain items, as women were rarely active participants in trade.[187] As well as this, cotton became more related to female garb – references to cotton dresses and petticoats were a common feature within trading accounts.[188]

Cotton varieties differed in quality and design, and some achieved more success than others within the New World. One of the most popular materials was calico, sometimes noted as ‘calicoes’, which was traded and gifted among Native Americans regularly. Calico was plain or patterned cotton originally printed from India, its name originating from Calicut. [189] Printing calico often required expensive machines and tools, however this did not hinder its demand.[190]The ability for the fabric to have lavish designs and vivid colours can account for its popularity. Requests for calico in “lively colours” were a common desire.[191] As has been noted, cottons tended to be used predominantly for female garments. Robert S. Duplessis goes so far as to assert that calico was only included in gift lists when relating to Native American women.[192] Referencing one such list Duplessis argues a “woman had to be content with…6 Yards of Calico.”[193] References to a “calico petticoat” reiterate its female connotation.[194] Furthermore, one instance in the Colonial Records of South Carolina details a gift of “a Suit of Calico Cloaths” to “gratifie” a Cherokee woman – further resolves also mention a “Suit of Stuff

[186] Becker, ‘Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism’, p. 747
[187] Kathryn E. Holland Braund, ‘Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change: Women’s Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life during the Eighteenth Century’, *American Indian Quarterly,* 14:03 (1990), p. 244
[188] Willmott, ‘From Stroud to Strouds’, p. 208
[189] Peck, *Interwoven Globe*, p. 305
[190] Kupker, ‘Manufacturing’, p. 533
[191] Johnson, ‘”Goods to clothe themselves”’, p. 127
[192] Duplessis, ‘Cloth’, p. 82
[193] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 93
[194] ‘Invoice of sundry Goods’, July 24, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 89

and a Hat, for her Son."[195] The preference of calico as a gift for women is reiterated throughout the sources. It would be a fair argument that calico "dressed more women" then it did men.[196] Braund notes that in the summer, Creek women and children would often wear "a little short waistcoat, usually made of calico."[197] Calico had a high demand from traders, suggesting there was a large amount of popularity for it.[198]

Beyond fabrics used for garments, an important facet of trade also included adorning accessories. While not as prominent as base materials and exchanged in smaller amounts, adornments nonetheless infiltrate lists and inventories. One of the most popular embellishments on clothing was lace. Lace types included "white tensy and yellow tensy", as well as "inferior and best bed."[199] Within the sources, lace does not necessarily refer to the material of lace - Cory Willmott suggests that 'lace' in modern day usage would refer more closely to metallic braids.[200] It could also indicate decorative braids. [201] Similarly, items that were laced could refer to metal trims.[202] Within Europe, lace had been used primarily by the wealthy to decorate linen nightshirts among other items.[203] Lace reflected social standing, fashion, and "access to the services of a laundress."[204] Early on in the eighteenth century, lace was used to adorn coats. Decadent trims could involve "Gold Lace", however silver lace was more prominent.[205] In a list of presents to be given to a head warrior in South Carolina during 1724, the gift of "1 red laced coat" and "1 lac'd hatt" was proposed.[206] The lacing of garments, therefore, continued to represent status. Women could also have garments decorated with lace –

[195] Minutes, November 22, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 128
[196] Maegraith and Muldrew, 'Consumption', p. 377
[197] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 124
[198] Becker, 'Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism', p. 744
[199] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 207
[200] Willmott,'From Stroud to Strouds', p. 228
[201] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', p. 129
[202] Willmott, 'From Stroud to Strouds', p. 208
[203] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 27
[204] Ibid, p. 31
[205] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 104
[206] Minutes, June 9, 1724, *JCHA,* p. 20

such as short jackets.[207] However, throughout the eighteenth century trends became simpler. The choice of laced coats, therefore, became less desired.[208]

Moreover, other fabrics such as silk were used for decorative functions. Silk is a long strong fibre cultivated from silk worms, often processed into a thin, plain weave that showed off its natural virtues. [209] Silk was not commonly used within Europe, as it was symbolic of wealth and hierarchy – much like lace. Compared to other materials, North American merchants stocked far less silk.[210] Silk was cultivated around the world, with older popular forms coming from Italy and the Levant and newer ones coming from the East Indies, including Bengal. Throughout the development of the colonies, however, silk cultivation became an economic pursuit. Silk culture grew throughout the eighteenth century in Georgia, with audits revealing the process and extent of silk cultivation.[211] The price and quality, much like other fabrics, varied. However, silk was a worthy commodity and normally gifted to higher-class individuals, such as headmen.[212] It was also commonly used for handkerchiefs.[213] As well as this, Bengal silk was popularly utilised for shawls and turbans.[214] Therefore, In terms of decorative choices, silk was selectively but distinctively used. The use of eye catching silk ribbons by Native Americans, especially as accessories, was popular.[215] It was particularly used within hairstyles, with vast amounts of ribbons used to create elaborate and intricate styles.[216] Compared to other materials, silk was not as widespread, however, to certain tribes it proved more integral. Kathryn Braund argues, for example, silk ribbon was an important item “to Creek consumers.”[217]

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[207] Braund ‘Guardians of Tradition’, p. 240
[208] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 98
[209] Waselkov, ‘The Eighteenth-Century’, p. 306
[210] Duplessis, ‘Cloth’, p. 81
[211] Journal of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council, August 7, 1761, *CRG, 8:558*
[212] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 93
[213] Becker, ‘Match Coats’, p. 174
[214] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 123
[215] Becker, ‘Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism’, p. 767
[216] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 124
[217] Ibid*,* p. 123

Metals were often worked into a wide range of accessories and adornments. They were common features of the material trade and used in a multitude of ways. For many European colonisers, the New World's promises of gold and silver mines were a tantalising prospect.[218] Silver accessories including bracelets, necklaces, earrings, and pins were not uncommon commodities. Silver brooches were valued at two to three deerskins, and buckles used on belts and shoes were often made using silver.[219] With footwear like moccasins, silver bells were similarly a classic embellishment.[220] Creeks and Cherokees also wore silver gorgets and crescents.[221] Kathryn Braund asserts these accompaniments "added exotic glamour" to the new fashions of Natives.[222] As silver incorporated a wide amount of jewellery, it is unsurprising it "fell into feminine hands."[223] The popularity of silver products, according to trading lists, experienced a surge in the mid eighteenth century. For example, French trading lists cite silver earrings having a spike of popularity in the 1740s.[224] It would be fair to assert, whilst not the most integral trading material, silver nonetheless permeated the material world.

Moreover, the use of brass was a common item for adornments. Copper and gilded brass were regularly used, more so than more precious metals.[225] Brass had long been used within Europe and was transferred into the colonies. Cheaper than metals such as silver, its functionality was usually similar. [226] One of the key items created from brass were buttons. [227] Buttons would adorn coats and jackets, used by both Europeans and Natives. Buttons were normally flat and made from cast brass. Whilst silver could be used, brass was far more common.[228] Within South Carolina, buttons were

[218] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian,* p. 117
[219] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 210
[220] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 124
[221] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 112
[222] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 125
[223] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', p. 127
[224] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 200
[225] Carolyn L. White, *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680 – 1820* (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2005) p. 36
[226] Maegraith and Muldrew, 'Consumption', p. 374
[227] Johnson, '"Goods to clothe themselves"', p. 127
[228] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 210

referenced as “Necessaries…for a further Trade with the Indians….”[229] Moreover; brass wire was popular and able to be used for jewellery.[230] Common brass items could include pendants, bracelets, and chains.[231] As with silver bells adorning moccasins and flaps, brass bells were also used.[232] These could similarly be applied as hair accessories – such as “Coronets of Brass.”[233] Rings could be made of brass, although often they were a “white metal copper alloy.”[234] One item referenced by Kathryn Braund were brass gorgets, which were distributed to the Creeks during the 1750s. While silver varieties were more prominent, brass gorgets were still in circulation.[235] The use of brass for buckles, commonly for shoes, was a regular occurrence. Despite being cheaper and less prestigious than silver, the majority of people wore brass buckles as they cost less to replace if broken.[236]

Furthermore, copper was another common metal utilised for a variety of adornments. While brass is an alloy made partly of copper, copper in its purer form was applied within material exchange. Copper was more traditionally associated with the Natives, being used by them prior to European contact. The predominance of copper continued, even with new European materials, suggesting the process of exchange was not simply an instant clamour for European items.[237] Elite Native Americans would often have copper “imbrodered” on their clothes, especially prior to European contact.[238] However, within England, copper production started to climb from the 1740s – suggesting copper was used considerably within England.[239] Copper was used to similar degrees as brass, such as for jewellery. It was of similar quality and price as brass and a suitable option for certain adornments -

[229] Minutes, September 12, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 109
[230] Waselkov,’The Eighteenth-Century’, p. 211
[231] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 91
[232] Ibid, pp. 112
[233] Ibid, p. 113
[234] Waselkov, ‘The Eighteenth-Century’, p. 211
[235] Ibid.
[236] White, *American Artifacts,* p. 35
[237] Merrell, *The Indians’ New World,* p. 452
[238] Becker, ‘Match Coats’, p. 155
[239] Marc Egnal, *New World Economies: The Growth of the Thirteen Colonies and Early Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p. 28

particularly as it was cheaper than silver. For example, copper alloy buckles and buttons were as popular as the gilded brass varieties. [240] Similarly, copper could be used for coronets just as brass was.[241] Copper varieties of gorgets for Creek women were also fairly common, though not as common as silver gorgets.[242] However, while "local copper" was commonly used for adornments, the influx of new materials into the New World expanded the use of accessories and other metals replaced copper.[243] For example, while Native forms of clothing would often utilise copper for adornment on blankets, new match coats would use lace rather than metals.[244] Whilst still maintaining some influence, copper became less integral to trade as colonisation expanded.

Among the theme of accessories, the exchange of beads was one of the most prominent commodities in circulation. Within popular history, beads more so than other accessories have become synonymous with Native use. Beads could be made from various materials, including shell wampum. However, glass beads were immensely popular and sold either by weight or "strung" via necklaces.[245] Due to being vibrantly colourful and available in different sizes, beads were used for decoration. Demands for colourful beads were due to the importance of symbolism among Native tribes, with certain colours representing particular concepts.[246] Moreover, both men and women utilised beads as accessories.[247] The use of beads within hairstyles was common, with smaller beads being "twisted" into hair. [248] Moreover, beads were essential trading items – so much so, Natives were seen as dependent on them.[249] This viewpoint was visible within the royal council's discussion of trade in Georgia in 1759, when a chastening reminder was offered to the

[240] White, *American Artifacts,* p. 35
[241] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 113
[242] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 11
[243] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 112
[244] Ibid, p. 105
[245] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 209
[246] Becker, 'Match Coats', p. 164
[247] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 48
[248] Ibid, pp. 113 - 114
[249] Merrell, *The Indians' New World,* p. 452

Creek, “for you can’t make Guns….Cloth of different Sorts….Beads, nor any Thing else that you are supplied with by Us.”[250] By the mid eighteenth century, therefore, European tools were shaping Euro-Indian relations. Beads were important in trade for other items - in 1716, “Three Strings Beads” in South Carolina were worth one buck skin.[251] Beads varied in quality and price, such as “large Conque Beads” which were valued at ““seventeen Skins.”[252] Within another entry, beads are surmised as a key item to “deal with the Indians…”[253] In terms of gifting, the “Chief Man of the Creek Indians” was given “a striped Duffield Blanket, and a Pound Beads” as a “Present to Him from the Publick.”[254] The ability of beads to be used as accessories via jewellery, as well as decorated onto clothes suggests again that adaptability was critical to the popularity of European materials among southeastern Natives. As Kathryn Braund asserts, the “variety and abundance” of beads “marked the barter.” [255]

Despite the influx of foreign textiles, animal skins remained central to Native American clothing and were sought after commodities by Europeans. Textile exchange was not simply an avenue through which European goods flooded the colonial market and the prevalence of animal skins within trade attests to this. Textile goods were routinely priced against skins and furs, with various different qualities and types circulating. Skins could be fashioned in a myriad of ways and were ever increasingly popular within Europe, where they could be made into gloves and breeches.[256] However, within the material trade of the colonial southeast, skins were raw materials traded for European garments. The most common and well-documented skins are deerskins, whose trade expanded rapidly by the end of the eighteenth century. The deerskin would often elevate Native tribes into important trader partners – a

[250] Journal of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council, November 21, 1760, *CRG, 8:429*
[251] ‘A Schedule of the stated Prices of the Goods’, August 11, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 104
[252] Minutes, February 26, 1717, *JCIT,* p. 257
[253] Letter from Mr. Barthlomew Gallard, August 27, 1716, *JCIT,* p. 105
[254] Minutes, June 5, 1718, *JCIT*, p. 283
[255] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 123
[256] Johnson, ‘”Goods to clothe themselves”’, p. 138

position secured by the Creeks by the mid eighteenth century.[257] In 1718, sixteen pounds of "heavy drest Deer Skins" could be traded for "A double striped Cloth Coat, Tinsey laced", or for four pounds a "Yard Strouds" within South Carolina.[258] In Georgia during 1734, "Eight damag'd" deer skins were worth "fifteen Shillings", thus revealing how varying quality could result in lesser value.[259] The sheer amount of deer skins can be assessed by Colonial William Stephens account during 1737, wherein a "thousand Weight" of skins results in "four or five Voyages at least…for exporting to England." The value of these skins per voyage was estimated at "1500 l. Sterling."[260] Other animal skins were also sought after in the British market, including beaver, fox, and raccoon.[261] In South Carolina, beaver skins per pound cost ten shillings.[262] These skins, like deer, could similarly be made into items such as hats and trimmings. The growing emphasis on the animal skin trade meant skins and furs grew to be as much as a commodity as European textiles, as well as remained a raw product for Native consumption.

Beyond raw materials, craft items made by Native Americans occupied the interest of observers. Whilst not appearing as much in trading lists, these items were keenly described in travel accounts and demonstrate the creativity expressed by the Natives. Clothing, blankets, baskets and pottery were all manufactured prior to European contact, usually by Native American women.[263] These items were constructed by natural textiles such as skins, hair and plant fibres, with specific materials varying tribe to tribe due to what was available in the area. John Lawson, an explorer within the Carolinas, described "Neighbouring Indians" making their baskets from "very fine sort of Bulrushes, and sometimes of Silk-grass," while Natives further up North Carolina used "split Reeds."[264] Of the aforementioned skins, a variety of animals were utilised for different purposes, with the various practices of the

[257] Merrell, *The Indians' New World,* p. 544
[258] 'A Table of Rates to barter by', April 23, 1718, *JCIT,* p. 269
[259] The Legislature, April 10, 1734, *CRG, 1:170*
[260] Stephens' Journal, November 10, 1740, *CRG, 4:666*
[261] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 87
[262] Minutes, February 23, 1717, *JCIT*, p. 166
[263] Braund, 'Guardians', p. 243
[264] John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709) p. 189

Native Americans constantly observed and detailed. Colonist Thomas Ashe assessed there was a "variety" of skins, that "serve the Indians for Cloathing and Bedding…The Indians have also a way of dressing their Skins rather softer, tho not as durable as ours in England."[265] Ashe's comments provide an intriguing insight, noting the superiority of Native skins but in texture alone. A majority of observations recognise the Native American's skill in obtaining and dressing skins, yet Ashe proposes English skins are more resilient. The validity of Ashe's judgement is difficult to ascertain, yet the differences between the societies are alluded to. The use of animal skins was not a strange commodity to Europeans, although the greater variety and heavy usage differed.

The foregoing has highlighted how inventories and trading lists reveal a large number of materials and garments that were in circulation, and some of the particularities of the southeastern appetite. While Gregory Waselkov asserts after 1750, there was a "marked increase in cloth variety", the beginnings of such variety are prevalent before through the sheer number of different materials detailed.[266] The trends of certain items can be ascertained through how much they were noted and the quantities involved. For example, materials that were vibrant colours were highly popular and were used more commonly in gifting exchanges.[267] Moreover, the volume of cottons and linens expanded throughout the eighteenth century through the appearance of ready-made garb, mirroring the increase for slave clothing but displaying some distinctive features. It is worth noting that while woollen items did suffer some fall in demand, it was still the material out of which most essentials were made. Nonetheless, European materials were not the only fabrics in circulation, and the sources reflect a European bias; while European trade goods were enormously attractive, animal skins remained hugely influential in

[265] Thomas Ashe, 'Carolina, Or a Description of the Present State of that Country' in Alexander Samuel Shelley (ed.) *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650 – 1708* (New York: Charles Scribner S Sons, 1911) p. 150
[266] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 200
[267] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 123

the Native material world of the Southeast.[268] They were essential parts of production, trade and exchange, and remind us of Native agency in interactions. Inventory lists and trader journals reveal that goods came from a myriad of places, whether of European or Native origin.[269]

Overall, the materials discussed reveal that there was a new influx of items of varying qualities – and a matrix of market and consumer forces that ultimately drove different preferences for apparel and opportunities for cultural hybridisation.[270] Cloth goods had been incorporated into Native wardrobe from the "earliest period of contact."[271] However, as the sources reveal, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the choices and quantities of materials grew exponentially. Particularly in regard to European materials, new items of clothing greatly revolutionised Native American style.[272] European ideals were represented through the items they gifted. More luxurious items with better detailing and tailoring were reserved for higher class Natives, while simpler designs were bequeathed to attendants. Dress and fashion remained important facets of communication, and thus particular items were integral to maintain good relations.[273] However, this was not a one sided exchange. Indian desires for certain materials and styles were relevant – particularly in the choices of fibre, fabric and colour. As has been expressed, often-cheaper qualities of materials proved to be more popular and were exchanged in greater amounts. The vibrant colours of red and blue were hugely sought after, differing from some European styles – such as white linen. Furthermore, whilst inventories and lists can reveal what types of fabrics were being traded and to what cost, they do not reveal how these items were used. As will be discussed in later chapters, the adoption of new

[268] Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, 'A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade' in Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (eds.) *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500 – 1850* (London: Routlege, 2000) p. 180; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, p. 35
[269] White, *American Artifacts*, p. 8
[270] Axtell, *The Indians New South*, p. 63
[271] Becker, 'Match Coats', p. 727
[272] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 124
[273] White, *American Artifacts*, p. 4

items did not necessarily maintain their original function or presentation.[274] On the whole, the southeastern colonies were part of an ever-changing and ever-growing material trade, which would have resounding effects on the cultural lives of both Europeans and Native Americans.

[274] Waselkov, 'The Eighteenth-Century', p. 201

Assumptions and Applications

In 1700 John Lawson embarked on a journey through the backcountries of Carolina, documenting his travels and detailing encounters with the indigenous population. In late January 1701, Lawson observed one Euro-Indian interaction that revealed one facet of material exchange. Occurring a couple of hundred miles north of Charles Town, Lawson and his travelling party came across a town inhabited by the Waxhaw. Another European traveller was also there, who sought after an Native woman to be his companion for the night. After conversing with a Native woman, the girl gestured to see the traveller's possessions as payment for her services – as Lawson describes, she was "no Novice at her Game…" The traveller "shew'd her all the Treasure he possess'd of, as Beads, Red Cadis" to which the woman agreed to be his partner. The morning after, however, and Lawson awoke to see "Mr. Bridegroom, who in less than 12 hours, was Batchelor, Husband and Widower, his dear Spouse having pick'd his Pocket of the Beads, Cad-dis, and what else should have gratified the Indians...she also got his Shooes away."[275] Lawson's inclusion of this story reveals a great deal about the importance and prominence of material goods in Euro-Indian encounters, as well as the impact it had on Native American societies. Lawson saw the Waxhaw woman as an active participant in the exchange of material, reiterated by her judging the traveller's possessions prior to engaging with him. Moreover, the items the traveller carried – beads and 'cadis' – were likely chosen due to their desirability to Natives. Native Americans were prominent contributors in trade and gifting, dictating the types of textiles entering the market and engaging with settlers.[276] However, only specific items were utilised and adapted – others, regardless of their European origin, were unused. The rest of this thesis will use descriptive accounts to explore how settlers interpreted Native American adoption of European items, as well as the endurance of traditional Native style despite the adaptation of foreign materials.

[275] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 41
[276] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 227

In the period that Lawson was writing, around 53,000 deerskins were exported per year, signifying the growth of material trade within the southeast.[277] Trading pursuits revolved around the co-operation of Native Americans, as well as the transaction of goods for services. A large number of tribes were involved with European trade (including the Native slave trade) across the breadth of Carolina. Coastal Natives such as the Tuscarora in the North and Yamasee in the South were significant "translators" and "navigators" for settlers.[278] Further inland, groups such as the Creek and Catawbe were also frequently encountered. From the seventeenth into the eighteenth century, Native traders defined trading culture with little regulation from the government. It was not until 1707 that the Commons House passed a regulated system, yet it paled in comparison to regulations defined later on in the century.[279] This lack of regulation laid the foundations of Euro-Indian antagonism, with abuses over debts and treatment culminating in several wars in the 1710s. After the likes of the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars, a stricter system of trade followed which disrupted the exchange of commodities.[280] Focusing on interactions prior to this event, the dissemination of material – and how it was understood – contributed significantly to Euro-Indian relations.

Historians looking at cultural encounters have often explored the appearance and dress of Native Americans – as well as how Europeans understood it. Different focuses and interpretations have resulted in a growing historiography within this area. Joseph M. Becker concentrated on the specific item of match-coats, while Karen Ordahl Kupperman explored the presentation of civility within early colonisation. In particular, historians such as Robert S. Duplessis and Jessica Yirush Stern have provided recent studies into modes of exchange and patterns of consumption, of which material and dress informed a large part. While efforts have been made to explore the cultural

[277] Taylor, *American Colonies*, p. 230
[278] Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise,* p. 28
[279] Stern, *The Lives in Objects,* p. 54
[280] Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts,* p. 127

ramifications of material exchange, often they are considered alongside other items – namely, guns and rum. It is undeniable these products transformed Native American societies, impacting their culture and accelerating modes of conflict. Often they have been asserted as key elements of Native demise, casting aside traditional culture and making Natives victims of colonisation. Material has sometimes been dealt with similarly, with the use of European clothing being used as evidence for assimilation. Yet, as the likes of Stern, Duplessis and Kupperman have emphasised, this hugely misunderstands Native motives for adopting European materials. European observers can often aid this perception, due to their own misinterpretations. Early commentators believed Natives should and would seek to transform themselves into Europeans.[281] For this reason, observers were rarely interested in representing the Natives as merely repugnant.[282] Whilst their interpretations were sometimes misguided, observers' descriptions provide indispensable insight into the appearance choices of Native Americans.[283]

From the 'first' encounters involving Christopher Columbus, descriptions of how Natives dressed and looked were integral parts of European observation.[284] Opinions on Native dress, skin and hair permeated early accounts. These initial interactions shaped encounters thereafter, constructing an image of the Native Americans that continued to grow with further European contact and print dissemination in the Old World. Natives were routinely documented as different from their European counterparts. For instance, nakedness and absence of key items of clothing, such as breeches, were considered emblematic of innate savagery. Varying perceptions about gender, labour and ceremonies all contributed to differences between the two cultures and were reflected in appearance and dress. Yet, both sides sought to involve the other. Nancy Shoemaker describes this dichotomy as cultures

[281] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 76
[282] Ibid, p.42
[283] James Axtell, 'The Ethnohistory of Native America' in Donald Lee Fixico (ed.) *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) p. 15
[284] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic*, p. 82

in conflict as well as cultures in common.[285] Similarities did occur between the two, yet the differences bore far more recognition and impact. Markers of identity were framed by perceptions of gender and class, with both Europeans and Natives using dress to abide by social codes. With growing European presence within the New World, traditional forms of identity were prone to change and development. The dress and appearance of Natives fascinated outsiders, and was used to scrutinise their culture as a whole.[286] John Lawson's summation of the dress of the Natives argued, "some *Indians*…are more civilised than the rest," as they wore "Hats, Shooes, Stockings, and Breeches, with very tolerable Linnen Shirts, which is not common amongst these Heathens."[287] With one look Europeans could perceive how civilised they anticipated a tribe to be, due to how they dressed and presented themselves.[288]

By carefully approaching the writings of European settlers, understandings of the cultural impact of material and dress can be discerned. The dissemination of information grew throughout the colonial period and across the world, leading to a greater influx of accounts and travel literature.[289] Written by European men, each author had their own reasons and biases within their writing.[290] Often, they would come to the wrong conclusions or assume certain aspects of Native culture.[291] It is easy to assume the behaviour of these observers, yet they differed from one another in their approach and what they wanted to gain. The works of observers such as John Lawson and Thomas Nairne are indispensable in assessing the appearance of Natives. Impressive detail was given to describing accessories and garments, regardless of tribe and location. The aforementioned John Lawson was an explorer, as well as surveyor of North Carolina. Compared to other writers, Lawson expressed more benevolence and good nature in approaching the 'Indian' way of life.

[285] Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness: Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-Century North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 3
[286] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 43
[287] Lawson, *A New Voyage*, p. 191
[288] Axtell, *The European and the Indian,* p. 57
[289] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian,* p. 4
[290] Ibid, p. 17
[291] Braund, 'Guardians', p. 239

Yet, he was still privy to popular preconceptions – within the preface of his work *A New Voyage to Carolina*, he expressed a "Great part of this pleasant and healthful Country is inhabited by none but Savages, who covet a Christian Neighbourhood,"" suggesting the desire for trade and "all the Comforts of Life" motivated the "Savages". [292] Less utilised by historians than Lawson's work, Thomas Nairne's 1708 expedition to the Mississippi River from South Carolina allowed for a perceptive insight into the practices of the Chickasaw, Talapoosie and Choctaw. Primarily exploring South Carolina, the Scottish trader Nairne provided awareness into the state of Euro-Indian relations. Kupperman asserts intrigue and curiosity, more so than anything else, defined observers' accounts. [293] The desire to understand, or at least give reason, to Native behaviour was prevalent in all primary sources, regardless of the author.

Moreover, artistic portrayals of Native Americans framed their appearance, providing a visual that highlighted the differences of the two societies. However, as with written accounts, these visual sources cannot be taken at face value, and were not fully representational of their subjects. Artistic conventions were used, and often images were more aspiration than true to life depictions. Not all drawn sources were first-hand accounts, and thus careful appraisal has to be used with these primary accounts.[294] Exploring individual authors and identifying biases, as with written sources, is an essential step. John White produced some of the first visualisations of Native Americans in the Southeast, shaping the image of the Native thereafter. From 1584 to 1590 White explored Roanoke Island, depicting the lives of the Natives he came across. The paintings were not widely accessible to the public in the sixteenth century but Theodore de Bry's engravings of the drawings were published in the early 1600s. The differences between these replications are numerous, with de Bry's engravings purporting leaner bodies and softer faces. The bodies and gestures of the Native Americans were presented as more European, yet their garments and accessories were

[292] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. iv
[293] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 2
[294] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 13

meticulously duplicated. It would be an overstatement to assert de Bry was attempting to Europeanise the Natives – what was more likely was de Bry considered the bodies less important to replicate and used European stock figures instead.[295] The focus on garments, however, reveal a European interest in what Natives wore. Whilst the paintings depict a cross section of Native society, there were similar items used. Beads, pendants and feathers were all prevalent. The use of animal skins for garments was common. In one White painting, a group of Natives are depicted around a fire. Comprising of six men and four women, all wear skins in varying ways – one is entirely nude, while others wear skirt aprons and skins draped across the body and over the shoulder. Though styles varied with how much skin was covered, in these early depictions predominantly Native American items were used.

[295] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 42

Figure 1

Watercolour drawing “Indians Round a Fire” by John White (created 1585 – 1586). Licensed by the Trustees of the British Museum. ©Copyright the British Museum.

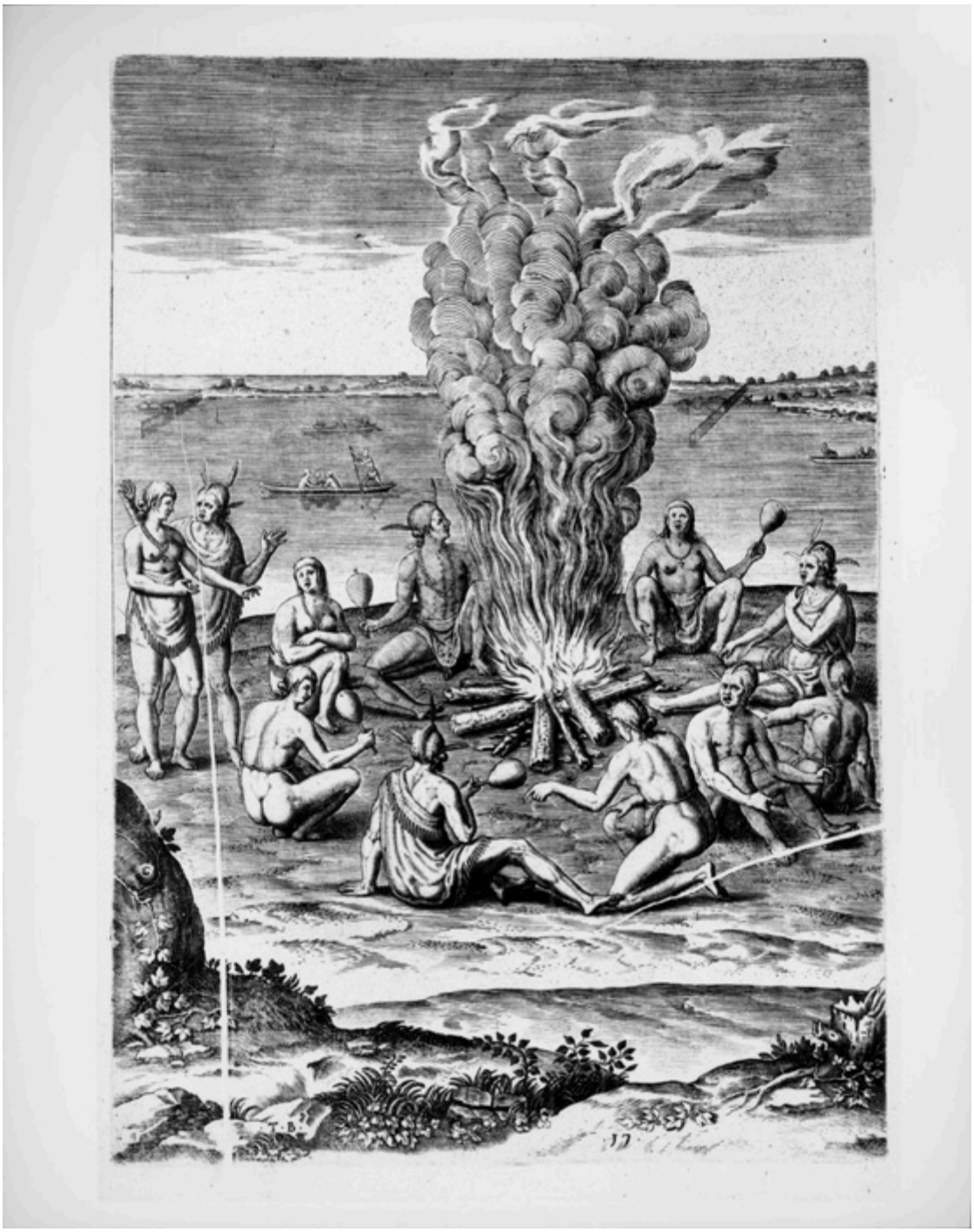

Figure 2

Engraving "Their manner of prainge vvith Ratels abowt te fyer" by De Bry (printed 1590) based on watercolour by White. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

As shown in White's drawings, Native Americans were often depicted and described as naked. In exploring the dress and appearance of Natives, the absence of clothing and their natural state requires exploring due to its part in Native identity. The subject of nakedness informed a "staple of European assumption."[296] The historian John Styles asserts clothing has the distinctive power to represent, conceal and display the body.[297] Lack of clothing was a striking departure from European social expectations, routinely reflected as representative of savagery – "naked savages" were in dire need of civility.[298] To be without clothes reiterated negative stereotypes, such as overt sexuality and laziness. Lawson assessed "Some of the Heathens are so very poor, that they have no Manner of Cloaths, save a Wad of Moss to hide their Nakedness." Because of this, Lawson summarised they were "lusty" and "will not work…"[299] The connection between nakedness and a lack of wealth is also inferred. Although their genitals were covered, Natives were judged negatively due to their overall lack of clothing. Nudity was constantly linked with savagery and primitiveness, such as in Lawson's account of a Native war where one nation "lain all the Night stark-naked" and launched a surprise attack on the other. Preceding this story, Lawson described how wars between Native Americans were fought on "Enmity, not on Interest, as the *Europeans* generally do." [300] By enforcing an image of Natives being more prone to violence and hostility, Lawson continued the assessment of nudity as reflective of this – it went against proper conduct. In 1711, a letter by Samuel Jacob Gabley from the North Carolina settlement of New Bern reiterated the Native Americans were "half naked, yet clever and sociable, unbelievers, unsuited for work."[301] Whilst not completely demonised, the nakedness of the Natives was recognised as a defining trait that reflected an innate difference to European values.

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[296] Karen Ordahl Kupperman, 'Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 54:01 (1997), p. 199
[297] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 303
[298] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 85
[299] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 203
[300] Ibid, p. 199
[301] Vincent H. Todd (ed.) *Christoph von Graffenried's Account of the Found of New Bern* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2003) p. 308

As well as nudity, other aspects of Native identity such hairstyle, skin and body paint were reflective of traditional Native style. These facets were rooted in traditional ideals, and were not easily changed by European presence. The interest in hairstyles, in particular, occupied more scrutiny in European minds than clothing.[302] John Lawson assessed how the Native women of North Carolina styled their hair "into a long Roll like a Horses Tail, and bound round with Ronoak or Porcelan", with men having a similar, but shorter, style.[303] Differences in length according to gender were a common distinction across tribes, and one which contemporaries latched onto much more frequently and fulsomely than historians have. For women, letting their hair down was depicted as a process of grieving. Thomas Nairne described after the death of a warrior "his wives, untye their hair" before crying at the foot of the deceased's bed.[304] Lawson reiterates a similar process of "Hair hanging down their Shoulders, in a very forlorn manner," but does not specify gender, suggesting that purposely not styling hair was a sign of grief across Native society.[305] Other similarities included the use of oil; usually bear, to cover the hair for colour and preservation. Nairne describes the Chickasaw wives having "hair Oyled and trimed up", to "apear more agreable" for their husbands.[306] However, both men and women used oil in their hair to maintain health as well as repel insects. Lawson further describes bear oil as "a great Nourisher of the Hair", and due to its usage, Natives "are never bald on their Head."[307] Europeans exhibited an intense interest towards Native American hair and the process of its maintenance, casting it as dissimilar to European style.

Moreover, the subject of body hair occupied scrutiny within European accounts. While not as representative of identity as head hair, the maintenance and choice surrounding body hair nonetheless reflected

[302] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 55
[303] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 191
[304] Capt. Thomas Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls to the Chicasaws and Talapoosies' in Alexander Moore (ed.) *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (London: University of Mississippi, 1988) p. 48
[305] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* pp. 179 - 180
[306] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 46
[307] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 171

perceptions of Native Americans. Particularly with regard to Native men, Lawson detected a lack of facial and body hair. He wrote "They have no Hairs on their Faces (except some few)…. They are continually plucking it away from their Faces, by the Roots."[308] John Lederer, writing in 1669 – 1670, was a German settler who preceded Lawson's travels. He asserted "the Indians never have any [facial hair]; it being an universal custom amongst them to prevent their growth, by plucking the young hair out by the roots."[309] Lawson further purported when he cut his beard with a razor, the Natives looked "on with a great deal of Admiration."[310] Being without hair was an aesthetic choice of the Native Americans, representing the "epitome of beauty."[311] While this could have been used by the Europeans to emphasis Native men lacking in masculinity – within Europe, beads were common on men – the smoothness of Native bodies were remarked upon positively. Alluding more so to their impressive physique, the lack of hair on Native bodies was deemed desirable. Lacking hair was often a sign of cleanliness, with initial explorers such as Vespucci reporting, "theyr bodies are verye smoothe and clene…"[312] Amongst describing Native American women as "fine shap'd creatures"; Lawson further detailed, "their whole Bodies" were "of a smooth Nature."[313] Lack of hair was not uniform, furthered by Lawson describing a middle-aged man with hair on his back and "the Hairs being above an Inch long…" On the whole, Natives were perceived hairless on the bodies and positively perceived because of it.[314]

Furthermore, it was not uncommon for Native Americans to use human hair for accessories. On the whole, these adornments symbolised victory in battle – a token of defeating the enemy. Europeans long held fascination with the practice of scalping. James Axtell asserts Christian Europeans viewed the

[308] Ibid, p. 173
[309] John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer* (London: Samuel Heyrick, 1672) pp. 18 - 19
[310] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 33
[311] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 64
[312] Ibid, p. 52
[313] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 19
[314] Ibid, p. 173

exercise as a "diabolical custom."[315] On the topic of scalping, Lawson depicted the practice as "taking the whole Head of Hair…as if it was a Night-cap."[316] Keeping the hair of enemies and wearing it as an accessory was a commonality described by various European observers. Thomas Nairne asserted a "Lock of hair of every prissinor they take is alwaies put into the amulets bages" which were then placed around soldier's necks.[317] Hair was also used as decoration, such as in the case of some Native Americans along the Westoe River. Henry Woodward, an influential trader in the latter 17th century, observed Native houses "hang the locks of haire of Indians that they have slaine."[318] Hair is yet again used to aid Native identity, in this case to show accomplishments against other tribes. In particular, the use of hair with amulets suggests it aided with protection – amulets were predominantly worn to avert evil. Overall, the importance of hair – whether styled, worn or removed – is reiterated in interactions with Native Americans. As European items gained greater influence and use within the New World, Native American hair was not something that could be easily changed by European interaction and thus informed a great deal of Native identity, supplementing and intersecting with the new materialism as the eighteenth century progressed.

The Native American practice of using bear oil on their hair was routinely reiterated by European observers and perceived to make "great Vertue and Effiacy in causing the Hair to grow."[319] The use of oils and paints on the skin was also described with varying reactions. The historian James Merrell asserts Catawbe women used bear oil on their skin to fend off insects, yet it gave their skin "an ugly hue."[320] The covering of Native skin with oils and paints was used as justification for their 'tawny' colour with observers recognising the impact of the environment in colouring skin. The eighteenth

[315] Axtell, *The Indians' New South,* p. 37
[316] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 198
[317] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 43
[318] Henry Woodward, 'A Faithfull Relation of My Westoe Voyage' in Alexander Samuel Shelley (ed.) *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650 – 1708* (New York: Charles Scribner S Sons, 1911) p. 133
[319] Ashe, 'Carolina', p. 185
[320] Merrell, *The Indians' New World,* p. 126

century historian John Oldmixon assessed "the Natives are somewhat tawny, occasioned chiefly by oiling their Skins, and by the naked rays of the Sun."[321] Moreover, oils were utilised as part of hospitality, such as one interaction with the Westo described by Henry Woodward in which they presented him bear oil to use on his "eyes and joynts."[322] However, paints and oils were primarily used as identity markers, whether for occupation or tribal alliance. Colours were often red or black, mixed with oil and painted onto the body. Lawson describes Chief mourners, a significant part of the funeral processions, painting their face "black with the Smoak of Pitch, Pine, mingl'd with Bear's Oil."[323] Tradition, therefore, was upheld by painting the skin. Lederer provides detail into how colours were sourced, using minerals such as "Cinabar…a deeper Purple then Vermilion" and beating them in to a powder able to "colour their faces."[324] The exact reasons for this were not always apparent to observers, such as Thomas Ashe who describes the use of red paint on face to be "for Beauty or to render themselves midable to their Enemies I could not learn." Body paint and oil elicited various reactions, yet it represented a practice unique to Native Americans and therefore representative of their identity.

In approaching dress and appearance, as well as the effect of material exchange in Euro-Indian relations, several themes emerge. The concepts of civility, gender and status are all influenced by appearance – as well as being key factors in identity.[325] Moreover, with regard to material exchange, issues of value and presentation are integral. By exploring these themes and how Europeans and Natives recognised them, the overall influence of material is discerned. Notions of civility framed European ideals. While James Merrell describes the dichotomy of "civilisation vs. savagery" as "somewhat out of vogue" in current historiography, civility was nonetheless a lens through which

[321] John Oldmixon, 'From the History of the British Empire in America' in Alexander Samuel Shelley (ed.) *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650 – 1708* (New York: Charles Scribner S Sons, 1911) p. 372
[322] Woodward, 'A Faithfull Relation', p. 132
[323] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 22
[324] Lederer, *The Discoveries,* p. 16
[325] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 18

Europeans viewed society.[326] European understanding of civilisation was inherently derived from Christianity and concurrent with morality.[327] From the first encounters, the presence of Native Americans tested what it meant to be civil. Referenced as savages, heathens, and barbarians, Natives were automatically considered uncivil. Some have taken this view as stemming from perceptions of race. Yet, it would be inaccurate to assert that skin colour defined savagery – especially when considering Euro-Indian relations within the colonial era. As has been asserted, while the colour of Native Americans was discussed and speculated it was culture – rather than skin colour – that shaped opinions.[328] Reading bodies was, however, a way to assess civility.[329] Moreover, dress style played a significant role in defining European civility, with fitted clothing differing from draped Native garb.[330] Kupperman goes as far as to argue the Natives were perceived as "simple people" ready to be shaped by European civility.[331] As clothing dictated a large part of what it meant to be civil, the incorporation of European clothing on Native bodies affected how civilised they were seen to be.[332]

The impact of European styles and use of non-indigenous items and materials made the Natives appear more civilised to European eyes. However, this did not entirely transform their savage identity. John Lawson details the "Hatteras Indians" wore "the *English* Dress." Because of this, Lawson goes on to say, "that such Inclinations in the Savages should meet with Encouragement, and every *Englishman* ought to do them Justice," as to wrong them would "never bring them to believe us to be worthier Race of Men than themselves."[333] Lawson views the adoption of English dress as akin, or at least a road to, inhabiting European customs of civility. By supporting these endeavours, it

[326] James H. Merrell, 'Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 46:01 (1989) p. 97
[327] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian,* p. 13
[328] Alden T. Vaughan, 'From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian', *The American Historical Review*, 87:04 (1982), p. 918
[329] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 43
[330] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 24
[331] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 2
[332] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 27
[333] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 192

can be ascertained Lawson felt Natives would adapt towards the "worthier Race…" Wearing English dress did not automatically transform Native Americans into civilised beings, yet to the Europeans it represented a positive step towards change and the beginning of assimilation. In one account of the Chickasaws, Nairne expressed "ladies are so pleased to look sparkling in the dances, with the Cloaths bought from the English, that they would be very loath of any difference should happen, lease they again be reduced to their old wear of painted Buffeloe Calf skins."[334] Whether the Chickasaw women were truly besotted with English clothing cannot be assumed, yet Nairne believed they were. The wearing of non-Native clothing during a celebration suggests it was held in high regard and considered wealthy due to ceremonial clothing holding a special significance in Native American society. Moreover, Nairne references traditional animal skins and asserts the women would be sad to "be reduced to their old wear…" Native clothing is suggested as lesser than European, considered "old" and reductive, with European garb newer and of higher quality.

The concept of civility was an important framework of culture, and how Europeans felt society best functioned. Among ideas of gentility and elegant appearance reflecting these principles, a fixation on gender shaped opinion.[335] The connection between civility and gender distinctions were profound – gender was a "criterion for civility." [336] Moreover, gender was understood as a foundational facet of a person's identity and played a significant part in perceiving and understanding a person.[337] Within both European and Native American societies, the boundaries of gender were adhered to and differences were pronounced.[338] This understanding was relayed in the realms of politics, labour, and dress with the expectations of men and women differing from one another. In many ways, there were similarities between Europeans and Native Americans in their approach to gender divide – yet, this was not always a cause for understanding between

[334] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 45
[335] Syles, *The Dress*, p. 304
[336] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 18
[337] Fletcher, *Gender,* p. 83
[338] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 41

the two. [339] Robert S. Duplessis asserts the Europeans recognised a lack of division between the sexes of the Natives.[340] Despite this, gender boundaries were respected and kept to within both societies. To go against these divisions would be undignified – as well as resulting in exclusion. The role of women, in particular, has been elucidated in recent works attending to gender relations in the colonial southeast. The likes of Kupperman, Theda Perdue and Kathleen Brown have produced works focusing on Native American women, aiding their history beyond being victims of colonisation. The prevalence of women within the accounts of Lawson and Nairne provide important reflections on Euro-Indian relations, especially as their appearance and dress occupies much of the observation. The gender imbalance in encounters, wherein almost all traders were men, further dominates primary accounts and is worth emphasising. The influence of gender on interpretations of appearance cannot be disregarded, as it informs the culture of Euro-Indian relations as a whole.

Within the first chapter, the different clothing styles between Europeans and Native Americans were explored, notably the difference between draped and fitted clothing. Moreover, the gendered dimension given to materials such as wool was similarly outlined.[341] Particular items of dress and facets of appearance similarly differed between the sexes. Across Europe, the most prominent gendered items relayed in breeches for men and gowns for women.[342] Other accessories and adornments were similarly suited to one sex over the other, and within societies gendered clothing was likewise employed.[343] With regard to Native Americans, Lawson asserts there was "no Strictness in their Dress."[344] Yet, similarities and differences can be ascertained. Both men and women are described as wearing "a Match-Coat of Hair, Furs, Feathers, or Cloth" in colder climates, as well as similar

[339] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700 – 1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) p. 6
[340] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 48
[341] Ibid*,* p. 30
[342] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 35
[343] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 33
[344] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 191

hairstyles “roll’d up, on each Ear” – however, as explored earlier, male hair was often much shorter and only on the “Crown of the Head.”[345] European observations of the differences between the male and female garb is recognised mainly through opposing accessories. Compared to gendered European clothing, there was less of an obvious difference – both would wear draped garments and neither wore breeches. In one of John White’s drawings depicting a Native man and women eating, the similarity in clothing is clear. Both wear a fringed deerskin across their shoulder, yet their styles do differ. The man’s hair is in a Mohawk style, with a feather placed towards the back. The woman, on the other hand, has long hair tied up at the back with three strings of beads around her neck. Whilst dress appeared similar to European eyes, details in contrasting adornments and hairstyles were observed.

[345] Ibid.

Figure 3

Watercolor drawing "Indian Man and Woman Eating" by John White (created 1585-1586). Licensed by the Trustees of the British Museum. ©Copyright the British Museum.

European attitudes towards gender held similarities and differences to their Native American counterparts. Understanding both is imperative to understanding the observations and opinions reflected in European accounts. It is easy to view gender in European seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as overtly patriarchal, with women lacking power and rights. While in many aspects this is true, especially with women portraying submissiveness, this

often ignores the nuances of gender boundaries.[346] On the whole, men and women were expected to act within the conventional parameters of masculinity and femininity. Anthony Fletcher cites 'honour codes' as defining attitudes in the early seventeenth century, holding relevance thereafter. To follow the code of female honour was to remain chaste and monogamous – their sexuality was at the forefront of being civilised.[347] For men, to be in control of their sexual and domestic lives were expected.[348] While men took on a more dominant and assertive role, women were expected to be far more passive. Yet, these boundaries were not always strictly conformed to. Kupperman details early on in the colonising process there was a fear of English society breaking down due to a blurring of gender lines – "elegantly dressed men seemed effeminate, and women…were too masculine."[349] The insecurities surrounding gender can thus be reflected in how Europeans saw their Native American counterparts. In many ways, Native societies served as a way for Europeans to reflect upon themselves.

Europeans suspected Native American attitudes towards gender were inherently different to themselves. Due to the majority of southeastern tribes being matrilineal, there is common presumption gender was less of an issue and women experienced far more power and freedom. Yet, gender boundaries were as defined as Europeans and followed meticulously.[350] The separation of women and men was not uncommon, with work, celebrations and language dividing the genders.[351] Due to many tribes being matrilineal, such as the Cherokee, men would marry into the woman's family – contrasting with European societal beliefs. Yet, the similarities in the strictness of gender boundaries meant the Native Americans were not wholly different from Europeans. The assumption Native women held more power than their European counterparts was not universal and the differences among tribes

[346] Theda Perdue, 'Introduction' in Theda Perdue (ed) *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. 6
[347] Fletcher, *Gender,* p. 101
[348] Ibid, p. 126
[349] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 18
[350] Perdue, *Cherokee Women*, p. 5
[351] Ibid, pp. 3 - 4

must be emphasised. While some women were able to hold political positions, others were not. With regard to punishments, similar variations in procedure occurred. In the case of adultery, Creek women were subject to severe punishments such as disfigurement while Cherokee women were less likely to suffer.[352] However, Native women were depicted as having more freedom than European women – yet, this was often presented as uncivil. [353] Europeans would present Native women as exploited by men, perpetuating the stereotype of the 'lazy Indian' man.[354] Although there were significant differences, it is fair to assert they are less profound than is popularly emphasised. Native women were, on the whole, expected to be less dominant then men and in a large number of southeastern tribes, men retained the highest position of power.

The similarities in what Native American men and women wore further shaped opinions on Native society as a whole. The fear of masculinity and femininity breaking down was a significant threat felt by some Europeans and gender divides were "crucial demarcations."[355] By perceiving Native Americans not abiding codes of civility, the justification for them as savages strengthened. It would be simplistic to assert all European attire was gendered – both men and women were able to wear stockings, caps and hats.[356] However, compared to how Native Americans were observed, the differences were far greater. There are other instances of observers describing dress without specific gendering – yet, the gendering can be assumed. For instance, Thomas Nairne details, "Swans feathers are great ornaments among the Chicasaws…" By not specifying men or women, it could be interpreted that all members of the Chickasaws wore swan feathers. Yet, it is more likely to refer to just the men of the tribe, as Chickasaw women were referenced by their gender. Men, on the other hand, were likely to be described by their tribe – for

[352] Richard A. Sattler, 'Women's Status Among the Muskogee and Cherokee' in Laura F. Klein and Lillian A. Ackerman (eds.) *Women and Power in Native North America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995) p. 218
[353] Perdue, *Cherokee Women,* p. 45
[354] Ibid, p. 23
[355] Kupperman, 'Presentment of Civility', p. 194
[356] Styles, *The Dress of the People,* p. 35

example, “When a Chicasaw dies, some of his Warriors…” Despite this, a number of accessories were used by both sexes. Commenting on jewellery, John Lawson addressed “Some (both Men and Women) wear great Necklaces of their Money made of Shells.”[357] The emphasis on necklaces being worn by all, regardless of gender, inadvertently suggests it was not a European custom. Describing the item as “Necklaces” also suggests a feminine quality. Although gender divisions among the Native Americans were well defined, instances of blurring those lines or subverting European expectations did contribute ideas of Natives being savages.

With regard to hairstyling, gender often played a role. With men, the relationship between hair and warfare was paramount. The successes and losses of battle were reflected in how men styled their hair. Moreover, the position they held within society was honoured by adornments in their hair. Thomas Nairne accounts the process of Chickasaw men becoming warriors, wherein they were required to kill an enemy, or obtain a prisoner, and bring back a lock of hair as proof. If the man was successful, the present in return was “arrows to stick in his hair” as well as endowment of a war name. The visual representation of war in the Chickasaw warrior’s hair informs an integral part of his identity, displaying his role and triumphs to the tribes. Nairne further reiterates more arrows were given with further triumphs and presented within the public forum – “No man ever presumes to weare one unless thus publickly given…he would be a common redicule…”[358] Honour, therefore, was also symbolised with this hairstyle. For Native American women, similar differences in hair represented occupation. Trading girls were involved in “sex-for-trade goods”, occupying a fruitful part of Euro-Indian trading relations. Discernable by body paintings, hair was also an important indicator.[359] John Lawson argues “They set apart the youngest and prettiest Faces for trading Girls; these are remarkable by their Hair, having a particular Tonsure…distinguish’d from those engag’d to Husbands.”[360] Later in his

[357] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 193
[358] Nairne, ‘Thomas Nairnes Journalls’, p. 44
[359] Braund, ‘Guardians’, p. 248
[360] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 35

account, Lawson maintains trading girls were noticeable "by the Cut of their Hair…differing from all others of that Nation who are not of their Profession…"[361] The cut of hair separated single Native American women and those who were married, as well as defined their occupations. For Europeans to observe this means the differences were noticeable, even to those who were not from the Native sphere.

Assumptions towards Native Americans were often framed by gender. Stereotypes such as the 'Indian Princess' and 'Noble Savage' were rooted in gendered depictions. Dress and appearance aided these presumptions and enforced roles – regardless of whether they bore fact.[362] With regard to Native American men, their appearance was less commented upon than women, the focus more so on events and actions. However, the small instances do suggest the look of Native men affected how civilised Europeans believed them to be. To facilitate the image of the savage, the apparel of Native American warriors was prone to frequent scrutiny. The lack of clothing coupled with body and facial paint meant warfare dress aided stereotypes. The use of red, or vermillion, paint was frequently a "war color."[363] War apparel was cast as particularly primitive and representative of Native Americans' savagery. Henry Woodward described seeing "some hundred of Indians, drest up in the ir anticke fighting garbe", emphasising the contrast between European and Native war uniform.[364] John Lawson stressed "Their Dress in Peace and War is quite different…when they go to War, their hair is comb'd out by the Women….with Bears Grease, and red Root." The importance of hair is reiterated, performing as part of ceremony as well as aesthetics. The use of red colouring, a traditional colour of strength and violence, is further emphasised. Lawson reiterated "they buy Vermillion of the *Indian* Traders, wherewith they paint their Faces all over red, and commonly make a Circle of black about one Eye, and another Circle of White about the other…." All together, Lawson asserts, "When these Creatures are thus

[361] Ibid, pp. 183 - 184
[362] Kupperman, 'Presentment of Civility', p. 222
[363] Malis, *The Cherokee People*, p. 95
[364] Woodward, 'A Faithfull Relation', p. 132

painted, they make the most frightful Figures…and seem more like Devils than Humane Creatures."[365] The comparison to looking like the devil, as well as the dehumanisation, aids the perception of the savage and bloodthirsty Native American men – unlike their European counterparts.

With regard to observing Native American women, their appearance was routinely described. Alongside their temperament, how Native women looked was an important part of creating the Native American image. European observers would often not have access to the inner workings of Native life, particularly with female centric activities. The division of the genders and separating man from woman would mean Europeans were not privy to the realities of female life. The appearance and dress of women was one facet that could be seen and described, and therefore it is little surprise why women were a point of discussion. Moreover, the link between characteristics and apparel was more overt with women than with men.[366] Focus on actions such as warfare and hunting defined the Native male image. However, the presentation of women exemplified their identity. While the role of labour and domesticity cannot be disregarded, appearance was a substantial part of Native woman's perceived character. Often, if Native women were seen as beautiful it would reflect positively on the whole tribe. Describing Congereas women, John Lawson asserted them "being as handsome as most I have met withal, being several fine-finger'd Brounetto's amongst them."[367] The physical attractiveness of Native women is emphasised throughout observations, usually pertaining to younger women without children. They are often detailed as being 'won' or 'gifted' to equally handsome men. Lawson assessed "the prettiest Girls being always bestow'd upon the chiefest Sports-Men."[368] However, beauty did not always relate to civility and was also a marker of immorality. Thomas Nairne described, "both sexes of the Chicasaws" as "proper handsom people, exceeding the others but are nothing near so

[365] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* pp. 192 - 193
[366] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 50
[367] Lawson, *A New Voyage*, p. 29
[368] Ibid, p. 34

Civilized…and good natured."[369] Whilst physically appealing, the Chickasaw were also not as civilised as other tribes, suggesting temperament was also a key aspect of civility.

The relationship between nakedness and savagery has been explored, yet the specific lack of attire exhibited by Native American women further emphasises its relation with civility.[370] Nudity has long been associated with sexuality. With Native women exposing their body, the sexualisation of females pervaded. Assumptions surrounded promiscuity and polygamy were often hand in hand with the observation of nude females. Further detailing the habits of Chickasaw, Nairne assessed "They are far from allowing them [women] these scandelous libertys, which are usual Else wher. They bring them up with more Decency and reservedness, so that modesty becomes habituall to them."[371] To be modest was to be decent and to be clothed was to be civilised. The promotion of "reservedness" is observed as being a rare trait across Native American tribes, and thus the Chickasaw are seen as different to the others. However, Native women were not purely cast off as sexually deviant – more often than not, they were seen to be amorous. The presumption all Native women were deemed deviant due to their appearance comes under scrutiny in John Lawson's observations. He describes the "*Indian* Women" as "not so uncouth or unlikely, as we suppose them….As for the Report, that they never found unconstant, like the *Europeans*, it is wholly false."[372] He goes on to assert Europeans and Natives were far more equal in "constancy" then was previously asserted. The presumed differences between European and Native women were under constant evaluation, and ideals created in the first encounters were not necessarily seen as true by later interactions.

Alongside civility and gender, issues of status and value were intertwined with appearance and dress. In the case of status, dress practices allowed insight

[369] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 38
[370] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 50
[371] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 44
[372] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 183

into the structure of society, and the differences between individuals.[373] The first chapter detailed the key distinctions between the appearance of the European lower classes and upper classes, notably in material and accessories. Civility was intertwined with the practices of the wealthy, as the upper classes influenced the styles of the time. However, when describing the appearance of Native Americans the distinction between the poor and the wealthy were relatively slim. John Lawson asserted, "The Dresses of these People are so different, according to the Nation that they belong to…" Thomas Nairne detailed within Chickasaw society "a prince, nobility, and the Mobb" were "all at work or play together, and so equally dressed that an able Arithmetician could scarce have told whose Cloths was of the most value."[374] European concepts of class were difficult to assess the Native Americans by, as the lines were blurred and social structure often unclear to European eyes. Differences between genders and tribes were easier to pick up upon than singular societies. However, there are some observances of Native American 'royalty' which give insight in to how wealthier Natives appeared. Europeans often called those higher up in Native societies as 'Kings' or 'Queens', although they bore little political resemblance to European royalty. Lawson, in particular, had numerous interactions with different 'monarchs'. A variety of belongings and wealth is emphasised, "Rulers and such…have Plenty of Deer Skins."[375] In one account, the 'King' of the Santee had his "chief Doctor" accompany him whom wore "a Match-Coat, made of Turkies Feathers…seeming as if it was a Garment of the deepest silk Shag."[376] The expense of the item, both in look and the use of turkey feathers, was seen as beautiful. .

Native Americans used animal skins to make a variety of items, most of which were worn. Apparel including match-coats and blankets were immensely popular, integral to the Native wardrobe all year round. However, its use in more intricate accessories was often fashioned by a variety of animal skins

[373] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 24
[374] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 64
[375] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 18
[376] Ibid.

and not the infamous deerskin. Observers remarked upon this garb, as they were also useful for Europeans within the New World without conflicting with ideas of civility. Lawson detailed the use of animals such as panther, wolf and racoon in being made into shoes, hats and gloves. Of the panther, he described the skin as not the most "esteem'd amongst the choice Furs" but fine for use in "Womens Shooes or Mens Gloves." On the other hand, wolf fur "makes good Muffs", with the skin producing "the best sort of Shooes for the Summer-Countries."[377] Shoes, or moccasins, were of particular interest to Europeans. This was due to their footwear not tolerating the harsh environment of the New World, and thus many Europeans adopted Native shoes for their own wear. The process of making "moggizons" was described by Lawson, which also outlines the style of the shoe. He noted "they have no Heels, and are made as fit for the Feet, as a Glove is for the Hand, and are very easie to travel in, when one is a little us'd to them."[378] Slim and flat, they were far better suited to the environment than European shoes. Lawson's assertion of their comfort reveals that Europeans wore them also, as he was most likely reflecting on his own experience. This in turn dispels the idea that all facets of Native American appearance were unappealing and savage, as Europeans were open to using certain items themselves.

One of the dominating pieces of clothing in Native American attire was a match coat. The first chapter iterated the multitude of woollens and skins used to make match-coats, as well as its usage by men and women. In one account describing a Native American woman and her child, Lawson described in the rain the mother "throws her Leather or Wollen Match-coat, over her Head, which covers the Child all over, and secures her and it from the Injuries of rainy Weather."[379] Match coats were resistant and durable, and were also utilised by the Europeans within trade. Match coats are commonly referred to throughout accounts, whether they were made of skins or European cloth. The construction of match coats were of interest to Europeans, such as one made by feathers remarked upon by John Lawson.

[377] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* pp. 118 - 119
[378] Ibid, p. 191
[379] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 190

He described the coat as “extraordinary charming, containing several pretty Figures wrought in Feathers, making them seem like a fine Flower Silk-Shag…they must needs be very troublesome to make.”[380] The use of animal products such as feathers and skins required a great deal of skill, and the creativity expressed by Native Americans was not lost on Europeans. However, by the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, match coats constructed from European textiles were becoming far more common and positively referred to by observers. As has been emphasised, European textiles were often expensive but less labour intensive and thus represented wealth and status. While not overtaking the use of skins, European cloth was beginning to be popular among Native Americans. John Lederer, writing in the 1670, asserted the need for trading cloth for the Native Americans to make it into a “match-coat or mantle.”[381]

Forms of Native American clothing manufacture continued throughout encounters, yet the impact of European interactions greatly affected this. The influx of ready-made garments made of woven textiles lessened Native American need for traditional fibres. Through gifting and trade, the circulation of these items was able to spread rapidly. Whilst tribes further inland were less likely to encounter Europeans than those towards the coast, inter-tribal exchange allowed for European items to still make their mark. As emphasised earlier, clothing and attire was one of the most important commodities being utilised in hospitality.[382] As Thomas Nairne asserts, “Cloath alwayes atracts and maintains the obedience and friendship of the Indians."[383] Throughout accounts, clothing and adornments were used to encourage good relations. John Lawson, upon meeting one Native American ‘King’, presented “a Hatch and several Beads, and made Presents of Beads also to the young Women, the chief Men, and the rest of the *Indians*, as far as our beads would go.”[384] Europeans utilised beads as gifts frequently, due to how valuable they were to Natives. Lawson’s process of gifting beads to Natives of differing social strata

[380] Ibid, p. 191
[381] Lederer, *Discoveries,* p. 26
[382] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 96
[383] Nairne, ‘Thomas Nairnes Journalls’, p. 75
[384] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 71

demonstrates the modes of hospitality expected. Nairne furthers this, describing one encounter with several Chickasaw women who gave him strawberries upon his request. In return, he gave them "2 or 3 strings of small beads" of which they "were well pleased."[385] The value of European items often surpassed Native garb, although there was still demand for traditional textiles.

Euro-Indian encounters presented the opportunity for authors of travel accounts to bestow advice to their readership, specifically providing guidance on the geography of the southeast as well as information on key trading items. Thomas Ashe assessed that a "Merchant to transport thither for his Ad vantage, Cloathing of all kinds, both Linnen and Woolen hats, Stockins, Shoes…"[386] It is worth noting merchants would be selling to fellow Europeans also, so to assert all the items were wanted by Native Americans would be unjust. However, textiles such as linen and wool were becoming popular among Native Americans. John Lederer asserted, "Home-trade with neighbour-Indians" required "Trading Cloth, of which a yard and a half makes a Matchcoat or Mantle fit for their wear…"[387] John Lawson furthers this, detailing the "blue or red Flaps made of Bays and Plains, which they buy of the English."[388] However, the role of functionality was important in material exchange. While items could be high in value, if they failed to serve a function for Natives they rarely were they used. This is particularly relevant in the demand for breeches.[389] Although an essential part of the male European wardrobe, symbolic of becoming an adult and civility, Natives seldom wore them. John Lawson wrote, "none ever buy any Breeches, saying, that they are too much confin'd in them, which prevents their Speed in running, &c."[390] He goes on to assert some "more civilized" Natives wore them, but the lack of references to this suggest this was uncommon. In Thomas Nairne's account, there is no mention of breeches. Breeches were not useful for the rigours of

[385] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 60
[386] Ashe, 'Carolina', p. 194
[387] Lederer, 'Discoveries', p. 26
[388] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 190
[389] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 106
[390] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 192

Native American hunting or warfare, and were thus inconvenient. When using European garb, Natives were incorporating and adapting it to suit them. Natives were not simply assimilating into another culture, instead repurposing items for their own use.

Furthermore, Native Americans were specific in what materials and items they demanded. Europeans had to meet these requirements; otherwise they would not be successful in exchange. It is simplistic to paint a picture of Native Americans as passive to the clothing trade, subject to the desires and whims of Europeans. Yet, as has been asserted, Native Americans sought to incorporate items that served their identity. The colours of garments are one such example of specification gleaned from sources. Thomas Nairne described Chickasaw wives dressed with “red or blew stroods” wrapped “below the Navell.” He asserted no “other Dress make her apear more agreeable or add the Least to native beauty.” The influence of European items on Native culture is expressed, with the outfit assessed as the epitome of Chickasaw beauty. The colours of red and blue, however, were likely to have been either requested or dyed by the Native Americans. Although using a European material, the identities of Natives are applied unto it through the colour. Within the same account, Nairne also identified “Jacketts of blanketts” would have been worn as well if “her husbands ability does afford”, otherwise skins would have sufficed.[391] It does not specify the material of the blankets, but as the description specifies animal skins as a cheaper alternative it is fair to assume it would have been of European origin. Moreover, Native coverings were almost always specified as a ‘match-coat.’ Wealthier Native Americans were able to gain European products, and the wearing of them expressed this to both Europeans and Native Americans. Identity was retained through creative application, and items were transformed from their original purpose.

The resilience of Native American identity can be seen through the observances of Native ceremonies. The use of traditional materials and style often remained intact within celebrations, due to spiritual beliefs. Europeans

[391] Nairne, ‘Thomas Nairnes Journalls’, p. 46

were fascinated by the variety of ceremonies conducted by Nativess, and often celebrations were held due to the presence of an outsider. European garments were not completely absent from these events, yet traditionalism was more prevalent. One of the most important ceremonies was that of burials and funerals. Lawson asserted "The Burial of their Dead is perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony, in which one Nation differs in some few Circumstances", yet the differences were minimal so observers could "pretty nearly account for them all."[392] The funerals described exclusively concerned men, most likely warriors, so the differences in an ordinary funerals were not described. In dealing with the dead, dressing them was part of the process. Of the Chickasaw, Thomas Nairne described the process of burying warriors wherein "an opposit fameily to his own, come, put on all his fine cloaths paint his face stick his arrows of honor in his hair…"[393] As detailed earlier, putting arrows in a warrior's hair was reflective of his successes. Within death, the importance of these accomplishments were stressed and laid to rest with the body. The higher the status of the individual, the more items they would be buried with. The best clothing was used and painting the face, most likely with the colour red, reflected his role in society. Similarly, Lawson detailed oiling the hair with vermillion as part of the funeral rites, as well as placing possessions with the body including "Beads, Feathers" and "Match-coat."[394]

Moreover, mourners were also subject to dress changes as part of the funeral process. As explored earlier, hair would often be left to hang as a sign of sorrow. John Lawson further described the role undertaken by the 'Chief Mourner', a member of the tribe. He defines the mourner as "being clad in Moss….his Face being blac with the smoak of Pitch, Pine, mingl'd with Bear's Oil" while telling stories about the deceased.[395] The colour black was usually associated with death and spirits, thus its use in funeral proceedings was common.[396] Furthermore, the divide between men and women is emphasised through the different behaviours expected by each gender in mourning.

[392] Ibid, p. 179
[393] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 48
[394] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* pp. 21 - 22
[395] Ibid, p. 22
[396] Malis, *The Cherokee People*, p. 101

Thomas Nairne illuminates the expectations of Chickasaw men and women. Of women, the removal of jewellery was a regular occurrence. After a year of mourning, the widower was expected to be "drest trimed and oyled by the sisters of the deceased" to ready her if a male was indebted to take her hand – a brother or relation of the deceased.[397] While the appearance of mourners was not remarkably different, the process of dressing altered and the centrality of respecting dress formalities were observed. Chickasaw men, meanwhile, were required to grieve in a shorter time span of six months. Nairne asserts one requirement was to "neglect his dress" as well as look "dejected."[398] A theme of rejecting formal dress and looking morose was apparent, especially with the eschewing of ornaments.

Native American ceremonies and dances captured European attention, due to how they acted and what they wore. Ceremonies involved feasts and dancing, as well as gifts. Special occasions in life were marked by ceremonies, such as the preparation for war and the welcoming of guests. As has been emphasised, tribal differences were rife and the occurrence of them varied accordingly. Thomas Nairne described the Chickasaw as "moross and far less adicted to dancing mirth and gallantry" compared to the Ochesses, suggesting they indulged in ceremonies less. Ceremonies dictated special garb and, as European encounters became a regular occurrence, often incorporated European clothing. As Europeans were guests and privy to the ceremonies they recounted, the wearing of European garb was likely to have been a sign of hospitality. John Lawson asserted "*English*-made Coats" were worn by Natives during "Festivals and other Days of Visiting", suggesting they were worn as a formality to encourage good relations with the Europeans rather than a sign of assimilation.[399] As addressed earlier, Thomas Nairne argued Chickasaw women used "Cloaths bought from the English" during dances, as they would be "very loath" to "be reduced to their old wear of painted Buffeloe Calf skins."[400] European clothing, due to its price, would have reflected wealth

[397] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', pp. 48 - 49
[398] Ibid, p. 49
[399] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 192
[400] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 57

upon the wearer. Solidifying status and recognising the richer individuals, to assert European clothing was worn to become European painfully neglects the proactive role of Native Americans. The rules of Native society mattered more to Native American identity than committing to a foreign system.

Dances involved both Native American men and women and involved dressing in different garb. Of dancing, Lawson argued Native Americans "were the Masters of that Profession…these Creatures take the most Pains at it…"[401] Dancing was often the key spectacle of a ceremony, lasting for hours upon hours. Accompanied by music, the style differed from classical European forms that observers were used to. Nairne described one Chickasaw ceremony, with "fine Men dress'd up with Feathers, their Faces being covered with Vizards made of Gourds; round their Ancles and Knees, were hung Bells of several sorts…"[402] Their appearance was viscerally different from ordinary wear, most exemplified through their adornments. Particularly in this occurrence, the use of gourds as a facemask is acutely different. Compared to European pomp and circumstance, this display would have reiterated the primitiveness expected from Native Americans. Moreover, Native ceremonies were more like pagan festivities than Christian ones. Whilst not brandishing an overt opinion on the ceremony, the descriptions nonetheless aid an overall image, which placed Native American culture below that of Europeans. The use of bells aided the music of the dance and was common throughout Native tribes. Lawson described one dance wherein women had "Horse-Bells about their Legs, and small Hawk's Bells about their Necks."[403] Dancing apparel contrasted with day-to-day wear, contributing to the celebration. One dance described by Nairne also encouraged the exchange of clothing. Nairne details, "Some times they only enter their Freindships by riseing up and Dancing a Dance…at the end whereof they change Armes, Cloathes and every thing about them…"[404] Clothing was used to solidify friendship, going beyond its utility and representing something more

[401] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 175
[402] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 38
[403] Lawson, *A New Voyage,* p. 39
[404] Nairne, 'Thomas Nairnes Journalls', p. 66

symbolic. The imagery attached to Native American garb was a continuing theme, while also being functional.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, both Native Americans and Europeans held presumptions towards one another, in part shaped by considerations towards appearance and dress. Regular interactions and trade meant the two cultures were constantly developing alongside each other, whilst also needing one another to survive. Material exchange occurred from the offset, and by the eighteenth century new textiles were circulating across the southeast. The introduction of different styles and fabrics threatened traditional modes of dress and production, and in many ways they greatly affected Native American societies. As has been explored, identity was intertwined with appearance, and thus European clothing and influence looked set to replace Native traditionalism. . The perception and understanding of Native identities were informed by how they looked, dressed, and acted. In white eyes, European materials served to civilise the Native population, symbolising ideals that were inherently European and different from the Native Americans.[405] However, Native textiles such as animal skins continued to be of relevance and grew in value as colonisation strengthened. By the beginning of the 1700s, Native Americans remained undeniably Native and different from Europeans. The continuation of Euro-Indian relations and the way in which appearance was approached was to be affected by the wars of the 1710s. The Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars greatly altered relations in the eighteenth century, affecting trade predominantly. Issues surrounding trade disputes, abuses and displacement culminated in two significant wars. The Tuscarora War from 1711 – 1713 led to the deaths of over a thousand Tuscarora Natives and around a hundred colonists.[406] The following Yamasee War, fought from 1715 – 1718, resulted in the eradication of the Yamasee as well as considerable settler deaths. The issue of whether continuation and change subsequently followed will be the key theme explored in the next chapter.

[405] Kupperman, *Indians and English,* p. 43
[406] Richter, *Facing East,* p. 163

Overall, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, dress and appearance was an integral lens through which Europeans and Native Americans considered one another. For Europeans, simple Native garb constructed an image of Native Americans as primitive. Yet, adornments and formal clothing often challenged these ideas. Moreover, the influx of European materials and items altered opinion as well. Native Americans were active pursuers of European clothing, often wearing items to reflect wealth and status. Europeans did not, and could not; force Native Americans to wear items which they did not want. Exemplified by the rejection of breeches, Native Americans were resilient about retaining their culture, including outwards and performative aspects.[407] Appearance was integral to expressing identity, and clothing was recognised as serving a functional and metaphorical purpose. In many ways the two societies mirrored each other in their approach to clothing, yet in significantly different terms. For Europeans, a fixation on civility reigned as the backbone of society. For Native Americans, appearance changed with major life events and was reflective of this transformation. In both societies, gender played a significant role yet differing perceptions downplayed these similarities. For Europeans, Native American gender roles bled together in a way that was completely un-European. Nancy Shoemaker asserts new identities exaggerated the contrasts between them and ignored their commonalities, which clothing represented.[408] While European materials such as wool were bought and used, they were often altered into Native American styles. Moreover, traditional Native American textiles were continually used alongside new additions.[409] On the whole, appearance and dress was used to create an image of the Native Americans, which placed them beneath Europeans. While the extent varied, Native Americans were perceived as never civil enough to be European and thus their identity remained untouched.

[407] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 11
[408] Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, p. 3
[409] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 113

Change and Continuity

In 1773, the American naturalist William Bartram embarked on a four-year journey throughout the southeastern colonies. Upon reaching Florida in 1775, Bartram dedicated time in his account to relaying information about the "vices, immoralities and imperfections" of the Native Americans, from his observations and those of other white traders. He wrote, "THEY wage eternal war against deer and bear, to procure food and clothing….which is indeed carried to an unreasonable and perhaps criminal excess, since the white people have dazzled their senses with foreign superfluities."[410] In Bartram's estimation, European commodities had become essentials to Native communities by the 1770s, surpassing the need for indigenous materials. Yet, Native Americans continued to primarily use traditional textiles for their clothing, incorporating and adapting European materials into their customary styles. Early encounters often saw Native Americans using European items as promising forays into a more civilised way of life. By the late eighteenth century, however, Natives remained inherently Native American – the 'civility' of European clothing was not enough to transform them. More to the point, Natives did not use foreign items to be anything less than themselves. This chapter will explore the aftermath of the wars of the 1710s, and the changing objectives both societies faced as a result. There was less impetus from the Europeans to civilise the 'Indians', and instead there was more focus on strengthening their colonies against potential indigenous threat. Native Americans sought to survive, which was often only attainable through strong trading links with the settlers and providing animal skins. The 1700s continued the influx of European materials into the southeastern colonies, with Native Americans increasingly using European commodities. However, by exploring descriptive accounts, it is clear the usage of European materials did little to transform the overarching opinion of Native identity, with early century conflict ultimately emphasising differences between the cultures.

[410] William Bartram, *Travels Through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida* (Philadelphia: James & Johnson, 1791) p. 214

In the 1710s, the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars altered the realms of Euro-Indian relations. Understanding the basic circumstances and events of the conflicts exposes how relations were subsequently affected. In 1711, the Tuscarora War involved a number of Native American tribes, including the Tuscarora, fighting against the colonisers. However, some tribes – including the Yamasee – were complicit in helping defeat and capture the Tuscarora, siding with the Europeans. Indebted to the colonisers, as well as poorly paid for their services, the Yamasee struggled to survive after the conflict.[411] The expansion of settlers encroaching on Yamasee territory further heightened tensions.[412] By building alliances with other burdened tribes, such as the Creek, the Yamasee attacked the Carolinians in 1715. Targeting plantations and traders, the attacks stretched from the Port Royal settlements to as far away as the lower Mississippi Valley.[413] Around 400 colonists were killed during 1715 as a result of the Yamasee War.[414] Despite a growing alliance of Native American tribes, the colonists were able to retaliate using European weaponry unavailable to the Natives. Both the Native Americans and the English appealed to the Cherokee to join their respective sides. Due to the importance and dependency on English trade links for survival and growth, the Cherokees fought alongside the colonists.[415] This marked a turning point in the war, ultimately leading to the relocation of the Yamasee near Saint Augustine and continuing clashes between the Creek and Cherokee.[416] The war was destructive to both sides, causing a vast level of depopulation in the Native southeast and contributing to poor regional economy. [417] The Carolinians similarly suffered considerable losses, with around six per cent of the white population killed.[418]

[411] Taylor, *American Colonies*, p. 234
[412] Richter, *Facing East,* p. 163
[413] Ibid.
[414] Taylor, *American Colonies*, p. 234
[415] Richter, *Facing East*, p. 164
[416] Sweet, *Negotiating for Georgia,* p. 20
[417] Richter, *Facing East*, p. 164
[418] J. Leitch Wright Jr., *The Only Land They Knew: American Indians in the Old South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999) p. 124

The lasting impact of the conflicts deepened the cultural divides between Europeans and Native Americans. The causes of the wars stemmed from the abuses Native Americans faced from trade; lessening the control Natives had as well as encroaching on the areas they lived in. As the colonisers prevailed in both wars, it became clear it was "suicidal" for Natives to engage in conflict with the settlers – "diplomatic accommodation" was the only option.[419] Trade, in particular, proved vital for the survival of Native societies.[420] William Byrd, a leading Virginian coloniser, wrote of the Catawba in 1733, "the danger would be as little from them, because they are too fond of our trade to lose it for the pleasure of shedding a little English blood."[421] Crucial modifications were made to Carolinian trade practices after the wars, which subsequently affected practices within the developing colony of Georgia.[422] Immediately after the conflict, an oath was enacted not to trade directly with Native American tribes. However, items could still be exchanged via gift giving.[423] Nonetheless, heavier trade regulation incurred with rules followed with regard to trading with Natives.[424] Set prices and amounts became the standard of trading, as well as strict guidance as to who could trade directly with the Natives – namely registered merchants and traders. British markets started to dismiss most animal products apart from deerskins, leading to Native societies investing huge amounts of time in the animal skin trade.[425] Development within the southern Carolina colony stagnated for many years as a result of the war, exacerbating issues among the Carolinians that ultimately resulted in the separation of the north and south of the colony. The strength of the colonies overall was also questioned, encouraging a greater push for settler development and population.

The growth of southeastern colonies in the eighteenth century continued to affect Euro-Indian relations, particularly with the expansion of Georgia. In

[419] Richter, *Facing East*, p. 164
[420] Merrell, *The Indians' New World,* p. 79
[421] William Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts* (Petersburg: Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin, 1841) p. 110
[422] Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts,* p. 127
[423] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 1
[424] Ibid, p. 7
[425] Ibid, p. 21

1732, an English royal charter gave a group of philanthropists and reformers, the Georgia Trustees, financial assistance to colonise Georgia.[426] James Oglethorpe founded Savannah in 1733, and thereafter the colony continued to develop. Compared to previous colonising endeavours, Georgia was envisioned as a settlement focused on small farming rather than plantations and slave holdings. This was in large part to encourage the growth of a white population, strengthening the European presence in the New World. The aforementioned trading regulations extended into Georgia, following similar guidelines and practices. For the Native Americans interacting with Georgia settlers, the impetus to prove their worth was paramount. Tribes such as the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Creek were some of the tribes living within the colony, and all who had dealt with Europeans prior. European items had already infiltrated these colonies, and thus Natives sought after essentials such as clothing and technology. Compared to the establishment of colonies before, the necessity of maintaining peace was integral to both Native Americans and Europeans due to the fall out of previous conflicts and the proximity of Spanish Florida. In exploring relations between tribes, the European influence on them cannot be discredited. The centrality of European items and trade meant many tribes were competing against one another to prove their usefulness. Daniel Richter argues the establishment of Georgia in particular threatened the "fragile equipoise" of European, Creek and Choctaw forces.[427]

As both Europeans and Native Americans endeavoured for favourable and peaceful relations, the development of Georgia was dependent upon the growth of trade and profit. While the aftermath of war empowered Europeans to an extent, Native Americans were, as Julie Ann Sweet argues, "shrewd diplomats who could contribute to the success or failure of any outpost."[428] One tribe that became increasingly important to Europeans were the Creek confederacy. Although the Creek were enemies of the colonisers during the Yamasee war, they had to establish stronger relations with the Europeans

[426] Taylor, *American Colonies,* p. 241
[427] Richter, *Facing East*, p. 184
[428] Sweet, *Negotiating*, p. 15

after to ensure their survival. Claudio Saunt details one interaction during 1735, wherein fifty Creeks met with British colonisers – at the Natives' request – and upon arrival were gifted items.[429] This diplomatic move was one of many that informed Anglo-Creek relations, "shaping patterns of settlement and society in Georgia."[430] After the Yamasee war, the Lower Creeks re-established trade with the British in Carolina, helping them become a viable trading partner within Georgia. James Oglethorpe sought the support of the Lower Creeks to defend against other Europeans and tribes, ultimately resulting in a treaty in 1739. Moreover, the emerging influence of the deerskin trade shaped Euro-Indian relations within Georgia. Prohibition of slavery and bans on importing rum meant the deerskin trade was one of the "few sources of income" for settlers.[431] The Creek were one of the tribes able to become a leading economic force in the deerskin market, continuing their strong trading links in the interior with the Europeans.

The continual interest in how Natives looked and acted is explored by the likes of William Bartram, William Byrd and James Adair. Journals and accounts continued to be popular in the eighteenth century, read by colonisers and those abroad. Much like the figures of John Lawson and Thomas Nairne, observers writing after the Wars held their own biases and reasons for writing.[432] As mentioned prior, William Byrd was a Virginian planter and surveyor who wrote extensively about the relationship between Virginia and North Carolina. His accounts detail several Native American tribes who inhabited the southeast, making reference to their looks, behaviour and capability of civility. Byrd encapsulates the burgeoning American identity as well as of European gentry, born in Virginia and living there for most of his life. Compared to previous observers, Byrd had lived in proximity to the Natives his entire life and his accounts reflect knowledge about how tribes lived. The Irishman James Adair resided and traded with several tribes, including the Chickasaw, revealing an expansive knowledge on Euro-Indian

[429] Saunt, *A New Order of Things,* p. 11
[430] Paulett, *An Empire of Small Places,* p. 5
[431] Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels*, p. 50
[432] Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian,* p. 17

trade. Finally, the naturalist William Bartram spent years travelling amongst tribes in southeast, and particularly interacted with the Cherokee. Bartram's accounts were concerned with lavish descriptions of the terrain, flora, and fauna as well as Natives, providing immense detail. Bartram's observations took place in the 1770s, twenty years after the period this dissertation looks at. By utilising the ethnohistory process of 'upstreaming' Bartram's accounts can still be useful to understand the changes that occurred prior. The values of Bartram's interactions are not lessened, and reveal the ultimate significance of material in Euro-Indian relations.[433]

Another key observer of the mid-century was the German Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck, who accompanied the Salzburger emigrants to Ebenezer in Georgia. The Salzburgers first settled in 1734 and were a prominent community within Georgia, contributing as farmers and producers.[434] Von Reck kept a journal during his time in America, primarily the 1730s, in which he wrote and drew what he witnessed. Documenting fauna, animals and Native Americans, Von Reck detailed numerous facets of the emerging Georgia colony. Of the land itself, Von Reck presented an image of Georgia as a paradise ripe for settlement. While the reality of the land was less than a utopia – many settlers died of dysentery among other diseases – Von Reck's drawings portrayed detailed depictions of the human subjects in the colony. Much like John White, Von Reck exposed the appearance of Native Americans. Interacting with the Yuchi and Creek, the drawings show a great amount of detail on the dress of the Natives, as well as skin markings and accessories. It is worth emphasising Von Reck was a traveller to Georgia, predominantly an outsider and ultimately did not settle in the New World. Despite this, Von Reck was able to provide insight into the image of 'Indian'. Compared to other observers that have been explored, such as John Lawson, Von Reck was not interacting with Natives for the purposes of diplomacy or trade. Jessica Yirush Stern asserts Von Reck, while not a confidant of the Native Americans, was able to "show how even a casual visitor was privy to

[433] James Axtell, 'An Historian's Viewpoint', *Ethnohistory,* 26:01 (1979) p. 5
[434] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 36

indigenous production techniques" as well as other facets of Native American life.[435]

Trends in material exchange after the events of the 1710s were affected by stricter trade regulations. However, the spread and demand of European materials persisted. In step with the trading lists, references to wools, cottons and linens permeated textual accounts, more so than early encounters. William Byrd lists "The goods for the Indian trade", including "red and blue planes, Duffields, Stroudwater blankets…"[436] Colourful, cheap and sturdy wools continued to be popular in Euro-Indian trade. Other materials were similarly spreading, with the number of cotton textiles in South Carolina doubling from 1718 to 1762.[437] Foreign textiles were incorporated into everyday use, requiring less preparation than traditional fabrics and increasingly made to order. As European materials flooded the market and traditional textiles were not often placed at the same value, the overarching idea suggests that change framed the culture of material exchange – European materials dominated leaving Native commodities, besides animal skins, to fall to the side. William Bartram describes the dress of the Creek within his account: "THE cloathing of their body is very simple and frugal." Similar to earlier observances, Native dress was seen as simpler than European attire - more basic and plain. Yet, Bartram further states "Sometimes a ruffled shirt of fine linen…"[438] The introduction of "a ruffled shirt of fine linen" differs dramatically from earlier accounts. Whilst it was argued some tribes wore European shirts, it was not considered normal. Bartram emphasises the use of a linen shirt, an item emblematic of European civility. In this occurrence it is coupled with "simple and frugal", contrasting with its original purpose as an article of civility. Whether or not the adoption of linen shirts was widespread, the description of Native dress including European linen suggests European trade exerted some influence on Native appearance.

[435] Ibid, p. 19
[436] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 85
[437] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 98
[438] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 502

Yet, despite the influx and ease of use, Native American adoption of European fashion was uneven.[439] The question of change versus continuity becomes more an issue of whether traditional facets of identity prevailed. As Bartram's description states, Native style remained simple in the eyes of the Europeans. Draped clothing and levels of undress continued, with the Natives never fully embodying the look of the Europeans. Moreover, Native application of European items differed from their intended use and purpose, transforming their cultural meaning to fit traditional ideals. Native Americans were able to use European textiles creatively, incorporating them to exemplify their identity without negating their ideals and beliefs. This "textile commodification" altered European clothing on Native bodies, to the point where "the clothing came to bear little resemblance to European fashion."[440] Although European materials became an integral commodity, traditional figures still had an enduring presence. Animal skins continued to be a staple in the Native wardrobe, despite European fabrics being a viable option. Items such as moccasins and match coats were predominantly fashioned by animal skins and used throughout the 1700s. James Adair describes "the skins of wild beasts" used for various items of Native clothing.[441] These points of traditionalism remaining assert a continuity of beliefs and ideals surrounding identity. By adorning settler commodities, Natives were not attempting to be European – they were instead, making those items Native American. While the hybrid of Euro-Indian clothing could be argued as emblematic of the forging of new identities, the attention to replicate old styles asserts traditional identity was essential to uphold.

The continued use of and demand for animal skins reveals the on-going influence of traditional Native commodities. European perception of skins as a textile was often positive, stressing the high quality of skins "dressed very soft…"[442] For many tribes, the animal skin trade was the most important economic revenue. Of the Muskogees, the South Carolina Gazette clarified

[439] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 100
[440] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 147
[441] James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1775) p. 6
[442] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 502

deerskins were "their wealth."[443] The increase of the animal skin trade represented a shift in priorities within Native American tribes. Women, formally the powerhouses of production, were considered less integral to the production of skins despite their role. [444] Whilst indispensable to the Europeans, their social status did not elevate to the same level as Native men.[445] Primarily described within realms of trading, there was less impetus given to its use in Native clothing. Von Reck asserted, "Their trade consists of hides and furs which they sell to the English traders in exchange for rice, rum (a kind of brand), and woolen cloth."[446] The presumption here places more importance on the European textile than the Native American material, aiding a perception of Native Americans wanting European items.

There are a number of sketches by Von Reck showcasing traditional Native American attire whilst utilising European materials. One drawing depicts the "The Indian King and Queen of the Yuchis" from 1736. The Yuchis inhabited the west of Georgia, and were the primary tribe documented by Von Reck. Moreover, the Yuchi were settled on a prominent trade path, allowing them the benefits of English goods. In the drawing of the Yuchi King and Queen a mixture of Native and European textiles are worn. Both wear match coats, yet they are made from different materials. The Queen wears a match coat constructed from wool, most likely a blanket traded by the Europeans. Meanwhile, the King wears a more traditional garment made from buffalo skin.[447] Despite the incorporation of European material, both figures are undeniably embodying Native American style. They wear blue items, a colour deemed suitable for both men and women, and wear their hair long although in gender specific styling. Other Von Reck drawings display a similar message, such as one tilted "Indians going a-hunting" shows three male Yuchi. To the left of the drawing, two men wear match coats but with differing styles and materials. The figure on the far left wears a coloured leather match

[443] Saunt, *A New Order,* p. 39
[444] Perdue, 'Introduction', p. 3
[445] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 158
[446] Georg Phillip von Reck, 'Commissary Von Reck's Report on Georgia' translated by George Fenwick Jones, *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* 47:01 (1963), p. 105
[447] Stern, *The Lives in Objects,* p. 137

coat, with varying patterns across it, while the one next to him wears plain white wool with a red trim. The Native leather match coat is decorated in fine detail, whilst the woollen European offering bears no adornment. Similar to the first drawing, the European garment has been applied from its original use as a blanket into something predominantly Native American.

Figure 4

Von Reck, Indians going a-hunting, 1736. Royal Library, Copehagen, Denmark

Figure 5

Von Reck, Indian King and Queen Uchi, Senkaitschi, 1736. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark

However, the popularity of match coats waned as the eighteenth century progressed coinciding with the growing dominance of European textiles. As previously discussed, match coats were a predominant part of the Native American attire.[448] In early encounters, gifted and traded material was often considered for the creation of match coats. After the events of the Yamasee war, match coats were still popular gifts – recall Francis Nicholson's recommended presents of "stroud matchcoats" discussed in chapter one.[449] Contrariwise, the observances of James Adair and William Bartram contain little reference to match coats. Adair describes "red and blue match coats" worn by Native women within a ceremony, yet Bartram writing in the 1770s bears no mention.[450] References to mantles were more common – a European item similar to that of an overcoat. Bartram asserts "a large mantle of the finest cloth they are able to purchase, always either of scarlet or blue

[448] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 47
[449] Ibid, p. 93
[450] Adair, *The History,* p. 35

colour" was a part of male Native appearance.[451] Von Reck makes note of Native apparel containing "a short blanket…or a woolen sheep-quilt."[452] Items such as mantles and blankets bore similarities to match coats, and therefore it can be assumed some of these references were describing match coats. Von Reck's paintings further assert this, with the distinctive style of match coats displayed. Yet, the waning usage of the phrase 'match coat' suggests different materials were likely being used. Bartram's description of "a large mantle of the finest cloth" suggests it is of European origin, and therefore the growth of European textiles did replace former Native American garments. However, the style was similar – all the aforementioned items were loosely fitted and worn draped. Native American usage of these items does not infer a separation from their traditional roots, but more a transformation of materials to suit needs. It is also more reflective of how Europeans chose to view and interpret Native dress, using a more European term. The functionality, aesthetic and convenience of these items made them more palatable than match coats from animal skins – yet, the style remained almost indistinguishable.

Further examples of Native Americans retaining traditional identity were exemplified through hairstyling. As has been explored, how Natives styled their hair was subject to detailed descriptions and fascination.[453] Later observances reflected earlier perceptions; suggesting hairstyles remained relatively unchanged throughout European encounters. William Byrd described Carolinian Native men with hair "braided with white and blue peak, and hung gracefully in a large roll upon their shoulders."[454] Long braided hair was common amongst Native Americans, more so with women than men. William Bartram further asserts the popularity of braided hair, "They never cut their hair, but plait it in wreathes, which is turned up, and fastened on the crown…"[455] Whilst kept long, Bartram describes the hair also being styled on top of the crown of the head. Similar themes emerge across Native American decisions towards hair, yet differences were still relevant and important. In

[451] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 502
[452] Von Reck, 'Commissary', p. 103
[453] Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness*, p. 136
[454] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 35
[455] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 503

reference to women, Von Reck asserted, “They also go with uncovered heads and braid their hair, although widows let it hang in and around their faces.”[456] As reiterated in early encounters, hair changes were reflective of life changes. A woman not braiding her hair, as Von Reck details, was observed in mourning practices. Adair emphasises this observance, with Natives tying “up their hair, except in their time of mourning.”[457] With regard to Native American men, Bartram asserts “The men shave their head, leaving only a narrow crest or comb, beginning at the crown of the head…and stand frizzed upright…” Gendered divisions with hair were prevalent, although not always extremely different. Generally, male hair was cut shorter. Hairstyles continued to grasp European attention, due to it remaining unchanged by European style. Traditional procedures of braiding and cutting in to particular styles continued, further outlining Native American identity.

Moreover, accessories used to adorn hairstyles combined traditionalism and European influence. Natural textiles such as shells and feathers were routinely used to decorate hair. Byrd described, “small cylinders cut out of a conch shell…and strung like beads” used with female hairstyles, the shells coloured blue and white.[458] The use of shells signifies continued usage of natural materials despite European trinkets also circulating within societies. Colour choices also reflected traditional preferences, specifically with the use of white and blue. William Bartram further describes the “external ornaments” used by Native men and women, including “pendant silver quills” and “the joint of a small reed” to help the hair appear like “a tail or tossil.”[459] The introduction of silver accessories reflects European influence, as silver became an increasingly useful trading commodity. Europeans founded silver mines across the southeast, and whilst not the most integral item traded to Native Americans, items such as silver earrings had a surge in demand during the 1740s.[460] Bartram makes further references to European accessories within Native hairstyles, “a silver broach” was used to fasten a topknot and a large

[456] Von Reck, ‘Commissary’, p. 104
[457] Adair, *The History,* p. 7
[458] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 35
[459] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 501
[460] Waselkov, ‘The Eighteenth-Century’, p. 200

"quantity of silk ribbands of various colours" was used to decorate.[461] Silk was not the most popularly traded item, yet held reverence for some tribes such as the Creek.[462] European items were not essential to Native hairstyling, yet throughout encounters became integrated. As with the adoption of other European apparel, this did not represent a divergence from Native identity.

As with hairstyles, the physicality of Native American bodies was often a point of appraisal and examination. Alden T. Vaughan asserts Europeans viewed Natives as "socially deplorable but physically admirable" and therefore their appearance was key in how they were perceived.[463] Early in his account, William Byrd assessed "The Indians are generally tall and well-proportioned, which may make full amends for the darkness of their complexions…they are healthy and strong, with constitutions untainted by lewdness..."[464] The attractive qualities of being tall and lean, as well as able and healthy, is seen as contrasting their skin colour. With the growing quantity of African slaves populating the colonies, darker skin was representative of being at the bottom of the social strata. Increasing theories and acknowledgement of race throughout the 1700s bought the darker complexion of Native Americans to the forefront. Whilst before it was recognised as a product of the environment, observations throughout the eighteenth century suggest it was becoming an issue of innate behaviour and culture. Later on in his travels, Byrd asserts through marrying Europeans and starting families "their copper-coloured complexion would admit of blanching, if not in the first, at the farthest in the second generation."[465] Skin colour was becoming an important signifier of Native American appearance, and one that tied them to barbarity. Despite this, Native Americans were on the whole considered physically appealing. As James Adair argues, "in general they are strong, well proportioned in body and limbs." Moreover, differences between tribes were noted by James Adair,

[461] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 503
[462] Braund*, Deerskins and Duffels,* p. 123
[463] Vaughan, 'From White Man to Redskin', p. 929
[464] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 4
[465] Ibid, p. 37

assessing “the Chikkasah and Choktah countries have not been long divided from each other….yet the Chikkasah are exceedingly taller.”[466]

One aspect of the body that captured the attention of observers was Native American practices of body modifications and disfigurement. Observers documented numerous descriptions of ear piercings, ear stretching and punishments involving disfigurement. William Bartram asserted Native ears “are lacerated, separating the border or cartilagenous limb, which at first is bound round very close and tight with leather strings…” Once healed, the process would continue using lead, extending the “cartilage [to] an incredible length,” after which it was “bound round in brass or silver wire…like a bow or crescent….this is decorated with soft white plumes of heron feathers.”[467] Variation in body modification was exhibited tribe to tribe, and thus Bartram’s assessment is not indicative of all Native Americans. Yet, the perceived extravagance in stretching the ear lobe contrasted greatly with European styles. Pierced ears were a commonality in Europe, but the process of altering ear lobes into an unusual flair was not. James Adair discusses the differences in modifications for women and men, assessing “women bore small holes in the lobe of their ears…young heroes cut a hole round almost the extremity of both their ears…”[468] These differences suggest there was similarly a gendered component to piercing and modifying the ear, fulfilling different forms of appearance for the genders. As for disfigurement, observers were intrigued by forms of punishment that resulted in the loss of extremities and limbs. Von Reck discussed the punishment for adultery; “by cutting off noses and ears, and fornication by cutting off ears and hair…”[469] These occurrences reinforced continuing stereotypes of barbarity, as well as difference from European culture.

Continuing into the 1700s, ideas of civility and savagery remained important themes of culture. As previously explored, to be civil was to be European and

[466] Adair, *The History,* pp. 4 - 5
[467] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 501
[468] Adair, *The History,* p. 171
[469] Von Reck, ‘Commissary’, p. 105

to be anything less was to be a savage. Opinion towards Native Americans and their civility varied tribe to tribe, with those with better trade relations often painted with a kinder outlook. The Creek, or Muscogulge, were one such tribe attributed as behaving better than other tribes. William Bartram asserts "As morel men they certainly stand in no need of European civilization."[470] Bartram describes their character as "honest, liberal and hospitable to strangers" and compared to the Cherokee "made greater advances towards the refinements of true civilization…"[471] Furthermore, Bartram emphasises it is not the "good examples of the white people" that aided the Creek's civility, rather it was reflective of their conduct towards the Europeans. Writing in the 1770s, Bartram's view is not so surprising considering the power and growth of the Creek within the southeast. Throughout the 1700s, their role in the hugely profitable deerskin trade made them prime trading partners to the Europeans and thus the positive view of them is insightful of this on-going trade. Von Reck echoes this assumption, "the Creeks are the most civilized and strongest nation…among the other nations on the other hand one finds much robbery, theft, lying, lewdness, etc."[472] Larger tribes were more likely to have relations with the Europeans, for matter of trade and safety. By gaining a place in the market, their survival was further guaranteed.

The dress of Native Americans continued to have the power to make them appear civilised or savage. As explored earlier, the wearing of linen shirts had a history associated with European civility. Kathleen Brown argues linen shirts "served as proxies for European bodies, demarcating eligibility for membership in the civilised world."[473] Compared to other European items, shirts were more popular and worn by a number of Native Americans.[474] Bartram details one encounter with a Seminole "Long Warrior", who was in want "of blankets, shirts and some other articles" which they could not afford

[470] Ibid, p. 490
[471] Ibid.
[472] Georg Phillip von Reck, 'Von Reck's Second Report from Georgia' translated by George Fenwick Jones, *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 22:02 (1965), p. 12
[473] Brown, *Foul Bodies,* p. 6
[474] James Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. 96

with their usual trader.[475] The demands for shirts from warriors suggest it was a fairly popular item, especially since it was worth money they did not have. It does not specify whether it was linen shirts they wanted, yet referencing the item as a shirt suggests it was European in origin. Native American men predominantly wore shirts, yet rarely in the way their European counterparts styled them. The application of European items rarely served their original purpose. In his account, Bartram details the dress of Native American men – most likely Creek. He describes shirts were worn "loose about the waist, like a frock, or split down before, resembling a gown, which is sometimes wrapped close, and the waist encircled by a curious belt or sash."[476] The variation of how shirts were worn from Bartram's description asserts the adoption of items varied, suggesting Native American identity was represented despite the application of European items. The emphasis on the shirt being dressed "loose" typifies the Native dislike of form fitted European styles. Despite wearing European clothing, Natives were able to represent traditional Native ideals and style through how they styled commodities.

For the most part, savagery and heathenism were attributed to Native American behaviour. The perseverance of traditionally Native items such as animal skins and other natural fibres continued into the eighteenth century. As there was an assumption from early encounters that Native Americans would seek to become European, the transformation of European items and continued wear of Native dress conflicted with initial observations.[477] Describing Natives as barbarians, heathens and savages continued in great vitriol, despite the perceived civility of larger tribes such as the Creek. Observers perceived Natives as reproachful of white people, often exemplifying their savagery. At the beginning of his account, Adair describes the Natives as "strongly attached to, and prejudiced in favour of, their own colour, that they think as mealy of the whites as we possibly can do of them."[478] The mutual animosity is expressed, yet when contrasting this with

[475] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 257
[476] Ibid, p. 503
[477] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 76
[478] Adair, *The History,* p. 1

earlier expectations it would have aided perceptions of the Natives being intrinsically uncivilised. It must also be emphasised the southeast was described as "wild and savage" prior to European involvement.[479] Whilst this relates to the terrain of the land, the supposition Native Americans were not using the land properly – or in the European way – aids the image of Natives as different to Europeans.

Native American dress encouraged the perception of savagery even in the mid-century when there was greater uptake of European trade fabrics. As explored within the drawings of Von Reck, the simplicity of wardrobe was innately Native American and in turn often seen as primitive. One such description by James Adair asserts, "The young Indian men and women, through a fondness of their ancient dress, wrap a piece of cloth round them that near resemblance to the old Roman toga…"[480] Bartram makes a similar observation regarding flaps, "this garment somewhat resembles the ancient Roman breeches…"[481] The comparison between Native American garb and ancient Rome reiterates the preference for draped and loose styles that were in complete difference to the fitted apparel of Europe. Moreover, the disregard for certain Europe items meant Native Americans were seen to be uncivilised. Although the adoption of shirts was more widespread, the disdain for breeches continued throughout the 1700s. Adair assesses the "aversion to wearing breeches", suggesting Native Americans considered them representative of "helplessness and effeminacy." Continuing, Adair also argues Native women considered them ugly but "should they ever be so unlucky, as to have that pinching custom introduced among them, the English breeches would best suit…"[482] Breeches represented an item that was of no use to the Native American lifestyle, and thus emphasises the need for utility in clothing as well as style. Native Americans, even with an influx of European items and great European presence, would not adopt an item of clothing unless it served their needs – whether practical or spiritual.

[479] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 99
[480] Adair, *The History,* p. 7
[481] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 502
[482] Adair, *The History,* p. 7

As with persistent loose modes of wear, nakedness or lack of clothing continued to inform descriptions of Native Americans in the later period, but with less intensity and frequency. As explored in earlier encounters, the absence of apparel signified primitiveness and savagery, whether or not they were fully naked.[483] Observations in the earlier period fixated on nakedness, typifying it as the normality of Native American style. However, by the mid eighteenth century descriptions of naked Natives had lessened, often only described as part of ceremonies or celebrations. Whilst partially undressed Natives were still described as naked, references were in relation to covering their body. For example, Adair described Native American men covering "their nakedness" using "a broad slip of cloth".[484] Bartram furthers this, asserting "they are almost naked, contenting themselves with the flap and sometimes a shirt."[485] The continual description of Natives as almost unclothed suggests their clothing was still revealing – especially compared to the apparel of Europeans. The observations of complete nakedness were in relation to children, such as Bartram's assessment "the male youth go perfectly naked until they are twelve or fifteen years of age."[486] The nakedness of children was a point of interest in earlier observances, suggesting there was little change in Native American practices during this time. Whilst not explicitly relating them to savages due to their practices, the differences between European and Native modes of living were emphasised. However brief a description, observers aided ideas of the two societies as incomparable and Natives distinctively un-European.

Defining and separating the genders was an integral part of both Native American and European societies. For the Europeans, it marked an essential facet of civility.[487] Similarly for Native American tribes, gender was the basis of dividing labour and roles within society. Gender as a lens through which to judge appearance continued within the eighteenth century and stereotypes gained more traction. Similarities in dress between Native men and women

[483] Kupperman, *Indians and English*, p. 49
[484] Adair, *The History,* p. 44
[485] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 504
[486] Ibid.
[487] Kupperman, 'Presentment of Civility', p. 194

were a point laboured over by multiple observers. James Adair's aforementioned assessment of "young Indian men and women" both wearing "ancient dress" suggests the attire between genders was similar.[488] Both men and women were likely to wear match coats, blankets and accessories yet there were integral differences some observers noted. William Bartram described, "THE dress of the females is somewhat different from that of the men; their flap or petticoat is made after a different manner, is larger and longer…and is put on differently."[489] Whilst Native American men and women would utilise similar materials and styles, differences in length and fit denoted their gender. Bartram asserts both wear flaps, yet also describes the item as a "petticoat" in his description of female dress, using European terminology to better detail the clothing. It provides insight into how Europeans chose to describe Native American garb, relying on European styles to make comparisons. The differences are arguably presented as modest and subtle, yet they were still important enough to document. Adair summarises "Although the same things are commonly alike used or disused, by males and females; yet they distinguish their sexes in as exact a manner as any civilized nation."[490]

Throughout encounters, the beauty and attractiveness of Native American women were continually laboured. Their appearance would be used to reflect their society as a whole, with those who were more modest and refined considered civilised and kind. As the eighteenth century progressed, an increased number of Europeans lived among Native Americans tribes – in some cases for trading, in others a respect for the Native way of life. Taking Native women as wives was not uncommon. William Byrd asserted "the Indian women would have made altogether as honest wives for the first planters, as the damsels they used to purchase aboard the ships."[491] Native American women were often presented as more civil than their male counterparts, and more open to European civility. Adair maintained "The

[488] Adair, *The History,* p. 7
[489] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 501
[490] Adair, *The History,* p. 171
[491] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 37

women, in general, are of a mild…soft disposition…very seldom noisy either in the single, or married state."[492] However, sexual relations between Europeans and Native women occurred regardless of long term partnering, casting women as sexual creatures prone to libidinous behaviour. Byrd accounts one instance during a ceremony where there were no women to go to bed with the Europeans present. He asserts, "a grave matron whispered one of the commissioners very civilly in the ear, that if her daughter had been but one year older, she should have been at his devotion."[493] Trading girls and bedfellows were common points of interaction for Europeans, and a significant part of welcoming ceremonies. Whether or not Europeans indulged in their services, this practice informed the view of Native women as a whole. Byrd assessed those who pursued Europeans, "seldom bestow their favours out of stark love and kindness."[494]

Observations surrounding Native American women wearing European commodities were largely positive in the later period. James Adair, with regard to the Chickasaw, asserts "The women, since the time we first traded with them, wrap a fathom of the half breadth of Stroud cloth round their waist….this sort of loose petticoat, reaches only to their hams, in order to shew their exquisitely fine proportioned limbs."[495] The influence of European trade is emphasised, with the introduction of 'Stroud cloth' as well as altering the style Chickasaw women wore. As before, the relation of the item as similar to a 'petticoat' emphasises European influence on the Native American wardrobe. The figure of Native American women is described as "exquisitely fine", in keeping with various other observances of Native bodies as appealing. Whilst the relationship between adopting European garments and civility is not outright expressed in this sentiment, the ongoing observances of women utilising European materials and their supposed good nature corresponds. William Byrd argues Native women wore European accessories "when they have a mind to appear lovely…" European observers associated

[492] Adair, *The History,* p. 5
[493] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 35
[494] Ibid.
[495] Adair, *The History,* p. 8

European items with attractiveness, and thus Native women wearing those garments were seen as appealing. However, the ways in which women procured European items could be construed negatively. In one account, Bartram emphasises Native savagery in obtaining items. He detailed one European who married a Native woman, only to become poor and desolate years down the line. He asserted the Native woman "drained him of all his possessions, which she dishonestly distributes amongst her savage relations."[496] Bartram's account shows the importance of righteous procurement of goods – to use marriage or relationships solely for possessions, especially by Native women, was considered dishonest and cruel. Nonetheless, the wearing of European items and styles had the power to enhance a Native woman's value.

Similarities between Native men and women were recognised through the way they used colour to decorate their skin. Body markings through dyes and tattoos were of significant interest to Europeans since initial encounters, often reflected in paintings and descriptions. They provided an obvious difference between how Europeans and Natives presented themselves. One of Von Reck's drawings depicting 'The supreme commander of the Yuchi Indian nation' provides one of the more vivid examples of body paint. The King is detailed with extensive face and chest paint, utilising the colours black, red and yellow. Moreover, further observations similarly describe intricate body paint applied to Native men and women. Painting and oiling was used to enhance their skin colour and practised by both sexes. Adair asserts "they delight in every thing, which they imagine may promote and increase it…they paint their faces with vermillion, as the best and most beautiful ingredient."[497] The pigment of vermillion was intensely popular with Native Americans, both to paint their skin and to dye their clothes. The pigment was utilised by the Europeans within trade, and popularly demanded by the Natives. Bartram further emphasises Native men using vermillion to paint "The head, neck and breast…"[498] Native American men were described using red dye in the lead

[496] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 112
[497] Adair, *The History,* p. 1
[498] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 503

up to war, particularly the combination of black and red paint as displayed in Von Reck's drawing. Von Reck further details the use of paint by men and women, asserting "Most of the men and women are marked by stripes on their throats, faces and bodies," as a point of decoration.[499]

Figure 6

Von Reck, The Supreme Commander of the Yuchi Indian Nation, 1736. Royal Library, Copehagen, Denmark

The practice of body and face paint, as well as accessorising, also informed an integral part of preparing for war. Native American usage of paints and dyes continued throughout European colonisation. As part of preparing for war, using red and black paint was common. Bartram presents a vivid description, "THE head, neck and breast, are painted with vermilion, and some of the warriors have the skin of the breast…inscribed…"[500] The use of red dye, particularly vermillion, was used in various aspects of Native American life. For war the connotations of the colour were more explicit, representing warfare and anger. Bartram's description of body marking in

[499] Von Reck, 'Commissary', p. 103
[500] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 503

various patterns was a tribal indicator. Painting was also indicative of tribal allegiance, with many tribes and even clans differing in how they presented themselves for war. Although similar colours were used, different patterns were observed. The use of war paint was to intimidate, a fact recognised by Von Reck. He wrote, "When they go to war against their enemies they bedaub their faces with all kinds of colors which they think best for giving them a frightful appearance before their enemies."[501] Moreover, Von Reck similarly observed tribal specific hairstyling and accessorising – "little white feathers on their heads…they consider a token of course…each nation has its own manner of cutting its hair…In battle they cut…the head hair…to see from what nation and tribe they are."[502] As described by Von Reck, cutting off the enemy's hair was important in distinguishing the enemy. The practices surrounding Native American warfare reinforced the European perception of Native barbarity, further emphasising difference between the two societies.

The way Native Americans presented for war through clothing also captured the attention of Europeans. Different garments, styles and body painting were all part of the preparation for warfare. In the subject of dress, partial nudity was a shared trait among tribes. William Bartram described Creek men in the lead up to war as "almost naked contenting themselves with the flap and sometimes a shirt, boots and moccasins…"[503] The lack of blankets, match coats or mantles were the most obvious form of divergence detailed by Bartram that contrasts with day-to-day Native garb. Whilst not completely nude by any stretch of the imagination, the lack of this kind of item strikes Bartram as nude and, by extension, emblematic of Native primitivism. The traditional nature of Native American war preparations initially suggests this particular attire was less likely to be influenced by European colonisers. Yet, James Adair details "the young warriors frequently fasten bell-buttons, or pieces of tinkling brass to their maccaseenes, and to the outside of their boots, instead of the old turkey-cock-spurs which they formerly used…"[504]

[501] Von Reck, 'Commissary', p. 103
[502] Ibid.
[503] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 504
[504] Adair, *The History,* p. 171

Metals such as brass were part of the European influx of materials into the New World. Brass buttons, in particular, were popular adornments for items. Although the young warriors' wearing of these ornaments was not necessarily a part of preparing for war, emphasising their use by warriors suggest there was some correlation. It would be a fair assessment that brass adornments represented importance to the warriors – whether riches or success – that replaced their former decorations.

As sites of Native traditionalism, the occurrence of ceremonies continued with equal European fascination. Celebrations led to Native Americans changing their appearance, whether through clothing or adornments. Respecting traditional ideals was often typified through ceremonies, with clothing central to the proceedings. Some celebrations centred on the incorporation of new items and eschewing the old. William Bartram assessed "WHEN a town celebrates the buck, having previously provided themselves with new clothes…they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses…" Bartram further describes Native women harvesting food and preparing for feast, where thereafter people would assemble "apparelled in their new clothes and decorations."[505] In this example, clothing was a fundamental part of the proceedings and thus was more than just apparel, representing a process of starting anew. James Adair provides a similar assessment of the festivals of "red Hebrews", asserting towards the end "they paint and dress themselves anew, and give themselves the most terrible appearance they possibly can."[506] Most celebrations involved changing appearance, whether it was held in honour of hospitality or a ceremony of marriage. Observers experienced a welcoming ceremony, and were not always privy to more traditional events. Bartram experienced a Cherokee celebration, wherein the male 'champions' "were well dressed, painted and ornamented with silver bracelets, gorgets and wampum, neatly ornamented with moccasins and high waving plumes in their diadems…"[507] High quality items were described inlcuding bracelets and gorgets.

[505] Bartram, *Travels,* pp. 509 - 510
[506] Adair, *The History,* p. 110
[507] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 370

Adornments were asserted as integral to ceremonial dress, with numerous accessories listed. Extravagance was common within events, and often presented the Europeans with an inaccurate portrayal of standard Native American existence.

European observers detailed the dancers at celebrations in great detail, reflecting that dancing was fundamental to festivities. The attire of the dancers was subject to scrutiny, as well as their gender. William Byrd detailed one celebration, where the female dancers "were wrapped in their red and blue match coats, thrown so negligently about them that their mahogany skins appeared in several parts…" The material of the match coats is unknown, yet wearing a typically Native style correlates with the traditional nature of celebrations. Furthermore, the popular colours of red and blue are yet again emphasised. Byrd described the match coats loosely worn, revealing skin and appearing like the "damsels of old."[508] The dances practiced by Native Americans completely contrasted to the dances in Europe, and thus the dress and actions of dancers at celebrations served to reinforce savagery stereotypes. Bartram further describes the clothing of dancers, presenting a more modest image. In one account, he described female dancers wearing mantles "which serves the purpose of a veil."[509] No mention of partial nudity is expressed, yet the application of the European mantle is served for a different purpose than originally intended – a veil. In a Cherokee celebration, Bartram laments on "a company of girls, hand in hand, dressed in clean white robes and ornamented with beads, bracelets and a profusion of gay ribbands..."[510] Although the girls were not assessed as dancers, they were described as singers and for the entertainment of the celebration. The use of white robes and elaborate ornamentation presents a more modest image of Native female participation at ceremonies. This serves to reinforce the diversity of tribes and the oversimplification of Native American culture often insinuated by European observers.

[508] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 35
[509] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 504
[510] Ibid, p. 370

The appearance of Native Americans exhibiting a higher status revealed a greater incorporation of European materials. It is unsurprising that Native Americans who were wealthier and part of a higher status were more likely to be in possession of European apparel. William Bartram provides a description of one account meeting a group of Seminoles. Consisting of seven young men, he describes them as "under the conduct of a young prince or chief…they were all dressed and painted with singular elegance, and richly ornamented with silver plates, chains…with waving plumes of feathers on their crests…"[511] The large number of adornments, varying in Native and European origin, suggests a stronger position within the social strata. Bartram assesses their appearance as elegant, affirming positivity with their dress. Their relation with a prince or chief places them in higher standing in Bartram's eyes, which is reiterated by their dress. Those in higher classes, however, were not always extravagantly dressed. The similarities between dress across society, despite wealth and class, was emphasised by European observers. Bartram asserts of a King, "his dress is the same, and a stranger could not distinguish the king's habitation from that of any other citizen by any sort of splendour of magnificence."[512] The exact similarities are not discussed, yet it can be assumed the lack of elaborate accessories were likely the cause for this assessment. James Adair furthers this argument, describing one tribe's "chief dress" as "very simple", with little significant difference or opulence to regular Native American wear. Whilst those who were wealthier often displayed extravagance, dress was not always a reliable indicator of status and differences were exhibited across tribes.

European accessories, namely jewellery, became a bigger part of Native American style throughout the eighteenth century. James Adair explains "from the time we supplied them with our European ornaments, they have used brass and silver ear-rings, and finger-rings….Both sexes esteem the above things, as very great ornaments of dress…"[513] Metal materials were not as popular as cloth within trade, but still maintained a significant place within

[511] Ibid, p. 244
[512] Ibid, p. 496
[513] Adair, *The History,* p. 171

exchange. Rings, necklaces and bracelets were common items gifted to Native American women, made from silver or brass. Von Reck describes James Oglethorpe gifting an 'Indian King' "ear-rings, pots, corals, etc. for the women."[514] European adornments were easily integrated into European dress and reflected wealth and prestige. The aesthetic of these items cannot be dismissed – especially in the case of metals; it is not unreasonable to suggest both Natives and Europeans considered them appealing. Among the European observers, there were continual references to accessories such as "brass rings…"[515] William Bartram made a detailed description of arms "ornamented with silver bands, or bracelets, and silver and gold chains…"[516] The sheer amount of accessories alluded to, as well as the variation of silver, gold and brass, suggests Native Americans were eager to use European adornments. Attaching accessories to items such as flaps and moccasins were common. Adair observed "pieces of tinkling brass" attached to the moccasins of young warriors.[517] European observers reacted positively to Native Americans adorning European trinkets, often using words such as 'tinkling' to describe the occurrences.

However, the frequency with which Native Americans adopted European accessories was likely overstated by observers. The process of gift giving and exchange did introduce European items into the Native wardrobe. Yet, the descriptions supplied by observers were often in the aftermath of exchange. Native Americans wearing these items were following rules of hospitality and good will, placing European items on their body for the presence of Europeans. James Adair asserts "According to the oriental custom, they wear ear-rings and finger-rings in abundance. Tradition says they followed the like custom before they became acquainted with the English."[518] Jewellery was not a new concept to Native Americans, and as explained by Adair was a frequent part of the Native apparel. Although Natives used European items, it was more in keeping with their custom and tradition then diverging to

[514] Von Reck, 'Von Reck's Second Report', p. 327
[515] Byrd, *The Westover Manuscripts,* p. 85
[516] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 503
[517] Adair, *The History,* p. 171
[518] Ibid, p. 170

European ways. William Bartram similarly understood this concept, arguing "these decorations are only to be considered as indulgencies on particular occasions…"[519] As observers were often privy to welcoming ceremonies and hospitality procedures, the abundance of adornments worn were part of the proceedings. Moreover, the continual use of traditional materials bore little change. Items such as beads were usual ornaments – whether or not Europeans gifted them. Bartram accounts the use of "A VERY curious diadem or band, about four inches broad…curiously decorated with stones, beads, wampum, porcupine quills…" within ceremonies. Commodities used for traditional practices such as festivals and feasts remained constant, due to their spiritual importance.[520] Natural textiles such as quills and feathers remained popular due to this. The use of European jewellery was not a complete replacement for Native adornments, with tribes utilising European items into traditional Native styles.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the use of European materials, dress and accessories spread across the colonial southeast. Even in the aftermath of intense conflict, the centrality of Euro-Indian trade remained vital for growth and development. Prior to the wars, Europeans perceived Native Americans as undeniably savage, reinforced by the way they dressed and how they acted. Yet, there was a significant belief they could become European with the right treatment – namely, introducing European items and incorporating European styles.[521] The conflicts of the 1710s changed the landscape of the southeast, as well as views towards Natives.[522] Thereafter, Native populations were depleted or displaced, while European colonisers feared for the on-going strength of the colonies. This in turn led to stricter provisions in trade, as well as the elimination of the Native slave trade, restricting the ways in which Europeans and Natives could interact. Moreover, Native American participation with Europeans altered. The devastation of the wars caused Natives to seek alliances and strong trade relations, leading to confederacies

[519] Bartram, *Travels,* p. 504
[520] Ibid, p. 502
[521] Stern, *The Lives in Objects*, p. 99
[522] Hall, *Zamumo's Gifts*, p. 127

such as the Creek to dominate the Southeast. The focus on the deerskin trade fractured labour practices of Native tribes, leading to the abandonment of other realms of work. Despite an influx of European commodities and more Native Americans incorporating them into their attire, Natives remained savage in the eyes of settlers. No longer was there a crucial drive towards civilizing Natives, as the inherent difference between the two societies was more pronounced in the aftermath of war. More to the point, the use of European items did not alter Native identity. Commodities were adopted and moulded to fit traditional ideals, transcending their initial European purpose into a product that was predominantly and blatantly Native American.

Conclusion

After 1740, consumption of British manufactures increased dramatically.[523] Across the world, dress regimes were subject to commercial, colonising and cultural enterprises.[524] Within the colonial southeast, new aesthetic preferences were formed from the growth of trade and exchange.[525] The wide variety of materials including wools, cottons and linens each made an impact in the New World, and particularly on the Native American tribes. Whilst much of cultural Euro-Indian relations have explored the role of guns and rum, the impact of clothing was similarly effective and important. As Timothy Shannon asserts, "clothing was acquired more easily than a foreign language and changed more readily than a native accent."[526] More than a commodity, clothing had the ability to present identity, functionality and aesthetic. Moreover, societies used dress a "critical guide to understanding" themselves, and those newly encounters.[527] From initial encounters, Europeans used clothing as a medium to judge and understand Native American societies. Observers used art and literature to describe and showcase Native appearance, while also presenting them as different from Europeans. Issues of nudity, gender and class all informed a role in framing Native Americans, under the pretence of judging whether or not they could become as civil as Europeans. It is a mistake to assert settlers were dismissive of Native Americans due to their appearance – while they were seen as uncivilised, the similarities between them fascinated Europeans.

The variety of materials circulating within the colonial southeast grew phenomenally from 1680 – 1750. Reflected in trading accounts and journals, huge quantities of materials were bought over to trade, gift and exchange. Ranging from natural fibres produced by the Natives, to cottons and linens forged in Europe, textiles were a lucrative part of trade. What is imperative to understand is that both societies demanded and appropriated textiles from

[523] Shannon, 'Dressing for Success', p. 354
[524] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 50
[525] Axtell, *The Indians' New South,* p. 63
[526] Shannon, 'Dressing for Success', p. 355
[527] Duplessis, *The Material Atlantic,* p. 5

one another. Europeans increasingly sought after raw Native materials, namely animal skins, throughout the growth of colonisation. Although a central part of the 'savage Indian' wardrobe, it was also a high value commodity popularly worn in Europe.[528] Similarly, Native tribes demanded European goods, due to ease of use as well as aesthetics.[529] By the end of the eighteenth century, large confederacies such as the Creek were dependent upon foreign commodities for survival – but sartorial cultures still bore local and traditional inflections, particularly through modes of wear and less vulnerable features such as accessorising and hair styling.[530] The spread of such materials were facilitated by different modes of exchange, namely trade and gifting. Not only limited to Euro-Indian trade, but inter tribal exchange allowed tribes in the interior to acquire European items. Even after the wars in the early eighteenth century, trade continued to allow the spread of materials – despite regulations. The wide scale and high volume of the material exchange situates it as one of the central ways in which Euro-Indian interaction took place.

Moreover, the autonomy of Native Americans within exchange cannot be denied. They were proactive in trade, demanding certain items and eschewing others. What is predominately clear in the exchange of clothing is the role of Native Americans in retaining their identity despite the influx of European garments and items. Colonisers were keen to use clothing as a way to entice Natives to European civility, yet plans to assimilate them completely were ineffective. Natives adopted and applied European apparel to their own standards, disregarding their original function, and while they moved discernibly towards certain fabrics and goods in the later period, they retained important sites of distinctiveness (both collectively and within tribes). More than explaining European attitudes towards Native Americans, European observations are able to reveal the dress preferences of Natives.[531] For one, the rejection of breeches and uneven adoption of linen shirts emphasises the

[528] Merrell, *The Indians' New World,* p. 35
[529] Miller and Hamell, 'A New Perspective', p. 180
[530] Sweet, *Negotiating*, p. 19
[531] Axtell, 'The Ethnohistory of Native America', p. 15

diversity in the implementation of European items. By the mid eighteenth century, Natives had incorporated a large number of European items into their wardrobes. Accessories, clothing and countless others were incorporated in regular day-to-day wear, not just relegated to ceremonial dress for European eyes. However, these items did not reflect the ideals of Europeans, and were instead repurposed, reapplied and reformed to suit Native American identity. Euro-Indian relations have often been seen through the lens of European dominance and Native submission, yet this underplays the resilience of Natives in the New World. The continuity of traditionalism underpinned the motivations of the Native Americans, resulting in hybrid wardrobes that remained undeniably symbolic of Native identity.

Dress and clothing were important mediums used to judge others and represent ideals. Both societies used appearance as a way to address societal beliefs. For Europeans, issues of civility were of upmost importance, underpinning all behaviour. This meant adhering to gender divides and dressing for one's status, using items such as shirts and breeches as a minimum to achieving civility. Europeans observing Native Americans used these same themes to understand the 'Indian'. They saw that divides in gender and status existed, although in varying ways to their own beliefs. However, the differences they saw were far more important than any similarity. As expressed in Native clothing choices, the draped styles and reveal of skin meant Natives were uncivilised savages. Whilst Native Americans used European items, they used them differently to their original purpose. Although at the beginning of interactions there was an effort to see Native Americans as possible Europeans, by the eighteenth century this concept had been largely disputed. Natives would never become Europeans, but they were still integral to survival of colonies. As the wars revealed, including the Seven Years' War and Revolutionary War to come, conflict resulted in death and destruction of both sides so it was important for both to coexist. Overall, the influx of European garments and materials altered Native American society in terms of material production and modes of labour. Yet, items did not fundamentally alter Native identity by just being present. Native Americans were complicit in using items, and had a variety of reasons for

doing so – none of which centred on becoming European, and all of which served to exemplify identity.

Notes

Abbreviations

CRG

Allen D. Candler (ed.) *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia,* (Atlanta: Frankling Printing and Publishing Co., 1904)

JCHA

A. S. Salley (ed.) *Journals of the Commons House of Assembly* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1907 – 1947)

JCIT

William L. McDowell Jr. (ed.) *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade: September 20, 1710 – August 29, 1718* (Columbia: Department of Archives and History, 1992)

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