DRESS AND ORNAMENTS OF CERTAIN AMERICAN INDIANS.

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OF the cause or causes that first led to the use of clothing we know nothing, though various theories have been brought forward by way of accounting for it. Herbert Spencer,[1] for instance, is of the opinion that it grew out of the wish for admiration; other investigators tell us that it was adopted as a protection against the weather;[2] whilst according to the Biblical record,[3] our first parents clothed themselves in aprons of fig leaves in order to conceal their nakedness. Without stopping to inquire into the truth of these and other theories, it is probably safe to say that the use of clothing, like many of our customs and practices, had its origin in a variety of motives, each one of which may have been prepotent in its time and place. At all events, considered as a working hypothesis, this explanation, even if it does not throw a definite light upon the origin of the custom, enables us to account satisfactorily for the differences in the nature and amount of clothing worn by tribes in different portions of the world, as well as for the differences that exist, today, among people of the same tribe at different seasons. The process may even be carried further; for it is only by the aid of some such elastic principle of explanation that we can understand why a savage, at one time, decks himself in gaudy apparel and at

[1] Principles of Sociology II., p. 185: New York, 1896.

[2] "Ils se couvrent pour bannir le froid, et non pour paroistre": Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 46: Quebec, 1858. "Ne couvrent point du tout leur honte et nudité, sinon pour cause de grand froid et de longs voyages, qui les obligent à se servir d' une couverture de peau": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 51: Paris, 1865.

[3] Genesis III., verses 7 and 21.

another abjures it; why he paints himself red, black or in figures as the occasion requires; or why he pierces his nose, blackens his teeth, cuts off his finger, or otherwise scarifies or mutilates his body. To assert that these and the other similar methods by which he seeks to give expression to his feelings and desires, sprung originally from one and the same motive, is to involve ourselves in a network of conjecture from which there is no escape. For this reason, then, in the course of this investigation into the modes of dress and methods of ornamentation of those of our Indians that dwelt east of the Mississippi River, we propose to confine ourselves strictly to the accounts given by the early chroniclers, and will make no effort to fathom the motives that may have governed the Indians in any or all of these particulars, except in so far as they are made known to us by the authors from whom we quote.

Before, however, entering upon the subject, it may be well to premise that when the Europeans first began to visit these shores, our Indians were not in such a state of destitution that they were obliged to go naked, or to content themselves with a scrap of skin barely sufficient to cover their backs, as is said to have been the case with some of the Fuegians.[1] Indeed, so far were they from anything of the kind, that their ordinary dress, as we shall see further on, consisted of a number of different articles which were made of different materials and varied with the locality and the climate. Of these articles they appear, as a rule, to have had an adequate supply, though there can be no doubt that whenever it suited their comfort or convenience, they did not hesitate to lay any or all of them aside[2] and go

[1] Darwin, *Voyage of a Naturalist*, I., p. 274: New York, 1846.

[2] "Si tost que l' air est chaud, où qu' ils entrent dans leurs cabanes, ils jettent leurs atours à bas, les hommes restant tous nuds, à la reserve d' un brayer qui leur cache ce qui ne peut être veu sans vergogne. Pour les femmes, elles quittent leurs bonnet, leurs manches, et bas de chausses, le reste du corps demeurant couvert"; Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 46: Quebec, 1858. "In summer they go naked having only their private parts covered with a patch": Megapolensis, Short

naked.[1] Bearing upon this point, and, to some extent, confirmatory of what is said as to the supply of clothing, is the fact that although the Indians living east of the Mississippi belonged to different linguistic families and were often at war with each other and among themselves, yet there existed among them a system of intertribal traffic by means of which the people of any one section were able to

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Sketch of the Mohawk Indians, in Collections of the New York Hist. Soc., second series, Vol. III., part 1, p. 154: New York, 1858. "Pendant les chaleurs les hommes ne portent qu' un brayer: c'est une peau de chevreuil passée en blanc où teinte en noir; . . . Les femmes dans les chaleurs n' ont qu' une demi-aulne de limbourg, au moyen de laquelle elles se couvrent; elles tournent ce drap autour de leur corps, & sont bien cachées depuis la ceinture jusqu' aux genoux; quand elles n' ont point de limbourg, elles employent au même usage une peau de chevreuil: aux hommes ainsi qu' aux femmes, le reste du corps demeure à decouvert": Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Vol. II., pp. 190, 191: Paris, 1758. ". . . nous vimes quelque quatre-vingts ou cent sauvages tout nuds, hormis le brayet, qui faisoient Tabagie, &c.": Lescarbot II., p. 569: Paris, 1866. In Jesuit Relation, 1632, p. 4, we are told that certain prisoners having been made to sing and dance, the oldest among them "commence à marcher le long de la cabane tout nud, hormis . . . un morceau de peau qui couvrait ce que la nature a caché": Quebec, 1858. Describing an Indian Council Lafitau says: "C'est une troupe de crasseux, assis sur leur derrière, accroupis comme des singes, & ayant leurs genoux auprès de leurs oreilles, ou bien couchez differemment le dos, ou le ventre en l' air, qui tous la pipe à la bouche traitent des affaires d' état avec autant de sang froid & de gravité, que la Jonte de l' Espagne ou le conseil des Sages à Venise": *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, II., p. 178: Paris, 1724. "Les hommes, quand il fait chaud, n' ont souvent sur le corps qu' un brahier; l' hyver ils se couvrent plus ou moins suivant le climat": Charlevoix, VI., p. 39, Paris: 1744. Compare plate p. 308 in Vol. II., Du Pratz *Louisiane*. Plate XI., XII., XVII., &c., in Hariot's *First Plantation of Virginia*. Figure 2 in plate on p. 38 of Vol. III., Lafitau. Plate p. 130 in Vol. II. of La Hontan, *Voyages dans l' Amerique Septentrionale, A la Haye*, 1703. Cartier, in Hakluyt, II., p. 93.

[1] In the *Nation du Petun*, "les hommes vont tout nuds sans reserve": Jesuit Relations, 1641, p. 59. Among the Cheveux Relevez or Ottowas, ". . . les hommes ne couvrent point du tout leurs partis naturelles, qu' ils tiennent à descouvert, avec tout le reste du corps sans honte ny vergogne": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 53, Paris: 1865. "Mais ils sont . . . larrons et traitres et quoy qu' ils soient nuds, on ne se peut garder de leurs mains": Lescarbot, II., p. 537. "Les femmes se despouillèrent toutes nues, et se jetèrent en l' eau, allants au devant les canots pour prendre ces testes," &c.: Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 206. "Les femmes ont le corps couvert, et les hommes descouvert, sans aucune chose, sinon qu' une robbe de fourrure, qu' ils mettent sur leur corps, qui est en façon de manteau, laquelle ils laissent ordinairement, et principalement en êté. Les femmes et les filles ne sont plus emues de les voir de la façon, que si elles ne voyoient rien qui sembleroit estrange": *Ib.* I., p. 357: Paris,

avail themselves of the surplus products of their neighbors.[1] This traffic, we need not say, was of a very primitive character. In truth, it was nothing but barter,—the exchange of one set of commodities for another; and judging from

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1830. "All of them go naked and are very lean": Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, part II., p. 146. Among the Tonicas, Tensas, &c., of the lower Mississippi "the men on account of the great heat go naked, and the women and girls are not well covered, and the girls up to the age of twelve years go entirely naked" . . . "The girls and women are dressed . . . even worse for we have seen some 25 and 30 years old quite naked" . . "the married women covered from the waist to the knee and the girls naked up to the age of 12 years and sometimes until they are married": Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, pp. 77, 80, 83, Albany: 1861. "The male youth go perfectly naked until they are twelve or fifteen years of age": Bartram, *Travels*, p. 502: Dublin, 1793. *Cf.* Cabeça de Vaca, Buckingham Smith's Translation, pp. 39, 82, 86: New York, 1871. "The men go naked": Marquette, in *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 48: New York, 1852. Cartier, in Hakluyt, II., pp. 91, 128, Edinburgh: 1889. There were also, and they seem to have been quite general, certain dances in which the girls taking part were naked, but these do not come within the scope of this investigation.

[1] "Les Nations Sauvages commercent les uns avec les autres de tout tems . . elles ont toutes quelque chose de particulier que les autres n' ónt pas, & le traffic fait circuler toutes ces choses des unes aux autres. Ce sont des grains de Porcelaine, des fourrures des robes, du Tabac, des nattes, des canots, des ouvrages en poil d' Orignal, de porc-epic, de Boeuf Sauvage, des lits de coton, des ustancils de menage, des calumets; en un mot, tout ce qui est là en usage pour les secours de la vie humaine": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, IV., p. 52: Paris, 1724. "Their manner of trading is for copper, beads, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as skins, foule, fish, flesh and their country corne": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, I., p. 137: Richmond, 1819. In dealing with the French, the Indians "troquent leurs peaux de castors, de Loutre, d' Eslans, de Martres, de Loups Marins, &c., contre du pain, des pois, febves, haches, fers de fleches, aleines, poinçons, cabots, couvertes, et toutes autres commoditez que les Français leur apportent": Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 7, and 1626, p. 5: Quebec, 1858. *Cf.* Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., pp. 87, 90, 93: Paris, 1865. Champlain, *Voyages*, I., pp. 322, 357, 382: Paris, 1830. Cabeça de Vaca, pp. 85 *et seq.*: New York, 1871. Tonti, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, I., pp. 72, 73. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 58, 176, 208: London, 1718. In *Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, historically considered, republished in the Smithsonian Report for 1891, I have given some of the reasons which led me to the conclusion "that there existed among them a system of intertribal traffic, in which among other things corn and slaves were bartered for skins and such other articles as were needed": p. 533 and note, p. 571: Washington, 1893. Exchange salt "for skins and mantles": Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, I., p. 179. "Barter furs and hides for what they want": Timberlake, *Memoirs*, p. 62. *Cf.* Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 36; 1647, p. 56, and 1672, p. 36: Quebec, 1858.

the experience of Cabeça de Vaca,[1] it was carried on by peddlers who travelled to and fro with their packs, much as they do today, in the more remote settlements of our country. As the distances they had to traverse were often great, and transportation was correspondingly difficult, this traffic could not have been regular or large in amount; and yet such was its extent that it prevailed not only over the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, but also far to the westward of that stream. In no other way can we explain the trade in copper and shells[2] that must have taken place between the Indians of Minnesota and of Florida; and it was only by means of such an exchange of commodities that the furs of the North and the robes of the West were

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[1] "With my merchandise and trade I went into the interior as far as I pleased, and travelled along the coast 40 or 50 leagues. The principal wares were cones and other pieces of sea snail, conches used for cutting, and fruit like a bean, of the highest value among them, which they use as a medicine, and employ in their dances and festivities. Among other matters were sea beads. Such were what I carried into the interior; and in barter I got and brought back skins, ochre, with which they rub and color the face, hard canes of which to make arrows, sinews, cement, and flint for the heads, and tassels of the hair of deer, that by dyeing they make red. This occupation suited me well; for the travel allowed me liberty to go where I wished. I was not obliged to work, and was not treated as a slave. Wherever I went I received fair treatment, and the Indians gave me to eat out of regard to my commodities." Relation of Cabeça de Vaca, translated by Buckingham Smith, pp. 85, *et seq.*: New York, 1871.

[2] . . "Sea shells were much worn by those of the interior parts and reckoned very ornamental; but how they procured them I could not learn: probably by their traffic with other nations nearer the sea": Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 227: London, 1778. "On les trouve sur les côtes de la Virginie & de la Nouvelle Angleterre, où les sauvages qui habitoient sur ces bords, les mettoient en œuvre, & en faisoient un grand commerce": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, II., p. 200: Paris, 1724. "The Narragansetts are the most numerous people, the most rich and the most industrious, being the storehouse of all such kind of wild merchandize as is amongst them. Their men are the most curious minters of their wampum-peague and Mowhakes which they form out of the inmost wreathes of Periwinkle-shels. The Northern, Eastern and Western Indians fetch all their coyne from these Southern mint masters. From hence they have most of their curious pendants and bracelets": *New England's Prospect*, p. 69. "It is safe to assume that the Lake Superior district furnished the greater part of the copper in use by the Southern Indians, which was doubtless traded for shell ornaments and ornaments or for the raw material obtainable only on the sea board or on the Gulf coast. Moreover as aboriginal copper with visible admixture of silver has

brought within reach of the tribes that lived outside of the range of the buffalo and the fur-bearing animals.[1]

Returning from this digression and beginning our investigation with a survey of the entire field, we find that, everywhere east of the Mississippi and south of the great lakes, the Indians had reached the same level of development. "In color and make," in modes of dress and methods of ornamentation, not less than in their manners and customs, arts and industries, form of government and religious observances, they were so much alike that, except within certain limits due in good part to natural causes, it may be truly said of them, as it was a hundred years and more ago, that "whoever had seen one Indian had seen them all."[2] Take, for instance, the question of color and

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been found in the Southern States, it is virtually safe to assume that with such metal went other Lake copper in which silver is not perceptible": Clarence B. Moore, *Sand Mounds of the St. John's River*, part II., p. 238. On p. 241 of the same work, we are told, as a result of numerous analyses, that the main supply of the copper found in Florida "was obtained from the Lake Superior region, most of which copper is non arsenical": Philadelphia, 1894. *Cf.*, Charlevoix *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, V., p. 308: Paris 1744. *Smithsonian Report for* 1891, note p. 571: Washington, 1893.

[1] The buffalo "come as far as the sea coast of Florida" (Texas), "from a northerly direction, rangeing through a tract of more than four hundred leagues; and throughout the whole region over which they run, the people who inhabit near, descend and live upon them, distributing a vast number of hides into the interior of the country": Cabeça de Vaca, p. 107, New York, 1871. ". . . ou bien pour l'aller traicter en d' autres Nations pour des pelletries ou autres choses qui leur font besoin": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 93: Paris, 1865. "Ces peuples vont negocier avec d' autres qui se tiennent en ces parties septentrionales . . . et où il y a quantité de grands animaux: et m' ayants figuré leur forme, j' ai jugé estre des buffles": Champlain, *Voyages* I., p. 362: Paris, 1830. See also same volume, p. 322. "Riches consist in hides of wild cattle": Marquette, p. 48. *Cf.* Knight of Elvas *passim* for abundance of skins.

[2] "Visto un Indio de qualquier Region se puede deçir han visto todos en quanto al color y contextura": Ulloa, *Noticias Americanas*, p. 308: Madrid, 1772. "Ils ont tous foncièrements, les mêmes mœurs et usages, de même que la manière de parler et de penser; ayant les mêmes sentiments les uns que les autres": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, III., p. 217: Paris, 1758. "C' est partout le même esprit de Gouvernement, le même génie pour les affaires, la même méthode pour les traiter, le même usage pour les Assemblées secrettes & solennelles, le même caractère dans leurs festins, dans leurs danses & dans leurs divertissements": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Vol. II., pp. 165, 224.

bodily conformation, and we are told that the Indians of the North and West,[1] like their neighbors on the Atlantic[2] and the Gulf coasts,[3] were either of an olive or a copper

"I have made observations on thirty nations, and . . . there has appeared a great similarity in their manners." . . . "The Indian Nations do not appear to me to differ so widely in their make, colour, or constitution from each other as represented by some writers": Carver, *Travels*, pp. 222, 223: London, 1778. *Cf.* Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, II., p. 47: Philadelphia. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, I., p. 99: Paris, 1724. Flint's *Travels*, p. 136. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 391.

[1] "The color of the Indians approaches a tawny copper: the shades however differ in the different tribes, and even among individuals of the same tribe; but not sufficiently to change the characteristic trait": Hunter, *Captivity*, p. 192: London, 1824. "Sont tous de couleur bazaneé": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 125, Paris, 1865. "Les femmes sont aussi . . . de couleur bazaneé, à cause de certaines peintures dont elles se frottent, qui les fait paroistre olivastre": Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 167: Paris, 1830. "Ils sont fort bazaneé, et d'une rouge sale & obscur, ce qui est le plus sensible dans la Floride": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*. VI., p. 15: Paris, 1744. "Copper cast": Carver, *Travels*, p. 224: London, 1778. "Ils sont tous de couleur olivastre, ou du moins bazanez comme les Hespagnols": Lescarbot, III., p. 684: Paris, 1866. "Leur couleur naturelle est comme celle de ces Gueux de France qui sont demi rotis au Soleil": Jesuit Relations, 1632, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. "They are of the colour of brasse, some of them incline more to whiteness; others are of yellow colour": Verrazzano, in Hakluyt, II., p. 396: Edinburgh, 1889.

[2] "Their skin is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling copper, but in different shades. Some are of a brown yellow, not much differing from the mulattoes; some light brown, hardly to be known from a brown European, except by their hair and eyes": Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians*, p. 12: London, 1794. "Leur couleur, quand ils sont devenus un peu plus grand est d'un chatain brun, mais qui est beaucoup plus claire dans leur enfance": Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 225: Amsterdam, 1707. Of the Indians of the New England coast, Champlain, I., p. 120, speaks as "ayant le teint olivastre": Paris, 1830. "Their skin is yellow": Megapolensis, p. 154. "Having no beautie but a swarfish colour, and no dressing but nakednesse": Williams's Key, p. 136: Providence, 1827.

[3] "Les hommes sont de couleur olivastre": Laudonnière, p. 6: Paris, 1853. "Ces Sauvages sont en general d'un tein roux ou basané: ils sont forts & robustes & n' ont jamais de barbe": Dumont de Montigny, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 136: Paris, 1753. "Their complexion of a reddish brown or copper color" . . . the complexions of the Cherokees "brighter and somewhat of the olive cast, especially the adults; and some of their young women are nearly as fair and blooming as European women": Bartram, *Travels*, pp. 481, 482: Dublin, 1793. "The Indians are of a copper or red-clay color": Adair, *History of the American Indians*, pp. 1 and 4: London, 1775. "The people were brown, well made, and well proportioned, and more civil than any others we had seen, &c.": Knight of Elvas, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, p. 144. "Of a colour browne when they are of any age": Capt. Smith, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. *Cf.* Verrazzano, pp. 391, 394, 396, in Hakluyt, II.: Edinburgh, 1889.

color, or else of some shade of brown. Without pretending to distinguish between these different shades and colors, it may be safely assumed from a study of the different accounts that brown was their natural color, though curiously enough, some of the most trustworthy of the early chroniclers give us to understand that the children, being "of the same nature as ourselves" were born white;[1] and that as they grew older they took on a dark hue, which, so far from being natural, was due to an accumulation of dirt and grease, combined with constant exposure to the sun and air.[2] In the matter of form they are said to have been straight and well proportioned—neither too fat nor too thin,[3]—and so far as their constitution was concerned, we

[1] Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 125: Paris, 1865.

[2] "Leur charnure est blanche naturellement comme en font foy les petits enfants; mais le hasle du soleil et les frictions d' huile de Loup marin et de graisse d' Orignac les rend fort basanez, à mesure qu' ils croissent": Jesuit Relations, 1635, p. 43. "Cela ne leur est point naturel. Les fréquentes frixions dont ils usent leur donne ce rouge, & il est étonnant qu' ils ne soient pas encore plus noirs, étant continuellement exposés à la fumée en hyver, aux plus grands ardeurs du Soleil en été & dans toutes les saisons à toutes les intempéries de l' air": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 15: Paris, 1764. "Indian color not natural . . . is merely accidental or artificial": Adair, p. 2: London, 1775. "Leur couleur . . . est beaucoup plus clair dans leur enfance. Leur cuir s'endurcit ensuite & devient plus noir par la graisse dont ils s'oignent, & les rayons du Soleil auquel ils s'exposent": Beverly, p. 226: Amsterdam, 1707. "Les enfans des Naturels sont blancs en naissant; mais il brunissent parce qu' ils les frottent d' huile d' ours étant petits, pour les exposer au Soleil": Du Pratz, II., p. 311: Paris, 1758. "Ils naissent blancs comme nous. Leur nudité, les huiles dont ils se grassent, le Soleil & le grand air leur halent le teint dans la suite": Lafitau, II., p. 96: Paris, 1724. ". . . themselves are tawnie, by the Sunne and their annoyntings, yet they are borne white": Williams's Key, p. 60: Providence, 1827. "Je ne doute point que les Sauvages ne fussent tres blancs s' ils etoient bien couverts": Jesuit Relations, 1632, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. "Howbeit when they are borne, they be not so much of an olive colour, and are far whiter. For the chief cause that maketh them to be of this colour proceedes of annoyntings of oil": Laudonnière, in Hakluyt, II., p. 416: Edinburgh, 1889. "They are borne white": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. "Their swarthinesse is the Sun's Livery, for they are borne fair": *New England's Prospect*, in Prince Soc. Publications, p. 71: Boston, 1865.

[3] "Ils sont tous generalement bien formez et proportionnez de leur corps . . . car ils ne sont ny trop gras ny trop maigres": Sagard, p. 125. "Tous les Naturels de l' Amerique en général sont tres-bien faits . . . si l' on n' en voit point qui sont extrêmement gras & replets, aussi n' y en a-t-il point d' aussi

can well understand from their manner of life that they were strong, robust and very active.[1] There were no dwarfs or deformed persons among them, and if cripples were ever met with, it was generally found that they had been made so by some accident.[2] In regard to their size, however, the accounts differ, as might have been expected in view of the differences that existed in this respect among the tribes. By some writers they are represented as being of good height,—"of such a difference of stature as wee in

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maigres que des étiques": Du Pratz, II., p. 308. "Les Sauvages du Canada sont communement bien faits et d' une taille avantageuse; il n' y a néanmoins quelques Nations où il n' est point rare d' en voir d' une taille médiocre; mais il l' est infiniment d' en rencontrer qui soient contre faits, où qui ayent quelque défaut extérieur. Ils sont robuste & d' une complexion saine": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 3: Paris, 1744. "They are well formed, nimble, &c." Marquette, Narrative, in *Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 32: New York, 1852.

[1] Of the Armouchiquois (New England Indians), Champlain, I., pp. 95 and 112, says: "Ce sont gens dispos, bien formez de leur corps," and on p. 167 he tells us that the Indians near Quebec, "sont bien proportionnez de leurs corps, sans difformité et sont dispos": Paris, 1830. "Ils sont droits & bien proportionnez, & ils ont le bras & les jambes d' une tournure merveilleuse: ils n' ont point le moindre imperfection sur le corps": Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 226. "Ils sont forts et robustes": Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 136: Paris, 1753. "They are tall, erect and moderately robust; their limbs are well shaped, so as generally to form a perfect human figure": Bartram, *Travels*, p. 481: Dublin, 1793. "Quant à nos sauvages . . . ils sont fort bien membrus, bien ossus et bien corsus, robuste à l' avenant": Lescarbot, III., p. 689. "Les Armouchiquois sont dispos comme levriers": *Ib.*, p. 692: Paris, 1866. "In general, they are strong, well proportioned in body and limbs, surprisingly active and nimble and hardy in their own way of living": Adair, p. 4. "They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie"; Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. "The men are mostly slender, middle-sized, handsome and straight . . . the women are short and not so handsome": Loskiel, p. 12: London, 1794. "They are between five and six foote high, straight bodied, strongly composed, smooth skinned, merry countenanced, of complexion something more swarthy than Spaniards, black haired, high foreheaded, black ey'd, out-nosed, broad shouldered, brawny armed, long and slender handed, out brested, small wasted, lank bellied, well thighed, flat kneed, handsome growne leggs and small feet": *New England's Prospect*, p. 70, in Prince Soc. Pub. "Tall and straight, of a comely proportion": Capt. Smith, p. 129. "Tall . . . strong and robust": Narrative of Father Membré, p. 151.

[2] "Vous ne reconteriez pas entre eux un ventru, un bossu, ni un contrefaict; ladres, goutteux, pierreux insensés ils ne sçavent ce que c'est": Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 8: Quebec, 1858. "S' il y a quelque camu c' est chose rare . . . je n' y ay point veu de nains, ni qui en approchassent": Lescarbot, III., p. 683.

England,"[1] whilst according to others, they were taller or shorter than Europeans or than each other, according to the tribe or tribes described. The Iroquois, Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws are mentioned as being among the taller, whilst among the shorter are the Choctaw, the Kickapoo[2] and a nameless tribe which is said to have lived

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"Ils n' ont pas le moindre imperfection sur le corps, & je n' ai ouï dire qu' il y eut aucun qui fut nain, bossu, tortu, ou contrefait": Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 226. "Il n'y a pas même de ces gros ventrus . . . je n'y ai jamais veu ni aperçu qu' un borgne . . . et un bon viellard Huron, qui pour être tombé du haut d' une cabane en bas s 'estoit fait boiteux": Sagard, I., p. 125. "It is remarkable that there are no deformed Indians": Adair, p. 5. *Cf.* Du Pratz, II., p. 309. Carver, p. 223. Loskiel, p. 12. "Never did I see one that was borne either in redundance or defect a monster, or any that sickness had deformed or casualtie made decrepit, saving one that had a bleared eye and another that had a wenne on his cheeke": *New England's Prospect*, p. 71.

[1] Hariot, *A briefe and true Report of the new found land of Virginia*, p. 36: London, 1893. "Les Indiens sont de la taille moyenne et de la plus haute des Anglais": Beverly, p. 225. "Quant aux Armouchiquois, ils sont aussi beaux hommes (souz ce mot je comprens aussi les femmes) que nous, bien composés et dispos": Lescarbot, II., p. 376. "Ils sont de bonne hauteur": *Ib.*, III., p. 683: Paris, 1866. "Of much the same stature with us Dutchmen": Megapolensis, in Collections N. Y. Hist. Society, 2d series, Vol. III., part I., p. 154. "On n' en voit que tres peu au dessous de cinq pieds et demi et beaucoup au dessus . . le uns & les autres sont assez bien proportionnez dans leur taille et dans leur hauteur, ne s' en trouvant point comme en Europe d' une figure gigantesque, ou aussi courts que les nains": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., 308, 309. "They exceed us in bignes": Verrazzano, in Hakluyt, II., p. 396.

[2] "Universellement parlant, ils sont de taille moindre que nous principalement quant à l'espaisseur, belle toute fois et bien prise, comme si nous demeurions à l'estat que nous avons @ 25 ans": Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 8. Among the Creeks, "the men are of gigantic stature, a full size larger than Europeans; many of them above six feet, and few under that, or five feet eight or ten inches": Bartram's Travels, p. 482. On same page he tells us "the Cherokees are yet taller and more robust than the Muscogulges, and by far the largest race of men I have seen": Dublin, 1793. "The Chikkasah are exceedingly taller and stronger-bodied" than the Choktah: Adair, p. 5. "The Shawnees and . . . Cherokees are tall; . . . the Kickapoos are short; while the Delawares and Ottowas, who are remarkable for their full chests and broad shoulders, are intermediates to the two former": Hunter, Narrative, p. 190: London, 1824. "Choctah more slender than any other nation of savages I have seen. . . . raw-boned and surprisingly active in ball playing": Adair, p. 307. "Du reste ces femmes Sauvages ont toutes la taille assez bien prise, & sont en general d'une figure assez agréable, mais les unes plus, les antres moins, selon la différence des Nations": Dumont, I., p. 139: Paris, 1753. "Ils sont grands, d'une taille superieure à la notre": Lafitau, I., p. 96: Paris, 1724. See next preceding note, and note on p. 389.

somewhere in the Iroquois mountains, and to have made up in warlike activity what it lacked in size.[1] Great as was the difference in this particular among the men, it was not any less, if we may credit Bartram, among the women. According to that usually accurate observer, the Creek, or as he styles them, the Muscogulge women are the smallest known, seldom above five feet high and the greater number not even that, with hands and feet about as large as those of a European child of nine or ten years of age.[2] On the other hand, "the women of the Cherokees are tall, slender, erect and of a delicate frame; their features formed with perfect symmetry; their countenance cheerful and friendly; and they move with becoming grace and dignity."[3]

Of their more prominent facial characteristics or features, we are told that their eyes were neither blue nor green, but black, of fair size and not small, as was the case with the ancient Scythians.[4] Other writers describe them as being either large or small,[5] depending somewhat, it is believed, upon the fancy of the observer; and Beverly reports that in Virginia there was a slight squint, as is

[1] Lescarbot, II., p. 383, and III., p. 683: Paris, 1866. I give this statement for what it is worth, and that is little enough, as it probably refers to the Mohawks.

[2] Bartram, *Travels*, p. 482: Dublin, 1793. He prefaces the statement with the following description: "The Muscogulge women, though remarkably short of stature, are well formed; their visage round, features regular and beautiful; the brow high and arched; the eye large, black and languishing, expressive of modesty, diffidence and bashfulness; these charms are their defensive and offensive weapons, and they know very well how to play them off, and under cover of these alluring graces, are concealed the most subtile artifice; they are, however, loving and affectionate". Referring to the Indians of Virginia, Beverly says: "presque toutes leurs femmes sont d'une grande beauté; elles ont la taille fine, les traits delicats, & il ne leur manque d'autres charmes que ceux d'un beau teint": *Virginie*, p. 226: Amsterdam, 1707.

[3] Bartram, *Travels*, p. 481: Dublin, 1793.

[4] Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France*, III., p. 689: Paris, 1866.

[5] "Their eyes are small, sharp and black": Adair, p. 6. "The eye, though rather small, yet active and full of fire,—the iris always black": Bartram, p. 481. "Their eyes are large and black": Loskiel, p. 12. "Eyes large and black": Carver, p. 223. "Ils les ont tous noirs et plus petits que les autres": Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 28: Quebec, 1858.

often seen among the Jews, but which is not at all unbecoming.[1] However, be all this as it may, it is generally conceded that their sight was better than that of the average European, though it is doubtful whether this can be properly ascribed to the fact that they neither drank wine, nor made use of salt, spices or anything else that was calculated to dry up or alter the constitution of the eye.[2] In regard to their hair, our accounts are somewhat more uniform. Except in a few abnormal cases, when it is said to have been of an auburn or chestnut color,[3] it was "long, lank, coarse, and black as a raven." That it "reflected the like lustre at different exposures to the light,"[4] is no doubt true, though it is possible that this shining appearance may have been in part due to the use of the fat of animals, or of the oil of nuts or sunflower seed, in which they habitually indulged.[5] Of beard, they had

[1] *Virginie*, p. 226: Amsterdam, 1707.

[2] "Pour ce qui concerne le sens de la veue, il est tout certain qu' il est universellement plus parfait chez les Sauvages que chez les Français, . . . Les Français ne se fient pas tant à leurs propres yeux qu' aux yeux des Sauvages. Ils les ont tous noirs, et plus petit que les autres. Je me persuaderois voluntiers, que l'ascendant qu' ils ont par dessus nous en cet endroit, provient de ce qu' ils ne boivent point de vin; de ce qu' ils ne mangent ni sel, ni épices, ni autres choses capable de dessecher et d'alterer le temperament de l'œil": Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 28. *Cf.* Lescarbot, III., p. 693: Paris, 1866.

[3] First voyage to Virginia in Hakluyt, II., p. 287: Edinburgh, 1889. Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 126. Lescarbot, *Nouvelle France*, III., p. 686. "I never saw any with curled hair, but one in the Choktah country, where was also another with red hair": Adair, p. 6. He adds, "probably they were a mixture of the French and Indians": London, 1775. This explanation will probably hold good for the yellow haired Indian seen in Virginia by Master George Percy, and it will account for the blue-eyed and light-haired Mandans, of whom we have often heard, as well as the Indian with a thick black beard, whom Capt. Smith, p. 184, saw.

[4] Bartram's *Travels*, p. 481: Dublin, 1793. "Jet black, stiff, lank, coarse, almost like horse-hair. . . . Curled hair is seldom found amongst them": Loskiel, p. 12: London, 1794. "Ils portent les cheveux fort noirs et longs jusques sur la hanche": Laudonnière, *Histoire notable de la Floride*, p. 6: Paris, 1853. *Cf.* Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129: Richmond, 1819. Carver, *Travels*, p. 223: London, 1778.

[5] "Longs, roides, noirs et tout luisans de graisse": Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 29. "Ils les oignent de graisse pour les rendre luisans": Beverly, p. 226. *Cf.* Charlevoix, V., p. 240. Champlain, I., p. 328. Du Pratz, II., p. 410. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 121. Richmond, 1819. Loskiel, p. 52. *New England's Prospect*, p. 71.

none, or rather they plucked it out as fast as it grew; and there seems to have been but little hair—some writers say none—upon any other part of the body. Even the little that there was, including in some instances the eyebrows and eyelashes, they pulled out with tweezers of wood or clam shell.[1] As the existence of this process of depilation was not suspected, the early chroniclers were surprised at the seemingly hairless condition of the Indians; and the belief that "the children, when born, were covered all over with long thin hair which disappeared at the end of eight days,"[2] was not calculated to lessen their astonishment.

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[1] "Ils n' ont point de barbe, autant peu les hommes que les femmes, hormis quelques uns plus robustes et virils": Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 8, and 1626, p. 4, Quebec, 1858. "Ils n' ont presque point de barbe, et se l'arrachent à mesure qu' elle croist": Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 112: Paris, 1830. "Ils s'arrachent le poil de la barbe avec une coquille de Moule": Beverly, p. 227. ". . . "il n'en est pas de même du poil des aisselles & de la barbe, qu' ils ont grand soin d'épiler, afin qu' ils ne reviennent jamais; ne pouvant souffrir qu' aucun poil paroisse sur leurs corps, quoique naturellement ils n' en ayent pas plus que nous": Du Pratz, II., p. 198. "Ils ont si peur de cette difformité que si quelque poil vient naitre de leur menton, ils l'arrachent aussitost pour se delivrer de nostre beauté, et de leur laideur": Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 29. "Ces Sauvages n'ont jamais de barbe": Dumont, I., p. 136, Paris, 1753. "Il est moins aisé de rendre raison de ce qu' a la reserve des cheveux, que tous ont fort noirs, des cils & des sourcils, que quelques uns même s'arrachent; ils n'ont pas un poil sur tout le corps, et presque tous les Amériquains sont dans le même cas": Charlevoix, VI., pp. 15, 16, Paris, 1744. "Romancing travellers . . . report them to be *imbarbes* and as persons *impuberes*, and they appear so to strangers. But both sexes pluck all the hair off their bodies with a kind of tweezers made formerly of clam shells": Adair, p. 6. "The notion formerly entertained that the Indians are beardless by nature, and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any one to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for the purpose": Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 205: Philadelphia, 1876. *Cf.* Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 126. Loskiel, *Indians of N. America*, p. 12. Carver, *Travels*, p. 225. Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 129. Lawson's *Carolina*, pp. 53, 173: London, 1718. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, I., p. 96: Paris, 1724. Plate IX. and Explanation, *Hariot's Narrative of the first Plantation of Virginia in 1585:* London, 1893.

[2] "Ce qui étonne le plus, c' est que leurs enfans naissent avec un poil rare et assez longs par tout le corps, mais qui disparoit au bout de huit jours . . . on voit aussi dans les viellards quelque poils au menton, comme il arrive parmi nous aux Femmes d' un certain age": Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 16: Paris, 1744.

In truth, the problem as it presented itself was exceedingly intricate; and we can well understand the difficulty they experienced in trying to account for what must have been to them a "singularity." Fortunately they were not limited in their search for the cause or causes of any given phenomenon. With the whole extent and variety of savage life to draw from, they had but to choose; and accordingly this hairless condition was ascribed by some to the "constant custom the Americans of both sexes have of smoking," and by others to "the quality of their blood, which being purer by reason of the simplicity of their food, produces fewer of those superfluities which our thicker blood occasions in so great an abundance."[1] Of their remaining features, it may be said in a very general way, that they had thin lips, high cheek bones, a prominent nose, broad face;[2] and whilst their teeth may in some cases have been as white as ivory,[3] yet it is well not to be too positive on this point or as to their soundness, in view of what is told us of the prevalence of toothache among some tribes,[4]

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[1] J' ai vu attribuer cette singularité au continuel usage, qu' ont les Amériquains de fumer, & qui est commun aux deux sexes: il paroit plus naturel à d' autres de dire que cela vient de la qualité de leur sang, qui étant plus pur, à cause de la simplicité de leurs aliments produit moins de ces superfluités, dont le nôtre, plus grossier, fournit une si grande abundance; ou qui ayant moins de sels, est moins propres à ces sortes de productions": Charlevoix, VI., p. 16: Paris, 1744.

[2] "Le visage gros, à la façon des anciens Cesars": Jesuit Relations, 1658, p. 29. "The lips of the Indians in general are thin": Adair, p. 5. "Their features are regular, not disagreeable, but the cheek-bones are prominent, especially in the women": Loskiel, p. 12. "Cheek-bones rather raised, but more so in the women than the men": Carver, *Travels*, p. 223: London, 1778. See *Note* 1, p. 389. C. C. Jones, *Antiquities of Southern Indians*, p. 75, quoting Capt. Ribaulde. *Per contra*, Hariot, Plate IV., says their noses were "plain and flatte."

[3] Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 29, and 1626, p. 4: Quebec, 1858. "They have good teeth": Carver, p. 223. "Their teeth are very white": Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, in Vol. III., of 3d series, Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., p. 294. "Whiter than ivory": Father Rasle, in Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 255: New York, 1846.

[4] Lafitau, III., p. 39: Paris, 1724. Williams's Key, pp. 35 and 59: Providence, 1827. Jesuit Relation, 1657, p. 13.

and of the custom of blackening the teeth among others.[1]

But it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of our subject further, as our concern is not so much with the facial characteristics of the Indian as it is with his form and figure; and upon this point the accounts are satisfactory. At all events they enable us to construct a fairly representative model, such as he was some two hundred years ago, when Father Lafitau,[2] speaking of the race generally, tells us that "they are of large size, superior to us in height, well made, well proportioned, of a sound constitution, quick, strong and active; in a word, in bodily qualities they are in no wise our inferiors, if indeed they do not surpass us."

With a model thus complete, it is now in order to drape it properly; and this leads by an easy step to the consideration of the materials of which the Indians made their clothes, as well as of the methods by which these materials were fitted for use. In both of these particulars, we regret to say, the Indian has met with scant justice. Take for instance the item of skins. In the shape of either robes or shammy, they were at the basis of most of the wearing apparel used in early times; and such was the proficiency the Indians had attained in preparing them, that it is doubtful whether with all our arts and appliances, we have been able to produce any better results than they did with their rude and simple methods. Certainly, if only a tithe of what is related of the excellence of their work in this respect be accepted, it would afford ample grounds for saying of them, as a recent writer does of the Crows, "they surpass the world in the beauty of their skin-

[1] The Houmas "like the Natchez and Tonikas blacken the teeth": Gravier, in *Shea's Early Voyages*, p. 147: Albany, 1861. "They blacken them by chewing the coal of tobacco, with the ashes of which they rub the teeth every morning": *Ib.*, p. 142.

[2] "Mais du reste ils sont grands, d' une taille supérieure à la notre, bien faits, bien proportionnez, d' un bon temperament, lestes, forts & adroits; en un mot, pour les qualitez du corps, ils ne nous cédent en rien, si même ils n' ont sur nous quelque avantage": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Tome I., p. 96: Paris, 1724.

dressing."[1] As this process was practically the same from Canada to Louisiana, and with the skin of a buffalo, as with that of a deer or any other animal, we hazard nothing in drawing upon representative writers[2] for a short description of the method of procedure. Accordingly, supplementing one of these accounts by the other and omitting all minor details, we find that the skins were soaked in water for two or three days to remove the hair. They were then scraped until they were clean and of a desired thickness, after which they were rubbed until they became soft and dry. To add to the softness they were covered with brains or, if in season, with young corn,[3] which was so thoroughly rubbed in that in a little while they became white, soft and very pliable. When intended for use as moccasins, it was desirable to have them less susceptible to injury from water; and to this end they were "tempered with oyle," or smoked over a fire made of rotten wood or some other material that would not blaze. This smoking colored the skin yellow, but it seems to have had the desired effect in other respects.[4] Exactly how or why this was so is not told, though we are assured that

[1] Prof. Otis T. Mason in the Smithsonian Report for 1889, p. 568. We commend this article and also Chap. IV., in *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*: New York, 1894, by the same author, to all who are interested in aboriginal skin-dressing. Catlin, *North American Indians*, I., p. 45, and *Our Wild Indians*, by Col. Richard I. Dodge, pp. 253, 254, may be consulted to advantage.

[2] Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Tome III., pp. 28 *et seq.*: Paris, 1724. Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, Tome I., pp. 146 *et seq.*: Paris, 1753. Among other writers are Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 196. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., pp. 69 and 169. Loskiel, p. 48. "They can dress any skin, even that of the buffaloe, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffaloe or bear skin blanket will serve them many years, &c.": Heckwelder, p. 202: Philadelphia, 1876.

[3] "Not but that young Indian corn, beaten to a Pulp will effect the same as the Brains": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 209: London, 1718.

[4] "Both these shoes and stockings they make of their Deere skin worne out; which yet being excellently tann'd by them, is excellent for to travell in wet and snow; for it is so well tempered with oyle, that the water cleane wrings out; and being hang'd up in their chimney, they presently drie out without hurt, &c.": Williams's Key, in Collections of the Rhode Island Historical

"by some chemical process or other which I do not understand the skins acquire a quality which enables them, after being wet many times, to dry soft and pliant as they were before, which secret I have never yet seen practiced in my own country, and for the lack of which all of our dressed skins, when once wet are, I think, chiefly ruined."[1]

We are also told that the Indians knew how to curry skins on one side only, thus preserving the hair and rendering them warm and suitable for winter use. In this shape they were "as soft as velvet,"[2] and were not only made up into clothing but were also used as counterpanes and to sleep on. For this latter purpose they are said to have answered better than a mattress.[3]

Whether the Indians understood the art of dyeing is uncertain, though the Knight of Elvas seems to have had no doubt about the matter. In the account of De Soto's expedition for instance, he tells us that the skins are well curried and the Indians "give them what color they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloth in grain, and the black is most fine and of the same leather they make shoes; and they dye their mantles in the

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Society, p. 107. "They make their shoes for common use, out of the skins of the bear and elk, well dressed and smoked to prevent hardening": Adair, p. 8. In the Jesuit Relation for 1634, p. 48, we are told that their shoes "boivent l'eau comme une éponge, si bien que les sauvages ne s'en servent pas contre cet element, mais bien contre la neige et contre le froid": Quebec, 1858. This latter statement may be very true and yet not affect the truth of what is here stated—for the question is not as to absorbing water but as to drying out.

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1889, p. 569: Washington, 1891.

[2] Adair, pp. 6, and 420. "They are sometimes covered with the skinnes of wilde beasts, which in Winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without": Capt. Smith, p. 129. "Elles tiennent lieu aux Français des meilleures couvertures, étant tout à la fois très chaudes & très legères": Du Pratz, II., p. 68. "Match coats made of deer's skin with the hair on": Lawson, p. 22. "Sometimes they take off the hair": *New England's Prospect*, p. 101. "Dressed with the hair on and lyned with other furred skinnes": Hariot, *Narrative*, Plate IX. *Cf.* Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 9. Dumont, *Mémoires*, I., p. 147. Knight of Elvas, p. 181.

[3] Dumont, *Mémoires*, I., p. 147: Paris, 1753.

same color."[1] This statement is confirmed by Garcilaso, according to whom there was found, in the Temple of Talomeco, a number of packages of deer-skins, some of one color and some of another, without counting many robes with the hair dyed differently, and the clothes made of wildcat, martin and other skins as well dressed as if in the best shops of Germany or Russia.[2] Clear as are these statements, they are not, for several reasons, regarded as decisive; and hence I do not insist upon the point, though it may be observed in passing that there can be no question as to the elaborate character of the paintings and stainings with which the Indians decorated these robes and mantles.

Successful as they unquestionably were in the preparation of skins intended for use as clothing, it was not in this art that they achieved the best results. For this, we shall have to look to their textile work, and to that particular kind of textile work in which the feathers of highly colored birds—like the wild turkey and the scarlet flamingo—"are woven in a natural imbricated manner into blankets," much as the hair is fastened by the wig-makers when making a wig.[3] Indefinite as is this account, that

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[1] Knight of Elvas, in Coll. Lousiana Hist. Soc., Part II., p. 138.

[2] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Histoire de la Floride*, I., p. 436: Paris, 1670.

[3] Bartram, *Travels*, p. 500. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., pp. 113, 125. "We have seen some use mantels made of Turky feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers, that was exceeding warme and very handsome": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130. "Ils vont tous couverts de peaux de Caribou, matachicés avec art, et enrichies de poil de porc-épic, ou de certaines de plumes teintes de toutes sortes de couleurs": Jesuit Rel., 1670, p. 13. *Cf.* New England's Prospect, p. 108. Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 298, 307, in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. III. of 3d Series. De Vries, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d Series, Vol. III., part I., pp. 92, 105. Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 202. Narrative, Father Douay, in *Expl. Miss. Valley*, p. 203. Romans, *Florida*, p. 85. Dumont, I., p. 155. Speaking of two human bodies found in a cave in West Tennessee, Haywood (Hist. of Tenn., p. 164. Nashville, 1823), says: "Around the female . . . was placed a rug, very curiously wrought, of the bark of a tree and feathers. The bark seemed to have been formed of small strands, well twisted. Around each of these strands feathers were rolled, and the whole woven into a cloth of firm texture after the manner of our common coarse fabrics. This rug was about

of Adair is not much better. According to him, "they twist the inner end of the feathers very fast into a strong double thread of hemp, or the inner bark of the mulberry tree, of the size and strength of coarse twine, as the fibres are sufficiently fine, and they work it in the manner of fine netting."[1] From these blankets or "tapistric,"[2] they made coats, or as we should call them shawls or capes; and long and tedious as must have been the process when followed through all its various ramifications, it seems to have been a case in which, according to Indian ideas, the end justified the means. At least this is the not unreasonable conclusion from the extravagant terms in which these articles are spoken of by the old writers; and it is borne out by the fact that they were in use from New England to Louisiana, and apparently from the earliest times. Thus, for example, Verrazzano,[3] *circa* 1524, found the people in our South Atlantic States "clad with the feathers of fowles of divers colours"; and a hundred years and more later, Roger Williams[4] tells us that the

three feet wide and between six and seven feet in length. The whole of the ligaments thus framed of bark, were completely covered by the feathers, forming a body of about one-eighth of an inch in thickness, the feathers extending about one-quarter of an inch in length from the strand to which they were confined. The appearance was highly diversified by green, blue, yellow and black, presenting different shades of color when reflected upon by the light in different positions, &c." Describing a similar find in a cave in Kentucky, Flint (*Travels*, p. 172, Boston, 1826), says: "Two splendid blankets, completely woven of the most beautiful feathers of the wild Turkey, arranged in regular stripes and compartments enclosed it. The cloth on which these feathers were woven, was a kind of linen of neat texture, of the same kind as that now woven from the fibres of the nettle." *Cf.* in regard to this mummy *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. I., and Prof. Putnam, in Reports of Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., for 1875, p. 50.

[1] Adair, *American Indians*, p. 423: London, 1775.

[2] "His house was hanged about with Tapistrie of feathers of divers colors the height of a pike. Moreover the place where the King took his rest was covered with white coverlettes embroydered with devices of very wittie and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a Fringe dyed in the colour of skarlet": Laudonnière in Hakluyt, II., p. 435: Edinburgh, 1889.

[3] Hakluyt, *Early English Voyages to America*, II., p. 395; Edinburgh, 1889. See above, Knight of Elvas, pp. 137, 138, 144.

[4] Collections Rhode Island Hist. Soc., Vol. I., p. 107: Providence, 1827.

Indians of Massachusetts made coats or mantles "of the fairest feathers of their turkies, which are with them as velvet with us." Farther to the South, in Virginia and the Carolinas, these coats are "extraordinary charming, containing several pretty Figures wrought in Feathers," making them seem like "a deepe purple satten," or "a fine Flower silk-shag";[1] and Cavelier, speaking of certain tribes in Texas, says "we there saw them make cloth with buffalo wool and a stuff which seemed to us the richest in the world, so singular was it, for it is made of bird's feathers and the hair of animals of every colour."[2] Another kind of material which calls for notice in this connection, was made of "the skin of a Mallard's head, which they sew perfectly well together with thread made of deer sinew divided very small, of silk grass,"[3] or "of hemp and with needles made of fish bones or of the hornes and bones of deer rubbed sharp."[4] When finished the short cloaks or capes made of this material "look very finely though they must needs be very troublesome to make."

In addition to these articles, the skins of rabbits, muskrats, and the inner bark of the mulberry tree[5] were cut into strips and "woven" or "quilted" into a coarse material which was made up into cloaks and is said to have

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[1] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191: London, 1718. Strachey, *Virginia*, in Hakluyt Soc. Pub, p. 58: London, 1849.

[2] Cavelier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, pp. 32, 39. *Cf.* Gravier in same, p. 134: Albany, 1861.

[3] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191: London, 1718. [4] Adair, p. 6: London, 1775.

[5] "Made of Hare, Raccoon, Bever or Squirrel skins, which are very warme": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191. "The women have a dress of mulberry cloth which they spin like hemp and flax; it is a strong, thick cloth": Gravier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 134. Du Pratz, II., p. 192. "They are dressed in white blankets made of the bark of a tree which they spin": Narrative of Father Membré in *Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 171. Hariot's *Narrative*, Plate V. and explanation: London, 1893. "Of the skin of hares by cutting it into narrow strips and weaving these into cloth of the shape of a blanket, and of a quality very warm and agreeable": Henry, *Travels*, p. 60: New York, 1809. Penicaut in *Margry*, V., p. 446.

been very warm. "The wool of the Buffalo," we are told, and we may add, "the hair of the bear, opossum, etc.," is spun as fine as that of the English sheep, or it may even be taken for silk, and is then manufactured into stuffs which are dyed black, yellow or a deep red, and of these stuffs "the Indians of the Illinois" make robes with threads of sinew. Their manner of making this thread is simple: after stripping the flesh from the sinew, they expose them to the sun for the space of two days; after they are dry, they beat them and then without difficulty they draw out a thread as fine as that of Mechlin but stronger.[1] A kind of wild hemp, which seems to have been very generally distributed,[2] was used in much the same way, though among the northern tribes, it was generally made into nets and seines, some of which were of great size.[3] In preparing it, the hemp was steeped, peeled and beaten.[4] It was then spun by the old

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[1] Charlevoix, VI., p. 140. Marquette in *Discovery of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 33: New York, 1852. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 22 and 188. Du Pratz II., p. 94. Romans, *Florida*, pp. 85, 96, 117. See Lafitau, III., p. 145, for account of plants from which thread was made.

[2] Cartier in Hakluyt, II., p. 109. Champlain, I., p. 106. Megapolensis, p. 158. Hariot, p. 14: London, 1893. Atwater's *Tour*, p. 135. Adair, p. 228. "Hemp growing wild, much finer than that of Canada": Membré, *Narrative*, p. 179. "font une sorte de fil de l'ecorce du bois blanc": Lafitau, III., p. 145.

[3] Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 90. De Vries in *Collections N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, Vol. III., part I., p. 110. Jesuit Relations, 1642, p. 64, and 1636, page 109, &c., &c. "Their cordage is so even, soft, and smooth, that it looks more like silke than hempe; their sturgeon netts be not deepe, not above 30 or 40 foote long": *New England's Prospect*, p. 102. *Cf.* Cartier in *Hakluyt*, II., p. 94.

[4] Adair, p. 422. "Mantles of the country which are like blankets; they make them of the inner rind of the barke of trees, and some of a kind of grass like unto nettles, which being beaten is like unto flax": Knight of Elvas, in Coll. Louisiana Hist. Soc., part II., pp. 138, 144, &c. "Made cloth of nettles, wild flax and the bark of trees, and who manufactured cloth of buffalo wool; that they give the finest colours in the world to all their fabrics": Cavelier in, Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 28. "Bag of Nettles prepared by rotting and dressing so that they resembled dressed hemp": Atwater's *Tour*, p. 135, Columbus, 1831. "Florida Indians near Okechobee . . . go naked, except women, who wear little *aprons* woven of shreds of Palms": Fontaneda, Louisiana Hist. Coll., p. 250.

women "off the distaff, with wooden machines, having some clay on the middle of them to hasten the motion." This is Adair's account,[1] and we see no reason to doubt it, though among the Huron-Iroquois the method was far more primitive. This yarn he then says was woven into quilts and other stuffs, such as broad belts, sashes, garters, etc., in doing which they had to follow the methods of the South American Indians and "count the threads one by one, when they are passing the woof." We are assured that each of these webs was adapted to one certain use, without being cut, and that their patience was equal to so arduous a task.[2]

[1] *American Indians*, p. 422: London, 1775. *Per contra*, Dumont tells us, "Elles filent aussi sans rouët & sans quenouille du poil, ou plutôt de la laine de boeuf, dont elles font des jarretière & du ruban; & avec le fil qu'elles tirent de l'ecorce du tilleul elles se fond des espêces de mantes, qu'elles couvrent de plumes de cignes des plus fines attachés une à une sur cette toile; ouvrage long temps à la verité": *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 154: Paris, 1753. "Elles ont l'invention de filer le chanvre sur leur cuisse, n'ayans pas l'usage de la quenouille et du fuseau, &c": Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 90. "Betwixt their hands and thighes, the women use to spin, the barkes of trees, Deere sinews or a kind of grass . . . of these they make a thread very even and handily": Capt. Smith, p. 132.

[2] Adair, pp. 214, 422. He adds, time out of mind the Muskohge "passed the woof with a shuttle; and they have a couple of threddles, which they move with the hand . . . This is sufficiently confirmed by their method of working broad garters, sashes, shot-pouches, broad belts, and the like, which are decorated all over with beautiful stripes and chequers": London, 1775. "Lorsque l'ecorce est en cet état elles la filent grosse comme du ligneul ou fil à coudre les souliers; elles cessent de filer, si-tôt qu'elles ont assez. Elles montent leur metier, qui consiste en deux piquets de quatre pieds hors de terre à la tête desquels traverse un gros fil sur lequel d'autres fils sont nouées doubles; enfin elles font un tissu croisé qui a tout autour une bordure en dessein: cette étoffe peut avoir au moins une aulne en quarré & une ligne d'epaisseur. Les mantes de fils d'écorce de murier sont tres-blanches & tres propres; elles s'attachent avec des cordons du même fil, lesquels ont un gland pendant à chaque bout": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 192. In Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana*, p. 253, there is an account of a blind man weaving cloth out of buffalo wool, mixed with wolf hair. He was seated on a stool before a kind of frame over which were drawn coarse threads. He had already made about a quarter of a yard and said that it was the first he had ever attempted, and that it was in consequence of a dream in which he thought he had made a blanket like those of white people: Pittsburg, 1814. *Cf.* William H. Holmes, in *Reports of Bureau of Ethnology* for 1884-1885, p. 195, and 1891-1892, pp. 9, *et seq.* In these articles Mr. Holmes, among other things, gives an account of the way in which the feathers were woven into blankets, &c., &c. They should be consulted by any one interested in the Textile Art of the American Indians.

These in brief, were the materials from which the most of the articles that went to make up the Indian's wardrobe were manufactured; and few and simple as they were, it would be a mistake to suppose that they were the same everywhere and at all seasons, or that they were possessed by each and every member of every tribe. So far was this from being true, that the Indian, like ourselves, may be said to have regulated his clothing by the seasons, and the success of his hunts, or, as we might say, by the state of his finances. In Canada, for instance, the dress would probably differ in quality and certainly in amount from that worn in the Gulf States;[1] in each section, the summer costume, if that term could be applied to what consisted of a breech-cloth and nothing else, would not be the same as that used in winter,[2] and everywhere and at all times the skill and industry of his wife, or of some female relative, next to his own success in the chase, would determine the quantity and quality of his wearing apparel.[3] Moreover, it was only on special occasions that he was expected to appear decked out in all his finery. At other times he was content to dress in plain attire; and it is a

[1] "The dresses of these people are so different, according to the Nation that they belong to, that it is impossible to recount all the whimsical figures that they sometimes make by their Antick Dresses. Besides Carolina is a warm country, and very mild in its Winters, to what Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, the Jerseys and New England are; wherefore our Indians Habit very much differs from the dresses that appear amongst the savages who inhabit those cold countries": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 192: London, 1718. *Cf.* Lescarbot, III., p. 784. "Neither are they all alike in taste, every one dressing himself according to his fancy, or the custom of the tribe to which he belongs": Heckwelder, p. 205. *Cf.* Loskiel, p. 48. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 197. Champlain, I., p. 378. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 231. Charlevoix, VI., p. 39. Bartram, p. 502.

[2] See Note 2, p. 381.

[3] In Jesuit Relations for 1633, pp. 11 and 12, it is stated that "les femmes scavent ce qu' elles doivent faire, et les hommes aussi: et jamais l'un ne se mesle du metier de l'autre: . . . les hommes vont à la chasse et tuent les animaux, les femmes les vont querir, les écorchent et passent les peaux. . . . Ce sont les femmes qui sont cousturieres et cordonnières." *Cf.* Sagard, *Voyage des Hurons*, p. 91. On this subject see *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, by Otis T. Mason, Chap. III.: New York, 1894.

curious commentary upon certain tribal customs that, not unfrequently, a leading chief, owing to the demands upon him for assistance and the necessity of keeping up his reputation for liberality, was among the poorer and consequently worse dressed men of the tribe.[1]

But whilst recognizing these differences and mindful of the coloring which they gave to some of the early records, it seems well, at this time, to call attention to the fact that the only article in the Indian's wardrobe that was justly termed "a necessity," was the breech-cloth. His other garments were laid aside whenever it suited his comfort or convenience, and without any shock to his sense of modesty; but this particular one was seldom if ever left off, even in the wigwam and during the heat of summer. Originally, it was made of skin, a foot wide and three or four long, which was passed between the thighs and then carried up under a belt of sinew, snake skin or some other material, worn around the waist, from which the two ends hung down a foot or more—the one in front "with a flap, the other like a taile behinde."[2] Except, perhaps, among

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[1] "A l'un il donne une couverture, à l'autre une robe de castor, à celuy-cy un calumet, à ces autres un sac de bled d'Inde, aux pauvres femmes quelques peaux de castors pour se faire des robes. . . . et puis les congedia avec ces trois mots: Tandis que je vivray, Je vous assisterai et vous aiderai de tout mon pouvoir. Voila les revenus des charges des Seigneurs et des principautez des Sauvages": Jesuit Relations, 1644, p. 67. "The chiefs are generally the poorest among them, for instead of their receiving from the common people as among Christians, they are obliged to give to the mob": Megapolensis, l. c., p. 160. "The chiefs and candidates for public preferment render themselves popular by their disinterestedness and poverty. Whenever any extraordinary success attends them in the acquisition of property, it is only for the benefit of their most meritorious adherents: for they distribute it with a profuse liberality, and pride themselves in being estimated the poorest men in the community": Hunter, *Narrative*, p. 317. *Cf.* Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society at the meeting April 24, 1895, pp. 189, 190.

[2] "Le brayer est le seul nécessaire & qu' ils ne quittent point. Ils se depouillent aisément de tous les autres quand ils sont dans leurs cabanes, ou qu' ils en sont gênez sans crainte de blesser la modestie. Ce brayer . . . est . . . une peau large d' un pied et long de trois ou quatre. Ils la font passer entre les cuisses, & elle se replie dans une petite corde de boyau qui les ceint sur les hanches, d' où elle retombe par devant & par derriere, de la longueur d' un

the Carolina Indians this article was not worn by the women, though it was in use everywhere, throughout this entire region, by the men;[1] and what gives it something of a distinctive character is the fact that, for a good part of the year, it was the only thing worn—"all else being naked."[2] Thus we find that Champlain,[3] who sailed along the New England coast *circa* 1605 and whose account of what he saw is one of the earliest and best that we have, tells us that the Indians between Chaouacoet and Cape Mallebarre "seldom wear either robes or furs, and there are robes made of grass and hemp which extend only to the thigh and do not cover the body. The men conceal their privates with a small skin, and the women do the same, only in the latter case it is longer behind, all the rest of the body being naked. When the women come to see us they wear robes open in front." Elsewhere, in this same neighborhood, he

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pied ou environ": Lafitau, III., p. 25. "... a pair of Indian breeches to cover that which modesty commands to be hid, which is but a piece of cloth a yard and a half long, put between their groinings, tied with a snake's skin about their middles, one end hanging down with a flap before, the other like a taile behinde" *New England's Prospect*, p. 72. *Cf.* Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 297, in Mass. Hist. Coll. "They hange before them the skin of some beaste verye feynelye dresset in such sorte, that the tayle hangeth down behynde": Hariot, plate III.: London, 1893.

[1] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 190. He gives some particulars as to the way it was made, that show he must have seen it in use. Compare Plate VIII., in *First Plantation of Virginia*.

[2] Speaking of the dress of the men, Lawson, p. 191, says, "betwixt their legs comes a Piece of Cloth, that is tuck'd in by a Belt both before and behind. This is to hide their nakedness, of which Decency they are very strict Observers, although never practised before the Christians came amongst them." Compare Champlain, I., p. 167. Hariot, p. 36.

[3] *Voyages*, I., pp. 94, 112, 119, and 378: Paris, 1830. "They are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame": Plaine Dealing, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., of 3d Series, p. 102. "... when although they have a Beast's skin, or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all their foreparts from top to toe (except their secret parts, covered with a little Apron after the pattern of their and our first parents) I say all else open and naked. ... their men often abroad and both men and women within doors leave off their beasts skin ... and so (excepting their little apron) are wholly naked": Williams's Key, in R. I. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 106. *Cf.* Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 297, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III., of 3d Series.

speaks of "five or six hundred savages who are naked except their private parts which are covered with a small fawn or seal skin. The women, also, cover their privates with skins or leaves, but both sexes paint and arrange their hair" with feathers, etc., "like the Indians seen at Chaouacoet" or Saco. In New York, we are told that "in summer the Indians go naked, having their private parts covered with a patch."[1] Beverly[2] makes the same statement with regard to the Indians of Virginia, though he limits it, as does Capt. Smith,[3] to the "common people." In Carolina, as we have seen, the same method of dressing prevailed; and farther to the south—in Florida and along the Gulf coast—the testimony of the early writers upon this point is so uniform, that to enumerate them would be to call the roll of all who have written on the subject, and we content ourselves with the verdict of one, who speaking from a thorough knowledge of the customs of the Southern Indians tells us that "with the exception of these breech clouts, the Florida Indians most of the year, appeared in a state of nudity."[4] The cold of winter, he adds, "necessitated the use of shawls and blankets" as it did with the tribes that lived in the north.

But whilst the breech-cloth, except in the case noted above, was not worn by the Indian women, yet a petticoat was; and of the two garments it is said to have been the more modest. As used in the north by the Huron-Iroquois tribes, it was made of skins, wrapped around the body and fastened at the waist by a belt. It ended above the knee, and was made thus short in order not to be in the way of

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[1] Megapolensis, p. 154, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., Vol. III., 2d Series, Part 1.

[2] *Virginie*, p. 228: Amsterdam, 1707.

[3] "But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakedness, but with grasse, the leaves of trees or such like": *Virginia*: Richmond, 1819.

[4] Charles C. Jones, *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 74: New York, 1873. "The men have their secrets hid with a deer's skin made like a linen breech, which was wont to be used in Spain": *Knight of Elvas*, p. 138.

the wearers when at work in the field.[1] The Southern Indians, as also those along the north Atlantic coast, made use of a similar garment, which, like the breech-cloth, was seldom laid aside. In making it, however, they did not limit themselves to skins, but they employed the bark of several kinds of trees, notably the mulberry, either woven into a coarse cloth or simply cut into a fringe.[2] "Leaves that hang on boughs of trees which they sewe together with threads of wild hempe" were used in much the same way,[3] as was a material woven from grass or hemp which was not unlike the 'fly-nets' with which we protect our horses."[4] Among the New England Indians a piece of matting was sometimes carelessly thrown over the back, though the secret parts were concealed.[5]

Among the other articles that were in general, though not perhaps in such steady use, were leggins, moccasins, a sort of shirt or jacket without arms, and a robe that was sometimes made of the skin of a bear, moose, or other large

[1] Lafitau, III., pp. 25 and 26: Paris, 1724. "The women's dress consists only of a broad softened skin, or several small skins sewed together, which they wrap and tye round their waist, reaching a little below their knees: in cold weather they wrap themselves in the softened skins of buffalo calves, with the wintry shagged wool inward": Adair, p. 7. "Sometimes it is a deer-skin dress'd white, and pointed or slit at the bottom like fringe": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 190. *Cf.* Hariot, Plates IV., VI., VIII., X.: London, 1893. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 191.

[2] Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., pp. 192, 193. "The women have a dress of Mulberry cloth, which they spin like hemp and flax. It is a strong thick cloth. Their petticoat is very decent, from the waist to below the knees; there is a fringe very well worked, as well as their mantle, either all uniform or worked in lozenges or in squares or in ermine, which they wear usually as a sash, and rarely on the two shoulders": Gravier, p. 134. "Women and girls are like the Illinois half naked; they have a skin hanging down from the waist and reaching to the knees, some have a small deer skin like a scarf": Father St. Cosme, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 73.

[3] Verrazzano, in Hakluyt, II., p. 394. ". . . go naked except women alone who cover parts of their persons with a wool that grows on trees": Cabeça de Vaca, p. 82. *Cf.* De Bry, *Brevis Narratio*, Plates 20, 21, 34, &c., &c. Gravier, p. 152, "have no manner of Cloaths, save a Wad of Moss to hide their nakedness": Lawson, p. 203. *Cf.* Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 2d Series, p. 237, Pub. 1875.

[4] Dumont, I., p. 138: Paris, 1753.

[5] Lescarbot, III., p. 678: Paris, 1866.

animal, or of the skins of smaller animals sewn together.[1] Taking up these articles in their order, we find that leggins were made of skins, curried on one or both sides, and were worn with the fur turned inward or outward according to the weather, or perhaps in some cases to the occupation, for the time being, of the wearer.[2] They were used by both sexes, the only difference being in the length. Those intended for the men were cut to fit the leg and extended from the ankle to the hip, where they ended in a sort of point which was fastened to the belt they wore around the waist. The seam was on the outside and not on both as is the case with the legs of our trousers; and the edges of the skin were often left to project three or four inches beyond the seam so as to be cut into strips and made into a fringe. The woman's leggins differed from these in being shorter. They came no higher than the knee, and instead of being attached to the belt were fastened by garters, which were often embroidered with porcupine quills.[3]

Moccasins, too, were in general use, though they were not habitually worn by the Southern Indians except when

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[1] "Leurs robbes sont faictes de peaux d' Elans, d' Ours, et d' autres animaux. Les plus riches en leur estime sont faites des peaux d' une espèce de petit animal noir, qui se trouve aux Hurons; il est de la grandeur d' un Lapin, le poil est doux et luisant, il entre bien une soixantaine de ces peaux dans une robbe; ils attachent les queues de ces animaux aux bas, pour servir de franges, et les testes au haut pour servir d' une espece de rebord. La figure de leur robbe est quasi quarrée; les femmes le peignent, tirans des raies du haut en bas; ces raies sont également distantes et larges environ de deux pouces: vous diriez du passement": Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47. Among Southern Indians these robes or blankets were sometimes made of Mulberry cloth, as we shall see later on.

[2] "The men wear for ornament, and the convenience of hunting, their deer-skin boots, well smoked, that reach so high up their thighs, as with their jackets to secure them from the brambles and braky thickets": Adair, *Indians*, p. 7: London, 1775.

[3] Upon the subject of leggins, consult Lafitau, III., p. 26. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 196. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 231. Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47. "In the winter time the more aged of them weare leather drawers, in forme like Irish trouses, fastened under their girdle with buttons": *New England's Prospect*, p. 73.

travelling.[1] They are said to have been the same for both sexes, and possibly this may also have been the case with those used by different tribes. At least, there is no mention of any difference in the early writers, though in recent times the differences in this respect are known to be of such a character that it is possible, within certain limits, to say to what tribe an Indian belongs by the way his moccasins are made.[2] However, this is not a point upon which it is necessary to enlarge. All that it concerns us to know, is that in the earliest times his "shoes," or moccasins were made of the skins of different animals, such as the moose, deer, bear or buffalo, etc., prepared in such a way as to "endure water or dirt without growing hard."[3] In cutting them out, the skin was left three or four inches longer than the foot, and this extra piece was doubled back and gathered on top, something like a purse, by a running cord or strap which was tied around the ankle. There was neither heel nor sole to the moccasin, though the bottom was often made thicker and more durable by the addition of an extra piece of skin. The quarters, especially in winter and as a protection against cold and snow, were sometimes left nine inches long and were then wrapped around the leg, outside of the leggins, and laced, or fastened somewhat as the Roman soldiers did their sandals.[4] To the same end the Canadian Indians used a kind

[1] "Il est rare que les hommes ou les femmes portent des souliers si ce n' est en voyage": Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, p. 194: Paris, 1758.

[2] In *Indian Sign Language*, pp. 257 *et seq.*, Capt. W. P. Clark, U. S. A., gives an account of many of these differences. The extract is too long for insertion here even if it were strictly germane to my subject.

[3] "They wear shooes, of Buckes, and sometimes Bears skin, which they tan in an Hour or two; with the Bark of Trees boil'd, wherein they put the Leather whilst hot, and let it remain a little while, whereby it becomes so qualify'd, as to endure water and dirt without growing hard": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191: London, 1718.

[4] This account is made up from Lafitau, III., pp. 26 and 27. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191. Du Pratz, *Lousiane*, p. 195. Adair, p. 8, says, "they make their shoes for common use out of the skins of the bear and elk, well dressed and smoked, to prevent hardening; and those for ornament, out of deer-skins, done

of overshoe, or rather they wrapped their feet in rabbit skin or some other covering, doubled two or three times, to which they added moose hair. The shoes or moccasins,—sometimes two pairs, one outside of the other,—were then put on, and were caught and tied on the instep by a cord which ran around the top. During winter and whilst the snow lasted, the French as well as the Indians wore these moccasins, so as to be able to walk on snow-shoes; but with the return of Spring, "we again took our French shoes, and they went barefoot."

Besides "stockings and shoes of deer skin" there was another kind of "shoe" made of "the leaves of their corn plaited together," which the Mohawks, *circa* 1650, are said to have worn.[1] I do not recall any account of the use of similar shoes elsewhere, though the discovery in a cave in Kentucky of a number of "cast off sandals,... neatly made of finely braided and twisted leaves of rushes,"[2] would seem to point in this direction. At all events, the bark cloth and other articles found with these sandals were of the same character as those made and used some two hundred years ago by the southern Indians; and assuming, as it is fair to do, that there was the relation of product and

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in like manner: but they chiefly go bare-footed, and always bare-headed": London, 1775. Lescarbot, p. 678, speaking of the "*Mekezin*" says, "ils ne peuvent pas long temps durer, principalement quand ils vont en lieux humides: d' autant que le cuir n' est pas couroyé ni endurci, ains seulement faconné en manière de buffle, qui est cuir d' ellan": Paris, 1866. *Cf.* Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 48; 1633, p. 10; 1658, p. 31.

[1] Megapolensis, *A Short Sketch of the Mohawk Indians*, p. 154: New York Hist. Soc. Collections.

[2] Reports of Peabody Museum, Cambridge, 1875, p. 49, Prof. Putnam adds, "A number of other articles were collected here, and were as follows: a small bunch of the inner bark of some tree, evidently prepared for use in the manufacture of an article of dress; several small lots of bark not quite so fine as that composing the bunch; a piece of finely woven cloth of bark, over a foot square, showing black stripes across it where it had been dyed, and also specially interesting in exhibiting the care which has been taken in darning, or mending a portion of it; a small piece of firmly made fringe or tassel discovered in one of the places where the earth had been disturbed," &c. *Cf.* Thirteenth Annual Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 35.

producer between these articles and the Indians of that date, there is nothing forced or improbable in the inference that the "sandals" or slippers or "shoes" were worn by these same Indians or a people in the same grade of civilization.

In regard to the shirt, tunic, jacket, or by whatever name the garment was called, our accounts are clear and explicit. Among the Huron-Iroquois and generally in Canada, it consisted of two deer-skins curried thin and light and without the hair. It was fastened on the shoulders and hung half way down the leg. Around the bottom and arm holes it was cut into strips like fringe. A similar article was worn by the women and is said to have been very modest. It hung down to the knees and was fastened around the waist by a cord. All the rest of the body, including head, arms and legs, was naked.[1] Sometimes the arms were covered by sleeves which were large enough at the top to cover the shoulders and were fastened together both before and behind with a strap or cord.[2] According to Lafitau this tunic was peculiar to the Huron-Iroquois, though in a slightly different form it was worn by the Algonkins; and being the least necessary of any of their articles of wearing apparel, it was often left off, especially by the men. South of the Appalachians, the Indians "formerly wore skirts, made of drest deer-skins, for their summer visiting dress; but their winter hunting clothes were long and shaggy, made of the skins of panthers, bucks, bears, beavers and others; the fleshy sides outward, sometimes doubled, and always softened like velvet-cloth, though they retained their fur and hair." This is Adair's account,[3] and in the main it is confirmed by Le Page du Pratz, who adds that in cold weather the women wear a second skin or

[1] Lafitau, III., pp. 25, 26.

[2] Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47: Quebec, 1858.

[3] *American Indians*, p. 6: London, 1775. Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 196: Paris, 1758.

cloak, the middle of which is passed under the right arm, and the two ends are fastened over the left shoulder so that the arms are at liberty, and only one of the breasts is exposed. Bartram, too, speaks of the "skirt" worn by the men, and the "little short waistcoat"[1] in which the women indulged, though in his time they were made of material bought from the whites. The skirt, we are told, hangs loose about the waist, like a frock, or split down before, resembling a gown, and is sometimes wrapped close, and the waist incircled by a curious belt or sash. The women on the other hand "have no skirt or shift, but a little short waistcoat, usually made of callico, printed linen or fine cloth, decorated with beads, lace, etc." This account is of interest, showing as it does a high order of dress; and it is possible that the pattern of these garments may have been original with the Indian, though on this point there is room for doubt. The likeness to the hunting shirt, which I am disposed to think came in with the whites, is suspicious; and the fact that on the sketches left by the artists that accompanied Hariot to Virginia and Ribault to Florida, there is nothing that resembles either of the articles here described, would seem to indicate that they mark a transition period, as did the dress worn by King Philip, which is said to have been worth twenty pounds sterling.[2]

But even if the Indians along the Atlantic coast did not wear the skirt, tunic or waistcoat of dressed deer-skin, they had the Match coat, which may be said to have taken its place. From the somewhat confused accounts of it that have come down to us, it seems to have been a mantle or cape rather than a coat, "just large enough to cover the shoulders and breast,"[3] and was made sometimes of "fine

[1] *Travels*, p. 501: Dublin, 1793.

[2] "Prince Philip . . . had a coat on and Buskins set thick with these beads in pleasant wild works, and a broad Belt of the same, his Accoutrements were valued at Twenty pounds": Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 307, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. III., Series 3.

[3] Bartram, p. 500: Dublin, 1793.

hares skinnes quilted with the hayre outward—the rest of the body being naked,"[1] at others of the feathers of the wild turkey, the flamingo or some gay colored bird "quilled artificially." Along the Gulf coast a similar article was in use as early as in the time of De Soto. Besides those made of "feathers, white, green, red, and yellow, very fine after their use, and profitable for winter," there were others of "yarn made of the barks of trees, or of a kind of grass like unto nettles, which being beaten is like unto flax. The women cover themselves with these mantles; they put one about them from the waist downward and another over their shoulder with the right arm out, like unto the Egyptians. The men wear but one mantle upon their shoulders after the same manner."[2]

Over all these different articles was the robe, which was made of the skin of one large animal, or of a number of smaller animals sewn together.[3] It was usually about six feet broad by nine long, and the skin whereof it was made was dressed sometimes on both sides, though generally at the north, and in winter time everywhere, the hair was left on. It was fringed both at the top and bottom, that at the top being somewhat shorter. When made of the skins of

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[1] Hariot's *Narrative*, Plate V.: London, 1893. "Some are made of Hare, Raccoon, Bever or Squirrel-skins, which are very warm. Others again are made of the green part of a Mallard's Head, which they sew perfectly well together": Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 191.

[2] *Knight of Elvas* in Coll. Louisiana Hist. Soc., pp. 137, 138, 144: Philadelphia, 1850. *Cf.* Gookin in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., First Series, p. 152.

[3] "Many of them weare skinnes about them in forme of an Irish mantle, and of these some be Beares skinnes, Mooses skinnes, and Beaver skinnes sewed together, other skinnes, and Rackoone skinnes; most of them in the winter having his deepe furr'd Cat skinne, like a long large muffe, which he shifts to that arme which lieth most exposed to the winde": *New England's Prospect*, p. 73. Compare Lafitau, III., p. 27, and note above. "Ils ont une robbe de mesme fourrure, en forme de couverte qu' ils portent à la façon Irlandoise, ou Egyptienne, et des manches qui s'attachent avec un cordon par le derrière": Champlain, I., p. 378. "Car ils sont habillez de bonnes fourrures, comme de peaux d'eslan, loutres castors, ours, loups marins, et cerfs et biches, qu' ils ont en quantité": *Ib.* I., p. 167: Paris, 1830.

the black squirrel, as many as sixty were sometimes necessary, and then the tails were used as fringe around the bottom, whilst the heads were arranged at the top in a sort of border. Among the northern tribes these robes were worn by the men in two ways. In warm weather they were not made to cover the entire body, but were carried over one arm and under the other, or were merely thrown over the shoulders and held in place by cords fastened above the breast; whilst in winter time both women and men carried them over one shoulder and under the other, wrapping themselves up in a comfortable but somwhat slovenly manner. They were tied under the breast and at the belt, and the intervening part was pulled out and looked like an enormous pouch which served them instead of a pocket for holding their little belongings.[1]

To the southward, along the Atlantic coast, a similar robe was worn; though owing perhaps to the scarcity of large animals it was generally made of smaller skins, "as many as may be necessary, which they sew together, carefully setting all the hair and fur the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets they are regulated by the weather; if it is cold and dry the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather, they have it outside." This is Heckwelder's account;[2] and whilst relatively speaking, he is of recent date, yet he is in accord with Hariot[3] and Laudonnière, who precede him by some two hundred years. Capt. Smith[4] adds a few

[1] For this account see Lafitau, III., p. 27, and Jesuit Relations, 1634, p. 47, and 1658, p. 30.

[2] *History of the Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, &c., p. 202: Philadelphia, 1876.

[3] "The aged men . . . are covered with a large skinne which is tyed upon their shoulders on one side and hangeth downe beneath their knees wearinge their other arme naked out of the skinne. . . . Those skynnes are Dressed with the hair on, and lyned with other furred skinnes": Hariot, *First Plantation in Virginia*, Plate IX.: London, 1893. *Cf.* Plate in *Brevis Narratio.*

[4] *Virginia*, p. 139: Richmond, 1819. "Paint calumets, birds and animals on them." Kip's *Jesuit Missions*, p. 261.

particulars, as e. g. "That these skins in winter are dressed with the hayre, but in Sommer without." They are said to have been used by the better sort and "did not differ much in fashion from the Irish mantels. Some were embroidered with white beads, some with copper, others painted after their manner."

In the Gulf States, robes similarly prepared were in use. When made of buffalo hide, one was sufficient, but when beaver skins were used, as they were in the regions where these animals abounded, six were required to make a robe. In summer, according to Du Pratz,[1] the men and women cover themselves with one deer-skin dressed white. Sometimes "it is stained black, and there are others on which are painted designs in different colors, as in red, or yellow with black stripes." In addition to these fur or skin robes, these Indians, and more especially those along the lower Mississippi, made more or less use of mantles or "blankets" of mulberry cloth.[2] On one occasion Tonti reports that he saw the chief of the Tensas "with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than sixty old men clothed in large white cloaks, which are made by the women out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are tolerably well worked." The women, we are told, were clothed in the same manner. In preparing the material of which these cloaks or blankets were made, the bark of the young shoots of the mulberry was dried in the sun and beaten until the woody part fell away. It was then beaten again and bleached by exposure to the dew. In this shape it was spun into threads of the size of those used by shoemakers and woven into cloth which is "very white and handsome."[3]

Of the sashes, belts, garters, &c., it is unnecessary to speak in detail as, except in the materials of which they were made and in the methods of ornamentation, they were

[1] *Histoire de Louisiane*, II., p. 197: Paris, 1758.

[2] Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, Part I., p. 61: New York, 1846.

[3] Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 192: Paris, 1758.

the same everywhere. In the far north they were usually of skin,[1] more or less ornamented, though Sagard[2] tells us of some that were made of "porcupine quills, dyed scarlet and neatly woven." Along the New England coast they were sometimes made of "blew and white beads, worked out of certain shells, so cunning that neither Jew nor Devil can counterfeit."[3] In the west they were looked upon as "rareties," and were made of "the hair of the bear and wild cattle, dyed red, yellow and gray."[4] Farther to the south "Buffalo wool" and the hair of animals were also used. Speaking of the former, Adair[5] tells us that "having spun it as fine as they can and properly doubled it "the Indians" put small beads of different colors upon the yarn as they work it. The figures they work in those small webs are generally uniform, but sometimes they diversify them on both sides. "The Choktah," he adds, "weave shot-pouches, which have raised work inside and outside." Wild hemp was similarly spun and woven into "broad garters, sashes, belts, shot pouches and the like which are decorated all over with beautiful stripes and checquers."[6] Elsewhere in this same region the mantle or cloak of mulberry cloth was worked "either all uniform or in lozenges or in squares or in ermine" and was usually

[1] Jesuit Relation, 1634, p. 17; 1632, p. 4; and 1636, p. 38, where the Savage is said to have been "paré d'une belle ceinture" which, according to his account, was given to him by the Manitou and would insure him a long life.

[2] *Voyages des Hurons*, p. 131; Paris, 1865.

[3] Josselyn in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. III. of 3d Series, p. 306. *Cf. Neives from New England*, p. 103, in Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections.

[4] Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 25. On p. 33, we are told "the chiefs are distinguished from the soldiers by their wearing a scarf ingeniously made of the hair of bears and wild oxen"; New York: 1852. "Elles tricotent des ceintures & des jarretieres avec de la laine de Boeuf": Charlevoix, VI., p. 49. *Cf.* Marest, in Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, where we are told that buffalo wool "answers the purpose to our Indians of that they would procure from sheep if they had them in this country."

[5] *History of the American Indians*, p. 423; London, 1775. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 116.

[6] Adair, pp. 422, 170. *Cf.* Loskiel, p. 51.

worn as a sash and rarely over the two shoulders.[1]

This completes our account of the ordinary wearing apparel of those of our Indians that came within the scope of this investigation. Before, however, leaving this branch of our subject, it may be well to notice briefly some of their methods of ornamenting the skins and other articles of which they made their clothing. Without going into details, and avoiding as far as possible everything like repetition, it may be said that whilst the Indians made a free use of shell beads[2] and porcupine quills[3] in adorning some of their garments, yet so far as the robe was concerned, it was by means of paints and dyes that they sought to give expression to their ideas of beauty. Thus we find that they not only stained their skins red or black or yellow,[4] but they also painted them very prettily in stripes of different colors, something like lace or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, braided work.[5] Sometimes they are said to have painted both sides of the "carpet" with the image of those birds and beasts they are acquainted with, and at others they represent "themselves acting in their social and martial stations,"[6] thus

[1] Gravier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, pp. 134, 141: Albany, 1861.

[2] Beverly, *Virginia*, Plates III., V., VI.: Amsterdam, 1707. *Cf. New England's Prospect*, p. 63: Boston, 1865. Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 49. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 193, 194. Adair, p. 140. Williams's Key, *loc. cit.*, p. 131. Ruttenber, p. 21: Albany, 1872.

[3] "divers ouvrages de plumasserie, ou travaillés en poil . . . de Porc-épy, dont chacun sçait se faire une parure selon son goût": Lafitau, III., p. 54.

[4] Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 19. *Cf.* Dumont, *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I. p. 147. "Elles conroyent et adoucissent les peaux des castors et d'eslans, et autres, ainsi bien que nous saurions faire ici, de quoy elles font leur manteaux ou couvertures, et y peignent des passements et bigarrures qui ont fort bonne grace." Sagard, p. 91: Paris, 1865.

[5] Jesuit Relations, 1611, p. 9: and 1634, p. 47: Quebec, 1858. "Their gala dresses bear two painted suns": Douay, in *Disc. and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 217. *Cf.* Champlain, I., 379. Lafitau, III., pp. 30, et seq. for a full account of their methods of procedure.

[6] Adair, *History of the American Indians*, pp. 422, 31 and 79. Upon this point *Cf.* Long, *Travels*, I., p. 140, Catlin, *American Indians*, I., p. 118: London, 1841, and the Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology *passim*.

giving to the sketch a certain biographical importance. These pictographs are said to have possessed "that due proportion, and so much wild variety in the design that would really strike a curious eye with pleasure and admiration";[1] and Laudonnière tells us that among the presents made to Ribault was "a great skinne painted and drawen throughout with the pictures of divers wilde beasts, so lively drawen and pourtrayed that nothing lacked but life." In the same vein, he speaks of a "great Hart's skinne dressed like chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colors, but of so lively a pourtrature, and representing antiquity with rules so justly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith, &c."[2] Exaggerated as is this account it is equalled by Father Marquette, who, speaking of the famous picture of the Piasa executed "in green, red, and a kind of black," high up on a rocky bluff of the Mississippi, tells us that "these monsters are so well painted, that we could not believe any Indian to have been the designer, as good painters in France would find it hard to do as well."[3]

Of their shell beads and shell work generally, we shall have something to say later on. For the present, we content ourselves with calling attention to their use of porcupine quills for purposes of embroidery, and to their custom of fastening "fawns trotters, wild turkey-cock spurs,"[4] etc., to the fringed borders of their leggins and tunics in such a way as to make a rattling sound as they walked along. Speaking of this latter mode of decorating their garments, Romans[5] tells us that so "extravagant" were their methods that, on one occasion, among the Creeks,

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[1] Adair, p. 422. Father Gravier, in Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 144.

[2] *Early Voyages to America*, pp. 418, 435, 447: Edinburgh, 1889.

[3] Marquette, p. 39.

[4] Adair, *American Indians*, pp. 7, 84, 170, etc. Dumont, *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 138: Paris, 1753. Heckwelder, p. 205.

[5] *East and West Florida*, I., p. 95.

he saw nine women on whose dresses were the hoofs of over 1,100 deer. In regard to their use of porcupine quills as a means of ornamentation, it is difficult to speak with moderation. It was a distinctly "American art,"[1] and so far as mere beauty was concerned it was one in which they achieved a decided success. Specimens of their work were taken to Europe, where they are said to have excited no little curiosity. Du Pratz's account of the way in which they did this embroidery is the best that we have, though singularly enough, the animal itself was relatively scarce along the lower Mississippi where he lived. According to him, the Indians split the quills to the requisite degree of fineness and then dye them red and yellow. As they are naturally white and black, this gives four colors with which to work out their designs. These we are told are very similar to some of those found in gothic architecture, being composed of straight lines, which form right angles at the point of conjunction. As a rule the ground for this embroidery was a skin stained black, though the same figures were worked on the mantles and coverings of mulberry bark.[2]

The paints which they used in carrying out these various processes were of two kinds, mineral and vegetable.[3]

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[1] Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 315: London, 1860.

[2] *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., pp. 99, 184: Paris, 1758. "Au Port Royal et es environs, et vers la Terre-Neuve et à Tadoussac . . . les femmes et filles font des *Matachiaz* avec des arrêtes ou aiguillons de Porc-epic, lesquelles elles teindent de couleurs noire, blanche et vermeille, aussi vives qu' il est possible: car nôtre ecarlate n' a point plus de lustre que leur teinture rouge": Lescarbot, III., pp. 708 and 758: Paris, 1866. "Elles font aussi . . . ou sac à petun sur lesquels elles font des ouvrages dignes d' admiration, avec du poil de porc-espic, coloré de rouge, noir, blanc et bleu·qui sont les couleurs qu' elles font si vives, que les notres ne semblent point en approcher": Sagard, I., p. 91. "Nos Montagnets et Algoumequins . . . mettent à leurs robbes des bandes de poil de porc-espic, qu' ils teindent en fort belle couleur d' escarlate. Ils tiennent ces bandes bien chères entre eux, et les detachent pour les faire servir à d' autres robbes, quand ils en veulent changer": Champlain, I., p. 379. *Cf.* Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, p. 307.

[3] Ils la trouvent sur les bords de quelques Lacs ou Rivières. Ils y employent aussi les sucs & les cendres de quelques plantes": Lafitau, III., pp. 31,

Among the former, were the different colored earths which were very generally distributed over the country. To fit them for use, they were mixed with sizing obtained from skins,[1] with the oil of sunflower seed, the fat of bears or other animals,[2] or possibly in some cases with water. Charcoal, red lead and lead ore were also used for coloring purposes,[3] as was a sort of *Minium* or cinnabar, which they extracted from a bright red earth, though the color was not as deep as our vermilion.[4] Among the Illinois Indians, and in Ohio and Delaware, ochres were found in quantities; and on the Mississippi, near where the town of Columbus, Ky., now stands, there was a kind "of unctuous earth of three colors, purple, violet and red, which turned the water in which it was washed blood red." There is also, so we are told, "a very heavy red sand," some of which Father Marquette "put on a paddle, and it took the color so well, that the water did not efface it for fifteen days" that he used it in rowing.[5] Of the vegetable

145. "Les couleurs . . . se tirent de certaines terres & de quelques ecorces d'arbres. Elles ne sont pas bien vives, mais elles ne s'effacent pas aisément": Charlevoix, VI., p. 42: Paris, 1744. "Painted with chalky clay: sometimes black paintings are intermixed": Adair, p. 31: London, 1775. Loskiel, p. 49. Williams's Key, p. 154. Stoddard, *Louisiana*, p. 393. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193.

[1] "C'est sur ces peaux ainsi passées qu' ils mattrachent ou peignent des figures de toute espece dont ils tracent le dessin selon leur idée, employant à ces peintures du rouge, du jaune, du noir, du verd & du bleu, sans se servir d' huile pour delayer ces couleurs, mais seulement de la cole qu' ils tirent de ces mêmes peaux": Dumont, *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, I., p. 117: Paris, 1753.

[2] Champlain, *Voyages*, I., p. 379: Paris, 1830. In Dunbar, *Sketch of the Pawnees*, Section 15, we are told that paints used on the body are mixed with buffalo tallow: when on robes, with water.

[3] Marquette, p. 33. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 51, 192. Adair, p. 389: *Voices from New England*, in Vol. III., 3d Series, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 103. Hunter, *Memoirs*, p. 348.

[4] Lafitau, *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, III., p. 31: Paris, 1724.

[5] Father Marquette, in *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, pp. 19, 33, 42: New York, 1852. Cf. Brinton, *The Lenape and their Legends*, p. 53. Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Chapter VIII. Loskiel, p. 49.

dyes, there seems to have been a good supply. In Virginia, for example, there was the "Shoemake well knowen and used in England for blacke,"[1] though in Massachusetts we are told that the "bark or berries is as good as galls to make ink of but that the root dyeth wool or cloth reddish," to say nothing of the numerous medicinal properties which the plant is said to have possessed.[2] Continuing Hariot's list, we find that "the seed of a herbe called Wasebur, little small roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockomomindge are for divers sorts of reds,[3] as were the roots of the *Pocones* and the *Musquaspen*,"[4] and if we may credit Roger Williams, the "Barke of the Pine."[5] All these materials were "for the dying of haire, and colouring of their faces, and mantles made of Deere skinnes; and also for the dying of rushes to make artificiall works with all in their mats and baskets, having no other thing besides that they account of, apt to use them for."[6] Among the Southern Indians a yellow was obtained by boiling the *Bois Agué* or Stinking wood, cut up into small pieces and mashed. Feathers and skins steeped in this liquid took on a yellow or beautiful lemon color, which was not in much request among them. To obviate this, these same articles were then soaked in water in which the roots of the *Achetchy* had been boiled. Submitted to this double process they assumed different colors. Those, for example, that were white before being dyed yellow, became a beautiful crimson; and those, like

[1] Hariot, in *Early English Voyages to America*, II., p. 334: Edinburgh, 1889.

[2] Josselyn, *Two Voyages*, in Vol. III., Series 3, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 258.

[3] *Early Voyages to America*, p. 334.

[4] Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 125: Richmond, 1819.

[5] "Their red painting which they most delight in, and is both the Barke of the Pine as also a red earth": Williams's Key, p. 154. They also used "black earth," p. 154, and on p. 107 we are told that "they also paint those Moose and Deere skins for their summer wearing with varietie of formes and colours."

[6] Hariot, p. 334, in *Early Voyages*: Edinburgh, 1889.

buffalo hair, that were brown or chestnut, became dark red.[1]

In more recent times, thanks to better preparation on the part of investigators, our knowledge of these aboriginal dyes has been largely increased. This is especially noticeable in a paper read, October 4, 1782, before the American Philosophical Society by Mr. Hugh Martin.[2] According to him, the Shawnees obtained a vegetable red from the root of a plant that grew in low swampy grounds, and was said "by the diers of Philadelphia to be madder." It was used by the Indians "to die the white hair of deer-tails and the porcupine quills with which they ornament themselves of a red colour." In preparing it for use they "pound the roots in a mortar with the addition of the acid juices obtained from the crab-apple. They, then, throw the whole into a kettle of water along with the substance to be died, and place the vessel over a gentle fire until the color is properly fixed." Their *orange color* is obtained from the root of the *Pocoon* and from the plant called *Touch-me-not* and "they die their *bright yellow* with the root of a plant which grows spontaneously in the western woods, and which might very properly be called *radix flora Americana.*" The *blues*, as is well known, "are made by the indigo of our own continent; . . . and the wood, without which no deep or lasting blue can be made, is the natural product of our western soil." Their *greens* are made by boiling various blue substances in the liquor of "*Smooth Hickory bark*, which dies a yellow; . . . but the goodness of the green depends on that of the blue. There are other substances, which die a yellow color and with which the indigo will form a green, but they are inferior to the *radix flora*, or Yellow root, in making a yellow and with the indigo a green." Of the *sumach* "they make a beautiful black as

[1] Du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., pp. 44. 63: Paris, 1758. *Cf.* Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193, for notice of other paints.

[2] Transactions American Philosophical Society, Vol. III., pp. 222 *et seq.*: Philadelphia, 1793.

they do of the bark of the *white-walnut* and the vegetable acid; for they have no knowledge of the mineral acids." From other writers we learn that the Mississagua Indians of Canada "used the juice of the Indian Strawberry and the Sanguinaria in dyeing their birch bark and porcupine quill work. They also obtained a good red dye by boiling the bark of the swamp alder, and a rich yellow one was produced from the root of the black briony."[1] In Wisconsin, so we are told, "a very brilliant black is produced by the charcoal of a certain variety of willow, a bright yellow from the berry of the . . . *bois de perdrix*, and a pleasant red from the juice of the cranberry."[2]

Of the use of colors in a symbolical sense, it is not my purpose to speak, for the reason that there does not seem to have been any uniformity in the meanings given to them by the different tribes; and of course, under such conditions, a discussion of the subject can not lead to a satisfactory result. Neither does it come within the limits marked out for my guidance to treat of picture-writing, except in so far as the human body was used as a ground upon which certain designs were worked out by means of marks and figures, that were either of a transient or a permanent character.

Taking up the latter of these processes, or tattooing, as being the more important, though not, perhaps, so showy or so general as was the use of paints, we are told that among the Huron-Iroquois tribes of Canada, the custom, or as the old chronicler expresses it, "the art of making pictures on the living flesh," prevailed from the earliest times, though not to the same extent that it did in regions more to the south. Although often intended as ornament, yet it also served other purposes; for it was a protection against cold and wet, and it freed them from the persecution of the gnats. The process, or operation as it is termed,

[1] A. F. Chamberlain, in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. I., No. 2, p. 156. *Cf.* Jesuit Relations, 1657, p. 33.

[2] Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, p. 316: London, 1860.

was the same from Canada to Florida; and accepting Charlevoix's[1] account, as fairly representative of the mode of procedure throughout this entire region, we find that among the Indians of New France, the desired figure is first marked out on the body, and then pricked in with fish bones until the blood flows. Over this surface, is spread a coating of powdered charcoal, prepared poplar bark, or some other material, well beaten and pulverized, which penetrates under the skin and produces figures that are never effaced. Although the operation is not painful in itself, yet in a few days the skin becomes inflamed, fever supervenes, and if the weather is warm and the process has been carried too far, the patient may lose his life.

In the English colonies, and especially in Virginia, the whole body was commonly covered with these marks, but in New France "most are satisfied with a few figures of birds, serpents, or other animals, or even foliage," done "without order or symmetry, but according to the fancy of the individual, and often on the face, and sometimes on the eye lids." Many of the women cause themselves to be tattooed on the jaw by way of preventing the toothache.[2] Of the correctness of this account, as far as it goes, there can be no doubt; neither can there be any question as to its applicability to the southern tribes.[3] It is, however, incomplete in that it fails to take cognizance of the

[1] *Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 40 *et seq.* *Cf.* Sagard, p. 134. Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 206.

[2] Compare Lafitau, III., p. 38, where it is said, "Les femmes Iroquoises ne se font point piquer du tout" except a few who "s' en servent comme d' un remede pour prévenir ou pour guérir le mal des dents." *Per contra*, Charlevoix tells us that "Beaucoup des femmes se font piquer," etc.

[3] Compare Dumont, *Mémoires Historiques*, I., p. 139, and Du Pratz, II., p. 199. Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 66, says: "The women have their armes, breasts, thighs, shoulders and faces cunningly ymbroidered with divers workes, for pouncing or searing their skyns with a kind of instrument heated in the fier. They figure therein flowers and fruits of sondry lively kinds, as also snakes, serpents, eftes, &c., and this they doe by dropping upon the seared flesh sondry coulers, which, rub'd into the stampe, will never be taken away agayne, because yt will not only be dryed into the flesh, but growe

fact that these figures were often gentile or individual designations, records of personal exploits, or possibly, the Manitou or thing dreamt of by the Savage at the time of his initiation. Indeed, it is quite probable in view of the Zoomorphic character generally of the totems, names, and individual Manitous, etc., that some of the figures of birds, serpents, and other animals of which Charlevoix speaks, may have been used in a representative capacity, just as other figures of which we have record, were unquestionably intended as exploit marks or prophylactics. Upon this point, however, it is well to let the early writers speak for themselves. And first of all Lafitau,[1] whose work, based largely on the Jesuit Relations, is one of the best that we have, tells us that when an Indian wishes to give notice that he has pre-empted a tract of land, "two, three or four miles in extent," and that trespassing thereon in the way of fishing or hunting is forbidden, he draws on a piece of bark or on the body of a tree blazed for the purpose, the outline of a head on which instead of eyes, nose, mouth, etc., he copies "the marks that are tattooed on his face and breast" together with such other "characteristics as may be necessary to express his wishes." As each individual has his "particular mark," it is easy for those who only know him by reputation to identify him, just as formerly, in Europe, we recognized a man by his device, and, today, we distinguish a family by its armorial bearings.[2]

therein": Hakluyt Soc. Publications: London, 1849. *Cf.* Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130: Richmond, 1819. According to Laudonnière "the most part of them have their bodies, armes and thighes painted with faire devises; the painting whereof can never be taken away because the same is pricked into their flesh."

[1] *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, III., pp. 34 *et seq.*: Paris, 1724.

[2] *Cf.* Jesuit Relation, 1641, p. 73, where it is said, "Ils passent leurs peaux avec beaucoup de soin et d' industre, et s' éstudient à les enjoliver en diverses façons, mais encore plus leur propre corps, sur lequel depuis la teste jusqu' aux pieds ils font faire mille diverses figures avec du charbon picqué dans la chair, sur laquelle auparavant ils ont tracé leurs lignes: de sorte qu' on leur void quelquefois le visage et l' estomac figuré, comme le sont en France, les morions, et les cuirasses et les hausse cols des gens de guerre, et le reste du corps à l' advenant": Quebec, 1858.

In New England,[1] we are told that in addition to the "pourtratures" of beasts and fowls tattooed upon their cheeks, "the better sort have certain round Impressions downe the outside of their armes and brests in forme of mullets or spur rowels which they imprint by searing irons.[2] Whether these be foiles to illustrate their unparalleled beauty (as they deeme it) or Armes to blazon their antique gentilitie, I cannot easily determine; but a Sagamore with a Humberk in his ears for a pendant, a black Hawke on his *occiput* for his plume, Mowhackees for his gold chaine, good store of wampumpeage begirting his loynes, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked *Indian* spatterlashes at his heeles for his guard thinks himself . . . all one with King Charles."

Interesting as it would be to continue these quotations, time would fail us were we to attempt it, and we, therefore, content ourselves with a reference to certain authorities and an indication, more or less brief, as to the nature of their testimony. Thus, for example, in strong confirmation of what is said as to the representative character of many of these marks, Father Le Mercier[3] tells us that the ineffaceable figure of the Divinity "chosen by the young Indian at the time of his initiation, was always carried, painted on his body as if with a burin"; and from Father Jerome Lallemant[4] we learn that an Iroquois chief, called Nero by the French, in addition to eighty men whom he had caused to be burnt by way of appeasing the manes of his brother, had the marks for sixty others, whom he had killed with his own hand, tattooed on his thigh. Loskiel[5] gives an account of another Iroquois

[1] Woods, *New England's Prospect*, p. 74: Prince Soc. Publications: Boston, 1865.

[2] Compare Strachey, *Virginia*, p. 66. Laudonnière, *Florida*, p. 458, in Hakluyt, II.: Edinburgh, 1889.

[3] Jesuit Relations, 1670, p. 81: Quebec, 1858. There is reason to believe that this applied to girls as well as boys.

[4] Jesuit Relations, 1663, p. 28: Quebec, 1858.

[5] *Indians of North America*, p. 50: London, 1794.

who was surnamed the Black Prince on account of the numerous markings on his body; and Heckwelder,[1] describing a Lenape warrior, says "besides that his body was full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements . . . on his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it never could be surpassed by man."

Among the Indians on the South Atlantic coast, and throughout all that region formerly known as Louisiana, the women seem to have been more generally tattooed than were their sisters to the northward.[2] In other respects, there was but little if any difference between the people of the two sections. In Louisiana, as in New France, the idea of personal adornment was certainly a leading consideration, though it was not always the sole or even the controlling motive of those who indulged most freely in the

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[1] *Indian Nations*, p. 206: Philadelphia, 1876. Among the Otos and Omahas a man who had given away property to the amount of one hundred dollars could have blue mark tattooed on forehead of female relative.

[2] "The chief Ladyes of Secota, &c.," have "their foreheads, cheeks, chynne, armes and leggs pownced": Hariot, Plates IV., VI. and X.: London, 1893. "Mais la plus grand parure de tous ces Sauvages de l' un & de l' autre sexe consiste dans certaines figures de Soleils, de serpens ou autres, qu' ils portent peintes sur leur corps, à la façon de ces anciens Bretons dont Cæsar nous parle. . . . Les Guerriers, ainsi les femmes des chefs & des considérés, se font peindre de ces figures au visage, aux bras, aux épaules, aux cuisses, aux jambes, & principalement au ventre & à l' estomac. C' est pour eux non-seulement un ornament, mais encore une marque d' honneur & de distinction": Dumont, *Louisiane*, I., p. 139: Paris, 1753. "The Indian women are allowed to make marks all over their body . . . ; they endure it firmly, like the men, in order to please them and to appear handsome to them": Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, I., p. 164: London, 1771.

practice. The Virginia Indians, for example, were accustomed to tattoo certain marks upon their backs "whereby it may be knowen what Princes subject they bee, or of what place they have their originall";[1] and in Florida, a Paracoussy, named Potanou, on one occasion "took certain prisoners to mercy, being content to marke them on the left arme with a great marke like unto a scale, and so imprinted as if it had been touched with an hotte yron, then he let them goe without any more hurt."[2]

A hundred and fifty years later, Du Pratz,[3] speaking of this custom, tells us that whilst the women of Louisiana were tattooed in early youth on the nose, chin, and other portions of the body, including even the breasts, the young men were marked on the nose, and nowhere else, until they had distinguished themselves by some warlike exploit. If they took a scalp, or performed some other notable action, they were privileged to tattoo themselves with a suitable figure, as e. g., a war club on the right shoulder, beneath which was the hieroglyph of the defeated tribe. All others, he adds, were marked according to the dictates of their fancy.

Marking such as that of which Du Pratz speaks, and the same may be said of those figured in Hariot, were evidently exploit marks as they are termed; and some idea of the importance, we might almost say the sacred character, attached to them may be inferred from the fact that the warlike achievements of a prisoner are readily known to his captors "by the blue marks tattooed on his breast and arms; they being as legible as our alphabetical characters are to us." Indeed so particular were they in this respect, that if anyone caused himself to be falsely tattooed, i. e.,

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[1] Hariot, *Narrative of the First Plantation of Virginia*, Plate XXIII.: London, 1893.

[2] Laudonnière, in Hakluyt, *Early Voyages to America*, II., p. 458: Edinburgh, 1889.

[3] *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., pp. 196, 198, 199: Paris, 1758.

without having performed the act for which the mark stood, it was the custom among the "Chikkasah" publicly to degrade him "by stretching the marked parts, and rubbing them with the juice of green corn, which in a great degree takes out the impression."[1] Among the Osages the operation was far more drastic, for according to Bossu, they cut out the false marks.[2]

In regard to paintings on the body, there is not much to be added to what has been said upon the subject of tattooing. The two processes were so uniform in aim and end that it may be said of the painting as it was of the tattooing, that they were either useful or ornamental, or, possibly, as was often the case, they may have been intended to serve both purposes at one and the same time. On this point, however, it is well to make haste slowly, for it is sometimes necessary, in the light of recent investigations, to modify the conclusions of even the most trustworthy of the old chroniclers. Take, for example, the statement of Sagard[3] that the Hurons "painted pictures of men, animals, birds, and other grotesques upon their bodies . . . as well as upon the front of their cabins, not for purposes of worship but simply to please the eye." Unquestionably, this account of the pictures as they appeared to the worthy Recollet is true, and yet, tested by the canons of modern criticism, we see in these "figures," not ornaments merely, but rather totems, individual names, or possibly the records of notable achievements. That this is the correct view is, we think, evident from what Loskiel[4] tells us of a similar custom among the Lenape. According to him, "one prides himself with the figure of a serpent upon each cheek, another with that of a tortoise, deer, bear, or some

[1] Adair, *American Indians*, p. 389: London, 1775.

[2] *Travels through Louisiana*, I., p. 164: London, 1771.

[3] *Voyage au Pays des Hurons*, I., p. 86: Paris, 1865.

[4] *Indians of North America*, p. 49: London, 1794. At the installation of a gentile chief among the Wyandots "the women paint the gentile totem on his face." First Report of Bureau of Ethnology, p. 62.

other creature, as his arms and signatures," and these marks or "national badges," as Heckwelder calls them,[1] "are painted on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. They also serve for signatures to treaties and other documents"; and, he adds, "they are so proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times."

These are a few of the uses to which these paintings are put, but they do not by any means complete the list, for we are told that when they go to war they "bedaub their faces with Tobacco-Pipe clay, Lamp-black, black Lead, and divers other colours, which they make with the several sorts of Minerals and earths that they get in different parts of the country, where they hunt and travel." When thus painted they are said to have looked "more like Devils than Human Creatures,"[2] and hence, perhaps, Charlevoix's statement that the warriors paint themselves to intimidate their enemies, and possibly to conceal any trace of fear. Young men we are told paint in order to appear older than they really are and, also, to render themselves attractive, in which case the colors are more vivid and in greater variety. The dead, and prisoners destined for death, are always painted;[3] and finally, the face is colored black as a sign of mourning,[4] just as among certain tribes, women of easy

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[1] *Indian Nations*, p. 254: Philadelphia, 1876. Adair, p. 79. *See also* Sagard, p. 246, for use of gentile totems.

[2] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 192: London, 1718. *Cf.* Lafitau, III., p. 50. Jesuit Relation, 1665, p. 6; and 1658, p. 29, where it is said: "lors qu' il est bien barbouillé, on le tient un bel homme; et en Europe, on le prendroit pour un demon." Adair, p. 398. Capt. Clark, *Sign Language*, pp. 276 *et seq.*: Philadelphia, 1885. Carver, *Travels*, p. 227. Megapolensis, p. 154.

[3] *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, VI., p. 41: Paris, 1744. Heckwelder, p. 271. Jesuit Relation, 1636, p. 10. Perrot, p. 32: Paris, 1864. Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 282.

[4] Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 19. *Cf.* Charlevoix, VI., p. 111. Carver, *Travels*, p. 407: London, 1778. Sagard, I., p. 201. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 182.

virtue paint themselves in a particular manner[1] by way of indicating their mode of life.

Of the paintings that were purely ornamental it is difficult to speak with certainty. That there were such, or some that were believed to be such, is evident from the statements that have come down to us.[2] Father Charles Lallemant, for instance, tells us that for most of the time they have their faces painted . . . in divers ways according to the fancy of the women, who are said to paint their husbands and children ;[3] and Father Le Jeune reports that he had seen the wife of Manitougache engaged in this work. He adds that they find it so becoming that little children do not think themselves handsome unless they are painted.[4] In Florida, the Knight of Elvas met with certain Indians who had "their bodies, thighs and arms ochred and dyed with black, white, yellow and red, striped like unto panes, so that they showed as though they went in hose and doublets; and some of them had plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces black, and their eyes done round about with streaks of red, to seem more fierce";[5] and in the Relation for 1632 we are told of certain Indians who were painted "like the masks that are seen in France at lent: Some had the nose painted blue, the eyes, eyebrows and cheeks black, and the balance of the face red; . . . others had a black stripe, as broad as a ribbon, drawn

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Per contra Capt. Clark, *Sign Language*, p. 277, says that among Indians of the Plains "black means joy; white mourning; red beauty; and an excessive use of any of these or other colors, excitement."

[1] Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 203. Bartram, *Travels*, p. 501.

[2] "Quand quel'qu-un veut aller en visite, ou assister à quelque festin, ou à quelque danse, il se fait peindre le visage de diverses couleurs, par quelque femme ou par quelque fille, &c.": Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 29. *Cf.* Gookin, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. I., Series I., p. 153. Loskiel, *Indians of N. America*, p. 49. "Adorne themselves most with copper beads and paintings": Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130. Du Pratz, II., p. 197. Lafitau, III., p. 42.

[3] Jesuit Relation, 1626, p. 4, and 1658, p. 29: Quebec, 1858.

[4] Jesuit Relation, 1633, p. 6.

[5] *Knight of Elvas*, in Louisiana Hist. Coll., Part II., p. 165.

from one ear to the other, across the eyes and small stripes on the cheeks."[1] We are not told whether these figures were purely ornamental; and in view of the use, in recent times, of similar paintings, and even stripes and dots as badges of office, exploit marks, and for other purposes,[2] it is by no means certain that they were. All that can be said is that they were undoubtedly of Indian origin, and so far as they were intended to glorify the individual warrior, they sprung from the desire for admiration.

Returning now to the subject of bodily mutilation from which we have wandered, we find that the custom of compressing the head so as to give it a different shape, was more or less common. South of the Ohio, the object was to flatten it; and to this end the child was fastened on a cradle board, and a bag of sand, clay or some other means of pressure applied to the forehead. This, of course, forced the forehead backward, and as the occiput was equally confined, it caused the skull "to shoot upwards," there being no other way for it to grow. By this "wild piece of mechanism," as it is called, "the rising of the nose, instead of being equi-distant from the beginning of the chin to that of the hair, is placed a great deal nearer to the one and farther away from the other." According to another account, "it makes the eyes stand in a prodigious way asunder, and the Hair hang on the Forehead like the Eves of a House." Both writers[3] agree as to the frightful or hideous appearance of those whose heads are thus deformed; and by others[4] we are told of the sufferings of the child

[1] p. 4: Quebec, 1858. Compare Heckwelder, p. 204.

[2] Compare Kohl, *Kitchi-Gami*, pp. 16 *et seq.*: London, 1860. Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 298 *et seq.*, and Plates VI. and VII. Tenth Annual Report of same, pp. 439, 633, &c., &c.: Washington, 1893. Among the Wyandots, according to Major Powell, First Ann. Rep. Bur. of Ethnology, p. 62, on the installation of a gentile chief, the gentile totem was painted on his face.

[3] Adair, pp. 8, 284. Lawson, *Carolina*, pp. 34, 190. Bartram, *Travels*, p. 515.

[4] Charlevoix, VI., p. 34. Lafitau, II., p. 283.

during the first stages of the operation. Radical as was this change in the shape of the head, it was not followed, so far as we have been able to discover, by any diminution or accession of brain power; neither is it believed to have strengthened the sight, whatever the Indian may have said to the contrary. North of the St. Lawrence, were the *Têtes de boule*, an Algonquin tribe, among whom a different type of beauty prevailed. According to their ideas, a round head was the ideal: and Indian mothers soon after the birth of a child, began a course of treatment which was intended to give this shape to the head.[1] So far as known to me, this practice was limited to this one tribe, though the custom of flattening the head was very general in the South, "extending even to Mexico."[2]

Of the use of labrets and of the custom among the men of piercing the nipples and inserting a reed or cane in the hole, I do not propose to speak, as the evidence on the point is not altogether satisfactory. Cabeça de Vaca,[3] it is true, asserts that both customs existed among the Indians of Florida; and Adair [4] and Father Paul Ragueneau [5] speak of piercing the lip, but in such an indefinite manner that it does not carry much weight. At all events their statements are not corroborated, as they would have been

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[1] Lafitau, II., p. 283. Charlevoix, V., p. 275, and VI., p. 35. *Cf.* Robt. Rogers, p. 245.

[2] Adair, p. 8. "Tous les peuples de la Louisiane l' ont aussi plate ou peu s' en faut": Du Pratz, II., p. 216. *Cf.* Gravier, p. 134. Cavelier, p. 40. Tonti, p. 60. Membré, p. 182. Margry, V., p. 131.

[3] Relation, pp. 75, 78: New York, 1871.

[4] "Some of the South American natives cut the lobes of their ears, and for a considerable time fastened small weights to them, in order to lengthen them; that others cut holes in their upper and under lips; through the cartilage of the nose, their chins and jaws, and either hung or thrust through them, such things as they most fancied, which also agrees with the ancient customs of our Northern Indians." *History of the American Indians*, p. 213: London, 1775.

[5] "En d' autres endroits de l' Amerique, quelques Nations se percent le nez, entre les deux narines, d'où ils font dependre quelques jolivetez; . . . et d' autres sur leurs levres pendantes et renversées, et tout cela pour contenter leurs yeux, et pour trouver le point de la beauté." Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 30.

if the custom had been general, and hence I do not insist upon their acceptance.

But whilst the existence among our Indians, of these two methods of bodily mutilation or, if the term be preferred, of ornamentation may well be doubted, the same cannot be said of the customs of piercing the nose and ears. These were widespread, and were usually common to all the members of the tribe, women as well as men; though there were tribes, like the Iroquois, in which the women did not pierce the nose, and "it was only among certain others that they pierced the ears."[1] Although evidently intended for ornamental purposes, yet there were people among whom the custom had something of a religious significance, resembling in this respect the practice of infant baptism among ourselves. Thus, for example, we are told by Perrot,[2] that the operation was performed when the child was five or six months old by a medicine man (*"jongleur"*), who made an invocation to the sun, or some chosen spirit, beseeching him to have pity on the child and preserve its life. He then pierced the ears with a bone, and the nose with a needle: and filled the wounds in the former with small rolls of bark, and that in the latter with the quill end of a feather. These were suffered to remain until the wounds healed, when they were removed, and in their places were substituted tufts of the down of birds. The ceremony was always accompanied by a feast, and handsome presents were made to the Shaman and his assistants.

The holes in the ears of the men and women were of different sizes, and served to distinguish the sexes;[3] those

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[1] "Leurs narines ne sont jamais percées, & il n'y a que parmi quelques Nations, qu' elles se percent les oreilles." Charlevoix, VI., p. 43. As to the existence of these customs, *Cf.* Lafitau, III., p. 53. Sagard, p. 135. Carver, p. 227. Loskiel, p. 49. Marquette, p. 48. Iberville, p. 72, in Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 1875. Adair, p. 171.

[2] *Mémoire sur les Mœurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de L' Amerique Septentrionale*, p. 30: Leipzig et Paris, 1864.

[3] Lafitau, III., p. 53. Adair, p. 171.

in the ears of the women being small, whilst the men sometimes cut a slit almost entirely around the rim of the ear, which "they distend and stretch as much as possible," so much so, in fact, that the loop hangs almost to the shoulder.[1] Not unfrequently the outer edge of skin is torn apart; and then the Indian is plunged into the depths of humiliation until, by paring the broken ends, they can be made to grow together.[2] Heckwelder[3] reports an instance of an Indian, who was with difficulty prevented from killing himself on account of an accident of this character; and he adds that it was owing to the frequency of such accidents, that the custom of stretching the holes in the ears to this enormous extent was falling into desuetude.

Of the articles worn in the ears and nose, our accounts are full and explicit. To a certain extent they were the same—might in fact have been used indiscriminately; and yet such an arrangement must have been one sided, for whilst the nose ornaments could be used in the ears, there were so many worn in the ears that could not be adapted to the nose, that it seems advisable to consider them separately. Beginning then with nose-rings, as this entire class is usually called, we find that relatively speaking, they were few in number, and that the material of which they were generally made was shell. The savages, for instance, whom Sagard[4] saw in Canada, had a blue bead (*patinotre*) of good size which hung down from above, on the upper lip. On the Atlantic coast a "large pearl, or a piece of silver, gold, or wampum"[5] was used; and in "the interior parts" of the country, sea-shells were much worn and were "reckoned very ornamental."[6] In the Gulf States, "such

[1] Compare Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 30. Adair, p. 171. Carver, p. 277.. Loskiel, *Indians of N. America*, p. 49. Lafitau, III., p. 49. Bartram, p. 499.

[2] Adair, *North American Indians*, p. 171: London, 1775.

[3] Heckwelder, *Indian Nations*, p. 207: Philadelphia, 1876.

[4] *Voyage des Hurons*, I., p. 135: Paris, 1865. Radisson, *Voyages*, in Prince Soc. Pub., pp. 146, 226.

[5] Loskiel, p. 49: London, 1794.

[6] Carver, *Travels*, p. 227: London, 1778.

coarse diamonds as their own hilly country produced were, in old times, fastened with a deer's sinew to their hair, nose, ears and maccasenes." They also, so it is said, formerly used nose-rings and jewels; but, "at present they hang a piece of battered silver or pewter, or a large bead to the nostril, like the European method of treating swine to prevent them from rooting."[1]

On the other hand, their supply of rings, pendants and articles of different kinds worn in the ears, was practically unlimited. Shells in the shape of beads of different sizes, pendants, and small cylinders like the stem of a Holland pipe, were in use among the Indians of Canada, as were small pieces of a red stone worked into the shape of an arrowhead.[2] The New England and western Indians indulged in pendants in "the formes of birds, beasts and fishes, carved out of bone, shells and stone";[3] and farther to the south "they decorate the lappets of their ears with pearls, rings, sparkling stones, feathers, flowers, corals, or silver crosses."[4] In Carolina they "wear great Bobs in their Ears and sometimes in the Holes thereof they put Eagles and other Birds Feathers for a Trophy."[5] Copper, in the shape of beads, pendants or wire, was in use from Canada to Florida, as were tufts of down as large as the fist, oiled and painted red.[6] Fish bladders, which are said to have looked like pearl, were worn in the South,[7]

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[1] Adair, p. 171. Among the articles traded to the Indians at different times, mention is made of nose-crosses.

[2] Lafitau, III., pp. 49, 53. Charlevoix, VI., p. 43. Sagard, 133.

[3] Wood, *New England's Prospect*, p. 74. Prince Society Publications. *Plaine Dealing or Newes from New England*, in Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., p. 103. Father Rasle, in Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, p. 38.

[4] Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, pp. 49, 52. Beverly, *Virginie*, Plate II. *First Voyage to America*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 286: Edinburgh, 1889.

[5] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193.

[6] Lafitau, III., pp. 49 50. Brereton, p. 90, in Vol. VIII., of 3d Series Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections. Adair, p. 171. Radisson, *Voyages, loc. cit.*, p. 146. Verrazzano, *loc. cit.*, p. 401. *First Voyage to America*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 286: Edinburgh, 1889.

[7] De Bry, *Brevis Narratio*, quoted in *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p. 521: New York, 1873.

as was a pin made of the interior of a shell, called Burgo, as large as the little finger and quite as long, with a head to prevent it from slipping through the hole in which it was inserted.[1] Finally, according to Strachey,[2] and his account, we may remark in passing, is a good summary of the whole subject, "their ears they bore with wyde holes, commonly two or three, and in the same they doe hang chaines of stayned pearls, braceletts of white bone or shreds of copper, beaten thinne and bright, and wound up hollowe, and with a great pride, certaine fowles leggs, eagles, hawkes, turkeys, etc., etc., with beast's claws, beares, arrahacounes, squirrels, etc. The clawes thrust through they let hang upon the cheeke to the full view, and some of their men there be, who will weare in these holes a small green and yellow colored live snake, neere half a yard in length, which crawling and lapping himself about his neck often tymes familiarily, he suffereth to kiss his lippes. Others weare a dead ratt tyed by the tayle, and such like conundrums."

Closely connected with this style of personal ornamentation, and of interest on account of the wide field it afforded for the display of individual taste,[3] were the methods of dressing the hair. To specify a tithe of the fashions that prevailed in this particular among the different tribes, or among the members of the same tribe, would take more time than we can well afford. Moreover, it would not be productive of any definite result, in view of what is told us of the fantastic character of many of these

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[1] Du Pratz, *Louisiane*, II., p. 195.

[2] *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, pp. 57, 67. Compare Capt. Smith, *Virginia*, p. 130. Hariot, Plates III., IV., VII.: London, 1893. *Brevis Narratio*, in De Bry, Plate XIV. Geo. Percy, in Purchas' *Pilgrims*, IV., p. 1687. Among the articles traded to the Indians, we find silver ear rings, ear wheels and ear bobs mentioned in the same invoice.

[3] Jesuit Relations, 1633, p. 35. Megapolensis, *loc. cit.*, p. 154. Cartier, in *Early English Voyages to America*, II., p. 43. Laudonnière, in same, p. 413. Champlain, I., p. 380. Lafitau, I., p. 201.

fashions, and of the changes they underwent.[1] Instead, therefore, of attempting to describe one or more of the "cuts, . . . which would torture the wits of a curious Barber to imitate,"[2] it will be sufficient to call attention to the fact that the Indians usually went bareheaded, and that, aside from gratifying the fancy of the individual, the arrangement of the hair was often intended to give visible expression to some particular condition of savage life. Thus we find that whilst it very generally served to distinguish the sexes,[3] it was a tribal peculiarity with the *Cheveux Relevés*[4] and the Hurons,[5] both of whom took their names from the way they wore their hair. It is also extremely probable that it was at one time used as a clan designation and a badge of office, for it is even yet customary among the Omahas to trim the hair of the children in such a way as to resemble the totems of the clans to which they belong; and in Virginia, the medicine-men "shave all their heads saving their creste which they weare in manner of a cokscombe," and "fasten a small black

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[1] Lafitau, III., pp. 48, 49.

[2] *New England's Prospect*, p. 72. *Cf.* Williams's Key, p. 58.

[3] Adair, p. 171. *Cf.* Charlevoix, VI., pp. 42, 43. Lafitau, III., pp. 48 *et seq.* Among the Houmas, a woman who had led several war parties and was held in high esteem, "had the first place in all councils . . . and had her hair dressed like the men": Gravier, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. Winslow, in Purchas' *Pilgrims*, IV., p. 1869.

[4] "Leur fantaisie est leur mode. Quelques-uns les portent relevez sur le haut de la teste, la pointe en haut. Il se trouve une Nation toute entière, qui le nomme cheveux relevez, pour ce qu' ils aiment cette façon de coiffure. D'autres se rasent sur le milieu de la teste, ne portant du poil qu' au deux costez, comme de grands moustaches. Quelques uns découvrent tout un coste, et laisse l'autre tout couvert." Jesuit Relation, 1658, p. 29. *Cf.* Radisson, *loc. cit.*, p. 146, for notices of Cheveux Relevés.

[5] "Quelque Matelot ou Soldat, voyant pour la premiere fois cette sorte de barbares, dont les uns portoient les cheveux sillonez, en sorte que sur le milieu de la teste paroissoit une raye de cheveux large d' un ou deux doigts, puis de part et d' autre autant de razé, en ensuite une outre raye de cheveux, et d'autres qu' avoient un costé de la teste tout razé et l' autre garny de cheveux pendant jusques sur l' espaule, cette façon de cheveux lui semblant des hures, cela le porta à appeler ces barbares Hurons, et c' est le nom qui depuis leur est demeuré." Jesuit Relation, 1639, p. 51.

birde above one of their eares as a badge of their office."[1]

Among the New England Indians, the men and boys had different ways of dressing the hair;[2] and we are assured that everywhere—north as well as south—an Indian when on the war-path, arranged his hair very differently from what he did at other times.[3] Indeed, there is reason to believe that in this respect the custom was tribal rather than individual, for Adair[4] tells us that among the southern Indians "different tribes when at war trim their hair after a different manner, so that we can distinguish an enemy in the woods, so far off as we can see him." That it was, also, indicative of social position, is a fair inference from the statement that, among these same tribes, the hair of the slaves was cut short.[5]

The women, on the contrary, were so far from cutting their hair in "a thousand different ways" that they guarded it with jealous care; and no more serious affront could be offered to a woman than to deprive her of it.[6] Sometimes, it is true, she was condemned to lose it as a punishment,[7] and there were occasions when she was made drunk and robbed of it by men who sold it to the whites;[8] but as a rule, her hair was never cut off except when mourning, and then by herself and as a sign of grief, or possibly, as the old writer suggests, it may have been

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[1] Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 26: Edinburgh, 1887. "They differ from each other in the mode of dressing their heads, each following the custom of the nation or band to which they belong, and adhering to the form made use of by their ancestors from time immemorial." Carver, *Travels*, p. 229. *Cf.* Miss Fletcher, *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. I., No. II., pp. 116, *et seq.*, for modes of cutting hair among Omahas; and Hariot, Plate XI., for statement as to medicine man. See Capt. Smith, p. 139, for an account of the snake skin head-dress of the chief Priest.

[2] *New England's Prospect*, p. 72.

[3] Lafitau, III., p. 50. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 192.

[4] *American Indians*, p. 8: London, 1775. Gookin, *loc. cit.*, p. 153.

[5] *Histoire de la Louisiane*, II., p. 428.

[6] Charlevoix, *Nouvelle France*, VI., pp. 42, 43. Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 203.

[7] Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 52.

[8] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 203.

for the purpose of obliging her to remain in her cabin,[1] for she did not show herself until it was grown again. However, be that as it may, the custom seems to have lost much of its severity, for the Iroquois recognizing the fact that the hair was a great ornament, and that it grew very slowly, compromised the matter by simply trimming the end of the tress which hung at the back, thus shortening materially the time of mourning. Among the Virginia and Florida Indians, the old custom still prevailed, for they cut off their hair and threw it in or on the grave.[2] With such views as to the significance of the different methods of wearing the hair, we can well understand why they left it long; though there were differences between tribes, and, not unfrequently, between the married and unmarried women of the same tribe in the manner of "trussing it."[3]

In ornamenting the hair, or rather in the materials of which their head-dresses were composed, for the two cannot well be separated, there was a general sameness, though there was no limit to the ways in which these materials were employed and to the effects that were produced. Paints, for instance, of different colors, and down in the shape of powder,[4] were spread over the head. Oils of

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[1] Lafitau, III., pp. 48, *et seq.*, and IV., pp. 151, 152.

[2] Lafitau, IV., p. 152. Laudonnière, in *Early English Voyages*, II., p. 415: Edinburgh, 1889.

[3] Carver, *Travels*, p. 229. Lescarbot, III., pp. 679, 681. Hariot, *Narrative*, Plates III., VI., VIII. In the explanation to plate VI., it is said that "their haire is cutt with two ridges above their foreheads, the rest is trussed opp on a knott behinde": *Cf.* Loskiel, p. 52, for account of the way the Delawares, Iroquois and Shawnees arrange their hair, and for the statement that the Iroquois are allowed to dictate the fashion to the rest. Lawson, p. 191, says, "the hair of their heads is made into a long roll like a Horse's Tail, and bound round with *Ronoak* or *Porcelan*, which is a sort of Beads they make of the Conk-Shells. Others that have not this, make a Leather String serve": According to Champlain, however, "les femmes et les filles . . . les portent toujours d' une mesme façon." *Voyages*, I., p. 380.

[4] Charlevoix, VI., p. 42. "Les cheveux bien peignez." Champlain, I., 380. "When they kill any fowl, they commonly pluck off the downy feathers and stick them all over their heads." Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 193.

nuts and sunflower seed, as well as the fat of animals, were used in greasing the hair and body generally,[1] disagreeable as must have been the "stinking and nasty" condition which it is said to have caused.[2] Feathers, too, either single, or in the shape of a chaplet or "crown," were in demand as an ornament,[3] a mark of honor,[4] or a badge of office;[5] and among the southern Indians the privilege "of wearing a pair of young buffalo-bull's horns on the forehead, and of dancing with the same animal's tail sticking up behind him," was only granted to those who had made three successful "wolfish campaigns."[6] Snake-skins stuffed with moss, tied by the tails, and suffered to hang from each side of the head, a good ell or more in length, were worn by the Hurons as an ornament,[7] whilst in Virginia, where this style of head-dress was limited to the "chief Priest," it was probably intended to mark his occupation.[8] Shell beads of different sizes and colors, woven into a belt of many figures and worn as a diadem,[9] were in high favor among them, as were wreaths of martin or swan skin and "frontalls of currall and copper."[10]

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[1] Lafitau, III., p. 50. "Peints et graissez." Champlain, I., p. 380. [See Note 5. p. 392.]

[2] Lafitau, III., p. 53. Jesuit Relation, 1611, p. 16; and 1633, p. 16.

[3] Sagard, I., p. 134. Du Pratz, II., p. 197. *Cf.* Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, p. 167. Charlevoix, VI., p. 42. Adair, p. 84. Father Rasle, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

[4] Adair, *loc. cit.*, p. 398. *Cf.* Mallery, in *Tenth Report Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 434-437.

[5] Du Pratz, II., p. 198. Major Powell, in *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 61, 62. Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

[6] Adair, p. 30. *Cf.* Lafitau III., pp. 17, 19. *Iroquois Book of Rites*, pp. 67, 125, 151, 168, &c., &c.: Philadelphia, 1883. Charlevoix, VI., p. 42, says "deere horns" were so used.

[7] Sagard, I., p. 134; and II., p. 229.

[8] Capt. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 139.

[9] Lafitau, III., p. 50. Beverly, *Virginie*, p. 227 and plate III. Adair, p. 170, states that a conch-shell bead, about the length and thickness of a man's fore-finger, was fixed to the crown of the head as a high honor. De Vries, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

[10] Adair, p. 84. Lafitau, III., p. 50. Strachey, p. 68. *First Voyage*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 287. Cartier, in same, p. 122.

On solemn occasions, as on gala-days, the Iroquois wore above the ear a tuft of the feathers, or the wing, or the whole skin, of some rare bird;[1] and the Virginia Indians tied up the lock of hair which they leave full length on the left side of the head, with an "arteficyall and well labored knott, stuck with many colored gew-gawes, as the cast head or brow-antle of a deare, the hand of their enemie dryed, croisettes of bright and shyning copper, like the newe moone. Many wore the whole skyne of a hauke stuffed, with the wings abroad, . . . and to the feathers they will fasten a little rattle, about the bignes of the chape of a rapier, which they take from the tayle of a snake, and some tymes divers kinds of shells, hanging loose by small purfleets or threeds, that, being shaken as they move, they might make a certaine murmuring or whisteling noise by gathering wynd, in which they seeme to take great jollity, and hold yt a kind of bravery."[2]

In addition to the articles noted above and worn as ornaments, honors, etc., there were others that were used as bracelets, necklaces, gorgets, etc. As a rule they were of bone, pearl, shell and copper, though the claws and talons of beasts and birds of prey[3] were also used. Except occasionally in size, they did not differ materially from the beads, pendants, etc., that were worn on the head and in the ears. Taking up these articles in their order, we find that in the Gulf States the Indians made bracelets of bone. For this purpose they chose the rib of a deer, which was soaked in boiling water and thus rendered soft and pliable. It was then worked into the desired shape, and is said to have been as white and smooth as polished ivory.[4] In Virginia "polished," or as they are

[1] Lafitau, III., p. 50. *Cf.* Adair, p. 8, for same custom among Southern tribes.

[2] Strachey, *loc. cit.*, p. 67. *Cf. First Voyage*, in Hakluyt, II., pp. 286 *et seq.*, for account of copper pendants, sometimes five or six in either ear, and red pieces of copper on the head.

[3] Charlevoix, VI., p. 42.

[4] Du Pratz, II., p. 197.

sometimes called "smooth bones," were used in connection with "pearles and little beedes of copper" as necklaces and earrings;[1] and in New England, as we have seen, bones carved in the shape of birds, beasts and fishes were worn as pendants in the ears; and in Waymouth's voyage we are told that they were also used as bracelets.

Of pearls, there seems to have been an abundance,[2] though they were unequally distributed. Owing perhaps to this fact, and to the extravagant accounts of some of the old writers, it has been thought that they were, not unfrequently, confounded with shell beads; and, yet, the statements as to their use are too frequent and too detailed in character, to leave any doubt about the matter, even without the confirmatory evidence of the mounds. Upon this point the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition are in full accord; and whilst we may well doubt whether the Spaniards took "three hundred and ninety-two pounds of pearls, and little babies and birds made of them" from the graves near Cutifachiqui,[3] yet when we are told that pearls "of the bigness of good pease" were found in Virginia, and that one man "gathered together from among the savage people about five thousand" of them,[4] we cannot but admit that there is a foundation of fact in the story of the old writer, extravagant as it seems to be.

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[1] Hariot, plates IV., VI. and VII.

[2] "A quantity of pearls amounting to six or seven arrobes." Biedma, in Hist. Coll. of Louisiana, part II., p. 101. "In her eares bracelets of pearls hanging down to her middle." *Voyages of English Nation to America*, in Hakluyt, II., p. 286. In same, p. 304, it is said, "not only his own skinnes that hee weareth, and the better sort of his gentlemen and followers are full set with the sayd Pearle, but also his beds, and houses are garnished with them, and that hee hath such quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to see." "Bracelets of real pearls; but they pierce them when hot, and thus spoil them." Membré, *loc. cit.*, p. 183. *Cf.* Shea, *Early Voyages*, p. 86, and in same, p. 140, Father Gravier says, "the chief's wife had some small pearls . . . but about seven or eight which are as large as small peas": *Cf.* Capt. Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 138, 144, 191, &c. Strachey, pp. 54, 132. Tonti, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

[3] Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. *Cf.* Garcilaso de la Vega, I., pp. 424, 434; and in Vol. II., pp. 5, *et seq.*, there is an account of the way in which the Indians extracted pearls from shells: Paris, 1670.

[4] *First Voyage*, in Hakluyt, II., pp. 286, 334: Edinburgh, 1889.

Copper, too, in various shapes, was in high favor among them, as aside from its use as ornament and as a mark of authority, it had among certain tribes a sort of religious character or significance. In Wisconsin, for instance, in the heart of the copper-bearing region, it was not unusual to find pieces of fifteen or twenty pounds weight, that had been preserved in families, from time immemorial, and were venerated as domestic gods; whilst "the smaller pieces were looked upon as the possessions of the divinities that lived under the earth and as the playthings of their children."[1] Inviting as is this phase of my subject, it is not my purpose to discuss it; neither does it come within the scope of this investigation to inquire whether the Indians made use of fire when working their copper into beads, plates, "croisettes," etc., as there is reason to believe that they sometimes did. The only question that we are permitted to ask, relates to the extent and character of the use of this metal by the aborigines; and upon this point the answer is satisfactory. Beginning with the earliest recorded notices, we find that Verrazzano[2] in the course of his explorations along the Atlantic coast, saw many savages with "plates of wrought copper," which they valued more than gold on account of its color. Elsewhere, towards the northeast, the people were more savage, dressed in skins and "had beadstones of copper hanging in their ears." De Soto, too, at a place called Cutifachiqui, supposed to have been on the Savannah River, found "little hatchets of copper, which were said to have a mixture of gold"; and he heard of a country at the north, where there was a "melting of copper and of another metal of the same color."[3] About A. D. 1561–2, Ribault[4] speaks of seeing a chief, in Florida, who had

[1] Jesuit Relations, 1667, p. 8; and 1670, p. 84.
[2] In *Early English Voyages to America*, II., pp. 397, 401: Edinburgh, 1889.
[3] Knight of Elvas, *loc. cit.*, pp. 136, 149.
[4] Historical Coll. of Louisiana, new series, p. 178: New York, 1875.

"hanging about his neck a round plate of copper, well polished, with one other lesser one of silver in the midst of it, and at his ear a little plate of copper wherewith they use to stripe the swete from their bodyes"; and a hundred years and more later, Father Membré[1] accompanied La Salle in his famous voyage down the Mississippi, and somewhere on the lower river they were visited by a chief of the Tensa, who was dressed in a fine white cloth or blanket, and was preceded by two men carrying fans of white feathers, and a third who carried "a copper plate, and a round one of the same metal, both highly polished."

Shifting, now, our field of observation to Canada, we are told by Cartier,[2] who was on the St. Lawrence as early as 1535, that the Indians of that region had "red copper," which they said came from the Saguenay. They called it *Caignetdaze*, and except in one instance where a knife was made of it, there is no record of the way in which it was used. Some seventy years later, shortly after the foundation of Quebec, Champlain[3] speaks of a piece of copper a foot long, and very handsome and pure, which was given to him by an Algonquin savage. "He gave me to understand that there were large quantities where he had taken this, which was on the banks of a river, near a great lake. He said that they gathered it in lumps, and having melted it, spread it in sheets, smoothing it with stones." In 1658, Radisson[4] wintered on the shore of Lake Superior, and together with several notices of copper he makes mention of a "yellow waire that they make with copper, made like a starr or a half-moon." Soon after this, by 1671, the Jesuits had completed the circuit of Lake Superior, and it

[1] *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. 171.

[2] *Early Voyages to America*, II., pp. 104, 124, 130, 141.

[3] Pub. of Prince Soc., Vol. II., p. 236: Boston, 1878.

[4] Prince Soc. Pub., pp. 188, 212.

is from them that we hear of a mass of copper weighing six or seven hundred pounds, so hard that steel would not mark it, but which, when heated, could be cut like lead."[1]

Continuing our investigation, we find that, in 1602, Gosnold made a "voyage of discovery" to the north part of Virginia, during the course of which he visited Martha's Vineyard and the other islands off the south shores of Massachusetts. Speaking of the Indians of that region, we are told by one of the chroniclers of the expedition, that "they have also great store of copper, some very red, and some of a pale color: none of them but have chains, ear rings or collars of this metal: they head some of their arrows herewith, much like our broad arrow heads, very workmanly done. Their chains are many hollow pieces connected together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks: their collars they wear about their bodies like bandeliers a handful broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these they have large drinking cups made like skulls, and other thin plates of copper made much like our boar spear blades," etc.[2] From another participant in this same expedition, we hear of "tobacco pipes steeled with copper," and of an Indian who had "hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot for a breastplate, the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper."[3] From Roger Williams,[4] who wrote some twenty years after the

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[1] Jesuit Relation, 1670, p. 85.

[2] Brereton, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VIII., Series 3, p. 91.

[3] Archer, in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VIII., Series 3, p. 75. Voyage of Martin Pringe, in Purchas' *Pilgrims*, IV., p. 1655: London, 1625.

[4] Key, in Rhode Island Hist. Coll., Vol. I., p. 55.

settlement at Plymouth, we learn that "they have an excellent Art to cast our Pewter and Brasse into very neate and artificiall Pipes," and Hendrik Hudson, according to Ruttinber,[1] found copper pipes among the Indians living near where New York City now stands.

Farther to the south, in Virginia proper, copper was much used, especially in the shape of beads. Capt. Smith[2] tells us that they were very covetous of it, and Strachey[3] is full of references to it. Besides these writers we are told that some twenty-five or thirty years earlier, on the occasion of a visit made by Granganimeo, the king's brother, to the English, he wore upon his head a broad plate of golde, or copper . . . and that when he was present none durst trade but himself: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himself: for that is the difference betweene the noblemen and the governors of the countreys, and the meaner sort.[4] Mr. Ralph Lane heard of a "marvellous mineral" called Wassador, or copper, which being thrown into the fire yielded in five parts at the first melting, "two parts of metall for three partes of oare";[5] and Strachey[6] tells us that the hills to the northwest have that store of copper "as Bocootauwanaukes are said to parte the solide metall from the stone without fire, bellowes, or aditamant, and beat it into plates," having apparently forgotten that on a previous page, he states on the authority of Powhatan, that these same people "melted copper and other metalls." Of the various uses of copper we have already spoken,

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[1] Ruttinber, p. 8.

[2] *Virginia*, p. 129.

[3] *Historie of Travaile in Virginia*, in Hakluyt Soc. Pub., pp. 54, 57, 65, 113, &c., &c.,: London, 1849.

[4] In *Early English Voyages*, II., p. 287.

[5] *Early English Voyages*, II., p. 309.

[6] *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

and it is only necessary to add that in "token of authoritye, and honor," the chief lords of Roanoc "wear a chaine of great pearles, or copper beades, or smooth bones abowt their necks, and a plate of copper hinge upon a stringe, from the navel into the midds of their thighs."[1]

Desirable as these articles must have been in the way of dress and ornament, they did not equal in this respect, or in the utilitarian purposes which they served, the shells that were found on the seashore and along the banks of certain fresh water streams. In fact, leaving out of consideration the use of oysters, clams and other molluscs, as food, it is doubtful whether there was any other one material that contributed so much to fill up the measure of the Indian's wants and necessities, as did these shells. Regarded simply from a utilitarian point of view, they will be found to have served him as spoons and drinking vessels. In other shapes, they took the place of knives, tweezers, celts and hoes; and if we may accept the testimony of the mounds, they were also used as hatchets and club heads. Made into beads—one-fourth of an inch long and of proportionate thickness—and hung upon strings or woven into belts, they served as a record of a treaty or of some other transaction that was considered of sufficient importance to be thus perpetuated; and as such they were looked upon as among the most cherished possessions of the tribe, and were preserved in what is termed the public treasury.

Of their use as money, there can be no question, though it is more than probable that the custom came in with the whites. That the Indians manufactured beads of different kinds is, of course, well known; and there can be no doubt as to the value they put upon them, or as to the use that was made of them in the way of barter; but nowhere previous to the arrival of the whites do I find proof that

[1] Hariot's *Narrative*, plate VII.: London, 1893.

they were used as money—meaning by that term a medium of exchange. To be able to do this, presupposes a phase of development which the Indians had not reached; though in this, as in the use of wampum belts for recording events, they were close to the line which is assumed to separate civilization from barbarism.[1]

Returning from this digression, and taking up the question of shells as ornaments, the only view of the subject that is permitted to us, we find that in the form of beads of different shapes and sizes, embroidered on their clothes, or worn as necklaces, bracelets, pendants, etc., they were in use throughout the entire region from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the earliest times. Even in Wisconsin, a thousand miles from the ocean, "sea shells were much worn," and though Carver[2] did not know how the Indians procured them, yet he makes a shrewd guess when he suggests that it was "by traffic with other tribes nearer the sea." Exactly how long this traffic had been going on, we do not know. Probably it antedated the arrival of the whites; for when Cartier[3] sailed up the St. Lawrence, he found the Indians at Hochelaga, or Montreal as it is now called, making beads of a shell which they took from the river; and in the far South, we are told that among the principal wares in which Cabeça de Vaca[4] traded, were "cones and other pieces of sea snail, conches used for cutting . . . and sea beads." Some seventy-five years later, about the time of the settlement at Quebec, the Indians of Canada had ceased to make beads, though the Armouchiquois, as the New England Indians are sometimes called, manufactured necklaces and bracelets out of those

[1] For this account of the uses to which shells were put, see Holmes, in Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. For the statement as to the use of shells as money, I am responsible.

[2] *Travels*, p. 227: London, 1778.

[3] In *Early English Voyages*, Vol. II., pp. 120, 141, 148: Edinburgh, 1889.

[4] See Note 1, p. 385.

large sea shells called vignols;[1] and if we may credit certain early writers, it was from the Narragansetts, as being the most expert makers of *Wampompeage, and Mowhakes*, that "the Northerne, Easterne and Western Indians fetch all their coyne," as well as most of their curious Pendants and Bracelets.[2] To a certain extent, this statement is true, and yet it is altogether too general to be accepted in its entirety, for the reason that the Indians, everywhere along the Atlantic coast, were engaged in what Roger Williams terms "making money," and they all had more or less intercourse with tribes in the interior. Of the Mohawks, for instance, and tribes living on the Hudson, we are told that "their money is small beads made on the sea side, of shells or cockles, which are found on the shore; and these cockles they grind upon a stone as thin as they wish them, and then drill a small hole through them, and string them on threads, or make bands of them the breadth of a hand or more, which they hang on the shoulders and round the body. They have also divers holes in their ears, from which they hang them; and make caps of them for the head. There are two kinds; the white are the least, and the brown-blue are the most valuable; and they give two white beads for one brown. They call them *Zeewan*, and have as great fancy for them as many christians have for gold, silver and pearls. For our gold they have hardly any desire, and consider it no better than iron."[3] Almost without change, this account will apply to the manufacture of these beads all along the coast; and when we reflect upon the labor involved in making them, to say nothing of the beauty of the material, and the variety of figures it was possible to produce by a judicious intermixture of the white and blue beads of shell,

[1] Lescarbot, III., p. 707.

[2] Wood's *New England's Prospect*, p. 69.

[3] De Vries, in Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d Series, Vol. III., part 1, p. 95. Megapolensis, in same, p. 157.

with others made of hard, black wood like jet,[1] we can understand why it is that, considered as money, you can buy with it "skins, furs, slaves, or anything the *Indians* have; it being the Mammon (as our money is to us) that entices and persuades them to do anything and part with everything they possess, except their children, for slaves. With this they buy off murders; and whatsoever a Man can do that is ill, this Wampum will quit him of, and make him in their opinion, good and vertuous though never so black before."[2]

Beside beads, which, under the names of wampum, peak, zeewan, runtees, and roanoke, were used to "adorn the persons of their *sagamours* and principal men, and young women, as Belts, girdles, Tablets, Borders for their women's hair, Bracelets, Necklaces, and links to hang in their ears,"[3] and "wear about their loynes,"[4] they made of these shells Tablets or, as we call them, gorgets three or four inches in diameter, "smooth as polished marble, which sometimes have etched on them a "Star, Half moon or other Figure according to the maker's fancy."[5] Adair,[6] speaking of the same object, tells us that the American *Archimagus*, as he calls the shaman or medicine-man, "wears a breastplate, made of a white conch shell with two holes bored in the middle of it, through which he puts the end of an otter-skin strap, and fastens a buck-horn white button to the outside of each"; and according to Lawson,[7] the Indians of Carolina "oftentimes make of this Shell a sort of Gorge, which they

[1] For beads made of wood, see Lescarbot, p. 707. Loskiel, *Indians of North America*, p. 26: London, 1794.

[2] Lawson, *Carolina*, p. 194: London, 1718.

[3] Josselyn, *Two Voyages, loc. cit.*, p. 306.

[4] *New England's Prospect*, p. 74.

[5] Beverly, *Virginie*, plate II., p. 229: Amsterdam, 1707.

[6] *History of American Indians*, p. 84. For use of wampum "at a stated current rate," see p. 170. Williams's Key, chap. Coyne, &c.

[7] *Carolina*, p. 193.

wear about their neck in a string; so it hangs on their Collar, whereon sometimes is graven a Cross or some odd sort of Figure which comes next in their fancy." To any-one familiar with the Indian's method of ornamentation, it is evident that, in these gorgets, we have one of his chief treasures; and naturally enough, a knowledge of the fact leads to further inquiry into the use or uses, if there be more than one, to which the shell disks were sometimes put. Upon this point a few words may not be out of place.

And first of all, it is probable, from what is said above and from the drawings that have come down to us, that when worn suspended from the neck and resting either on the breast, or stomach, or on both,[1] these shells were used for purposes of decoration, and are therefore to be regarded as ornaments. This is, of course, satisfactory so far as it goes; but unfortunately, it does not explain why they are sometimes etched or engraved on the convex side, whilst the concave, pearl-like side is left perfectly plain, as if it were to be worn next to the body. On the theory that they were intended for ornamental purposes, pure and simple, it would seem as if these conditions ought to have been reversed, as indeed they are in most of the specimens that have been found; and as it is possible they would have been in those of which we speak, if the maker had not had some other object in view besides mere beauty. Moreover, in the arrangement of the holes for suspension—two at the top and one below—there is evidence that it was intended to fasten these shell disks securely, and not leave them dangling loosely from the neck, as was the case with so many others; and when to this we add that in the concave-convex, triangular shape, which they all have, there is

[1] "Une grande coquille de porcelaine qui pend à leur cou, ou sur leur estomac": Charlevoix, VI., p. 42. In plate XIV., *Brevis Narratio*, De Bry, there is a picture of an Indian with two such plates, or what are believed to be such, one above the other.

a resemblance, faint though it be, between them and the *tanga*[1] worn by the women in Brazil, it will be seen that there are grounds for believing that the Indians of our country may have worn them for the same reason that they were sometimes used elsewhere, viz. "to conceal their nakedness." That shells were so used in the West India Islands is well known;[2] and if we may credit Charlevoix,[3] at some time in the distant past, "when savages went naked, they made the same use of shells that our first parents did of fig leaves." Lafitau[4] repeats this statement in all its vagueness, but he brings it somewhat nearer home by adding that "in many parts of America, shells, either entire or as worked porcelain, are still used in this manner," though it is in the shape of ornaments and as a gratification to their vanity that they are chiefly in demand.

With this suggestion, as to the additional use of what was evidently a leading article in the Indian's toilet, our investigation must come to a close. In it we have endeavored not only to picture the dress and ornaments of our savages, but we have been obliged to examine the materials of which their dresses and ornaments were made, and to describe the arts by which these materials were fitted for their several uses. It has been a laborious task, but fortunately the sources of information were abundant; and whilst it is probable that our treatment of the subject has not been as complete as might have been desired, yet it is believed, that enough has been given to justify us in accepting, as our own, the statement that "from what has been said as to their method of adorning themselves, it

[1] See *Archivos do Museu Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, pp. 433 *et seq.*, for an account of the tanga. There are some in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

[2] Herrera, Stevens's *Translation*, III., p. 412: London, 1740.

[3] *Nouvelle France*, V., p. 308: Paris, 1744.

[4] *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Vol. II., p. 200: Paris, 1724.

might be inferred that the savages, instead of adding to their personal beauty (for they are, nearly all, well made,) were really trying to render themselves unnatural and hideous. This is true; and yet when they are in full dress, the fantastical arrangement of their ornaments not only has nothing in it that is offensive, but it really possesses a certain charm which is pleasing in itself and makes them appear to great advantage."[1]

[1] "De tout ce que je vient de dire de la manière de s'orner, on conclura aisément, que les Sauvages, au lieu d' ajouter à leur beauté naturelle, (car ils sont presque tous bien fait,) travaillent à se rendre laids & à se défigurer. Cela est vrai aussi; cependant quand ils sont bien parez à leur mode, l'assemblage bizarre de tous leurs ornemens, non seulement n' a rien qui choque, mais il a un je ne sçai quoi qui plait, & leur donne de la bonne grace": Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Amériquains*, Tome III., p. 57: Paris, 1724.