

From Stroud to Strouds: The Hidden History of a British Fur Trade Textile¹

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Museum records indiscriminately use the term ‘strouds’ for all kinds of woollen trade cloth used in Native American artefacts. The term is frequently encountered in fur trade journals and literature of all kinds. Yet, in histories of the British woollen industry there seems to be little knowledge that this type of cloth was produced in England and specifically designed for Native American markets. This article outlines the importance and roles of strouds in Great Lakes Native people’s fur trade fashions and develops a precise profile for its physical characteristics. It also examines the British coarse broadcloth industry in relation to the extant records of major fur trade companies. Insofar as possible, the article thereby traces the trajectories of strouds from their points of manufacture to their ultimate destinations in Native North America.

INTRODUCTION

Although the popular imagination envisions axes, knives and guns as the primary objects of Native American desire, studies show that by the eighteenth century woollen textiles were the most significant category of trade goods in terms of both bulk and value.² Similarly, within the category of woollens, blankets have achieved legendary status as the *sine qua non* of the fur trade. Inventories of commodities, however, reveal that Native American peoples traded their furs for a wide variety of woollen textiles whose names have now become obscure or have been transformed in meaning. These woollen cloths are abundantly evident on Native American artefacts in museum collections today. Researchers working with these collections often use the term ‘strouds’ to describe virtually all trade cloths that are clearly not blankets or cottons. There is no consensual or authoritative typology of fur trade textiles, however, to explain the singular usage of this term, or to guide scholarly research in textile and fur trade history.

For the purpose of identifying artefacts in museums, it is useful to know the textile’s physical properties. Instead of such descriptions, published definitions of strouds have merely stated that they were manufactured in Stroud, England, where the water was thought to produce a superior shade of red. ‘Stroudwater reds’ became famous as the cloth that was used for soldiers’ uniforms.³ A geography-based definition makes sense in the context of an industry in which each region, and each town within a region, specialized in a particular type of textile. During the eighteenth century, however, this medieval textile geography underwent changes that render such definitions incomplete and misleading. Nevertheless, the physical properties of the textiles termed ‘strouds’ are intimately linked to their history of production and marketing. In particular, in order to fully understand the significance of these textiles, one must ask how their history intersects with that of the

woollen industries in Gloucestershire and Yorkshire during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One must also explain the near absence of the term 'strouds' from the scholarly studies and archival records of these industries.

Due to confusion over contemporaneous uses of the terms 'strouds', 'cloth' and 'broadcloth', it is necessary to present a working definition of these terms before embarking on a detailed historical exploration of strouds. In the strictest sense, broadcloth was a woollen textile that was milled to 'full breadth' of approximately 60 inches wide with a velvety face produced by repeated cycles of raising and cropping the nap.⁴ Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sources often refer to 'broadcloth' by the abbreviated term 'cloth', but this term could also apply more widely to any fulled and finished woollen textile that was at least 48 inches wide. The eighteenth-century Yorkshire clothworker, John Brearley, suggested that the term 'cloth' could apply to broad or narrow woollen goods that were 'stout milled' [i.e. fulled to a thick and firm consistency] as opposed to 'thin' and 'flanily'.⁵ It could also describe a woven 'piece' of this type of fabric.

Despite these variations, the term 'broadcloth' unambiguously applied solely to the textile type called 'woollens', as opposed to 'worsted', as well as to milled in contrast to merely woven fabrics. In this broad sense of the term, strouds were a type of 'coarse' broadcloth. In the fur trade context, however, complexity arises because some circles of fur traders distinguished between 'strouds' and 'cloth', while other fur traders and most of the population at large did not. To further complicate matters, there was more than one variety of strouds. Therefore, when contemporaneous observers used the term 'cloth', it is very difficult to tell what exactly they meant. It is possible to reconstruct the meanings these terms had for various groups of people, however, by combining an examination of trade cloth on museum artefacts⁶ with a meticulous study of descriptions in fur trade inventories, orders and letters. In this article, I will establish the following diagnostic features of strouds: first, the lists (i.e. selvedges) were ornamented with a variety of stripes; secondly, in the finishing stage, the face of the cloth was merely brushed and pressed, in contrast to other broadcloths which were typically raised and cropped to leave a nap; and thirdly, they came in a range of colours that included blue, red, green, white and 'embossed', in descending order of importance.

This article addresses some popular misconceptions and gaps in the historical knowledge about fur trade woollen textiles in general, and develops an historical and physical profile for the specific textile known as 'strouds', through discussion of the following four propositions:

- 1) In the Ohio and Hudson Valleys between *c.* 1700 and *c.* 1780, as well as in the Great Lakes and Red River regions between *c.* 1760 and *c.* 1840 (see Fig. 1), strouds were the most significant woollen textile in terms of monetary value, amount of fabric traded, and application to Native American garment styles.
- 2) Throughout this period, British woollen manufacturers did not know that Native Americans were consuming their textiles because: a) they did not distinguish between settler and indigenous markets in North America; b) there was a variety of middleman roles, many of which discouraged communication between the producers and the consumers; and c) the economic analyses of the time were inaccurate. Despite their ignorance of their end consumers and the difference of terms applied to the product, British woollen manufacturers managed to produce woollens with the desired characteristics.



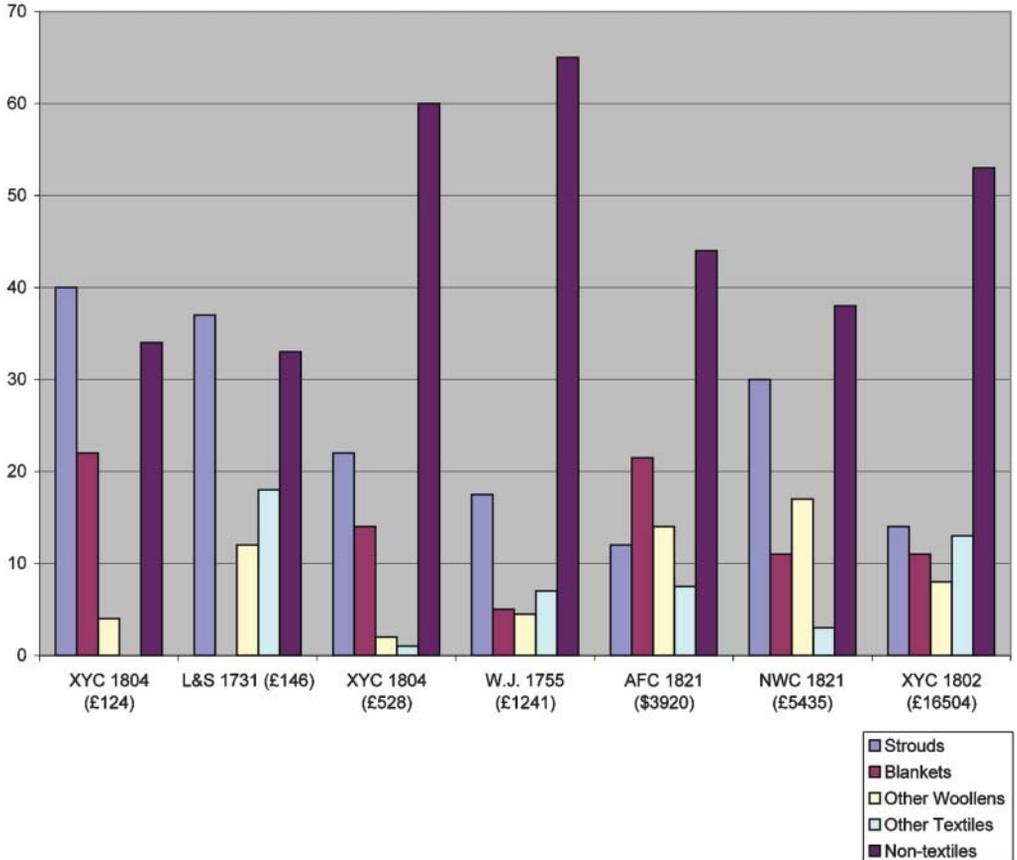
FIG. 1. Map of trade routes and posts.

- 3) The term 'strouds' developed among Pennsylvania and New York fur traders. After the Treaty of Paris in 1763, New York fur traders carried the term with them when they expanded into the Great Lakes. After the American Revolution in 1776, they shifted their centre of commerce to Montreal and carried it to the far North-west.
- 4) Despite differences in the way the various fur trade companies applied the terms 'strouds' and 'cloths', it is possible to create a typology of these textiles based on their physical properties.

STROUD IN THE EIGHTEENTH- AND EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY FUR TRADE

Strouds were one of the most costly items carried by fur traders. A survey of available inventories suggests that substantial investments in strouds were typical among traders in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes regions from the 1730s through the 1820s. As Table 1

TABLE I. RELATIVE PERCENTAGE OF VALUE OF TEXTILES IN FUR TRADE INVENTORIES, 1731–1821



The columns are arranged in ascending order of value: the first two represent small wintering post ‘outfits’; the next four are ‘outfits’ for medium-sized inland posts; the last one is an annual overseas shipment to Montreal. The total monetary value of each inventory is noted in parentheses after the date. The ‘Other Textiles’ category includes cottons, linens and worsteds whose names are too numerous to list.

Sources:

XYC (XY Company; aka New North West Company) 1802, 1804, 1804, and NWC 1821 fur trade inventories: Archives of Ontario, *Documents relatifs à la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest et Sir Alexander MacKenzie*, MS 312 (hereafter AO NWC Documents), #4. Invoices of Goods Shipped from England, #5. Invoices 1804, #6. Invoices of Goods Shipped from Montreal; Logan and Shippen 1731 fur trade inventory: William H. Guthman, ‘Indian Trade Documents’, *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly*, 7 (1971, 2), p. 4; William Johnson 1755 military alliance inventory: James Sullivan, *The Papers of William Johnson*, Vol. 2 (Albany NY: University of the State of New York, 1922), pp. 580–571; AFC 1821 fur trade inventory: Rueben Thwaites ed., *Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society*, Vol. XI (Democrat Printing Co. State Printers, Madison WI, 1888), pp. 377–379.

shows, in six out of seven cases, the value of strouds alone was higher than that of other woollens combined and of other textiles combined (cottons, linens and worsteds). The latter is not surprising because, as a rule, woollens were much more expensive than cottons, linens and worsteds.⁷ Significantly, however, in the same instances the value of strouds was also higher than that of blankets.⁸

The British fur trade included many European and Métis (mixed-blood) employees and their families whose textile and clothing consumption was also represented on fur trade inventories. One must therefore question whether Native Americans were in fact the primary consumers of strouds. Table 1 shows that the value of strouds actually surpasses that of all other goods combined on the two inventories of 'outfits' bound for inland wintering posts: Logan & Shippen (L&S) 1731 for the Ohio Valley, and XY Company (XYC, aka the New North West Co.) 1804 worth £124 for Lake of the Woods (see Fig. 1).⁹ Unlike the shipment from London to Montreal (XYC 1802) or the outfits bound for Rainy Lake (XYC 1804 worth £528), Albany (Wm. Johnson 1755), Green Bay (American Fur Company — AFC — 1821) and Fort William (North West Company — NWC — 1821), the inland wintering posts were contexts in which the consumers were primarily, if not exclusively, Native American. In general, the large depots located centrally on fur trade routes served more diversified clientele, and therefore carried a greater variety of goods than were taken to the small wintering posts. With the exception of the AFC 1821 inventory, Table 1 shows that the lowest percentage of strouds is on the XYC 1802 annual shipment from London. Its destination, Montreal, is the largest commercial centre of all the cases considered. These findings suggest that the percentage of strouds in the total value of the outfit increased in proportion to the distance from commercial centres of trade and in proximity to Native American consumers.

A selection of outfits for small, medium and large posts in the Lake Superior district in 1804 serves to confirm this trend. At six XYC wintering posts whose outfits averaged £145 (Lake of the Woods, Lac Sable, Lake Nipigon, Pic River, Lac des Chiens, Mille Lacs), strouds made up an average of 42.5% of the total outfit (see Fig. 1).¹⁰ As noted in Table 1, at Rainy Lake, a larger post whose outfit cost £528, strouds accounted for only 23% of the total (£119). At Grand Portage, a major depot that supplied Company employees and their families, strouds made up a mere 0.5% of the total order. Besides blankets, the woollens represented on this inventory were limited to strouds and 'cloths'. Interestingly, however, it contained a vast assortment of readymade clothing: shirts in seven fabric choices, trousers in nine fabric choices, capotes,¹¹ coats, jackets, waistcoats, cloaks, and 'mantlets' (i.e. women's shortgowns), as well as accessories such as worsted belts (i.e. the *ceinture flechée* finger-woven belts of voyageur fame), and men's and women's shoes, hats and hose. These clothing items were particularly characteristic of the styles worn by French, Scottish and Métis employees of the fur trade companies.¹²

On Table 1, the only case in which the value of blankets and other woollens exceed that of strouds is the AFC 1821 inventory of goods shipped from the Company's central depot on Michilimackinac Island to a subsidiary depot at Green Bay, Wisconsin. The lesser investment in strouds in this inventory may reflect the fact that strouds were a British product that American manufacturers were struggling to replace with imitations in order to achieve economic independence.¹³ An AFC invoice of goods remaining in the Company Store at Michilimackinac in 1829 shows blankets, strouds and molton¹⁴ in English pounds, while 'cloths', cassimeres and flannels are given in American dollars.¹⁵

This suggests that American manufacturers were not able to compete in the staple products of the British fur trade, but were making headway with some woollen textiles of limited demand in the fur trade market. In Indiana, the Métis independent trader, Frances Godfroy, purchased strouds for the first few years of the 1820s, but by the end of the decade he carried exclusively 'cloths' and 'superfine cloths'.¹⁶ This too was probably due to the transformation from British to American sources for woollens that was taking place at this time.¹⁷

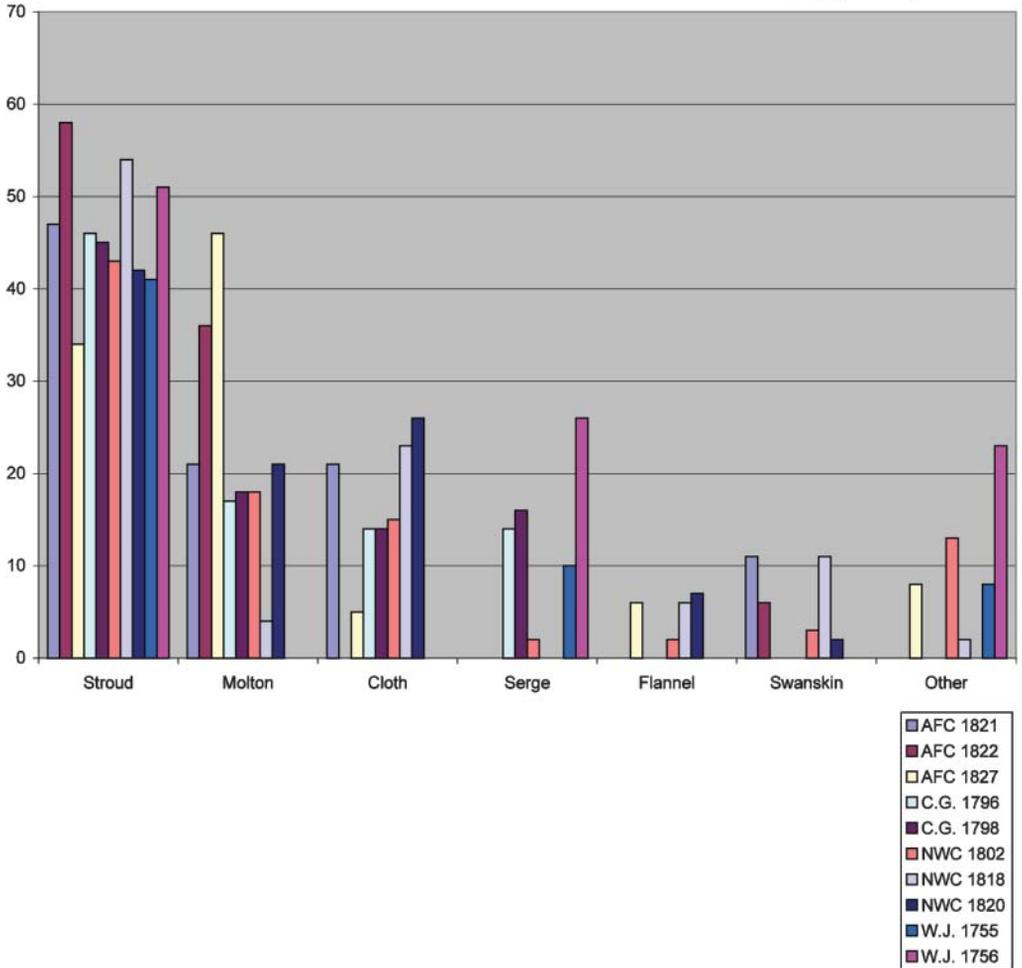
To gain a clear perspective on the importance of strouds it is also necessary to examine them in relation to the woollen textiles with which they were in direct competition. For example, in 1821 strouds made up 64% (£1,654) of the total value of woollens (£2,566) in the NWC inventory for the Fort William outfit. Other woollens included 'cloth' (20%, £503), molton (12%, £305), flannel (3%, £66) and Bath coating (1%, £38).¹⁸ The category of woollens made up 47% of the value of the entire order (100% = £5,435), while strouds alone constituted 30% of the total value. Likewise in every case but the AFC 1821 inventory, strouds form a high percentage of the total value of woollen textiles in the inventories surveyed in Table 1.

Whereas analysis of value reveals the monetary cost of strouds, it does not indicate the actual amount of fabric involved in these transactions. Because their unit value may greatly exceed that of other textiles, higher figures for strouds do not necessarily indicate more fabric. Unfortunately, comparison of amounts of fabric must remain imprecise because the textiles in question were sold by the piece, and these pieces were made in different widths and lengths. It is not possible to recover the exact widths and lengths of pieces on any given inventory because, despite specifications imposed on textile production by the British government, the sizes of textiles were not consistent throughout the period. Blankets cannot be considered in a comparison of amounts because they were sold in 'pairs' of varying sizes which cannot readily be converted into a comparable unit. Nevertheless, analysis of the number of pieces of woollens, disregarding differences in width and length, can be used to demonstrate the probability that strouds typically formed the greatest amount of woollen textiles.

Table 2 shows a random sampling of the available inventories of British commercial and political transactions during the period between 1755 and 1830. In nine out of ten cases, the percentage of strouds in the total number of pieces of woollen textiles is significantly higher than that of any other fabric. Specifically, the percentage of strouds in the total number of woollens ranges between 34 and 58, with an average of 46.1. Molton, the next highest ranking textile, is represented on only eight out of the ten inventories, within which the percentages range between 4 and 46, with an average of 18.1. Although the AFC fur trade inventory of 1827 has fewer pieces of strouds than of molton, the amount of strouds on all but one of the other inventories is double or more than that of molton. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that strouds were the most significant woollen textile in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes Native American markets during this period.

Through analysis of traders' and merchants' letterbooks, economists have argued that the eighteenth-century fur trade market was driven by consumer preferences rather than merely by supply.¹⁹ It therefore seems likely that the large investments in strouds were justifiable because they were in high demand among the Native peoples whose furs the traders and merchants desired. Indeed, in a report to the British Board of Trade in 1723, Cadwallader Colden, a member of the Governor's Council of New York, argued that the

TABLE 2. AMOUNT OF WOOLLENS IN NATIVE AMERICAN TRADE INVENTORIES, 1755–1827



The ‘Other’ category includes camblets, cassimeres, buntings, penniston, fearnought, baize, ratteen and swansdown. Total number of pieces of woollen textiles on each inventory: AFC 1821: 28; AFC 1822: 33; AFC 1827: 263; C.G. 1796: 32; C.G. 1798: 41; NWC 1802: 825; NWC 1818: 528; NWC 1820: 653; W.J. 1755: 23; W.J. 1756: 78.

Sources:

AFC fur trade inventories: NAC, *American Fur Company Records*, MG 19 B2, Reel M58; Colonial Government (C.G.) treaty annuities inventories: Government of Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders*, Vol. 1, pp.20–21, 28–29; NWC 1818 fur trade inventory: HBCA F.4/13 — Reel #5M4; NWC 1820 fur trade inventory: HBCA F.4/20 — Reel #5M5; NWC 1802 fur trade inventory: AO *NWC Documents*; William Johnson’s (W.J.) military alliance inventories: Sullivan, *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Vol. II, pp. 580–571, 898–899.

Indian trade could not be undertaken without strouds. It was the most important commodity in the fur trade market, he wrote, because the Indians valued this textile ‘more than any other Cloathing [*sic*]’.²⁰ During a period of intense competition between English and French traders between 1730 and 1755, French merchants in Montreal smuggled over

21,000 yards of strouds annually into Canada from New York via the Hudson and Richelieu Rivers (see Fig. 1), upon which they are said to have made their biggest profits. The French traders were so convinced of the necessity of English strouds that, in addition to smuggling them, they began imitating them in the 1720s.²¹

As suggested above, Native consumers in the regions and time period under consideration also valued cloth and clothing more than any other commodity. In a 1799 memorandum concerning the goods various nations desired for their annuity payments, Jacob Schieffelin, Detroit merchant and secretary to the British Indian Department, wrote that the Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi 'request that no agricultural utensils, nor other iron works, may be sent to them as any part of their annuities'. Instead, they 'hope that dry goods (articles of clothing) may only be sent to them'. Moreover, calicoes and strouds of a 'finer quality' than previously sent would 'please them better', even though 'the quantity in bulk would be less than usual'.²² The attention these colonial officials and fur traders paid to Native American tastes in textiles tend to confirm the economists' more general observation that Native Americans had considerable influence in the choice of products that were offered to them.

In view of their importance in the fur trade, it would be interesting to know exactly which articles of Native American dress were made from strouds. As noted above, it is very difficult to reconstruct these usages from contemporaneous descriptions due to confusion over the terms 'strouds', 'cloth' and 'broadcloth'. Nevertheless, there is enough unambiguous evidence to make some general observations on the use of strouds in fur trade dress styles.²³ In the eighteenth-century Ohio Valley and Hudson Valley fur trade regions, the term 'strouds' became synonymous with the women's skirt style known as *machicote*, which strongly suggests that these skirts were indeed made from strouds. For example, when Elizabeth Hicks was captured by Native Americans in the Ohio Valley in 1777, she was given a 'square of broadcloth for a stroud', which was formed by 'doubling the cloth so far as to have one fold a quarter of a yard below the other; this is wrapped around the waist, and reaches below the knee'. This was worn with a cotton 'jacket' (i.e. an English or French 'shortgown') which 'meets the stroud'.²⁴ Similarly, when the Revd O. M. Spencer was captured by Shawnees in 1792, an old woman among the captors wore a 'stroud or petticoat, simply a yard and a half of six quarter [54 inches wide] blue cloth with white selvedge', with a calico shirt.²⁵ In accordance with a woman's wealth and status, her 'stroud' was decorated with multicoloured ribbons and white beads around the skirt and peplum hems, as well as along the vertical edge of the overlap²⁶ (Fig. 2). From the early eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century, minor variations of this style of skirt were worn by Native women of many nations from the Eastern seaboard to the Mississippi River and the eastern border of Lake Superior.

Ojibway women in the regions around Lake Superior and westward to Lake Winnipeg, however, wore a style known as a 'strap dress' instead of a skirt and jacket combination. In 1804, the NWC partner, Peter Grant, described this dress as a 'petticoat of blue cloth' that extended from the ankles 'upwards to the pit of the shoulder with the same stuff'. A 'narrow strip of cloth is fitted across the breast, from the end of which two other slips are suspended, carefully ornamented with white beads and other trinkets'.²⁷ The strap dress was worn with detachable sleeves that were clasped at the wrist, open along the inside of the arms and secured in the middle of the back, which formed a cape-like effect (Fig. 3). Like the *matchicote* skirt, status and wealth were displayed in the amount and type of



FIG. 2. *The Rippling Stream* (Omuddwajecoonaqua), a female Mississauga chief, c. 1850. This high status woman wears a 'stroud' skirt with ribbonwork or lacing around the hem and vertical edge of the overlap. She also wears a stroud or 'cloth' blanket adorned with similar borders and multiple rows of ribbon sewn closely together and tacked to form a quilted effect. In Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, 1970 [1861]. Courtesy of University of Manitoba Archives.

ornamentation attached to the strap dress. Although Grant described these dresses as 'cloth', the amount of 'cloth' on NWC inventories for that year and region was minimal. As noted above, however, strouds formed an average of 42% of the total amount of woollens. The likelihood that strap dresses were made of strouds is confirmed by Thomas McKenney, US Superintendent of Indian Trade, in his account of his journey to the Treaty of Fond du Lac in 1827. He described strap dresses as 'petticoats of strouds' and documented them in the sketch titled, 'Female Chippeway of Distinction'.²⁸

Similar to the situation with women's skirts, in the Hudson Valley and Ohio Valley regions, the 'cloth' blankets worn by men and women alike came to be known as 'strouds'. For example, at treaty negotiations conducted with the Iroquois in 1743, the Board representing Indian Affairs presented 'two strouds' to two Iroquois men who had served as messengers for the proceedings.²⁹ The new Commissioner of Indian Affairs and commanding military officer, William Johnson, continued the policy of distributing clothing to Native American allies in exchange for services. In May 1755, he gave each Iroquois

warrior in the preliminary skirmishes of the French Indian Wars ‘3 Strowds [*sic*], 3 Shirts, 3 Laps [i.e. breechcloths], 3 Pr. Hose, 3 Pr. Shoes, 3 Combs, Paint, Powder Lead & Provisions’.³⁰ These ‘strowds’ were used for ‘wearing blankets’. For example, in 1802 Chief Joseph Brant was portrayed wearing a red blanket that was probably a ‘stroud’, given that he was Johnson’s brother-in-law (Fig. 4).

As noted in Table 1 above, strouds and blankets were distinct categories when considered as types of woollens. Wearing blankets, however, were made from both milled cloth, such as strouds or broadcloths, and ‘blanketing’. Johnson gave another group of warriors ‘269 Strowd [*sic*] Blankets’, ‘42 French Blankets’, ‘310 Laps’, ruffled shirts, penniston hose [i.e. leggings] and ‘Saddle Lace for Strowds’, among other things.³¹ The specific mention of ‘strowd blankets’, as well as ‘lace’ for trimming them, suggests that some of Sir Johnson’s warriors were given cut lengths of strouds as ‘wearing blankets’ and that others less deserving received ‘French blankets’ without lace. The contrast in the use of ‘stroud blankets’ and ‘French blankets’ reflects the role that textiles played in displaying status and rank in the multi-ethnic environment of the fur trade culture.³² In 1795, goods remaining at the NWC trading post at Fond du Lac on the western shore of Lake Superior included two ‘laced blanket strouds’, which were probably intended for chiefs.³³ As seen in Figure 2, some ‘stroud blankets’ were not only ‘laced’ around the edges, but also decorated with multiple rows of ribbon sewn so closely together that they completely covered the surface.³⁴ Although ‘scarlet cloth’ was also a popular high status textile for wearing blankets,³⁵ it is likely that many of the red, black and blue cloth blankets were indeed made from strouds.

The ‘French blankets’ Johnson referred to were probably the forerunners of the ‘point blankets’ with broad stripes at the ends that later became associated with the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC). This connection is established in an order for goods placed by Schenectady merchants Phyn and Ellice to their New York merchant Benjamin Booth in 1769 that includes 1,350 ‘French blankets’ in a range of sizes from 1½ to 3 ‘points’.³⁶ The number of ‘points’ representing the size and weight was woven into the blanket above the broad end stripes.³⁷

Like skirts, dresses and blankets, breechcloths were consistently described as ‘cloth’ or ‘strouds’, which means that they were probably mostly made from strouds. In contrast, garments such as leggings, capotes, chief’s coats and the detachable sleeves worn with strap dresses were sometimes made from strouds, but often made from other woollen materials. Early eighteenth-century sources mention leggings of penniston, flannel, ‘scarlet’, ‘cloth’ and strouds.³⁸ Later in that century, Sir William Johnson distributed readymade ‘stockings’ (i.e. leggings) of strouds and penniston to his Iroquois military allies.³⁹ By the early nineteenth century, the NWC was making up readymade garments in Montreal from woollen textiles shipped from London. It offered readymade leggings and ‘sleeves’ in molton, ‘scarlet’ and strouds.⁴⁰ As I shall subsequently demonstrate, in many of Peter Rindisbacher’s paintings the double stripes on the upper edges of the leggings and sleeves, as well as the lower edges of the breechcloths, suggest that strouds were the most popular textiles for these garments among the Saulteaux or Western Ojibway (Figs 3 and 5). Stripes in the lists of strouds appear as ornaments not only on leggings, sleeves and breechcloths, but also frequently on blankets, skirts and strap dresses.⁴¹

The NWC inventories also include capotes in strouds and molton, as well as a variety of types of ‘cloths’.⁴² The Métis clerk depicted on the far left of Figure 5 is wearing a capote that was made from blue ‘cloth’ or strouds. Figure 5 also portrays a red ‘chief’s



FIG. 3. Peter Rindisbacher, *Chippewa Mode of Travelling in Spring and Summer*, c. 1820s. Oil on canvas. This family portrait illustrates a 'strap dress' made of blue stroud with white bead trim and worn with red stroud sleeves and leggings. This man's robe is of fur while his son and daughter wear woollen 'point' blankets. 'Double-corded' strouds adorn the tops of the boy's leggings and the woman's sleeves. *Courtesy of West Point Military Museum.*



FIG. 4. William von Moll Berczy, *Thayendanega (Joseph Brant)*, c. 1802. Oil on canvas. Chief Thayendanega wears blue leggings and a red blanket that are probably strouds. He was one of the leading war chiefs of the Mohawk nation during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the younger brother of Mary Brant, the 'country wife' of Sir William Johnson. *Courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada 5777.*



FIG. 5. Peter Rindisbacher, *Captain W. Bulger Saying Farewell at Ft. Mackay, Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, 1815, c. 1820*. From left to right this image depicts: 1) two fur traders; 2) a Métis fur company clerk wearing a blue stroud or 'cloth' capote; 3) Ojibway hunters and warriors wearing 'corded', 'double corded' and 'triple corded' stroud leggings and stroud breechcloths (some also wear white 'point' blankets); 4) the chief's assistant wearing a 'chief's shirt'; 5) the chief wearing a red 'chief's coat' and a beaver felt 'chief's hat'; 6) British military officers wearing blue cloth trousers and 'stroudwater red' jackets. *Courtesy of the Manitoba Museum ES 5311.*

coat' with blue cuffs and a collar that are 'laced' with metallic trim. The NWC often used strouds when they had a tailor make up these coats in Montreal.⁴³

In considering the full range of fur trade garment styles in which strouds were usually or sometimes employed, it is apparent that shirts and women's 'short gowns' were the only Native American garments for which they were not used. These garments were made from cotton, linen, or worsteds, but never woollens. Both the broad application of strouds and their association with certain status garments help explain why they dominated over other woollen textiles in the fur trade in terms of both monetary value and amount of fabric.

COMMUNICATION AND MISCOMMUNICATION BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS

With regard to the second proposition, the absence of the Native American market from textile histories can be explained in part by the nature of the records to which historians refer. Records of exports from Great Britain show the amounts of woollens shipped annually to North America, but do not distinguish between settler and fur trade markets.⁴⁴ North American observers, however, believed that these records clearly showed fur trade imports. In 1747, for example, Colden argued that the customhouse books in London would prove that 'there will be a greater Quantity of Goods for the Indians (especially Strouds) sent over next spring'.⁴⁵ In 1764, Sir William Johnson suggested that the 'Customhouse Books would give a pretty Exact Estimate of the Exports and Imports of the Indian Trade'.⁴⁶ British analysts, however, read these records in a manner that completely obscured the Native American market. In 1814, Lord Sheffield asserted that the 'North American' market consisted of goods shipped to ports within the newly formed United States, while the 'home' market included those shipped to Montreal and Quebec.⁴⁷ The customs books mapped political regions to which tariffs did or did not apply, not cultural regions in which differences in style preferences drove the market.

It seems likely that West Country woollen manufacturers in the Stroud region themselves had very little knowledge of the markets for their products. In 1779, for example, Samuel Rudder documented four main markets for West Country cloth from interviews with clothiers.⁴⁸ They informed him that the 'inland trade', which was the greatest, consisted of the 'sorts of cloths usually worn in our own country', that is, varieties of superfine, fine and medium broadcloths that were sold within Britain. This supposedly 'home' market, however, included cloth 'sold to merchants, who send them to our colonies, and other foreign markets; and some go to the warehouses in London, from whence they are dispersed in like manner'. The other three markets were for coarse cloth for the army, the Turkey trade and the East India Company.⁴⁹ Although at the time West Country clothiers thought these coarse cloth markets were declining and unprofitable, more recent evidence suggests that they sustained a branch of the industry throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ Clothiers categorized their markets according to where and how they sold the cloth, rather than on the basis of the end consumers as is common practice today. Hence, they sold cloth to the government for 'the army', but did not guess that much of it went to Sir William Johnson to clothe Indian allies and their families. Likewise, they sold cloth to merchants in Bristol, and through Blackwell Hall cloth factors in London, but did not know that some of their cloths were exported for the Native American fur trade market.

West Country clothiers and Bristol merchants alike mistakenly believed that the market in North America was for colonial consumers who could supply their own coarse

cloths, but were yet dependent upon the mother country for superfine cloths.⁵¹ Adrienne Hood's recent study demonstrates that although skilled artisans in eighteenth-century America produced a variety of textiles commercially, their products combined with settlers' own homespun were not enough to provide the minimum requirements of the settlements' basic cloth needs.⁵² Contrary to the West Country clothiers' expectations, therefore, the North American demand for coarse and medium woollens grew steadily during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.⁵³ This error, which led many West Country clothiers to concentrate on superfine production, may account in part for the decline of the region's industry while Yorkshire gained control of the expanding North American market for coarse and medium woollens. Some of this market expansion may have been due to the increasing urbanization and rural affluence of North American settlements. The gaining of British control over the extensive French fur trade networks in 1763, however, strongly suggests that a large portion of this cloth was destined for Native American fur trade markets.

West Country cloth manufacturers' access to information concerning their markets was limited when they sold cloth through London. The Royal decree that gave the cloth factors of Blackwell Hall exclusive rights to sell within the city boundaries strongly discouraged clothiers from direct dealings with merchants.⁵⁴ Instead, clothiers were dependent upon factors who deliberately kept the names of the merchants and the clothiers secret from each other by using only the initials of their clients in their correspondence with both parties.⁵⁵ Consequently, West Country clothiers filled orders for factors, and/or produced generic white cloth, but had little or no knowledge of their merchants' customers, nor of the particular markets they were supplying.

Throughout the last quarter of the eighteenth century, cloth factors Thomas Misenor, Fisher and Dawes, Pearse and Bowen, John Fryer, George Whitehead and Richard Burford handled almost all of the broadcloth orders for both the East India Company (EIC) and the HBC.⁵⁶ These factors operated through Blackwell Hall on a market system in which West Country clothiers supplied their warehouses with generic pieces of white cloth. A comparison between the two companies' annual exports of broadcloth between 1779 and 1799 shows that the HBC's orders averaged £2,410, which amounted to only 1.3% of the volume of the EIC.⁵⁷ Even if clothiers knew that the HBC was a client, and that its customers were Native Americans, they could rightly surmise that its orders alone were relatively insignificant in the overall state of the coarse woollen industry. Since the HBC traded exclusively into the Hudson's Bay region, it did not account for the majority of the fur trade market (see Fig. 1). Moreover, its main customers, the sub-arctic Cree, were not as interested in trade cloth and readymade clothing as were the more southerly nations.⁵⁸ Unlike the latter, they also apparently preferred blankets to broadcloth.⁵⁹ Although not as important as 'strouds' in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes fur trade markets, 'cloth' nevertheless formed a significant portion of the HBC's trade in the northern regions.⁶⁰

After their charter in 1670, the HBC experimented with a wide variety of textile products on speculation. After four decades, the London Committee finally omitted all textiles except blankets, broadcloth, duffle, and small quantities of baize and flannel.⁶¹ By the beginning of the eighteenth century, they became painfully aware of southern competitors. Hence, they strove to make their cloth more acceptable to their Cree customers by soliciting the advice of the factors at their trading posts. The London Committee responded to customer complaints that the cloth was too 'narrow, weak and thin' by making sure that the cloth they sent over was 'thick and Strong of good Wool and

Spinning full Breadth & well dyed'. The HBC attempted to imitate samples of 'French' cloth their Cree customers claimed was superior, little suspecting that it was probably English strouds smuggled by French traders into British North America through New York.⁶² Ironically, although the connection between the HBC and the West Country clothiers can be definitely established, the HBC did not use the term 'strouds' until their merger with the NWC in 1821. French traders used the term 'drap' for both 'cloth' and 'strouds'. It is therefore difficult to say whether the HBC and 'French' cloths differed in quality alone, or whether they were actually different types of woollen textiles.

The HBC's chain of supply is the exception rather than the rule for fur trade woollens in terms of both its relatively short length and the ease with which it can be traced. In contrast to the monopoly of the HBC in the far north, the organization of the fur trade in the Hudson and Ohio Valleys, as well as in the Great Lakes and Athabasca regions, was characterized by constantly shifting alliances among independent commercial concerns that were held tenuously together by short term contracts. Moreover, for most of the period under consideration there was fierce competition among these companies at every link in the chain of supply. Whereas the HBC dealt solely with Native American clientele, many of the merchants and traders south of James Bay and east of the Mississippi River also supplied commodities for urban and rural settlers. This makes it difficult to positively identify the names, locations and numbers of people involved. Unlike for the HBC, there is a dearth of extant business records for these concerns and the records that do exist are scattered widely all over North America and Britain. It is certain, however, that the vast majority of British woollens flowing into Native American communities were recorded as part of the 'home' market. After the American Revolution, this market was largely conducted through Montreal-based merchants and traders who, in 1779, joined together as partners of the NWC.

The available evidence also suggests that Yorkshire produced most of the 'cloth' and strouds for the Montreal fur trade market. Yorkshire clothiers were generally more knowledgeable about their markets than were their West Country competitors, in part because they developed partnerships with agents in North America and other foreign countries.⁶³ Such was the case with Francis Thompson who, in 1798, began his career as North American agent for the clothier firm of his six brothers in Rawdon, Yorkshire.⁶⁴ A decade later, Sam Stones was busily engaged in the same occupation for the Leeds merchant Benjamin Gott.⁶⁵ Although this strategy reduced the number of middlemen in the chain of supply, there were still quite a few links involved. The Schenectady merchants James Phyn and Alexander Ellice, for example, supplied a number of traders stationed at fur trade depots, including Detroit and Michilimakinac (see Fig. 1), who in turn supplied traders who wintered among inland Native communities. During the years 1768 to 1769, Phyn and Ellice relied primarily on the New York merchant Hayman Levy for both supplies of merchandise and disposal of furs. Levy, however, was a generalist who bought from other New York merchants who specialized in different sorts of goods.⁶⁶ Phyn and Ellice appear to have favoured a certain Mr White for strouds and blankets. Although they instructed Levy to visit him first, they stipulated that they 'do not confine him' to buy from White if he could get a better deal somewhere else.⁶⁷

Let us suppose White was an agent for a merchant in Leeds, Yorkshire, who consigned orders from the surrounding clothiers. From the Native American consumer to the Yorkshire clothiers there would be no less than six intervening middlemen: 1) inland

trader; 2) depot manager at major forts; 3) merchant in upstate New York; 4) general merchant in New York; 5) cloth merchant in New York; and 6) cloth merchant in Yorkshire. John Smail argues, however, that the more common scenario during the last quarter of the eighteenth century was for North American cloth factors to deal directly with London merchants such as Samuel Fludyer, who dealt with both West Country and Yorkshire suppliers. They were able to offer better quality finishing, cheaper prices and better financial terms, as well as more reliable shipping and insurance, than were the Leeds merchants.⁶⁸ In fact, when Phyn and Ellice became dissatisfied with the merchants with whom they had previously dealt, White referred them to a Mr Blackburn of London, possibly John Blackburn who is listed as a merchant in a 1794 London Directory.⁶⁹ Most likely, Phyn and Ellice's Mr Blackburn was of the same stock as 'B. and Sons', Gideon, Jason, Charles, John, James, Samuel, James and Joseph, all Blackburns engaged in woollen cloth manufacturing and marketing in Yorkshire from 1822 to 1853.⁷⁰

Besides international marketing networks, another reason why Yorkshire cloth manufacturers and merchants were better informed than their Gloucestershire competitors was that they began to use 'patterns' in their correspondence with clients (i.e. swatches as in Fig. 7). In addition, unlike the HBC's Blackwell Hall factors, those of Yorkshire increasingly moved away from the cloth market system in which clothiers sold unfinished pieces of white cloth. Instead, a new type of middleman termed a 'merchant manufacturer' arose. In close partnerships with London merchants, they either 'bespoke' cloth from local Yorkshire clothiers (i.e. ordered it in advance of production), or employed clothiers who produced it under their own supervision. Likewise, they often employed dyers and finishers. Alternatively, their London associates oversaw dyeing and finishing in London. In this way, these new businessmen gained complete control over the production and marketing processes, which thereby enabled them to produce cloth exactly to the specifications desired by their customers.⁷¹

Because the modes of marketing were so different between Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, these variables should theoretically provide clues as to the origin of woollens ordered from London merchants. In practice, however, it is not always possible to tell where participants were located or where goods originated. For example, a 1798 NWC order for goods relied upon London middlemen for all woollens. In that order, Jones, Howard and Jones, who supplied common strouds and a selection of other woollens, are listed as 'warehousemen' in Kent's London Directory of 1794.⁷² The designation 'warehouseman' and the broad selection of woollens are both characteristic of the Yorkshire mode of marketing at that time. Yet, there are references to Joneses and Howards employed as 'clothing manufacturers' in both Yorkshire and Gloucestershire.⁷³ Further, George Whitehead, who supplied 'scarlet cloth' on the same NWC order, is listed as a 'Blackwell Hall factor' next to 'Whitehead & Son, Dyers' in Kent's Directory.⁷⁴ The HBC utilized the services of John Whitehead, who was a scarlet dyer in London.⁷⁵ Whitehead's connection with Blackwell Hall, scarlet dyeing and the HBC, all suggest his origin in the West Country. Additionally, Whitehead specialized in the one colour of broadcloth for which Stroud was particularly famous. Yet, Whiteheads are not to be found among the Gloucestershire clothiers, but rather abound in the Saddleworth cloth industry of Yorkshire.⁷⁶ In this case, the clues lead in contrary directions.

The majority of the NWC's strouds can be traced to Yorkshire with certainty. Likewise, on the same NWC order, William Dolby, a London merchant who supplied

common strouds and other woollens, was married to the daughter of Jeremiah Royds of Halifax. According to a genealogical document written by James Royds in 1826, Jeremiah had a business in London and his brother John had three sons, Jeremiah, Richard and Thomas. These three Royds are listed in Kent's London Directory as 'warehousemen', and appear on the NWC's 1798 order as suppliers of molton.⁷⁷ Since Dolby and the Royds were brothers-in-law, with family connections to Yorkshire, it is highly probable that Dolby's goods originated there. For 'HB strouds', the NWC bought directly from the manufacturers, Swaine, Waterhouse and Hoyle. Although Hoyle remains elusive, the Swaines' and Waterhouses' are well established in all branches of the cloth industry throughout Yorkshire.⁷⁸

By 1798, at the height of the Great Lakes fur trade, the long chain of supply did not hinder communication between consumers and producers. Such was not the case, however, during the early eighteenth century. In 1714, North American merchant James Logan struggled to transmit the desired characteristics of strouds to his English suppliers:

These Woolens may be so far out of thy way of business as not to be fully known to thee by our names for them . . . They are, 1st, Strowd water a cloth about 4^d broad⁷⁹ about 4/ [shillings] per yd. blue or red in purchasing w^{ch} a regard must be had not only to the Cloth and Colour but also to the list [selvedge] about wh^{ch} the Indians are very curious [i.e. exacting]. This is of the common breadth viz. about 3 fingers with a Stripe or two of white generally. Sometimes in black in ye blue pieces and always in black in the red.⁸⁰

These instructions apparently were not clear enough because Logan provided a detailed clarification in a subsequent letter.⁸¹ Around this same period, the New York merchant James Alexander found that he could not easily obtain the desired colours from his London factors, but rather had to rely on their judgement to buy for him.⁸²

Throughout the mid-eighteenth century, North American merchants were thoroughly familiar with the desirable characteristics of strouds. For example, despite numerous complaints Phyn and Ellice had about the services provided by Hayman Levy, they trusted and sought his opinion on the strouds in White's warehouse.⁸³ It was unnecessary for Phyn and Ellice to describe what they were looking for, so clearly did both parties understand the standards that applied. Even this late in the century, however, most London merchants were unfamiliar with the particular characteristics of strouds. In 1768, for example, when Phyn and Ellice began ordering from the London merchants Neale and Pigou's new New York agent, Benjamin Booth, they deemed it necessary to describe the characteristics of the strouds in great detail. Their first order specified, '10 P[ieces] very dark blue strouds the white cord or stripe ½ inch broad inside of the selvedge of a superior quality to that you imported, but not to exceed 70/ each'. After listing several variations on this theme, they conclude, 'all the strouds must be full breadth & the selvedges to be of equal thickness with the cloth & as little tore or ragged in the edge as possible'.⁸⁴ The following year's order included the same description, but stipulated that the strouds should be 'of a superior quality to that you imported last year at 70/'. In the accompanying letter, they further instructed him to 'observe that none of the strouds have a superfine stripe & the red without any white stripe'.⁸⁵ Breaking into the field from London, Booth had to be trained in the specialized products of the fur trade market. This suggests that the term

'strouds' was not in circulation among London merchants, and that most of them had relatively little knowledge of this specialized product.

Through a few knowledgeable London merchants, such as Thomas Fludyer, by mid-century Yorkshire clothiers received relatively accurate information about Native American consumer tastes. In 1759, for example, the Wakefield cloth finisher John Brearley wrote in his memorandum book a variety of 'facts' he had learned about a woollen textile known to him as 'stop lists'. These were 'made mostly about Dewsbury and Birstall' and 'used in foreign countryes for womens petticoats and the list is and ornament for border of the bottom of the coatt'.⁸⁶ Additionally, they were dyed black, milled to 6.5/4 wide and 'go in imitation of West Country brood cloath'.⁸⁷ The following year he added,

Leeds and Wakefield merchants in March and April the bye abundance of stop lists wich before the are dyed has a cord sewed on the inside of the list has this way [diagram of a horizontal line inserted in text] and some is double corded as thus [second diagram of two parallel horizontal lines]. . . All these sorts of goods goes over sea and are worn for womens petticoats and some is cloath of 6 or 7 shillings per yard and some is of 2s 6d. There are all prises. The are dyed full scarlitts ½ scarlits crimpsons and a many of them are dyed blew of coarse sorts.⁸⁸

Brearley's description of the 'double cording' and the colour selection strongly suggest that he refers to strouds. His statements that these woollens imitate West Country broad-cloth, and that they are worn as women's skirts with the selvages serving as decorations for the hem, are also descriptive of strouds. Yet, he does not specify that these women are Native American, nor does he call the cloth 'strouds', but rather 'stop lists'.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERM 'STROUDS'

This brings us to the third proposition, which concerns the origins and history of the term 'strouds'. British traders in the American colonies first coined the term 'strouds' as a derivation of the well-known British 'stroudwater reds'. References to 'stroudwaters' for the Indian trade first appear in late seventeenth-century fur trade and colonial government records.⁸⁹ In 1685, for example, William Penn signed a treaty in which he traded '20 guns, 20 fathoms matchcoat, 20 fathoms stroud-water, 20 blankets, 20 kettles', and an assortment of smaller items, for the land around Philadelphia.⁹⁰ In 1705, however, a Boston merchant wrote his London supplier for 'bays',

after a sort fit for the Indian trade without any Nape [nap] with a white stripe through the selvedge. If you have any of that sort I have one Customer that trades to Albany that will take off 15 pieces as soon as they arrive . . . but if you see Cause to send any of these they must be all blews [blues] . . . Next the blews the red sells best and next the Reds the purple . . . [In a subsequent letter he wrote that by 'bay' he meant] lo prized blew Broad cloath. And if you please leave out the purple. Those no body Chuses to buy.⁹¹

This description's colour preference, white striped selvedge and lack of nap are defining features of strouds, yet the author does not use the term. Instead, he struggles to

communicate his meaning by correcting his misuse of the term 'bays', and suggesting 'lo prized Broad cloath' instead.

By 1714, however, it was becoming conventional for North American merchants to use the terms 'stroudwater' and 'strouds' to refer to cloths that were developed specifically for the Native American market. In James Logan's letters quoted above, he suggests that North American merchants and traders had their own names for textiles that London merchants and suppliers did not know. These 'unknown' textiles, which he calls by the English term 'stroudwaters', were characterized by the appearance of the lists. Additionally, whereas in seventeenth-century North America 'stroudwaters' were still red, by the early eighteenth century they were being made in both red and blue. In a subsequent letter in which Logan again wrote detailed instructions to his suppliers, he used the terms 'stroudwater' and 'strouds' interchangeably and stipulated that blue was the colour in highest demand.⁹² During the next thirty years or so New York and Philadelphia merchants and traders dropped the term 'stroudwater' in favour of 'strouding', or more commonly, 'strouds'. I suggest that the terminological transformation from 'stroudwater reds' to 'strouds' reflected the consumer-driven transformation of the product from red alone to a selection of colours in which blue predominated.⁹³

As mentioned above, by the 1750s, Sir William Johnson relied on a steady supply of 'strowds' (*sic*) to clothe the Six Nations warriors, and their families, who fought with the British against the French in the prolonged conflicts that terminated with the Treaty of Paris in 1763.⁹⁴ The British had only limited access to the Ohio Valley fur trade between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 and the Treaty of Paris in 1763,⁹⁵ when they regained control of this region. They circumvented political boundaries, however, by supplying trade goods to a series of trading posts from New York through Albany and Schenectady to Oswego on Lake Ontario, or from Quebec City and Montreal through Mackinac, to Detroit (see Fig. 1). American traders who were formerly associated with the British were well established in the areas south of the Great Lakes when the AFC was formed in 1808.⁹⁶ Consequently, this trading company carried the term with it when it expanded west of the Mississippi.⁹⁷

After 1763, men associated with the New York and Philadelphia origins of the term 'strouds' also carried it into the Great Lakes. Sir William Johnson was especially pivotal in the expansion of the term beyond the Hudson and Ohio Valleys because he figured prominently in the early careers of several men who became influential in the Montreal-based trading companies. For example, Simon McTavish, the head of the NWC from its inception in 1784 until his death in 1804, spent two years of his youth as a clerk at William Johnson's estate.⁹⁸ He subsequently established the firm McTavish and Bannerman in upper New York state, which supplied fur traders and military posts throughout the Great Lakes.⁹⁹ At the advent of the American Revolution, McTavish was one of the first of the Hudson Valley merchants to relocate to Montreal in order to maintain London business connections.¹⁰⁰ In 1791, McTavish entered into partnership with the London merchant, John Fraser. The resulting concern, McTavish, Fraser and Co., was one of the London suppliers of the NWC until its merger with the HBC in 1821.¹⁰¹

Phyn, Ellices, Inglis and Co., the other London supplier of the NWC, also had intimate ties with Sir William Johnson. During the Seven Years War, the Schenectady merchants, James Phyn and Alexander Ellice, were among Johnson's main suppliers. In 1773, the firm

began shipping their goods through Montreal, where they appointed Isaac Todd as their agent in 1774.¹⁰² That same year, James Phyn moved his centre of operations to London in order to avoid the financial ruin that they expected would ensue from the embargo acts of the American Revolution. The following year Alexander Ellice joined Todd in Montreal for a few years before moving to London in 1779. Alexander's brother, Robert, and John Forsyth, whom the company had apprenticed, took over the Montreal branch of the company.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, Todd struck up a partnership with James McGill, and their firm began to supply former Phyn, Ellice and Co. associate, John Askin at Michilimakinac, as well as John Porteous and Alexander and William Macomb at Detroit.¹⁰⁴

In London in 1787, Phyn and A. Ellice joined with John Inglis, Robert Ellice and James Ellice to form Phyn, Ellices and Inglis. This company supplied the Montreal-based partners James McGill and Isaac Todd, who had 2/16 shares in the NWC, and also McTavish, Frobisher and Co. of the NWC, who had been and were again to be their rivals. When Robert Ellice became ill that same year, Phyn and A. Ellice appointed John Richardson, whom they had also apprenticed, to join Forsyth in Montreal. The ensuing partnership of Forsyth, Richardson and Co. of Montreal was officially established in 1790.¹⁰⁵ The intimate business relationship between the parent and offspring companies proved beneficial when the latter formed the XYZ in 1799. Sir Alexander Mackenzie continued to deal with Phyn, Inglis and Co. when he took over leadership of the XYZ in 1802.¹⁰⁶

Hence, with men such as Simon McTavish, James Phyn and Alexander Ellice, the term 'strouds' travelled from New York state to London and back to Montreal and beyond. The peculiar thing is that London suppliers like Phyn, Ellices and Inglis apparently did not compare notes with the suppliers of the HBC, who did not use the term 'strouds' until the HBC's merger with the NWC. Some London merchants obviously knew the term, since they received orders for strouds from at least as early on as 1714. Yet, I have not found the term in studies of West Country or Yorkshire clothiers, or those of Yorkshire and/or London merchants, except those dealing with the second quarter of the nineteenth century and later. As pointed out previously, however, whatever terms they employed, British merchants and clothiers were familiar enough with the product to supply the demand without difficulty.

WHICH WOOLLENS FOR WHOM?

The disjuncture in terminology between the American and British merchants is crucial to understanding the diagnostic features that distinguish 'strouds' from 'cloths'. As noted previously, the latter term could be, and generally was, applied to any type of stoutly fullered woollen cloth. Yet, the major trading companies used these terms in very specific ways which were not consistent with each other. Between 1784 and the merger of 1821, the North American-based NWC, XYZ and AFC purchased and traded textiles called 'Hudson Bay strouds', 'common strouds', and 'cloths', but the London-based HBC dealt only in 'listed cloth' and 'corded cloth'. In an ironic twist of terminology, after their merger with NWC, the HBC began ordering a textile they termed 'NW strouds', along with 'strouds' and 'list cloths'. Upon analysis of dozens of inventories and orders, as well as similarly numerous artefacts in museum collections, I have arrived at the conclusion that the HBC's 'corded cloths' were very similar to, if not exactly the same as, the

NWC's, XYC's and AFC's 'HB strouds'. Likewise there was a close affinity, if not identity, between the HBC's 'NW strouds' and the NWC's, XYC's and AFC's 'common strouds'. The HBC's 'listed cloths', however, shared properties with both the NWC's, XYC's and AFC's 'common strouds' and their 'cloths'. It therefore constitutes a separate category of its own. These findings are summarized in Table 3. I shall discuss the diagnostic characteristics of the ornamentation on the lists (i.e. selvages) and of the finishing techniques in turn.

Possibly in response to Native American aesthetic tastes, as Brearley noted in 1760, London buyers for the North American market had become 'great admirers of ornaments of the lists and headin' (i.e. the end of the piece).¹⁰⁷ From James Logan of Philadelphia to Phyn and Ellice of Schenectady, eighteenth-century orders for strouds often detailed the desired characteristics of the lists. For example, an order from Phyn and Ellice to their New York supplier, Levy, in 1771 calls for a variety of strouds, which are distinguished by the size, colour, number, 'evenness', 'softness' and lack of stripes in the selvedge.¹⁰⁸ This level of detail was necessary, in part, because some merchants were not familiar with strouds. Another reason is that list styles served as diagnostic features among categories of woollens and within the category of strouds. By the 1790s, however, the major trading companies carried only those strouds whose list styles are represented in Table 3: single or double 'corded', 'broad' or 'narrow' cord, 'head' stripes or not, and black or white ground.

The first major division to be considered is that between strouds and 'cloth'. In order to understand this distinction, it is necessary to delve into the processes of production. Because the HBC documented clothiers' orders directly, their records are particularly rich for this purpose. Figure 6, for example, reproduces an order for white cloth and dyeing rates from 1773. The number of 'heads' ('hds') refers to stripes in the list that were created by the addition of coloured warp yarns (Figure 7, nos. 1 & 2). These markings were formerly part of a European-wide system of coloured list markings that indicated the quality and type of the cloth.¹⁰⁹ The use of list stripes as a form of quality control probably explains the origin of 'saving' the list by covering it with 'webbing' prior to dyeing. This method of resist dyeing allowed the 'head' stripes and white wool to remain visible after dyeing. A Gloucestershire dyer who moved to the United States in the early decades of the nineteenth century explained the method of 'girt-webbing':

This operation is performed with thick cotton, or linen webbing, which, being doubled to half its breadth, is then wide enough to enclose the list when rolled up. The webbing is put around the list, so as to enclose it all and is sewn on with small twine, passing through the cloth close to the list, and drawn tight over both . . . Soon as a scarlet cloth is finished colouring . . . the girt-webbing is taken off. This is performed by women, who draw the threads out with hooks. After it is taken off, both the thread and webbing are well washed and hung up to dry for further use.¹¹⁰

According to Partridge, 'listed' cloths, or 'saved list cloths', were made by enclosing the whole list in the webbing (Fig. 8). When the webbing is removed after dyeing, the list is entirely white up to the edge of the cloth.¹¹¹ As seen in Table 3, this method of resist dyeing characterizes HBC's 'listed cloths' and NWC's, XYC's and AFC's 'cloths', but not strouds, which are 'corded' instead.

TABLE 3. DIAGNOSTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF STROUDS AND CLOTHS BY COMPANY TERMINOLOGY¹

Phyn & Ellice	strouds	strouds	strouds	cloth
HBC before 1821	corded cloth		listed cloth	
NWC, XYC & AFC	HB strouds	common strouds		cloth
HBC after 1821 merger with NWC	strouds	NW strouds		list cloth
selvedge ²	– single or double cord (resist dyed stripes) ³ – striped ‘heads’ in the list (yarn dyed warp threads) – edge of cloth dyed	– ‘narrow’ or ‘broad’ cord – single or double cord ³ – list white with no ‘head’ stripes – edge of cloth dyed – black list on some red pieces ⁴	– list entirely white including edge of cloth	– list entirely white including edge of cloth
colour ²	indigo blue, mazareen blue, red, green, aurora, white	indigo blue, red, green, black, white	blue, scarlet	blue, scarlet, green, black, olive, drab, claret, grey, brown
finish ²	– brushed on tenters and pressed only?	– brushed on tenters and pressed only – produces a flat matted appearance	– brushed on tenters and pressed only?	– raised and cropped – produces a nap running one direction on one side of the cloth

Notes:

1. I have arrived at this typology from a broad range of textual and artifactual data too numerous to cite comprehensively. The findings are subject to change with further research. In order to create a useful typology, I have presented the ideal characteristics of each category. I have not included the exceptions.
 2. Additional physical characteristics such as type of wool, width, length and chemical composition of dyes must await further research.
 3. I lack artifactual evidence for double cording and have therefore to rely on textual and pictorial evidence. In the latter, the lists of double corded strouds always appear to be pure white. In the textual records, however, double cording is never mentioned in orders for ‘broad’ and ‘narrow’ strouds. I have therefore tentatively placed double cording in both categories of strouds.
 4. Strouds with black selvedge (Brearly’s ‘stop lists’) were one of several varieties of reds mentioned in the records. It is not clear to me where they fit in this chart. I’ve placed them in with ‘common’ strouds because they are clearly linked to the history of the NWC and XYC.
- Sources (partial list):** AO NWC Documents; NAC Phyn & Ellice Letterbooks; NAC AFC Records; HBCA A.5/6 London Correspondence Book *Outwards*, 1818–1822; HBCA A.1/37–45, *London Minute Book*, 1745–1778; HBCA E.41/27 *Cameron Family* — *Outward General*, 1818–1874; Kidd, ‘The Cloth Trade’, 52–54; Yewdall, ‘The Records of Mill Practice’, 301,304; HBC fabric samples (Figure 6); museum artifacts (see Endnote 4).

Wednesday 15th January 1773
 At a Committee

Agreed with Mr. Thomas Misenor, for White Woollen Cloths
 J. Tickell 2 hds. Striped List, 47 yds. long
 W. Cary 2 hds. Do.
 J. Sutton 3 hds. Do.
 J. Gurner 9 hds. Do. 49 yds. long at £7.0.0 J Cloth

Agreed with Messrs. Whitehead & Watts, for Dying
 Long Cloths, Red and Listed at 30/
 Do Double Girted 40/
 Blue and Listed 42/
 Do Double Girted 52/
 Sky and Listed 30/
 Emerald and Listed 40/
 Green, Listed and double girted 50/*
 Aurora and Listed 105/ J Cloth
 Duffels Red 24/
 Blue 28/ J Piece

With 1 P Cent Discount

*This means that both listed and double girted green cloths cost 50%, not that the green cloth is both listed and double girted.

FIG. 6. Minutes of HBC London Board Meeting, 15 January 1773.

‘Girting’ or ‘cording’ entailed sewing a row of webbing on a folded edge of the cloth which, if the cloth was laid flat during the dyeing process, appeared as a ‘cord-like’ protrusion on its surface similar to modern-day piping (Fig. 9). This method of resist dyeing leaves a stripe on the list that reveals the ‘head’ stripes, and also leaves a narrow strip of colour on the outer edge, which was not wrapped in the webbing (Fig. 7, no. IV).¹¹² The practice of ‘double cording’ evidently arose because certain clothiers were ‘great cheats’.¹¹³ It was therefore necessary to prove that not only the list was pure white wool, but also the body of the cloth.¹¹⁴ Hence a second row of webbing was added on the cloth itself that left a white ‘resist dyed’ stripe several inches from the edge of the list. As noted above, Rindisbacher’s double white stripes on the edges of leggings, breechcloth and sleeves in Figures 3 and 5 depict this style of strouds. Few double corded artefacts survive today. As seen in Figure 10, however, a tobacco pouch in the Pitt Rivers Museum employs the second ‘cord’ of ‘double corded’ strouds as a design element.



FIG. 7. Four swatches labelled as 'strouds' enclosed in letter from J. B. & W. Neville and Co. to the Governor and Committee of the HBC, dated 5 March 1856 (HBCA, *London Correspondence Inward* — *General Series*, A.10/39, 227). Each swatch is approximately 1½ wide by 5½ inches high. Numbers I, II and IV are cut at right angles out of the side of the piece, while number III (the HBC 'standard pattern') is cut from the middle. *Courtesy of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.*

The terms 'girted' and 'corded' had the same meaning for the HBC. Writing from York Factory on Hudson's Bay, James Isham mentioned the Cree translation for 'corded cloth' as early as 1743.¹¹⁵ The term does not enter the London HBC records, however, until 1784 when it appears in those places where 'girted' was formerly used.¹¹⁶ As Figure 6 shows, the HBC Committee clearly distinguished between 'listed' and 'girted' cloth. The NWC, XYC and AFC, however, linked the process of listing with 'cloth' and that of cording with strouds. For example, Figure 11 shows strouds with 'broad' and 'narrow' cords. The cord on the latter variety was a mere ¼-inch wide. The only example I have ever seen is a ¼-inch cord about 2¾ inside the selvedge on a pair of leggings in the collection of Carolyn Corey.¹¹⁷ Although the NWC and XYC typically itemized their 'cloth' merely by colour, the XYC's inventory of 1 August 1799 includes '2 pcs. saved blue cloth', while that of March 20th, 1802 distinguishes between 'deep blue saved list' and 'deep blue wool dyed'.¹¹⁸

In 1827, the AFC required a wide assortment of 'cloths' for its Upper Missouri Department, which included 'saved list blue cloth', 'striped list Do. [i.e. ditto]', 'Grey list Do.', 'wool dyed blue fine Do.', and 'saved list scarlet cloth'. Like the NWC and XYC, they also ordered 'common blue strouds' in 'broad' and 'narrow' cord styles.¹¹⁹ In 1832, the

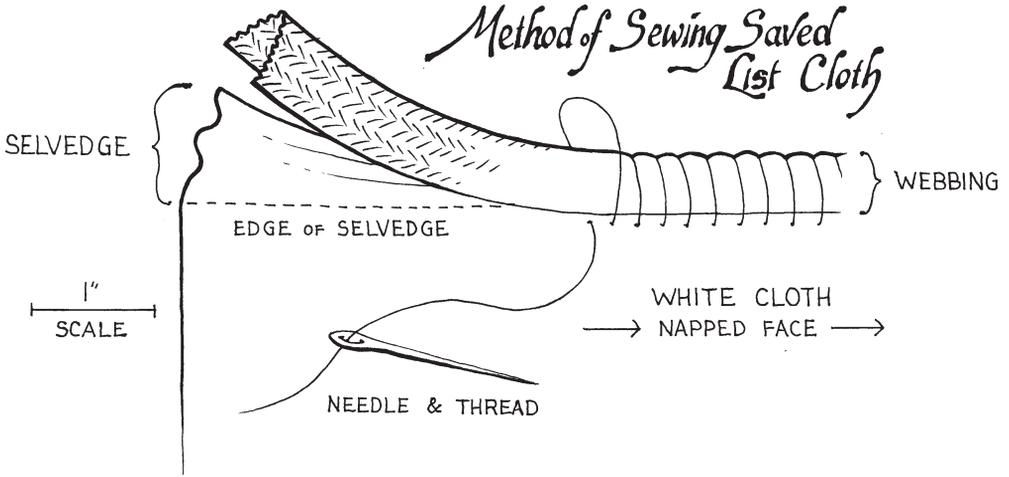


FIG. 8. Method of sewing saved list cloth. Diagram by Snail Scott.

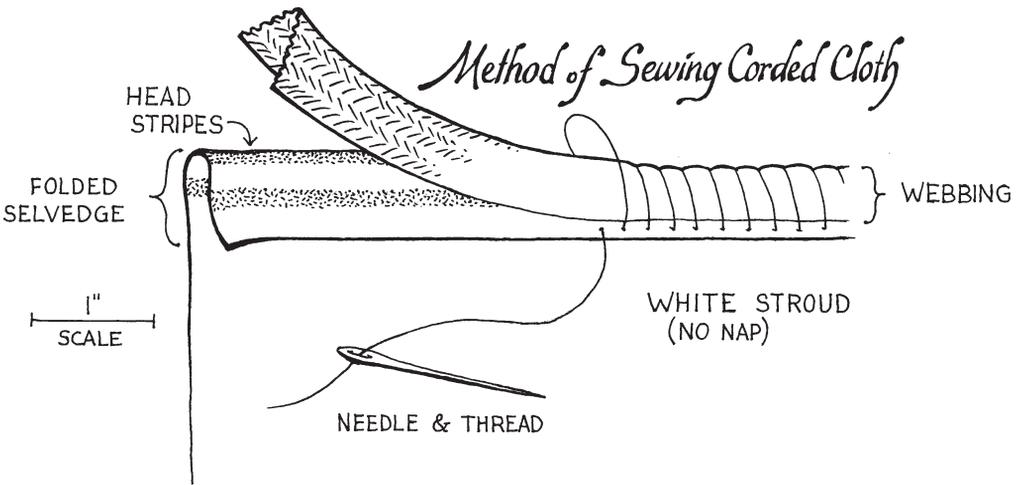


FIG. 9. Method of sewing corded list cloth. Diagram by Snail Scott.

American government passed a bill forbidding all alcohol in the Indian Territories West of the Mississippi, which placed the AFC at a severe disadvantage against HBC competition.¹²⁰ In a letter to Pierre Chouteau in St Louis, John Jacob Astor outlined the strenuous measures he took to ensure that their textiles, at least, were competitive:

When your order for the English goods was transmitted to England, we examined the old requisitions of Messrs. Menard & Vallé as you had suggested with the hope of learning therefrom what the article is you have designated as Holland Gartering¹²¹ —



FIG. 10. A Woodlands style bag that incorporates ‘double corded’ stroud as a design element. The manufacturers probably dyed the cloth yellow and then over-dyed it blue. The cording left a yellow stripe with stitch marks clearly evident on either side. A small corner of the corded list is visible where it is sewn into the binding at the top of the bag. *Photo by the author; Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, 1952.50.12.*

our search however shed no light on the subject, but we called the attention of our agents to it in the most particular manner, and as they are acquainted with all the goods the North West Co., the Hudson’s Bay Co. and the Mackinac traders have been in the habit of using at any time for the last 25 years, I cannot doubt that they will find out and send what you wish — In relation to the woollens peculiar to the Hudson’s Bay Company trade we have been equally particular, & after exhausting our own knowledge as to description, our friends were advised to make the most minute inquiry in every case where they were in doubt, so as to give you exactly the same articles as are used by our British opponents.¹²²

As a result, Astor’s ‘friends’ in London, Gillespie, Moffatt and Finlay Co., shipped an order for 70 pieces of strouds worth £205 10s. 9d. and 620 pairs of blankets worth £2,282 11s. 6d. that they obtained from Benjamin Gott & Sons of Leeds, Yorkshire. Gott’s order was met in Liverpool by a shipment of 460 pieces of ‘cloth’ worth £1,882 7s. 5d. that Gillespie, Moffatt & Finlay Co. sent from London. Along with many other articles, both of these woollens orders sailed for New Orleans in December of 1832.¹²³ One may draw

From Stroud to Strouds

<i>March 20th, 1798</i>		
<i>4 pc. Broad Cord Blue Stroud</i>	<i>73/</i>	<i>14. 12.</i>
<i>6 pc. " " " "</i>	<i>69/</i>	<i>20. 14.</i>
<i>40 pc. Hudsons Bay Blue Strouds</i>	<i>135/</i>	<i>270.</i>
<i>10 pc. Hudsons Bay Scarlet Strouds</i>		
<i>Striped List Broad Cord</i>	<i>170/</i>	<i>85.</i>
<i>1 ug. 1st, 1799</i>		
<i>5 pc. Red Hudsons Bay Strouds 3 Broad Cords</i>	<i>136/</i>	<i>34.</i>
<i>5 pc. Blue Do.</i>	<i>140/</i>	<i>35.</i>
<i>10 pc. " Strouds Narrow Cord</i>	<i>76/</i>	<i>38.</i>
<i>March 29th, 1801</i>		
<i>30 pc. blue strouds broad cord</i>	<i>78/</i>	<i>117.</i>
<i>50 pc. " " narrow cord</i>	<i>"</i>	<i>195.</i>
<i>15 pc. red " black list</i>	<i>77/</i>	<i>57. 15.</i>
<i>120 pc. HB " with white list</i>	<i>145/</i>	<i>870.</i>
<i>March 20th, 1802</i>		
<i>132 pc. Hudson Bay Blue Strouds 2 Cords</i>	<i>150/</i>	<i>990.</i>
<i>25 pc. Broad Cord Blue Strouds</i>	<i>86/</i>	
<i>5 pc. Narrow Cord Do.</i>		<i>129.</i>
<i>19 pc. red strouds black list</i>	<i>88/</i>	<i>83.12.</i>

FIG. II. Strouds in four shipments from Phyn, Inglis and Co. to XYC merchants in Montreal, 1798–1802. Source: AO NWC Documents, '#4. Invoices of goods shipped from London ...'

the inference from this series of events that the AFC ordered goods from Benjamin Gott because the NWC or HBC had done so before. As we have already seen, the NWC was purchasing strouds from Yorkshire at least as early as 1798. The HBC adopted some of the NWC's Yorkshire strouds suppliers after the two companies merged in 1821.¹²⁴

For the period between 1811 and 1815, a list of wage rates for Benjamin Gott's woollen factory and warehouse at Leeds shows a scale of prices among different lengths of 'saved list', 'strouds or cords' and 'common saved blues'.¹²⁵ I cannot identify the latter, but the first two clearly refer to the distinction made by the NWC, XYC and AFC between 'common' or 'HB' strouds and 'cloth'. Likewise, the 1832 order for strouds included both 'broad' and 'narrow' cord, while the majority of the cloth was 'saved list' in blue, scarlet and green. Hence, in the matter of saving versus cording lists, the HBC's 'corded cloths' correlate with the NWC's, XYC's and AFC's strouds, and their 'listed cloths' share this characteristic with the latter's 'saved cloths'. In this respect, we can draw a broad division between the first two and the last two columns of Table 3 which,

in the fur trade context, constitutes the major difference between strouds and cloth, despite the deviation of the HBC terminology. I must note here that I am including in this discussion neither the 'superfine' cloths sold in small quantities by all the companies, nor the 'grey list cloths' and 'striped list cloths' (aka 'rainbow cloths') that became popular in the AFC's trade west of the Mississippi.¹²⁶

In order to understand the differences between the types of strouds represented in the first two columns in Table 3, it is necessary to closely examine the relationship between 'head' stripes and 'corded' stripes. In 1819, the HBC Committee instructed Messrs. Beard and Sons to purchase '70 white list cloths for blues' and '50 striped list cloths for corded blues'. A few weeks later, Whitehead was instructed to dye '30 Blue white list, 30 Green Do. ['Ditto'], 15 Blue Corded Striped list, 25 Green Do., 30 Red Do.'¹²⁷ I infer from this that, in addition to the difference in techniques noted above, 'listed' cloths' had plain white lists and 'corded cloths' had striped lists prior to dyeing. In contrast, the NWC and XYC orders frequently specify that 'common' strouds should have a 'bright white' cord. For example, in 1818 a NWC representative in Quebec ordered the following from Messrs McTavish Fraser and Co. of London: '12 pcs. common blue strouds 1/3 broad and 2/3 narrow cord the broad cord to be half an inch wide and of a bright white.'¹²⁸ If the NWC's and XYC's 'common' strouds had plain white cords, then it is reasonable to suppose that, like the HBC's 'corded cloths', their 'HB strouds' had head stripes within the cord. Conversely, when the HBC started carrying the NWC 'common' strouds, they simply reversed the designators. Because the company had never before carried strouds with plain white cords, its employees quite naturally associated them with the NWC.

Whereas the appearance of lists was the predominant diagnostic characteristic in the North American fur trade context, colour and finishing techniques dominated industry concerns at the production and marketing end in England. These two characteristics served as criteria in the classification of both types and qualities of broadcloths.¹²⁹ Control of dyeing and finishing was essential to control of the market because they determined price and saleability. In fact, scholars have suggested that London merchants' control of the West Country's finishing processes put that region at a severe disadvantage to Yorkshire, where merchant-manufacturers were increasingly using control of these processes to make goods to order from patterns supplied by their overseas partners, correspondents and clients.¹³⁰

Whereas descriptions in fur trade inventories and orders are curiously silent about the finishing techniques of strouds and cloths, their specifications for colour are clear and consistent. From the earliest to the latest records examined, blue and red were the staple colours of all fur trade woollens, except point blankets. These were characteristically white with broad blue stripes at either end. For strouds and 'cloth', quantities of blue surpassed those of red considerably. In ten inventories representing the Canadian Colonial Government, NWC, XYC and AFC from 1797 to 1827, blue accounted for 71%, red for 11%, black for 7%, white for 5%, green for 1% and grey and brown for the remaining 5%.¹³¹ The same trend can also be seen in the four consecutive years of XYC orders presented in Figure 11.

The popular dark blue colour was obtained from domestic and imported woad, or from indigo imported from the West Indies and India.¹³² The 'mazareen' blue found in James Logan's and the HBC's orders, as well as the Yorkshire clothworker Brearley's notebook,

was produced by boiling the cloth in 'cudbear', 'peachwood' or 'logwood' before throwing it in the indigo dye vat.¹³³ Three standard shades of red frequently appear on orders and inventories: 'red', 'aurora', and 'scarlet'. The designation 'red' referred to the shade produced by madder.¹³⁴ 'Scarlet' was a colour produced by mixing a 'tin liquor' called 'aqua-fortis' with cochineal, a very expensive dye-stuff imported from the Canary Islands.¹³⁵ Considering its high price, 'aurora' was probably also dyed with cochineal.¹³⁶ On large NWC, XYZ and AFC fur trade inventories and orders, one might also find green and white strouds, while 'cloths' came in a wide variety of colours including scarlet, blue, green, black, grey, brown, 'drab', 'olive' and 'claret'.¹³⁷ In England and among North American settlers, these colours were all conventional for gentlemen's suits, excepting the scarlet which was worn for riding and hunting. 'Claret' was thought particularly 'handsome' for ladies' gowns.¹³⁸ As pointed out above, in the fur trade context, company employees often wore such 'fashionable' clothes. Most of the small fur trade invoices contained only blue and red cloth that was destined for the Native American trade alone.

Consideration of colour may be helpful in distinguishing between colonial and fur trade markets in North America, but it does not aid in developing a definitive diagnostic feature for strouds. For this we must examine the difference in finishing processes between strouds and 'cloth'. Conventionally, 'broadcloth' (i.e. 'cloth') was characterized by its velvety surface, which was produced by raising the nap and cropping it several times in succession. The finer varieties of broadcloth underwent this cycle more times than did the coarser kind.¹³⁹ Magnified inspection of fine broadcloth will reveal a close, slender and smooth single directional nap. In the eighteenth-century British woollen industry, this type of surface distinguished broadcloth from flannels, frises, and blanketings, which had raised naps that were usually long, curly and multidirectional. These conventional categories, however, did not seem to apply to the surface of four HBC samples labelled as strouds that I examined at the Hudson's Bay Archives (Fig. 7). These were neither cropped nor frised (i.e. short nap with tight round curls). Rather, the fibres were raised to obscure the weave, but then pressed flat and smooth with the fibres curling and angled randomly. Thinking back over the museum artefacts I have examined, I realized that I have seen examples of both the typical velvety face of broadcloth and the little dressed surface of the HBC strouds. Although I have not done a statistical analysis, my impression is that broadcloth's napped surface is often found on small articles like bags, pouches and women's leggings, whereas the HBC strouds' flat surface is more characteristic of large garments such as skirts, wearing blankets and men's leggings.

It is difficult to prove the hypothesis that strouds generally had the type of surface found on the HBC samples because, as argued previously, very few British cloth manufacturers used the term 'strouds' even when they produced cloths that merchants intended as strouds for the fur trade market. Providentially, a technical memorandum book written by Benjamin Gott's son between 1811 and 1815 includes 'strouds' among the notes titled, 'Finishing Routine for Various Kinds of Cloth'. Predictably, 'cloths' underwent two or three raising and cropping cycles according to their quality. Strouds, however, were 'only brushed on the tenters', presumably after raising the nap.¹⁴⁰ Significantly, Benjamin Gott and Co. did not crop their strouds.

Several sources describe the dressing techniques for textiles that were probably strouds, but were not named so. A few years before Gott's notebook was written, the Boston merchant Theodore Lyman requested of his Yorkshire supplier Christopher Rawson some

coarse blue broadcloth, 'not much dressed' that was included in an order for blankets, fearnoughts and guns for the 'Western Indian trade'.¹⁴¹ Brearley explains that the low priced broadcloths dressed at Wakefield were 'raised but little' in order to keep them 'stout and strong'. These broadcloths bear much in common with his 'pressed cloths', which he describes as 'little dressed only pressed' and 'none dressed only pressed'. They were dyed and finished by William and Jeremy Naylor of Wakefield on commission from the London merchants Samuel and Thomas Fludyer for the American market, and for the British government for 'soldiers cloths'. In both cases, they were dyed blues, reds, and greens.¹⁴² Considering the colours that they were dyed, the likelihood that the Fludyers had connections with the fur trade market, and the certainty that the British government supplied Native American military allies with strouds, Brearley's evidence suggests that at least some of the products that the Wakefield clothiers called 'cloths' were indeed strouds which North American merchants intended for the Native American market.

Ironically, it appears that the admixture of flocks, mungo or shoddy with fleece wool is advantageous to little dressed cloths. These substances were better for strouds because the exceptionally short staple of these otherwise inferior forms of wool produces a smoother surface than is possible with 'pure' wool alone (i.e. fresh shorn from the sheep's back).¹⁴³ Brearley notes that whereas West Country broadcloth was made of pure wool, Yorkshire clothiers added flocks to theirs.¹⁴⁴ West Country dyer William Partridge, however, recommended using flocks for making white broadcloth.¹⁴⁵ When wool prices were very high just prior to the War of 1812, Yorkshire clothiers began experimenting with shoddy.¹⁴⁶ According to Herbert Heaton, Benjamin Gott bought much 'shoddy, especially a variety called "stroud", which was sold chiefly to those engaged in the American fur trade'. In 1828, Gott informed a parliamentary hearing that he shipped large quantities of this 'shoddy' up the Mississippi and around Cape Horn for the 'Northwest trade'.¹⁴⁷ We may infer from this that both Yorkshire and West Country clothiers added flocks, and later shoddy, to their wool in order to achieve the smooth and matted surface texture that was desirable for strouds.

It is not clear to me when or where the difference in finishing techniques between 'cloths' and strouds originated. I lack sufficient evidence for the introduction of the little dressed face of strouds to state conclusively whether or not the HBC's 'corded cloths' shared the 'little dressed' face with the NWC's, XYC's and AFC's 'common strouds' before the HBC/NWC merger of 1821. We must similarly ask if the HBC's 'listed cloths' had the conventional shorn face that the NWC's, XYC's and AFC's 'cloths' likely had. A systematic study is needed of Native American artefacts of known HBC origin dating to before 1821. Since the HBC's territory at that time did not extend into the Great Lakes area, which is the focus of my museum research, I have not undertaken this investigation.

CONCLUSION

For over a century, strouds played a hitherto unrecognized but stunningly large part in the North American fur trade. Success in this business depended upon a steady stock of strouds to supply Native American demand. It was a staple of their emergent fur trade clothing styles. Men, women and children from numerous nations over a vast geographic area used strouds for a variety of garments worn in everyday and ceremonial dress styles. This

research narrows down the use of the term 'strouds' to a particular textile that developed for the fur trade market. Upon examination of the physical characteristics of list ornaments, colour and surface treatment, we may now distinguish strouds from other similar fur trade textiles on artefacts in museum collections, and thereby begin to gain a more precise understanding of the origins of these objects, and of the human interrelations in which they were embedded.

Regrettably, there is no way to determine the absolute value and/or amount of strouds traded to Native Americans annually, or even at any given time. Clearly, however, strouds were significantly higher than other woollens on both of these scales. Indeed, because strouds were one of the most valuable commodities carried, both monetarily and culturally, fur trade merchants took pains to ensure that British manufacturers produced them to meet their Native American customers' style preferences exactly. Analysis of the production and marketing of strouds reveals a complex system of middlemen in which the physical and technical specifications were fairly accurately conveyed even though the term 'strouds' was not employed by all parties. In fact, the term was often used for other textiles, while the actual strouds textiles were often called by other names. Although stroud production originated in the West Country town of Stroud, the term 'strouds' originated in North America and was little known in England. Additionally, by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most strouds were probably manufactured in Yorkshire. Their value to, and volume in, the British woollen industry was not significant enough to be a major cause of the rising 'supremacy' of Yorkshire over Gloucestershire. Nevertheless, Yorkshire merchant-manufacturers' connections with the Montreal fur trade merchants undoubtedly contributed to this well-known historical phenomenon.

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¹ I would like to acknowledge the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its support of research for this article. An earlier and shorter version of it was included in: David Malaher ed., *Selected Papers of Rupert's Land Colloquium 2002, Oxford, England* (Winnipeg: The Centre for Rupert's Land Studies, 2002). I am grateful to Ann Morton and Maureen Dolyniuk for their generous assistance with the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Snail Scott for drawing Figures 8 & 9, Weldon Hiebert for creating an electronic version of my map, and Beth Grant for sharing her research on Indiana fur trade inventories. I would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for suggestions that led to significant improvements to the article. All errors and omissions remain my own.

² Dean Anderson, 'The Flow of Trade Goods into the Western Great Lakes Region, 1715-1760', in Jennifer Brown *et al.* eds, *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1994), pp. 93-115; Kenneth Kidd, 'The Cloth Trade and the Indians of the Northeast During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Royal Ontario Museum, Division of Art and Archaeology Annual* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1961), pp. 48-56; Bruce White, 'Montreal Canoes and Their Cargoes', in B. Trigger, T. Morantz and L. Dechene eds, *'Le Castor Fait Tout': Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985* (Montreal: Lake St Louis Historical Society, 1987), pp. 164-192.

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⁴ Kenneth Ponting, *The History of the West of England Cloth Industry* (London: MacDonald, 1957), p. 102; Alexander Yewdall, 'The Records of Mill Practice: The Bean Ing Mill Notebook', in W. B. Crump ed., *The Leeds Woollen Industry, 1780-1820* (Leeds: The Thoresby Society, 1931), p. 283.

⁵ John Smail ed., *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire: The Memorandum Books of John Brearley Cloth Frizzer at Wakefield, 1758–1762* (Woodbridge: Yorkshire Archaeological Society and Boydell Press, 2001), p. 16.

⁶ I have studied articles of Ojibway, Odawa, Menominee and Potawatomi clothing and accessories in the collections of following museums: Canadian Museum of Civilization, Royal Ontario Museum, Manitoba Museum, Detroit Institute of the Arts, Michigan State University Museum, Field Museum of Natural History, National Museum of Natural History, Milwaukee Public Museum, Neville Museum, Wisconsin Historical Society, Minnesota Historical Society, Pitt Rivers Museum, and a wide variety of small local museums in the Great Lakes region.

⁷ Archives of Ontario, *Documents relatifs à la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest et Sir Alexander MacKenzie*, MS 312 (hereafter AO NWC Documents), ‘#4. Invoices of goods shipped from England to Montreal for the New North West Co., Forsyth Richardson and Co., and Sir Alexander MacKenzie and Co., 1798–1805’.

⁸ Bruce White similarly found that in twelve canoeloads sent from Montreal to posts in the Great Lakes between 1780 and 1786, ‘drap’ (French term for both ‘cloth’ and ‘strouds’) composed 32.9% while blankets accounted for only 7.1% of the total value of goods. White, ‘Montreal Canoes and Their Cargoes’, p. 170.

⁹ ‘Outfits’ were an assortment of trade goods assembled and packed for shipment to particular trading posts. The traders established inland posts near Native American encampments and hunting grounds in order to ensure that they recouped in furs the ‘credit’ they gave out in equipment and trade goods in the fall. These were called ‘wintering posts’ because the traders occupied them only during the winter hunting season, arriving in fall with trade goods and leaving in spring with furs.

¹⁰ AO NWC Documents, ‘#5. Invoices 1804’.

¹¹ Capotes (or capots) were a style of outerwear made from a variety of woollen textiles or actual ‘point’ blankets (i.e. those whose size and weight were marked by a series of narrow bars woven into one side). They consisted of an unlined, loose fitting, knee-length coat that wrapped around to double in the front, with or without buttons. Capotes often had hoods and were typically worn with finger-woven sashes at the waist.

¹² Pamela Blackstock, ‘Nineteenth Century Fur Trade Costume’, *Canadian Folklore*, 10, 1–2 (1988), pp. 190, 206.

¹³ The US Office of Indian Trade was attempting to replicate British fur trade textiles before the War of 1812. Writing to Thomas Waterman, 21 November 1807, John Mason referred to samples of British strouds and blankets that had been left with the ‘Steward of the Alms House’ to ‘imitate’ (National Archives and Records Administration NARA, RG 75, M16-1, *Letters Sent by the Superintendent of Indian Trade, 1807–1823*). It was common practice in Britain and the US to employ ‘paupers’ and orphans in the textile trades, but it is dubious whether they were able to produce the best quality goods. For a critique of American broadcloth manufacturing in the early 1820s, see William Partridge, *A Practical Treatise on Dying of Woollen, Cotton, and Skein Silk with the Manufacture of Broadcloth and Cassimere Including the Most Improved Methods in the West of England* (Edington: Pasold Research Fund, reprint, 1973 [1823]), pp. 3–4.

¹⁴ Molton (also Moulton, Molleton, Melton, etc.) was a thick blanket-like woollen with a heavy nap raised on both sides.

¹⁵ National Archives of Canada (NAC), *American Fur Company (AFC) Records*, MG 19 B2, Reel M58. Flannel was at that time exclusively made of wool. It was typically fulled with a ‘spongy’ consistency and light or medium weight with a lightly raised nap on both sides. In contrast to ‘cloth’, which was densely woven, flannel was loosely woven to produce air pockets aimed at warmth rather than smart appearance. Cassimeres were a fine twill woven light to medium weight textile with a worsted warp and a woollen weft. They were developed and patented in Gloucestershire in the 1760s. Although the fineness of the threads caused difficulty in weaving, cassimeres did not require as specialized finishing techniques as did woollen broadcloth. Consequently, their production quickly spread to other parts of England and America.

¹⁶ Indiana State Library (ISL), *Francis Godfroy Papers*, S2242.

¹⁷ The rise of the American woollen industry and its gradual replacement of British textiles in the American fur trade is a subject worthy of further investigation. A separate article is required to adequately address it.

¹⁸ Bath coating was similar to molton, but it had a longer nap.

¹⁹ James Axtell, 'The First Consumer Revolution', in James Axtell ed., *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 132–134; Ann M. Carlos and Frank D. Lewis, 'Marketing in the Land of Hudson Bay: Indian Consumers and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1770', *Enterprise and Society*, 3 (June 2002), p. 287; Kidd, 'The Cloth Trade', p. 55; Arthur Ray, 'Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century Trade', in Carol Judd and Arthur Ray eds, *Old Trails and New Directions: Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), passim.

²⁰ Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (London: T. Osborne, 1749), p. 32.

²¹ Ray, 'Indians as Consumers', pp. 267, 271.

²² Jacob Schieffelin, 'Memorandum [manuscript]; Philadelphia, to Colonel [Samuel] Hodgdon, 1799 Jan.22', Ayer MS 3165, Newberry Library.

²³ For a detailed discussion of Great Lakes Indians' adaptation of European materials to their own world view, as well as style distribution and colour symbolism, see Cory [Willmott] Silverstein, 'Clothed Encounters: The Power of Dress in Relations Between Anishnaabe and British Peoples in the Great Lakes Region, 1760–2000' (PhD dissertation, McMaster University, 2000), pp. 187–251, 419–420.

²⁴ James F. O'Neill II ed., *Their Bearing is Noble and Proud: A Collection of Narratives Regarding the Appearance of Native Americans from 1740–1815* (Dayton OH: J. T. G. S. Pub., 1995), p. 45.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77. Several skirts of this style are in the Chandler Pohrt Collection at the Detroit Institute of Arts. Two are made from grey list cloth and date from the early twentieth century (Sauk and Fox 81.812; unknown origin 81.552). A third dates from 1830 and may possibly be made from blue strouds (Chippewa 81.97).

²⁷ Peter Grant, 'The Sauteux Indians', in L. R. Masson ed., *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest: Recits de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports Inédits Relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien, Vol.II* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960), pp. 318–319.

²⁸ Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of the Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond du Lac* (Barre MS: Imprint Society, 1972 [1827]), pp. 218, 258, illustration opposite 284.

²⁹ Sir George Thomas, *The Treaty held with the Indians of the Six Nations at Philadelphia, in July 1742: to which is prefix'd an account of the first confederacy on the Six Nations, their present tributaries, dependents and allies* (London: T. Sowle Raylton and Luke Hinde, 1743), pp. 36–37.

³⁰ James Sullivan, *The Papers of William Johnson, Vol. 2* (Albany NY: University of the State of New York, 1922), p. 581.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 583; also see p. 604 for another reference to 'blanket strowds [sic].' Penniston (aka peniston; pennystone; penestown) was a type of coarse woollen cloth with a friezed or napped surface that was originally produced in a town of that name in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Archaeological finds currently held in the Manitoba Museum that once formed 'laced' chief's coats suggest that the fur trade term 'lace' refers to a trimming that today might more appropriately be called 'metallic braid'.

³² Silverstein, 'Clothed Encounters', pp. 229–232.

³³ Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA) F.4/1 'NWC Co Account Book 1795–1797' Reel #5M5, 70.

³⁴ An example of this style of skirt is in the collections of the Neville Public Museum in Green Bay Wisconsin (NPM #70/1948). The daughter of a Scottish trader and Menominee mother, Theresa Rankin, wore it in 1802 when she married the English fur trader, John Lawe.

³⁵ O'Neil, *Their Bearing is Noble and Proud*, p. 33.

³⁶ NAC Letterbooks of Phyn and Ellice, *Merchants at Schenectady, New York, 1767–1776*, MG19-B5, Reel M-473, Vol. 1–1.

³⁷ Although in 1785 the HBC's London Committee ruled that the 'points' refer to the number of Made Beavers Native customers traded for these blankets, the correlation was of very brief duration (HBCA.1/46 *London Minute Book, 1783–1785*, pp. 117–118). Consistently, however, the number of 'points' refer to the size and weight of the blankets. See Carolyn Gilman, *Where Two Worlds Meet: The Great Lakes Fur Trade* (St Paul MN: Minnesota Historical Society, 1982), p. 73; Harold Tichenor, *The Blanket: An Illustrated History of the Hudson's Bay Blanket* (Toronto: Quantum Books, 2002), pp. 7, 32, 36, 38; Robert Wheeler, *A Toast to the Trade: A Picture Essay on Its Material Culture* (St Paul MN: Wheeler Productions, 1985), p. 62; Alfred Plummer and Richard Early, *The Blanket Makers 1669–1969: A History of Charles Early and Marriott (Witney) Ltd.* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 40–41.

³⁸ O'Neil, *Their Bearing is Noble and Proud*, pp. 8–12, 25, 33, 46, 68, 78, 85, 88.

³⁹ Sullivan, *The Papers of William Johnson, Vol. II*, pp. 581, 583, 605; *Vol. III*, pp. 334–336; *Vol. IV*, p. 893.

⁴⁰ AO NWC Documents, '#6. Invoices of goods shipped from Montreal for the use of the various outfits by McTavish, McGillivrays and Co.'

⁴¹ Silverstein, 'Clothed Encounters', pp. 191–193.

⁴² AO NWC Documents, '#6. Invoices of goods shipped from Montreal for the use of the various outfits by McTavish, McGillivrays and Co.'

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ D. T. Jenkins and K. Ponting, *The British Wool Textile Industry 1770–1914* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1982), p. 68.

⁴⁵ Colden, *History of the Five Nations*, p. 22.

⁴⁶ Johnson in Sullivan, *The Papers of William Johnson, Vol. 4*, p. 558.

⁴⁷ Lord J. B. H. Sheffield, *The Pamphleteer, Vol. III, On the Trade in Wool, etc.* (London: A. J. Valpy, 1814), p. 318.

⁴⁸ Ponting, *A History of the West of England Cloth Industry*, pp. 105–107; Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacturers*, p. 129; B. S. Smith, R. A. Lewis and A. M. Wherry, *The Cloth Industry in Gloucestershire* (Stroud, UK: Gloucestershire Country Council, 1972), p. 17.

⁴⁹ Rudder in Smith, Lewis and Wherry, *Cloth Industry in Gloucestershire*, p. 17.

⁵⁰ Jennifer Tann quotes a Gloucester man commenting on the unemployment in 1775 as if it were representative of the whole decade. Jennifer Tann, *Industrial Archaeology: Gloucester Woollen Mills* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Pub., 1967), pp. 40–41. A chart of East India Company exports, however, shows that 1775 was a uniquely low year. Other factors also suggest that the depression of the 1770s was exaggerated. Huw V. Bowen, 'Sinews of Trade and Empire: The Supply of Commodity Exports to the East India Company During the Late Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, 55 (August 2002), p. 476; also de Lacy Mann, *The Cloth Industry of the West of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 152.

⁵¹ Smith, Lewis and Wherry, *Cloth Industry in Gloucestershire*, p. 91; Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacturers*, p. 87.

⁵² Adrienne D. Hood, 'The Material World of Cloth: Production and Use in Eighteenth Century Rural Pennsylvania', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53 (January 1996), *passim*.

⁵³ Jenkins and Ponting, *The British Wool Textile Industry*, p. 59.

⁵⁴ de Lacy Mann, *West of England*, p. 64.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84; Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacturers*, pp. 56–57.

⁵⁶ Bowen, 'Sinews of Trade and Empire', pp. 472–473, 478; HBCA A.25/3 Merchandize Exported 1779–1799 Reel #370.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ John McDonnell, 'Some Account of the Red River, 1797', in Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, Vol. 1, p. 277. Erica Smith, 'Something More than Mere Ornament: Cloth and Indian-European Relations in the Eighteenth Century' (MA thesis, University of Winnipeg, 1991), pp. 66–67, 79, 84–87.

⁵⁹ I surmise this probability from the fact that blankets cost HBC customers more MB ('made beaver') than did the equivalent amount in cloth: 1 blanket = 6 or 7 MB; 2 yds cloth = 4 or 6 MB. The HBC also placed a higher mark-up value on blankets than they did cloth: 492% vs. 414% at York Fort; 408% vs. 243% at Albany Fort in 1720. Elizabeth Mancke, *A Company of Businessmen: The Hudson's Bay Company and Long-Distance Trade, 1670–1730* (Winnipeg MB: Rupert's Land Research Centre, 1988), pp. 74–75. In the seventeenth century, the HBC stocked many more blankets than it did cloth. In 1684, for example, the HBC shipped 390 blankets and 375 yds of cloth (175 blanket-sized pieces at 2 yds each). E. E. Rich ed., *The Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1679–1684, Second Part, 1682–84* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1946), pp. 92, 294.

⁶⁰ Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Hunters, Trappers and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson's Bay, 1660–1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), Table 6, pp. 149–153.

⁶¹ Mancke, *A Company of Businessmen*, pp. 45–46.

⁶² Ray, 'Indians as Consumers', pp. 265–267.

⁶³ Herbert Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade', in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 2 (1930), pp. 150–153; Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufactures*, pp. 77–84; Herbert Heaton, *Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770–1840* (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1943), pp. 229, 232–240.

⁶⁴ Heaton, *Yorkshire Cloth Traders*, pp. 243–245.

⁶⁵ Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott', pp. 150–155.

⁶⁶ NAC *Phyn and Ellice Letterbook*, Vol. 1, numerous entries; for a very general description of this aspect of their business, see R. H. Fleming, 'Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady', *Contributions to Canadian Economics*, 4 (1932), p. 16.

⁶⁷ NAC *Phyn and Ellice Letterbook*, Vol. 1, Phyn and Ellice to Hayman Levy, 2 June 1768.

⁶⁸ Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture*, pp. 55–60, 79–86; Jacob M. Price, 'What Did Merchants Do? Reflections on British Overseas Trade, 1660–1790', in *Journal of Economic History* (June 1989), pp. 281–282.

⁶⁹ NAC *Phyn and Ellice Letterbook*, Vol. 3, Phyn and Ellice to Mr. Blackburn, 30 October 1771; Henry Kent, *Kent's Directory: For the Year 1794. Containing an alphabetical list of the directors of companies . . . in the cities of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southwark* (London: R. & H. Causton, 1794), retrieved online: <http://www.londonancestor.com/kent/kents-b.htm> (15 June 2005).

⁷⁰ Edward Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer, of the County of York; Select lists of the merchants & traders of London, and the principal commercial and manufacturing Towns of England . . .* (London: Hurst and Robinson, 1822), pp. 118, 166; Kent, *Kent's Directory*; Pigot, *Pigot and Co.'s Royal National Commercial Directory for 1828–9; Comprising a directory and classification of the merchants, bankers, professional gentlemen, manufacturers and traders, . . . Yorkshire* (London: Pigot and Co., 1829), pp. 946, 1047; William White, *White's 1853 Leeds and the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire: A Reprint of the 1853 issue of Directory and Gazetteer of Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Wakefield and the Whole of the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Pub., 1969), pp. 366, 484, 634.

⁷¹ W. B. Crump, *The Leeds Woollen Industry, 1780–1820* (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1931), pp. 28, 33–35; Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott', pp. 150–151; Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture*, pp. 66–67; Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 61; Wilson, 'The Supremacy of the Yorkshire Cloth Industry in the Eighteenth Century', in N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting eds, *Textile History and Economic History: Essays in Honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 237, 245.

⁷² HBCA E.41/27 *The Cameron Family — Outward General, 1818–1874*; Kent, *Kent's Directory*.

⁷³ Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer*, p. 269; Pigot, *Pigot and Co.'s Royal National Commercial Directory for 1828–9*, p. 1060; Pigot, Tann, 'Power in the West-of-England Wool Industry', pp. 221–222.

⁷⁴ Kent, *Kent's Directory*.

⁷⁵ HBCA A.5/6 *London Correspondence Book Outwards — General Series, 1818–1822*.

⁷⁶ Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer*, p. 270; Pigot, *Pigot and Co.'s Royal National Commercial Directory for 1828–9*, pp. 1059–1060; White, *White's 1853 Leeds and the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire*, pp. 639, 714–715.

⁷⁷ HBCA A.5/6 *London Correspondence Book Outwards — General Series, 1818–1822*; Kent, *Kent's Directory*; Nigel Watts trans., 'James Royds' account of the family (1826)' (<http://www.fitzwalter.com/afh/Royds/roydshist3.html>). Information about William Dolby found on a transcription of his gravestone at St. Nicholas' Church, Essex (<http://historyhouse.co.uk/monuments.html>).

⁷⁸ HBCA E.41/27 *Cameron Family*; Baines, *History, Directory and Gazetteer*, p. 194; Pigot, *Pigot and Co.'s Royal National Commercial Directory*, pp. 912, 935, 959, 1048; White, *White's 1853 Leeds and the Clothing Districts of Yorkshire*, pp. 259, 287, 638.

⁷⁹ '4.d' is possibly an error in transcription. The width of textiles was normally denoted by fractions that represent the number of 'quarters' of a yard (i.e. 9 in.). Broadcloths were either 6/4 (54 in.) or 7/4 (63 in.) wide.

⁸⁰ Kidd, 'Cloth Trade and the Indians', p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁸² Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufacture*, p. 78.

⁸³ For complaints, see NAC *Phyn and Ellice Letterbook, Vol. 1*, Phyn and Ellice to Hayman Levy, 28 April 1768; 9 May 1768; 1 June 1768; 21 June 1768; 28 June 1768; 18 August 1768; 7 January 1769; for advice on White's strouds, see *ibid.*, 2 June 1768.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Phyn and Ellice to Benjamin Booth, 19 November 1768.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Phyn and Ellice to Benjamin Booth, 14 October 1769.

⁸⁶ Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 65.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸⁹ Kidd, 'Cloth Trade and the Indians', p. 52.

⁹⁰ James A. Jones, *Traditions of the North American Indians: being a second and revised edition of Tales of an Indian camp* (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), pp. 113–114.

⁹¹ Montgomery, *Textiles in America*, p. 159.

⁹² Kidd, 'Cloth Trade and the Indians', pp. 52, 54. In 1747, Colden similarly writes, 'the principal of the Goods proper for the Indian Market are only of the Manufacturers of Great Britain . . . viz. Stroud, or Stroudwaters, and other Woollens, and Rum' (Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations*, p. 17).

⁹³ For a detailed discussion of Ojibway colour symbolism that explains the preference for blue over red, see Silverstein, 'Clothed Encounters', pp. 196–216.

⁹⁴ Sullivan, *Papers of William Johnson*, Vol. 1, p. 50; Vol. 2, pp. 570–640, 898; Vol. 3, pp. 23, 150, 153, 156, 334, 530–531, 534; Vol. 4, pp. 559, 893.

⁹⁵ Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741–1782* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 45.

⁹⁶ Ida Amanda Johnson, *The Michigan Fur Trade* (Lansing MI: Michigan Historical Commission, 1919), p. 110; Wilbur Cunningham, *Letter Book of William Burnett: Early Fur Trader in the Land of Four Flags* (St Joseph's MI: Fort Miami Heritage Society of Michigan Inc., 1967), p. v.

⁹⁷ NAC *AFC Records*; 'American Fur Company Packing List of Goods for Joshua Palen's fur trade goods for Russell Farnham's Outfit, Mississippi and Missouri Region, August 16th, 1822, St. Louis' (Ayer MS 18, Newberry Library).

⁹⁸ Heather Devine, 'Roots in the Mohawk Valley: Sir William Johnson's Legacy in the North West Company', in Jennifer S. H. Brown, W. J. Eccles and Donald Heldman eds, *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1994), p. 226.

⁹⁹ Stewart W. Wallace, *Documents Relating to the North West Company* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 485.

¹⁰⁰ R. H. Fleming, 'Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady', *Contributions to Canadian Economics*, 4 (1932), pp. 33–34; NAC *Phyn and Ellice Letterbook*, James Ellice to James Phyn, 5 January 1775 and 25 January 1775.

¹⁰¹ Harry Duckworth, 'British Capitol in the Fur Trade: John Strettell and John Fraser', in Jennifer S. H. Brown, W. J. Eccles and Donald Heldman eds, *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1994), p. 48.

¹⁰² Stanley Brice Frost, *James McGill of Montreal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p. 49; NAC *Phyn and Ellice Letterbooks*, Vol. 3, Phyn and Ellice to Isaac Todd, 20 January 1773.

¹⁰³ Fleming, 'Phyn, Ellice and Company', pp. 23, 33–36.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 24–25, 33, 38; Frost, *James McGill of Montreal*, pp. 48–49, 54–55.

¹⁰⁵ Devine, 'Roots in the Mohawk Valley', p. 240 n. 54; Fleming, 'Phyn, Ellice and Company', p. 38; Frost, *James McGill of Montreal*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ AO NWC *Documents*, '#4. Invoices of Goods shipped from England to Montreal for the New North West Co., Forsyth Richardson and Co., and Sir Alex. McKenzie & Co., 1798–1805'.

¹⁰⁷ Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁸ NAC, *Phyn, Ellice and Company Letterbook*, Vol. 3, Phyn and Ellice to Hayman Levy, 14 September 1771.

¹⁰⁹ William M. Reddy, 'The Structure of a Cultural Crisis: Thinking About Cloth in France Before and After the Revolution', in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 267; G. D. Ramsey, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 4; Yewdall, 'The Records of Mill Practice', p. 285.

¹¹⁰ Partridge, *A Practical Treatise on Dying*, 123–24. For another description of this process, see Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 44.

¹¹¹ See instructions for making this cloth in Carolyn Corey, *Tradecloth Handbook* (St Ignatius, MT: Meti Mercantile Press, 2001), pp. 7–8.

¹¹² Also see Carolyn Corey's description of how to dye cloth with a 'scalloped-tip edge'. Ibid.

¹¹³ Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, pp. 40, 63.

¹¹⁴ Yewdall, 'The Records of Mill Practice', p. 285.

¹¹⁵ James Isham, *James Isham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1743, and Notes and Observations on a book entitled A Voyage to Hudson's Bay in the Dobbs Gallery, 1749* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1949), p. 39.

¹¹⁶ HBCA *London Minute Book*, A.1/46, 18; A.1/40, 117.

¹¹⁷ Corey, *The Tradecloth Handbook*, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ AO, NWC *Documents*, '#4. Invoices of Goods Shipped from England to Montreal for the New North West Co., Forsyth Richardson & Co., and Sir Alex. McKenzie & Co.'.

¹¹⁹ NAC, *AFC Records*, 'Memorandum of Goods Required for Upper Missouri Outfit, 1827'.

¹²⁰ MHS, P. Chouteau-Maffitt Collection, *Chouteau Family Papers, 1752–1946*, A0274, Reel 22, Letter from John Jacob Astor to Pierre Chouteau, 17 October 1832.

¹²¹ Chouteau probably meant 'Highland Gartering', which was a common article on NWC and XYC inventories. Gillespie, Moffatt and Findlay Co. included 'Highland Gartering' in their shipment to him a few months later. Ibid., 'Invoice of Goods forwarded to Hagarty and Jordain for account of Gillespie Moffatt Findlay & Co.'.

- ¹²² Ibid., Letter from J. J. Astor to P. Chouteau, 27 October 1832.
- ¹²³ Ibid., 'Account of American Fur Company with Benjamin Gott & Sons'; 'Invoice of goods forwarded to Hagarty & Jordain for account of Gillespie Moffatt Findlay & Co.'
- ¹²⁴ HBCA A.5/6 *London Correspondence Book Outward*, 1818–1822.
- ¹²⁵ Yewdall, 'The Records of Mill Practice', p. 304.
- ¹²⁶ MHS, *Chouteau Family Papers*, 'Invoice of Goods imported by AFC on board brig Elvira . . .', NAC, *AFC Records*. I have seen many of these cloths on artefacts in American museum collections (e.g. Field Museum, Detroit Institute of the Arts, Milwaukee Public Museum, etc.). My recollection and the photographic evidence I have at hand suggest that they typically have the flat smooth surface characteristic of strouds, but I would have to re-examine them to be sure.
- ¹²⁷ HBCA *London Correspondence Outward*, A.5/6, pp. 132, 138–139.
- ¹²⁸ HBCA *NWC Account Book*, 1818, F.4/13.
- ¹²⁹ Crump, *The Woollen Industry of Leeds*, p. 52; Ponting, *History of the West of England*, p. 94; Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 55; Yewdall, 'The Records of Mill Practice', p. 283.
- ¹³⁰ Smail, *Markets, Merchants and Manufacture*, pp. 85, 92; Wilson, 'Supremacy of the Yorkshire Cloth Industry', p. 241.
- ¹³¹ The majority of the black was in two exceptional cases: goods remaining in the storehouse at Grand Portage in 1799 and goods distributed as a treaty annuity in 1798. Neither of these represent customer preferences. Silverstein [Willmott], 'Clothed Encounters', Table 1: Percent of Woollens by Colour in Fur Trade Inventories, pp. 419–20.
- ¹³² MHS, *Chouteau Papers*, 'Account of the American Fur Company with Benjamin Gott & Sons, 10th Dec. 1832'; Partridge, *A Practical Treatise*, pp. 9–11; Kenneth Ponting, *A Dictionary of Dyes and Dyeing* (London: Mills and Boon, 1980), pp. 105–106; Ponting, *History of The West of England Cloth Trade*, p. 93.
- ¹³³ HBCA A.1/39, *London Minute Book*, 1751–54; HBCA A.5/6, *London Correspondence Outward, General Series*, 1818–22; Partridge, *A Practical Treatise*, pp. 164, 251; Kidd, 'The Cloth Trade', p. 54; Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, pp. 6, 66.
- ¹³⁴ Partridge, *A Practical Treatise*, p. 165; Ponting, *History of The West of England Cloth Trade*, p. 92.
- ¹³⁵ Partridge, *A Practical Treatise*, p. 165; Ponting, *A Dictionary of Dyes and Dyeing*, p. 44.
- ¹³⁶ HBCA A.1/44 *London Minute Books*, 1771–1776.
- ¹³⁷ AO *NWC Documents*, '#4. Invoices of Goods Shipped from England . . .'; NAC, *AFC Records*.
- ¹³⁸ Crump, *The Woollen Industry of Leeds*, p. 52; Smail, *Merchants, Markets and Manufactures*, p. 65; Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 29.
- ¹³⁹ Ponting, *History of the West of England*, pp. 101–102.
- ¹⁴⁰ Yewdall, 'The Records of Mill Practice', pp. 274, 301.
- ¹⁴¹ Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade', p. 151.
- ¹⁴² Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, pp. 16, 48, 91, 105, 107, 120, 131.
- ¹⁴³ Flocks are very short lengths of wool obtained as waste from the processes of fulling and cropping. Shoddy and mungo are materials obtained by converting cloth rags into a fibrous state. Shoddy is made from unmilled cloths, while mungo is made from milled cloths.
- ¹⁴⁴ Smail, *Woollen Manufacturing in Yorkshire*, p. 113.
- ¹⁴⁵ Partridge, *A Practical Treatise*, p. 23.
- ¹⁴⁶ Jenkins and Ponting, *British Wool Textile Industry*, p. 64.
- ¹⁴⁷ Heaton, 'Benjamin Gott and the Anglo-American Cloth Trade', pp. 152, 160.

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From Stroud to Strouds

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