Rural dress in southwestern Missouri between 1860 and 1880

by

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INTRODUCTION

This research seeks to contribute to our knowledge of the clothing worn by rural people in southwestern Missouri between 1860 and 1880. The topic of rural dress is of growing interest to costume historians across the country but is one on which little has been written. This study of southwestern Missouri dress will become a part of a larger effort at Iowa State University to develop a history of the availability and use of clothing and textiles throughout the Midwest in the 19th century. Parallel studies are underway which focus on rural dress of the 1810 through 1830 period in southern Indiana surrounding the life of young Abraham Lincoln and the 1840s and '50s period surrounding the lives of persons who migrated west through Mitchell Pass near Scotts Bluff, Nebraska.

The 1860 through 1880 dates were selected because they represent the boyhood years of George Washington Carver, which were spent in southwestern Missouri. The specific objective of the research was to provide information to be used in the development of a living history program at the George Washington Carver National Monument at Diamond, Missouri.

The Monument is on the site of the Moses and Susan Carver farm and is dedicated to preserving the history surrounding the early life of the slave child, George, who later became the outstanding black scientist. The Carvers raised George after his mother, their slave, was kidnapped in the early 1860s. Little specifically is known of the Carver family, except that they were rather typical of rural families in that area.

This history of dress served as a basis for the production of a series of garment patterns and a handbook containing information helpful

for creating contemporary replicas of rural costumes to be used in the living history programs at the Monument. Information about the patterns and handbook is available from the Textiles and Clothing Department, Iowa State University.

The history and handbook will aid the Monument personnel in interpreting to 20th century visitors what life was like in the third quarter of the 19th century. The availability and use of goods in the mid-19th century were influenced by a variety of factors of which Monument visitors today may be unaware. Understanding these conditions will assist visitors to interpret historic significance of the Monument in the appropriate context.

The tendency is to compare products of the 19th century culture with those of today. This sort of contrast leads to viewing homemade rural apparel products of the 19th century as coarse and poorly made. A deeper appreciation of 19th century rural dress is possible when costume is viewed in relation to its 19th century setting where:

1) Hand sewing was customary because sewing machines were not yet within the financial reach of most rural families and ready-to-wear garments were limited in availability;

2) homespun fabrics were more commonly used than commercially woven fabrics;

3) the utilitarian way of life required that fabric be used, patched, and reused or remade;

4) circumstances of environment required garments be made around the other tasks of the day, often at evening by candle light; and

5) the homemaker was required to produce goods for her family using what limited skills she possessed.

In this context the garment becomes a comment on the cultural setting

of the area and time period studied. But other sources may be used when extant clothing is not available.

Dress in rural southwestern Missouri between 1860 and 1880 can be studied by examining the extant costumes which are available and the evidence revealing the cultural setting in which garments were made and used. The availability and use of textiles and apparel as found in southwestern Missouri between 1860 and 1880 can be determined through:

1) knowing something about the way of life in rural southwestern Missouri and the need for clothing, as well as the means and resources for acquiring clothing;

2) knowing the status of textile and clothing industries in the United States by 1860 and through 1880, thus defining the limits of possible clothing resources; and

3) knowing what resources were available in southwestern Missouri during this period.

The evidence of the cultural setting is determined by reviewing a variety of primary resources. Extant costumes provide the most complete information on dress, but other resources may be used when extant clothing is not available. Inherent in all resources are certain limitations which affect the interpretation of information. The resources upon which this study is based were examined for their reliability.

SOURCES OF COSTUME INFORMATION

A wide variety of primary and secondary resources were used to gather data for this history. In each case the strengths and limitations of the resources were assessed. Certain primary sources provide the best information for the costume historian. These include actual garments, photographs, and personal written accounts of clothing worn at the particular time and place studied. Additionally shipping, manufacturing and retail records, as well as newspaper and magazine advertisements, provide insight into the availability of apparel goods and services in a specific locality.

Extant garments provide the best source of costume information. Garments from the 1860s and 1870s are available; however, they are rarely of rural inhabitants. No garments from rural southwestern Missouri were found to examine. Evidence suggests that clothing in rural areas was handed down, remade, and finally torn apart for quilt tops and rags (Britton, 1929). Clothing was scarce and too expensive to pack away and save, and thus limitations exist in the use of extant garments for the study of rural costumes. Garments which are extant belonged to the wealthier, urban families whose way of life was very different from that found in rural areas. Nevertheless, these garments can be of value in a costume study because they give evidence of garment construction techniques of the period and illustrate the silhouette of fashionable garments.

When accurately labeled with date and location photographs are another excellent source of historic costume information. The historical societies of Iowa and Missouri offer a wealth of photographic resources; unfortunately few of these photographs have appropriate documentary record.

The photographs can be compared to other dated sources of clothing and fashion information to give a general feeling about the period. The practice of wearing one's "best" clothing for a picture and being photographed in stock settings suggests that reliance on photographic evidence may yield a biased view of clothing in use.

The George Washington Carver National Monument has photographs of George and Jim Carver taken in the 1870s. There is also a photograph of an unidentified family group taken in southwestern Missouri in the late 1860s or early in the 1870s. Together these photographs are solid positive evidence of rural dress for both males and females.

Photographs of the early Civil War years serve as a valuable resource for information on male costume. It was well into the war before Union and Confederate soldiers were outfitted in uniforms. Early recruits entered the service wearing civilian dress. Well-documented photographs exist for troops in civilian dress from Missouri, all states surrounding Missouri, and other midwestern states (American Heritage, 1960; Lanier & Miller, 1957).

Many written primary records are available as a resource for a clothing study. Personal diaries and account books provide comments and inventories of the clothing worn and describe the means by which clothing was acquired. Census records, while limited in detail and accuracy, provide a sense of the general way of life and the resources available in the area. Retail records, advertisements in magazines and newspapers, and shipping records indicate the availability of goods in the area.

Drawings in fashion magazines and newspaper advertisements contemporary to the time period can be compared to photographs and written

accounts from the area under study. Fashion publications such as Godey's Ladies Book and Magazine and Harper's Bazaar are available for study. These fashion publications were produced for upper class urban society ladies, mainly those in the East. They can be compared to magazines such as the St. Louis Magazine, published closer to southwestern Missouri. Such comparisons may indicate similarities or differences between fashionable urban clothing and rural dress. Newspaper advertisements can be compared to photographs in the same manner, but they are usually written descriptions of clothing rather than drawings.

Written secondary information is available for study. Several good histories of Missouri describe the growth and development of the state. They are especially important to this study because they provide the background for understanding the major differences between life during the Civil War and that of the Reconstruction period. Violette's A History of Missouri (1918) provides a good background for study of this period in Missouri history.

Biographies of George W. Carver must be used very carefully. Often offering no documentation of sources, some biographers have used clothing statements to romanticize the general life situation (Toogood, 1973). The biographies do indicate the similarities between the Carver family and other families in the area. They provide a general picture of the Carvers' everyday activities, and the social activities of the area.

Several theses which focus on rural costume of pioneers from other geographic areas were reviewed. Two completed studies dealing with rural dress are those of Fargo (1969) and Shenai (1967). Each of these covered only women's clothing, leaving a void in the knowledge of 19th century

men's and children's clothing in the rural areas. Fargo's study of dress of female pioneers in Kansas during the 1850s suggested that pioneer women try to follow fashion when possible. The Shenai study centered around the change in women's clothing as St. Paul, Minnesota evolved from a small trading village to a city early in the 19th century. Again, fashion was followed and copied as soon as St. Paul became a major trading center and fashion news was available.

Although the Fargo and Shenai studies focus on midwestern pioneer dress and tend to overlap this study in time, it would be difficult to generalize their findings to southwestern Missouri. Newton County, Missouri was settled 20 to 30 years earlier than Kansas and therefore the two areas in 1850 represented differing periods in their development. St. Paul's location on the Mississippi River gave it greater accessibility to eastern manufacturing centers. Therefore the availability of textile and apparel items as well as other goods in the two areas were likely to differ.

Because geographic conditions of Missouri were a factor in its eventual development, it is important to consider the agricultural, industrial and trade aspects of the area in order to understand the way of life and the resources available in that area.

SOUTHWESTERN MISSOURI, 1860 THROUGH 1880

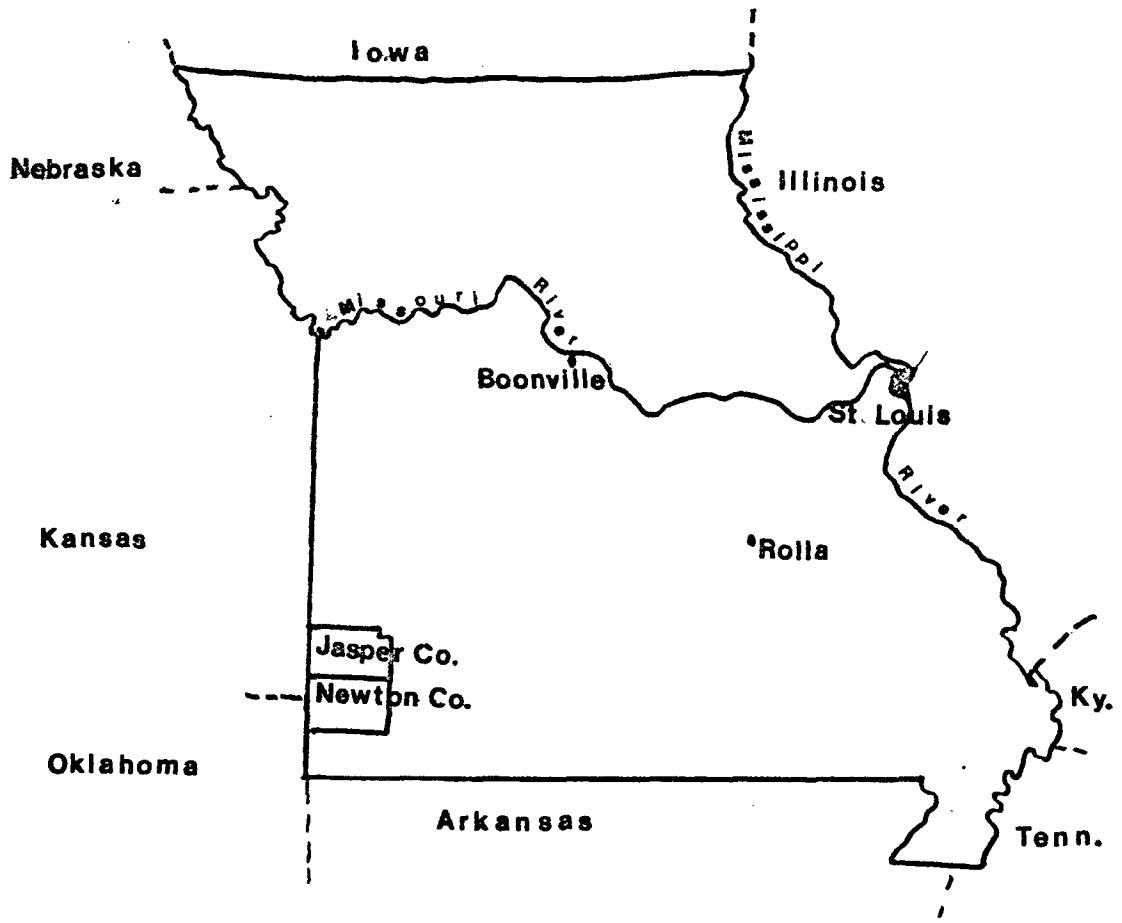
Location and Industry

For purposes of this study southwestern Missouri will be defined to include Newton and Jasper Counties and their neighboring Missouri counties (see Map 1). This area is the locality in which the Carver family lived and had access to those goods and services available. The area is part of the Ozark upland. The rich loam soil was good for agriculture, which was the primary occupation of over half the area's population during the period covered by the study (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860c, 1880b). Mixed farming of the period 1860 to 1880 included crops, livestock, and orchard products. Mining was the other important industry; zinc and lead the important metals.

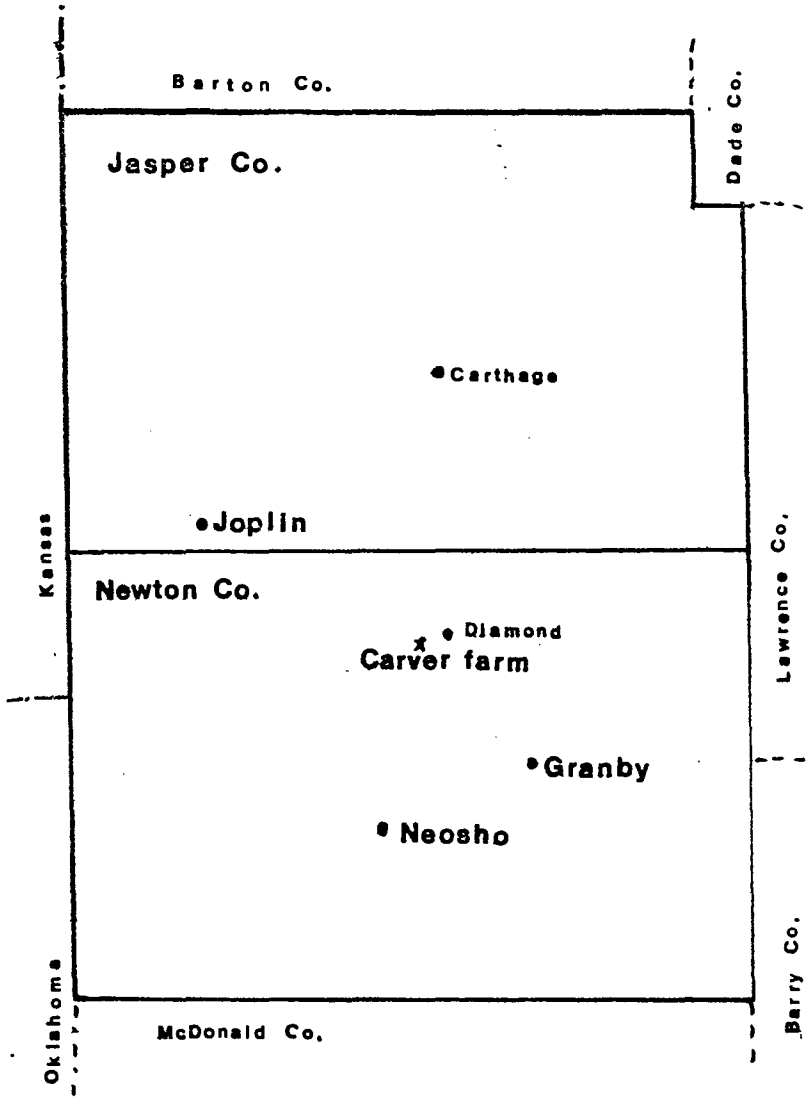
Newton County, where the Carver family farm was located, was typical of the surrounding counties. The western boundary of the county formed the Kansas-Missouri line. McDonald County separates Newton County from the Arkansas border to the south (see Map 2).

Farming was the most important industry of Newton County. In 1860, the average farm size was 275 acres, but only 30 to 40 percent of the acreage of most farms was improved, or tillable (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860b). Indian corn, oats, and wheat were chief crops of the county, but most farms also produced barley, buckwheat, and tobacco.

Cotton, a major crop of Missouri, was not grown in Newton County. The Census of Agriculture for 1860 suggests that the cotton crop area nearest to Newton County was that of northern Arkansas. It is possible that small amounts of cotton were grown on Newton County farms, but in



Map 1. State of Missouri



Map 2. Newton and Jasper Counties, 1880

amounts too small to bother recording for the census.

Missouri ranked high in the production of wool throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Although Newton County ranked low among Missouri counties in the production of raw wool, sufficient wool was grown to support home production of cloth and to eventually support a local carding machine (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860b, 1870b, 1880c).

Other textile crops in the state included hemp and flax. Hemp, a major Missouri crop used in ropes and twine, was grown in northern Missouri along the Missouri River. No hemp was recorded as growing in Newton County throughout the period. Only 325 pounds of flax, the fiber used to produce linen, were recorded as being produced in Newton County in 1860. This sum dropped to 100 pounds by 1870. Holt (1963, pp. 7, 9) states that Susan Carver had a flax spinning wheel, and that flax grew along the fence posts on many of the farms. As with cotton, flax was probably grown in such small amounts that it was not listed in census records.

Agricultural trends did not alter greatly throughout the 20-year period. The basic change was in the size and productivity of the farms. The average farm size in Newton County listed in the 1870 census was 86 acres; however, close to 70 percent of the land on each farm was tillable (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1870b). This shift in average farm size from 275 to 86 acres was influenced by the shift in labor supply during the war, and by improved tillable acreage on each farm (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1870b, 1880c).

Farms in 1860 were worked by the owner with the help of one or two slaves or hired men. Few farmers in southwestern Missouri needed a great deal of slave labor. The crops which required a great deal of hand labor,

namely tobacco, cotton, and hemp, were not grown in large enough quantities to warrant the support of such help. Therefore almost 80 percent of the 8,899 people in Newton County were white (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860a). After the Civil War farms were reduced in size and worked by the owner and his family alone. The crops grown remained the same, although orchard crops became more important to the farm income (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1870b, 1880c).

The population of Newton County increased by 50 percent between 1860 and 1880 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1880a). As larger farms were reduced in size, the number of farms increased by 45.3 percent by 1880, providing work for new residents. Those towns with an active mining industry grew in population. Zinc mines were being worked near the small town of Granby in the 1850s (see Map 2). During the war years of 1860 through 1865 the mining was virtually stopped. In the early 1870s richer deposits of lead and zinc were discovered in Granby, and also in the northwestern corner of Newton County and the Joplin area (see Map 2). Joplin was a mining boomtown in 1873 and became a major city by 1876 (Ingalls, 1908). The opening and expanding of the mines brought many single men to southwestern Missouri, creating an increased demand for a variety of goods including ready-to-wear clothing.

The origin of people in the area did not change in great measure between 1860 and 1880. Approximately 45 percent were born in Missouri. The majority of the remainder came from Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. A remaining group, about five percent, came primarily from England, Ireland, Germany, and Switzerland (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860a, 1880a).

The Civil War

The Civil War had a severe impact on life in southwestern Missouri between 1860 and 1866. Oddly, census records do not indicate the severity and importance of the war because the 1860 Census predates the conflict, and recovery was well underway by the 1870 Census. Although the geographic origin of the people living in southwestern Missouri did not change through the twenty-year period, many of the individual inhabitants did change. Large numbers of people who sympathized with the Union cause were driven from southwestern Missouri. Many men were killed in the conflict. As farms were divided in size, more land was available for immigrants to settle upon. The railroad owned a great deal of land. The land was sold to Easterners who would move west and farm.

Because Newton and adjoining Jasper County were filled with southern sympathizers in a northern state, the area was embroiled in constant guerrilla warfare and bloody skirmishes (Cozad, 1965, pp. 3-6; Schrantz, 1923; Smith, 1927, p. 366). The towns of the area were virtually destroyed. Farm production faltered, as did mining. Crops were burned and animals slaughtered. Money, food, and clothing were taken from inhabitants, then livestock destroyed and homes burned. The mines were worked by forces from one side, then taken over by the opposition. Finally many were destroyed. In addition to regular military activity, the area was harrassed by border marauders from Kansas and by local brigands. Some of these men were slaves rights advocates; many were simply murderers and thieves. The area was virtually devastated by 1865 (Demaree, 1975, p. 186).

Evolution of the Towns and Cities

Towns and trading centers to serve the rural population were scattered across Newton County by 1860. Small crossroads areas similar to those of Diamond Grove and Locust Grove were close to the Carver's farm. In the mid-1870s Diamond Grove had a school house, general store, and blacksmith shop to which a small room for a post office was attached (Forbes Brown, 1952, in Fuller, 1957). Granby was bustling with activity in the 1850s, with a population of 2,327 by 1859 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860a). Events of the Civil War emptied the town and Granby had to be totally rebuilt after the war. Neosho, the county seat, had a population of 673 in 1860 (Cozad, 1965, p. 2). Neosho Township met with destruction during the war, but managed to survive and recover. The census records show a continual growth in the township's population to 875 people in 1870, and to 1,631 by 1880 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1870a, 1880a). The total population of the county increased approximately 50 percent within the 20-year span, 1860-1880, while Neosho's population rose slightly more than 40 percent. The growth in rural population as the recovery period advanced was accompanied by an influx of people to serve the farm families.

Table 1 provides an overview of the services and businesses of Neosho relating to the availability of textile and apparel goods and information within the 1860 through 1880 period. It is important to realize that much of the town that existed in 1860 was destroyed and its businesses closed. The growth from 1866 to 1880 is actually greater than is suggested in Table 1. Information relating to communication and transportation is important since these were major factors in the growth of towns, and were

Table 1. Selected services and business in operation in Neosho, Missouri, 1860 and 1880

1860[a]	1880[b]
1 weekly newspaper	2 weekly newspapers
2 stage routes--Springfield, Mo. New Mexico	daily stages to Joplin and Bentonville, Ark. Atlantic and Pacific Railway (changed to San Francisco)
post office	daily mail, telegraph (Western Union, Express, Adams)
1 boot and shoe dealer	5 boot and shoe dealers
7 general stores	3 general stores (all advertise clothing)
1 leather dealer	1 hide, fur, and wool dealer
1 carding machine	1 woolen mill
1 sewing machine agent	1 sewing machine agent
1 tailor (also the auctioneer)	1 tailor
	3 clothing, dry goods stores
	3 millinery shops (at least 1 dressmaker residing in the town)

[a]Missouri State Gazatteer and Business Directory, 1860.

[b]Missouri State Gazatteer and Business Directory, 1879-1880.

the means by which goods and information became available in southwestern Missouri.

Communication with other areas by mail was difficult before 1870 in southwestern Missouri. Although post offices existed in the area from 1833, mail arrival was not consistent, nor daily in the 1860s. Many post offices were closed throughout the war (McGregor, 1901). The mail came by steamboat and wagon, each slow and unreliable means of transportation.

In the 1860s goods reached Newton County by ship and wagon. Eastern manufactured goods were shipped from St. Louis to all points west. Goods reaching southwestern Missouri went on ship from St. Louis to Boonville,

on the Missouri River. From Boonville the goods had to travel by wagon. The size and capacity of the wagons limited the size and quantity of goods transported. The ship-to-wagon service for mail, passengers, and suppliers was disrupted by the war. St. Louis was blockaded by northern troops, so goods could not enter or leave its ports. Since Missouri had both northern and southern sympathizers, the North did not want supplies in the hands of rebel troops. The South had little or no manufacturing from which to supply goods, so few supplies arrived in southwestern Missouri during the conflict.

In 1869, the railroad was completed as far as Rolla (see Map 1), but goods still had to be transported by wagon to southwestern Missouri. The arrival of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway in Neosho in 1870 allowed for the shipment of large quantities of supplies into the area and the efficient shipment of ore to the East. This made it feasible for large-scale mining operations to open in southwestern Missouri. It brought miners, salesmen, and farmers into the area. Mail arrival was dependable from the beginning of rail transportation to the area. With the arrival of the railroad, southwestern Missouri had a rapid, efficient connection to the East; center of industry and fashion in the United States.

Rural Life

Changes which affected southwestern Missouri towns affected the rural population at a slower rate. What is known about the Moses Carver farm is descriptive of a typical farm and home of the area and time. The farm was 240 acres, of which about 100 acres were tillable. Corn, oats, and wheat were the most important crops. Livestock of various kinds were raised to

provide power, fiber, and food. Later in the period, orchard products provided a major portion of the Carver's income ("Historic Resource Study", 1973, Appendix C). Although the Carver farm was subjected to the destructive activity of the war and guerrilla raids, the farm remained intact.

The Carver home of 1860 consisted of two log cabins. The buildings had rough hewn logs on the floor and no foundations. A large fireplace served for heating and cooking (Fuller, 1957, Part 1). The cabins were one-room, and each had one window. Walls were built from hewn logs, the cracks filled with clay. Furniture was functional and limited to rope slatted beds, a homemade table, and a few chairs (Toogood, 1973, pp. 34-35). Some homes had a loom or spinning wheel.

The typical farm wife's job consisted of preparing food and clothing for the family under rustic conditions. Most food was produced on the farm. Animals were slaughtered and smoked, chickens killed and plucked. Milk cows were kept; butter and cheese were homemade from the raw milk. Food was prepared over the indoor fireplace in large pots. Enough food had to be canned or preserved during the summer to last through the winter months (Schrantz, 1923).

Although clothing production in the home changed between 1860 and 1880, it was always a slow operation. Garments no longer needed or wearable were remade for other family members. Worn out articles were made into quilt tops or used for ticking (Britton, 1929). Clothing was washed at a creek, boiled, beaten and then dried on bushes (Isely, 1935; Osborne, c. 1939). Socks had to be knit and mended, and women's clothing had to be sewn. If cloth was made in the home, many time consuming processes were

necessary.

The men cleared and planted the crops with simple metal and wood tools pulled by oxen or horses, guided on foot. Trees and brush had to be cleared to build homes and barns, and to open the land for tilling. Livestock had to be fed and cared for. In the 1860s, the husband would take grain to town to grind at the mill, while the wife remained at home to tend the animals and family.

Even the social life was oriented to a utilitarian way of living. Gatherings centered around work. There were barn raisings, house raisings, and quilting "bees". These would end with a potluck meal and the local fiddler, in this case Moses Carver, would then play while others danced. Many small one-room school houses dotted the area, and these served for church on Sunday. Visiting occurred rarely, as the days were filled with work.

The Civil War had a tremendous effect on normal daily life. Fear for home, crops, and safety filled each day. No farm could be left unwatched, as the livestock or food stores would be stolen (Schrantz, 1923). Roads to town were unsafe to travel, and there was little money to spend if one did go to town.

Farms and families recovered slowly from the brutal effects of war. It was well into the 1870s before many rural families would have money and time to spend on clothing outside of the basic necessities.

DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTILES AND APPAREL INDUSTRIES BY 1880

This review of the industry is provided to give insight to the kinds of textile and apparel goods being produced in the United States in 1880. The focus is on the kinds of products which would have been available to the consumer either as piece goods, ready-to-wear, or custom made. This includes information on the pattern industry since it has relevance to home garment production.

Textile Industries

The textile industry in the U.S. made use of cotton, wool, and flax in the production of cloth. More cotton and wool fabrics were manufactured than linen.

The factors which affected the type and quantity of fabric produced were the technological advances in each industry, the availability of raw materials, and the supply of labor.

Cotton industry

The manufacture of cotton cloth began early in the history of the United States and developed rapidly. By 1860 most of the basic mechanical equipment necessary for rapid production of cotton cloth was in use. The majority of cotton mills were in the northeastern and middle states. According to Yorke (1945), Pepperell Mills, one of the largest, was sending goods all over America by the 1850s.

> They traveled by coastwise schooner, by railroad, by ox-team and covered wagon, they penetrated into city shops, into county stores, into the rough trading outposts of the wild frontier of the West and Southwest (p. 42).

By 1860 the finished cotton cloth was chiefly sold by the yard to the consumer to be used in producing garments and other textile products in the home. The United States was not a producer of "fancy" cotton goods, but produced goods classified as of coarse or medium counts. These goods included

> . . . print cloths, sheetings and shirtings, drills, ticks, denims and stripes, duck and bagging (Copeland, 1923, p. 21).

The Civil War drastically affected the cotton industry. Copeland (p. 10) wrote that there was practically a void in the history of the industry during the period of conflict, but that the recovery after 1865 was quite rapid. There was a scarcity of raw cotton in the South during the war years. Cotton fields were burned, as were cotton warehouses. The southern troops destroyed the cotton to deny it to northern troops, and the northern troops destroyed cotton to further cripple the South.

Interference with transportation severely hampered the movement of goods between the North and South. The Ohio River, the major East to West means of transportation, was a geographic break between the North and the South, and shipping on the Ohio was very dangerous. St. Louis, where the Ohio and Missouri Rivers merge with the Mississippi, was blockaded by the Union troops. This blocked the shipment of raw materials to the Northeast and the shipment of finished goods to the South and West (Cobrin, 1970, p. 41).

The northern cotton cloth manufacturers could not collect many outstanding debts, especially those owed by southern merchants. The majority of cotton manufacturers closed their mills, sold their cloth stores to England, and never reopened after the war. Those mills which did survive

produced coarse, heavy goods such as tenting, drill, and jeans. These were sold to the Army and Navy (Yorke, 1945, pp. 44-46).

After 1865 the industry recovered quickly and weathered a depression in the late 1860s. The cloth produced was as yet primarily for home consumption and of medium to coarse grades. Until the 1880s close count cotton fabrics such as might be used in garments for special occasions were imported from England and were very expensive.

In the 1860s and '70s, cotton was dyed in several ways. Piece dying produced solid color cotton. Ginghams, plaids, and checks were yarn dyed, then woven. Printed fabrics were mechanically reproduced. Cylinder printing was introduced to the U.S. in 1810, and by 1876 a double-faced printing machine was developed which could print up to eight colors on each side. Among the printed fabrics were the chintzes and calicoes. The motifs were tiny, floral designs adapted from small European floral prints of the period. Often the motifs were randomly placed, offset as opposed to a stripe pattern. Tiny dots made up the motif or covered the background. The dots added depth to the design and filled the background space.

Throughout the 1860 to 1880 period, vegetable dyes were most important. The cloths were often dark, in browns and blacks with white motifs; or shades of red, especially dark red. Indigo, a blue dye, was very popular. Clothes would be dyed solid blue, then the design printed on the fabric with bleach to produce a white on blue pattern. Coal-tar or synthetic dyes were discovered by Perkin in 1856. These dyes produced very clear, bright colors. Germany controlled the synthetic dye market for several decades, hindering the rapid availability of these dyes to a

western market (Copeland, 1923, p. 45). Synthetic dyes were developed too late to be of great importance in the United States before 1880 (Brown & Norris, 1911, pp. 172, 181-182; Robinson, 1969, pp. 33-34).

Wool industry

The production of wool, as with cotton, was well advanced by 1860. Cole (1926) made this statement:

> In short, then, it seems probable that while household production of woolen cloths may possibly have played a substantial part in the 30's and 40's, the subsequent decades saw a marked decline until by the seventies it was a negligible feature even of western economic life (p. 265).

The woolen mills were located chiefly in the northeastern states, but by 1870 small factories opened in the West. These western factories bought local wool, and sold their produce near home (Cole, 1926, p. 275). Often the raw wool was simply exchanged for cloth. The Hainsworth and McDivitt Mill, started in Neosho, Missouri during the late 1860s, traded cloth for raw wool (Osborne, c. 1939). In these smaller western mills, the wool produced was of a coarse nature, heavily fulled. The sheer, lightweight wools and worsteds were manufactured in the East, used primarily in fashionable dressmaker and tailor made garments.

Linen production

The production of linen garments in the United States declined greatly through the 1800s, until by 1850 the flax was used for oil more often than fabrics (Langdon, 1941). Making linen was a slow process requiring a large amount of hand labor as compared to cotton and wool. This labor was not available in the United States between 1860 and 1880. When linen was used for textiles it went into household linens and

undergarments, or into mixtures with wool for summer clothing.

The knitting industry was not highly developed in the United States before the 1880s. Many garments throughout the 1860 to 1880 period were therefore handmade of wool or cotton. The production of knitted goods before the 1880s required a great deal of hand labor and production was very slow, costs very high. Technological advances which would revolutionize the knitting industry were first introduced in the 1850s and 1860s, and did not take full effect until the 1880s (Copeland, 1923, pp. 101-111). The total number of knitting machines in the United States in 1870 was 5,625. By 1880 there were 12,659 machines and 36,327 by 1890. In the 1860s and 1870s, hose and half hose were the primary knitted products. The censuses also show a category for shirts and drawers, but the term underwear does not appear in the 1860, 1870, or 1880 reports (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1860c, 1870c, 1880b).

Apparel Production

During the 1860 to 1880 period the ready-to-wear industry began to replace traditionally handmade clothing. Men's ready-to-wear almost completely replaced tailor made clothing. The commercial production of women's clothing was just beginning in the 1860s. Dressmakers and tailors were employed for the production of women's dresses and high quality men's wear. Therefore, the introduction of commercial patterns and standardized sizes of patterns was highly important to the clothing picture of the 1860s.

Men's clothing production

The men's ready-to-wear industry in the United States started early in the 19th century. Traditionally the women made clothing for the men in the family. Many men, particularly sailors, having no such clothing resources readily available, bought the earliest ready made garments through the tailors' shops. These garments, called slops, were poorly sewn and fit badly. Despite their quality and fit, these garments were bought because they were less expensive and more quickly available than custom tailored garments (Cobrin, 1970, p. 19).

Although the general clothing style for men was loosely fitted there were no standard sizes or guides for consistent fit until the Civil War. Mass studies of body size were conducted using soldiers' measurements. These data were compiled to produce some standard sizes for use by ready-to-wear producers, but perfection of the sizing was a slow process. The Philadelphia Quartermaster's uniform shop, in operation during the Civil War, was the first to use standard size information to mass produce men's clothing that had a resemblance of proper fit (Cobrin, 1970, pp. 26, 46).

Commercially made garments for civilian use were available in 1860, almost completely replacing home produced goods by the end of that decade (Kidwell & Christman, 1974). Standardized sizes and improved transportation throughout the country, together with the increased use of the sewing machine after Howe's patent ended in 1867, brought the price of men's ready-to-wear within reach of most Americans. Many garments such as suits, shirts, and trousers were sold at prices the midwestern farmer could afford. Certain garments such as overcoats were tailor made for many years, and even early ready made jackets were extremely high priced

until the 1880s when the piece work production system cut labor costs (Cobrin, 1970).

Work clothes were available during the 1860s and '70s. As the country expanded to the west, single men in the interior regions, such as farmers, miners, ranchers, and soldiers, needed work clothing. In 1850 Levi Strauss began producing blue jeans to satisfy this demand. Sales quickly spread through the Southwest and Western areas. Jeans were shipped from New England around the coast to California or sent west through the river systems into the Midwest (Roth, 1952).

Tailor made men's clothing

By the 1860s and 1870s tailor made clothing was increasingly for the very wealthy. Politicians, doctors, and lawyers wore well-fitted clothing, carefully made to the individual's measurements. As mentioned earlier, overcoats were tailor made until the 1880s. In view of the availability of ready made garments and the high cost of tailor made clothing, it is not likely that rural farmers ordered tailor made clothing.

Women's clothing production

The women's ready-to-wear industry began later than that for men. Fashionable women's garments required waist and bust fitting, this calling for careful cutting and boneing. Standard sizes for women were unknown, as no large group of women requiring specific dress, similar to the military, had been formed. The basic silhouette of fashionable women's clothing changed drastically between 1860 and 1880. Men's everyday fashions, on the other hand, remained quite stable from the 1850s to the end of the century. The rapid fashion changes in women's dress and

the preference for carefully fitted garments made it difficult to commercially produce and market clothing, hence the slow growth of a women's ready-to-wear industry.

In 1860 and through the next two decades women's ready-to-wear was limited to loose fitting outer garments such as capes and undergarments having little shape. Advertisements featured such ready-to-wear items as nightgowns, capes, shawls, petticoats, and chemises (Harper's Bazaar, 1867-1878 passim).

Home sewing of women's clothing

The majority of women's clothing in the United States between 1860 and 1880 was either made at home or by a dressmaker. The dissemination of fashion information and the availability of patterns and fabrics were determining factors in how rapidly the silhouette changed in various areas of the country.

Fashion information was disseminated chiefly through women's fashion periodicals. Women's fashion magazines such as Godey's Ladies Book, published until 1867, and Harper's Bazaar, published from 1867 and through the 1890's, contained drawings of garments for which patterns could be ordered. Usually the drawings were accompanied by suggestions for fabric and trim, pattern number, sizes available, and the price of the pattern. Often the patterns came with cloth models, illustrating construction methods or interesting trim placements. Although these two magazines were printed in the eastern United States, similar magazines were published closer to Missouri. The St. Louis Magazine, published in the 1870s in St. Louis, Missouri, catered to the refined urban women of the area and

had copy and drawings advertising patterns for garments similar in design and detail to those in Eastern magazines. These ladies' magazines were the main source of fashion information in many homes. The magazines were first sold through agents or circulated via the mail. By 1869 they were also being sold in department stores located in the major cities (Woodward, 1960).

The majority of women's clothing was hand made in the home or made by a professional dressmaker. The dressmaker would take measurements and then sew at her own residence or take up residence in the employer's home until a season's wardrobe was completed.

The home sewing machine was in production by 1846. By 1870 it was becoming a household product in upper middle class, urban areas (Cooper, 1966). Dressmaker or homemade, women's garments of the 1870s now on display in the Kansas City Museum collection were at least partially fashioned on a sewing machine.

Prior to the 1860s it was customary to take an old garment apart to be used as a pattern for a new garment. This widespread practice hindered the rapid change of garment silhouette, as each garment resembled its predecessor. The main area of individual styling resulted from trim placement.

Clothing patterns were introduced in the 1860s. Mr. Butterick began patternmaking in Fitchburg, Massachusetts in 1863. The patterns were very successful, and he opened a New York office for production and distribution in 1864. Butterick was selling six million patterns a year by 1871. These patterns were available through the mail, in department stores, and in the Delineator Magazine. The Delineator, owned by the Butterick

Company, contributed to the widespread availability of the patterns by 1875.

McCall's patterns were introduced in 1869-1870. The first patterns were those for fancy aprons. These patterns were advertised in a small leaflet called "The Queen" which was printed by the pattern company. They were also advertised in the Women's Home Companion. This magazine, which appealed to a rural audience, was first published in 1873.

Distribution of Goods

The ready-to-wear industry grew rapidly. As articles of men's and women's clothing were increasingly mass produced the industry developed outlets for distributing merchandise.

The first outlets for ready-to-wear garments were the tailors' shops. The garments were produced by the tailor and his apprentices. In the early 1850s, German Jews who had backgrounds in merchandising entered the country. These men opened ready-to-wear stores and before 1860, these stores evolved into major department stores handling textiles, women's ready-to-wear articles, and men's wear. New York was the first and largest manufacturing center and trade center (Cobrin, 1970, pp. 18-24).

The availability of communication and transportation routes was a major factor in the supply of goods throughout the country. By 1835 clothing was being shipped to the southern states by sea, to the Great Lakes region through the canal routes, and from the East to the Midwest via the river system (Cobrin, 1970, pp. 25, 33). Before the Civil War, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis had department stores. These cities eventually surpassed New York in production and sales of

men's wear. In the 1850s the growth of railroad connections to the Midwest aided distribution.

Retail stores throughout the country obtained their stock in a variety of ways. Some manufacturers sold goods wholesale to local stores. Large urban stores sent representatives to the West and Midwest to open branch stores and order houses. Buyers from small stores went to the major distribution centers such as St. Louis and purchased from stock already made. The traveling salesman was a common factor in the sale of clothing to rural markets before the Civil War. Stores ordered goods on credit from the salesman, ordering from samples (Cobrin, 1970, pp. 28-31).

Cobrin (1970, p. 41) stated, "the years of war between the states created economic chaos insofar as national distribution of clothing was concerned." The South had little manufacturing before the war, relying on northern production to supply clothing. As shipping routes were discontinued, goods could not be transferred to the South or Southwest. Southern merchants could not pay for the stock they had ordered before the war, nor could they order on credit terms throughout the war. The northern manufacturers could not collect outstanding debts; therefore many were forced into bankruptcy. Businesses changed hands. As more fabric went for military provisioning, little civilian clothing was produced during the war. By 1870, however, northern production surpassed pre-war volume and improved and restored transportation systems made goods available to all areas of the country (Cobrin, 1970, p. 37).

Increased communication across the country made the population more aware of fashion through magazines and newspapers. Advertising was a major method of distributing fashion information. Magazines and

newspapers carried advertisements for garments as well as fabrics that could be ordered. Department stores in major cities throughout the country placed advertisements in magazines and in small town newspapers. Dealers in sewing machines and washing machines also advertised their products.

The status of the apparel and ready-to-wear industries between 1860 and 1880 determined the maximum limits of the types and quantities of goods produced during this period. As transportation systems across the country became more sophisticated, it was possible that all goods manufactured might be shipped to the rural areas of the country. Information found in southwestern Missouri suggests the types and quantity of goods actually on the market in that area.

TEXTILES AND CLOTHING AVAILABLE IN SOUTHWESTERN MISSOURI

Goods Available from 1860 to 1866

Most of the commercially made apparel and textile products produced in the United States were available in southwestern Missouri in limited supply. The general store was the center of textile and apparel trade in the area. Ready-to-wear for men was available and included outer garments such as jackets and trousers of wool and cotton twill, and shirts and drawers of coarse cotton sheeting. Accessories such as hats and suspenders could be purchased. The general store also carried a line of yard goods suitable for producing home made garments for men, women, and children.

The community supported specialized craftsmen who provided a variety of apparel items for the citizens of Neosho and surrounding areas. A tailor was available for those who wanted custom made garments. The saddlemaker supplied the community's needs for saddles and harnesses, and also made boots and shoes for men. There is some evidence of the beginning of a local textile and apparel industry. The fur industry was one of the first important Missouri enterprises. St. Louis was the center for fur trade in the United States. Neosho's first apparel manufacturer made fur hats (Cozad, 1965, p. 1).

The Neosho market reflected the fact that little ready-to-wear for women was being produced in the 1860s. Those items which were produced, such as frilled bonnets, ruffled parasols, and lace undergarments, were not in great demand. However, fabrics of cotton and wool for women's

clothing, as well as sewing notions, were readily available in the general stores before the war.

During the most destructive years of the war fewer goods were available. Those shops which remained open carried only basic necessities.

Goods Available after 1866

As reconstruction progressed, textile and apparel businesses in southwestern Missouri rebuilt and new, more specialized shops entered the area. Fashion information and apparel goods reached the area as transportation networks improved. The farms prospered and the rural population could afford to purchase some goods and were no longer forced to produce everything in the home out of necessity.

Men's ready-to-wear

Men's ready-to-wear clothing was available in large quantities by the 1870s. New stores opened specializing in men's clothing. Many of these stores were branches of Chicago or New York retail establishments. Men's special and everyday clothing were advertised in the Neosho Times (1877-1880 passim). Among the garments advertised for men were the following everyday items possibly purchased by the rural farmer:

- pants, coats, and vests
- shirts
- suspenders
- drawers and undershirts
- caps
- gloves
- boots
- jeans
- cottonade pants
- overalls
- cotton socks
- neckties
- calf boots and plow shoes

Women's ready-to-wear

Women's ready-to-wear garments advertised in the Neosho Times (1877-1880 passim) were limited to accessories and undergarments. Boots and shoes, hats, capes, bonnets, corsets, and hose were advertised for sale in Neosho. Dresses were not as yet being manufactured and were still hand sewn. In addition to ready-to-wear items, there was a dressmaker in Neosho by 1869 (Osborne, c. 1939, 1859-1869 section).

Children's ready-to-wear

Children's ready-to-wear clothing was not featured in a newspaper advertisement in Neosho until 1879. This suggests the home production of children's clothing well into the 1870s.

Commercially woven fabrics

Fabrics for home sewing were available in a variety of weights and textures. Advertisements in the Neosho Times (1877-1880 passim) indicate the types of fabrics being sold on the local market. The advertisements were placed over a three-year period by nine stores located in Neosho, some of which specialized primarily in ready-to-wear, some in dry goods.

Ladies' Dress Goods

brown domestic
white cambric
calicoes
gingham
ticking
prints
all wool dress goods
black alpaca
linsey
white pique
silk and frosted dress goods

Men's Fabrics

flannels
ducks
cottonades
jeans
drills
cheviot shirting
denims

This list of fabrics included coarse goods, but also very special fabrics such as silk and alpaca. There is no evidence available indicating whether these finer quality fabrics were purchased by rural women as well as urban women of the area.

The opening of a woolen mill in the area provided a local resource for fabrics and clothing. In 1871, the Hainsworth and McDivitt Woolen Mill which opened in Neosho

> . . . furnished [an] excellent market for this and adjoining counties and all [the] farmers who were engaged in the raising of sheep used it. [It] soon became one of the leading manufacturing enterprises of the city . . . [Farmers] brought wools to have made into clothing, blankets, yarns, etc. (Osborne, c. 1939, 1869-1879 section).

Notions and trims were sold in the general stores. They were advertised in the newspaper, but as a general classification of goods with no detailed descriptions.

Fashion information

Fashion news, information for ordering patterns, and advertisements for sewing machines reached southwestern Missouri in the late 1860s and the 1870s. Magazines could be ordered which described new fashions and patterns. The following advertisement appeared in Coleman's Rural World, January 2, 1869:

> We will send the Rural World [sic] and Godey's Ladies Book [sic], for 1869, to any address, for $4.50. Or, Peterson's Magazine [sic] and Coleman's Rural World [sic], to any address, for 3 dollars and fifty cents (vol. 22, no. 1).

Peterson's Magazine was a women's fashion publication directed at a less well to do consumer than were Godey's Ladies Book or Harper's Bazaar. Because Coleman's Rural World was an agricultural publication

it is possible advertisements such as this reached the wives of southwestern Missouri farmers by the late 1860s or early 1870s.

No specific evidence of the use of commercial patterns in southwestern Missouri rural homes was found, but production and advertising of the patterns was sufficient to suggest that the patterns could be available in that area by the 1870s. Madame Demorest's magazine, Mirror of Fashion, was first published in 1860 to advertise her paper patterns for women's and children's clothing. The circulation of the magazine reached 60,000 during the war. By 1865, 300 distribution agents were located throughout the country (Ross, 1963).

Sewing machines were advertised in local newspapers as well as in magazines which could have been distributed in the area as early as 1860. The Valley Farmer, an agricultural book published in St. Louis, in its 1860 volume carried an advertisement for the Raymond Double Threaded Family Sewing Machine, a hand cranked machine, for $27.00 (Coleman & Bryam).

Coleman's Rural World, another St. Louis agricultural publication, advertised the Lamb Family Knitting Machine and the Wilcox and Gibbs' Sewing Machine, also washing machines, clothes wringers, and wool carding machines (19(1,5), 1867). In 1877, the Neosho Times advertised the Leroy Moore Sewing Machines, and Victor Sewing Machines of Chicago were listed in 1878.

Home produced fabrics in the 1870s

Although manufactured clothing and fabric was available by 1860, there is evidence that women continued to weave fabric and sew garments in the home. A catalog from the Third Annual Fair of the Newton County

Agricultural and Mechanical Society held in September, 1875 (State Historical Society) listed the categories for competition. Some of the titles included were:

Suit of clothes--material and work by lady
Best 10 yards white linsey, plaid, flannel
Cotton hose--homemade, woolen hose
Yarn gloves, yarn mittens
White shirt made by hand
Ladies' wrapper
Best gents' dressing gown

It is impossible to discern from this information if home cloth production was treated as a necessity or as a craft to be preserved. One category was for "10 yards of jeans manufactured in the Southwest". This indicates the presence of fabric mills in the area, and that local cloth production was important and of general interest. The above categories suggest that home production of everyday goods was as important as the production of handicraft or prestige items since linsey, plaid, and flannel were common fabrics for everyday wear, while a "best gent's dressing gown" indicates a use for leisure clothing. The title of the society sponsoring the fair indicated that entries were from the farm or the town. It is difficult to know if rural and urban people entered items in each category or specific categories.

While the Fair Bulletin does not clarify the use of clothing and textiles in southwestern Missouri, it gives a good indication of the mixed use of home produced and manufactured textile and apparel products.

There is evidence to show that a wide variety of commercially produced apparel goods and fashion information was available in southwestern Missouri by the 1870s. Less evidence is available to indicate to what degree rural families made use of the goods and services provided in the area.

CLOTHING WORN IN RURAL SOUTHWESTERN MISSOURI

In this section the emphasis is on understanding the rural way of life in an effort to determine what apparel and textile products were produced within the home and what comparable goods may have been selected from among the commercially produced items available in the area. Also included is my interpretation of the content and appearance of a typical rural family's wardrobe.

Clothing Worn between 1860 and 1866

Farms produced the raw wool, flax, and cotton to make the clothing and textiles needed within the family. The wife assumed the role of converting the fiber into finished products as a normal part of her responsibility. This means for supplying family clothing and textiles was common in the period before and during the Civil War because women's and children's clothing were unavailable on the ready-to-wear market. Although men's wear was being mass produced by 1860, the lack of effective systems of transportation into southwestern Missouri limited its distribution in the area. Traditionally, the woman's role required that she produce clothing for all family members. Families did not need an outside clothing source, nor was a useful one available.

The first manufactured goods accepted by the rural families were probably cotton cloth, sewing notions, and men's clothing. Linen and cotton took a great deal of time to produce in the home, and printed cloths were not produced in the home. Printed cottons could have been available to rural families at prices they could afford. The bolts of cloth, and also notions, were small enough to be transported into

southwestern Missouri at reasonable prices.

Fiber crops were destroyed during the war and labor was in short supply. Even the home production of fabrics and clothing slowed. Clothing was patched, repatched, and then any useful fabric was remade for a smaller family member.

Men's ready-to-wear was available in limited quantities before the war, and could have been worn by the miners in the area. While rural men became accustomed to seeing the ready-made garments, the industry improved the quality of fit, making the garments more desirable. As raw materials for home clothing production became scarce, men began to purchase ready-to-wear garments.

Wardrobe contents

Wardrobes were small in the rural family. They consisted only of articles of clothing necessary for their utilitarian way of life. Undergarments, socks, gloves, and shoes are examples of clothing extras; only basic outergarments were necessary. Bumgardner (State Historical Society, 1936) recalled wearing only white linen pants and a shirt. He went barefoot, even in the winter. When it was extremely cold they worked close to the house, coming in often to warm hands and feet. Underwear was considered unnecessary for men and boys.

Since the social life of rural southwestern Missouri families centered around work, it was unlikely that "special" clothing was needed. Families had to walk or ride some distance to attend church or to visit neighbors, and their outfits for these activities did not change from everyday dress except that shoes may have been worn.

The wealthier rural families may have owned a few better clothes. Some navy or black silk dresses had been brought from the East when families moved to the area. Silk could also be purchased, but it was very expensive. A silk dress was carefully packed away and saved for special times and often was periodically remade to appear slightly different. Since most social gatherings were for working on a project, there was little in the social life of a rural family which required a "good" wardrobe.

Women's clothing styles

The style of rural women's clothing in the 1860s can be envisioned by examining Photographs 1 and 2 and relating these to descriptions of women's garments in fashion magazines. According to the George Washington Carver Monument records, the photograph was taken circa 1870. Because old garments were used as patterns for new garments, the dresses in the photograph are assumed to be similar to those worn in the 1860s. In fact, these dresses are very similar to illustrations in Godey's Ladies Book and Magazine as of 1864-65.

The composite picture (Plate 1) is the basic design for a woman's one-piece dress worn in the 1860s to early 1870s period in rural southwestern Missouri. Sloping shoulders, curved princess seams in the bodice, full curved two-piece coat sleeves, and very full gathered skirts characterize the basic design. The same dress would have been made regardless of the fabric chosen. The sleeves and neckline were bound and narrow white ruffles or bands were often added for a cuff or collar. The waist was raised slightly with a band or belt around the seam. The dress

Photograph 1. Southwestern Missouri family group, c. 1870

Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver National Monument.

Photograph 2. Detail, southwestern Missouri family group, c. 1870

Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver National Monument.

Plate 1. Woman's one-piece dress, 1860 through 1875

hooked or buttoned down the front.

Hoops were worn even by rural women until the late 1860s (Chenault, 1871; Schrantz, 1923). Rather than purchasing steel hoops, women often made hoops from stiff vines run through rows of casings sewed horizontally around a cotton petticoat. Petticoats were also worn under dresses for everyday and winter wear. These were made of calico, cotton, quilting, or flannel. It is uncertain as to whether rural women of the early 1860s wore corsets. A cotton camisole or bodice was worn tucked into the petticoats. Muslin undergarments were full-legged and gathered onto a waist band, the crotch left unsewn. Hand knitted wool stockings and home made leather shoes were worn when footwear was necessary. Store shoes, if one owned them, were saved for only special occasions. Long sleeved floor length night gowns buttoned high to the neck were made of white linen, cotton flannel, or muslin.

Women's outer clothing in the early 1860s probably was made from either the homespun fabric or commercially printed cottons. Linen, and linen and wool, were the fibers most often used in the 1860s in southwestern Missouri. White linen was used for undergarments, cuffs, and collars. Cotton sheeting was used for petticoats, also a linen and wool combination called linsey-woolsey. Outer fabrics would be in shades of green and brown, or black. If the woman had a silk dress, it was usually black or navy.

Coats were not worn in rural areas, as they were very expensive to make and far too costly to buy. Heavy blanket shawls wrapped around the shoulders served the purpose in cold weather. Women did knit and crochet, making stockings and gloves, but these were worn sparingly. Hats were

rarely worn, rather a bonnet of fabric would cover the head when out of doors. Little jewelry adorned the clothing; a broach of jet at the neck of a dress would be the extent, with perhaps a ring.

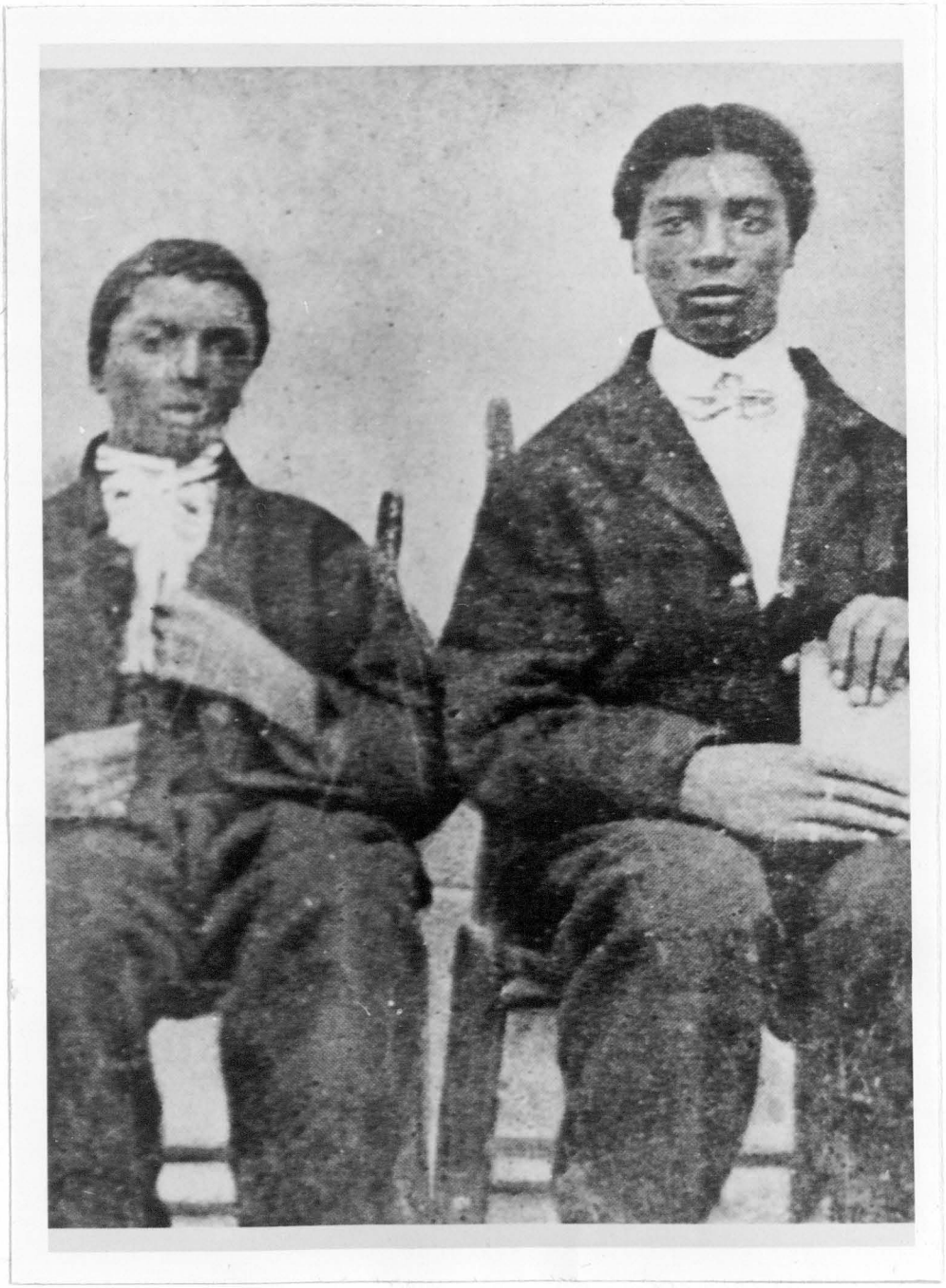
Hair was simply arranged. Center parted, it was pulled into a chignon at the nape of the neck. There is no evidence of any decoration in the hair.

Men's clothing styles

The sack coat, vest, shirt, and trousers were standard garb for the working man (Kidwell & Christman, 1974). This mode of dress was found among the soldiers pictured in A Photographic History of the Civil War (Lanier & Miller, 1957). These soldiers, dressed in civilian clothing, came from Missouri, Mississippi, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, and New York. The extent to which the basic three-piece suit, or the basic shirt worn with the suit trousers, was worn by men from a variety of backgrounds suggests the uniformity of men's dress throughout the Midwest in the 1860s. Information supplementary to the Civil War photographs was provided by the clothing found on board the steamship Bertrand when it was recovered in 1967. The Bertrand sank in April of 1865 in the Missouri River near Omaha, Nebraska. It was filled with clothing and other dry goods going to Montana (Petsche, 1974), being shipped in for sale to miners and ranchers. These garments had been manufactured in the East and shipped out of St. Louis up the Missouri River. Because St. Louis was the main shipping port for goods going west of the Mississippi, one may conjecture that similar garments would have been shipped from St. Louis towards the Southwest for miners and farmers. The three-piece

suits were included in the Bertrand's supplies, as well as shirts, hats, stockings, and boots. Pictures taken in the early 1870s of George Washington Carver reveal that the ill-fitting three-piece suit and shirt were still worn in the decade after the war (see Photographs 3, 4, 5). Plate 2 is a drawing of the basic man's outfit for the rural farmer in the 1860s. This suit was made of heavily fulled wool. The jacket and vest had narrow, high lapels, closing at center front. The trousers were cut full, held up by suspenders. The shirt was of linen, linsey-woolsey, or cotton sheeting (see Plate 3). A narrow black linen or cotton strip was tied in a knot or bow under the collar.

No evidence has been found that describes with certainty the work outfit of the rural male of this period. Many of the soldiers pictured in Lanier and Miller (1957) had on the full suit, but a few wore only the shirt, trousers, and suspenders. The work effort demanded of the farmer between 1860 and 1880 would suggest that the everyday work outfit did not include the vest and jacket. Plate 3 illustrates the linen or wool trousers, linen or cotton shirt, and suspenders. Some sources indicate that a more casual outfit may have been worn. Cotton flannel shirts, called "hickory" shirts, appear in some Civil War photographs (American Heritage, 1960). Similar shirts were being shipped aboard the Bertrand (Photograph 6), and a letter describing a group of soldier-marauders in southwestern Missouri during the war makes reference to their brightly colored loose shirts (Schrantz, 1923). While the Bertrand shirts were in blue and green, notes accompanying the Civil War photographs described the shirts as being tomato red and forest green. The "hickory" shirt (see Plate 4) was cut loosely, but without the gathers from the front and



Photograph 3. George and Jim Carver, taken in Neosho, Missouri, c. 1875

Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver National Monument.

Photograph 4. George W. Carver, taken in Neosho, Missouri, c. 1875

Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver National Monument.

Photograph 5. Front pieces of man's vest, from steamship Bertrand, 1865

Photo taken courtesy of DeSoto Bend National Wildlife Refuge.

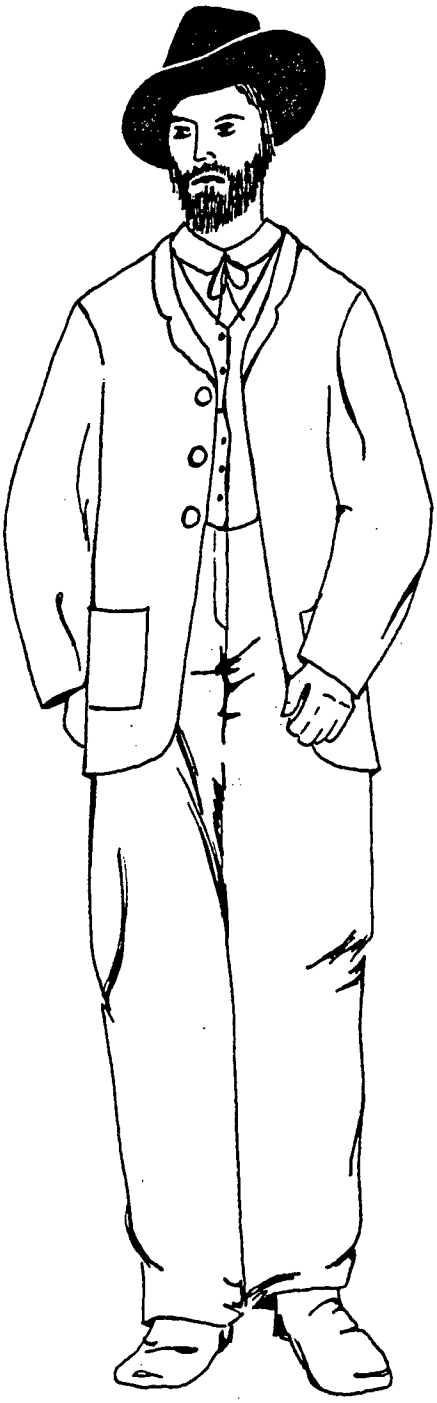


Plate 2. Man's three-piece suit, 1860 through 1880

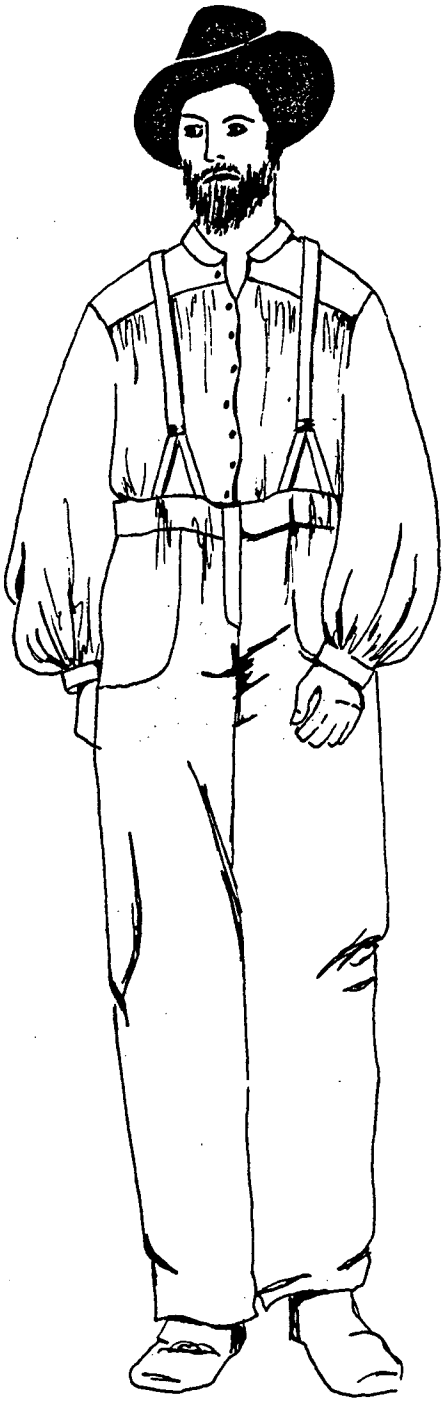


Plate 3. Man's dress shirt and trousers, 1860 through 1880

Photograph 6. Man's "hickory" shirt from steamship Bertrand, 1865

Photo taken courtesy of DeSoto Bend National Wildlife Refuge.

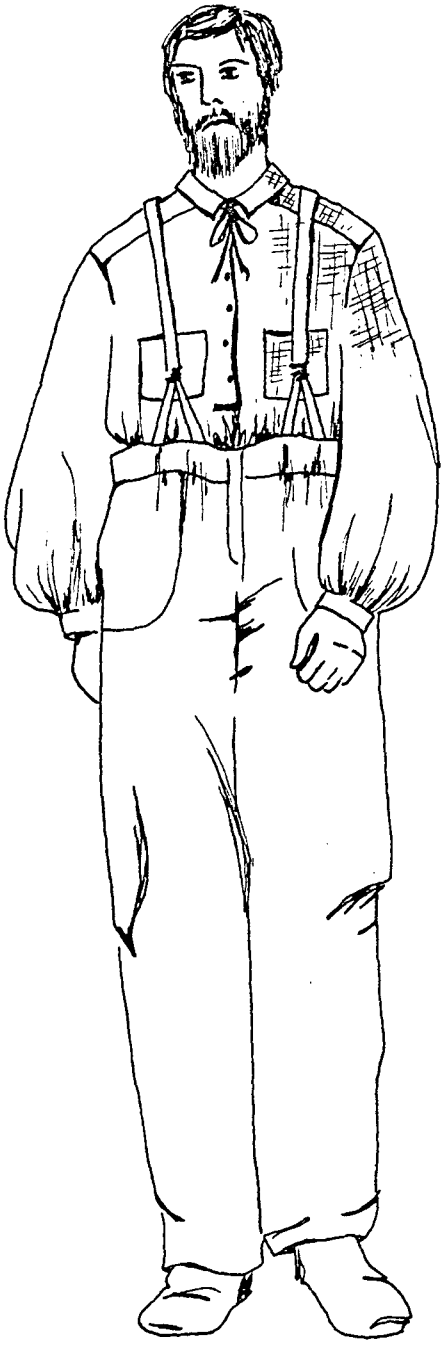


Plate 4. Man's "hickory" shirt and trousers, 1860 through 1880

back yoke of the dress shirt. The sleeves were set in smoothly, then gathered into a cuff.

The boots, shoes, and hats found on the Bertrand are very similar to those in the Civil War photographs, and it can be assumed they are similar to those sold in Newton County. The boots were high with square toes and studded nails in the soles (Photograph 7). Work shoes were ankle high and sturdy with front ties (Photograph 8). A shoe similar to a black tie oxford was often pictured in the Civil War photos (American Heritage, 1960). Socks pictured in the Civil War photographs and from the Bertrand were knitted of cotton or wool; they were either white or of dark colors and were about mid-calf length. The hats found on the Bertrand, in war photographs, and in the Carver photographs (Photograph 4) are of black felt. The felt was shaped into a crown about four inches high with a six to eight inch brim (Photograph 9).

Clothing that was expensive or unnecessary was not found in the rural male's wardrobe. Men did not wear coats. Blanket shawls provided warmth if a suit jacket was insufficient. Knitted gloves were worn only when necessary. No nightwear was worn, unless a night shirt of flannel was desired.

Hair was kept short, parted on the side or down the center, ear length in back. Short beards and mustaches were fashionable; clean shaven faces are not found in photographs of the period.

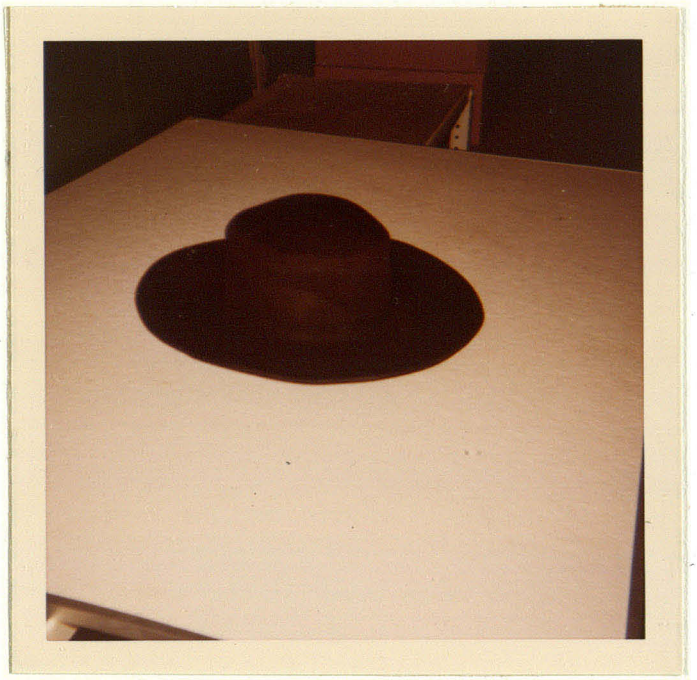
Children's clothing

Children's clothing resembled that worn by their parents. Many of their clothes were cut down from their parents' or older siblings'

Photograph 7. Man's boot from steamship Bertrand, 1865

Photograph 8. Man's work shoes (missing tongues) from steamship Bertrand, 1865

Photos taken courtesy of DeSoto Bend National Wildlife Refuge.



Photograph 9. Man's black felt hat from steamship Bertrand, 1865

Photo taken courtesy of DeSoto Bend National Wildlife Refuge.

garments.

Infants wore dresses until age three or four, then wore dresses or trousers depending on sex. The infants' dresses were made of linsey-woolsey, then cotton as it became available.

Girls' dresses were similar to their mothers'. Hoops were worn in the 1860s. Socks and shoes were rarely needed. Their hair was worn in a chignon, braids, or hanging loose. Boys wore trousers, suspenders, and shirts. Jackets and vests were cut from an old suit as the boy reached eight or nine, but worn only for Sunday meeting or a trip to town. Shoes and socks were worn only on special occasions. Boys' hair was center parted and short. Children did not have coats; they wore shawls, and when it was too cold they simply stayed indoors. Undergarments were worn only when desired and available.

Clothing Worn between 1866 and 1880

Progress toward recovery from the war was in evidence by 1867, and the rural families slowly began to acquire more ready-made goods. While the recovery of southwestern Missouri did not have an immediate effect on clothing styles, a gradual change in the amount of clothing and the presence of new clothing in the wardrobe took place. Tattered, worn out clothing was replaced as finances allowed, and some of the new clothing was commercially manufactured. Money for goods such as shoes and coats was not generally available until the 1870s.

More goods and services were available to rural families at prices they could afford. The ready-to-wear industry progressed to the degree that men's ready-to-wear, women's undergarments and accessories, and

some children's ready-to-wear were available. Custom-made garments were also available through tailors and dressmakers. The arrival of the railroad allowed for the efficient transport of goods from the East, and lowered the cost and time of shipment. The southwestern Missouri market was competitive by 1880 and the rural economy stable. Most farms were no longer operating at a subsistence level and manufactured goods could be purchased.

Fashion awareness was increased as new information reached southwestern Missouri. Magazines and newspapers announced the kinds of goods available for purchase. Fashion magazines including directions for creating new silhouettes in garments could have reached southwestern Missouri by the 1870s. Newspapers reported fashion changes in other parts of the country. Magazines advertised sewing machines for the home, but these were probably out of the price range of many rural families. Travelers passing through Joplin and Neosho wore fashionable eastern clothing, making rural people more aware of changes in garment design.

Women's clothing styles

Rural women's dress altered in silhouette in the 1870s, but not as radically as fashionable eastern dress. Fashionable dress as pictured in Harper's Bazaar for the 1870s shifted from a full, hoop-skirted effect to a tight-front, full backed bustle effect. The more subtle changes of rural dress are shown in the photograph of Mariah Watkins, taken in Neosho in the early 1870s (Photograph 10). When her attire is compared to illustrations in Harper's Bazaar (1867-1880) and Godey's Ladies Book and Magazine (1860-1867), the silhouette and decoration of the Watkins gown is very similar to these earlier illustrations.

Photograph 10. Mariah Watkins, taken in Neosho, Missouri, c. 1875

Photo courtesy of George Washington Carver National Monument.

Judging by the slow rate of change as revealed by the garments in the Watkins photograph, it is probable that the bustle did not become part of the silhouette of garments worn in southwestern Missouri during the 1870s. It is more reasonable to assume that simple structural changes occurred in the basic dress indicating some back fullness in the skirt, as illustrated in Plate 5. The bodice and skirt were separated, allowing for a simple peplum to be attached to the jacket back. The sloping shoulders and princess seams remained intact from the 1860s dress, as did the two-piece coat sleeve. By the end of the 1870s, the sleeves had cuffs rather than simple bound edges; collars began to replace the small white band at the neckline. The major difference in the basic dresses was in the skirt. The skirt front pieces were cut as gores in the 1870s, and the fullness was created by tightly gathering the straight back pieces. Petticoats replaced hoops, giving the skirt a softer shape.

Undergarments probably included corsets, camisoles, petticoats, and stockings by the late 1870s. These were among the first ready-to-wear garments manufactured for women and would have been readily available at this time. Black shoes with one inch heels buttoned over the ankle or laced up the front. Small hats were worn on special occasions. While tailored capes for women were being manufactured by this time, they were most likely still expensive and too fancy to be purchased by the rural farm wife, for whom large shawls and blankets still served as outerwear.

Milliners' displays let the rural women know what was available for purchase. Jewelry was limited to a few pieces, most frequently broaches worn at the neckline. Hairstyles remained simple throughout the

Plate 5. Woman's two-piece dress, 1875 through 1880

twenty-year period (see Plate 5).

Fabrics for women's clothing in the 1870s were in the main purchased, because commercially produced goods were in good supply and inexpensive. Printed cottons were popular. Color selection increased, allowing garments to be made of bright prints in reds, purples, pinks, and violets. On the Bertrand was found a group of cotton fabrics cut into quilt squares. The squares probably were being sent from a private citizen in the East to someone in the West. By the 1870s these same types of goods could have been shipped in bolts by rail to southwestern Missouri stores (see Photograph 11). Silks, still of dark colors, were available in the area. Wives of prosperous farmers could afford silk for a "good" dress. Winter clothing was made of locally produced wool, linsey-woolsey, or eastern manufactured wool cloths.

Men's clothing styles

The major change in men's clothing during the 1800s to 1880s was in its production, not in its design. The early 1860 homemade garments were of hand spun and woven fabric, or fabric from the local wool manufacturer. By the late 1860s much of men's clothing would have been purchased in a store because of its low cost as compared to home constructed garments. Suits were still made of wool, but most shirts were of cotton rather than linen, as cotton was cheaper and more plentiful to the manufacturers. Trousers were also available in cottonade or jeans, as well as wool.

Underwear could be purchased if desired. Overcoats remained very expensive until well into the 1880s. Hair remained center parted, and

Photograph 11. Cotton print fabrics from steamship Bertrand, 1865

Photo taken courtesy of DeSoto Bend National Wildlife Refuge.

mustaches and beards were worn throughout the period.

Children's clothing

Children's clothing remained similar to adult clothing throughout the period. The first advertisement for children's ready-to-wear appeared in the Neosho Times in 1879, suggesting the home production of children's clothing to this date. Where new fabrics were used rather than those reclaimed from other garments, the fabrics would be the same as those used for adult clothing.

SUMMARY

Although there are few extant garments from rural southwestern Missouri of the mid-19th century, a study of clothing production, clothing use, and the availability of goods in the area permits one to describe the clothing situation within rural families. The study suggests that:

1) Before 1860, and through the Civil War period, clothing production was an integral part of the individual farm program.

2) Commercially manufactured fabrics were the first goods purchased by rural families. After the war, the ready-to-wear clothing industries developed product lines useful to rural families.

3) Transportation systems improved and widened, connecting the eastern manufacturers to southwestern Missouri by the 1870s, thus allowing for the availability of commercially manufactured goods in the area.

4) Local trading centers became towns and cities. The number of textile and apparel outlets increased in number. Tailors and dressmakers provided clothing. Local manufacturers also produced clothing.

5) After the war, rural families became increasingly aware of the commercially manufactured products. By the mid-1870s they were purchasing most men's clothing and the fabrics used for women's and children's clothing.

6) Women's clothing began to slowly change in silhouette as fashion information reached the area. Although the decoration, fabric, and workmanship were primarily functional, the silhouette began to resemble that of fashionable clothing, changing from a one-piece dress to a two-piece dress. Men's clothing did not change throughout the period.

7) By 1880, a complete range of items produced by the apparel and textile industries were available to rural southwestern Missouri families.

The choice of a geographic area and a time period to study is important to the eventual contribution which the historic study will make. This study was done for the Carver Monument, therefore the area and time period were set. Unfortunately, there was no historic reason for

southwestern Missouri to be important for the study of clothing. Where upheaval and destruction were the most prevalent aspects of life, there is no reason for garments or records of clothing to survive. Therefore, before selecting an area, study the history of the location and determine if sufficient information is available to create a solid feeling for the clothing and textiles worn.

Resources are available in areas where changes were occurring in peoples' lives. Photographic records of "boom towns" across the nation are plentiful. The travels of the pioneers warranted the keeping of diaries, excellent written records of everyday life, including clothing. Areas of the country where the ethnic background of the inhabitants changed might also be fruitful for study.

Resources are available from many time periods and locations in the United States for historic costume studies. These studies could help historians understand the adoption of new goods and ideas by rural people in the 19th century.

Costume studies would be greatly aided were there a Catalogue Raisonne for historic garments. Knowing what garments are extant and where they are located would speed the work and add to the completeness of studies undertaken. Such catalogues are not presently available for costume. A taxonomy for costume using basic structural and design features would be useful in the dating and cataloguing of historic garments.

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GLOSSARY

Alpaca fabric — A smooth, thin, and wiry fabric having a cotton warp and alpaca or other worsted fiber.

Apparel — A term used to indicate clothing of all sorts for men, women, and children. This term is also used to indicate the ready-to-wear industry.

Bagging — A coarse fabric of jute, cotton, etc.

Bustle silhouette — A silhouette having exaggerated back fullness directly below waistline.

Calico — A plain woven cotton cloth printed with figured pattern on one side. Calico is also called "cotton print" cloth.

Cambric — A fine, closely woven white or yarn dyed plain weave cotton fabric sometimes having a gloss on one side. Cambric is used for aprons, underwear, and shirts. The fabric is also called cotton cambric or cambric muslin. Cambric is sometimes described as a fine, smooth white fabric of linen in plain weave used for blouses, collars, cuffs, and shirt bosoms.

Camisole — A camisole is an under-bodice often worn as corset cover.

Cheviot — A close napped, rough-surfaced, wool fabric in twill weave, used for coats and suits.

Chignon — A smooth twist of hair worn at back of head.

Chintz — A plain weave fabric sometimes glazed, printed with gay floral patterns in bright colors.

Cloth count — The cloth count is the number of yarns in the warp and filling of a fabric per square inch.

Cottonade — A heavy, coarsely-woven cloth of cotton or cotton mixture used for work clothes.

Denim — A twill weave cotton fabric sometimes with white or different colored filling. This strong coarse fabric is used for overalls and heavy wash garments.

Domestics — Coarse, firm linen or twilled cloths which were first made in this country.

Drill — A firmly woven linen or cotton twilled cloth. Drill comes bleached or unbleached. This coarse fabric is used in men's shirts, outergarments, and uniforms. Lightweight drill is called jean.

Duck — This plain weave closely woven linen or cotton fabric is heavy weight, but lighter and finer than canvas. It is used in outing shirts, trousers, coats, and tents.

Fashion — The prevailing or accepted style, often embracing many styles at one time.

Flannel — A plain or twill weave cotton or woolen fabric with a soft, slightly napped surface on one side. Flannel is used for making shirts and children's clothes.

Gingham — A light or medium weight cotton fabric of plain or fancy weave. The yarn dyed yarns are woven in solid colors, stripes, checks, or plaids. Gingham is used for dresses, shirts, aprons, and children's clothing.

Homespun — A loosely woven, strong and durable woolen plain or twill weave fabric. Usually made of coarse hand spun yarns of cotton, linen, jute, or a mixture of these fibers. Homespun is sometimes called "linsey-woolsey", meaning the fabric is a mixture of linen and wool.

Hoops — Circular bands or frames of metal, whalebone, or other materials which held out skirts of the 1860 period.

Jean — A heavy twilled cotton used for sturdy work clothes and uniforms. The same as light-weight drilling.

Linsey-woolsey — A coarse plain weave fabric of linen and wool, or cotton and wool.

Peplum — A small ruffle, flounce, or flared extension of the costume around hips, usually attached to the bottom of a bodice or jacket.

Pique — A firm cotton fabric woven to produce a lengthwise corded effect. Cotton pique is widely used for collars and cuffs, blouses, dresses, vests, pipings, etc.

Print cloth — A plain weave cloth similar to sheeting, but of finer average yarns and construction.

Prints — Fabrics stamped with design by means of paste dyes used on engraved rollers, wood blocks, or screens.

Sheeting — Muslin, even-weave linen, and percale are all called sheeting in their bleached, unbleached, and colored forms.

Shirting — Closely woven cotton or linen, used for making shirts.

Silhouette — The outline or contour of a figure or costume.

Ticking — A strong, firm twill weave cloth with yarn dyed stripes in various colors running lengthwise on white or colored ground. Ticking is also made with printed designs, such as a floral pattern in the striped effect. It is used primarily for pillow and mattress covers, but it is also used for apparel.

Worsted — A smooth surfaced firm fabric made from long staple, evenly combed wool fibers. The term also indicates any fabric woven from worsted yarn.