Creating Characters and Costumes for Living History Programs in Late Eighteenth-Century Nova Scotia

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ABSTRACT

Creating Characters and Costumes for Living History Programs in Late Eighteenth-Century Nova Scotia

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Concordia University, November 2022

This dissertation delineates the development of a Best Practice Model of Living History Interpretation through greater accuracy in the reconstruction of historical clothing. It specifically focuses on a case study of the Costumed Interpretive Master Plan to be developed for the Nova Scotia Museum, suggesting how the modern understanding of the history of dress and accurate historical clothing can add to the interpreter's arsenal of tools to help teach history utilizing a broader sensory experience. Through a research-creation project, carried out over several years, I experimented in how one creates clothing using historical methods, and then how those clothing pieces work within a living history environment. This was a form of "living inquiry" or "making as research" in that through the recreation of the garments and then wearing them I could determine how closely the reconstructions worked as clothing instead of costumes.

The objectives of this dissertation are two-fold: first is to prove the importance of reconstructed material culture; and, secondly, to examine how experimental archaeological practice can inform and help to better understand how original material culture was made and used in the historical period. I discuss how interpretation developed in the early twentieth century, how re-enactment developed into living history and the important role of accuracy in both the interpreter's and the audience's experience of living history. For the characters developed, I consulted with the models I wanted to employ, taking into consideration both the site's needs, as well as the living history actor's personality. I began in the Nova Scotia Museum's collection realizing that expanding my research parameters to include online resources from other museums would be required. To fulfil my research goals, I sought out digitally accessible archives and collections from the north of Scotland to the southern United States and beyond.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my primary supervisor, Dr. John Potvin, who agreed to take on a research-creation student as he could see and understand the importance of this work to the museum and heritage community. His compassion for my senior student quirks guided me through this difficult Ph.D. program and allowed me to grow as a researcher and writer. I thank my committee members, Dr. Stephen E. Snow and Professor Kelly Thompson for challenging me to look differently at my subject matter, and my studio work. Their advice and questions helped me to clarify my writing for the greater community.

My own research work was only possible through the research and development of other members of the heritage community sharing their work. It is through that ongoing dialogue that we are better able to build the knowledge base and create a more accurate product for the living history and heritage communities. To that end, conversations with historic costume researchers Sharon Burnston, Carol Kocian, Colleen Humphries, and Mathew Gnagy; interpretation and curatorial staff at For Ticonderoga, Stuart Lilie, and Dr. Matthew Keagle; hatmaker Matthew Brenckle; archivist and researcher Kirsten Hammerstrom; 84th RHE historian Kerry Delorey; curator Cady Berardi of Shelburne Museums by the Sea; and assistant curator Lisa Bower of the Nova Scotia Museum proved invaluable inspiration. Dr. Will Tatum of Historic Red Hook helped get me through the final few months of this endeavour, providing constant encouragement to finish. My instigation team of Jenny Milligan and Pierre Longtin who acted as drivers, research assistants, editors, enablers of academic living history pursuits, and makers of coffee helped to make this degree happen. Without their tireless support, I may not have made it past the first year of study.

I would like to thank the United Empire Loyalist association and Concordia University for funding support (J.W. McConnell Memorial Doctorate – FOFA, Textiles and Materiality research cluster individual research grants).

Finally, I would like to thank all the amazing living historians who make up this fabulous community, my friends and HUMA colleagues who shared my frustrations and joys, many pints of good beer, and large charcuterie boards. My personal cheer team is made up of people from around the globe and made finding an external examiner a bit difficult in that quite a few well positioned candidates had written my reference letters to join the program.

I dedicate this thing I did to my mum, Kathleen Dianne Grant, who passed away from cancer mid-way through my PhD program. Spite and perseverance! I love you and miss you terribly. Also, to Sharon Ann Burnston who passed away days prior to my defense. Thank you for being a pain in my rear.

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Introduction

Tourism, culture, and heritage are not simply marketing buzzwords used to brand a government department. They are concepts that are intimately related to one another; heritage gives rise to culture, which in turn provides us a tourism market. The same can be said with regards to museums. Artifacts are their reason for being. Curators study artifacts to produce exhibits for the museum; front-line interpretation staff, those often dressed in golf shirts and chinos, explain the artifacts to the public. Living history interpreters often take that explanation a step further. This subsection of interpretation staff can be made up of many types of historians, from seasoned academic to armchair hobbyist. They study the artifacts to better understand the construction methods, why these artifacts were created, and how they were used in the historical context. The living historian then reproduces those artifacts and uses the reproductions during historical programming to better explain life in the era that they are interpreting to the public. In 1957, American National Parks Service Ranger Freeman Tilden's seminal work on interpretation was published. Tilden suggested interpreters go beyond simple facts and information and that "interpretation's function should be to implore visitors to better understand themselves and to find personal meaning and inspiration in park resources."[1] Then, in 1984 historian and folklorist Jay Anderson noticed that the National Parks Service was building on Tilden's original ideas of "peopling"[2] sites to provide a more living experience to the buildings in their care. Instead of a static museum display observed from behind stanchions and feeling cold and empty, living history meant the interpreters formerly dressed in chinos and golf shirts now wore historic costume and carried out daily historical tasks relevant to the site they were working with.

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[1] Dickenson, R. E. (2007). "Forward" in Tilden, F. *Interpreting our heritage.* Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press. p.vii.

[2] Anderson, J. (1984). *Time machines: The world of living history*, Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History. p.36.

In the 1970s widespread interest in the living history movement within academic and museum communities was growing and the professional umbrella organization, Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums (ALHFAM) was formed.[3] With each new generation of living historian researching and studying the nuances of everyday life, interpretation staff have become more and more professional in their methods of presenting history. While there are a wide variety of methods used to interpret history for the visitor at historic sites, with costumed interpretation being one form, it is important to mention that many sites exercise one of two main methods of interpretation: first-person and/or third-person interpretation. Dr. Stephen Eddy Snow explains the emergence of first-person interpretation at Plimoth Plantation in the early 1970s as, "the total impersonation of the Pilgrim characters, [as] certain guides began to experiment with speaking in a seventeenth-century English dialect."[4] First-person interpretation develops a full impersonation of character and uses the "I" voice during the program being delivered. This can be seen as a step away from third-person interpretation which employs "they" language and is better for imparting facts from history that cover a broad range of dates and perspectives. The first-person approach works well when the interpreter has historical tasks to do, whereas this method can devolve into a sense of deceit if the interpreter is not careful. I tackle the notion of 'fakelore' later in this document and add to the many voices arguing against the possibility through utilizing different methods of interpretation for different types of programming. In their article for ALHFAM's *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM,*[5] Prudence Haines, Ron Kley, and William Reid sought to determine the different types of interpretive techniques employed by historic sites and their methodological strengths and weaknesses. These authors state that, "it is recognized that there

[3] Ibid. p.38-39.
[4] Snow, S.E. (1993). *Performing the pilgrims: A study of ethnohistorical role-playing at Plimoth Plantation*. Jackson: University press of Mississippi. p.39
[5] Haines, P.P. Kley, R. and Reid, W. (1988). "Choosing your method: Strengths and weaknesses of interpretive techniques." *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM* New York and London: Routledge, pp63-66.

is no single 'best' method, and where a variety of interpretive techniques are being utilized either in experimental programs (e.g., for comparative evaluation purposes) or with the conviction that no single interpretive approach can possibly convey all necessary understandings to all visitors under all circumstances."[6] This dissertation seeks to plunge into the use of costumed interpretation and how accuracy of dress can create characters that seemingly step from history. The type of interpretation programming I study combines, as Haines, Kley, and Reid define, 'live-in (several days-long events where interpreters 'live' in the period),' 'demonstration (historic trades),' and 'role-playing (first-person)' that rely on an accurate interpretive space and clothing worn by the characters created based on original people from history.[7] The focus will be on creating accurate clothing for these programs in order to portray those characters from history in the best light possible. Those characters were actual people, not a broad brush of 'melting pot' society. They came from different cultures, economic status, and trades. Those individual people had their own sense of style in how they dressed themselves; their backgrounds determined the choices they made in the items of dress they wore and protected their bodies with. Thinking that a living history site can dress all their characters in the same uniform of historic costume from any given year flattens the lived experience of the people we recreate from history.

The focus of this dissertation will be to convince museums and sites that offer living history programs to re-examine how they present those programs with an eye towards greater authenticity in dress and deportment, as well as in the reproduction of personal material culture. I propose that sites fully develop the characters they wish to interpret through living history programs including the

[6] Ibid. p.63.
[7] Ibid. p.65. It should be noted here that third-person interpretation was the preferred method to provide site tours to the visitor, where a group would have one site interpreter take them through the site and offering background information for the site and interpretive programming being delivered. Third-person interpretation can be delivered either by a costumed living historian or a staff member dressed in chinos and a site golf shirt. There is no impression of the historical character required.

nuances in dress and accessories they pick for those characters. A governor character should look vastly different than the bricklayer, but even the shop clerk will look differently than either of the first two characters at the same site. I will argue that if the site's spaces are correct, and the characters are dressed correctly, then it will be easier for the interpreters to simply exist in the period they are recreating. Certainly, it is up to each site to determine the type of interpretation that is carried out at their location. I believe though, that whether a site utilizes first or third person interpretation, the interpreter will find it easier to interact with the visitor and the heritage of the site if all the other factors are as accurate as possible. In this dissertation, I focus on the Nova Scotia Museum. The historical collections housed in their care are the largest in the province. With a family of twenty-seven interpretation sites scattered across the province, they also offer the widest scope for costumed interpretation. In 2009 the Nova Scotia Museum published their Interpretive Master Plan that highlighted strengths and weaknesses in their current offerings and how to move forward with a concern for broader perspectives, diversity, and directing interpretation renewal within the province.8 Unfortunately, recreated historical clothing to be worn in living history interpretation programming was overlooked in this Interpretive Master Plan. Photographs of interpretation staff used in published material by the Museum reveal a misfortune of historical costuming mistakes that should be addressed if a more accurate approach to living history programming is desired. If costumed interpretation is to be undertaken by a site, then it must be included in any interpretation plans developed by the museum. Costume interpretation is the first impression offered by a site, if not done correctly, the visitor may question other information presented.9

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[8] *Form*:media (March 2009). *Nova Scotia Museum interpretive master plan. Introduction*. Retrieved from https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan#:~:text=The%20Nova%20Scotia%20Interpretive%20Master,province's%20cultural%20and%20natural%20heritage. Date accessed 05/20/2017.

[9] Fellows, C and Campbell-Shoaf, H. (2009). "Serving two masters: Accurate costuming for small historic sites" *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM* New York and London: Routledge, pp192-200

Jay Anderson first wrote about a hierarchy among heritage practitioners in his 1984 book *Time Machines*.[10] Anderson, a folklorist, notes how historical "time travelling"[11] might allow the practitioner to slip away from modern life, but he also imagines how creative possibilities in living history could be used to better understand our past, and how the artifacts we have collected through museums might have been made and used. He observes a division between curators, folklorists, and even among the people who present that heritage to the public, the hired interpretation staff, and the "weekend warrior volunteer."[12] Anderson notes that, "this mixed company of scholars and laymen, practising 'experimental archaeology,' 'living history,' and re-enacting is the subject of this book," but that there are communications issues between members.[13] While Anderson suggests that most feel that time travel is a "useful intellectual tool,"[14] these issues continue to persist today. With current heritage budget constraints, museums should utilize their entire staff to produce a quality product for the visiting public. In many instances, front line summer staff have as much educational background as curators, but communication issues persist between frontlines and management level including curatorial staff. In looking at the Nova Scotia Museum's own Interpretation Master Plan, the development team notes that "the collection is underutilized overall," and "institutionally, there is a lack of curatorial ties to interpretation, especially at outlying sites. While this is the result of various factors, there is an underlying need for continuity between curatorial and interpretive roles."[15] Relationships could be more fully developed across the Nova Scotia Museum organization

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[10] Anderson, J. (1984). *Time machines: The world of living history*. Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History. p12.
[11] Ibid. p10.
[12] Ibid. p149.
[13] Ibid. p12. I would take a moment to define these terms as they are understood for the purpose of this project. Experimental archaeology is the field of study where archaeological processes are tested out through the replication of artifacts which are then used to determine if wear patterns are similar, or to see if the modern person understands the process of creation and use. Living history is the process of interpretation which utilizes historical tools, dress, and work processes to present an interactive experience for the visitor. Re-enacting tends to be thought of as the re-living of large historical events such as important battles or gatherings.
[14] Ibid. p12.
[15] *Form:*media (March 2009). *Nova Scotia Museum interpretive master plan. Introduction*. Retrieved from *https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-*

to create a better understanding of the artifacts they collect and display. The visitor attentively engages with exhibits when there are knowledgeable staff supporting them through living history programming.[16] The Nova Scotia Museum sees the potential in interpretive programming and states this clearly within the introduction of the Interpretation Master Plan, when it asserts that,

> Interpretation is not merely the pouring of information into the visitor's mind, as if it were an empty vessel. While sharing information is important and necessary, effective interpretation must move beyond this to create meaning for visitors, so that they can connect an object or site with their own personal perspectives in ways that are more profound and enduring. Interpretation is, indeed, 'meaning making' and when a visitor to an historic site, a nature trail, or a museum exhibit is able to extract meaning from that experience, the experience has the potential to become memorable, transform their behaviour and/or trigger an emotional response.[17]

The primary goal of this dissertation is to argue for greater accuracy in clothing the Nova Scotia Museum's front-line interpreters utilizing their own collections. I examine costumed interpretation practices in Nova Scotia and how they differ from those deployed at premier living history sites Fort Ticonderoga in upstate New York, Minute Man Nation Historic Park in Massachusetts, and Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia. By focusing on the late eighteenth century, I

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plan#:~:text=The%20Nova%20Scotia%20Interpretive%20Master,province's%20cultural%20and%20natural%20heritage. Date accessed 05/20/2017

[16] Freeman Tilden speaks about this engagement in his seminal text *Interpreting Our Heritage*, first published in 1957. This book has been repeatedly republished and remains on nearly every interpreter's bookshelf as it explains the value and context of interpretation to our understanding of our heritage. Tilden calls this engagement 'provocation,' whose "purpose is to stimulate the reader or hearer toward a desire to widen his [sic] horizon of interests and knowledge, and to gain an understanding of the greater truths that lie behind any statements of fact." Tilden, F. (2007). *Interpreting our heritage.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. p59.

[17] *Form:*media (March 2009). *Nova Scotia Museum interpretive master plan. Introduction*. Retrieved from *https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan#:~:text=The%20Nova%20Scotia%20Interpretive%20Master,province's%20cultural%20and%20natural%20heritage*. Date accessed 05/20/2017

follow two lines of inquiry: First, I ask how Nova Scotian history is tied to the greater North American narrative? Were those people who settled in the province following the American Revolution (1775-1783) distinguishable from their (newly called) American cousins in culture or dress? Second, an exploration of costume interpretation methods currently employed by staff at the Nova Scotia Museum Complex will be undertaken and suggestions made to encourage a higher degree of accuracy in dress and deportment and include lesser-known characters from Nova Scotian history. To best answer these questions, this research-creation dissertation relies on and weaves together scholarship from living history, material culture and fashion studies and a practice-based methodology. According to the Interpretation Master Plan published by the Nova Scotia Museum,[18] a stronger relationship between the artifacts and the interpretation is desired. By understanding the process of character development and recreated historic dress worn by living historians, I argue that quality costume interpretation is as important to the historical narrative as the architecture of the buildings, the style of ship being reproduced, and the battle being re-enacted.

The close study and patterning of garments collected and housed by the Nova Scotia Museum will add to the knowledge base of garment cut and construction in eighteenth-century North America. Some of the extant pieces feature details not commonly seen, for example a document pocket noticed in a pair of men's breeches housed at the Ross-Thompson House in Shelburne, Nova Scotia; or are simply rare examples of surviving garments such as a pair of leather

[18] "Recently, the Department of Tourism, Culture and Heritage undertook substantial strides to ensure that all Nova Scotians, today and in the future, will know, appreciate and experience this remarkably diverse heritage. Set forth in A Treasured Past, A Precious Future: A Heritage Strategy for Nova Scotia 2008-2013, this overarching vision has initiated an impetus for renewal in the province." *Form*:media (March 2009). *Nova Scotia Museum interpretive master plan. Introduction*. Retrieved from *https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan#:~:text=The%20Nova%20Scotia%20Interpretive%20Master,province's%20cultural%20and%20natural%20heritage*. Date accessed 05/20/2017. This plan was in its infancy when I was still employed by the Museum. At that time, no one on the planning committee had any background in the history of dress. Committee members were from the Interpretation and Archaeology staff.

breeches at the O'Dell House in Annapolis Royal.19 I postulate that by utilizing the reference material housed in the Nova Scotia Museum collections, a greater accuracy of dress re-constructions could be made within their interpretation programs. By digitizing the research work completed here, greater access to the collection's materials could be achieved, allowing researchers and wardrobe makers a deeper connection to those collections, and creating a dialogue between curatorial, wardrobe staff, and front-line living historians that wear the reproduction clothing. My frame of reference stems from a career of nearly thirty-years of creating reproduction historic dress and accoutrements for museum interpreters and volunteer living historians across various levels of government administration, from municipal to federal within the province and beyond. I start my analysis for this project at the beginning of commonly interpreted history within the province of Nova Scotia; that is, the last quarter of the eighteenth century. While the history of the province goes back much further and encompasses Indigenous and Acadian cultures, the last quarter of the eighteenth century is the period that is widely represented by living history programs within the province, both within the Nova Scotia Museum complex,[20] and by municipalities in their summertime festivals and commemorative events, and therefore serves as the blueprint for my analysis here. Living history in the province ranges from interpreters inhabiting restored eighteenth and nineteenth century homes, recreating daily life in places like Cossitt House in Sydney or the Ross Farm Museum in New Ross, both with connections to late eighteenth-century history of the province. Small towns that recreate moments in their history such as the landing of Loyalist refugees and the creation of the town of Shelburne or the landing of the first Scottish immigrants to Pictou.

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[19] During this dissertation I was able to pattern the Ross-Thompson breeches fully, but only look at the O'Dell breeches briefly. The O'Dell breeches were added to the Colonial Williamsburg database of surviving leather breeches, and I hope to go back and pattern them fully at a later date.

[20] The Nova Scotia Museum consists of twenty-seven separate museum sites throughout the province, ranging from historic houses and farms to traditionally styled museum buildings such as the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic. It is both the oldest provincial museum in the country and the most decentralized. Collections are housed throughout the province as the artifacts pertain to the sites. See https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm.

Other small towns mash together historical events and modern Hollywood movie themes to create festivals that celebrate the shared experience of the residents such as the Privateer Days festival on the grounds of the Perkins House Museum in Liverpool, Nova Scotia. Yearly encampments at Fort Anne NHS in Annapolis Royal depict the disbanding of the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants and the allotment of land grants to members and their families after the Revolutionary War in America. All these living history programs and events utilize a mixture of paid staff and weekend volunteers. A comprehensive costume interpretation plan for the Nova Scotia Museum could prevent costly mistakes in wardrobe and personal material culture and would allow for a unified and well researched visual experience of the period for the visitor.

This dissertation develops a methodology for costumed interpretation within the museum system. I begin by looking at existing 'Best Practices' documents to determine how characters can be developed for sites within the Nova Scotia Museum purview. Since "costumed interpretation" is a product that is desired by the museum and can be argued as an income generator through advertising, the "costume" portion of any Interpretation Master Plan should not be overlooked. Working with the collection of eighteenth-century artifacts housed in the Nova Scotia Museum complex, this dissertation proposes to establish better working relationships between scholarship and interpretation. By understanding the artifacts and historical evidence more fully, the strategic initiative of this research is to provide a 'progressive living history' framework to develop a more accurate costume interpretation of the people represented in living history programs by focusing on the last quarter of the eighteenth century in Nova Scotia.

Living history: Making the past present, a literature review

Through their exploration of historymaking, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* authors, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen state:

> [w]e found overwhelming evidence that Americans participated regularly in a wide range of past related 'activities,' from taking photos to preserve memories, to watching historical films and television programs, to taking part in groups involved in preserving or presenting the past. We also found that people said they felt particularly connected to the past in a range of different settings, from museums and historical sites to gatherings with their families.[21]

It is important for historic sites and living history museums to get the details of the material culture correct because the viewer may, in fact, understand differences in quality of product and what 'looks right' historically. With the advent of the internet and social media, discussions of accuracy take place every day within living history and historic costume communities. Lay historians understand when a costume designer is taking liberties with the look of a period, adapting facts to create a specific effect that the director wishes to convey. Even the most casual of hobby historians, and many mainstream visitors expect the museum to be held to a higher standard of accuracy. It is no longer acceptable to dress museum interpreters in what we may think of as old fashioned clothing bought through Amish supply sites,[22] or through vendors who have items made in Asia, such as JasTownsend.com[23] which have little regard for accuracy in an effort to produce cheap goods. David Niescior, an interpreter at The Old Barracks at Trenton, New Jersey, sums things up nicely when he states, "history is made of such nearly-forgotten moments, to say nothing of those who experienced them and can no longer be remembered. The way we interpret and act in the world around us is

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[21] Rosenzweig, R. and Thelen, D. (1998). *The presence of the past: Popular uses of history in American life,* New York: Columbia University Press. p.9.

[22] There is nothing wrong with Amish supply sites for those who live or interpret the Amish. The problem lies in thinking that the old-fashioned look of modern-day Amish is appropriate for any historical period. The Amish have their own 'fashion' trends, though it may not be readily apparent to people outside of that community. Sites within Atlantic Canada rely far too heavily on the old-fashioned look provided by these companies.

[23] Sites such as Jas. Townsend are similar to warehouse businesses like Walmart, if you know exactly what the item should look like, you might stumble upon a great deal, but these businesses also carry an extensive amount of cheaply made, historically inaccurate merchandise. The primary advice given to any living historian is: Buyer Beware.

influnced tremendously by the occurances of the day to day."[24] Since our history is overflowing with the common, every-day experiences, lived by regular people, it is important for museums to convey the most accurate representation of the common, every-day aspects of life that they possibly can. This should begin with an accurate representation of how people dressed.

Living history is the process of recreating the lives of our forebearers through the experimental archaeological processes of recreating and using the material culture information left to us through museum collections.[25] EXARC is a global professional association for those who practice experimental archaeology through either traditional academic disciplines or with what Europeans refer to as open-air museums. The group defines experimental archaeology as

> an approach for filling gaps in our knowledge about the past, which cannot be filled through other archaeological research methods. An archaeological experiment must always answer a specific research question through practically testing production, use and/or formation of material culture and/or archaeological features. The information gained should be impossible to obtain from solely examining original artefacts.[26]

Volunteer living historians, the so-called "history buffs,"[27] utilized by museums and historic sites to augment staffing during special events, often work closely with those sites to better the site's overall look and interpretation. Television programs in the early 2000s featured experiential 'history' and

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[24] Niescior, D. (2015). "American grievances *red-dressed*:" Imperial politics, the breakdown of authority, and theft by Boston crowds during the Townshend Acts crisis," Rutger's University, Academia.edu. p2.
[25] Anderson, J. (1984). *Time machines: The world of living history*, Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History. Anderson, J. (1985). *The living history sourcebook*, Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History. Johnson, K. (2015). "Performing pasts for present purposes: Reenactment as embodied, performative history" *History, memory, performance,* New York: Palgrave. Katz-Hyman, M.B. with Jones, C., McCabe, S.J. and Seelhorst, M. editors, (2019). *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM,* New York and London: Routledge. Allison, D. B., (2016). *Living history: Effective costumed interpretation and enactment at museums and historic sites,* Lanham, Boulder, New York and London: Rowman & Littlefield.
[26] Please see the full definition on the EXARC.net website at https://exarc.net/experimental-archaeology
[27] Anderson, J. (1984). *Time machines: The world of living history*, Nashville, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History. p12.

utilized a form of reality-based narratives. Inspired by these programs, some living history reenactors were inspired to sub-divide themselves from the more mainstream activities of pageant style battle re-enactments. This push in living history is viewed as a step beyond what Anderson considers as simple "re-enactment"[28] and more closely aligns with experimental archaeology practices, learning how to re-create pieces using historical methods and materials, and then wearing the clothing and accoutrements to better understand how the body works with those garments. The development of living history interpretation had been ongoing since its inception, and more progressive reenactors continue to seek improvement in how they meet the needs of the historic sites they volunteer with.29 Progressive living history events tend to be much smaller in scale and work closely with historic sites to offer up interpretation of the everyday, re-creating a more immersive and intimate experience for both the living historian and the viewer. The progressive living history approach insists that one should constantly strive for improvement in accuracy in everything the living historian attempts to re-create (whether it be material culture or interpretive experience) believing that the possibility of re-enactment as methodology might exist through the re-creation and use of material culture objects, we may understand the originals better.30 Through constant workshopping with historic sites over off-season months, these living historians can produce a far superior interpretive product for site visitors.[31] Other sites, such as the larger Colonial Williamsburg go a step

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[28] Ibid., p143.
[29] Shaw, T. (1991). "Utilizing living history hobby resources" *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM* (2019) New York and London: Routledge, pp.99-103
[30] Theorists McCalman, I. and Pickering, P. A. (2010). "From realism to the affective turn: An agenda" *Historical reenactment: from realism to the affective turn,* New York: Palgrave MacMillan. See also Berkhofer J., Robert F. (2008). *Fashioning history: Current practices and principles,* New York: Palgrave, p. 163; and Dean, D. with Meerzon, Y. and Prince K. (2015). *History, memory, performance,* New York: Palgrave MacMillan. All consider how the experimental archaeology of re-creation and use can help us understand the artifact better.
[31] A partial list of Ticonderoga's 2022/2023 workshop and seminar listing is here https://www.fortticonderoga.org/calendar/category/lectures-seminars-and-workshops/ Date accessed: April 2022. Here are some of the offerings that ran over the Winter of 2021/2022 https://www.fortticonderoga.org/learn-and-explore/winter-workshop-series/ Date accessed: April 2022. Minuteman NHP also run workshops for interpretation volunteers, their listing is here https://www.nps.gov/mima/getinvolved/supportyourpark/winter-volunteer-workshops.htm Date accessed: April 2022.

further, offering internships and apprenticeship programs to people wishing to pursue reconstruction of historical material culture artifacts as a profession.32

Within the larger North American living history community, professionals and volunteers alike have come to realize that there are cultural idiosyncrasies that must be addressed in order to create an accurate presentation of the people they portray.[33] Long gone are the days of a homogenous eighteenth-century visual narrative, wherein, if a garment was recreated in a historical-ish method,[34] it could be worn by anyone of the seeming appropriate gender,[35] regardless of class or cultural contexts. Through their own interpretation plans, living history programs at sites such as Minute Man NHP and Fort Ticonderoga now consider not only the year, but often the month, or even day the event occurred in history, as well as the key participants and cultures that were involved.[36] While our own modern wardrobes contain many items to pull outfits from to suit the given social context, living historians are likewise required to have access to their own large wardrobes of clothing and material culture that they can pull from to create their character for those events or programmes.[37] It should be reiterated that many living history practitioners produce the

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[32] While internship and apprenticeship positions are full at the time of this writing, ongoing fellowship positions are offered through this page https://www.colonialwilliamsburg.org/learn/research-and-education/fellowships/ Here is an older apprenticeship position from winter 2022 https://recruiting.ultipro.com/COL1030CWF/JobBoard/d1d83d8e-bd7f-41c5-ac90-f1b4796fa63f/OpportunityDetail?opportunityId=cef59375-1b43-45c2-95cf-78a5b11d88b0 Robert F. Berkhofer writes about Colonial Williamsburg's educational offerings in Berkhofer, R. F. (2008). *Fashioning history: Current practices and principles* New York: Palgrave. p. 152

[33] More and more, researchers are studying inventories, probate records, run away ads, etc. as these resources are digitalized and shared by institutions. Collectively, living historians are noticing fashion trends and cultural differences and similarities and are sharing this knowledge through social media platforms. Through this sharing of resources and knowledge, many are working towards more accurate impressions of the characters they interpret for the public.

[34] For some, simply hand stitching a garment is historical enough, when in reality the methodology of garment construction prior to the sewing machine is vastly different. There needs to be more consideration given to *how* the garments were made beyond hand sewing for the sake of hand sewing.

[35] Cross dressing is a contentious issue within living history circles, so much so, that it could likely be a dissertation all unto itself. For the purpose of this dissertation, an acknowledgement of it occurring should be noted, both by paid and volunteer interpreters for various reasons.

[36] Both sites, as well as others who develop living history events have extensive resources from dress guidelines to information on the specific events that they are representing in their programming. Some sites offer invitation-only events to selected living historians so that the site knows that specific characters will be represented.

[37] Some living history groups require members to own multiple forms of kit in order to more accurately represent the unit in any given event space they attend. I refer to, for example, re-enactment units like the 3rd New Jersey Regiment,

clothing and material culture they use themselves using various sources[38] and depend on their own personal budgets and skill sets. Since museums and historic sites across North America rely so heavily on their volunteers to present the programmes they offer, it behooves those same sites to encourage and aid those volunteers in recreating the best possible product. This can be accomplished through site guidelines for aspects of dress, known as 'best practice standards;' teaching workshops on how to recreate items of dress and material culture; and publishing documents on the artifacts within their own collections.[39]

The physical artefacts are so very important for living historians – we understand better through recreating and using/wearing, in ways that cannot be equaled; it is an understanding of learning/knowing through the body instead of, or on top of, through the mind. As Richard Grassby points out, "objects give material form to the rules and belief patterns of those who trade, purchase, or use them. The ultimate objective is to move beyond the concrete data and grasp the more nebulous concept of culture."[40] The use of material culture through living history interpretation "engages the senses as well as the mind. The physical conditions of everyday life and the options for action of different groups, reveal how people met the basic needs of food, shelter, and warmth and

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Capt. Bloomfield's Company "Jersey Grays" and their Facebook post about the number of jackets members own can be found here, https://www.facebook.com/jerseygreys/posts/3306550792960302 Date accessed: 01/06/2022.

[38] More "progressive" living history practitioners have developed close working relationships with their local museums, studying their collections, but also rely on published texts on costume and dress from larger sites such as Colonial Williamsburg; some even have developed their own working collection of extant garments with unknown provenance or little value to a museum collection. This information is shared widely throughout the community through workshops, social media, and study sessions. Many in the living history community will go out of their way to create a more accurate impression across the community, with sharing of kit, materials, and expertise.

[39] Sites such as Fort Ticonderoga and Minute Man NHP have their dress guidelines online for potential volunteers to see and understand before applying to participate in the event. Both sites also require volunteers to submit photographs of the clothing and accoutrements they wish to wear and bring to the site for pre-approval before being allowed to attend. Review boards are made up of curatorial staff and long-standing volunteers with the sites who have also helped to develop the dress guidelines, run workshops, and create interpretation scenarios for the sites. Please see https://www.fortticonderoga.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/26th-Regiment-of-Foot-guidelines-with-photos-3.30.2020-2.pdf and https://www.nps.gov/mima/getinvolved/supportyourpark/minute-man-living-history-authenticity-standards.htm

[40] Grassby, R. (2005). "Material culture and cultural history," *The Journal of interdisciplinary history*, Vol. 35. No. 4, pp. 591-603. MIT Press. p 592.

whether levels of comfort, privacy, personal security, and taste improved […] at different levels of society."[41] Early originator of interpretation methods, Freeman Tilden, has determined six principles to guide us:

1. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.
2. Information, as such, in not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
3. Interpretation in an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.
4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.
5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man [sic] rather than any phase.
6. Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.[42]

For our purposes here, I direct my reader to principle number three, 'interpretation is an art, which combines many arts;' and five, 'interpretation should aim to present a whole.' The use of experimental archaeology within a living history context embraces these two goals of interpretation. To use art to recreate the artifact, the interpreter can present a more 'whole' interpretive program that engages the full range of senses. In employing these concepts through the recreating, and wearing of historical garments, these wardrobe items become clothing rather than costumes.

[41] Ibid. p.593.
[42] Tilden, F. (2007). *Interpreting our heritage,* Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, p.34.

Through historical construction methods, we can comprehend why certain items of dress came into being and how the wearing of those pieces allowed the body to interact with its environment.[43]

Elizabeth Vann's chapter "Culture" in *The Handbook of Sociocultural Anthropology* explains how social scientists have studied western culture in the late twentieth century. Vann cites Michael Lambek and Janice Boddy who state, "culture is constituted through the history of the claims people make through its means."[44] Vann herself supplements this by stating, "culture is also constituted through claims that anthropologists make about its history."[45] This is important, because history is not a static place and time; we learn more and more with each research project about the lives and culture of those who came before. Vann went on to assert that "rather than portraying a culture as timeless, bounded, and homogenous, we should instead, focus on cultural boundaries highlighting the ways in which cultures are historically constructed and given contemporary significance."[46] She cites Clifford Geertz who asserts that "lived culture and the work of anthropologists were both exercises in interpretation."[47] The same could be said about experimental archaeology and living history: Research findings are all about how we interpret the cultural world and the material artifacts found in it.

Material culture: Between artefact and body, thoughts on methodology

As humans, to pass on our history and tradition, we became storytellers. From the beginning, it was an important form of communication. In academia, that storytelling took the form of disciplines;

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[43] Fellows, C. and Campbell-Shoaf, H. (2009). "Serving two masters: Accurate costuming for small historic sites, *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM* (2019). New York and London: Routledge, pp.192-200

[44] Lambeck and Boddy "Introduction: Culture in question", *Social analysis: The international journal of anthropology*, Volume 41, Issue 3 (September 1997). p.4, as cited in Vann, E. (2013). "Culture," *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology,* London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, p.30.

[45] Vann, E. (2013). "Culture," *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology.* London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, p.30.

[46] Ibid, pp.34-35.

[47] See Geertz (1973), *The interpretation of cultures*, as cited in Vann, E. (2013). "Culture," *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology,* London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, p.37

how we told stories was reflective of the theories and methodologies of those disciplines. The study of material culture shifted in the mid twentieth century, to seek out new ways of understanding what was left to us through history. How our ideas of the lives lived before us have changed through re-examining how we ask questions; uncovering new stories of people who did not merit mention in the traditional focus of history books. Art Historian Jules David Prown lays the preliminary groundwork for this new approach to material culture study.[48] Prown references folklorist Henry Glassie's observations that "only a small percentage of the world's population is and has been literate, and that the people who write literature or keep diaries are atypical. Objects are used by a much broader cross section of the population and are therefore potentially a more wide-ranging, more representational source of information than words."[49] It is through the study of those objects that we can better understand the lives of the common people that came before us. Written history is often that of major events and the wealthiest of society. The common artifacts of daily life broaden that perspective by showing us what happened behind the scenes of those major events. Large country estates may have belonged to a relatively small family but were run by a cast of hundreds of people that allowed that wealthy family to live lives of comfort. Approaches to material culture study have become more interdisciplinary; historians no longer rely solely on texts to give a more complete understanding of the artifact. Social anthropologist and Professor of Anthropology at the University of London, Paul Basu reminds us that material culture itself, and the interdisciplinary approaches to material culture studies "seem to be born out in practice."50 Basu goes on to explain that "a technical analysis of material culture is not in itself adequate, and that

[48] Prown, J. D. (1982). "Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method," *Winterthur portfolio, Vol. 17. No. 1 Spring*, pp. 1-19.
[49] Glassie, H. cited in Prown, J. D. (1982). "Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method," *Winterthur portfolio, Vol. 17. No. 1 Spring*, p3.
[50] Basu, P. (2013). "Material culture: Ancestries and trajectories in material culture studies" *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology*, Oxford: Berg, pp 370-391

[items] need to be understood in their social context."51 Returning to Prown, clarifying, "by undertaking cultural interpretation through artifacts, we can engage the other culture [of the past] in the first instance not with our minds, the seat of our cultural bias, but with our senses."[52] Historians now work closely with the archaeologist to determine the context of the artifact within the landscape of the archaeological dig; seek out the social anthropologist to understand the contexts in which the artifact may have been made and used, and ask the artist to reconstruct the artifact in order to better understand how the piece was made to begin with. We should not contextually remove the material artifact from the cultural perspectives within which it was created and used. That artifact had a life, sometimes multiple lives, up to the point of our current investigation. This new approach to material culture study is now understood as "experimental archaeology," a term coined in the late 1960s. Alan K. Outram explains that most people understand experimental archaeology as the 'reconstruction', 're-enactment', 'reproduction', or 'replication' of material culture and historical events. He argues this is a defective definition. Outram believes that maybe dropping the 're' prefix is a better idea, that sometimes the hypothetical is as important, after all, as "one does not actually know what the past was like, so one cannot ***re***construct it."[53] We may not know what the past itself was like, but there are pieces of material culture left to us, and we could be using the knowledge gleaned from those artifacts to better understand the historical events that surrounded their creation, their use, and their preservation in collections for future researchers. In his examination of the development of the living history program at Plimoth Plantation, Stephen Eddy Snow informs his reader that the Plantation site is entirely a reconstruction for the interpreters to fully interact with it in their quest to reconstruct a historical narrative. Snow reminds us though, that accuracy is

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[51] Ibid, p.373

[52] Prown, J. D. (1982). "Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method," *Winterthur portfolio, Vol. 17. No. 1 Spring*, p5.

[53] Outram, A. K. (2008). "Introduction to experimental archaeology," *World archaeology*, p. 2.

important lest we fall into the notion of 'fakelore' syndrome.[54] I would pose that using outdated and inaccurate forms of historical costume by museums that idea of 'fakelore' is allowed to run rampant. I would argue that a regular updating of costume interpretation plans is as important to sites as updating the exhibit spaces that house the museum's artefacts. As museum professionals learn more, they should pass that valuable information on to the public.

In the late twentieth century, BBC productions such as *Time Team* [55] and *Tales from the Green Valley*[56] brought experimental archaeology and living history practices to the forefront. These programs were different from popular 'house' programs produced by other mainstream international television channels, because they did not simply throw a group of regular, typically modern people together in a historical setting to see how they would cope.[57] These BBC programs brought together a team of academic scholars educated in the methods of historical experiment. Historians and archaeologists began to reproduce the artifacts they uncovered by using historical methods and then using the artifacts in context to scientifically test theories about how those pieces of material culture were made, used, and thought of in the historical period. For many who work in the field of historical interpretation, the team of academics assembled by the *Tales from the Green Valley* series embodied the concepts and understanding of what it is to be a living historian and this team became a role model for interpretation planning. Plimoth Plantation's Manager of Indigenous and European Clothing and Textiles, Dan Rosen, explains that the farm site where *Tales from the Green Valley* was

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[54] Snow, S. E. (1993). *Performing the pilgrims: A study of ethnohistorical role-playing at Plimoth Plantation,* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. p 55. As a member of my advising committee, we had lengthy conversations surrounding the accuracy of living history performances and experiences. We both understand how the type of living history experience is predicated on the latest archival and understood evidence we have, so living history is always evolving and in itself has historical moments. See his description of the Winslow house on page 57.

[55] Taylor,T. and Robinson, T. (1994-2014). *Time team*. Video Text Communications Ltd. For BBC 4

[56] Sommer, P. Director (2006). *Tales from the green valley*. Goodman, Langlands, Ginn, Spencer, and Peachy. Lion Television for BBC/Acorn Media.

[57] Schwartz, A. (2010). "…Just as it would have been in 1861': Stuttering colonial beginnings in ABC's *Outback house," Historical reenactment: From realism to the affective turn*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 18-38.

produced is "this hotspot of academic study meets practical hands-on experimentation."[58] I was influenced by this experimental archaeological framework to then seek out different ways in which I could continue my practice of 'making as research' academically. I was inspired by this team of professionals and the quality of the project. The major difference was this new kind of programming was not simply judged on its entertainment value; rather, the producers and team members sought education through process, the entertainment value was realized later with as the fans viewing the episodes and the creation and continuation of social media groups surrounding the shows.

Knowledge can be broadened by working closely with the extended living history community and considering how we can learn about historical clothing by wearing quality reproductions as part of interpretation programs at living history sites. The material culture heritage of Nova Scotia is also important to the larger living history community as there are artifacts within the Nova Scotia Museum collection that are simply rare in the historical record, such as complete, three-piece men's suits, and gowns made (and re-made) in progressive fashions but made from full garment length pieces of expensive brocaded silk with minimal cuts. This dissertation is positioned to help expand the knowledge base of clothing and personal material culture being reproduced and worn by living history practitioners throughout the whole eastern seaboard of North America, as many of the peoples who immigrated to Nova Scotia came from places as near as New England or as far as the southern United States. Moreover, many also passed through many Nova Scotian communities either as refugees of war, or through military service. Professor Paul Basu explains that

> [m]aterial culture may be regarded as one of the defining characteristics of being human: it has long been a convention to assert that to be human is to speak, and to make and use tools

[58] Rosen, Dan, in conversation with other academics and living historians on one of my Facebook posts. https://www.facebook.com/kelly.grant.940/posts/10158713408925715?comment_id=10158715088385715&notif_id=1590177641369441&notif_t=feed_comment&ref=notif 05/23/2020. Date accessed 05/23/2020.

> (Miller and Tilley 1996; c.f. Gibson and Ingold 1993). But whereas the systematic study of language has been codified in the academy, no equivalent discipline has emerged to address the systematic study of human artifacts. The study of material culture has, rather, been scattered across a variety of disciplines and, as a result, presents as a somewhat undisciplined field of academic inquiry.[59]

It is the material culture of a life that helps us to understand that life. Through developing accurate impressions of characters, from the skin out, from head to toe, and considering those material culture items as clothing instead of costumes, we can more fully understand how the people of the past interacted with their environment. The progressive living historian who engages this way with the historical text and artifact is already engaging with rigorous academic study.

By focusing on the material culture of clothing we can delve more deeply into the intimate lives of the people who made and wore those artifacts. As Richard Grassby clarifies,

> clothes in a drawer have no meaning, but when worn they become a uniform with social and moral implications. Culture gives meaning and thereby economic value to new goods; fashion establishes taste and directs individual desire and creativity. This cultural interpretation of material life is as one-sided and limited as the economic interpretation of material culture. Costume can be more a manner of communication than a means of keeping warm and dry.[60]

The context of extant clothing is key, if left in a drawer, we may not fully understand how it was worn or why. In Chapter 2, on dressing a highland woman, I question the lack of a certain clothing

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[59] Basu, P. (2013). "Material culture: Ancestries and trajectories in material culture studies," *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology*. Oxford: Berg, pp.370-391, p 370.
[60] Grassby, R. (2005). "Material culture and cultural history," *The journal of interdisciplinary history,* Vol. 35. No. 4, pp. 591-603, MIT Press. p 597.

item in the historical record. The artworks of the period show women still wearing this garment, so where has it disappeared to? Has the meaning behind the piece of cloth gone missing from the record? Has the garment been mis-labelled? Without going into the collection drawers myself, I may not fully understand why this garment has disappeared from the historical record. Going back to those questions of why the artifact was left to us through history, we can better understand the emotional meaning behind the piece. Who wore the piece? What can the artifact tell us about its owners' current and former socioeconomic class, occupation and gender or religious roles, and their age and gender? Joanne Entwistle emphasizes that "dress is both an intimate experience of the body and a public presentation of it."[61] Human beings adorn themselves with all manner of decoration, and often that decoration has a variety of meanings, depending on the cultural references. When building a character for living history interpretation programs, the interpreter (or dramaturg or interpretation planner) must look at a variety of things. Primarily, they need to determine who would have been in that given place and time. Is the program focused on a military aspect, or is it a regular day in the life of a businessman and his family? What are the genders and ages of the actors involved? What are their class restrictions? We can even ask if the actor's skin colour or ethnic background might play a role in how they are viewed by the public.[62] Once the actors have been placed in their interpretive context, we begin to think about how they should look, what they should be wearing, how their hair should be dressed, even if the actor should have a scent, and what that scent should be.

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[61] Entwistle, J. (2000). *The fashioned body: Fashion, dress, and modern social theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p.7

[62] Race has been a long, ongoing debate in living history circles. Living history has been accused of being "too white" and people have struggled with how we collectively go about changing so that the community can be more inclusive and tell the whole story of history. At the same time, indigeneity has been claimed by people that maybe should sit back and allow the larger indigenous community to express their feelings on the matter. I was told, personally, that the living history community must, "stop giving us the Indian, and listen to what we want from the community or event." This statement alone made me stop and reflect on how those BIPOC communities might experience racism from how living history events are produced and has been the driving factor in what I wished to include within this dissertation.

My own interdisciplinary approach to material culture studies is "born out in practice,"[63] a phrase coined by Paul Basu through his work on genealogical heritage tourism by exploring different methodologies in ethnographic research. As Fashion historian Hilary Davidson suggests in *The Embodied Turn: Making and Remaking Dress as an Academic Practice*, there needs a "better theorisation of re-construction [of historical clothing] as a methodology" that "researchers, curators and conservators who have engaged in hands-on, experimental remaking of historical dress for decades have largely done so on an *ad hoc* basis. Each re-making project, be it individual or institutional, tends to find its own way forward according to its needs, and call the activity something different."64 As a result, Davidson asks "for more articulation of the knowledges produced by making and remaking, and for the knowledge of unspoken understandings of the original maker and the bodily experience of the re-maker" within academic writing.65 This dissertation argues that the interdisciplinary aspects of material culture research is what makes it so interesting and important. Through my own practice-based research and noting how the garments I recreate are used and worn, how the clothing takes on the habits of the wearer, I am better able to understand what I am seeing in the art, and in the extant garments, but what to call this process, methodologically? With living history, we can return to Richard Grassby when he states that

> possessions, if carefully interpreted, constitute evidence of character, interest, and quality of life. The meaning of objects becomes clear within narrative contexts. Inventories of artefacts can re-create the interiors of early modern English houses that no longer exist. Material culture sheds light on how people understood themselves. Artefacts can convey a sensory

[63] Basu, P. (2013). "Material culture: Ancestries and trajectories in material culture studies" *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology*, Oxford: Berg, pp 370-391, p.370.
[64] Davidson, H. (2019). "The embodied turn: Making and remaking dress as an academic practice" *Fashion theory: The journal of dress, body, and culture 23, no.3* New York: Routledge p.336
[65] Ibid. p337

> perception of the past through sight, smell, touch, and texture. Making sense of past experiences requires replicating the tone and texture of life.[66]

When developing a character for living history programming it is important to consider more than the simple clothing pieces of an entire century. Sometimes it is important to narrow the focus down to a single year or season, but also the class and occupation of the character, and what accessories would have rounded out the full impression of the character. With each of the case studies developed in Chapter 2, I considered the original nationality, occupation, living conditions, and even the possible religion of one of the characters. I did not want to present a homogenous eighteenth-century look, or even a homogenous 1780s look to my characters as each individual would have come to the province from various and different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.

In a recent conversation with Winterthur scholar Eliza West, she stated that "the study of material culture teaches us not just about the material lives of ages past, but also about how people went about the process of improving their lives. To study material culture is to step inside the inventive human mind."[67] While she is speaking about the technologies of the past in her blog post, she is referencing the technologies of tailoring and clothing construction. Many of the same tools are employed in tailoring even today, but that the way in which they were employed can tell us of how those people lived, and how they sought to improve their lives.

Published eighteenth-century runaway advertisements give us a rich description of what the poor wore and stole to later turn into hard cash for their escape. Refugee loss claims show the importance given to material wealth by the people of the era. Wills and probates give us a sense of

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[66] Grassby, R. (2005). "Material culture and cultural history," *The journal of interdisciplinary history*, Vol. 35. No. 4, pp. 591-603, MIT Press. p 592. p.594.

[67] West, E. (2017). Blog post: https://ourgirlhistory.wordpress.com/2017/01/15/the-conundrum-of-old-technology/, date accessed 07/22/2020. Ms. West wrote extensively during her master's degree at Winterthur, encouraged to share her thesis work through social media platforms so that a broad audience would have access.

the cost associated with the material culture.[68] Extant artifacts allow us to understand the emotional attachments behind the saving and collection of those artifacts. All these sources combined can help to create the character the living historian uses to explain our histories. It is the full material culture of a life that helps us to understand that life. Paul Basu expands on this:

> persons and things exist in dynamic relation. As Tilley puts it, 'material forms do not simply mirror pre-existing social distinctions, sets of ideas or symbolic systems. They are instead the very medium through which these values, ideas and social distinctions are constantly reproduced and legitimized, or transformed.' Through making, using, exchanging, consuming, interacting, and living with things, people make themselves.[69]

Things that seem commonplace today in how we 'dress' our bodies, can seem very much out of place in a historical setting. Something as simple as hair styled in a bun can be viewed through the lens of class or political leanings, depending on the style and placement of the bun, the context, and the age and gender of the wearer. Similarly, the type of cloth, the colour of the suit or gown, and even the cut and construction inform the viewer of many intimate details, if the cultural cues are understood. The living historian uses the reproduction clothing and material culture to help explain those cues, that culture.[70]

If a new and possibly more accurate interpretation of clothing and personal material culture used within living history programs within the province is to be achieved, often, the practitioner

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[68] *Thick description*, coined by Clifford Geertz (1973) is a term used to characterize the process of paying attention to contextual detail in observing and interpreting social meaning when conducting qualitative research. Sage Research Methods: https://methods.sagepub.com/reference/encyc-of-case-study-research/n347.xml. I utilize these runaway advertisement resources to help fill in the blanks when forming my Highland woman's character in chapter 2 and when determining the colours and fibres used in my section on stockings in chapter 3.

[69] See: Tilley, C.Y. "Theoretical perspectives", *Handbook of material culture*, (2006), cited in Basu, P. (2013), "Material culture: Ancestries and trajectories in material culture studies," *The handbook of sociocultural anthropology*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic p.382.

[70] Fellows, C. and Campbell-Shoaf, H. (2009). "Serving two masters: Accurate costuming for small historic sites" *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM,* New York and London: Routledge. pp192-200

must go back to the beginning. Through close examination of the original artifacts, determining cloth types and garment construction methods, and then reproducing those extant pieces for the interpreter to wear and use may produce a more informed living history product for the visitor. In his 2005 article on material culture, historian Richard Grassby writes,

> possessions, if carefully interpreted, constitute evidence of character, interest, and quality of life. The meaning of objects becomes clear within narrative contexts. Inventories of artefacts can re-create the interiors of early modern English houses that no longer exist. Material culture sheds light on how people understood themselves. Artefacts can convey a sensory perception of the past through sight, smell, touch, and texture. Making sense of past experiences requires replicating the tones and texture of life.[71]

Instead of simply dressing the interpretive staff in so-called old-fashioned costumes, if the actual clothing and accoutrements of the period to be interpreted are reproduced as closely as possible to the original garments, and then worn in a historical way, we can more fully understand how the people of the past experienced their world.[72] It is at that point when the interpreted space no longer is static and cold but becomes alive again. I would even argue that a fully reproduced living history space allows for greater opportunities for engaging interpretation, and the extant artifacts would do better in a gallery space that provides background to the costumed interpretation being carried out by the living historian.[73]

Through research-creation practices, a close study of the material culture artifacts can be achieved which may then allow for a knowledgeable costume interpretation plan to be developed for

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[71] Grassby, R. (2005). "Material culture and cultural history," *The journal of interdisciplinary history,* Vol. 35. No. 4, pp. 591-603, MIT Press. p 594.
[72] Fellows, C. and Campbell-Shoaf, H. (2009). "Serving two masters: Accurate costuming for small historic sites" *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM,* New York and London: Routledge. pp192-200
[73] Katz-Hyman, M. B. with Jones, C., McCabe, S.J., and Seelhorst, M. (2019). "Introduction: Bringing history to life" *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM* New York and London: Routledge, p.5.

the province following current 'best practice' standards employed by sites that have traditionally had greater curatorial resources. According to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), research-creation is:

> An approach to research that combines creative and academic research practices, and supports the development of knowledge and innovation through artistic expression, scholarly investigation, and experimentation. The creation process is situated within the research activity and produces critically informed work in a variety of media (art forms). Research-creation cannot be limited to the interpretation or analysis of a creator's work, conventional works of technological development, or work that focuses on the creation of curricula. Fields that may involve research-creation may include, but are not limited to: architecture, design, creative writing, visual arts (e.g., painting, drawing, sculpture, ceramics, textiles), performing arts (e.g., dance, music, theatre), film, video, performance art, interdisciplinary arts, media and electronic arts, and new artistic practices.[74]

Research-creation projects are interdisciplinary in nature, bringing together artistic practice and traditional academic disciplinary research. University of Western Sydney Professor Hart Cohen theorizes that,

> The implication for methodology is that 'research-creation' opens up a unique pathway to realizing knowledge that is neither wholly quantitative or qualitative though may partake in aspects of both. Importantly, methodologically speaking, 'research is initiated in practice, where questions, problems and challenges are identified…and secondly, that the research

[74] The definition is directly from the SSHRC website and can be accessed here: https://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/funding-financement/programs-programmes/definitions-eng.aspx?pedisable=false#a22 Date of publication: 05/04/2021, date accessed: 07/05/2022.

> strategy is carried out through practice.' With this kind of specificity, it may appear that research-creation moves into a unique space of practice-led scholarship.[75]

The process of studying historic dress for reproduction to be worn by living historians situates itself nicely within this methodology. Looking closely at the interpretation programme at Fort Ticonderoga in New York, a site that excels at accurate reproduction material culture, we can determine how the historical reproduction clothing works with the body to provide a more accurate representation of the late eighteenth century. Ticonderoga is successful precisely because the site uses the artifacts in its extensive collection to closely study and reproduce those pieces for use in its living history program. The reproduction of artifacts is often taken a full step further and is part of the interpretation itself through their historic trades program. All leatherwork, shoes, and tailored clothing are reproduced through public interpretation by costumed living historians using period correct tools and methodologies. Taking the current living history practices within the Nova Scotia Museum sites into account, beginning with those who portray the late eighteenth century, a best practices methodology could be employed to determine the correct style, fit, and construction of reproduction garments being worn by interpreters, thus bringing the provincial sites more in line with broader, North American recommendations.

As fashion and cultural scholar Joanne Entwistle formulates, "studies of fashion and dress tend to separate dress from the body: art history celebrates the garment as an object, analysing the development of clothing over history and considering the construction and detail of dress as with Gorsline, or Laver."[76] Economic scholars such as Arjun Appadurai would have us consider the

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[75] Professor Cohen draws on scholars Carol Gray and Brad Haseman in his thoughts. Cohen, H. (2016). "Research creation: A scholarship of creativity," *Journal of the new media caucus ISSN: 1942-017X,* http://median.newmediacaucus.org/research-creation-explorations/research-creation-a-scholarship-of-creativity/ date accessed: 2/24/16, p.2.

[76] Entwistle, J. (2000). *The fashioned body: Fashion, dress and modern social theory* Cambridge: Polity Press, p.9

economies of items of dress and material culture. Why were these items made, what sorts of exchange value do they hold, are they still in some form of exchange cycle, or have they been removed from exchange? What sorts of economic lives do they hold? These patterns of consumption bring the body back into context with the material culture.[77]

Dress historians Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell would warn us against 'simplistic notions of identity' that may be superficiously wrapped up in clothing and material culture. They remind us that there are rituals behind what we wear in any given situation, it is not simply the grand occasions that should be worthy of study. "Talking about clothes forces us to speak, directly or indirectly, about our bodies, about details of material culture, about context, about commerce and commodification, about social expectations and personal aspirations, about media influence, family relationships, work, play, values, social structures, and more."[78] These authors remind us that "Dress stories, as we conceive them, are not the same thing as the Story (history) of Dress (citing Christopher Breward, Diane Crane, Amy De la Haye, Joanne Eicher, Anne Hollander, Valerie Steele, and Elizabeth Wilson in Weber and Mitchell, Dress Stories 6), and that what we wear has a great effect on how we feel about ourselves."[79]

"In wearing our clothes, or in writing about them, we may not always know what we convey to others – the communicative power of our appearance may far surpass our communicative intent. Some of the information that is transmitted silently from person to person by dress is not easily translatable into words, or would be time-consuming or socially clumsy to communicate orally."[80]

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[77] Appadurai, A. (1996). "Consumption, duration, and history" *Modernity at large.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p.68.
[78] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004). "Dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*. Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978285, date accessed, 07/18/18 p.4
[79] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*. Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18 p.253
[80] Ibid. p,254

For the living historian interacting with the public, what we wear is half the program. Even if the viewer doesn't fully understand all the cultural nuances behind the 'costume', there are social cues that transmit over the centuries. Dirt and plain clothes often mean working people, cleanliness and fine silks may be regarded as a symbol of wealth. Weber and Mitchell go on to explain,

> a wide range of meanings are constructed and co-exist around and through our clothes – some of them fleeting and unstable, some of them contradictory. There are the *denotative historical and cultural meanings* that relate to the context in which the clothes are worn, how and why they were made and worn, where they are worn, and how they are inscribed by advertising and dictates of fashion cycles, social class, and specific local contexts and subcultures. Attention should also be paid to the *connotative personal meanings* that dresses assume for the wearer, including expressions of identity, personality, aspirations, and sense of place and community, which may reinterpret, ignore, contest, or confirm the more general meanings associated with certain garments.[81]

Its not simply a matter of dressing the part, but understanding the why behind certain aspects of dress. When a living historian takes the time to weave a length of apron cloth, they aren't undertaking the project on a whim, and they certainly are not working on the project to save money. Lessons can be learned from creating an object from fibre through to wearing that are often missed

[81] Ibid. p.255 The authors look at Stephen Riggins (1994). 'Denotative' referring to the factual and social history of an object: where it comes from, why it was invented, and so on. "Connotative' referring to the personal meanings attached to particular objects.

when simply dashing out to the fabric store and purchasing a length of cloth. In the case of a length of apron cloth, considerations must be made for the weight of threads used in both the warp and weft, as noticed in figure 1-1 at the left. What I could purchase commercially for home-weavers was vastly different than the sewing thread I could purchase. In order to purchase enough of the finer thread to weave this cloth, the overall project would have been cost prohibitive. Certain climates, such as the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia are better than others for growing flax. Then, while processing through to a usable fibre for spinning and weaving, the weather may help or hinder the process.[82] As the loom is dressed for weaving, the sheer amount of time involved can be noted. The weaver may then understand fully, why apron cloth is usually narrow,[83] and why extant garments often have a seam (or two) in a seemingly open, square piece of cloth. The differences between the hand loom versus the industrial loom become apparent in that the body has limitations that a machine does not. It should also be noted that the casual weaver may not produce an even plaid (apron cloth in the period was often a woven plaid)[84] that will perfectly match in line when sewing. The emotions of the weaver,

Figure Introduction-1 The difference between my own attempt at weaving apron cloth and the machine-made example. My blue and white check ended up much larger in format due to utilizing heavier thread.

[82] As a very beginner, I realized that I could spin a much finer thread in linen than I could purchase through weaving supply houses locally. This made me very disappointed that I could not pursue this exercise further at the time.
[83] Due to working loom widths, but also time and consideration of comfortable weaving abilities (side to side motion). Threading the loom takes longer that the actual weaving process, so few threads but longer lengths may mean more usable cloth in the end.
[84] Bronson, J. and R. (1817 Dover Books reprint in 1977) *Early american weaving and dyeing: The domestic manufacturer's assistant and family directory in the arts of weaving and dyeing* New York: Dover Publications, Inc. p.29

the way the heat or cold, damp or dryness of the weaving studio all play a part on the human weaver that are not noticed by the industrial machine.[85] Weber and Mitchell note, "the capacity of clothes to conjure up memories is at least partially rooted in sensory and emotional associations that are automatically and unconsciously established as we go about living our lives in clothes."[86] Those same emotions and memories can be conjured up about the creation of the clothes as well. How the weaver was feeling emotionally when she was in the studio creating the cloth, the feeling of comraderie when gathering together with friends to create the clothes, the feeling of pride when the clothes are worn, or viewed being worn by another. This whole project taught me to appreciate the skills of the spinner and weaver even more than before. Apron cloth might be the only instance where I weave the cloth to make the garment for the forseeable future, at least until I can devote more time to spinning threads and weaving cloth to achieve a quality and consistent product.

Nova Scotia as a research context

The objectives of this dissertation are two-fold: first is to prove the importance of reconstructed material culture; and second examine how that experimental archaeological practice can inform and help to better understand how original material culture was made and used in the historical period. If we consider the three main groups of immigrants I will cover in this dissertation, the disbanded

[85] I consider myself a beginner weaver, and do not have the opportunity to practice the trade regularly, so my throwing of thread and beating of cloth is very uneven. Someone who weaves everyday will have far better outcomes. I am a tailor and can create hand stitches that are as even as machine stitches, I am a hobby weaver at best, so my 'hand' is not as precise. I have come to understand that there is a 'sweet spot' to weaving linen where the threads have the best moisture content for easier weaving. That weaving linen in a heavily air-conditioned space dries the threads out far too much making for a painful and frustrating experience.

[86] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*. Peter Lang AG, publisher. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316 date accessed, 07/18/18 p.257

[86] Ibid. p.254

British military (specifically the Scots), disbanded German and Dutch mercenary forces, and then Loyalist civilian refugees, what methods of transportation for migration and settlement did the various cultural groups use? Did the individual immigrant arrive by ship? Was part of their journey on foot, over land? Each group of people suffered differing hardships caused by the war, and then the evacuation aftermath. Each group of people are going to reflect differing socio-economic, cultural, and possibly even religious backgrounds. Depending on what their individual circumstances were, they could have nothing but the clothing and accoutrements carried on their backs, or they may have expected to ship their entire household of goods to the new community they would be displaced to. While popular thought depicts the Loyalist as either a soldier or a well-to-do businessman, the population of refugees displaced to Nova Scotia had the full diversity of any society, from beggars to aristocrats and everything in between.[87] The people who landed in Nova Scotia to start over again built communities of laborers and tradesmen, farmers, and politicians, many found themselves in very different situations than expected. What challenges would those occupations create for those starting over in a relatively unpopulated colony? While Shelburne, NS is noted to have started life as the largest town in the province, this claim was short lived, as many who

[87] For Loyalist stories, see Robertson, M. (1983). *King's bounty: a History of early Shelburne founded in 1783 by the Port Roseway Associates, loyalists of the American revolution,* Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum pub.; Kimber, S. (2009). *Loyalists and layabouts: the Rapid rise and fall of Shelburne, Nova Scotia 1783-1792* Anchor Canada, pub.; Huskins, B. (2019). "New Hope' in Shelburne, Nova Scotia," *The consequences of loyalism: Essays in honor of Robert M. Calhoon,* Durham: University of South Carolina Press, pp.104-122; Archibald, M. (1975). *Gideon White loyalist.* Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum; Rees, R. (2000). *Land of the loyalists: Their struggle to shape the Maritimes.* Halifax: Nimbus; Cuthbertson, B. C. (1983) *The loyalist governor: Biography of Sir John Wentworth.* Halifax: Petheric Press; Newman, P.C. (2016). *Hostages to fortune: The united empire loyalists and the making of Canada.* New York: Simon and Schuster; and Campey, L.H. (2010). *Planters, paupers, and pioneers: English settlers in Atlantic Canada* Toronto: Dundurn Press.

had expected to have staff and tradesmen available to rebuild their lives for them found they had to do much of the work themselves and so left for England on the next available ships. Soldiers granted blocks of land upon release from service found the land itself to be far from expected, and so sold or abandoned their land claims for the chance of a better retirement life elsewhere. Others wished for the strong community ties that other immigrants to the province directly from Europe would offer, and so traded allotments for different communities around the province.[88] The Waldeck Line in the Annapolis Valley has very few surviving German families in favour of Lunenburg on the South Shore of the province, Highlanders disbanded in the Minas Basin and Rawdon areas of the province moved on to the communities along the Northumberland Straight and Cape Breton. Each community's culture is reflected in the names that survive, but also the traditions, language idioms, and religious customs that carry through to the present day.

Perspectives: How will my work help the Nova Scotia Museum and other historic sites?

There are two sites within the Nova Scotia Museum complex that have wardrobe personnel on staff: Sherbrooke Village (Sherbrooke, NS) and Ross Farm (New Ross, NS).[89] Both wardrobe sites are

[88] Aspects of Scottish Royalist descendant stories can be found in Dunn, Charles W. (1991) *Highland Settler: a Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia* Nova Scotia: Breton Books, Patterson, Re. George (1972) *A History of the County of Pictou Nova Scotia* Belleville: Mika Studio, Continental Army aspects can be read in Mayer, Holly A. (1996) *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press and for general lower sorts information Hagist, Don. N. (2007) *Wives, Slaves, and Servant Girls: Advertisements for Female Runaways in American Newspapers 1770-1780* Yardley: Westholme Publishing, and in a far more limited capacity, works on the German disbanded soldiers in Wright, H. Millard (2003) *Nova Scotia Waldeckers: German Mercenaries who fought in the American Revolutionary War and Settled in Nova Scotia in 1783* Halifax: etc. Press

[89] The information contained in this paragraph is understood through experience working within the museum system both as an interpreter and having personally been asked to create historic costume in my 'off hours' or as supplementary taskings while working within gallery spaces at the Maritime Museum site. At that time (I left the museum in November 2008), there was no costume interpretation plan for the Nova Scotia Museum complex, and to this day the few costumers rely on their own judgement and experience.

staffed by seasonal employees and are site specific in their production requirements. Only one site retains an academically trained costume historian, and she is not mentioned within any provincial museum documents. These two wardrobe shops are often asked to outsource costume work to volunteers, to keep wardrobe costs to a minimum. Other Nova Scotia Museum sites have costumed interpreters whose wardrobes are cobbled together with costume pieces sourced by volunteers or are purchased through costume department-stores on the internet. In fact, there is no actual costume interpretation plan for any of the twenty-eight Nova Scotia Museum sites. Within the Nova Scotia Museum's official Interpretation Master Plan[90] there is only a brief mention of "costumed presentations,"[91] but no actual direction or plan for those costumes, how they will be constructed, or worn, or their interpretive value to the museum system overall. While my focus is on sites within the Nova Scotia Museum, any historic site that runs a costumed interpretation program must also have a costume interpretation plan as the visual interpretation is as important as the facts of history being presented.

The topic of dress history in Nova Scotia remains largely untouched by scholars.[92] Despite an extensive collection of articles of dress, there is no curator of costume at the provincial level,93 and only one at the federal level for the province, who works primarily as Head of Wardrobe for

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[90] Please see: https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan

[91] See also, https://museum.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/inline/images/nsmimp-appendix-e.pdf p.234

[92] Curatorial Report No. 83 *Needle arts in Nova Scotian women's lives,* Jo-Ann Citrigno, 1998. Seems to be the only publication by the Nova Scotia Museum on European cultural textile work currently in print. The Curatorial Report No. 28 *The Restoration of the Wile Carding Mill* deals almost entirely on the buildings of the Mill site, despite being a textile mill. There are some references to Indigenous textile culture such as Curatorial Report No. 59 *Plant fibre textiles from the Hopps site*, Ruth Whitehead, 1987, but they are also few and far between. Some older works on quilts and coverlets were done in the late 1960s and early 70s, but those are no longer in publication, Greene, Polly (1985) "Basic Quilting" Nova Scotia Museum: Halifax. There is also, Archibald, Mary, Elizabeth DeMolitor and Cathy Holmes (1982) "Loyalist Dress in Nova Scotia, 1775-1800" Nova Scotia Museum, Shelburne County Museum: Halifax, which is a very rudimentary introduction to clothing of the period this dissertation is focused on, but there are no photos or patterns of extant garments in the collection, only rough line drawings of generalized garments. Copies of these publications can sometimes be found in second-hand book shops. I know that more recent work has been done on garments in the collection by NSM staff members, but only through being friends with those staff members. These reports have not been published yet.

[93] From the Nova Scotia Museum website at https://museum.novascotia.ca/curators.

Fortress Louisbourg National Historic Site in Cape Breton.[94] The extant costume artifacts in the nova scotia museum collection are often integrated with fine or decorative arts collections, managed by curators who are trained in art history (with a focus on painting and sculpture), or in history or ethnology. due to the lack of interpretive direction for costume, front-line interpretation staff often wear items of historic dress inappropriately, with items worn incorrectly or items of several separate periods or demographics worn together at the whim of the interpreter. at other sites, a simple black, floor-length skirt and modern white blouse passes for historic dress regardless of any notion of accuracy in cut, construction, or materials used.[95]

Figure Introduction 2 From Cossitt House in Sydney Nova Scotia. Many things are incorrect in their manner of dress. Photo curtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum.

[94] It is nearly impossible to find any reference to curators working for Parks Canada save for the mention that there are curators, but not of what types, nor where they work. While working for a Parks Canada site in the early 1990s, I was able to access resources in Ottawa for a brief period before the closure of the department that focused on historic dress. In Halifax itself, there were both a military curator and a curator of fine and decorative arts until the mid-2000s. One retired and was not replaced, the other position was cut under budget constraints of the Harper government. It is only through personally knowing the staff at Fortress Louisbourg that I can report that they still have a curator of costume, but it is widely believed that once Elizabeth Tait retires, her position will no longer be funded.

[95] Fashion historian Yuniya Kawamura talks about how "fashion and dress as a research topic in academia is often considered not serious enough and is treated as a marginal area of research, and does not deserve any intellectual considerations…there are no clearly articulated theoretical framework and methodological strategies to study

The costumed interpreters from Cossitt house in Sydney, NS, featured in the photo above are dressed with absolutely no guidance from curatorial staff at the main nova scotia museum site. They are 'old fashioned' at best, but in actuality are wearing a mixture of historical items, modern clothing, and items that can only be described as conjectural or made-up to look old fashioned. The Nova Scotia Museum's interpretation master plan96 makes note of this discrepancy in costuming, stating "institutionally, there is a lack of curatorial ties to interpretation, especially at outlying sites. While this is the result of various factors, there is an underlying need for continuity between curatorial and interpretive roles."[97] Because of a lack of proper interpretive direction, misinformation is spread about extant costume pieces from the collection that are on display and also how people dressed and looked historically. Social media platforms, where photographs of artifacts are shared with the public, are often managed by seasonal, summer student staff who lack the curatorial expertise or training to speak fully and properly about items from the collection in general, and more specifically about items of dress.[98] The Nova Scotia Museum, as with many heritage industry sites, have a long tradition of skeleton levels of full time, well educated curatorial staff and rely on summer student grant projects to fulfill staffing requirements that would otherwise not be financially supported. This means that there is no allowance for succession planning and the age and knowledge gap between curatorial staff and other heritage workers grows every year. The interpretation master plan notes a need for "more sustained, formal training across the system," and "back of house resources will be

fashion/dress." Pp.1-2. This statement hammered home to this researcher, the importance of my career argument and also why I have found it so difficult to be taken seriously by curators trained through usual academic discipline. While we all wear clothing and adorn ourselves in one fashion or another, there remains the lack of hard/fast theoretical framework with which to study dress. It is still too interdisciplinary for traditional contexts. Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022.

[96] The whole document can be found here, https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan..

[97] NSM Interpretive master plan. https://museum.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/inline/images/nsmimp-section-2.pdf p.34.

[98] This bit of information was gleaned through my own personal interaction with Nova Scotia Museum social media sites.

required to renew interpretation on an ongoing basis. This includes interpretive staff, research, repair of exhibits, etc."[99] by more fully funding heritage across the sector, a more sustainable succession plan and formal training plan could be implemented.

Museums that are held in high regard have tight interpretation plans that support their collections and programming. Those that offer living history programming include costume in their interpretation planning. There are pieces in the Nova Scotia Museum collection that are unique examples of material culture, giving insight into how the people who settled the province looked and dressed, but there are further-reaching applications here as well. The history of Nova Scotia is closely tied to the history of northern North America.[100] Now could be the time to fully digitalize the collection of the NSM and bring it to the forefront of study. Interpretation programing at sites throughout the province could easily move online through social media platforms with the accessible technologies found in most modern pockets. COVID-19 has handed us all an opportunity to rethink community engagement and how our museums, historic sites, and their collections are viewed by the public. This dissertation is positioned to re-examine how character development for living history programs can be accomplished through accessible, online resources. These processes could create living history experiences and make accessibility of collections available to far reaching audiences.

Alexander R. Cain, a historian who works closely with Minute Man NHP, writes that "the people we portray in living history can no longer represent themselves. They deserve our best efforts."[101] Minute Man NHP was the first to undertake the process of constructing best-practices

[99] The NSM Interpretive master plan. https://museum.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/inline/images/nsmimp-section-2.pdf p.36.
[100] Authors such as Todd Braisted, Robert S. Duplessis,T. Stephen Henderson and Wendy G. Robicheau speak of connections between places settled in Nova Scotia and where those settlers originated in the lower thirteen colonies, prior to, during, and in the aftermath of the revolutionary period.
[101] 9 January 2018, National Parks Service, in an email conversation with.

standards for living history events. They were also the first park to adopt a vetting process for volunteers who wanted to participate in the events. In an effort to raise the quality of clothing and accoutrements that living historians wore and used at events, Minute Man NHP began running weekend workshops during the winter months to teach participants how to construct items correctly, using historical methods, and also how to wear the kit appropriately. All of these things were important to the American National Parks Service in their efforts to create high quality, historically accurate reprepresentations of the past. Every year, as Minute Man NHP overhauls its best practices standards, other sites are following suit. Following the American Parks Service lead, this dissertation aims to help in updating the visual narrative of sites across Nova Scotia, thereby creating a more accurate experience for both the living history interpreter, and the visiting public.

More thoughts on methodology and process: Making as research

In March 2020, Covid-19 first gripped the world in a pandemic and effectively suspended usual life routines, putting everyone in some degree of isolation. My major research trip, scheduled to start in April of 2020, was postponed indefinitely due to closures and lockdowns. I had arrangements to study the collections housed at the central Nova Scotia Museum storage facility in Halifax. I struggled with the thought that this long-planned trip to the archives was my primary field-work trip, when in reality, my preliminary trip to visit the Ross-Thompson site in Shelburne NS in 2019, and all my trips to work for Fort Ticonderoga between 2017 and 2020 or Minute Man NHP in Lexington MA (2018) at their events were just as important. Although the living history events may have looked like "fun," I came to understand that viewing the living history experiences which my international colleagues were now posting through social media was just as important to my understanding of living history interpretation as handling artifacts from museums was. After all, I am a dramaturg for living history interpretation in a similar fashion to those in traditional theatre, and I am uniquely positioned to report on all these new ways of interpreting history to the public.

Clothing is more than decorative arts to be described by its surface details. My practice explores how those historical garments work with the bodies wearing them, but also in the environment they inhabit. I think about how our clothes change our bodies, and how our bodies change the clothing we wear. I want to intimately understand how we interact with our environments and if the historical garments made a difference in how people lived their lives. I want to understand what the wear patterns tell us about the pressures on the body, and how that person may have felt in their skin. I also want to understand my place in the long line of clothing makers, and connect with those makers that came before me, who developed modern tailoring techniques, and what they have to teach me about their craft that is so very different from modern machine techniques.[102] Artist and fashion researcher Maria Eycurra reminds us that using "diverse methods of inquiry such as participatory visual research, ethnography, and collaborative art practices to examine, respond, and resist the way fashion participates in the creation of stereotypes and contributes to the definition of identity"[103] could be beneficial in the creation of characters for living history. This was certainly true in this project. I may build the clothing items myself, but I rely on conversations with other makers who have begun similar research directives, and then value input from the actors that will inevitably wear the pieces while they bring those characters to life within the living history context.

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[102] Dress historian Yuniya Kawamura notes how fashion/dress researchers utilize a multimethod or interdisciplinary method to their research, drawing on Participant Observation, Ethnography, and Object-Based research methods just to name a few, stating, "why and how people dress in what situations can only be accurately explained through ethnographic research." P.59. But also, "the object itself does not speak about its symbolic social or cultural meanings, so it requires other methodologies unless you are analyzing the physical features of the clothing, such as fabric texture, sewing techniques, or the silhouette of the dress which is an invaluable and significant method of research." P.92. Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022.

[103] Ezcurra, M. (2018). "Doing research-creation through a multi-fabric wedding dress" *Visually Provoking: Dissertations in Art Education.* Rovaniemi FI: Lapland University Press. p.129.

Throughout the process of researching and then writing this dissertation I was mindful of how the materials I used would have a life cycle and could then be composted at the end of their lifespan, enjoining the circle. I have long been a proponent of the slow fashion movement and understood early on in my career how detrimental poly-type fabrics and materials could be to the human body, not to mention the effects of modern processing could have on the environment.[104] Natural fibers just felt better in my hand, and in the wearing. I became exceptionally fussy about what fabrics I wanted to work with alongside learning that the historical techniques I was utilizing just worked better when the fibres were also appropriate. I became less of a costumer's costumer, and more of a progressive living history clothier. I was no longer interested in the creation of fancy dress, though I understand their place in society,[105] and was far more interested in the clothing of common people and how those clothes worked on the body in the eighteenth-century environment.

Like many other progressive living history interpreters, I did not like what was commercially available to me, so I started figuring out how to create the things I needed by looking at art and extant pieces in museum collections.[106] Through my sample making, and then garment and accoutrement making, I learned that there can be a seasonality to the processes used. I followed French philosopher Michel de Certeau's thoughts on the social phenomena that occurs around

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[104] There could be an entire dissertation written on sustainability and environmental impacts modern poly fibres and textile processes have on the earth. While it is important for me to understand these issues, in relation to this project it was important to remember that modern textiles have no place in historical clothing manufacture. The techniques employed in historical clothing construction just do not translate well to modern fibres and cloth finishes. It is a reminder to just use the fabrics that are appropriate to the garment.

[105] There is a whole subculture who dress up in fancy-dress styled garments for major world events such as Versailles' Fetes Galantes held every Spring, who think more of the visual impact of the wealthiest of the eighteenth-century and utilize fabrics for their showiness over the qualities needed for hand construction. Proponents of this style of dress-up-for-fun are simply after a different aspect than what I cover in this project.

[106] I return to Kawamura, who cites (Edwards 2017:8) "nothing is more accurate than looking at real garments, especially historic ones. While art historians use paintings as evidence, they can cause some confusion when it comes to using them as reliable historical indicators, and readers should be aware of their limitations as well as great benefits." P.93. Going back to the idea of an interdisciplinary approach to fashion/dress allows for a more wholistic approach to figuring out what people wore and how they wore it. Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022.

making and use of objects.[107] If I was to incorporate more of my eighteenth-century life practices into my modern life, what would I learn about the process of making the garments I was studying? There were tasks that I could accomplish easier depending on the weather, for instance, the way my linen warp behaved on the loom when the weather was damp as opposed to a dry day. Environmental temperature also played a factor in how easily the weaving went. I wondered if the weaving would have a seasonality to it as well as the other processes involved in flax production. I needed to understand the data I was being presented – how the threads were sticking together due to humidity or dryness in the air, that sweet-spot of weaving where the threads are just damp enough to be able to open the shed and weave a few inches before having to spray down my warp again.[108] I also learned that weaving linen in an air-conditioned space was nye-on impossible to achieve any production speed, and that summer humidity was key to both production speed and quality (and happiness) of the linen threads being woven. In the process, I became engaged in that 'living inquiry'[109] of the practice of everyday life, bridging my eighteenth-century life with my modern one. I return to fashion researcher Maria Ezcurra as she explained her thoughts, "the process of sewing was parallel to the act of thinking. It allowed me to make meaningful connections between past and present; art, academy, and life; collectivity and individuality; private and public; art and research; concepts and experience; and many other ideas."[110] I thought about how the original cast of people

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[107] de Certeau, M. (1988). General introduction, *The practice of everyday life.* University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles. p. xii

[108] My first foray in weaving linen, I was working in a heavily air-conditioned space and everything that possibly could go wrong, did. My second attempt at weaving linen, I worked in a room in my house during a humid Montreal summer. I found I could weave much easier, without having to spray the warp with water regularly. Future experiments in flax weaving will include mixing wool and linen threads to see how they work together. I also have to note that practice makes perfect, and I hope to continue my weaving practice more consistently in the future.

[109] I cite Jacob, D. T. (Four Arrows). (2008). "A journey to praxis: Patty Holme's story" *The authentic dissertation.* Routledge: New York. P. 98 mostly to explain more fully how my practice is a daily way of being. My studio is located off the kitchen of my house, and I can move freely from sewing a frock coat to making supper for my family, it is just that much of my daily life.

[110] Ezcurra, M. (2018). "Doing research-creation through a multi-fabric wedding dress" *Visually Provoking: Dissertations in Art Education.* Rovaniemi FI: Lapland University Press. p.133.

felt about their clothes, the process of making them, their identity within society, and how they would form relationships with each other and the dominant society in which they lived.

A sample of a pocket flap to determine how I was going to pipe the edge in the blue cloth. I made a couple of pocket flaps, each with a slightly different method to finally achieve a fine piped edge.

Figure Introduction-3 The fine piped edge I desired for this project.

Following in the footsteps of the original and venerable Janet Arnold,[111] and subsequently her heirs, Jenny Tiramani and members of the School of Historical Dress,[112] when examining historical garments, I start with an object-based research method[113] of observation and notation of

[111] "As textile conservation emerged as a field of expertise in the 1960s, dress historian Janet Arnold simultaneously pioneered the close technical analysis of surviving historical clothing in museum collections for the purposes of re-creation and learning about dress history from artefacts (1971, 1972, 1982, 1985, 2007, 2008; Arnold et al. 2018)." Davidson, H. (2019). "The embodied turn: Making and remaking dress as an academic practice" *Fashion theory: The journal of dress, body, and culture 23, no.3* New York: Routledge p.334

[112] http://theschoolofhistoricaldress.org.uk/ Jenni Tiramani was tasked with organizing and 'finishing' (for lack of a better term) the lifework of Janet Arnold. The School of Historical Dress has built upon Arnold's work and is currently republishing some of the older volumes of work with new colour photographs, new methods of studying the artifacts, and teaching the historical methods of clothing construction to a new generation. I refer to these books constantly in my practice, depending on what type of garment I am reproducing. I learn something new every time I sit to read and look. Arnold, J. (2021). *Patterns of fashion 1: the content, cut, construction and context of Englishwomen's dress c.1720-1860,* School of Historical Dress: London is the volume cited most often during this dissertation.

[113] Dress historians Kawamura and Taylor talk of moving beyond the traditional form of object-based research to begin to tell the stories behind the objects, "situating them in a contextual model built up from all the available different sources." Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022. p.97 also Taylor, L. (1998). "Doing the laundry? A reassessment of object-based dress history." *Fashion theory: The journal of dress, body, and culture.* Vol2. Issue 4

stitches used, construction methods, and small details alongside the taking of patterns from historical garments through measuring grid. I then create sample after sample to test out theories on how the garments were constructed, and possibly why some methods have been used.

Once a garment has been fully constructed and finished following the historical methods noticed in the extant research, it then needs to be worn by a human body so that wear patterns can

Figure Introduction-4 Left: detail from unknown family group, British school eighteenth-century. Right: photo of Brian Michael Hubert wearing a new suit of clothes made by the author in 2019. The waistcoat buttons pull properly on the first wearing, leading me to understand I got the fit correct.

be noted and compared to the original garments. This final step is important, because if the reproduction garment does not work the same way as the historical one did, I have missed a step somewhere. Dress historian Yuniya Kawamura reminds us, "material culture studies shows us that we all live within, act through, and are shaped by the material world. There is no

human being who is not surrounded by material goods. Culture and material goods are inseparable, and thus they must be studied simultaneously."[114]

My dissertation studio practice began with the stocking project. In order to fully understand the process of re-creating proper stockings for the period many samples have been knit, extant examples have been referenced to determine if there are differences between separate pairs of stockings.[115] There will probably be further sample exploration as the knitting pattern is fully developed. In order to assertain the types of colours and threads used in historical stockings, I examined period artworks and cartoons, and referenced runaway and merchants advertisements to better understand what was available in the eighteenth-century.[116] Extant artefacts tend to be from the upper classes, or important figures of the community, and they are often made of white thread, either in linen or cotton. What was worn by the common person is not as well known and may skew generalized thoughts on what sorts of thread types and colours were worn. Through living history interpretation, we have determined that for hard wear and far more comfortable feet while doing hard labour or walking distances, wool is the desired choice. This is an important aspect to consider, but how do we, as researchers, justify experience as a valuable research method? In their book *Dress*

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[114] Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022. p.97.

[115] I started by referencing back to my own undergraduate work in the collections of the New Brunswick Museum in Saint John. While interning there in my final year of Costume Studies, I was able to examine eighteenth-century stockings in heavier white linen or cotton thread. For this project I was interested in how the knitting pattern worked as I taught myself how to knit stockings in the round on five needles. I was mostly interested in achieving the garter band, the back seam detail, and the overall shape of these stockings. I then referenced stockings patterned by Burnston, S. A. (1998). *Fitting and proper: 18th century clothing from the collection of the chester county historical society* Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing p.100 belonging to Joseph Gest (c.1722-1816). They had an elongated ankle gusset similar to stockings I had noticed in a painting referenced in Styles, J. (2007). *The dress of the people: Everyday fashion in eighteenth-century England.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press p.75 John COLLET's *Modern Love – the Elopement*, 1764, oil on canvas, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969-48.2 that I had longed to re-create in grey with pink gussets.

[116] Don Hagist has compiled an easy reference of newspaper advertisements in (2007). *Wives, slaves, and servant girls: advertisements for female runaways in American newspapers, 1770-1780,* Yardley: Westholme Publishing. In reading through available period newspapers at the Nova Scotia Archives, I have come across a single runaway advertisement so far, for a black man from Birchtown. Again, a whole tome of reference could be written on runaway advertisements listed in eighteenth-century American newspapers without repeating any of Mr. Hagist's listings.

History: New Directions in Theory and Practice, dress historians Charlotte Nicklas and Annabella Pollen remind us that in the past, dress historians

> explored not only surviving garments but also dress in paintings and photographic achives, press cartoons and magazine pages, engravings and illustrations, plays and autobiographies, diaries and personal letters, wills and inventories, business accounts and household expenses, retail sites and advertisements, moving image and statuary. Several dress historians examined the methodological challenges of working with gaps, with missing artefacts, mystery objects and family secrets. Research methods and theoretical approaches from ethnography and iconography, sociology and oral testimony were used to examine dress as a sensual and material phenomenon, as well as memory, myth and metaphor.[117]

Senior lecturer at St. Martin's College of Art and Design, Jonathan Faiers states that "dress history has, from its inception, drawn on many sources and approached its subject in many ways. While there are methodologies that many dress historians use, there is no established set of practices that one must observe."[118] Is what I do similar to Colonial Williamsburg Journeywoman and University of Alberta Master's scholar, Sarah Woodyard's approach? Woodyard thinks of her work as "an embodied approach [to material culture study], drawing from a hand-sewn inquiry methodology, to gain a more holistic understanding of eighteenth-century caps and their makers." Woodyard goes on to explain that "textual, visual, and practice-based material culture analysis" was employed through her master's thesis on Martha Washington's caps.[119]

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[117] Nicklas, C. and Pollen, A. (2015). *Dress history: new directions in theory and practice* London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, p8.
[118] Jonathan Faiers, cited in Ibid., p3.
[119] Woodyard, S. E. (2017). *Martha's mob cap? A milliner's hand-sewn inquiry into eighteenth-century caps ca. 1770-1800* University of Alberta, p2.

This process is not hand sewing for the sake of hand sewing. Utilizing machine techniques by hand will still create a garment that looks modern and contrived. There is a different methodology to tailoring a garment by hand than by machine. Often the hand sewing takes fewer steps and can be accomplished far more quickly, cleanly, and with less bulk than the multiple steps required by machine to achieve the modern equivalent. Afterwards, the modern seam maker will then go back and 'add in' those hand stitches along the edges to try to make the garment look hand made.[120] Since three modern steps can be achieved by a singular historical hand stitching method, why not simply use the 'by hand' methodology.

According to Prown's methodological approach to studying material culture,[121] the exploration of patterns of belief and behaviour, in an intellectual borderland where the interests of humanities and social sciences merge, requires an openness to other methodologies, including those of cultural and social anthropology, sociology, cultural geography, folklore and folklife, and linguistics. But the approach to material culture set forth below dictates that these broader concerns and methodologies are not brought into play until the evidence of the artifact itself has been plumbed as objectively as possible.[122] Prown proposes a methodology that attempts to "keep the distorted biases of the investigator's cultural perspective in check."[123] Prown's methodology of description, deduction, and speculation appears to match my own studio practice when reproducing historical garments for interpreters to wear during living history programs. In this practice, I

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[120] I am noticing this most often in modern menswear, knowing full well how a modern Moore's suit is constructed, and yet seeing the little 'hand' details along the edges of the lapels. Many makers of reproduction historical garments come from a background of modern sewing techniques, not fully understanding the difference between what they make and the historical, and so attempt to make the garment look hand sewn with hand 'top' stitching at the end. Historical methods to lay in the lining create what may appear to be 'top' stitching, but in fact is done from the underside and can allow for stitches to lay at the very edge of the garment, binding all the layers of the seam tightly together with very little bulk.

[121] Prown, J. (1982). "Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method," *Winterthur Portfolio,* University of Chicago Press, pp1-19.

[122] Ibid, p7.

[123] Ibid, p7.

continuously return to the artifact to see what I may have missed during previous viewings, trying to better understand construction methods, wear patterns, and context of the garment to the wearer. It is through this analytic process that I began to fully understand the differences between historical construction methods and those employed after the widespread adoption of the sewing machine in the mid-nineteenth century. There are ways to construct historical garments that simply do not work when trying to recreate the garment by machine. It is not simply employing a hand stitch versus a machine stitch, the method of construction differs, and results in a vastly different final product. This is where the thought processes of the artist can aid in the descriptive understanding of the art historian's work; an allied discipline124 if you will.

For many of the artefacts studied for this dissertation, a form of stylistic analysis,[125] following Prown's methodology clarifies their place, role, and significance in the owners' lives and in the society. This allowed for more concise dating of the artifacts studied, so that their context within the historical narrative of Nova Scotia could be appreciated. Some artifacts purchased through 1970s New England auction services for use as 'set dressing' for historical interiors were consistent with the dating of the historical space, and saved important garments for public collection and study that were congruent with the period and the cultural narrative of the space they would go on to inhabit.[126] It was surprising to comprehend the level of detail and expertise involved in the purchase

[124] Ibid, p10.
[125] Ibid, p11.
[126] Of the three 'suits' housed in the Ross-Thompson House, only one may have had connections to the owners of the property in the 1780s. One suit of two pieces, a waistcoat and frock coat, is made of a rare example of Spitalfields's brocaded silk. Another complete suit of three pieces of acid green corded silk features a rare pair of extant breeches with an even more rare pocket detailing. The third men's garment in that collection is a silk satin frockcoat that originally was bright yellow, all three suits exhibiting far more brightly coloured and interestingly figured textiles than can readily be sourced for reconstructions today. The curator is unsure which (if any) of the three 'suits' is the one with connections to the site, that information is lost from the record.

of these garments as at that time, as "little significant work had been done" on the in-depth study of clothing, according to Prown.[127]

Living history interpreters are products of a different cultural environment than the artifacts we study for reproduction and use within our programming; we hold beliefs of our own social groups that form unconscious assumptions.[128] We return to Prown's idea on cultural perspective, who argues that "by engaging the senses, we put ourselves, figuratively speaking, inside the skin of the individuals who commissioned, made, used, or enjoyed these objects, to see with their eyes and touch with their hands, to identify with them empathetically, in a far different way than abstractly through the written word."[129] Material Culture theorist, Michael Yonan returned to Prown's work in 2011, in the hopes of bringing the methodology forward to the twenty-first century. As he criticizes: "today material culture studies resist simple disciplinary classification; it exists instead as an interdisciplinary space within and among multiple academic categories, transcending even the larger academic division between humanities and the social sciences."[130] Yonan considers material culture study a meta-methodology.[131] He cautions privileging the idea or visual aspect of an object over its

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[127] Prown, J. (1982). "Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method." *Winterthur Portfolio,* University of Chicago Press. p13. When these suits were purchased in the 1970s, Prown was speaking about how little clothing research had progressed beyond James Laver, Francois Boucher, and Karl Kohler. As researchers, we have made great strides in the study of clothing, but we still debate on the methodology terms to use when describing what it is we do.

[128] One of the most frustrating arguments has been over notions of 'comfort' in one's clothing. What we wear modernly, and how we wear those clothes are bound by a different set of cultural norms than those in the eighteenth century. The concept of going about in just one's shirt sleeves would seem crass and low by eighteenth-century standards of dress, but today's idea of comfort and being 'too hot' often means mainstream reenactors go about seemingly naked to the eighteenth-century eye. When I remind people that society was far more formal even in the 1960s, and that my own grandfather wore a wool 3-piece suit to go hunting, people seem shocked by this idea.

[129] Prown, J. (1982). "Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method." *Winterthur Portfolio,* University of Chicago Press. p4-5

[130] Yonan, M. (2011). "Toward a fusion of art history and material culture studies." *Journal of decorative arts, design history, and material culture.,* University of Chicago Press. p233.

[131] Ibid, p233-4. Meta-methodology is defined as a system designed to develop and test a methodology for a specific definable purpose. For further reading on this, please see https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED078505#:~:text=ISSN%3A%20N%2FA-,Meta%2DMethodology%3A%20An%20Overview%20of%20What%20It%20Is%20and%20How,and%20the%20research%20into%2C%20methodologies.

materiality as a thing, problematically positioning the object in a domain of 'high art' of a decorative nature vs. the 'minor art' of craft production, reinforcing the false dichotomy of value (worth?).[132] He understands that viewing objects in this manner could obscure collection practices towards "the experiences of the privileged and wealthy.[133]"

In this light, what can the collection of objects in the Nova Scotia Museum tell us about the lives of those who once owned and used those objects? Have only decorative and 'high art' objects been collected? Or do any ordinary, practical, everyday objects exist within the collection, and what can they tell us about the people of Nova Scotia? What resources can we use to broaden our understanding of the culture(s) of early Nova Scotia? As Yonan notes, "the object's potential to be described adequately in language is frequently imperfect, and some anthropological scholarship has suggested that the object always surpasses or exceeds our ability to describe it with words."[134] At first reading, I could not understand his meaning. As this dissertation progressed, and the re-examination of my own research-creation practices continued, I began to understand how language can lack the comprehension of why a thing was created in the manner it was created. Simple details that may have been previously overlooked when drafting a pattern made more sense once the garment was recreated and worn by the living historian. Wear-patterns and construction details meant to prolong the life of the garment now made far more sense to this researcher. Yonan reminds us to think of two aspects of object analysis:

> The Structural Coherency of Objects; how the raw stuffs were amassed to make the finished objects, and the Semantic Logic of Objects; the ways in which materials are combined or

[132] Ibid, p234-5.
[133] Ibid, p237.
[134] Yonan, M. (2011). "Toward a fusion of art history and material culture studies." *Journal of decorative arts, design history, and material culture.,* University of Chicago Press. p243.

> modified into objects allocates meanings which are culturally determined, inflected by context, and mutable over time and space.[135]

These ideas offer methodological strategies to keep in mind the process of research and reproduction of garments for living history programs continues, in this project, and beyond.

Whenever I (re)create a new item of clothing I have not explored before, I often test out my theories behind the cut and construction methods on garments for my husband Pierre or myself long before asking an interpreter to wear the new clothes I have made. In doing so, I can feel the way the clothes work, I can ask far more pointed questions of my husband Pierre that I can with a fellow living historian. Pierre understands how I work and can inform me of things that may become problematic through use. He is also cognizant of how his own body works and is aware of how his clothing works with his body in the environment. This dissertation allowed me to run, in essence, a seven-year lab experiment wherein I created a wardrobe for us to wear while taking part in living history interpretation at Fort Ticonderoga, Minuteman National Historic Park, and Red Hook, New York's Elmendorph Inn historic site.

[135] Ibid. p244.

Figure Introduction-5 Various photos of Pierre and I at Ticonderoga (top photos), Minuteman NHP (left), and the Elmendorph Inn (right). Photos by Lynn Griffths, Ruth Hodges, Jenn Heim, and myself.

At Ticonderoga, we portrayed a soldier and his wife living in garrison, and so, all the items that a British soldier and his wife would have owned and used were either created or purchased for this programming. Following extant material culture research, each item of dress and accoutrement were based on historical artifacts in museum collections and archives in North America and the now United Kingdom. Pierre's uniform pieces were based on dress requirements set out by Fort Ticonderoga and are standard across most British infantry units of the era with some small

exceptions. For my own items of dress, I started by (re)creating a death inventory of a soldier's wife attached to the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants taken in Halifax, Nova Scotia.[136] This same unit is how my own family came to live in Nova Scotia, so the connection there felt obvious to me. Due to the limited nature of the inventory, I felt there were several items of dress missing from the historical record. I rounded out what I thought may have been closer to a regular standard wardrobe for a woman by searching out other references to items of dress she may have owned. Dr Lynn Sorge-English's work on Stays[137] helped me to understand that while stays may not have been listed in Mrs. McQueen's inventory, it is highly unlikely that she did not own a set of her own. Knowing how clothing feels when I go without stays, and how much overall support they provide, I thought it important to include this vital garment to the wardrobe I (re)created. While studying various genre paintings of the era to determine how my Highland couple might have looked in their everyday lives, I noticed that only the most destitute women were soft of shape, and likely without stays. One other item I was noticing was the wearing of the curtch headdress by women late into the eighteenth century, and even into the nineteenth. I wondered in the living history community's attempt to portray the common were we missing the thing that separates the pious highland woman apart from her Anglican English counterpart, and so there is a brief discussion on how I processed this part of my personal history[138] alongside the (re)creation of the pieces that make up the curtch and how I may go about wearing it to living history events. Questions surrounding modern aspects of cultural

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136 GD 174/585/6 Scottish Records Office (c1780) *an Account of All Things Belonging to Mrs. McQueen* National Record of Scotland, Historical Search Room (SSD-199298) Inventory for a Mrs. McQueen c.1780

137 Sorge-English, L. (2011). *Stays and body image in London: the staymaking trade, 1680-1810* London: Pickering & Chatto p.1 The introductory account of Hannah Boardman's story of incarceration and not wanting to give up her stays in return for bail money seeks to understand the importance of this garment in the eighteenth century. And so I ask, where did Mrs. McQueen's stays end up? Inventory above.

138 As a catholic, head covering was a part of my childhood into the 1970s. If I am reading the garment and it's context in genre paintings correctly, is the curtch a Catholic head covering, while Protestant women are depicted wearing the fashionable caps of regular English women. During this questioning, I also looked at head covering styles worn by Moravian women in eighteenth-century America to figure out the various layers and how they worked on the head to achieve a similar finished appearance.

and religious racism were forefront in my mind and how I would be perceived by the visitor today.[139] My methodology went beyond (re)creating the various layers of the garment to thinking about the various layers of perception I would feel *and* experience. I am still unsure how often I will feel comfortable wearing the eighteenth-century symbol of my own religious affiliation, especially when working in the United States.

The other main culture I explored through this dissertation were the Waldeckers, a Germanic cultural group that settled here in Nova Scotia after the Revolutionary War with their British soldier counterparts.[140] The German culture in Nova Scotia survives not only through the family names of those who settled here, but through their architecture and farming practices, through their way of speaking even in English, and their religious leanings. I thought if some of the things I was noticing as surviving to this day were so engrained in the culture, I wondered how much the people of the eighteenth century would have assimilated into the dominant British material culture landscape. Could the women who followed those Germanic troops have held onto their way of dress as cultural performance in a similar way that they held on to language idioms and farming practices?[141] I then began to really work with the living historian I wished to use as my

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[139] I will admit to trepidation when considering wearing the curtch to events in the United States given the current political climate against Muslims and those who wear their heads covered by more than a tied bandana. Sometimes, the potential argument with modern values just is not worth the hassle, especially if I happen to be interpreting a space by myself without any male back-up.

[140] For preliminary research on the Germanic people who settled in the southwest of Nova Scotia, please see Sutherland, I. M. (1956). *"Hessians" in Annapolis County* Wolfville: Acadia University, also Wright, H. M. (2003). *Nova Scotia Waldeckers: German mercenaries who fought in the American Revolutionary War and settled in Nova Scotia in 1783* Halifax: etc. Press, and Bailey, Rev. J. (1784-1785). Manuscript in the Library of Fort Anne, Parks Canada, Annapolis Royal

[141] My housemate Lacey Lescaudron is studying to be a large animal veterinarian. Her favourite large animal type is oxen. Following her study of the use of bovine in Nova Scotia, I began to notice that the way in which oxen are harnessed for working is different than how the same process was done in other places. In Nova Scotia the oxen are yoked by utilizing their horns, whereas in New York, a neck yoke is used. Lacey also informed me that the breed of cattle used is different in Nova Scotia than in other places in North America. As it seemed to be a case of "this is how we have always done it" I wondered why, and who it was that began the practice, and then how many other things those same people were doing today that they "had always done." Conroy, D. (2007). *Storey's working animals: Oxen, a teamster's guide.* Gainsboro: Rural Heritage, Versa Press. The author is a professor of applied animal science at the university of New Hampshire, he speaks of how the head yoke (utilizing the horns) is likely the first yokes used in southeastern Europe. p.111 Professor Conroy also mentions that historically, the type of breed used in oxen team management in Nova Scotia is the horned Hereford.

model for this character sketch, "Jenny Milligan," figuring out what made her tic emotionally when she dressed for interpretation. In that great urge to assimilate, as the living history community would urge us all to do, Jenny was used to blending into the visual background. Her personality is exactly opposite to that 'blending in' ideal, and I thought I would play off her strengths as an interpreter and dress her according to her natural style which is outgoing and colourful. Having spent a good amount of time in the Low Countries helped, as she knew the language used by the Waldeckers, and could utilize her own personal experiences when enacting this character. Jenny could draw upon notions of place, language, culture, but also, strangely enough, the body types of the people from the Low Countries, and their personalities. As she once said to me, "I have never felt so at-home in my own body as when I was in the Netherlands." For this character sketch, I utilized a pen and ink sketch of a couple published by Evert Maaskamp in 1803 entitled *Pictures of the Dress, Manners and Customs of the Batavian Republic at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century* as my starting point, filling in with extant artifacts such as the large straw hat found in an online auction catalogue.[142] Other pen and ink sketches added other details, such as the way Dutch women tied their aprons.[143] On the whole, the character sketch transformed Jenny from brown wall flower to the vibrant living historian I always thought she could be. This character sketch also made me realize fully, how important it is to work with the personalities of the people you are dressing. The wardrobe staff might have a brilliant idea for a character, but as with many roles, the actor needs to also be a good fit, otherwise the whole character might fall flat.

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p.25. He also notes that the head yoke allows for more control as both animals have to work as one, but that regional differences between head and neck yokes persist, American teamsters preferring the neck yoke.

[142] Meg Andrews – Antique Dress and Textile auction: https://www.meg-andrews.com/item-details/Large-Dutch-Straw-Hat/8296. Date accessed: 15/12/2021.

[143] Perkois, J. (1789). *Two Market Women*, chalk, watercolour, 28x21.4cm, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, Accession #2005.83 (2005).

As I worked through the dissertation, it became important for me to look at resources that would be accessible to anyone who has access to the internet. Studying the collections in person was prohibited through pandemic travel restrictions,[144] but my work needed to continue. Therefor, looking at online resources became paramount to creating the character sketches I designed in the dissertation for use in living history programs in the province. To deal with ongoing budget restrictions most Nova Scotia Museum sites in the province face, I wanted to use local resources as much as possible for textiles and accoutrements used in the recreation of the clothing used by my characters. I sought to prove that historically accurate interpretations could be developed using fabrics sourced from local shops, readily accessible to anyone trying to recreate historical garments. It was also important for this dissertation to examine new methods of presenting interpretive programming to the public, when the public could not physically visit the museum sites. As technology has allowed almost everyone access to high quality digital cameras and ease of uploading to social media, interpretation programming is now filmed on cellular phones and distributed through Facebook Live, YouTube, and Instagram. Both ALHFAM and the American Alliance of Museums noticed early on in the pandemic that museums and living history sites needed to capture an audience also trapped at home due to Covid-19.[145] I made that pivot as well and looked to online resources I could also access online from my home office.[146] I was watching sites such as Fort

[144] From mid-March 2020, through Canadian Military restrictions on movement due to Covid Protocols, I was confined to Base, essentially not allowed to leave the military installation where my house was located until fully vaccinated in the summer of 2021. At that point, I needed to figure out how to pivot and continue my work from my home office.
[145] The American Alliance of Museums has articles on what museums have done to pivot towards their audience here https://www.aam-us.org/2022/06/03/what-university-museum-educators-have-learned-from-the-pandemic/ and https://www.aam-us.org/2022/05/13/with-strategic-focus-tiktok-creates-new-opportunities-for-cultural-institutions-to-inspire-critical-thinking-and-constructive-dialogue/?fbclid=IwAR1UeO2eRgz17CdH5qgRsOdjCof6a4KLFgRoocYfVQ0CLcsie-q9ve7iyP0 and ALHFAM's President's message in the Winter/Spring 2021 issue of the Bulletin was to 'PIVOT' in all capital letters. The issue is available to members here https://www.aam-us.org/2022/05/13/with-strategic-focus-tiktok-creates-new-opportunities-for-cultural-institutions-to-inspire-critical-thinking-and-constructive-dialogue/?fbclid=IwAR1UeO2eRgz17CdH5qgRsOdjCof6a4KLFgRoocYfVQ0CLcsie-q9ve7iyP0
[146] Dress historian Kawamura notes that, "in this day and age, it has become almost impossible to avoid the use of internet sources." She goes on to describe the process as 'digital ethnography,' explaining that scholars "use online materials not only as a research tool, but also a research focus." Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress:*

Ticonderoga offer chats with their collections staff, what they entitled Artifact Speed Dating or short lectures with Curator Dr. Matthew Keagle or Vice President of Public History Stuart Lilie through their YouTube channel.[147] But also programming at smaller historic sites with limited budgets through Facebook, capturing film footage via cellphone and quickly edited and uploaded so that the experience felt live. On Saturday, 17 October 2020, we were able to witness Historic Annapolis, MD's *Ship to Shop: Live on Pinkney Street* event which took the viewer on a stroll through the small historic neighbourhood around Pinkney Street and offered an experience of what life was like in Annapolis 250 years ago.[148] On Thursday, 18 February 2021, the Newport Historical Society offered up a public discussion through Zoom entitled *The Future of Living History: A Virtual History Space Discussion* that sold out within minutes with over 500 attendees.[149] Dress historian Yuniya Kawamura notes that social media tools are challenging conventional fashion and academic worlds allowing for a more inclusive and that "synchronous/real-time online discussions can be treated exactly like face-to-face discussions.[150] I would argue that those YouTube workshops, discussions, and Facebook interpretative programming could be considered as face-to-face as well, and engaging with the public wherever they happen to be in the world.

As I progressed through the thinking process of how this dissertation would unfold, I questioned how my research would be beneficial in this period of Covid-19 and what the living history community would look like in the aftermath of this pandemic. Scholar Helen Kara discussed these feelings of relevance in a blog post on May 20, 2020, where she asked, "Does this research

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An introduction to qualitative methods. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022. p.108

[147] Fort Ticonderoga's YouTube channel is here https://www.youtube.com/c/FortTiconderogaNY

[148] The Facebook event page is here, https://www.facebook.com/events/1261736787529042

[149] The Facebook event announcement can still be viewed here, https://www.facebook.com/events/125236766101028

[150] Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26/2022. p.108.

need doing-or does it need doing now, in the middle of a global collective trauma?" She also questioned: "How can my research be done in a way that places the least burden on others?"[151] I began to look at how I could shift my research methods to utilize as many online sources as possible; sources that would be accessible to anyone with internet access. As much as possible I would shift my use of document analysis from many of the artifacts proper, to the artifacts I could examine virtually. With the research I conducted at Ross-Thompson House as a starting point to centre my focus, I then sought out artifacts in digitalized collections in the United States and Europe. I also looked to art collections in New York, Boston, Williamsburg, Scotland, and England.[152] This endeavour was a bit limiting in that I had to spend hours searching collections for items that may have been mis-labelled, have no accompanying photograph, or not even exist. I began to realize how important accessible archives and collections are to the general public, and that closed door policies with regards to museum artifact collection might have contributed to the overall lack of support, financially, as many do not feel the museum collections are actually public property. Going forward, I believe it will be important for both collections and interpretation programs to be as accessible as possible. So, to answer Dr. Kara's questions above, yes, this research needs doing, and if I can proceed in a way that places the least burden on others, why not now? It seems as good a time as any. In order to disseminate the knowledge I was gaining to the widest possible audience, I filmed YouTube tutorials as it can be a free resource for anyone with access to a stable internet

[151] Kara, H. (2020-05-20). "Research methods to consider in a pandemic." https://helenkara.com/2020/05/20/research-methods-to-consider-in-a-pandemic/?fbclid=IwAR0rHDXyizhpoytqxsW8NrSdOrOwRQmMGdVtaDNPPXYVLTCLztATgAw-eGQ, Date accessed 07/13/2020.

[152] National Galleries of Scotland, the Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg, Brown University Library, National Library of Scotland, Yale Centre for British Art, George Washington's Mount Vernon, The Victoria and Albert Museum, The Metropolitan Museum in New York, the British Museum, GHDI – German History in Documents and Images Collection, National Museum of Scotland, Parks Canada, Cora Ginsberg, Royal Collection Trust, VADS website University for the Creative Arts UK, are all sites that are looked at in high rotation. Their digital collections are easy to search and the photos are exceptional quality. I have spent days looking at a single genre painting to see what the artist captured in that moment in time.

connection. I did not want anyone to have to pay to engage with living history and the construction of their own garments to wear as it can already be an expensive endeavour to obtain all the kit required for just one character. I also wrote blog entries on my findings as I knew that published documents in academia are rarely read outside of the institution. I wanted the most effective and inclusive dissemination of knowledge.

During the writing of this dissertation, the Nova Scotia Museum complex is celebrating their fiftieth anniversary. Much of the research, if there was any, for costume development was undertaken in the late 1960s, prior to the opening of these historic sites. The worldwide study of dress history has grown exponentially since that early development of costume interpretation plans. At the 2020 ALHFAM conference, Martha Katz-Hyman, assistant curator at Jamestown Settlement/American Revolutionary Museum at Yorktown, presented a lecture on redeveloping interpretation plans on a regular cycle.[153] While her focus is furnishings, the underlying goal of refreshing the environment every ten years is one that I also felt important for costume interpretation. Katz-Hyman explained that rethinking an interpretation plan was not derogatory to predecessors' work, but that for everything historical, new perspectives are constantly developing.

The database of the Nova Scotia Museum's collections is currently undergoing a major overhaul. At present, the search engine is unwieldly and problematic and can only be accessed through the intranet system of the Nova Scotia Museum. This internal method of records management has meant that researchers have had to rely on curatorial staff within the museum system to access any information about the artifacts within the collection. As the current staffing levels are already minimal, this means that staff are stretched to their capacity, and research requests are backlogged. While writing this dissertation, with the outbreak of COVID-19, an already

[153] Katz-Hyman, M. (2020-06-23). "Keeping it current: Updating the historic house furnishing plan", Association for Living History and Farms conference proceedings, ZOOM meeting.

inaccessible collection became even more so as museum staff were sent home under quarantine. New methods of accessing information need to be considered. With my first excursion of field work in July 2019, I was able to spend a week at Ross-Thompson House studying three groups of menswear from the 1780s. At that time, I took detailed patterns of the cut of these garments, made construction notes, and photographed the pieces in detail. I also referenced other items in the Shelburne collections that I may have wanted to further study on subsequent research trips. Covid-19 rules meant that future trips were placed on indefinite hold until a vaccine was discovered and widely employed. The Nova Scotia Museum sites were slow to reopen to the public, and staffing continued at minimal levels to help prevent the spread of the virus.

Chapter breakdown

Chapter one examines how accuracy is being worked out through interpretation programs at the top historic sites in the United States. Through the development of relationships between curatorial staff and volunteer living historians, how standards of dress and deportment dialogues can be worked through to then produce a working document that staff and volunteers can utilize to produce top quality living history programming. Chapter two talks about how sites in Nova Scotia can establish character sketches that pertain to their specific historic sites that reflect the cultures that populate those communities that are interpreted. As there is not one generic eighteenth-century person, wearing a uniformed suit of clothes, care must be taken to develop characters that reflect the original cast of characters that populated the different areas of the province. Chapter three is a brief master class on historical clothing construction focussing on two difficult sewn garments that reflect the two trades of dressmaking and tailoring, a lady's gown and a pair of men's breeches. In this chapter, extensive sampling of the small extant record of knitted garments is also included. Throughout this chapter I discuss the methods behind recreating each of these garments and why modern

methodology does not always work to give a historical appearance to the finished garment. Chapter four examines the three men's 'suits' housed in the Ross-Thompson House Museum, a Nova Scotia Museum site in Shelburne Nova Scotia. I use quotations surrounding the word suit in that two of the three groupings of garments are partial, only one of the three groupings is a complete three pieced suit. Though purchased as set dressing for the site, with no known provenance, these collected garments are important to the overall visual narrative of eighteenth-century menswear in North America. Their cut and construction are in keeping with men's fashions of the 1780s,[154] but feature some interesting details not often found in collected menswear at other major museums. The garments are also typical of a certain class-level that has not often been important enough to collect, that of a middle-class merchant, and are quite surprizing in their taste and refinement. I include quarter scale patterns taken from the artifacts (without damage to the extant items themselves) in the Ross-Thompson House collection to determine the cut and construction techniques used in the historical period. My conclusion brings up ideas for drafting a costume interpretation plan for sites within Nova Scotia that draws on solid working relationships between curatorial, management, and the front-line staff that wear the clothes and interpret those characters from history. It is imperative that stronger and more supportive relationships are made within the heritage community in Nova Scotia.

At the end of the document, I have included two working documents as appendices, an early copy of the Minute Man NHP Dress Regulations, and a post by author and clothing researcher

[154] I include the Curatorial reports with each grouping of garments that date the pieces and offer condition assessments. For additional dating references, please see Burnston, S. A. (1998). *Fitting and proper: 18th century clothing from the collection of the Chester county historical society* Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing C. Inc., Styles, J. (2007). *The dress of the people: Everyday fashion in eighteenth-century England.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Hutter, M. (2016). "Coat tales: Changes in the fashion, cut, and construction of men's clothing, 1775-1830" *An Agreeable Tyrant: Fashion after the revolution, what's a patriotic American to wear?* Washington: DAR Museum, Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg,* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Sharon Burnston on the cost breakdown of dressing oneself properly for the eighteenth century. The dress regulations are an ever changing and updated working document, working in consultation between site curators and the living history community. The Sharon Burnston post is regularly updated and posted to social media as the discussion surrounding costs comes up in the community. This is not an inexpensive endeavour, this passion for history, but working with the community can help ease the financial pain when new people want to join in on the fun.

This Research-Creation project includes making samples of garments and writing directions for reproduction so that novice and future historical costumers will have easy access to this important information. Associate Professor Natalie Loveless speaks of "the nebulous and contested territory of research-creation" when she explains that,

> research-creation not only challenges dominant hierarchies within departments of art and art history but…has impact beyond these. Taking research-creation seriously, as a relatively new term on the academic stage, gives those of us operating across the university as artist-researchers/researcher-artists the opportunity to re-envision and re-craft – to re-story – our disciplinary practices.[155]

I have included written instructions for some garments and follow-along YouTube videos for other garments understanding that different learning styles require different method of instruction. Future work will consider multiple options of instruction so that the process of historical garment construction remains inclusive and accessible. The project feels successful as living history sites in Nova Scotia are already using my work to improve the visual experience provided by their interpreters clothing. Furthermore, through the creation and dissemination of my research, I expect

[155] Loveless, N.S. (2015). "Towards a manifesto on research-creation." *RACAR: revue d'art Canadienne/Canadian Art Review. Vol 40, No.1.* pp.52-54 retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable24327427 on 05 June 2022. P.53.

to deepen my own understanding of how we make and wear clothing to reflect our personal and cultural identities. While I have included an extensive methodology and theory section within this introduction, I do not feel comfortable naming the methodology of what we do as historical clothiers for living history interpretation with one all-encompassing name. As many other authors have noted, what is worked out through a very interdisciplinary pathway to achieve a workable wardrobe for a modern body is a constant practice of experimentation.[156] Professor Loveless reminds us that, "to do research – of any kind – is not simply to ask questions, it is to tell stories – that – matter."[157] And that to undertake a research-creation project means that we "marshal new methods."[158] I follow in the path of the late Janet Arnold and Norah Waugh,[159] in that I examine original artifacts, take measured patterns of the garments, and extensive notes on how the pieces were constructed originally. I must then put the reconstructed garments on bodies and allow them to take on the life they will. Through follow-up discussions with the interpreters who wear the clothes, I can then determine if my reconstruction is close to what the original artifact may have been like when new. With each new reconstruction, new elements may be discovered, and so instructions and how-to videos for construction may also be updated. How we practice living history interpretation is changing in North America. It is no longer acceptable for sites to be museum displays with dusty things that look old from five feet away. The public is asking for more interaction with the spaces and people portraying characters of the era. The clothing recreated for living historians needs to be actual clothing, recreated using original methods and wearing as those original clothing pieces did when new. Creating actual characters that would have lived and worked

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[156] Davidson, H. (2019). "The embodied turn: Making and remaking dress as an academic practice." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body, and Culture* 23, no.3 p.337

[157] Loveless, N.S. (2015) "Towards a manifesto on research-creation." *RACAR: revue d'art Canadienne/Canadian Art Review. Vol 40, No.1.* pp.52-54 retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable24327427 on 05 June 2022. P.54.

[158] Ibid. p.53.

[159] Arnold, J. (1972). *Patterns of fashion 1: Englishwomen's dresses and their construction c.1660-1860.* London: MacMillan. And Waugh, N. (1964). *The cut of men's clothes 1600-1900.* London: Faber, (1968). *The cut of women's clothes 1600-1930* Mew York: Theatre Arts Books, and (1995). *Corsets and crinolines. Reprint* New York: Routledge/Theatre Arts Books.

in those spaces is also important for connections to be made to that historical past. History was made by common, everyday people much like our current selves. Making those intimate connections with the past leads to people remembering more of their own history. My studio practice is a constant work in progress in that I will continue to work closely with the interpreters who do living history at our historic sites. It is no longer valid to create clothing pieces in bulk and drop them off at a site to be used at random. Developing individual characters and dressing them appropriately is paramount to quality living history programming going forward. Building relationships with the living history community through social media platforms and workshopping during off-season months will lead to a better living history product during the season, and greater connections with our visitors and our history.

Chapter One: The role of accuracy in living history programs today, applications to the living history community, historic sites, and museums

What is the relationship between the artifact and the body, and why is it so important? Living historians are often asked about why accuracy is important. Are we not simply cosplayers raiding Mr. Dress-Up's tickle trunk for fun and imaginative play? When we attend a play in a theatre, a certain amount of imagination is supposed in order to enjoy the performance.[160] We often expect a higher level of real-ness from film than we do from theatre, and directors often use techniques to heighten this sense of so-called real-ness. Visitors to historic sites look forward to an even higher degree of accuracy from the performance of living history, as if the clothing worn by the interpreter, or the material culture being used in the programming offer up a social cue to how well the site understands the history surrounding it.[161] The tools we use in these performances help the viewer to understand the presented reality; a row of chairs in a child's play stands in for a train, the use of a hand-held small camera in *Blair Witch Project*[162] feels as if the ghostly encounter actually happened,

[160] Different levels of imagination are required based on the level of the performance of the actors and theatre involved. More imagination is required for a child's play, less use of imagination is expected of a Broadway production.
[161] Wilcox-Levine, M. (2015). *Dressing history: Costume as communication in Massachusetts historical tours*. University of Rhode Island. Open access master's thesis. Paper 713. https://digitalcommons.uri.edu/thesis/713. Date accessed 10/03/2022. Pp.42-49.
[162] Myrick, D. and Sanchez, E. (1999). *Blair witch project.* Haxan films artisan entertainment

and the accurate cut and construction of a soldier's uniform at Ticonderoga allows the visitor to believe they are speaking to a real-life eighteenth-century soldier.

According to Betty Doak Elder, a critic of large-scale re-enactments, "they are nothing more than a sham, a charade of the American past, and these fake soldiers as nothing more than a bunch of men looking to have a good time with their friends on the weekend."[163] A hierarchy exists within the context of those who 'dress-up' for the public in a historical setting. The National Parks Service recognised as early as the 1976 bicentennial that there were differences between those who would become known as "Mainstreamers" or worse,[164] and those who were focused in their commitment to detail, who would at various times be known as "Authentics," "Thread Counters," or "Progressives."[165] This chapter seeks to make a case for sites to embrace the more progressive styled living history demonstrations and semi-scripted events over the more common, and large-scale military spectacles that have previously been held. Wanda Dowell, staff at Fort Ward Park in Alexandria Virginia in response to Betty Doak Elder's ideas cautioned that "the crowd does not view the re-enactments as accurate history but as entertainment."[166] Elder also includes Ben Levy's

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[163] Elder, B. D. (1981). "WAR GAMES: Recruits and their critics draw battle lines over authenticity." *History news.* American Association for State and Local History. p8-9. Large scale re-enactments are under constant scrutiny for their levels of fake history, or a Disneyfication of history. So the overarching question for the living historian or site wishing to hold events is how do we make this more engaging while staying true to the history? What sorts of actual living history can we do in place of the great spectacle events and pageants of yesteryear? How will living history engage with the visitor going forward? And, is there a place for those who have been in the hobby since 1976 in today's progressive groups?

[164] "Farb" or "farby" short for "Far be it from me to judge, but…" and "farbfest" (a gathering of people in costumes, with much less attention to historical accuracy than the participants might think they have) are derogatory terms used to denote reenactors who do not care about accuracy in their hobby, they are only there to have a good time and look pretty or burn black powder. Elder, B. D. (1981). "WAR GAMES: Recruits and their critics draw battle lines over authenticity." *History news,* American Association for State and Local History. p8. Jay Anderson informs us that "living historians are far more critical of themselves than are outsiders. The most damning criticism of living history by academic and public historians cannot match the hostility a serious buff will bestow on a 'farb." Anderson, J. (1984). *Time machines: The world of living history.* Nashville: American Association for State and Local History. p 192.

[165] Elder makes note of these descriptors on p8, but so does Anderson, J. (1984) on pp141, 192, also Hadden, R. L. (1999). *Reliving the civil war: A reenactor's handbook.* Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books. p138. and Auslander, M. (2013). refreshes these terms in his work "Touching the past: Materializing time in traumatic 'living history' re-enactments." *Signs and society*. Semiosis Research Center at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, University of Chicago Press. p.169.

[166]Dowell, W. cited in Elder, B. D. (1981). "WAR GAMES: Recruits and their critics draw battle lines over authenticity." *History news.* American Association for State and Local History. p10.

response questioning the relevance of these events and the cultural resource management of sites that host battle re-enactments, calling them "a very real management problem," and adding that "in many cases we do not have [traditional site] historians informing the process."[167] In more recent years, site historians have done that work behind site specific, and often semi-scripted living history events. They have chosen the 'actors', the volunteers who will fill the roles for the day. These actors come from the progressive living history community; sometimes they are hobbyists, living history practitioners, but often they are historians themselves working for various museums and living history sites throughout North America.[168] These smaller, semi-scripted events are becoming more and more regular at historic sites wishing to offer the visitor a more intimate experience with history that the large-scale battle re-enactments simply could not provide.

For the progressive living historian, the debate over authenticity is a constant struggle. In the late twentieth century, the word authentic was even used as an attempt to understand and even question what it was that these living historians were attempting to do.[169] How could one be thought of as 'authentic' when portraying a character from history? The modern person lives in an entirely different world and understands that world in an entirely different way. Australian National University Historian, Alexander Cook writes in response to recent trends in public history that "it would be folly to expect any direct equivalence between the psychological experience of modern lab rats [the living historian] and that of the original historical actors whose situations are being mimicked. We can never be *Them.*"[170] Cook was discussing the many and varied forms of historical reality shows being filmed for broadcasting networks around the globe such as *Tales from the Green*

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[167] Ben Levy, acting chief historian for the National Parks Service, cited in Elder, B.D. (1981). "WAR GAMES: Recruits and their critics draw battle lines over authenticity." *History news.* American Association for State and Local History. p11.
[168] Harmor, E. (January 29-February 4, 2020). "Adventures from 1813 come to Red Hook February 1." *Northern Dutchess News & Creative Living* Volume 12, Issue 5, pp. 1-2.
[169] Hadden, R. L. (1999). *Reliving the civil war: A reenactor's handbook.* Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books. p. 138
[170] Cook, A. (2004). "The use and abuse of historical re-enactment: Thoughts on recent trends in public history." *Criticism special issue: Extreme and sentimental history.* p. 489.

Valley, or any of PBS' *House* series that were filmed in the early 2000s with varying degrees of research and experimental methodologies.[171] Our bodies and minds have a different relationship with our dress and material culture than what our ancestors would have had. Many progressive living historians define their work as striving for accuracy, but they also realize this may be an unattainable goal.

The shift in the living historian's mindset towards a more progressive thought process came at the same time as a shift in how we study dress. Academics noticed in the past that items of clothing and body adornment were usually studied through an art historical lens,[172] and the relationship between the object and the body, or the object and society, were neglected. Dress historian Yuniya Kawamura reminds us that we do not recognise the various methodological tools to investigate fashion/dress because it is treated as an abstract concept rather than the raw materials of clothing.[173] Dress historians who had followed the original artifact analysis method of describing the object were more interested in the decorative aspects of the garment than the why behind its construction or social connotations. As fashion sociologist Joanne Entwistle formulates, "studies of fashion and dress tend to separate dress from the body: Art history celebrates the garment as an object, analysing the development of clothing over history and considering the construction and

[171] Taddeo, J. A. and Dvorak, K. (2007). "The PBS historical house series: Where historical reality succumbs to reel reality." *Film and history: An interdisciplinary journal of film and television studies.* pp. 18-28 gives an expressive introduction to the types of historical reality TV shows that were developed in the early 2000s. The BBC productions that began with *Tales from the Green Valley* were vastly different from the PBS productions in that professional archaeologists and historians were used in the BBC productions and cast of the PBS productions were hired from the public that had very little background in the historical. The PBS series were very much in the same vein as other American reality TV productions such as *Survivour* (2000 – Present) and rely on the drama of the modern human experience, whereas the BBC productions were more about how people actually lived and worked in the period they were enacting.

[172] Entwistle (2000), Prown (1982), Riello and Gerritsen (2015), Coltman (2015), Weber and Mitchell (2004), and more.

[173] Kawamura, Y. (2011). *Doing research in fashion and dress: An introduction to qualitative methods*. Bloomsbury 01/09/2020. Second edition. Ebookcentral-proquest-com.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/lib/concordia-ebooks/reader.action?docID=5940271. Date accessed 07/26.2022. p1-2.

detail of dress as with Gorsline, or Laver."[174] Economic scholars such as Arjun Appadurai would have us consider the economies of items of dress and material culture, and ask questions such as: Why were these items made, what sorts of exchange value do they hold, are they still in some form of exchange cycle, or have they been removed from exchange? What sorts of economic lives do they hold? These patterns of consumption bring the body back into context with the material culture.[175] Dress theorists Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell suggest we use dress to ask different questions about society that may not otherwise be asked or even noticed. Weber and Mitchell examine dress through the lens of feminism, understanding that the best way to interview women about their intimate lives is to ask them about their clothes. Intimate details about the body and identity, and its place within culture can be brought out in the questions we ask about our clothes.[176] They cite dress historian Lou Taylor when she states, "One of the great voids of dress history has been its failure to examine emotional responses to clothing and appearance."[177] To the living historian it is no longer simply a matter of looking the part from ten feet away, they are striving for accuracy on a microscopic level and with that, an understanding of the culture that created the particular character from history and the particular artifact. "Talking about clothes forces us to speak, directly or indirectly, about our bodies, about details of material culture, about context, about commerce and commodification, about social expectations and personal aspirations, about media influence, family relationships, work, play, values, social structures, and more."[178] Weber and Mitchell warn us against 'simplistic notions of identity' that may be superficiously wrapped up in clothing and material

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[174] Gorsline, D. (1953/1991). *A history of fashion: A visual survey of costume from ancient times.* London: Fitzhouse Books, and Laver, J. (1969/1995). *A concise history of costume.* London: Thames and Hudson cited in Entwistle, J. (2000). *The fashioned body.* Cambridge: Polity Press, p.9.
[175] Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large*: *Consumption, duration, and history.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. p. 68.
[176] Mitchell, C. and Weber, S. (2004). *Dress stories.* Counterpoints. p4.
[177] Taylor, L. (2002). *The study of dress history.* Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press. p102, cited in Weber, S and Mitchell, C. (2004). "Dress Stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220. Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity.* Peter Lang AG, publisher. Http://www.jstor.org/stable/42878285. Date accessed, 07/18/18 p 4
[178] Ibid. p 4.

culture. They remind us that there are rituals behind what we wear in any given situation, it is not simply the grand occasions that are worthy of study. Weber and Mitchell emphasise that "[d]ress stories, as we conceive them, are not the same thing as the story (history) of dress, and that what we wear has a great effect on how we feel about ourselves."[179] For the living historian interacting with the public, what we wear is half the program. Even if the viewer does not fully understand all the cultural nuances behind the 'costume', there are social cues that transmit over the centuries. The well tailored uniform of a British soldier evokes a certain response from many New Englanders today with not-so-jokingly sneers directed at their neighbours who portray these characters at their historic sites. As a counterpoint, many young women hired as apprentices at the Margaret Hunter Milliner's shop at Colonial Williamsburg will be dressed out in the most up-to-date printed calico dresses that conjure ideas of youth, fashionability, and wealth. As Weber and Mitchell go on to explain,

> a wide range of meanings are constructed and co-exist around and through our clothes – some of them fleeting and unstable, some of them contradictory. There are the *denotative historical and cultural meanings* that relate to the context in which the clothes are worn, how and why they were made and worn, where they are worn, and how they are inscribed by advertising and dictates of fashion cycles, social class, and specific local contexts and subcultures. Attention should also be paid to the *connotative personal meanings* that dresses assume for the wearer, including expressions of identity, personality, aspirations, and sense of place and community, which may reinterpret, ignore, contest, or confirm the more general meanings associated with certain garments.[180]

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[179] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*, Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18 pp 6 and 253.

[180]The authors cite the work of Stephen Riggins and his thoughts on material culture and the Socio-Semiotics of Objects (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994). 'Denotative' referring to the factual and social history of an object: where it comes from, why it was invented, and so on. "Connotative' referring to the personal meanings attached to particular

The authenticity comes back into play with progressive living history programs when the viewer realises that the clothes were fitted to, and constructed for the wearer, and that wearer has left their bodily mark on those clothes through the wearing. They no longer look like stage costumes, and more like actual clothing.

It is not simply a matter of dressing the part, but of understanding the why behind certain aspects of dress. I return to my length of apron cloth. This project was born out of a desire to study cloth production in the home, testing theories on how proficient a weaver needed to be to reproduce a good apron check that retained an even plaid. Lessons can be learned from creating an object from fibre through to wearing that are often missed when simply dashing out to the fabric store and purchasing a length of cloth. In the case of a length of apron cloth, considerations must be made for the weather conditions during the processing of the fibre. Certain climates are better than others for growing flax. While processing through to a usable fibre for spinning and weaving, the weather may help or hinder the process. There is a seasonality to fibre processing on the farm, with flax being processed and spun in the autumn and winter months, and wool in the spring.[181] As the weaver dresses the loom for weaving, they note the sheer amount of time involved. The weaver can then understand more fully why apron cloth is usually narrow, and why extant aprons often have a seam (or two) in a seemingly open, square piece of cloth. The differences between the hand loom versus the industrial loom, and of the beginner over the practiced weaver become apparent. Weber and Mitchell note that "the capacity of clothes to conjure up memories is at least partially rooted in

objects. They also look at the works of Paul Russell (2002), and Valerie Steele (2000). Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*, Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18

[181] As a very beginner, I realized that I could spin a much finer thread in linen than I could purchase through weaving supply houses locally. I was very disappointed that I could not pursue this exercise further at the time. Being able to follow the traditional farming practices for a year to understand the whole process further could add to the knowledge base surrounding cloth production. Currently, I have to rely on the knowledge of seasoned living history interpreters and their programs at Ross Farm in New Ross, Nova Scotia.

sensory and emotional associations that are automatically and unconsciously established as we go about living our lives in clothes."[182] Those same emotions and memories can be conjured up about the creation of the clothes as well. How the weaver was feeling emotionally when she was in the studio creating the cloth, the feeling of comraderie when gathering together with friends to create the clothes, the feeling of pride when the clothes are worn, or viewed being worn by another. These are all stories that are not often told when we view a garment as simply an *object d'art,*[183] but could be included in our interpretation programing. Asking the viewer to notice the differences between aprons made from industrial looms and that of the hand loom gives the viewer a greater perspective into cloth and clothing production. Differences can also be made between historical clothing production and the modern fashion industry to show how our modern consumption of fashion contributes unneccessarily to climate change.

Weber and Mitchell cite Elizabeth Wilson's keynote address at *Fashion: Making an Appearance,* University of Queensland conference in 2003, who asserts that "garments, once they have been worn, take on a residue; they become associated with or symbolically represent the person who wore them."[184] For the living historian or historical costume wearer, the understanding of how the body acts and reacts to being confined in non-modern historical attire leads to different understandings of how culture develops. In the eighteenth century, families of polite society hired dance instructors to teach their children how to move properly, how to carry themselves correctly. Italian philosopher Umberto Eco refers to this as the "line of beauty" and the "line of grace."[185] The cut of clothing in

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[182] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*, Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18 p. 257.
[183] Auslander, M. (2013). "Touching the past: Materializing time in traumatic 'living history' re-enactments." *Signs and society*. Semiosis Research Center at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies. University of Chicago Press. p.173.
[184] Wilson as cited in Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*, Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18 p. 258.
[185] Eco, U. (2004). *History of beauty*. New York: Rizzoli. p. 275.

the eighteenth century reflected this beauty ideal. Dance positions in what would become known as ballet did not spring fully formed from a choreographers mind, they are rooted in how eighteenth-century dress confines the body into a formal pose, usually 'first position.' The stays worn by a woman, or the frock coat worn by a man hold the body ridgedly, with shoulders back. The arms and hands resting comfortably in historic dress are not as relaxed as with modern knitwear in the dance studio, but are held in that formal pose, slightly ahead of the side of the body and slightly curved. Eco further explains that, "it was in the eighteenth century that the rights of the subject began to play a full part in the experience of beauty."[186] Understandably, a military uniform of any historical era holds the body more errect than everyday clothes would, and are often designed to intimidate the viewer with an overt masculine form. This notion of discipline, squareness, and uprightedness carries over to the dress uniform of today's soldier.[187]

Copying a historical garment directly without taking consideration of the effects of the body on the garment can lead to misunderstandings of what the garment 'should have' looked like in the historical period. Understanding how the body reacts to different fibres, weave structures, and stitching techniques can give us a better understanding of how and why the garments were produced in a given way, and also how they were worn. A stand collar on a working jacket, or even a folded length of straight grain material inserted into that neck edge, between fashion fabric and lining, can help a neckline from gaping out, thus increasing the wear value of the garment; it is not just a fashion detail. Weber and Mitchell, clarify this as "*clothes wear bodies*. Dresses express extensions and connections to the body and are themselves a mode of embodiment.[188] The relationships women have with their clothes reflects the views the women have of themselves: *The woman I want to be, The*

[186] Ibid. p. 275.
[187] Peoples, S. (2014). "Embodying the military: Uniforms." *Critical studies in men's fashion.* Vol.1 Number 1 pp 7-21. Doi:10.1386/csmf.1.1.7_1. p11.
[188] The authors are specifically discussing women's dresses in this article, but the same thoughts can be applied to any garment, worn by any gender.

woman I fear I could be and *The woman I am most of the time.*"[189] It is interesting to note these three perspectives, especially in reflection of the characters that living historians portray, sometimes heroic, sometimes extroverted, sometimes everyday or commonplace. "It is the very ability that clothes have to evoke important social issues, including issues of economic disparity, commodification, gender, race, class, culture and difference that makes dresses, even in their absence, so important to study."[190]

The history of dress has long been considered to be frivolous, easy to ignore, overlook or denegrate and was seen as "women's work."[191] In addition to Weber and Mitchell, Charlotte Nicklas and Annebella Pollen also understand that dress stories can, instead, be used to understand the lives of those who have been marginalized, and can allow those who do not fit neatly into society's boxes to express and negotiate their identities.[192] Nicklas and Pollen begin their work *Dress History: New Directions in Theory and Practice* with definitions of the different categories of adornment,

> 'Dress' is an inclusive term, encompassing all adornment and modification of the body. 'Clothing' refers to the objects that are worn. 'Costume' commonly applies to dress worn for specific events, although this word is also used to describe clothing associated with a particular group of people or historical period. 'Fashion implies change occurs. So, to be in fashion, people wear certain clothes, but not all clothing or dress is fashion.[193]

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[189] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*, Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18 p. 261.
[190] Ibid. p. 266.
[191] Taylor, L. (2002a). *The Study of Dress History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, cited in Nicklas, C. and Pollen, A. (2015). "Introduction: Dress history now: Terms, themes, and tools." *Dress history: New directions in theory and practice.* London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic. p. 1 & 4.
[192] Ibid p. 1.
[193] Eicher, J. (2010). and Kaiser, S. (1998). cited in Nicklas, C. and Pollen, A. (2015). "Introduction: Dress history now: Terms, themes, and tools." *Dress history: New directions in theory and practice*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic. p. 2.

Nicklas and Pollen recognize that "while there are methodologies that many dress historians use, there is no established set of practices that one must observe."[194] Various aspects of this have been summized by other current theorists cited in this text explaining that a multi-methodological approach rather than simple interdisciplinary methods should be used so that it is not just the artistic approach to dress history.[195] Instead, the how and why fashion changes should be key. Nicklas and Polle return to Lou Taylor, who argues, "assumptions should not be made, nor, indeed, theory applied, until close attention has been paid to an artefact's core and sometimes subtle material aspects, including cut, constructions and manufacture;" in this, Nicklas and Pollen aim to follow Taylor's lead.[196] When taken together, I developed a plan to follow a similar, multi-methodological approach. Samples were made and re-made again, to test and re-test theories, to determine the construction processes of a garment. Garments were then worn by the interpreters to locate wear patterns and details that established the garments as clothing instead of costumes. I could then understand the why behind certain fashion shifts within the period of study.

Consider my own stocking project. In order to fully understand the process of re-creating a proper stocking for the second half of the eighteenth-century, I knit many samples: swatches, sections, and whole stockings; I referenced extant artifacts to determine if there are differences between separate pairs of stockings; between different types of thread. There were further sample explorations as the knitting patterns were developed. In order to assertain the types of colours and threads used in historical stockings, I examined period artworks and cartoons, and referenced

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[194] Nicklas, C. and Pollen, A. (2015). "Introduction: Dress history now: Terms, themes, and tools." *Dress history: New directions in theory and practice*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic. p. 3.

[195] There are certain interdisciplinary craft skills required to reproduce a garment from history, sewing, decorating, but also wire-craft or basketry in some instances. I think by adding the wearing and using of the reproductions adds layers to that interdisciplinary approach to make it more multi-methodological. We should be looking at the whole interpretive space, not just the gown worn by the woman in the space, but also how that woman moves through that space and is affected by the clothing she is wearing.

[196] Nicklas, C. and Pollen, A. (2015). "Introduction: Dress history now: Terms, themes, and tools." *Dress history: New directions in theory and practice*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic. p. 5.

runaway and merchants advertisements, inventories and and court proceedings concerning clothing theft, to better understand what was available in the eighteenth-century.[197] Extant artefacts tend to be from the upper classes, or important figures of the community, and they are often made of white thread, either in linen or cotton and sometimes silk.[198] What was worn by the common person is not as well known and may skew generalized thoughts on what sorts of thread types and colours were worn. Through living history interpretation, progressive living historians working at historic sites such as Ticonderoga, Minute Man NHP, and Colonial Williamsburg find that wool is the desired fibre choice for more comfortable feet, even on the hottest of days, as the moisture of the feet are absorbed into the stockings leaving the feet dry and comfortable. This is an important aspect to consider: how do we, as researchers, justify or validate the lived experience as a valuable research method? The living history interpreters working at these sites are dressed in their eighteenth-century clothing every day, they work the same jobs that the people of the period worked. The reproduction clothing that they wear should act the same way that the extant garments did. I would argue that lived experience is that valuable connection with the past.

In observing how interpretation works at sites, my working theory is that there needs to be a bridge between first and third person interpretation. First person interpretation is focused on "I" language, third person interpretation is focused on "they" language. With visitor interaction, first person breaks down due to the visitor's constant attempts at getting the interpreter to break character. Third person interpretation tends to lose the visitor with the names and dates of history,

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[197] First, a survey was taken of the Runaway ads in Hagist, D. (2016). *Wives, slaves, and servant girls: Advertisements for female runaways in American newspapers 1770-180,* Yardley: Westholme Publishing. I then looked at the many reference artworks in Styles, J. (2007). *Dress of the people: Everyday fashion in eighteenth-century England,* New Haven and London: Yale University Press looking to see how stockings were depicted in contemporary art. Finally, I scoured contemporary Halifax newspapers in search of merchant advertisements to see if there were any mentions of stockings.

[198] Artefact stockings in the New Brunswick Museum collection, accession numbers: 59.81, 22586, 22587 are all white cotton thread. The early nineteenth-century stockings (accession number unknown) at the Ross-Thompson house in Shelburne, NS are white silk thread.

there seems to be a lack of intimate connection with history. History professor emeritus John Brewer states, in reenactment "one of the most enduring historical problems has been about how to deal with the distance between the past and the present, the distinction between subject and object, participant and narrator/recorder/witness. History – as text, image or performance – constitutes the means by which these binaries are connected."[199] If the site can provide the most accurate spaces in which to interpret, along with dressing their interpretation staff as authentically as possible, that bridge can occur where the language turns to the "we" form, especially if the daily tasks include working on interpretation projects that are encouraged by historical reference material. What would the daily tasks of a British soldier have looked like? Can these daily tasks become the interpretive program, allowing for a greater connection between the visitor and their history?

When attempting to fill in the gaps in the artefact record, it may be necessary to look at the artefacts on either side of the missing historical record. In doing so, theories/conclusions can be made/drawn about what is missing. It is important to undertake research of historical dress from that multi-disciplinary perspective to narrow those gaps. Archaeologist and folklorist Amy Gazin-Schwartz provides us with another resource that may have been previously discounted by academia,

> Knowledge of folklore prompts us to ask new questions in analyzing artifacts. In addition to noting the contexts in which they were found, the material from which they are made, and identifying them further by type, date, or decoration, we can also ask questions like the following: Do similar artifacts from different contexts also differ in condition (are bent nails mostly found associated with the hearth, while straight nails are found everywhere else)? Does the presence or absence of a particular kind of artifact signify use, availability, or

[199] Brewer, J. (2010). "Reenactment and neo-realism." *Historical reenactment: From realism to the affective turn.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p.81.

beliefs about the artifact? Is there any reason to assume that these three attributes are mutually exclusive?[200]

Could it be that the reason we do not find extant woolen stockings in the artefact record is that they were simply worn, and re-used and re-purposed until there was nothing left of the fibres? There are mentions of woolen stockings being made into waistcoat sleeves for warmth, once the foot has been worn away, and ads offering to turn old stockings into mitts; woolen fibre has a myriad of uses once the primary thread is no longer usable.[201]

I return to Weber and Mitchell's essay, "Theorizing Dress Stories", as they make an important point that relates to the objectives my dissertation. They write: "Dress stories are seldom, if ever, *just* narratives about clothing. Even when set in contexts of privilege, they are also narratives of resistance, submission, intergenerational conflict, weakness, pain, loss, power and empowerment".[202] Eighteenth-century Nova Scotia is an epitome of upheaval. It may seem out of context, historically, but the current refugee crisis of the Middle East could provide insight into what Loyalist refugees faced during the Revolution. At the outbreak of crisis in Syria in 2011, people who

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[200] Gazin-Schwartz, A. (2001) *Archaeology and folklore of material culture, ritual, and everyday life.* International journal of historical archaeology. Vol.5. No.4. December. Pp. 263-280 p. 277

[201] Primary source references: A servant butcher from Kent County, Maryland, "with stockings for sleeves to his jacket," (*Pennsylvania Gazette,* March 28, 1765). A servant from Uwchland Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, wearing a "blue and white striped jacket, with old blue stockings for sleeves," (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 19, 1769). A supposed servant from Culpeper, Virginia, wearing a "blue waistcoat with stockings for sleeves," (*Virginia Gazette*, March 22, 1770). And, a slave from Westfield, New Jersey, wearing a "white wollen waistcoat with stocking sleeves," (*The New Jersey Journal*, May 10, 1770, are just a few of the runaway ads from colonial newspapers. Source: America's Historical Newspapers, and Accessible Archives. Other sources from The British Newspaper Archive include, An apprentice currier of Southampton, wearing "a short waistcoat, with the leggings of a pair of Blue Stockings for Sleeves," (*The Hampshire Chronicle*, March 22, 1773). This practice extended into the early nineteenth-century, A young runaway from Higham Ferrers wearing a "yellow striped Waistcoat, with cotton stocking Sleeves," (*The Northampton Mercury,* December 25, 1825), and A Littlebury highway robber wearing "a waistcoat, with stocking legs for sleeves, "slash "a waistcoat with stocking sleeves stitched into it," (*Evening Mail*, December 11, 1829). These references were compiled by Tyler Rudd Putman for his article, "Ran Away from the Subscriber: a Waistcoat with Stockings for Sleeves. Putman is a PhD candidate at the University of Delaware in History and works as Gallery Interpretation Manager at the Museum of the American Revolution in Philadelphia. Extant newspapers in Halifax Nova Scotia do not appear to have runaway ads.

[202] Weber, S. and Mitchell, C. (2004) "Theorizing dress stories" *Counterpoints, Vol. 220, Not just any dress: Narrative of memory, body, and identity*, Peter Lang AG, publisher, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42978316, date accessed, 07/18/18 p.267.

could leave the country to reunite with family members abroad found the transition to a new life a bit easier.[203] As the war progressed, news articles and statistical studies were being written about how awful conditions were for people trying to escape to Europe.[204] Can we compare the plight of the refugee during the American Revolution with this current crisis? Early in the Revolution, travel was still possible between England and the American colonies. Moderates still firmly believed that any troubles could be resolved through political methods.[205] By 1779, a refugee crisis was developing in British held New York, with people fleeing their homes; "with just what they could carry, they had become a pitiful sight.[206] Tales abound of refugees escaping to New York "carrying just the clothes on their backs"[207] and yet, "respectability politics"[208] offer up oral history and folklore providing a glimpse of what it may have been like for the wealthy Loyalist arriving in Shelburne Nova Scotia at the end of the Revolution. These stories tell us that ladies arrived in silk gowns, unprepared for the conditions that awaited, and add to the popular mythology that the Loyalist was of the gentry class, the cream of the crop of the American colonies.[209] Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Quebec and later Governor General of the British colonies, had been dealing with seemingly outrageous requests

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[203] My neighbour across the hall was from Syria. Her parents arrived at Christmas for holiday and did not return to Syria. Rather, they stayed with their children in Canada after the Christmas holidays were over and applied for refugee status in early 2012.

[204] For a timeline of events during the Syrian crisis, see https://www.unhcr.org/ph/13427-seven-years-timeline-syria-crisis.html. Date accessed 10/05/2019. Also, Ostrand, N. (2015). "The Syrian refugee crisis: A comparison of responses by Germany, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States." *Journal on migration and human security.* Pp255-279

[205] Stoermer, T. (2019). "The success of either lies in the womb of time' The politics of loyalty in the revolutionary Chesapeake" *The consequences of loyalism: Essays in honour of Robert M. Calhoon*. Editors, Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. pp11-32.

[206] Guy Carlton, First Baron Dorchester: The National Archives of the UK (TNA), PRO: 30/55/17/1946, cited in Sparshott, C. (2019). "Loyalist refugee camp: a Reinterpretation of occupied New York, 1776-83" *The consequences of loyalism: Essays in honour of Robert M. Calhoon*. Editors, Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. pp61-74.

[207] Sparshott, C. (2019). "Loyalist refugee camp: a Reinterpretation of occupied New York, 1776-83" *The consequences of loyalism: Essays in honour of Robert M. Calhoon*. Editors, Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. pp61-74. p 70.

[208] Huskins, B. (2019). "New hope' in Shelburne, Nova Scotia: Loyalist dreams in the journal of British engineer William Booth, 1780s-90s" *The consequences of loyalism: Essays in honour of Robert M. Calhoon*. Editors, Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. p. 111.

[209] ibid p. 105, 106, 121. See also, Robertson, M. (1978). *King's bounty: A history of early Shelburne Nova Scotia,* published by the Nova Scotia Museum. p. 182.

from incoming Loyalist refugees that included being allowed to transport of up to thirty tones of household goods per family. Loyalist refugee Alexander Dobbins, who received a grant of land in what would become New Brunswick in 1784, had even asked permission to ship his entire, dismantled, two-story brick house.[210] Loyalist scholar Sally E. Hadden reminds us that "[t]he lost fortunes of so many Loyalists are a standard trope in the Revolution's literature, a given fact that masks the postwar despair and reduced living standards of many Loyalist men and women accustomed to easier, better lives."[211] With the current political upheaval in the United States, seemingly illegal border crossings, following similar routes up Lake Champlain through to Canada which the Loyalist refugees followed, allow for persons suddenly finding themselves nationless to claim refugee status in Canada, since the United States is no longer considered a safe country.[212] Images are eerily familiar between the crisis in the Middle East and that at the border just south of us at Lacolle, Quebec. Current refugees are packing what they can to start their lives over in a new place, a new country, and possibly a new culture.[213] How can these seemingly disseperate narratives offer a broader understanding of the extant material culture that remains in museum collections in Nova Scotia? Entwistle reminds us "when we get dressed, we do so within the bounds of a culture and its particular norms, expectations about the body and about what constitutes a 'dressed' body. She cites Goffman[214] who describes, "the ways in which cultural norms and expectations impose

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[210] PAC Minute Book, Port Roseway Associates, 1782-3, pp. 3-22, 83, 86, 88, 90, 92, 98, cited in Robertson, M. (1978). *King's bounty: A history of early Shelburne Nova Scotia.* Halifax: Nova Scotia Museum. p. 182. Also,
Kimber, S. (2008). Loyalists and layabouts: the Rapid rise and faster fall of Shelburne, Nova Scotia 1783-1792. Toronto: Anchor Canada, a division of Random House. p. 107.

[211] Hadden, S. E. (2019). "Lawyering for loyalists in the post-revolutionary war period" *the Consequences of loyalism: Essays in honour of Robert M. Calhoon*. Editors, Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. p. 146.

[212] As I was researching and writing this dissertation, the daily news stories about migrant refugees following similar pathways through to Canada was remarkable to me. I kept seeing similarities between the routes they were taking and what these new refugees thought important to bring with them. For more, please see: https://ccrweb.ca/en/safe-third-country

[213] Again, for more information on the refugee situation in the late 20-teens, please see:
https://theconversation.com/refugee-stories-reveal-anxieties-about-the-canada-u-s-border-127394, also
https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/13780/italy-launches-project-for-syrian-refugees-in-middle-east

[214] Goffman, E. (1971). *the Presentation of self in everyday life.* London: the Penguin Press.

upon the 'presentation of self in everyday life' to the extent that individuals perform 'face work' and seek to be defined by others as 'normal".[215] We must be careful not to make hindsight judgement calls on what may have been important to a person who had to uproot their home in short order, or who may have left everything behind save what was on their backs due to force, and what that 'force' may have done with the material culture afterwards. The Loyalist gentleman who carried his own portrait to Saint John may not have fully understood his own intentions at the time, or may have simply not wished to leave any further pieces of himself behind to be further humiliated by 'rebel' forces. We cannot fully comprehend his motives as there is seemingly no written record of the why of the action. If we understand Entwistle's approach to dress as a situated bodily practice, the body as a social entity, and dress as being the outcome of both social factors and individual actions, then maybe we can come to a closer understanding of why certain extant pieces remain in the historical record.[216] I believe that the pieces saved from eighteenth-century owners represent an ideal of social respectability held by the people who arrived in Nova Scotia as refugees of war. Certainly the Loyalists thought of themselves as of a certain class, and simply temporarily displaced. They believed that the new city of Shelburne would exceed that of Halifax and rival Boston and New York and the architecture of the homes they built for themselves certainly leans in that direction. Disbanded soldiers and their families knew of the potential better life by remaining in the colonies instead of returning to England. Those who accepted land grants within the province were considered hard working and successful people, according to historical record.[217]

What can historical records tell us about the culture that developed in Nova Scotia? Books written in the nineteenth century may be considered folklore by today's academic standards,[218] but

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[215] Entwistle, J. (2000). *the Fashioned body*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p 11.
[216] Ibid. p 39.
[217] Patterson, Rev. G. D. D. (1972). *a History of the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia.* Belleville, Ontario: Mika Studio. p. 119
[218] Hopkin, D., cited in Pooley, W. G. (2019). *Body and tradition in nineteenth-century France: Felix Arnaudin and the moorlands of Gascony, 1870-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 4, 18

can sometimes give us clues to what to look for, or reasons why something may not exist in the historical record. In *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia* by Rev. George Patterson, D.D.[219] there are maps of the area showing where families settled which may help geneaologists track family record and help fill in blanks that are currently family lore. Would an archaeological excavation on my own family's property turn up material culture that would prove or disprove family stories? Could we find regimental buttons in the remains of the original house that inform the archaeologist of what unit the 'old soldier' fought with during the Revolution? Patterson mentions routes walked by settlers, the material culture they thought important for homesteading, and even what the settlers produced for market. Cultural mindsets that carry over in to the twentieth century are partially explained through compilations like this one produced in the nineteenth century, and may give us a breadcrumb with which to begin our search for the material culture a particular character from history may have worn and used. Folklorist Amy Gazin-Schwartz explains that,

> [t]here are many ways that a study of folklore can contribute to archaeology interpretations. It can open new ways of looking at the landscape, raise new questions about issues of time and of memory, and bring to the forefront concerns with local and archaeological meanings of the past. Folklore can also provide a rich body of data for understanding the ritual use of objects.[220]

Giorgio Riello and Anne Gerritson point out that "[t]he very different political enviornments in which the movement of [material culture] objects occurred is an important backdrop, but it is the analysis of the objects themselves that enables these scholars to reveal the subtle movements of

[219] Patterson, Rev. G. D. D. (1972). *a History of the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia.* Belleville, Ontario: Mika Studio.
[220] Gazin-Schwartz, A. (2001). "Archaeology and folklore of material culture, ritual, and everyday life." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*. pp. 267.

power at work."[221] Riello and Gerritsen consider that the study of material culture may "be a challenge to history as a discipline, blurring the very boundaries between 'professional' history and other types of historical enquiry. [That] the interpretation of the past (rather than history) involves historians, but also curators, freelance exhibition organizers, TV presenters and film makers."[222] They remind us that the context of an item of material culture is key to understanding its meaning: why that item was collected by the museum as well as how those reasons may change the original intended meaning. As with other scholars, like Appadurai, they consider the lifespans of the extant item and how, when an artefact is in a museum collection, it may not be available to the public on even a limited basis.[223] These scholars understand that through the use of non-traditional methods of historical inquiry, our ways of caring for material culture and passing our stories on to future generations may actual prove to preserve and re-contextualize that material culture.

How can living historians help in this regard? Certainly, they can follow the early experimental archaeologists in understanding how an item is made and used, but more than that, through making and using, they are able to intimately understand how the body is used in the making and using, or wearing of that item. Living historians can grapple with how the environment challenges the body to carry out tasks in a certain method, or at a particular time of year. They can re-animate the spaces, such as historical sites and museums, but also the farmer's field, in order to impart specific knowledge to the viewer that may have been missed if simply contained on an information panel in a space empty of human interaction. Culture does not always descend from on high, from the wealthiest of our consumers. Sometimes it develops from the 'grassroots' and becomes ingrained in our core being, what we choose to wear, the food we find comforting, the

[221] Gerritsen, A. and Riello, G. (2015). "Introduction" *Writing Material Culture History*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic. pp. 6-7.
[222] Ibid. p. 7.
[223] Ibid. p.9.

spaces where we feel most at home. We can easily forget the names and dates of history, but not the feelings of our lived experience, the taste of the cookies our grandmothers made, or the way our grandfather's clothes smelled after a day's hard labour. These are the intimate details we wish to save.

The snippets of extant material culture, alongside an understanding of what types of people make up the population and why they live where they live, can all help us to better understand a culture. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich points out that "artifacts tell us most when they are imbedded in the rich texture of local history."[224] Beverly Lemire has done extensive work on how clothing moves through and between cultures in the eighteenth-century, most expecially the trade in second-hand clothing items.[225] What people thought was 'fashionable,' the value placed on goods for re-sale can all help us to better understand how the people of Nova Scotia looked in the eighteenth century. What sorts of clothing items were carried over to the new world? How do cultural differences make an appearance in the supposed 'melting pot' of America? Do those cultural cues homogenize, or disappear entirely after the Revolutionary period? Lemire explains that leather breeches were the workhorse of tradesmen's clothing in the eighteenth-century's American colonies, but were cast aside by similar trademen in London in that same era with the rise of the cotton industry.[226] Would there be class cues involved in the wearing of leather breeches in America as there were in Britain and Ireland?[227] Lemire and Riello cite Jack Goody who writes "culture, after all, is a series of communicative acts, and differences in the mode of communication are often as important as

[224] Ulrich, L. T. (2001). *the Age of homespun*. New York: Vintage Books Random House Inc. p39.
[225] See Lemire, B. (1988). "Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes." *Journal of British Studies*. And (1997). *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory 1600-1800*. New York: St. Martin's Press Inc.
[226] Lemire, B. (1988). "Consumerism in Preindustrial and Early Industrial England: The Trade in Secondhand Clothes." *Journal of British Studies*. p.17.
[227] Ibid. p.18.

differences in the mode of production, for they involve developments in the storing, analysis, and creation of human knowledge, as well as the relationships between individuals involved."[228]

Living historians consider the cultural landscape of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia clothing and wonder if could be viewed as homogenously English, or French. Those cultures certainly produce dominant narratives, but they are not the only narratives at play. Nova Scotia was settled by two distinctly different French cultures, at different times in the century. While the English provided the cultural theory for the second half of the century, in government and beyond, they were not the only cultural settlers to the province after the Acadien people were moved out. Germans, Scottish, Americans, and returning Acadien people all played a part in shaping that cultural landscape, many of which moved through the new United States before finally settling in the separate regions of the province. It would behoove the living historian to develop different interpretive programing that includes cultural cues from the regional events held in the province to better reflect that broad cultural landscape. It may also be time for academic historians to consider approaches outside their traditional baliwick to better understand the extant material cultural landscape. Deeper, multi-level knowledge is required.

T.V. programs such as *Tales from the Green Valley*[229] have the possibility to teach us so much about who we are and where we have come from; understanding culture on an intimate level, in tune with the body. The first of many similar BBC productions, this series assembled a group of historians and archaeologists to live and work on a refurbished seventeenth century farm in the hopes of gaining a greater understanding of how things worked, and how people lived. It inspired many living historians to more fully develop their own interpretations of history. This mindset

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[228] See Goody, J. (1977). *The Domestication of the Savage Mind.* Cambridge. p37, cited in Lemire and Riello (2008) "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Social History*. p.906.
[229] Sommer, P., Director (2006). *Tales from the Green Valley.* Goodman, Langlands, Ginn, Spencer, and Peachy. Lion Television for BBC/Acorn Media.

developed into a full zeitgeist in the eighteenth-century living history community, and the people following it became known as Progressives. Through social media platforms, the definition was determined to be referring to the mindset of constantly striving to improve one's impression and knowledge of the history and material culture of the period.[230] As a costumer for historic sites, it was my goal to constantly re-examine historical clothing construction techniques, and then, observe how those reconstructed clothes were worn, used, and developed characteristics of the bodies that used those clothing pieces.

Developing the living history event authentically: A case study in the characters involved and standards of dress

When a site has an idea about setting standards for living history programs, sometimes all it takes is asking the right people for help, writing a guideline, and adhering to it. This is exactly what Lexington Massachusetts' Minute Man NHP started in 2006.[231] The site knew who the characters were who played pivotal roles in the lead up to Revolution, but what did they wear? To develop the costumes required for the participants, they pulled together a group of like-minded researchers from the living history community and wrote one of the first sets of visual guidelines for costumed interpretation for their site. Then, the site enforced those guidelines, both in dressing their own paid staff, and also for any volunteers who wished to take part in living history events held by the site. Minute Man NHP has now become one of the foremost Revolutionary War living history sites. Other sites hoping for high standards for their living history programming followed suit. This raising

[230] The progressive living history community primarily uses Facebook to communicate and discuss what is developing in both the hobby of living history and the professional side of things. For the discussion on what it means to be 'progressive' please see: https://www.facebook.com/groups/217402738422205

[231] Hollister, J. (2006). "Authenticity Requirements.doc" nps.gov/mima/getinvolved/supportyourpark/minute-man-living-history-authenticity-standards.htm. These standards went through another overhaul in 2019 for phasing in during the 2020 parks season, to be fully implemented by 2022. Hollister informs me that site volunteers were working on a standards document as early as 2000, for the 225th commemoration of the event, "shot heard round the world." The 2006 document is no longer on the Minute Man NPS website, having been updated with the 2020 document.

of and adhering to a high standard bar has paid off, as some of the highest regarded sites in America also have the highest standards regarding dress and deportment. This section will address these standards guidelines and examine how research into clothing and textiles in private collections and museum sites can encourage a higher quality of living history programs.

Creating a character for living history

The credibility of a living history program hinges on attention to detail and accuracy in the clothing worn by the interpreters; it goes much further than simply hiring a Young Canada Works student for the summer to provide highlight tours for the visitor.[232] The summer student can provide support to these programs but should not replace the seasoned interpreter entirely. To provide quality, broad spectrum living history programming, other questions should be considered. Who are the key people who inhabited the site in the period interpreted? What jobs did they do? What positions did they hold in the greater historical context? When? What year is the site wishing to interpret? Where is the site located? What sort of weather-related climate will the interpreter have to deal with when they carry out their daily tasks? How will the interpreter engage the public, building that bridge between first- and third-person interpretation to include the "we" language? How will they interact with the site? Each of these questions can be broken down further and further to determine the nuances of

Figure 1-1 Living Historian BJ Pryor Portraying Benjamin Franklin

[232] In order to supplement museum projects, it has often been easier to hire a summer student to undertake short term projects, from cataloguing collections to providing summer animation and interpretation for many sites. Young Canada Works is just one of the summer hiring programs in Canada.

life in the given era of interpretation. Often, it is quite easy to determine who the key players were in each historical period. Are these the characters that will most fully engage the public? Or will the visitor simply stand in awe at the history coming to life before their eyes. There are living historians who play the characters of Benjamin Franklin[233] and George Washington,[234] but does the visitor feel comfortable enough to walk up and have a conversation with these national heroes? More times than not, the public will feel more of a connection with the servant[235] standing silently in the corner of the room, waiting to remove the dinner dishes from the table. Both character types are important to the overall narrative of the living history experience, but the visitor engages each character differently. The George Washington character will put on a theatre performance, sometimes using the historical person's own words. The servant engages the visitor on a far more intimate level, as they are far more likely to come from the same economic or cultural backgrounds. It is also a great deal easier for a summer student to slip into the role of a servant or regular enlisted man than to portray one of the iconic figures of history best left to the experienced living historian who has created their character through decades of research. For the 'stock' servant character, 'stock' costume items can be issued by the historic site to the interpreter. For the 'iconic' character, custom made clothing must be created, often with a much larger expense to the

Figure 1-3John Koopman III as George Washington

[233] Dr. Benjamin Franklin, LLD, FRS. https://www.facebook.com/PrintingOfficeMarketStreet/
[234] John Koopman III as George Washington https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100000087780118
[235] Andrew Warren as a servant to Greg Hurley
https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10210145465512902&set=t.1826390797&type=3&theater

Figure 1-2 Portrayal of Officer Greg Hurley being served by soldier Andrew Warren. Note eye contact, body language

wardrobe budget. Iconic character actors often will also do their own research and fund their own wardrobes. With the case of John Koopman, he even provides his own horse and all the accoutrements that go along with being a mounted character.

Roles for women are far more complicated. We know women existed throughout history, but because their story is, for the most part, left out of the grand narrative of history, we need to spend more time searching out those tidbits of life from the historical record. The 'iconic' characters existed, but were they in the public sphere? More likely you will encounter those types of characters in the places where they lived, such as Mount Vernon's living history site. The women that the visitor encounters at most living history sites are more likely of the common, working-class variety; the women who became our many-great-grandmothers. What were their stories? What did they look like? What types of work did these women do for the war effort? Their stories are just as valuable to our personal historical narrative. The sensory experience that women (and their children) can offer to the living history environment are often more engaging for the visitor than battle scenarios. The smells coming from a cooking fire will hit the visitor long before their visual or hearing senses will place the situation. The visitor can be reminded of their grandmothers' kitchen with the smell of baked goods or preserves being made. Once that initial hook has been made, it becomes easier for the interpreter to discuss the daily life of her character within the broader historical context.

It is important for the site to work closely with their interpretation staff to develop engaging experiences for the visitor. Often, the interpreters know far more about what the visitor experiences, and wishes to experience, than do the curatorial staff who work in collections housed behind closed doors, far away from the front lines of the site. The curatorial staff may know the intimate details of a garment's construction, which they can then pass on to the wardrobe department so that they will be able to produce a better-quality garment, but the interpreter knows how that garment actually works through the wearing and may be able to offer valuable insight into how that garment existed in the historical period, maybe even how it came to be saved for a museum collection. Each member of the museum team should have a good working relationship with and be seen as valuable to the overall experience as any other team member.

It may be due to smaller working budgets that some museums and historic sites are better at this process than others. Private institutions such as Fort Ticonderoga in upstate New York see all staff coming together to fill front line positions several times throughout their living history season. Curators and registrars leave their back-room spaces and don the attire of the historical era interpreted and join summer students to deliver high quality programming through living history weekend events. In the off season, everyone comes together to develop programming, research wardrobe pieces, and then create new wardrobe items for the next summer season. Throughout the 'off-season' or winter months, the site holds workshops for volunteer living historians to allow for the re-creation of high-quality material culture by those volunteers.[236] A recently announced forage cap (military casual cap) workshop will feature a day of lectures on British troop movements in Canada and upstate New York during the year 1777. The second day offers hands-on construction

[236] Returning to the notion of hosting winter workshops to help volunteer living historians improve their kit and impressions, Fort Ticonderoga's offerings are regularly scheduled to align with the following summer's interpretation year. https://www.fortticonderoga.org/event/winter-workshop-series-canada-army-foraging-caps/

for the forage cap worn by those same British troops. This supported volunteer cadre then returns to the site for special event weekends during the summer months and everyone portrays top-quality living history. Workshop price tags cover the cost of materials and meals for the weekend. The participants can stay in local accommodation or bunk in with staff members, creating deeper ties of friendship in the common goal of heritage.

It is through a strong working relationship with their volunteers that Minute Man NHP developed one of the very first standards documents for dress and accoutrements for women and civilian living history interpreters. Military re-creation is seemingly easy by comparison! Primary documentation for what soldiers wore and carried are prolific in the historical record, but "what did the ladies wear?" is a long-standing question. Materials for women's clothing are much easier to acquire, with a greater range of accurate choices, while for uniforms, it is the information that is plentiful. Very few common, everyday garments from either gender exist in the extant record. Surely all women did not wear silk gowns as depicted in so many artworks, we need to seek out the other, more everyday options in fabrics that women wore. Volunteer researchers and living historians have been at the forefront of pushing historical knowledge forward about the clothing of the common people. They have accomplished this task by spending hours in archives studying newspapers for 'ran-away and took with them' advertisements.[237] Others have examined artworks more closely to determine what sorts of neckwear were worn and the shifting tastes in fashions.[238] Together with site staff, these volunteers formed the first working group to develop standards of

[237] Hagist, D. (2016). Wives, slaves, and servant girls: Advertisements for female runaways in American newspapers 1770-180, Yardley: Westholme Publishing.
[238] Hodges, R. (2017). Handkerchiefs, and other bits of cloth: Neckwear of 18thC townspeople and sailors in anglo-America during the revolutionary war era, ongoing research on neckwear.

dress for everyday interpreters at the Minute Man NHP site, which other sites throughout the eastern seaboard of the United States would come to adopt.[239]

In drafting this document, National Parks Service staff worked closely with their volunteer community to create a set of clear and concise guidelines that living historians could work towards. Every few years since, the committee has reconvened to re-examine the document, adding to the research where needed, and updating to reflect any new research that may question previous findings.[240] It is no longer a matter of the living historian showing up to the event with every piece of eighteenth-century material culture they own and putting on a big show. Nuances are better understood, and the common characters are fleshed out. We now better understand our historical counterpart's role in the events of the day, what they would have worn, what they would have carried with them. Many in the heritage field now frown upon 'artistic license' in clothing and personal material culture; progressive sites are actively discouraging people from participating in their events unless they reach minimum standards of dress and deportment and continue to improve their 'kit'.

If, as Entwistle states, "dress is both an intimate experience of the body and a public presentation of it", and "the act of getting dressed is an act of preparing the body for the social world",[241] what happens when you do not speak the cultural language? How do you know if the message you are trying to convey is true? The Nova Scotia Museum sites, save one, have no trained historical costumers on staff; there are no trained curators of historical dress. Many sites rely on passionate home sewists to dress their interpretation staff. These seamstresses can make beautiful,

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[239] Please see appendix 1.
[240] https://www.nps.gov/mima/getinvolved/supportyourpark/minute-man-living-history-authenticity-standards.htm, the committee members listed at the bottom of the page are almost all volunteers from the living history community. Many hold history related professional positions elsewhere or are retired from history related positions. Others are learned volunteers of the site.
[241] Entwistle, J. (2000). *the Fashioned body*. Cambridge: Polity Press. p7.

serviceable clothes if they have a pattern to follow, but lack the knowledge to understand the nuances of dress in any given era, as if 'old clothes are old clothes; all the same', and the items made at home with loving hands seldom match the clothing worn in the era interpreted, or even *how* those clothes would have been worn in that era. Often, the research on the costumes was carried out in the early 1970s when the site was first established, and has never been updated, or even checked to determine if the seamstress was still following that research. At the department level, there is an apparent, common, and very false belief that the costuming needs of the entire Museum complex could be dealt with by the one, part-time seasonal costumer in Sherbrooke Village, in a 'one size fits all', 'one era fits all' mentality, thus leaving wardrobes of ill-fitting clothing made from improperly chosen fabrics across the province. When the province's largest university graduates nearly forty well trained historical costumers each year, this is disheartening.

I recommend a task group be developed to create a costume interpretation plan for the whole Nova Scotia Museum complex. Members should be chosen from interpretation staff, curators, and wardrobe specialists from within the museum staff and from the outside community, with a preference given to those who care and are knowledgeable about the roles clothing and dress play within the wider social sphere. Emphasis should be given to the study of the costume collection of the museum. What can the extant pieces tell us of the people who owned and wore these garments? How were these garments constructed? How did they fit? How were they used? As the 250th commemorations of the American Revolutionary War begin, American sites are taking this opportunity to re-examine and more fully develop their costume interpretation plans. How does the early history of Nova Scotia fit into this overall North American and Atlantic World narrative? How can the people of Nova Scotia play a larger role in the historical interpretation of the American Revolution? Our ancestors were there, playing roles in that story, Nova Scotian history is American history. We should take this opportunity to play a greater role in that current narration.

When I began making costumes for historic sites, I was using a very modern and highly theatrical approach to garment construction. I knew that things were not perfect, but people were dressed, and the scene looked ok from a distance. It was when my summer job was made into a year–round contract that I could take the time to really start to look at the extant garments in the site's collection, to use the same methods archaeologists were using in their experiments on artifact reconstruction. I began by visually disecting the garment, determining how it was constructed, either by hand or by machine. That first winter, I made sample after sample of each individual component of the 1869 highland doublet I was researching. I began to look at how our collection of interpretation garments were showing wear patterns, and if those were similar to or different from the wear patterns of the extant garments. The following summer, our approach to garment construction changed. I have learned through the process of experimentation that there are methods used in historical garment construction that cannot be duplicated by modern, machine made construction techniques. There are ways of manipulating the cloth by hand that you cannot achieve by forcing it through a sewing machine. There are also ways in which the body manipulates the garment through wearing; and if you start off with a garment that hasn't been constructed properly, using historical methods, that new garment will never look historically accurate on the body. In short, it will look like a costume, not like real clothing.

The relatively new, interdisciplinary approach called 'Public Historymaking' re-iterates the notion that people make history and heritage through unconventional and non-academic means. It is a concept that includes not only historians and curators attached to institutions, but also bloggers, archivists, librarians, educators, artists, collectors, novelists, activists, and yes, living history practitioners. Editors of a recent *Public History Reader,* Hilda Kean and Paul Martin, note "…history, far from being 'fixed' in time, is fluid and is re-made to serve contemporary agendas or needs in the

present."[242] By using methods usually reserved for those practicing other social arts, we can develop more inclusive methods to historymaking, encorporating more of the community. In the *Introduction,* Kean suggests,

> although there are various definitions of public history (and different emphases in different countries), we see public history as a process by which the past is constructed into history and a practice which has the capacity for involving people as well as nations and communities in the creation of their own histories. Discussion of process is an integral part of the practice of public history. The [Public History] Reader is intended to challenge conventional approaches to history and to facilitate new ways of thinking to enable the engagement with one's own history-making." To further that, "…if public history is not a set body of knowledge but a process by which history is constructed, then it is about 'making' history as much as 'thinking about' history.[243]

If we are to follow this notion, then the conventional 'house tour' or 'highlight tour' type of interpretive method must be set aside for new and innovative approaches to historymaking and preserving our heritage.

This is where the living historian, plying their trade within a historical setting or gallery space, can engage with the visitor on a more intimate level. Knitting groups within an *Age of Sail* gallery not only passes down the skill of knitting to a new generation, but also offers the opportunity to talk about knitting being a traditional seafarer's craft. We can discuss how wool was processed into garments, and what qualities were sought after by those who spent much of their lives outdoors or at sea. How is the process similar to or different from today? How are those garments similar or

[242] Kean, H. and Martin, P. (2013). *the Public history reader,* New York: Routledge. Back cover.
[243] Ibid p.xiii.

different? I believe that if more wardrobe departments gave the interpretation staff the opportunity to study and learn from the clothing issued to them as 'costume' pieces, we would see dramatic changes in how they dress. 'Costume' would become 'clothing'; interpretation staff would value the pieces and take greater pride in how they present themselves to the public. This shift in the direction of thinking on clothing as a key part in the overall interpretation plan is keenly noted in recent job postings at Fort Ticonderoga, where they state: "[Candidates are] required to act and dress accurately out of respect to the historical individuals they portray," and "High standards of authenticity and commitment to excellence are expected."[244] Many employers have dress codes and expect them to be followed; historic sites have as much right – and perhaps even more responsibility - to do the same.

From my own experience wearing clothing of many periods as a historical interpreter, I have a different insight into our perceived notions on the oppression of women. Many modern people wish to lay the blame fully on the corset's doorstep, when, I have found the opposite to be true. In fact, I have found women's sleeves to be far more oppressive than the corsets I have created and worn over the years. It is through that creating and wearing of historic dress in the historic settings I have worked in that I have come to think of the corset as a wonderful supportive garment, allowing me to be dressed properly, without having to think about my clothing at all during the day. For each new time period or culture I have been asked to dress, I created sample garments to wear and test out before asking the interpreter to work in the pieces. This has allowed me to refine fit, and to determine if there will be long-term problems in wearing that historical garment. With pieces constructed for the Halifax Citadel, I noted how oppressive the 1860s lowered shoulder and armscye truly were. All I was able to do is sit, look pretty, and maybe knit or stitch. I could also stand and

[244] Fort Ticonderoga job description for interpreters, specifically the *Head of Livestock* position, showing that even in working with farm animals, accuracy in dress and deportment is required.

look pretty. I certainly could not do any of the numerous things I (or interpretation staff) needed to do as a 'soldier's wife' at the site. It is through this experimental archaeology of wearing historical dress that I began to fully comprehend the separation of the women's sphere and the men's sphere in the mid-1800s. This troubling lack of the ability to work made me think of class separations as well, and how working women of the lower classes may have modified that fashionable armscye style to be able to complete their daily tasks. We have many images of the 'fashionable' woman left to us through lady's magazines and fashion plates, but what did the common woman look like? How did fashion change her life? These are important aspects to consider when developing the interpretation plans for the Nova Scotia Museum sites that use living history interpretation. Notions of 'one-size-fits-all' and an all-encompassing 'old-fashioned' aesthetic to historic dress should be put aside for a more fully researched and developed costuming plan. The Nova Scotia Museum could be doing better.

Accuracy in dress at living history events

In preparation for the 250th commemoration of the 'Boston Massacre' in 2020, dress standards documentation currently sits at seventy-plus pages and includes specifics of garment construction, historical visual evidence for how garments were worn, and primary source documents considering what was available, consumed, and worn in the downtown Boston area in 1770.[245] Participants wishing to take part in the interpretation for the commemoration were asked to follow these guidelines and submit personal photographs of themselves for vetting by the organizing committee. If any changes to kit and personal adornment were required, participants were expected to complete the changes prior to arriving onsite the day of the event, or they would not be permitted to

[245] You can find all the dress standards for the "Boston Massacre" event documents listed here: https://www.facebook.com/groups/831811263527500/permalink/1404249106283710, https://www.facebook.com/groups/831811263527500/permalink/1404249566283664, https://www.facebook.com/groups/831811263527500/permalink/1404250679616886, https://www.facebook.com/groups/831811263527500/permalink/1404252099616744

participate. Participants were each given the role of a historical figure to interpret, 'extras' were used as crowd control and third person interpretation with the expected audience. Walk-on participants were not permitted for this event and would be asked to leave or change into modern clothing.[246]

The difficulty with a seventy-plus page document of dress standards is that it appears overwhelming and may not actually be read by the people who wish to participate. For future documents of this type, I would suggest a brief summary of clear and concise dress regulations as the introduction, followed up with the documentation behind the choices that were made when determining the look of the event. As it stands, the Revolutionary New England 1765-1775 Facebook group's file section is too heavy and unwieldly. As the community processes through all the 250th commemoration events over the historical timeline, future briefing documents should begin with the place, date, and season of the commemoration event proposed, then specify who the known key players were, along with the name of the living historian assigned for each character.[247]

Once the event is situated, and the gender and age range of characters are filled, a summary of 'best practices' can be developed so that volunteers know which pieces of kit they need to bring with them, which pieces need updating to meet minimum standards, and which pieces to leave home. If this section also includes list of a suppliers and places where the volunteer can obtain the required materials, or clothing pieces and accoutrements, a standard look can be more readily achieved. By separating the document out into more readily digestible sections, standards documents

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[246] At the time of writing, I was unsure if the script for the event had been updated for 2020, the last dated file uploaded was for 2017. https://www.facebook.com/groups/831811263527500/permalink/1415896748452279.

[247] See Snow, S. E. (forward by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett) (1993). *Performing the pilgrims: a Study of ethnohistorical role-playing at Plimoth Plantation,* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. It should be noted here that not all historical re-enactment events are situated to best suit every living history practitioner. Some living historians are better background actors and are better suited to larger battle re-enactments where they are told to show up to a certain location with a certain type of uniform and accoutrements to portray generic soldier in the line, others are better suited to more intimate, theatrical types of living history experiences where the visitor can experience the nuances of facial expressions, they are so close to the actor, other living history people make great interpreters, explaining to the crowd assembled what they are about to see, who the key characters are, and what was going on to cause the historical event, the 'Greek chorus', so to speak, of the living history world.

might actually be read, and followed, and fewer living history volunteers may feel alienated by the process of being vetted for these major events. As I have mentioned before, not all events are suited for every type of living history practitioner, and it is important for the living historian to realize this early on in their career. The requirements of the historic site should take precedence over the needs or wants of the volunteer. By creating solid, readable dress and deportment standards, the site can more readily enforce these requirements. Historical interpretation specialist Max van Balgooy explains:

> Historical interpretation is not simply a recounting of facts. A piano has eighty-eight keys, but to make music, you choose only a few of them. As interpreters we are creating music, selecting those people, places, and events that can best convey meaning and understanding about the past. Interpretation requires us to study, analyse, and select evidence that reveals a significant story, narrative, or lesson. History is not merely for entertainment, but education, and increasingly museums and historic sites are using history to explain current events and inform decisions.[248]

By having a strong interpretation plan for the event, and then an equally strong dress and deportment guideline prepared, participants can fully understand their role in the living history program. A more intimate historical experience can be prepared and developed for the visitor. The program will feel less like an overarching history lesson, and more like stepping into history to experience that life.

From the interpretation-planning side of things, Red Hook "See You in Court" in February 2020 was likely the strongest living history event I have ever attended. Dr. Will Tatum, site interpretation director, began by inviting people to join the Facebook working group in late summer

[248] van Balgooy, M. (2015). *Interpreting African American history and culture at museums and historic sites.* Interpreting History Series. London: Rowman and Littlefield, publishers. Introduction p. xiv

2019. Throughout the winter months, we were able to share research and documents in order to re-create the clothing and personal material culture we would need during the interpretation performance. As people were able to confirm their attendance, we were all given jobs or roles to play based on the skills we could bring to the table. It was impressive to see such a strong cadre of museum professionals and lay people bring their A-game to the whole event, from planning to execution. Events do not have to be everything for everyone. Reenactors must move forward, past the idea that museums and historic sites are 'their' playground, and into thinking of themselves as part-time, valuable assets to those sites. Each living historian should be able to bring skills and up-to-date research and knowledge to the sites where they are asked to participate. At Red Hook, the living historians were there to put on a quality program for the site; that was the paramount factor of the day. The event *for the participants* came secondary to the site's needs.[249] This one fact impressed me the most, since it is often lost on a lot of larger, spectacle-type living history events I have attended over the years.

Not everyone is a historical tailor or craftsperson, but everyone in this working group helped everyone else prepare for the event. We were given detailed clothing guidelines to follow, with enough advance notice that everyone could have a proper outfit in time for the event. When people had problems, other people stepped in to help, with loaner items or by creating garments for other participants. While we may have all

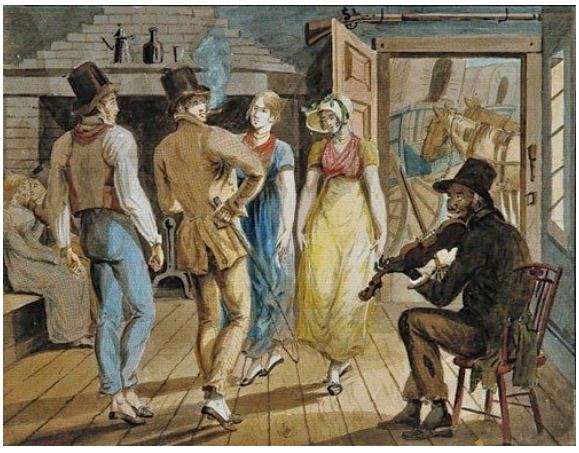

Figure 1- 4 KRIMMEL, John Lewis; Merrymaking at a Wayside Inn 1813 The MET museum New York

[249] For older generation re-enactors, there is the belief that museum sites are there for the event participants enjoyment, and not the actuality that volunteer living historians are there to support the site and its mission. While there must be a bit of respect given to the older generations who began these communities and worked with the institutions to develop living history programs, there is a full decolonization movement occurring in the museum world and new ideas on interpretation must be sought out.

looked like we stepped from a painting, the details were what caught my eye the most. There were nuances in sewing abilities, but there was also a time range of 'fashionability' of about 15 years. There were class considerations, as we were, after all, interpreting a 'country' inn, and in reflecting a period watercolour of a country dance, the men were wearing their hats indoors. Not typically 'proper' behaviour, but perhaps more indicative of how people truly lived.

Figure 1-5 Figure 0 5 From Left Carrie Fellows, Ben Bartgis, and Tim MacDonald chat during a break in the dancing

The living history event planning and execution were wrapped up with each of us offering an after-action report of how the day played out through our individual perspectives. Dr. Tatum then coalesced these reports into a document to present to his board of directors. This report and presentation were done with the hope to create future living history experiences for the site and to secure full funding for those future events.[250] The event working group became a living history working group for the site; hopefully those future events will be staffed by this cadre of living historians, curators, museum technicians, and researchers once Covid-19 is over and we have all been vaccinated.

[250] Please see https://www.facebook.com/historicredhook/posts/1434613913390528 for photos of the event, https://www.facebook.com/events/453964158644808/?active_tab=discussion, for the discussion leading up to the event. A cadre a living history interpreters was formed to provide the working group for future living history events, https://www.facebook.com/groups/redhooklivinghistory. And the site won a prestigious tourism award in part due to the success of the event, https://youtu.be/oTaeXmExLSs.

Conclusions on historical accuracy

Nova Scotia could be producing similarly high-quality programing at their own living history sites. Steps have been taken to hire long-term seasonal staff who return with valuable experience and knowledge to some of the sites year after year.[251] Often though, those professional living historians are not fully supported behind the scenes. Within the Nova Scotia Museum, there is a disconnect between curatorial resources and the sites themselves, including general interpretive themes, and a lack of direction for historic dress.[252] Despite the number of trained graduates leaving Dalhousie University's Costume Studies program every year, those graduates are not being hired by the province or the museums to produce quality historic garments for the interpretation staff. Federal funding programs such as Young Canada Works could be utilized to hire those students while still in school and eligible for the hiring program, creating a desire for those students to remain in the province after graduation instead of leaving for greener pastures in Montreal or Toronto. Nova Scotia could readily hire professional costumers who can guide those summer students to create more accurate and better-quality garments. This two-fold approach to succession planning of interpretation support would create a more historically accurate product for the museum complex that is also more engaging for a larger segment of population and for the province.

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[251] Many sites have seasonal staff that return year after year on a summer season contract. Others have some staff that are full time. Other sites yet, rely almost entirely on Young Canada Works summer students for their interpretation staff. It fully depends on the funding the sites receive, and the direction of the governing boards. See "Agreement Between Nova Scotia Pension Services Corporation and the Nova Scotia Government & General Employees Union Local 48, April 1, 2017-March 31, 2021" https://novascotia.ca/psc/pdf/employeeCentre/collectiveAgreements/CIVIL-SERVICE-MASTER-AGREEMENT-APRIL-1-2015-MARCH-31-2021.pdf p. 22.

[252] See pages 32-36, https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan.

Despite using photos of living history programing at their own sites to illustrate the NSM's interpretation masterplan document, the written text document focuses on natural resources and cultural heritage and, ironically, excludes any mention of, or plans to support the living history initiatives they appear to find worth in promoting.[253] As per the Nova Scotia Government Employees Union agreement, "The employer will not utilise casual and term appointments to avoid filling a permanent position."[254] With this understanding, there is already justification for the permanent position of a curator of historic dress within the government staffing mandate. Due to the extreme workload required, wardrobe positions should not be seasonal; nor should this work be expected to be carried out by volunteers in lieu of hiring trained professionals. If the marketing department of the Nova Scotia Museum recognizes the value of living history programs, these same programs should be fully supported by the museum, and by the provincial department of Communities, Culture, and Heritage. In *Revisiting Living History: a Business, an Art, a Pleasure, an Education,* author Kathryn Boardman reminds the Association for Living Historical Farms and Agricultural Museums (an international professional organization which many individuals in the province hold membership through) that there are costs involved in developing and presenting living history programs, that there is a need for constant training and research, and that there are "challenges to overcome 'Little House on the Prairie' understandings of history," but that we can use these programs to offer different perspectives of the people, land, and work not often left to us in written historical accounts. Boardman continues to explain that living history can help to explore historical processes and artifacts 'in context,' allowing for a better understanding of those artifacts.

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[253] Adding more levels of irony, the document features award winning living history programming from federal level Parks Canada sites in the province. https://museum.novascotia.ca/about-nsm/interpretive-master-plan. Pp 3, 6, 33, 62. Parks Canada sites do not fall under the purview of the Nova Scotia Museum at all and have their own issues with lack of proper funding and curatorial direction.

[254] See "Agreement Between Nova Scotia Pension Services Corporation and the Nova Scotia Government & General Employees Union Local 48, April 1, 2017-March 31, 2021" https://novascotia.ca/psc/pdf/employeeCentre/collectiveAgreements/CIVIL-SERVICE-MASTER-AGREEMENT-APRIL-1-2015-MARCH-31-2021.pdf p16.

Boardman also felt that living history programs were better situated to engage the public on a deeper level than a simple 'museum stroll.'[255] Nova Scotia, and its department of Communities, Culture, and Heritage needs to be doing a better job in accurately portraying its history.

[255] Boardman, K. (2019). "Revisiting living history: a Business, an art, a pleasure, an education" *The living history anthology: Perspectives from ALHFAM*. New York and London: Routledge, p16.

Chapter Two: Dress, body, and culture; Settlers inhabiting Nova Scotia in the last quarter of the 18th Century – Case studies on character development

Any living historian starting to develop a character to portray at a historic site should focus on what the site needs, based on history, rather than on what the volunteer wants to do for fun. For many living history events, organizers will send out information such as the scenario, the date to be re-enacted, and what sorts of characters they will be looking for. To be most valuable to the site, the living historian will work within those guidelines. This chapter presents character sketches for the main culture forms[256] researched in this dissertation. I discuss how to do the research surrounding the dress and personal material culture for a given character in that environment using a three-pronged approach. First, I look at what the artifacts tell us, using both published artifact analysis from respected sites and authors, and pieces that I was able to document myself from the Nova Scotia Museum prior to Covid shutdowns. Second, I examine the documented evidence of personal material culture discussed in run away advertisements and probate records to fully round out my character sketch. Finally, I study artworks published digitally through museum and gallery collections. Contemporary artists leave a wealth of information to us through their sketches of everyday life in London and other major cities in the now United Kingdom. How can the modern historic costumer use these resources to develop characters to be used in interpretive programs in Canada and the United States? I consider site guidelines and event scenarios, and how involvement with the larger living history community can foster a better understanding of how clothing and personal material culture can contribute to the interpretive themes of the site. I also consider how

[256] Cultural forms is sometimes referred to the performative nature of culture. The sights and sounds, the stories and the historical events, the anthropological study of the sociality of humans. What are the things that make up our cultural differences? An additional definition is here: https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095652897

the body works within those thematic scenes, and what it may need to fully function as a character from that period.

My primary focus is always on the core scope of this dissertation: the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and which cultures were at-play in that time period in the province. There were certainly always the various Indigenous populations in the area (Mi'kmaq, Maliseet), as well as other cultures immigrating to the province alongside the people I will recreate in this chapter, including free-black populations and returning Acadien people that had been displaced during the early part of the century during the Seven Years War period. For the purpose of this project, I chose to focus on the cultural identities of a New England couple of 1770, at the start of the war, then moved to two types of disbanded soldiers and what they might have looked like outside of uniform for the major artistic projects. Finally, I propose to construct a suit based on patterns taken from the extant pieces at Ross-Thompson house and what a Loyalist gentleman in 1780 might have worn. For the scope of this chapter, these are the characters I chose to focus on as they are the types of people portrayed at summer living history events in the province, but also in consideration of the Nova Scotia Museum's collection. The other cultural groups could be dissertations all on their own and will possibly be explored in future research.

In March 2020, various 250th (sestercentennial) American Revolutionary commemorative celebrations and re-enactments began. The 'Boston Massacre' event[257] has been in development for several years now, with each year seeing additional files of information required by both living historians and event organizers. For many years the Bostonian Society organization has held a re-enactment of the events surrounding what became known as the 'massacre,' but in the lead-up to the 250th commemorative anniversary in March 2020, they tightened the planning and sharpened the

[257] For more information on this event, please see: https://www.facebook.com/Rev250/videos/1207416909456595/

research to allow for the best living history experience possible for both participants and viewers. Previously, generic calls for participants and military units allowed for a loose narration of events of the day. This often allowed for more mainstream living historians to participate in fairly generic roles of 'soldier' or 'civilian'; 'British', or 'townsperson'. With 2020's 250th kick-off, many more people wished to participate than the original numbers of people who would have been involved in the dispute. To keep tighter control of the event, a casting call was put out by organizers in the Fall of 2019. From the responses, event organizers selected one hundred living historians suited to the roles they needed to fill, much the same way an actor is hired for a theatrical performance. As part of the progressive community, I was offered an invitation to participate, but in looking at the site requirements, I quickly realized that I would not make the best fit for that event given my age and portrayal of female gendered characters. The Boston Massacre was a street brawl between a group of young men and British sailors and soldiers stationed in the town. There would be very few roles for women to participate, and I knew there were quality female living historians much closer to the core community in Boston.

I was able, however, to watch the preparations, as I am still part of the progressive living history community and part of the Facebook working group for this and other upcoming commemorative events. As soon as participants were chosen and given their character assignments, work began. Some people needed to create new clothes, often from the skin out, to prepare for the worst possible winter weather as the event is traditionally held the first weekend of March. Others still needed to create extra pieces to round out their 1770 wardrobes, or to upgrade pieces to follow the strict clothing guidelines laid out for the event. A clothing guidelines document of almost eighty pages of primary research was compiled by several well-respected members of the living history community and covered both women's and men's wear, from common people and runaways to

soldiers and sailors.[258] While I was not a participant in the event itself, I was able to help build clothing used by other participants. Again, each event is a group effort to produce, and every member of the community is involved.

When constructing clothing guidelines for an event or site, it is important to take a multifaceted approach to the research behind the direction. We often do not have hard and fast information about what the specific characters wore and how they wore their clothes since common people could not afford to sit for their portraits. There are genre paintings and sketches of people and events, but the names of those cast members are usually lost to us. We need to seek out what historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich calls the "pots-and-pans history."[259] As Thatcher Ulrich asks, "What were the concrete realities of [women's] lives in Northern New England? How did these differ for men?"[260] I would add to these queries with my own questions. What were everyday people's lives like in this period of revolution? What did they look like? How different, or similar in appearance did they present when compared to their wealthier counterparts? To round out that research, the living historian looks at other sources such as runaway ads, extant clothing, inventory accounts, and at what is fashionable for the particular culture they are interpreting. Thatcher Ulrich informs us about "Role Analysis," the normative characteristics of a group being studied.[261] Throughout this dissertation, it became increasingly important to rely on digital and print sources to provide background information on everything I constructed. With the outbreak of Covid-19, any hopes of future research trips to collections were dashed, so I returned to sources I had in my own

[258] I print and keep each new 'clothing regulations' document for my files. They each build on the regulations created for Minuteman NHP documented in chapter 1. Every new document allows for a greater focus on the year, place, and possibly even the culture surrounding the historical event. By having the primary sources included in the documents, more researchers and living historians have better access to such sources. The Revolutionary New England 1765-1775 site is at https://www.facebook.com/groups/831811263527500/files. This is still the most in-depth set of clothing regulations available and most sites use this as the basis for their own dress regulations.
[259] Thatcher Ulrich, L. (1991). Good wives: Image and reality in the lives of women in northern New England 1650-1750, New York: Vintage Books, p. xiii.
[260] Ibid, p.5.
[261] Ibid, p. 5.

library and online. With more and more museums and historic sites digitalizing their collections, this prospect became easier and easier.

Early in the PhD process I launched into the creative side of my dissertation project by looking at which living history events I wished to participate in over the next few years while we were living in the Montreal region. Living so close to the American border provided us the opportunity to travel down into New England with far shorter drive-times than if we were travelling from Nova Scotia. I looked at the wardrobe pieces we had, and then what each event's requirements would be, to determine an order of construction. Spring 2018 offered our first living history experience with the Battle Road event at Minute Man National Historic Park in Lexington, Massachusetts. This event is the commemoration of the "shot heard 'round the world,"[262] the beginning of the American Revolution. For a brief historical background, it had been ten years since the Stamp Act was passed on March 22nd, 1765, in theory to help pay for the costs incurred during the Seven Years War. Tensions were already high in the Boston area, from what would become known as the Boston Massacre of March 5th, 1770, and the resulting court cases against the British troops involved. By this point in history, New England Planters[263] had already begun migration to Nova Scotia to take up farmland that had been developed by the Acadien peoples before their displacement and expulsion[264] at the end of the Seven Years War. Living history events that consider the Planter migration in Nova Scotia are few and far between but having clothing from this period is useful for the overall living history endeavour for us, as we can partake in living history events that

[262] The phrase "shot heard round the world" is memorable due to the Saturday morning television learning campaign of the 1970s Schoolhouse Rock, the animated cartoon helped kids learn and remember a good many things, like history, but also civics and grammar. The cartoon about the Minuteman event can be found here. http://www.schoolhouserock.tv/Shot.html date accessed 10/05/2019.
[263] I did not want this to become another history document. To read more about the New England Planters, please see: https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/the-forgotten-immigrants-the-journey-of-the-new-england-planters-to-nova-scotia-1759-1768 date accessed 10/05/2019.
[264] Marsh, J. H. (2015). "Acadian expulsion (the Great upheaval)," *The Canadian encyclopedia*. Retrieved from https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-deportation-of-the-acadians-feature date accessed 10/05/2019.

travel up and down the historical timeline. I would use this early Revolutionary date as a starting point to develop characters based on what New Englanders in the period looked like. Both the early Planters, and then the Loyalists could fall into this group of people, as both sets of migration waves settled around the southwest end of Nova Scotia, from the top of King's County at Windsor, through to what would become Digby and Yarmouth, and then through to the areas surrounding what would become Shelburne.[265] Living history events in Nova Scotia can cover this broad timeline with Acadia University often calling upon the living history community to provide interpretation for their annual conference on the Planter migration. Also, I am a firm believer of the possibility of some older styles of clothing holding on in some demographics of people, usually through the need of wearing clothing until it is threadbare, or simple desire to hold on to older fashions popular in the wearer's youth.

I began to formulate an idea of how I wanted my husband Pierre and I to look for the Battle Road scenario. Pierre had a suitable pair of black breeches and a wool waistcoat from an earlier period suit I had made for him to wear to Louisbourg (1758) re-enactment events. The frock coat would need to be updated to suit the early 1770s fashionable cut, so I pulled out a lovely black, napped, wool broadcloth to cut a new frock coat to match his existing black breeches and waistcoat. A ditto suit, one made of all three pieces in matching colour and material were popular fashion for men at that time.[266] I looked to the collection at Colonial

Figure 2-1 Frock Coat Pocket flaps details and trim

[265] Robertson, M. (1983). *King's bounty – A history of early Shelburne Nova Scotia*, published by the Nova Scotia Museum: Halifax

[266] For a definition of the ditto suit, please see: https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/dressed-down-democracy-108373413/

Williamsburg for inspiration.[267] A friend there, the Assistant Curator of Decorative Arts had posted

Figure 2-2 A middling couple from New England enjoying a night out before Revolution

an image of an interesting pocket detail to his Facebook on June 26th 2016 that piqued my interest.[268] I would seek out the rest of that frock coat's information and create a similar version, without the gold trimming, for Pierre to wear to this event.[269] My choice in black also seemed to fit with the general aesthetic of the period, as dark and sombre colours tend to turn up in extant records for suits in America up into the nineteenth century.[270] I still have a bit of work to do to tighten up this

[267] https://www.emuseum.history.org for access to the main collection.
[268] Assistant Curator, Neal Hurst's post featuring the inspiration suit is here: https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10153533105111816&set=a.110228871815
[269] The online catalogue images for the inspiration suit is here: https://emuseum.history.org/objects/29203/coat
[270] The justification for using darker colours can be found here: https://emuseum.history.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:100776?fbclid=IwAR2GsqUgA8xCamiAoJ6ILro7KvCMTe-6TQGRAiwS-LFFeYqTZ1f2iQGYx1M

impression for future events, mostly along the lines of appropriate accessories. I look back on photos taken during the event and see room for improvement, but that is likely to be an ongoing endeavour for the rest of my interpretation career.

The second set of character sketches I worked on were focused on the dissertation work proper. I was interested in what we would be wearing as disbanded soldier and wife from the 84th Royal Highland Emigrant regiment, the unit my own ancestor fought with during the Revolutionary period. This regiment was largely recruited of men who had already immigrated to North America. The earliest written reference to a person with the surname Grant living at Pine Tree, Pictou County, Nova Scotia dates to 1809.[271] Oral history traces ancestor Donald Grant further back, to the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants regiment and their participation in the American Revolution. Further still, documents show the enlistment roll for the ship *Glasgow* that sailed from Fort William, on Scotland's west coast on September 3rd, 1775. When the *Glasgow* approached New York, it was re-directed to Boston Harbour where the men aboard were pressed to enlist on November 27th, 1775. There is no other passenger list for this particular voyage. Custom officers at Fort William wrote on September 3rd, 1775,

> These people were mostly all from the Northern parts of the Shire of Strathglass on the land of Chisholm country – none of them had the appearance of gentlemen but a Mr. Fraser and a Mr. Chisholm. The rest seemed to be very poor people at least they had that appearance – they however all made shift to pay (as we were told) for their passage, but about twenty of them that indented with the owners of the vessel and Mr. Fraser and Chisholm who freighted the vessel for them.

[271] Deed. No. Book 3 page 263 Microfilm reel 18476. Merigomish, Nova Scotia. 8 August 1809.

> In all, there were two hundred and fifty-one people, one hundred and twenty-nine female and one hundred and twenty-two men, of which it appears seventy-four were enlisted.[272]

This record is the earliest my family has been able to trace our genealogy. Knowing that my ancestor, Donald Grant could not sign his name on the deed of property entrenches the idea that these common people who sailed on the *Glasgow* could very well be our people. These two hundred and fifty-one people were seeking a better life in North America, access to farmland to call their own. A few years of military service in the hopes of firmly accessing that farmland likely did not seem so high a cost.

The uniform of the 84th RHE itself has been researched by several other distinguished academics. For the dissertation I wanted to look at what this man and his wife might have worn outside of issued uniform. What did my highland man have on when he boarded that ship? I also wished to quash myths that persist in the re-enactment community that we do not know what women and civilians might have worn. That old and tired trope allows for thin excuses of inaccuracy to exist. We know better and should be doing better. There is a greater access to artwork of the period and more and more researchers are examining primary source information, diaries, and records left to us by these common people. By utilizing all these sources, we can parse together what common people wore. For this next character sketch, I would look at sources available from genre paintings held in Scottish institutions, published diary interpretations of soldier's wives of the late

[272] Grant, A. (2008). *Transcriptions of fifteen early muster rolls (1775-1778) of the 2nd battalion young Royal Highland Regiment of Foot*. Transcriptions and explanation of document in Ward Chipman Fonds, Library and Archives of Canada MG 23 D-1, Vol.27 Microfilm C9818. uelac.org/military/Young-Emigrants-Muster-Rolls.php. p4.

eighteenth century, as well as extant garments of the period held in North American and United Kingdom institutions.

When developing the wardrobe sketches for the 'highland couple' the eighteenth-century artist David Allan proved invaluable.[273] Allan's paintings and sketches of the common people of Scotland offer a view on the wearing of tartan that differs from political directives.[274] There are numerous references in art to suggest that wearing tartan or plaid breeches was common. I had spent a considerable amount of time thinking on this garment, having spent much of my life observing friends and family dealing with either the great kilt or the fèileadh beag (small kilt) at home, and more importantly, in the field. Consensus among kilt-wearing living historians is that breeches are a far more practical garment; and knowing the deeply wooded landscape of northern Nova Scotia where disbanded soldiers settled, and the distances these settlers would have had to walk between the established community of Truro and their properties in Pictou County and beyond,[275] breeches were my choice of garment for the 'highland man' I created for this character sketch. The letters of commanding officers at Sorel, 1778-1781 make mention of old, surplus kilts and plaids being remade into winter trousers.[276] I want to use the opportunity of these character sketches to also reinforce the idea that anyone can create beautiful historical garments using fabrics sourced locally or using what the costumer already had on hand, if it is suitable. The breeches project was born out of finding an old kilt of my father's that was too small for any of the men in my family, and a bit thin and moth eaten in places, in keeping with its age and use. I carefully

[273] To see the genre images painted by David Allen, please see: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/search/artist/david-allan?page=0

[274] Acts of Proscription of Dress throughout the course of the early eighteenth century in Scotland were largely unenforceable. By 1782 the laws had been repealed entirely.

[275] Patterson, Rev. G. (1877, 1972 re-print). *A history of the county of Pictou, Nova Scotia,* Belleville: Mika Studio. P 109 and 138.

[276] http://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.redirect?app=fonandcol&id=3163382&lang=eng. I have to go to the National archives to dig through these fonds, as I am working on handwritten notes at the moment with limited bibliography references.

unpicked the entire kilt, to have a large flat piece of cloth to work with. Working with patterns that I had previously fit to the model, I was able to cut out a full pair of breeches and a pair of bias-cut, cloth hose from the small kilt. Older kilts like this one often turn up in second-hand shops in the province, and this was of a tartan pattern that existed in the late eighteenth century, dark blue and green MacKay family sett. While a different colour and sett than the breeches worn by Neal Gow in the David Allen and Sir Henry Raeburn paintings,[277] the 'look' of the garments felt correct. I completely lined the breeches in a dark blue cotton/linen blend purchased on the sale wall at my local fabric store. The lining will allow the breeches a longer (and more comfortable) wear, as the wear stress on the older piece of wool would be too great on its own. I was also able to use the cloth more fully, not having to cut around tiny moth holes in the tartan. As the wool breaks down further through wear, I will patch and mend judiciously for longer wear. The garment will develop what living historians call 'heritage' as it is worn, showing proper wear patterns different than theatrical breakdown processes may allow.

The second garment in this character sketch outfit was the waistcoat. For this garment, I was determined to use fabric scraps I had been saving for almost a decade. These were originally from a length of cloth hand woven, and hand dyed by Lesley Armstrong, professor at NSCAD and owner of Armstrong Textiles and the Lahave Weaving Studio. She had gifted the scraps to me, knowing my career in historical garment construction. While I realize that having access to hand woven cloth is prohibitive to most, it is more important to consider the waistcoat was cut from scrap cloth, that otherwise might be thrown out. Extensive piecing at both the shoulders and the side seams allowed

[277] Paintings of fiddler Niel Gow can be seen here: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/2586/niel-gow-1727-1807-violinist-and-composer-his-brother-donald-gow-fl-c-1780-cellist?page=0&artists%5B15102%5D=15102&search_set_offset=2, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/114767/highland-dance?page=4&artists%5B15102%5D=15102&search_set_offset=265, Sir Henry Raeburn also painted Gow, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/2585/niel-gow-1727-1807-violinist-and-composer?artists%5B15102%5D=15102&artists%5B15092%5D=15092&search_set_offset=9

for the main body of the garment (fronts), the parts that would be visible when worn, to be largely whole. The waistcoat backs, which are usually from a plain linen or cotton fabric, and the linings came from scraps of linen from other projects originally purchased at a local fabric store.[278]

The final major garment for this character was a coatee or shortened frock coat. I based this garment's construction on two sources, Glasgow Museum artifact E.1990.59.1[279] dated 1740-46, and Fort Ticonderoga's 1777 Contract Coatee workshop instructions.[280] The contract coatee reproduced in the construction notes is similar to an artifact in the Canadian War museum, accession number 19830092-001 with a date of 1780-83.[281] Both extant coatees, despite their broad date range, have a cut and construction style similar to that in the image of the 84th RHE soldier of 1778.[282] The material I used for this garment was also sourced at a local fabric store and was the remainder from another project I made a year earlier. The base colour of the wool was similar to the colour of the wool used for the waistcoat, with a blue crossbar line running throughout in a muted plaid style. I used a blue linen to line the decorative pocket flaps and cuff details, bringing the edge of the lining to the front as I felled the pieces together to create a fine 'piped' edge. This one feature required

[278] I purchase most of my fabrics at the local shops in season, always with historical garment construction in mind. Historical colours tend not to be sold quickly to those who create modern fashion garments and may even end up heavily discounted at the end of the season. My own fabric 'stash' is small, but 'well curated', as a friend recently remarked.
[279] This jacket or coatee was the inspiration for my own reconstruction: http://collections.glasgowmuseums.com/mwebcgi/mweb?request=record;id=194159;type=101.
[280] Fort Ticonderoga often hosts workshops for living historians to reproduce researched garments for use in living history programs at the site.
[281] Another inspiration jacket or coatee: https://www.warmuseum.ca/collections/artifact/1059136/?media_irn=1193812
[282] The primary source image of an 84th RHE soldier can be found here: http://uelac.org/st-lawrence/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/84RegimentNYLibrarry.gif

multiple samples as I worked through how to achieve a thin piping effect with as little bulk as possible to the seam. I ended up using a reversed method of felling lining to garment fabric which pushed the lining fabric out past the edge of the fashion fabric just enough for a piped detail. I then added a secondary row of top stitching to reinforce the style line a bit further. I used a bit of creative license to construct this garment that was in keeping with the historical aesthetic but reflected the qualities of the wool that I wished to highlight. I will often refer to an extant piece when creating garments, but do not copy exactly, if I can. The result is reflective of what fabrics are available to me today, but with a historical feel and utilizing historical construction methods. The coatees body was lined in unbleached linen as original pieces often are, saving the dyed linen for where it may show through wearing, such as the skirts of the jacket.

Figure 2-3 The finished pocket flap sewn in place. The edge of the lining peeks out forming the piped edge.

To complete the outfit, the model wore a blue-checked linen shirt cut in the typical style of late eighteenth-century shirts, an Indienne style printed cotton neck handkerchief purchased from Burnley and Trowbridge company, and footwear purchased from Margaret Hubley of Hubley Leatherworks in Ottawa. The model's hat was a re-blocked old wool hat that had seen many years of use and fading. I formed it into a round crown style with a flat brim, cocked along the back edge only in a fan-tail style. The hat is trimmed out around the crown with a length of green twill "lace" from my grandmother's notions collection and the inside was completed with a new linen sweatband and crown.

Figure 2-4 Neal Gow, the Highland Fiddler by J Jenkins 1801, National Library of Scotland, https://digital.nls.uk84254289 next to Pierre in his finished outfit, photo taken by the author

The last bits of cloth that were left over from this coatee project were then sent on to a young living historian so that he could cut a waistcoat for his own interpretation of this very same character outfit. In all, three complete projects resulted from one purchase of cloth, on sale, locally, a modern suit for myself, this coatee, and the waistcoat built by the young man. As I have mentioned throughout this document, it is important to create a community, sharing resources when

and where-ever possible. This is one way of sharing in the expense of creating quality living history clothing items. Sewing communities often have fabric swaps, or members donate leftover fabric pieces to other members to use. It should be no different in historical costume or living history communities.

My "Highland man" now had proper civilian kit suitable to his station in life, which led to his next outfit: what he would have worn once becoming a soldier? In our work with Fort Ticonderoga, my husband Pierre and I portray servants to the officers stationed in the garrison. My professional career working with historic sites offer us an opportunity not often extended to regular volunteer living historians. As professional-level volunteers we are given spaces to interpret to the public and treated similarly to paid staff at the site. This allows regular site staff to be tasked with other jobs on heavy interpretation weekends, such as supervising groups of reenactors, running battle scenarios, and being out among the crowds of visitors. Site staff have come to value our roles as room interpreters, engaging the public on a more intimate level. To fill this role for Fort Ticonderoga, Pierre requires components of British uniform to wear during certain events, and regular civilian attire to wear for others. For his servant's impression, I pulled 'small clothes' of white wool breeches and waistcoat from a British naval uniform I had created for him at the beginning of the PhD. These small clothes are the same, no matter the type of British uniform required. For the 2020 season, the British unit interpreted would be the 26th Regiment, wearing a red coat faced with yellow. A servant may not always wear the regimental uniform coat during servant duties, Fort Ticonderoga requested I construct a brown wool work jacket according to notations in their files regarding what soldier-servants wore. Vice President of Interpretation, Stuart Lilie, gave me considerable leeway to figure out this garment on my own, as they had extraordinarily little information as to what it may have looked like.

I began my research into this garment by undertaking an image search of Sandby prints. Paul Sandby was another prolific sketch artist of the period offering a glimpse into the common, everyday world. I found the piece called *London Cries: A Fishmonger.*[283] This image offers a wealth of information for such a simple garment, such as hem length, sleeve and cuff details, and pocket and vent placements. I then turned to an extant example, though of French provenance, in the private collection of Henry Cooke, progressive living historian, tailor, and menswear expert. Cooke's particular piece is remarkably similar to the jacket worn by the fishmonger in the Sandby piece, and his photographs show details of seam stitching, types of thread used, and neckline details. I felt that I had enough information to start.

Figure 2-5 Blue wool, unlined jacket, c.1780 Henry Cooke collection

For this project, I used only materials I had at-hand. It was important to be able to create these garments using fabrics that could be locally sourced for as little cash outlay as possible rather than ordering fabrics from specialty shops in the US, and dealing with the dollar exchange rate, customs, and more. By constantly shopping for fabrics with historical garment construction in mind

[283] Sandby, P. (1731-1809). *London cries: a Fishmonger, c.1759*. Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection. https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1665780 date accessed: 10/05/2019

and sharing cloth and resources between living historians, it is sometimes possible for the costumer to create historical garments for the modern living historian for less money than is first considered. The breeches and waistcoat were from another British uniform I had constructed years before. Since almost all British units and elements wore a similar off-white wool small clothes with only the coatee or frock coat establishing which trade, unit, or element the soldier/sailor belonged to, it was easy for me to swap these garments between outfits as required. The brown wool for the jacket, I did end up purchasing locally as I did not have a large enough piece of suitable brown wool in my own collection. As I began this project, the world began to shut down with Covid,[284] and I was not entirely sure I could order in from the States and receive the wool in time to complete the garment before we needed to wear it. As it turned out, the garment has yet to be worn at an event, as our lives took a different turn of direction during, and then after Covid restrictions were lifted. We each do wear the jacket from time to time at home, going about our daily lives. This will ensure an amount of true heritage to the garment, as opposed to artificially distressing the garment before we return to eighteenth-century living history. The image below shows my husband Pierre dressed as a British soldier-servant wearing buff small clothes of breeches and waistcoat, the brown wool jacket impression, black fitted half gaiters over shoes made by Margaret Hubley of Hubley leatherworks, Ottawa, and a wool knit cap as 'undress.' His white linen shirt is cut in the typical eighteenth-century fashion, and he wears a black silk neck stock to enclose his neck. This character sketch should suit many British army impressions and will not require the expensive outlay of producing regimental coats for each unit we re-enact with. This could also be a cost-effective way for dressing summer students at sites. Build a full production set of off-white small clothes and a small range of simple

[284] I bought the wool on the Saturday after the first musings of massive shutdowns were made. I joked with my wool supplier on Saint-Hubert St. about how strange it felt in the city with nobody in it. Little did we understand at that point how serious COVID would be. It was months before he reopened, and I was not able to visit again before I returned home to Nova Scotia.

brown wool jackets in various sizes. This way, sites can save the expensive uniforms for staff who return year after year or are full time employees.

Figure 2-6 Pierre dressed as a Soldier Servant

The next character I was contemplating was the Highland woman, wife to former soldier Donald Grant, my own eighteenth-century ancestor. For my Mistress Grant character, I went to one of the very few sources we have available to us concerning what the female followers of the 84th Royal Highland Emigrants wore, a probate record of one Mrs. McQueen, possibly carried out in Halifax, NS. This inventory was likely taken about 1780.[285] Mrs. McQueen is recorded to have owned at this time, [all items sic]

2 blaket

4 paticats

[285] The inventory can be accessed by writing to the National Records of Scotland, accession #GD 174/585/6

4 shifts

3 short gowns

1pr stockings

1 apron

2pr shoes

1 coat

1 viscoats

2 shirts

The "coat, viscoats, and shirts" are thought to be men's garments, possibly cast-offs of her husband or other close male friend or relative. Kim Stacy, a historian who focuses on the RHE 84th of Foot Regiment, believes the blankets may also have been military issued, though other statements in his article, *The Highland Woman on Campaign,*[286] are a bit of a stretch when compared to the generally accepted body of knowledge for women's clothing in the eighteenth century, and serve to add to the myth that "we don't really know what women wore", rather than clarifying the matter any.[287] To counterpoint his suggestions, with this inventory as a starting point, I reproduced the garments listed, and added pieces which I believed were missing. I hope that through this character sketch, the

[286] Stacy, K. (date unknown). "The highland woman on campaign: A look at women's dress in the 84th Regiment (Royal Highland Immigrants)" *The northwest territory alliance courier*. www.nwta.com/courier/8-96/highwomen.html

[287] This myth seems to be passed on at every annual general meeting as an excuse to not do any actual research on women and children's clothing. It is a hold-over idea that only the military impressions are valuable and adds to the thought that women are not welcome in the hobby/profession. Women themselves fight back with actual research and learned impressions, proving that women played valuable roles in the military in the Revolutionary period, in both British and Continental armies.

old myths of not knowing can be set aside in favour of a well researched character and wardrobe for the ordinary women who never made history.

In the introductory paragraph of her book on stays and staymaking, Dr. Lynn Sorge-English writes about an imprisoned woman's desperate attempts to raise bail money. This woman, Hannah Boardman, eventually had her own child sell her stays in order to raise the needed funds, "four shillings and sixpence."[288] The story speaks to how important stays were to the body image of the woman in question, even in her destitute state. Sorge-English writes about the differences in quality between bespoke garments and 'ordinary' and that staymakers understood the need to diversify to suit their markets.[289] As I read through the inventory again, I was curious why Mrs. McQueen did not have a set of stays or bodies listed in her belongings,[290] after all, it was noted she owned two pair of shoes at the time of her death. Experience informs me that stays would allow for a semblance of comfort, allowing for support to the body, but also for the rest of her clothes – petticoats especially, so it may be that her stays were in such ill repair as to not hold any value at all.

I began this project by making new stays. *Patterns of Fashion: The Content, Cut, Construction and Context of Bodies, Stays, Hoops and Rumps c.1595-1795*[291] provided the inspiration for the pattern I would use. I traced off the pattern I made for my previous set of stays and altered it to fix fit issues. These new stays are constructed with four layers of linen in various qualities: from the inside, a soft linen/cotton blend as the lining, then a layer of linen canvas, a layer of linen buckram, and finally the fashion layer of green linen twill.[292] Extra bone casings are applied with linen tape to the canvas side

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[288] Sorge-English, L. (2011). *Stays and body image in London: The staymaking trade, 1680-1810*. London: Pickering & Chatto, p 1.
[289] Ibid. p 91.
[290] Ibid, p 141, Sorge-English cites Beverly Lemire and how women's bodies were under strict societal discipline.
[291] Arnold, J, Tiramani, J, and Costigliolo, L. (2018). *Patterns of fashion: The content, cut, construction and context of bodies, stays, hoops and rumps c.1595-1795*. London: the School of Historical Dress. p 105.
[292] The green twill is similar to an extant pair of stays studied by staymaker Redthreaded and owned by Dunvegan Castle. They are thought to have been originally owned by Flora MacDonald. Images can be found here https://www.facebook.com/BurnleyandTrowbridge/posts/10158520194731713

through all layers save the lining. I use ¼" nylon zip-ties for boning, as my research with various types of boning - including real baleen, reed, cane, wood splints and various synthetics - shows that this type of nylon most closely resembles proper baleen and is sourced locally at a far better price than German synthetic whalebone. The seams are covered in a narrow cotton tape dyed brown to match the stitching, and the stays are bound in the same linen tape used to create the extra bone channels earlier. By the last quarter of the eighteenth-century, stays could be purchased new and ready-made[293], were probably a lower-priced garment than the bespoke stays worn by the upper classes and were thus more readily available to a broader spectrum of society. Used stays of all qualities were also available, in the flourishing used clothing markets. My new stays would be as utilitarian as I could possibly make them, using strong, hard-wearing fabrics. I also decided to machine stitch most of the garment, using a 'backstitch' that closely resembles a hand-stitched backstitch to work the bone channels, and a regular single stitch to sew the pieces together. Finishing the garment, I added quarter inch wide cotton tape to cover the seams and bound the top and bottom edges in half inch linen tape sewn by hand. It was a specific decision to use the machine to complete the garment in as short a time as possible so that they would remain 'affordable' to more women in the living history community. I wanted to confirm that a machine stitched boning channel would be undistinguishable from hand stitched bone channels unless the viewer was standing so close to the wearer as to prove uncomfortable. In the period, staymaking was men's work, and still requires a significant amount of hand strength, and time to stitch all the channels

[293] Sorge-English, L. (2011). *Stays and body image in London: The staymaking trade, 1680-1810*. London: Pickering & Chatto. p 164.

through stiff cloth. With this pair completed, my old set of stays will be donated to the living history community for another woman to wear, recreating a similar second-hand clothing market to that of the eighteenth century.

Figure 2-7 I am very pleased with the shape I achieved with this set of stays. They are, by far, the most comfortable set I have worn.

The second garments I tackled in this probate reproduction were the short gowns. There has been a long running debate within the living history community as to what these garments were, how they were constructed, and who wore them.[294] I already own a wool bedgown/short gown that is hip length and worn for warmth over my regular 1770s gown. This wool bedgown/short gown is cut in a modified T shape, with elbow length sleeves and a flare over the hip. I added plain rectangular cuffs to lengthen the sleeves a bit more and finished the front and neck edge with a shawl-style collar. It is lined in linen. This garment has proven to be so practical, that I wear it almost every day, with jeans and T-shirts as a cardigan. This helps in the natural wear process as well, creating a garment that looks well loved and used instead of a once-a-year-worn 'costume' item. The second short gown to be constructed would be of two layers of printed cotton and closely based on an artifact in Colonial Williamsburg's collection, accession #1985-242, and

[294] This debate has been going on longer than a decade, and repeatedly rears its ugly head on social media. It has caused alienation and hard feelings on many fronts, and several women will no longer engage in any form of discussion over the garment. Instead, they choose to follow the original Minuteman dress guidelines and simply not wear anything that may resemble a short gown or bed gown, despite extant sources of their existence.

featured in Linda Baumgarten's book, *Costume Close-Up: Clothing Construction and Pattern 1750-1790.*[295] This particular short gown would provide a much cooler wearing garment for the increasingly hotter summers we have been experiencing due to climate change. My regular linen working gowns have proven to be far too much to wear in the heat of a July day in upstate New York, and I had been looking for an opportunity to create new, more versatile garments I can 'dress down' in, while still presenting as historically accurate as possible. This cotton gown, when paired with a linen shift, my new stays, two lightweight linen petticoats, and a thin reproduction neckerchief may work perfectly for upcoming living history seasons.

The cloth for this garment was sourced from the community. Fellow living historians were able to look through their own fabric stashes and two women came forward with short lengths of cloth that they would not otherwise use. These lengths of printed cottons were also older stock items, and so would not be currently seen as 'trending' in the living history community.[296] One in particular, I had coveted for nearly a decade, having missed the opportunity to purchase a length when it first came on the market. The 'cost' of these two pieces of fabric was negligible, as both women were more content to add to my dissertation project and de-stash their own collections at the same time.[297] The final short gown I created was a longer version of my trusted hip-length gown, also in wool. For this gown, I chose a knee-length version so that I could wear it as a coat

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[295] Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790,* New York: Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. p43.

[296] The living history community also experiences fashion trends, usually focused on the latest printed cotton to be reproduced by Colonial Williamsburg and sold through respected merchants Burnley and Trowbridge, or William Booth. Sometimes, a new publication will also cause a fashion stir, but it seems to be more focused around printed cottons for the ladies. Men's wear is a bit different, often centering around the newest extant artifact studied by either Henry Cooke or Neal Hurst. I do wonder if my own document may cause a fashion trend, given my apparent position within the community as well.

[297] When I began constructing garments for this dissertation, I challenged the living history community to use fabrics from their own personal collections instead of purchasing more fabric, entitled the historical stash-busting challenge. Costume challenges happen constantly within the costuming/historical community, either as sew-a-longs, photographic challenges, or like my own, using particular fabric choices. Followers of my own challenge were encouraged to use the hashtag #historicalstashbustingchallenge and it proved to be popular on Facebook and Instagram.

over other gowns, or as a dressing gown for early morning. The sleeves were slightly wider and longer than my shorter version and I faced the sleeve hem in scrap-bin linen remnants from a friend's project, piecing the rectangles to the desired shape. Waste-not, want-not.

Once the short gowns were finished, I moved on to making shifts. Sharon Burnston has uploaded all her research to her webpage,[298] and I do not feel the need to repeat it all in this project. I will point newcomers in her direction every time someone asks for help in figuring this garment out. I have also printed out and bound this valuable reference for my own use and encourage others to do the same. My own shift project came out of a gift of natural, unbleached linen. Burnston has made mention that some shifts would have natural bodies with bleached linen, sometimes in a finer thread count for the sleeves.[299] Out of this gift of linen, I was able to cut two shifts with bleached sleeves. I hand stitched these completely, and even added the laundry mark to the front neck in red silk thread cross stitch. I will be able to either wear these shifts or have them used in laundry demos where the public will be able to handle and examine them.

Figure 2-8 A pile of shift components on my desk on the left. Detail of the underarm gusset and flat felled seam on the right.

[298] Sharon Burnston's webpage of shift research can be found here: http://www.sharonburnston.com/shifts/shifts.html Date accessed 12/04/2019

[299] The particular note on sleeve colour being different can be found here: http://www.sharonburnston.com/shifts/shifts_sewing.html final paragraph. Date accessed 12/04/2019

Moving through this inventory, I then examined my own petticoat situation. I am of the mindset that a person cannot have too many petticoats and I wear at least two when I am dressing out, sometimes even three. I knew I wanted a couple more for my wardrobe, lightweight linen ones that would not feel as if I was drowning in clothing in warm weather. From the 'well curated' stash I pulled out a length of green linen and a length of natural dark and light striped linen, the latter with the intention of dying it a nice mustard colour. Both petticoats would be simple two fabric widths sewn into a tube with a simple running stitch, the top six-ish inches of the seams left unstitched and hemmed. They were then pleated with knife pleats into an inch wide linen tape folded onto itself to form the waist ties. I also did a simple turn and turn hem along the bottom edge that was then hemstitched in place.

Figure2-9 The finished green linen petticoat. Probably the easiest thing for a new person to construct.

At this point I had four petticoats I was happy with, four shifts, three short gowns of varying kinds, I had a pair of stockings based on the stockings in Sharon Burnston's *Fitting and Proper,*[300] and an apron that I had woven the cloth for over a summer earlier in this degree. To round out this inventory, I knew I would need a regimental coat of some variation. I put the word out into the community that I was looking for an old coat, preferably one stripped of its lace and buttons, one appropriate for a destitute soldiers wife to have in her belongings. A friend and long-standing living historian had one that would fit the need exactly. Fred

[300] Burnston, S. A. (1998). *Fitting and proper: 18th century clothing from the collection of the Chester County historical society*. Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing. p. 100

Lucas had one in the back of his closet with the intention to rebuild it years ago, but age and closets tend to cause shrinkage of clothes and so we made a trade. The old coat bits for a knitted bonnet. Lucas was also invaluable for sharing his bonnet research with me, some of which were archaeological reports that had never been published online. I felt I had won the lottery for a couple days knitting. All the pieces were there to reconstruct the coat, and it fit me just as I would imagine a men's coat would fit. Despite living history not returning to our lives as yet, this coat is in heavy rotation in my wardrobe as it is the perfect thing to throw on as I head out to the barn to do chores or into town on a crisp Fall day.

The two pen and ink images below are my inspiration for this character sketch. To my eye, they both gave the feeling of a working-class woman going about her day. While I fully understood that these two images were of European women, they nonetheless encapsulated in my minds eye

Figure 2-10 CHODOWIECKI, Daniel Nikolas (1726-1801) A Soldier's Wife Begging. Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz

Figure 2-11 LEPICIE, Nicolas Bernard (1774) Seated Woman in Profile. The MET Museum, New York. Metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459385.

what I thought Mrs. McQueen might have looked like in the period. For another garment challenge for this character, I chose to try my hand at a jacket similar to the one worn by the French woman

on the left. The challenge though, was to create a full jacket with just under a yard of cloth. The cloth for this garment would also come from my own stash but was a remnant from another garment made years before. I knew the linen would age nicely and develop a rich heritage patina. While the jacket follows similar construction methods to gown making in some regards, it follows menswear coat making in others. For the body, I flat lined the garment as I would in menswear, but then relied on lady's garment construction for the sleeve. It was a fun little project over the course of a couple of days to allow me to really test out my construction techniques. When setting the sleeve, we took the opportunity to film that segment for a tutorial for my YouTube channel.[301]

Figure 2-12 jacket chalked out on linen

This last image is me wearing the blue, single yard jacket, the old regimental coat donated by friend and fellow living historian Fred Lucas, petticoats, one of my old aprons, and to finish things off, a neckerchief from Burnley and Trowbridge and my lappet cap. The image is situated inside a

[301] Throughout this dissertation, social media was utilized to communicate my research to the broader living history community. YouTube videos of my construction methods proved invaluable to many staying at home during Covid protocols. The setting of the sleeve tutorial can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KsiP--SIeTM&t=75s

local community hall where we were celebrating Burn's Night but would have been taken in a more historical setting pre-covid. As of this writing, I have not yet returned to living history events.

Figure 2-13 My own soldier's wife impression

To curtch or not to curtch? A dilemma in how I may be perceived by the modern viewing public with my hair completely covered.

When I had completed all these new clothing pieces, I knew there was one final project I needed to address. What exactly was it that would set my Highland woman as culturally Highland? One of the sites in the Nova Scotia Museum, Iona Highland Village hold to the idea that Highland women living in Nova Scotia still wore the curtch (a complete head covering) into the nineteenth century. Genre artwork from the period of the Highlands certainly suggests the curtch was worn there, but was it worn in North America? We just do not know. There are no paintings or portraits of highland women from this period living in Nova Scotia in the public sphere. George Patterson, in his *A History of the County of Pictou Nova Scotia* tells us of the piousness of the people[302] which may be due to his profession as a Reverend, but with the number of church congregations in the county it is not surprising. Daguerreotypes from the province show women wearing caps of various kinds into the nineteenth century, so I do not think that it is a stretch that women wore their hair covered earlier. I am not entirely convinced of the method of curtching employed by the Iona Highland Village Museum though. They have taken their cue from the Highland Folks Ways Museum in Scotland which uses a simple triangle of cloth tied at the nape of the neck which to my eye looks more like a

[302] Patterson, Rev. G. (1972). *A history of the county of Pictou Nova Scotia,* Mika Studio: Belleville, Ontario, p112, 145, 291.

1960s fashion rather than a 1760s fashion. I am of the mind that a curtch was a system of layers that make up the headdress, not simply a triangle of cloth tied at the nape.

The Highland Wedding image was where I chose to start my reconstruction. To my eye, I thought I was seeing a forehead cloth, cap, and veil. For my forehead cloth, I reconstructed an extant piece from the Manchester City Galleries collection, accession #2003.100/2. Though the piece is from the late seventeenth century, it was the latest extant example of a forehead cloth I could find in online collections.[303]

Figure 2-15 Allen, D. (1780). Highland wedding at Blair Athol, detail. National Galleries, Scotland. Nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artisit/8629/highland-wedding-blair-atholl.

Figure 2-14 Forehead cloth. Late seventeenth-century. Manchester City Galleries collection #2003.100/2

The second layer I used was my existing lappet cap which is seen in many extant artworks of the late eighteenth century and worn by women of various class levels. I then wore a veil of a thin linen square folded into a triangle.[304] I pinned the curtch veil at my chin with a small silver ring brooch made by my mother a few years ago.

[303] There may be similar articles of clothing in Nova Scotia Museum collections but may be mis-identified. As there are few online images of extant items from the collection, I would have to make it my life's work to travel to every site and look through every item of cotton or linen to determine if there are any in the collection, or even in the province at all.
[304] I am reconsidering the shape of the veil portion of the curtch. UK scholar Sally Pointer has made me question the triangle shape in favour of a rectangular shape through her work on early medieval head coverings. The rectangle shape is closer to what I am noticing in the genre paintings.

I do want to change out my ruffled lappet cap for one without ruffles, as I have not seen any ruffles in the art, and I may make a veil from even finer cotton mull that I have, but overall, I was happy with the final effect. This headwear stayed perfectly in place the whole evening without issue. The blog post with accompanying construction photos can be found here https://kellyarlenegrant.blogspot.com/2021/01/curtching-experiment.html

When worn with my blue wool gown and a neckerchief purchased from Burnley and Trowbridge, I believe that my reconstruction more closely resembles that of the woman and headdress worn in the Allen paintings. The layers that make up the headdress may even exist in museum collections but may be mis-accessioned as napkins or children's headwear/bonnets. I have requested confirmation from several museum sites in Nova Scotia, but with extended Covid restrictions and delayed openings, I have yet to have my queries answered. It may have to wait for site visits to be allowed before I have answers to my questions. I would love to be able to meet with and see what the costume interpretation plan is for the Iona Highland Village site, as images of their interpreters on social media hold on to outdated ideas on historical dress, the curtch included.

Figure 2-16 Highland Wedding at Blair Athol, 1780, David Allen, Detail

Figure 2-17 The author dressed for Burns Night at Home January 2021

Figure 2-18 Interpreter at the Highland Village

The attire worn by the interpreter to the left bears no resemblance to anything that would have actually been worn during the eighteenth century and continues the mythology held by many reenactors that we do not know what women wore. The bodice she wears was developed in 1975 for the Bicentennial,[305] and has been widely dispelled as inaccurate and should no longer be worn according to many dress regulations. This bodice is thought to resemble a set of stays, or possibly a quilted waistcoat worn for warmth. As it is neither a supportive garment (stays), nor is it quilted and worn over the supportive garment, we are left to question its actual purpose. In the 1970s, it was a cheap garment that covered the shift, and a woman could appear to be dressed, but we have learned so much more about clothing history since then and have trained our eyes to understand what we are seeing in contemporary artwork. In this instance, this garment just does not exist in period art. Her shift is also cut and constructed in a modern fashion. The sleeves are wrist length instead of elbow length, and both neck and wrist openings appear to gather through a drawstring (at best) or elastic (at worst). We now understand that shift sleeves were gathered into a narrow band at the elbow, and the band held together with buttons and buttonholes. The neckline of her shift should be flat to the body, and not gathered at all. The neck edge should be finished with a narrow hem. Her shift should not be showing much at all, as she should be wearing a gown with sleeves over her

[305] possibly by Colonial Williamsburg, though no one will take responsibility for it now, it is such a hated garment in the living history world.

supportive garment.[306] There are so few images of women shown in just shift sleeves and all of them show women at hard labour. Women of all class levels wore gowns of some variety, to be shown in shift sleeves would be the equivalent of running about in bralet and sweatpants today. Finally, her front fringe should be swept back under her cap, as this style of hair is only noticed in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Modern hair can be styled to look like historical hair with ease. Many living historians sport modern short haircuts that are adapted to the historical with the use of a longer front fringe and cap supports in the back. I will often wear my hair cut quite short in an inverted bob-style with the ability to comb the front up and back in a historical fashion, with a row of pink C-clip curlers along the crown of my head to support the cap. Once my hair is styled and the cap is on, I can fool most eyes. If additional coverage of my head is needed, I will wear a silk bonnet over my cotton day cap. With the campaign to raise funds for a new interpretive centre for this site, additional care should be taken to address these issues of inaccuracy in dress in their interpretation programming. The site's costume department should undergo extensive training in how to recreate the actual clothing worn by those historical characters, and not rely on commercial Simplicity sewing patterns for the cut and construction methods.

The Waldeckers

Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century was not a monoculture, and the cultural differences in the regions settled by early immigrants exist through to the modern era. Ways of speaking, festivals celebrating heritage, types of industry, even the manner of dress and deportment are often noticeable in the varying cultures that inhabit the province. Apart from the Scots, who settled the northern parts of the province, many Germanic people settled in communities along the south shore and interior of the mainland of the province. Some of the German settlers were disbanded soldiers

[306] Is there a supportive garment involved? It may be that she is simply wearing her modern bra under her costume. The shape of her body is very modern.

aligned with the British during the Revolutionary War, others immigrated directly from Europe. Depending on the area of the German States these people immigrated from, they likely brought with them specific forms of dress, as well as their language and religious leanings that would have separated them from other cultures settling the province at the time.[307] For this next character sketch, I chose to visualise a couple from the Low Countries in the western area of what is now formally called Germany. My next couple would portray disbanded soldiers from the Waldeck[308] area originally and would have been involved in similar wartime troop movements as the Scottish couple above. In this section, I will situate this man and woman firmly within their own culture through the choosing of appropriate fabrics and method of dress and accessories to re-create a visual narrative that closely resembles contemporary artwork from that region of Europe. While some garment pieces are similar to those worn by other European cultures, other items stand out and will be addressed in this character sketch.

My choosing of this culture has a secondary position. The couple I am wanting to dress for this role live very close to where some ninety disbanded Waldeckers and another fifty women, children and servants settled in Nova Scotia,[309] but they have also spent a good amount of time in the region in Europe where this culture originated and speak both German and Dutch. The gentleman of the couple also sports facial hair that he regrets having to shave the few times he has done so for living history events. As he often also portrays King George V, with this impression I am seeking out an alternative eighteenth-century option for him to turn out at events without having

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[307] German names certainly persist throughout the southern half of the province, but also farming and forestry techniques and industries as noticed in the breeds of animals but also how those animals are used within the community, most noticeably how oxen teams are dressed out for pulling and harness work. Germanic religions also exist here that are similar to those found in other Deutch farming communities throughout North America.

[308] Haarmann, A. W. (1970). "The 3rd Waldeck regiment in British service 117-1783" *Journal of he society for army historical research*. Society for army historical research pp 182-185; Wright, H. M. (2003). *Nova Scotia Waldeckers: German mercenaries who fought in the American revolutionary war and settled in Nova Scotia in 1783*, ETC. Press: Halifax; also https://quodilib.umich.edu/g/germanaux/browse.html#series1 Date accessed 11/28/2019

[309] Sutherland, I. M. (1956). *"Hessians" in Annapolis county.* Acadia University Press: Wolfville, p.x and xvi.

to shave his entire face, keeping the moustache, as the beard will grow back before the end of the weekend. The Germanic soldiers were one of the few cultures said to have retained facial hair in the eighteenth century. Not full beards, but well-groomed mustaches. This character impression is also not widely done but would have been an integral culture in eighteenth-century North America, even here in Nova Scotia. The lady of this couple is a vibrant woman of tall stature and can easily wear the numerous prints that were popular in women's Low Country fashions of the period. She has often commented that the only time in her life where she felt comfortable in her body was when she was in the Netherlands, where her stature is considered "normal sized" and not "too big" as she often feels when she is home in Atlantic Canada where we are often much shorter human beings. This is the period artwork I used for my inspi135ration:

Figure 2-19 Pictures of the Dress, Manners and Customs of the Batavian Republic, at the Beginning of the 19th Century", released by publisher Evert Maaskamp in 1803

As most living history events within the province position themselves after the Revolutionary War ended in 1783, I thought it best to portray this couple as retired military who took up the trades they held prior to coming to North America. Living historian and model Jayar Milligan will often bring a sharpening wheel to events and portray a transient sharpener. It was my goal to allow the clothes

designed and built for this portrayal to appear a bit rough around the edges with a good ability to develop fantastic heritage through wearing. I was also cognisant of current fashion trends that have emerged out of museum exhibitions that have piled on the Dutch cotton prints, making it seem that the Dutch wore all these printed garments together at once. It was my goal to find a comfortable 'happy medium' between the above watercolour, and the full-on assault of prints now being worn by living historians when they portray Dutch and German impressions. In his thesis, Nova Scotia historian Ira Sutherland surmises that, "A body of one hundred and forty persons of Germanic extraction must have been conspicuous even in the 'various and discordant' mixture described by [the Rev.] Mr. Bailey. They would have been classed as different by their appearance, nationality and language."[310] Sutherland admits that this group has been long overlooked in the writing of history in the province, and so, maybe I should add my voice to few who have tackled this culture. It may seem that I am mixing the Dutch and German cultures together, but it is in keeping with how the smaller German principalities moved men and their families around to suit financial opportunities.[311] The state of German troops arriving in Nova Scotia with their families are mentioned in the Dorchester Papers. Specifically, Nova Scotia Governor John Parr writes to Governor General Sir Guy Carleton about the state of their arrival in the province having "had no arms, and [twenty-three] Waldeckers are without cloathing [sp], they are settled near each other – I expect a ship from England with Tools etc for building. They shall be distributed immediately after their arrival."[312] I do not take this to mean that the people arriving were completely naked, rather that they came with the clothing on their backs, whatever that may have been. In this case, the soldiers possibly still wearing their uniforms, and the civilians wearing the clothing that they had been wearing while on the march,

[310] Sutherland, I. M. (1956). *"Hessians" in Annapolis county,* Acadia University Press: Wolfville, p.xvi.
[311] Ibid. p4.
[312] Dorchester Correspondence, Vol.I, p.411. 9174 Governor John Parr, Halifax to Carleton Setting Out Arrangements, 1783 September 20, National Archives Kew Ref#PRO 30/55/82/13

following the army. What might that have looked like? In this set of character sketches, I am going to incorporate some uniform-type items, but also what this couple may have brought with them from Europe. I think it will be a great opportunity to show how some practical garments would have had a longer life after the army, but also a possible situation where the culture can be held on to through the use of fabrics and garment styles.

For the man's suit, I used the same hard wearing herringbone twill linen used in my own stays for model Jayar Milligan's breeches. The construction details for this difficult garment are found in the later chapter entitled Masterclass. For his waistcoat and jacket, I used a reclaimed piece of silk/wool blend from an older gown that had stretched out strangely and was beyond wearing. There was enough in the full skirt of the gown to cut both new garments with some careful arrangement of the pattern. Smaller pattern pieces were cut from the old bodice and sleeves. The linings were also reclaimed, the waistcoat a patchwork from the scrap bin of linen and cotton pieces appropriate to the period. The jacket was lined in brown linen. Despite fully canvassing the fronts of the jacket following historical tailoring methods, I fully expect this suit to look like a rumpled mess the first time he wears it as I have had to be next to my iron constantly throughout its construction. To round out this suit, model Jayar will wear stockings I made during the winter of 2018/19 and a jockey styled cap cut from wool melton scraps from a winter coat I made for myself in the Fall of 2018. The only new items I purchased for this suit were the threads needed to sew and knit. He will wear his own shoes, shirt, and neckerchief. Model Jayar has been tasked to cut his own crooked walking stick from the woodland surrounding his house.

My model Jenny Milligan's outfit took a bit more planning and production. While there were some pieces we could pull from her existing eighteenth-century wardrobe which are similar no matter the cultural background, other pieces needed to be built from scratch. She had been wearing a series of badly drafted and hastily constructed stays in an effort to figure out how to create this

difficult garment for her tall stature and curvy shape. Until this point, she had been trying to work out these fit issues on her own with no formal training through trial and error as most commercial stays patterns do not fit her size and shape. We took her latest set of stays and used them as a starting point to re-draft new ones in a similar shape from the same *Patterns of Fashion*[313] stays I had produced for myself. The set created for Jenny were three layers of linen canvas with a yellow cotton lining, and a thin striped linen fashion layer that had no structural integrity and relied entirely on the interior layers for support. The stitching was also done by machine using the same 'backstitch' as before, this time in a dark maroon colour. The eyelets were worked by hand in the same thread colour. The seam tape was dyed specifically for the project in a soft pink using left over madder dye used to colour wool yarn for my Scottish bonnet project. I bound these stays in Dutch cotton print scraps used elsewhere in the dissertation projects. Jenny also needed new shifts, as we all often do, and so a new shift was cut and constructed following Sharon Burnston's instructions.[314] This new shift was constructed mostly by machine, saving the hand work for the neckline and cuffs where it will be seen.[315] With almost all of this outfit, I used machine work where I could to save time. The hand work was saved for outer garments. Petticoats and other common garments and accessories were pulled from her existing wardrobe.

Stepping slightly ajar of the watercolour above, I chose to make model Jenny's gown from a Dutch-India cotton print. The colour family was close to the watercolour but brought in the prints that are so ubiquitous to the Dutch and Low-country cultures. The print I used was purchased by

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313 Arnold, J., with Tiramani, J. and Costigliolo, L. (2018). *Patterns of fashion: The content, cut, construction and context of bodies, stays, hoops and rumps c.1595-1795*; London: the School of Historical Dress, p 105.

314 Sharon Burnston's research on shifts can be found here: http://www.sharonburnston.com/shifts/shifts.html Date accessed 12/04/2019.

315 I have often used a mixture of hand and machine work where I am able to stay within the guidelines of historical method to produce garments in a short period of time to save clients money. Linen underwear is never seen by the visitor when worn except for the cuffs and maybe the neckline. They are also the most frequently washed of all the kit we own and are often few and far between in our wardrobes as they are a boring task to build. Always white, always linen, and utilitarian instead of pretty, so are relegated to the bottom of the to-do list.

Jenny and Jayar while they were in the Netherlands during the Waterloo Bicentennial celebrations. While the motifs in the block positions the print closer to early nineteenth century reproductions, the registration, colours, and quality of the print-work makes the print 'feel' close enough to eighteenth-century prints. The processes used to create this garment led to several YouTube videos[316] as I draped and transferred the pattern to paper, and then constructed the garment. The written instructions for gown making can be found in the Masterclass chapter.

You might notice something strange going on with the apron in the above watercolour. I determined that the woman in the painting was wearing two aprons, one to keep her clothes clean while the outer apron could be hitched up to form a large pocket.[317] We can see this method of creating a large pocket on women who are working[318] or in a market setting.[319] The solid-coloured apron we pulled from Jenny's existing wardrobe, while the checked apron was one of two that I woven the cloth for early in the PhD process as a summer intensive course.

What really sets this woman apart, culturally, from other women of the period is her large oval shaped bergère sun hat. We both felt it was important for this character to retain this bit of material culture even if she had spent some considerable time in North America.[320] Her straw hat was constructed following the images of a recent auction item.[321] I used two weights of straw as the

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[316] For follow-along tutorials please see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5aDx5wQp7LQ&t=1161s https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WocDsAiFJdk

[317] Another great double apron image here https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1978-U-1049 by Edward Topham of a Cambridge woman (1771)

[318] A woman with a hitched apron here https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1899-0420-7 by William Ward (1788), see also https://www.rct.uk/collection/914333/the-kitchen-at-sandpit-gate a kitchen worker wearing two aprons, one hitched up by Sandby (1752)

[319] Sandby again, https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:14630 two women at market (1759)

[320] Debates in the living history community are ongoing over how much personal material culture would be retained by people immigrating to the colonies, and how quickly these immigrants would try to blend in with the dominant culture. Since we cannot go back in time and see for ourselves, we must guess what would be kept and what would be set aside in order to conform with society. Often garments of the lower classes are not collected by museums, so looking at European sketch artists of the period and trying out a look for a character to see how well it will go over with the living history community is the best we can do. Yes, there can be fashion trends within the living history community, and dominant culture norms. It is a challenge I face regularly when dressing characters.

[321] Images from the Meg Andrews auction can be found here: Large Straw Hat 18th c | English & European Dress | Meg Andrews - Antique Dress and Textiles (meg-andrews.com) Date accessed 12/15/2021

original did and boned the wide structure with wire. The bonnet was then covered with another Dutch-India cotton print left over from a previous project in this dissertation. Model Jenny wore this straw bergère over a fine cotton lawn lappet cap.

Figure 2-20 Jenny and Jayar as Waldeckers

Character Sketch Conclusions

I was asked recently through social media what people wore on their heads in this period. While this is a huge question given that the person asking did not give any further information past the word people. Some commonalities can be found in the garments and accessories worn by people across cultures and class levels, but it is always best to focus the research inquiry to the specific character

you wish to recreate. Women's caps varied considering their social standing and occupations, but all women wore white caps during the day keeping the hair dressed and tidy. The cap that is noticed most often is a lappet cap similar to the one I wore underneath the curtching experiment and Jenny wore for her Dutch character impression. It is a cap worn across social grades with the major differences being in the quality of the cloth used to construct the cap, and if there is lace used in the decoration, a simple frill made of the same cloth, or left plain. The further up the social ladder a woman found herself, her age and 'fashionability', and sometimes her occupation, more options of decorative caps would have been available. Having someone dress your hair regularly and access to finer materials allows a woman to be seen as more decorative than those women who were hard working. Other hat options include silk bonnets, cut and constructed in a similar shape to children's sun bonnets of the early twentieth century, which are worn by women of all social standing. The silk bonnet uses such a small amount of expensive materials that they would have been affordable to most people. They appear being worn by field workers such as *the Haymakers*[322] and by the upper classes in mezzotints such as *A Lady in Waiting.*[323] Flat straw hats were also worn by a variety of women across social classes. These straw bergère style hats could be left entirely plain, decorated with silk ribbons, or entirely covered in silk fabric and heavily decorated with more silk fabrics and ribbons. The Dutch style of bergère is shaped differently than those of other European cultures and are covered in the cotton prints so popular in that culture. They are often oversized, constructed of different qualities of straw, and are boned to retain their shape.[324] Men's headwear is as varied and personal as that of women. I returned to this opening paragraph question repeatedly while

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[322] Stubbs, G. 1724-1806, (1785) *Haymakers,* The Tate accession #T02256, Oil on Wood, 895x1353mm, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/stubbs-haymakers-t02256

[323] Smith, J. R. 1751-1812, (1780) *a Lady in Waiting,* Martin Erdmann collection, British Museum accession #1937.1211.21, paper, mezzotinto, 330x250mm, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1937-1211-21

[324] The stripped-down straw-hat images featured in the Meg Andrews auction proved invaluable to me during the reconstruction process of this hat. They can be found here: https://www.meg-andrews.com/item-details/Large-Dutch-Straw-Hat/8296, also see https://www.pinterest.ca/pin/487936940889601093/ and https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-a-fine-straw-and-chintz-hat-18th-5120789/?pos=9&intObjectID=5120789&sid=&page=16

composing these character sketches for this project. What would these people that I am building wardrobes for wear? Quality of materials, but also material types, and the colour combinations worn can situate a character in it's society. The kinds and styles of accessories can also differentiate cultures and class levels from each other. When developing characters for a site, the environment in which they interact can also determine the needs of certain garments over others for the interpreter. Each character for each site should be developed separately as to not create a 'uniformed' look for your interpreters. Just as we each have ways in which we express our personalities, these characters from the past also expressed their own individuality. I would suggest creating mood boards for each specific character you wish to develop and dress, but also for each interpreter who will bring their own personality and needs to the interpretation table. For this project, I used both 'old-school' paper and bulletin board style mood boards, as well as Pinterest, which proved easier to move across country with me, pull images from to include in the document, and use in social media responses to my blog and Facebook page. Find those details that tell the story of your character. That specificity of details tells the story of the character but can also explain why the site has certain items in it's collection. What items of clothing and accessories were important to your characters? What pieces can you draw from your site collections to have reproduced for your interpreters to wear and use? All of these considerations can fully develop the characters interpreted by your site and situate them within the culture and historical period. The final character sketch I wished to develop for this dissertation was that of a Loyalist gentleman and would have used the garments I patterned at Ross-Thompson House in the summer of 2019 as the foundation for the character. As it sometimes happens, the perfect cloth for replicating one of the suits was purchased at my local fabric store in Saint-Hubert in the week before moving home to Nova Scotia in August 2021. When you are curating a great stash of fabrics to be used for living history garments, you often have to purchase fabric when you see it and then be patient enough to sit on the fabric until time allows for making

up into the garment.[325] I had resigned myself to not being able to recreate this particular suit, as the silk is so impressive. The silk that was purchased is close enough to perfect for this project and will allow me to reproduce the fine qualities that made the original an outstanding suit in its time. The patterns for the Ross-Thompson suits have their own chapter. This particular suit, based on those Ross-Thompson House suits will be finished as I approach the final stages of this PhD.

These first character sketches that I developed were completed by using what was available at hand either in my own collection of fabrics or could be purchased locally at the nearest chain fabric store. I wanted to be able to build a wardrobe as cost-effectively as possible in order to prove that a site need not have a large operating budget to dress their staff appropriately. What *any* site does need though, is someone who is keen to research how people looked, and how garments were constructed in the period they are representing. Most of the garments I constructed by hand anywhere I had a moment to sit and stitch. I have stitched in hospital waiting rooms as my mother underwent chemotherapy, meetings of my research cluster at school, the car, on the back deck, and at my computer desk. I have also constructed these garments in front of the public as a costumed living historian, and on camera to populate my YouTube and Instagram feeds. It can be accomplished with a limited budget if one can develop a plan and an accurate character sketch. As I completed my Highland couple, I added a few items that would mark their cultural and religious background in the form of accessories and will likely continue to round out these impressions going forward with my living history career. With the Waldecker couple, new items of accessories will also be added by my models to make these character sketches truly their own. Costume interpretation

[325] When new cotton prints are being reproduced for the living history community, there will often be a fashion trend of women reproducing the gown the cotton was based on. Those with enough patience will purchase a dress length and then tuck it away in a closet for years before constructing their gowns. This way, we bypass the risk of showing up to an event with the same dress on as three other interpreters. Those of us who have been around a while will do this will all fabrics, buying seasonally to save money when we can, buying summer fabrics in August or winter fabrics in March and 'shopping' the stash. I will often challenge my fellow garment makers to 'stash bust' to see how much we can make from our existing collections without buying new, as I will fully admit to forgetting what I have in my own collection, especially when it has been in storage for a while. "She who dies with the most fabric is still dead. When's the yard sale!"

needs will fine tune each impression so that the models feel less like they are wearing costumes, and more like they are wearing clothing.

Chapter Three Master classes: Techniques for reconstructing garments for living history

About knitwear

Knitwear has long been problematic in the living history community. What has been available commercially is often very wrong, in its modern mass-produced state. Little details have been overlooked or are difficult to achieve on modern knitting machines, incorrect thread colours and colourway patterns are sold, and modern knitters have been known to make knitting patterns up without looking at any extant garment as reference.[326] Then there is the Hollywood factor[327] that muddies people's perceptions of what historical eras looked like, what garments were produced and worn, and the overall notion of historical accuracy. This section closely examines knitwear of the period and builds on the research of living historians who have also been pushing the field of knitwear research towards a more accurate interpretation. My own examination of knitting processes will be laid out for the reader in hopes that more people will take up the needles regardless of their abilities, and perhaps learn to play with thread. I draw on digital resources to examine extant knitwear items to the best of my current ability, given pandemic travel restrictions, and finally through trial and error, and many knit samples, provide a framework for recreating knitwear garments for the living historian.[328]

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[326] While I was researching the Scottish bonnet section of this chapter, I was offered a recently knitted bonnet to use as a reference. The band was knit in a rib pattern of knit and purl stitches to make it elastic, and the hat was knit up several sizes too large in hopes of felting it down to a correct size. My first response to the person offering was that it was incorrectly constructed and why. The person's auntie had knit up a 'Scots bonnet' without ever looking at an extant garment, and this bonnet made its way through the living history community as gospel.

[327] Television series such as Outlander set the historical costuming world on its end when the designer repeatedly stated that the clothes were highly researched. It has been a constant battle with people wanting the look of the series for themselves and not understanding that knitting threads were much finer in the period than they are depicted on the screen, some garments simply did not exist in a knitted form until midway through the nineteenth century, if at all, and that crochet is also a nineteenth century invention. "There is a constriction to provable use within the re-enactment/academic fields that film, television, and stage costuming don't have." Brenna Barks - https://www.frockflicks.com/the-real-deal-on-tartan-kilts-and-outlander-costumes/. While many of the other aspects of the costuming of Outlander have a basis in historical reality, we have to remember that Hollywood cannot pass for historical research, and other avenues of research must be followed when costuming for historic sites, museums, and living historians.

The best advice a professor in fibres offered to me was "to play."[329] This was in response to an assignment to knit a tube, and I had asked what sort of tube she required, what pattern was I to follow. When instructed to play, I went home and knit a perfectly boring tube on a circular needle. A week later, I frogged[330] the entire tube back and started over again, playing with many combinations of stitches - yarn overs, picking up stitches in different ways, knitting stitches together in all sorts of methods, knitting, purling, and generally having fun. The piece was a tube in theory, but a highly fantastical thing that looked organic and possibly even alive, I achieved the goal of knitting a tube, playing, and learning more about what I could do with knit. Through this exploration of experimentation aka play, and not being afraid to make samples of each new knitting technique I learn, I am able to look at historical knitwear with fresh eyes. Even though there are techniques used in historical knitting to achieve that accurate look, I realised that there are no hard-fast ways of recreating a knit garment, and that historical knitting was itself an organic experience of figuring things out. Before starting a new project in historical clothing reproduction, it is important to take the time to look for the commonalities in the fashion of the era. It is important to reproduce the common as there can be fashion trends in living history communities as much as there are in modern day fashion. That cool new item you made might be picked up by people who admire your look without doing their own research on the item to see how common it may have been in the era being reproduced. Influencers within the living history community are as prevalent as they are in our modern society, so it is important to know how your wardrobe choice might be taken by the

[328] My thoughts and studies on knitwear are subject to change, as new research and methodologies emerge. Each time I learn of a new find from the period, I will sample to see if I fully understand the techniques carried out by the original knitter.

[329] Fibre, Fabric, and Fashion, NSCAD University, Toshiko MacAdam

[330] "Frogging" to frog back knitting is to remove the knitting needle and pull out the stitches, 'rip-it rip-it' is the way the term sounds when you are ripping stitches back, so in the knitting community, the term Frogging was coined.

community. By holding true to the common items, we portray a clearer picture of what life may have looked like.

Stockings

My own knitting work grew out of a need to have more accurate looking stockings for the gentlemen I was dressing in a museum. The stockings I could source from Jas. Townsend were cotton stockings knit on a modern tube sock knitting machine with a modern, three-inch ribbed cuff at the top to allow them to stay up on the leg more easily. They featured no real shaping to the stocking, apart from a heel, and were available in an array of colours.[331] They are still considered to be the bottom rung of quality in event dress regulations, mainly due to the inaccuracy of their construction and shape. Wearers are encouraged to upgrade their stockings as soon as possible. Jas. Townsend now offers wool and silk fibre stockings, as well, but these offerings are still not quite as accurate as many in the progressive living history community desire. Knitter Sally Pointer in the UK has a better-quality stocking listed for sale, but the window of opportunity to order stockings from her is narrow and they are expensive for many North American purchasers.[332] Unfortunately, not many hand knitters are willing to take on the prospect of knitting full length stockings. In my own quest for historically accurate stockings, I had not been able to find a knitting pattern appropriate to the eighteenth century published currently, and so set out to figure out how to knit stockings myself. The patterns I created are included in this dissertation so that readers who wish to tackle this large costuming project on their own have a starting point for their own explorations.

Stocking construction methods in the eighteenth-century are considered to be 'in transition', in that they can be made in three different methods: by cutting flat cloth on the bias and sewing

[331] Jas. Townsend's stocking offering can be found here: https://www.townsends.us/collections/shoes-shoe-buckles-stockings/products/heavy-cotton-stockings-sp-757 Date accessed: 10/15/2020
[332] UK historian Sally Pointer's stocking page is located here: https://www.sallypointer.com/stockings---socks Date accessed: 10/15/2020

them, to produce 'bag hose'; they can be knit as flat, shaped pieces on a knitting frame which are then sewn; or they can be knit entirely in the round, on 4 or 5 fine knitting needles. The bag hose (stocking) is a hold-over from much earlier stocking methods that date back to the Middle Ages. The frame method of knitting produces similarly shaped, flat pieces to the cut cloth method, which are then stitched together in a similar fashion to cut cloth. Stockings knit in the round more closely resemble modern stockings in fit, shape, and wear.

All extant stockings of the period that I have studied are well shaped through the leg and foot.[333] They extend above the knee with a bit of flare to accommodate the lower thigh, and feature either a hemmed top edge or have a band of what is referred to as garter stitching, rows of what resembles knit and purl but are in actuality, back and forth rows of knit stitch which are joined with either a yarn forward stitch, or are knit flat for six to eight rows before joining in the round. My first patterning experiments led to simply knitting alternating rows of knit and purl to achieve a similar garter band look. I began the process of learning how to knit full stockings by referencing knitting patterns from the middle of the twentieth century to help guide me through shaping the back of the leg. With a skein of nice stocking yarn to work with I knit and ripped out stitches many times, to teach myself how to knit what I was noticing in the extant stockings. Once happy with the top and leg portion, I left that small sample aside and bought more yarn. The second sets of samples would become working samples and made up as fully fashioned garments to be worn and tested for fit and wearability now that I felt confident knitting in the round, and able to complete a full set of stockings. For these samples, I also wanted to learn how long the stockings would last under normal

[333] Extant stockings based on my own early, undergraduate research at the New Brunswick Museum on Loyalist clothing. The stockings (accession numbers 59.81, 22586, and 22587 in that collection featured the garter band of alternating rows of knit and purl at the top of each stocking, some with decorative stitching in that garter band. These stockings are known as 'thread' stockings of either cotton or linen fibre and featured a plain seam stitch of purl stitches down the centre back of the leg. They also feature a plain knit heel flap known as a common heel, and a short ankle gusset much like modern socks. At the time of this early research, I did not know how to knit stockings, having only just learned to knit at all, so the patterns are lacking details apart from measurements.

wear by a living historian who wore them to work as a museum interpreter, every day. These stockings were knit with Briggs and Little woolen single-ply yarn. This style knit up "fairly quickly," in that I could knit a full pair of plain stockings in a couple of months of casual knitting. These stockings require gentle washing and hanging to dry, and so may not be serviceable for a full-time museum interpreter but were ok to keep in-house where I could handle their laundering and care. During this early period of production, I knit several pair of stockings to hone my knitting skills. I also began to notice other small details in other extant stockings that I wanted to reproduce and sought out other stocking types in order to figure out what I was noticing. I purchased a knitting pattern for a seventeenth-century stocking by Matthew Gnagy[334] to see if my own methodology was in keeping with his, as Gnagy had been working on seventeenth-century knitted stocking styles for a few years at this point. Through his pattern, I learned how to create the decorative 'seam' stitching down the back of the leg of the stocking, which was more complex than the simple purl-knit-purl I had been doing. The decorative seam stitch I had noticed, and which Gnagy had redacted, was an alternating row of purl-knit-purl, with a row of straight knit. This causes a little twist in the purl stitches and keeps the purl stitches from making holes down the back of the stocking. Another piece to the puzzle was set in place. The next set of stockings I completed featured the gartered top, a fully shaped leg with the 'seam stitch' down the back of the leg, a common heel and short ankle gusset and I wrote a working pattern to be tested by other knitters.

[334] Gnagy, M. (2014). A Seventeenth-Century Stocking, self published.

The stocking research for this dissertation began by noticing a painting by John Collet,[335] in the book *Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-century England* by John Styles. The Painting shows a downtrodden woman, "meanly dressed, with a loose bedgown or jacket made from coarse striped material, belted with a cord or apron string around the waist. Her short petticoat is heavily patched. Nevertheless, she wears stockings decorated with contrasting clocks."[336]

Figure 3-1 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Collet_The_Elopement.jpg

Figure 3-2 John Collet, Modern Love – the Elopement (detail), 1764, oil on canvas, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Va., 1969-48,2.

I was fascinated by the destitution of this woman, and yet she wore fabulous stockings. The stockings are grey or blue with a red or bright pink ankle gusset. They also feature an elongated ankle gusset, different from the stockings I had previously examined. They could very well be silk stockings, as many of these multi-coloured kind of stockings in museum collections are made up in silk thread.[337] The elongated ankle gusset appears in Sharon Burnston's[338] study of a stocking in the

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[335] Collet, J. (1764). *Modern Love – the Elopement* (detail), oil on canvas, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Va., 1969-48,2.

[336] Styles, J. (2007) *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*, , New Haven and London: Yale University Press p75.

[337] For some extant silk stockings, please see: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/80029746 accession# 26.56.119 Italian, silk thread, early nineteenth century. Also, https://emuseum.history.org/objects/12097/stocking?ctx=da6efe43185490cac2bfa00edb06e09e86829ae6&idx=7 accession# 1954-1051,2 English, silk thread, 1750. And in linen thread, https://emuseum.history.org/objects/21291/stocking?ctx=da6efe43185490cac2bfa00edb06e09e86829ae6&idx=18 accession# 1967-131,1 English, linen thread with silk embroidered clock, 1750. Date accessed: 10/15/2020

[338] Burnston, S. A. (1998). *Fitting and proper: 18th Century clothing from the collection of the Chester county historical society*, Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing Company. p100.

Chester County Museum as well. The Chester County Museum stocking which Burnston studied is knit in thread, which could be either cotton or linen fibres. Burnston included the stitches per inch, measurements of the stocking, and a graph of the decorative stitched clock above the ankle gusset, but not instructions on how to knit the stocking itself. This type of stocking may have been knit on a stocking machine or frame;[339] knit as flat pieces of 'fabric' and then stitched together.[340] As access to working knitting frames is extremely limited, I wanted to see if I could achieve a similar result by knitting on needles in the round.

The elongated ankle gussets took further development, as I could not figure out how to knit that long shape and still work 'in the round' as I did with other stockings. After long discussions with both Sharon Burnston, and Carol Kocian, a long-time stocking researcher, we decided that the gusset might be knit in short rows perpendicular to the heel flap. I knit, ripped out, and re-knit repeatedly until I was somewhat happy with the process. I also knit several samples of the gusset, heel flap, and front vamp. I was reminded that this style of stocking was knit as if the pieces were separate, as the cut cloth stockings were. And so, my knitting process went in this fashion; I knit the body

Figure 3-3 A sample of the elongated ankle gusset.

[339] An extant stocking frame in the Colonial Williamsburg collection can be viewed here: https://emuseum.history.org/objects/1958/stocking-frame-or-knitting-machine?ctx=da6efe43185490cac2bfa00edb06e09e86829ae6&idx=10 accession# 1993-80,1 English 1750-1825. Date accessed 10/17/2020

[340] Farrell, J. (1992). *The costume accessories series: Socks and stockings* London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. pp8 and 21.

(leg) of the stocking to the end of heel flap, reserving the stitches for the front vamp on a separate needle. Next, I knit the front vamp to six inches in length, leaving the stitches on a needle to pick up later. Then, I picked up stitches from the sides of the heel section, and knit back and forth, perpendicularly to the heel, in short rows. Finally, I stitched the front vamp to the ankle gusset before continuing to knit in the round for the remainder of the foot and toe. This whole process takes the standard number of 5 double pointed needles.

Figure 3-4 Three pair of stockings: Bottom, the short ankle gusset in Briggs & Little single ply. Top two are variations on the elongated gusset pattern.

I then knit this elongated gusset style of stockings with a finer woolen yarn, Cascade 220 fingering. While this yarn proved to be stronger than the single ply Briggs and Little, laundering was

similar, and care needed to be taken lest I shrink the stockings beyond the point of wearability. During the process of knitting stockings for other, fellow living historians, I experimented with several different woolen yarns for the short ankle gusset, finally settling on the Briggs and Little Durasport; I plan to try this yarn on the elongated gusset pattern as well. This yarn has 10% nylon spun with the wool to allow for easier laundering and longer wear. I currently have several test knitters working through both the following written patterns with different types of fibres to check for pattern comprehension and further development of the knitting pattern itself to be able to specify what, if anything, needs to be changed, to allow knitters to use different types of fibers, according to preference and availability.

At this step in my stocking pattern development, I wanted to know what colours and what other types of fibres were fashionable for stockings in the period. Through a close reading of Don N. Hagist's book *Wives, Slaves, and Servant Girls: Advertisements for Female Runaways in American Newspapers 1770-1780,*[341] I created a spreadsheet of stocking fibre types and colours. This book offers a sampling of runaway advertisements from the eastern seaboard of the colonies that would become the United States but is by no means exhaustive of the whole of the runaway advertisements available to the current researcher. Where stockings are mentioned, I found the number one colour was white, or un-described colour. The next popular is blue, at twenty-nine mentions. Dark, Black, and Brown stockings were mentioned six times. Stockings that were 'clocked with a different colour', five times, with the clock contrast range including white with blue clock, blue with white clock, blue with red clock. 'Clouded' stockings appeared twice; grey, just once; re-knit, or with different coloured feet to stocking appeared five times. Ribbed stockings were mentioned five times. Fibres mentioned were primarily 'thread', which could be cotton or linen, and 'worsted' which is a

[341] Hagist, D. N. (2016). *Wives, slaves, and servant girls: Advertisements for female runaways in American newspapers 1770-1780,* Yardley: Westholme Publishing.

woolen thread. *Wives, Slaves, and Servant Girls* offers an interesting cross section of the lower ranks of society. I did note both the sex of the person in the ad, as well as ethnicity if it was stated. There was a good smattering of men alongside the women mentioned, despite the female leaning of the title of the book. I doubted that there would be much of a difference in an equal male-to-female ratio for stocking colour choices.

Paul Dickfoss of 'Wm. Booth, Draper, at the Sign of the Unicorn' a family business specializing in 18th c textile sales and research, conducted a similar study of stockings from Rhode Island runaway ads.[342] His findings were that the people written about only had one pair of stockings listed in the items they took with them and that those stockings were woolen, regardless of the season. Colours listed were predominantly white, with grey and blue stocking colours as the others commonly noted. *Cloth and Costume 1750-1800*[343] features another study of middle and upper classes of Pennsylvania, and notes that even in these upper-classmen were wearing wool stockings in America more than thread (linen or cotton) or silk stockings. In his article, Dickfoss concluded that wool stockings should be worn by the larger living history community, and that silk or thread stockings should be considered uncommon.[344] The inclusion of these patterns within this dissertation will help aid the living historian in obtaining historically accurate stockings, as more home knitters will be able to reproduce both types of stockings. A small commercial knitting enterprise in Nova Scotia is also working through the patterns to achieve the correct gauge for knitting the stockings by machine for commercial reproduction.

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[342] Dickfoss, P. (2001). "Grey worsted, mix't blue yarn, white ribb'd worsted: Stockings of runaways advertised in Rhode Island." *The Brigade Dispatch.* volume XXXI, Number 3 Autumn. Brigade of the American Revolution. pp2-9.
[343] Hersh, T. and C. (1995), *Cloth and costume 1750-1800 Cumberland county Pennsylvania,* Cumberland County Historical Society. Pp. 120-122
[344] Dickfoss, P. (2001). "Grey worsted, mix't blue yarn, white ribb'd worsted: Stockings of runaways advertised in Rhode Island." *The Brigade Dispatch.* volume XXXI, Number 3 Autumn. Brigade of the American Revolution. p 8.

Short ankle-gusset stocking pattern

Based on preliminary studies of stockings found in the New Brunswick Museum, accession numbers: 59.81, 22586, 22587. These accession numbers may have changed as the museum was overhauling their collections management program back in the 1990s. I do not have photos of these currently and am working from very preliminary sketches. This pattern is very much a work in progress as I figure out how to knit eighteenth-century style stockings in the round.

Currently, I use Durasport from Briggs and Little Yarns in New Brunswick, Canada and size 2.25mm or 1US needles My swatch gage is 20 stitches over 20 rows, measuring 6cm (2 3/8") x 4.5cm (1 3/4")

1. Cast on appropriate number of stitches on three needles, with the extra stitch on the last needle. This measurement should be taken around the thigh, over knee height. About 155 stitches.
2. **Garter ribbing**: Done differently than modern ribbing, this is worked so that your garters will hold the stockings up, not for any elasticity. Knit row, purl row for 6 rows
3. **Body of stocking**: Purl 1, knit to last 2 stitches, purl 1, and knit 1. Continue in pattern to create the back 'seam' of the stocking. *The seam in the stocking is a fashion hold over from when the stockings were knit flat on a frame.* Knit for about 1" before starting first decrease.
4. **To shape the leg**: Purl 1, knit 2 together, knit to last 5 stitches, knit 2 together through back loops, purl 1 knit 1. Knit three rows in pattern. Repeat these two rows until you have 79 stitches: about 6 decreases.

5. Knit in pattern until sock is long enough to decrease for calf. Repeat decrease again, this time increasing interval between decreasing row to 5 rounds.
6. Decrease until 59 stitches remain. Stitches will be divided so that first and third needles combined carry about the same amount as the second needle, so first needle 14, second needle 30, and third needle 15.
7. Continue in pattern until sock measures 191/2 inches or 49cm. As you prepare to knit the heel flap, divide the second needle's stitches on to two needles, or two large safety pins.
8. **For heel**: Purl 1, knit 14 stitches. Slip last 15 stitches of third needle on to this first needle.
9. **To knit heel**, first row, slip 1, purl to end. Second row, slip 1 knitwise, knit to end. Repeat these two rows 18 times more, then first row again.
10. **Turn heel** as follows: 1st row, knit 18, slip 1, knit 1, pass slip stitch over, turn. 2nd row, purl 7, purl 2 together, turn. 3rd row, knit 8, slip 1, knit 1, pass slip stitch over, turn. Continue this way until all stitches have been worked. Knit 8.
11. **Picking up side of heel**: First needle, knit 8 heel stitches, knit up 22 stitches up side of heel. Second needle, knit across 32 instep stitches. Third needle, knit up 22 stitches down other side of heel, then knit 10 heel stitches (92 sts).
12. **Shape instep** as follows: 1st round knit. 2nd round – First needle, knit to last 4 stitches, knit 2 together, knit 2. Second needle, knit. Third needle, knit 2, knit 2 together through back loops, knit to end. Repeat these 2 rounds until

72 stitches remain (check to see for fit, for my sock, I decreased to 62 stitches).

13. Knit these stitches until work measures 6 1/2 [7, 7 1/2] in from where stitches were knitted up at heel.
14. Check to see if stitches are evenly distributed so that the second needle carries the same number of stitches as first and third needle combined.
15. **To shape toe**: First needle, knit to last 3 stitches, knit 2 together, knit 1. Second needle, knit 1, knit 2 together through back loops, knit to last 3 stitches, knit 2 together, knit 1. Third needle, knit 1, knit 2 together through back loops, knit to end. Repeat until 28 stitches remain. Graft or cast-off stitches together. Tie in ends.

Elongated ankle-gusset stocking pattern

Figure 3.5 My interpretation of the pattern from Sharon Burnston's work

Based on Sharon Burnston's Fitting and Proper: 18th Century Clothing from the Collection of the Chester County Historical Society, page 100.

Using Cascade Yarns, Cascade 220 Fingering; (10cm), US size 0 needles.

Gauge – 30 stitches by 30 rows equals 3 ½".

1. Cast on 134+ stitches over three needles, depending on how sizeable your lower thigh muscle is. Mine measures 20".

2. *1st row – knit
3. 2nd row – purl
4. *Continue with alternating knit rows and purl rows for about 6 rows or a half inch. This creates the garter band that prevents the stocking from slipping past the garters when wearing. It should not resemble a stretchy cuff as per modern stockings, mittens, or sweater waistbands, rather it will appear to be a half inch, horizontal, puffy band at the top of the stocking.
5. *1st row, body of stocking - On the first needle, knit to about halfway across the needle. Purl one, knit one, purl one, knit to end of row.
6. 2nd row - knit across all needles
7. *Repeat this for the body of the stocking. By alternating the rows of purl stitches and knit stitches, you will form a lovely little 'seam' down the back of the stocking (Burnston 100) (Gnagy).
8. When you have knit roughly an inch of the body, begin to decrease to shape the leg. This is done on either side of the seam stitch.
9. *1st row, first needle – knit to within four stitches of the 'seam', knit two together, knit two, work 'seam', knit two, knit two together through back loops.
10. 2nd row – knit across all needles
11. 3rd and 4th rows – knit in pattern
12. 5th row – repeat from *
13. Decrease five times and then knit in pattern until the length of the leg measures 7 ½". Begin to decrease again, in same pattern until length of stocking measures 12 ½". You should have decreased roughly 17 times total. Knit in pattern for another 2" before beginning clock, if desired.

14. The clock pattern I used was from Sharon Burnston's *Fitting and Proper: 18th century Clothing from the Collection of the Chester County Historical Society* (Burnston 102). It is worked over 33 stitches at the widest point and is featured on either side of the ankle. There should be 17 stitches between the motifs at front and back, totalling 100 stitches overall. I divided the stitches over four needles at this point, first and third needles having 17 stitches, second and fourth needles having 33 stitches. The first needle should have the seam stitch in the centre of the needle.
15. The clock is knit over 50 rows. Then you knit two rows that begin the divide for the gusset. In the centre of the clock, the first-row features 5 purl stitches, the second row features two purl, one knit, two purl. Then divide the stitches for the heel and front vamp.
16. Work the heel, in pattern, back and forth so that you are working the seam stitch on the purl rows and then plain knit across on the knit rows as follows.
17. 1st row – slip one knitwise, knit two, purl to seam stitch, knit one, purl one, knit one, purl to last three stitches, knit to end. Turn.
18. 2nd row - slip one knitwise, knit across. Turn.
19. Repeat in this pattern until the heel flap measures 5"
20. To decrease for heel, worked on knit rows only, seam stitching ends,
21. 1st row – slip one knitwise, knit 17, knit 2 together, knit 12, knit 2 together through back loops, knit across
22. 2nd row – slip one knitwise, knit two, purl to last three stitches, knit three
23. 3rd row – slip one knitwise, knit 16, knit 2 together, knit 12, knit 2 together through back loops, knit across
24. Repeat until 14 stitches remain. Leave on needle.

25. Knit front vamp flap.
26. 1st row – slip one knitwise, knit two, purl to last three stitches, knit to end. Turn.
27. 2nd row - slip one knitwise, knit across. Turn.
28. Repeat pattern until front vamp measures 6". Leave stitches on needle for later.
29. Returning to heel flap. Pick up stitches on each side of heel flap, roughly 45 on each side, along with the 14 across the bottom of the foot.
30. Knitting perpendicular from the heel flap.
31. 1st row - knit across, turn.
32. 2nd row – purl to last five stitches, turn.
33. 3rd row – knit to last five stitches, turn.
34. 4th row – purl to last ten stitches, turn.
35. Knit back and forth in short rows, decreasing by five each time until the instep gusset is knit. Knit (or purl, depending) back up to the beginning of the gusset shape on the side that is opposite to where you began.
36. With a sewing needle and length of yarn left over from knitting up the heel gusset, stitch the stitches of the gusset to the front vamp, picking up a loop to stitch through as if you were picking up stitches to knit. Yes, the front vamp bit is sewn to the gusset. When you reach the end of the front vamp, you will begin knitting in the round again to work the foot and toe.
37. Knit in the round for the foot, until work measures 2 ½" for a size 8.5, lady's foot, longer for larger sizes. Divide stitches over four needles again so that the join of the first to second needle, and the third to fourth needle are at the sides of the foot.
38. Decrease for toe.

39. First needle, knit to last three stitches, knit 2 together, knit one. Second needle, knit one, knit 2 together through back loops. Third needle, knit to last three stitches, knit 2 together, knit one. Fourth needle, knit one, knit 2 together through back loops.
40. Work until 16 stitches remain. Bind off in preferred manner.

Knitted caps

Knitwear for the head is an easier garment for living historians to obtain, but this too has its fair share of issues. Reproduction headwear has long suffered from the thought that knitting has not changed in methodology through the several centuries over which people have been knitting, and that 'oldsey timesy' garments were all coarse, crude, and with knitwear, made with large yarn on large needles. At the US bicentennial, our grandmothers and aunties knit caps for the men turning out in the ranks of soldiers as a more cost-effective solution to the wool felt 'tricorn'[345] hat only available through select American suppliers. These knitted caps were produced the same way as any other knitted tuque in the nineteen-seventies was and often out of the new acrylic fibres which could be washed in a washing machine and still last forever.

Figure 3-6 Early Knitting Pattern, dating unknown

'Close enough' might have been ok back in the nineteen-seventies, but costume research progressed and in recent years new information on knitted caps began to be disseminated.

My own process meant that I needed to learn a few new knitting techniques. I began with a free knitting pattern for a modern cap with a folded hem. I learned how to cast on a provisional row, and then

[345] The word tricorn in relation to men's hats is a twentieth-century name. In the period, a hat with the sides turned up on three sides was simply known as a cocked hat.

Figure 3-7 1970s style French tuque.

how to fold up and knit that first row together with the working row to form a hem before knitting the rest of the cap. These early iterations of cap featured a purl row at the bottom edge of the hem which I have since come to understand is a very modern notion and not one noticed in historical caps. Colleen Humphreys, who has written a free pattern for the cap in the Nelson Museum and Local History Centre known as the "Monmouth Cap"[346] taught me how to catch the back row of stitches through the front row of stitches without knitting the two together before binding off, which in process, was far easier on the hands and more efficient to work. Humphreys believes that this particular cap may have been knit too short to be turned up and hemmed, which is why the row of stitches was picked up on the inside and knit downwards to the hem before being bound off together. In examining other knit caps from this era, it feels as if they are simply knit straight up into a fully fashioned cap, and any hemming on the bottom edge was simply whip stitched up with thread. This certainly feels to be the case with this image of the "Machault" cap in the Parks Canada collection, accession #2M17D1-22. Looking carefully at the 'bottom' edge of the cap that has been folded up, there appears to be the tiny indentations of a row of whip stitching that look like ///// across the edge. The uneven-ness of the hem also would support a turned and sewn hemline over a knit together hemline. The "Monmouth," the "Machault," and the Louisbourg "Latrine" cap[347] are all

[346] Humphreys, C. (2011). "Monmouth cap: The details matter!" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monmouth_cap#/media/File:The_only_known_example_of_an_original_'Monmouth_Cap',dating_from_the_16th_century.jpg The Nelson Museum and Local History Centre. Date accessed: 12/30/2018.
[347] Hatcher, Dr. A. (2018). "The hat in the latrine: Unravelling the secrets of 18th-century life in Cape Breton," *Spin Off,* www.interweave.com. Parks Canada accession #1B1F2-171

caps that are much "taller than they are wide, so that when it fits on a head, there is a small gap between the crown of the head and the top of the cap."[348] Historical artwork of the period also suggests a fairly slouchy wearing pattern for knitted caps.[349] Other extant caps of this kind seem to encourage a widespread use across the Atlantic world and should be adopted by more living history practitioners. The Monmouth-style caps tend to be single colour, and appear today to be brown tones, but I

Figure 3-8 "Machault" Cap; Parks Canada collection, accession #2M17D1-22.

[348] Humphreys, C. (2011). "Monmouth cap: The details matter!" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monmouth_cap#/media/File:The_only_known_example_of_an_original_'Monmouth_Cap',dating_from_the_16th_century.jpg The Nelson Museum and Local History Centre. Date accessed: 12/30/2018. p1.

[349] Please see https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw42950/Andrew-Wilkinson and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0328-26 for paintings depicting men wearing the knitted cap.

Figure 3-9 an original watercolour dated 1766 held in the Royal Ontario Museum collection acc#969.37.2 of various French Canadien people in their regular, everyday clothing.

suspect that there were colours in the brown family, both reds, and darker colours. French Canadian art depicts bright red caps. Caps with a Dutch provenance[350] tend to be striped and brighter colours in blues, reds, greens, and buff colours. Finished caps are roughly twelve inches in height, with varying hem widths. For ease and efficiency in knitting, I began this pattern with a provisional cast on and then worked the two rows together once a desired hem width has been constructed. In period, it seems to be that a backwards loop

[350] https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-2006-110-3 https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/NG-2006-110-2 Holds a good quantity of Dutch mut-style caps in various colourway and striped patterns.

method of casting on is done, and then once the entire cap is knit, the cast on is hemmed up with sewing stitches.

As I worked through the thought process on an unhemmed cap, I tested my theory by reconstructing a Dutch painting. For this particular cap, I began with a backwards loop cast-on, and

Figure 3-10 Pierre Longtin's quick Sunday morning interpretation

Figure 3-11 unknown painting of a possible Dutch sailor pouring a beverage - Or lamenting the excess of air in his pitcher! http://www.onnovanseggelen.com/catalogue/dutch-school-18th-century-smoking-whaler-taking-a-beer

then knit the stripes in blue, space-dyed (tied-dyed, variegated) yarn and plain white. Once I had the striped turn-up section finished, I pulled the knit section through my double pointed needles and then simply knit in the opposite direction for the rest of the body of the cap. This produced what would appear to be a purled section and a knit section if the cap is pulled out flat, but with the turned-up section folded in place, everything is appearing in knit or stockinette stitch with no purling stitches at all. For this cap,[351] I decided to leave it unhemmed, and the living historian can

[351] I have taken to calling the Dutch striped caps by their Dutch name for cap which is 'mut', which rhymes with 'put' or 'book' – this comes from friends who speak Dutch calling them this way and helps me to differentiate in my head the typical Dutch striped caps from the typical solid red French-Canadian tuque, or the English Monmouth version of natural undyed wool.

fold it as they desire. Photo is of my husband in an improv interpretation for the photo, wearing an unfinished jacket at the kitchen table early one Sunday morning.

Plain knitted cap with enclosed hem

Using Briggs and Little Heritage 2 ply 100% Pure Wool, 4ox. 113g; 214 yds, 196cm; 17sts = 4" (10cm) on 3.75mm needles. You need a set of four 3.75mm dpns, a 3.75mm or 4mm circular needle for catching up the provisional cast on to hem the tuque, and a crochet hook.

With scrap yarn, provisionally cast on 117 (114 for 23" head, 111 for 22" head) sts (42 stitches on each of 3 Needles for a 25" head, 39 for 24" head, 36 for 23" head, 33 for 22" head). Knit first row with main body yarn.

Join, being careful not to twist, and knit with body yarn for a total of 20 rows (if replicating the Machault cap, knit for 7 inches before pulling up to work hem).

Round 21, Place live stitches from provisional cast on edge onto a circular needle one size down from your working needles.

Fold brim inward so that the wrong side are facing each other and the cast on edge is on the inside of the hat brim. With the working yarn and needles in front, align the needle with the cast on edge behind.

Insert needle as if to knit into front stitch and then into the stitch on the needle behind as if to purl. Pull back stitch through the front stitch so that the front stitch is held in place by the back stitch, but only one stitch is on the right-hand needle. Repeat until all stitches are on your working dpn needles (117 stitches).

Knit until hat is desired height (Monmouth's tend to be shorter, 7" in height, Dutch caps are longer, closer to 10" before decreasing).

To decrease:

Knit 11 (10 for 36 stitch start) (9 for 33 stitch start), knit 2 together, knit 11 (10, 9), knit 2 together until end of round.

Knit one round.

Knit 10 (9 for 36 stitch start, 8 for 33 stitch start), K2tog, repeat until end of round.

Knit one round.

Knit 9 (8, 7), K2tog, repeat until end of round.

Continue in this fashion until you are knitting 4, then K2tog, then decrease every row.

When you have 5 stitches left, bind off by weaving thread end through the stitches. Pull tightly to close hole. Weave in ends. Add a decorative 'button' of stitches on the top, and a loop at the hem if desired.

The ubiquitous Scottish bonnet

To round out the knitted headwear segment of this project, I wanted to examine the quintessential headgear of the Highland Scot, the blue bonnet. This bonnet seems to have been worn by Scottish men from the seventeenth through to the nineteenth centuries; the garment seems to have been relatively unchanged throughout its fashionibility. The images of Neil Gow from which I wanted to replicate wardrobe items feature him wearing a blue knitted bonnet into his later years. I felt that my Highland man character should have his own bonnet, as well.

The first extant piece I examined was unearthed as part of the remains of a circa 1700 bog body, accession # K.1997.1115 F, found on Arnish Moor, Isle of Lewis, Scotland.[352] The second bonnet studied was that of Thomas Guthrie of Scroggerfield (1746-1820) in the National Museums of Scotland, accession # 000-100-002-860-C.[353] The in-depth archaeological report for the Arnish Moor bonnet proved invaluable in reproducing the bonnet. My first sample was of Briggs and Little singles yarn and worked up far too small and fine, compared to the original. I switched over to the Briggs and Little 'Heritage' line of yarn and cast on again which seemed to be working towards an adult male head-size. I knit a shorter hem height than for a Monmouth, thinking that twelve rows would create the desired amount for a turn-up. I then knit out to the maximum number of stitches as stated in the archaeological report by picking up stitches from the row before in the form of a 'Make 1.'[354] I did switch to a circular needle once the increases proved to be too wide for my three double pointed needles, but I could have simply added more double pointed needles if I had had

[352] Bennett, H. (1975). "A murder victim discovered: clothing and other finds from an early 18th-century grave on Arnish Moor, Lewis" *Proceedings of the Society*, *1974-5*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, pp 172-182 with attached black and white images plates 22-25.
[353] The collection of artifacts attached to the Arnish Moor archaeological finds can be found here: https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/bonnet/616061 http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-002-860-C Date accessed: 10/12/2019
[354] For a great tutorial on how to knit the 'make 1' stitch, please see: https://youtu.be/E31Il_LeKs4 Date accessed 15/12/2019

another set in that size. When increasing and decreasing, I felt it was important to avoid seam lines in my knitting by knitting evenly; so, to more closely resemble the extant bonnets, I randomly increased or decreased stitches going around the rows with a knit row in between. The first sample bonnet was knit in undyed wool, as that was what I had the most of in my stock. Once I worked up the first sample and was happy with the fit, I created the first production bonnet.

Figure 3-12 First of Production, Arnish Moor style bonnet

The bonnet is knit in Briggs and Little Heritage in blue heather colourway. The red knots surrounding the brim were created with MacAuslan's Heritage red and are simple French knots with the carrying thread run inside the two layers of brim. I ran a length of cotton tape inside the brim to allow the wearer to tighten up the brim if needed. In looking at historical artwork, namely *The Penny Wedding* by Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841) dating to 1818,[355] I determined two more colourways for this shape of bonnet. Pictured are a plain blue (from Wilkie) on the block, and from left to

Figure 3-13 Scots Bonnets with a variety of looks from colour choice

[355] *The Penny Wedding* by Wilkie, Sir D. (1785-1841) dating to 1818 https://www.rct.uk/collection/405536/the-penny-wedding

right, my interpretation of the "Arnish Moor," one with a broad red stripe noticed in the Wilkie painting, and the "Guthrie of Scroggerfield."

Figure 3-14modern techniques: Ribbed band, and 'seam lines' from increasing at carefully repeated intervals. Or what is this?

Figure 3-15 Modern style of Scots Bonnet, complete with pom-pom

These last two images of modern bonnets show a carry-through in fashion of wearing blue bonnets with Highland dress to the current era. They are not appropriate for wearing with historical dress though, as they feature all the hallmarks of modern knitting patterns; a brim of knit and purl ribbing for snugness to the head, the lines of stitching caused by increases and decreases spread evenly over the course of making up. As with the red 'French' tuque pattern from the nineteen-seventies, ribbing at the brim is a modern fashion and should be avoided for historical garments. As more and more researchers are sharing their work and patterns online, it has become easier for living historians to obtain more historically accurate headwear. Each of these patterns take a skein or two at most, making these items fairly cost effective in covering one's head, and the techniques, while perhaps not familiar to most knitters, are not difficult.

Scots bonnet pattern

1. Using Briggs and Little Heritage 2 ply 100% Pure Wool, 4ox. 113g; 214 yds, 196cm; 17sts = 4" (10cm) on 3.75mm needles. You need a set of four 3.75mm dpns, a

3.75mm or 4mm circular needle for catching up the provisional cast on to hem the tuque, and a crochet hook.

2. With scrap yarn, provisionally cast on 29 stitches on each of three needles. Knit first row with main body yarn.
3. Join, being careful not to twist, and knit with body yarn for a total of 12 rows.
4. Round 13, Place live stitches from provisional cast on edge onto a circular needle one size down from your working needles.
5. Fold brim inward so that the wrong sides are facing each other and the cast on edge is on the inside of the hat brim. With the working yarn and needles in front, align the needle with the cast on edge behind.
6. Insert needle as if to knit into front stitch and then into the stitch on the needle behind, as if to purl. Pull the back stitch through the front stitch so that the front stitch is held in place by the back stitch, but only one stitch is on the right-hand needle. Repeat until all stitches are on your working dpn needles.
7. Knit three rows.
8. Begin to increase stitches unevenly so to not create lines in your knitting. To increase, do a 'make one' style of pick up from the previous row every 5th-ish stitch. For every row of increasing, follow by a plain knit row until you have a total of 200 stitches on your needles (roughly 14 rows). You may need to add dpns as you work, or you may find it easier to switch to a circular needle.
9. Knit plainly for total of 3" from the brim hem stitch-line before decreasing.
10. To decrease, knit 2 together every 6-8 stitches. Knit two rows. Knit 2 together every 5th-ish stitch. Knit two rows. Continue decreasing unevenly with knit rows in between being mindful to not create lines in your knitting. You will find that towards

the end of the decreasing, the in-between knit rows also decrease to one knit row, then to no knit rows between decrease rows. Work in this fashion until 7 stitches remain, bind off by pulling the end of your thread through all the loops and pulling tightly. Weave in ends on inside.

The Arnish Moor bonnet features a row of French knots around the outside of the brim. Work these in red wool with a yarn needle. Finish bonnet with a draw-string tape inside the brim to tighten. The Scroggerfield bonnet appears to be knit in a blue/green coloured wool with a wide stripe of red on the lower edge of the bonnet cap. It does not have the row of contrasting knots. Both Bonnets, from the first of the century, and the end of the century, are knit in a similar fashion suggesting the style had not changed, but rather the individual's taste was at play in the decoration.

Mitts

As a final project for this section on knitwear, I wanted to knit myself some new mitts that I would not have to be careful with, that my soldier's wife impression could just wear and not think about. There are a few extant knit mitts, but they do not seem to be a common garment saved by museum collections. The ones that are saved are fine knit silk, not wool, and would seem to be for women of means, not the lower classes.[356] I asked myself if knitted mitts do exist, and I being a knitter, could I have made myself knit mitts? I chose the sport-weight yarn from Briggs and Little, in medium brown. Knowing what shape historical mitts should look like, and basing my knitting pattern loosely on stocking patterns, I took the plunge (with a gentle push from Colleen Humphries) and again tried a backwards loop cast on, and a wrap-and-turn process to knitting the cuff. As there are extant knit mitts in the historical record, I was confident in adding this accessory to my kit.

[356] A pair of silk and linen mitts in the collection of Colonial Williamsburg here, Accession #2018-255, 1&2 https://emuseum.history.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:104961?fbclid=IwAR2FEIaZ0nYlqXtYmS9wCFqFmS9KWdatLjVt1sGiNy7psdO233U0hn6HBSc

While knitting takes longer to reproduce a garment than sewing, I still thought that this would be a garment that would be practical for this character to own. The soldier's wife may have even been able to knit them herself from yarn produced on her own farm before having to leave it behind. As wool is a long-lasting fibre, I suspect this may be the last pair of mitts I will need to knit for myself, so the time invested seems worthwhile.

Mitts instructions

Cast on 85 stitches over three needles (25, 25, and 35 on the third needle which will work the seam)

1. (2.25 dpn) using a backwards loop cast. Knit the first row back on itself and join.
2. Knit the second row, wrap and turn. Knit. Wrap and turn. Continue until you have a cuff of 6-8 rows or about a fat half inch.
3. Knit in the round, in the centre of the last needle, work the 'seam' by alternating rows of plain knit with a "purl, knit, purl" row to form a fancy twisted stitch that appears in extant stockings as a 'seam'

Figure 3-16 The start of my mitts: top edge, and start of main body tube

4. . After about a half inch or so of knitting in the pattern, decrease. On the last needle (the one with the 'seam') knit to three stitches of the seam, knit 2tgthr, knit one, 'seam', knit one, knit 2tgthr through back loops.

5. Knit in pattern for three rows.
6. Decrease four times, then knit in pattern for three inches.
7. Begin decrease again using same method.
8. Work in this fashion until wrist measurement is achieved. To increase for the hand, on either side of the seam line pick up to stiches through back loops as often as every purl row.
9. Once the full hand circumference is achieved, opposite the seam line, set 16 stitches aside on a giant safety pin or stitch keeper to pick up later for the thumb. Once the stitches have been set aside, continue knitting in the round.
10. Continue to knit in pattern until the desired hand length is achieved. On the needle that is between the seam line and the thumb stitches, work back and forth to create the point, leaving the remaining stitches on the other needles.
11. Once the point is created, pick up stitches along the sides of the point to begin knitting the final cuff.
12. Knit one full round, wrap and turn. Knit one full round going in the reverse direction, wrap and turn. Continue this for 6-8 rows as per the starting cuff. Bind off.
13. Pick up stitches for thumb and knit in the round for desired length. Bind off.
14. To mimic the decoration found on fashionable cut-cloth mitts, you can add purl stitches to the back of the hand for decoration or leave plain. You could also add stitches later in a contrasting colour that mimics the knit stitches.

Knitwear conclusion

When knitting historical garments, it is important to keep historical methodologies in mind: modern elasticised ribbing simply does not turn up on the extant garment in the same way it does on modern garments. Knitting was a simple, straightforward process of efficiency. A backwards-loop cast on is faster and more efficient than a knitted cast on; wrap-and-turn is faster than knitting a row and then purling a row to create the garter band. Picking up stitches from the back is an easy and intuitive method of adding more stitches to the work, especially if it is how you learn, rather than having to re-learn, from modern methods. When you keep these ideas in mind, creating your own historical garments as a matter of 'play' can happen without needing a formal pattern. The garments are just that simple.

On sewing garments for living history

Prior to the widespread use of the sewing machine, there were methods of garment construction which simply do not readily transfer over to machine work; 'stitching on the full,' the underhand hem stitch, 'whip, gather, and roll.' to name a few. There will be instances where you can create a seam by machine, and other times where it will be easier on the body of the semester and far quicker to just sew the seam by hand. This chapter section will explore some of the methodologies of historical garment construction, focusing on two of the garments that most people have trouble with, namely men's breeches, and women's gowns. Each garment comes from a different perspective of study. Menswear uses drafting, tailoring, and math, and is proportional in its mindset. Gown, or as it was called in the eighteenth-century, Mantua making is the art of draping fabric on the body to create a nice effect. Both methods are challenging for the modern seamster, as the fabric

is manipulated by the hand to create depth, shape, and fullness; something a machine simply cannot accomplish.

When is a coat simply a coat, you might ask? In a recent Zoom lecture on creating a great visual narrative using reproduction clothing to augment the interpretive programming a site wishes to convey, speaker Elizabeth Stewart Clark encouraged participants to "go back to the genre art to understand the material culture nuances of the era to be interpreted."[357] Stewart Clark reminded the audience to look for the normative in what the "original cast" was wearing and what they were using, and then to "pepper and lard" the extra bits of interesting material culture that living historians want to make and use to create a more full-bodied visual experience. By looking at the art, and the artifact, we, the craftspeople re-creating the material culture, be it clothing or other reproductions, are better able to discern the normative. By using this approach throughout my own career, I can now fully understand the details that place a particular artifact in its particular fashion era. Elizabeth Stewart Clark encouraged participants to tell the "original cast's" stories, and not what Hollywood or other reenactors would have us believe what the era looked like. In short, always go back to the art, to the extant record, and do your research before purchasing clothing or material culture from merchants and craftspeople. Know what you need, in order to create the best visual representation.

[357] Stewart Clark, E. (March 13, 2021). "Playing Dress-Up" *The Sewing Academy*, Zoom lecture, and accompanying workbook.

The patterns included in a later chapter in this dissertation are taken from extant artifacts housed at the Ross-Thompson House, part of the Nova Scotia Museum in Shelburne, Nova Scotia. These men's suits all closely fall into the 1780s era of men's fashion.[358] The provenance of the pieces is unknown, as the house was dressed using artifacts purchased at auction in Connecticut in the 1970s.[359] Each of the three suits of menswear are quintessential to the era of the founding of Shelburne though and are appropriate for the site and for researchers to study. One suit in particular, features a style of decorated button not often found in museum collections, and so is valuable in that light alone.[360] Another has the uncommon feature of a 'document pocket' in the side leg of the breeches. I have come to learn that the document pocket is so rare that assistant curator at Colonial Williamsburg, Neal Hurst was eager to learn of this artifact so he could add the Ross-Thompson breeches to his research file.

Figure 3-17Breeches cut and stacked

When beginning construction, I ensure pieces are all cut and have the essential tailors' markings transferred to the cloth. As historical tailors did, I will often cut a whole suit in one session so that I am able to determine the most efficient use of the cloth. As noticed in one of the Ross-Thompson suits, piecing of sections of the garments that would not be seen regularly (e.g.,

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[358] Please see: Hutter, M. (2016). "Coat tales: Changes in the fashion, cut, and construction of men's clothing, 1775-1830" *An Agreeable Tyrant: Fashion after the revolution, what's a patriotic American to wear?* Washington: DAR Museum. p.45, and 69. Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. P.64

[359] Artifact accession #74.54.18, through to #74.54.20B were purchased at auction in Guilford, Connecticut in 1974 for the Ross-Thompson House, part of the Nova Scotia Museum.

[360] Please see: Personal conversations with Vincent Briggs in Saint John New Brunswick, who is currently researching death head button styles, Paul Dickfoss of William Booth, Draper who also has been studying these buttons, and Colonial Williamsburg's Mark Hutter and Neal Hurst all helped in determining the rarity of this six-spoke style of button. Briggs has gone on to experiment with the process of creating this button and will publish their findings at a later date. Also, Fuss, N. H. (2005). *Death head buttons, their use and construction.* Williamsburg: Burnley and Trowbridge.

the backs of undergarments such as breeches) ensures an entire suit could be cut from a much shorter yardage of cloth, saving the client money in the end, or allowing the tailor to keep a larger yardage of 'cabbage' or waste.[361]

This section will cover construction methods for two difficult garments, men's breeches and lady's gown making. I will begin by discussing the types of common hand stitches utilized in garment making in the period, then I will lay out the methodology I use in constructing these garments. Where applicable, I will use sketches, photographs, and YouTube videos to help visual learners understand the written instructions. These are just two garments often reproduced by common stitchers, but if mastered, other garments will prove far easier to construct using similar methods and stitch types.

Hand stitches used

The following stitches are the most common stitches used in historical clothing construction. They will create a garment that is shaped to the body, unlike sewing a garment by machine, which produces flat seams only. Learning how to use a small needle, a thimble, and the appropriate thread for the task at hand will allow you to create a garment as quickly as one made by machine.

[361] Tailors were notorious for saving the off-cuts from garment construction and creating other garments they could turn around and sell for profit. Please see: Tegg, T. 1776-1846. (1811). *A flint.* Hand coloured etching, 33.7x22.6cm. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Metropolitan Museum. Accession #67.686.5 https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/392521 Date accessed 09/25/2022.

Running Stitch: used for most long seams where very little strain on the fabric will be noticed. Also used as a basting stitch to hold two or more layers of fabric together. *Locked running stitch is used when setting sleeves. Stitch is worked as a running stitch in one direction, the work is turned, and then using the same holes as before, another running stitch is worked over the same seam, but in opposite form. When finished, looks like a machine stitch, each stitch is locked in place by the thread piercing the thread from first pass.

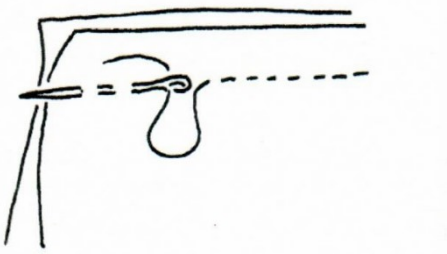


Figure 3-18 Running Stitch

Spaced or Running Back Stitch: can also be used for seams where more strength is needed. Used mostly for top stitching pleats in place and bodice seams.

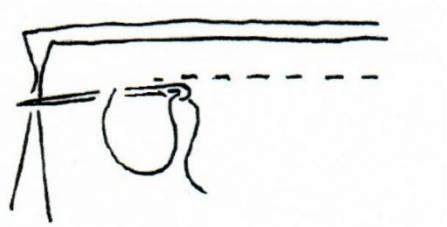


Figure 3-19Spaced, or Running back stitch

Felling, Laying Stitch, also known as "underhand hem stitch" or "le point a rabattre sous la main": used when applying the lining to the fashion layer as a means of encasing the edge and hemming the edge of the garment. Worked through all layers, and so locks the seam in place and prevents the lining from rolling to the outside. Adds the tiny decorative 'topstitching' effect noticed on the fashion side of historical garments. Worked from the lining side, with the fingers of your non-dominant had as a guide.

Figure 3-20 Felling; layine, etc Stitch

Whip or Overcast Stitch: Used to finish raw edge of seam allowances, either as one, or separately.

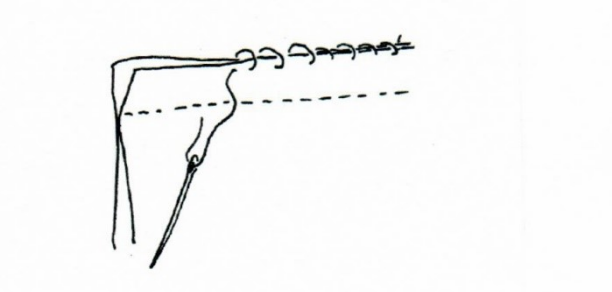


Figure 3-21 Whip, or Overcast Stitch

Tailoring: Breeches construction instructions

Beginning at the beginning – Fall fronts

The very first step, in breeches construction, after the prep of pressing and cutting, is the centre-front seam on both the fashion layer and the fall lining layer. Once the CF seam has been stitched and pressed open, turn under the two lower bias edges of the fall lining piece and press (1/4" seam allowance). You will stitch these down later, but it's helpful to press while they are a small piece now, rather than later when they seem to become an octopus of breeches. Then, right sides together, stitch along the top edge with a spaced or running back stitch, this step can also be done by machine. Press this seam allowance open as well and turn the fall lining to the inside of the garment.

The layers are pressed so that the fashion layer peeks a scant 1/16th" above the lining seam, on the inside (fig. 3-18). This will be held in place by the next sewing step which also creates the decorative 'top' stitching seen on the edges of historical garments. An "underhand hem stitch" otherwise known as "le point a rabattre sous la main"[362] is used to stitch the two layers firmly in place. By doing this step by hand, you can control the roll of the seam, and creates a curve to the front of the garment so that it hugs the body more closely.

Figure 3-22 offset edge, brown fashion fabric, striped lining

[362] Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume cose-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790*. New York: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, with Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. p.8.

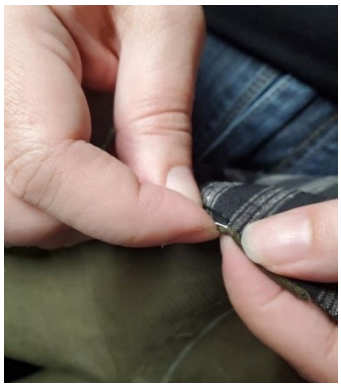


Figure 3-23 Stitching by hand

Work with the inside of the garment facing you, with the garment edge in your non-dominant hand, sew from dominant side towards your non-dominant side: work from right to left if you are right-handed (fig. 3-21). Securing the end of the thread up in-between the fashion and lining layer, bring the needle up through the folded edge of the lining to begin. Then, using the fingertip of the non-dominant hand, create a small stitch through the folded fashion layers, coming back to the stitching side through the fold of the lining. It will take practice to gain a consistently small 'top' stitch effect along the outside edge of the garment, but by starting with the smallest needle you can use, a single thread of fine sewing thread, and your thimble, you can achieve success and speed with this seam and may never want to return to modern, several step processes of sewing.

Figure 3-24 Note the curve created by manipulating fabric while laying in lining at the top edge of the fall

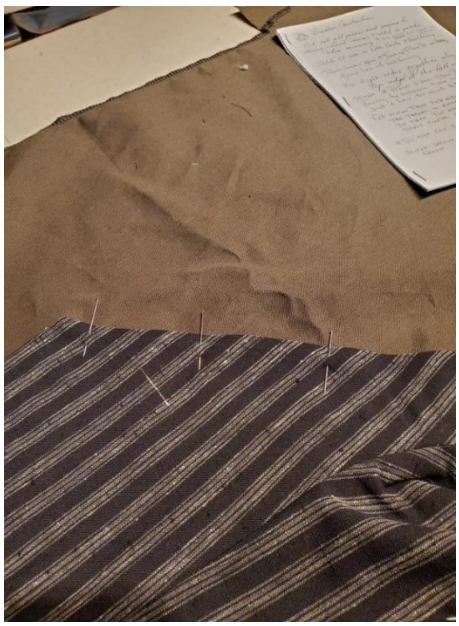


Figure 3-25 The fall lining

The final effect of working this seam will create a nice front curve (fig 3-22) to the garment. When pressing, care should be taken to ensure the curve is not flattened out.

To complete the fall lining, lay the breeches front on the board and smooth the lining in place along the bottom edge. Pin the folded lining edge in place. Using a small slip stitch and thread to match the fashion layer, sew the lining to the fashion fronts. On the outside, you will be able to see your stitching line, so ensure your stitching is small and even (fig 3-23).

Fall plackets

One of the many techniques counter intuitive to modern sewists is also highly effective and efficient, preventing later problems: creating the plackets and stitching them in place, *before* slashing the fronts to create the actual fall. Slashing the breeches fronts is done during this process; once the plackets are stitched on, but not before. If you have made the mistake of slashing the fronts of your breeches first, ensure that your finished placket will be long enough to incorporate that slash length. The first thing that I do is fold, press, and stitch my plackets into their final shape (fig. 3-26). Doing this first allows me to create a uniform and neat placket, and as I have stitched the placket on to the front of the breeches before cutting the slash, I tend to only cut as far as I need to in order to fully enclose

Figure 3-26 Fall plackets; end stitched, edges folded, and turned, and pressed

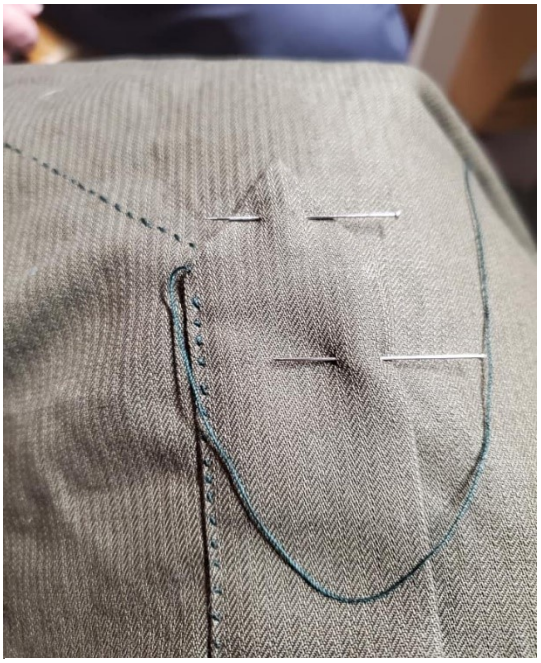


Figure 3-27 stitching the plackets in place

Figure 3-28 Stitching the back side of the placket

the raw edges in my placket. Starting at the top edge of the fall, I stitch down the first edge of the placket with a spaced or running back stitch (fig. 3-27). At this point, the stitching only goes through the single folded edge of the placket and the two layers of the breeches front (fashion and fall lining). Once the bottom of the folded edge of around the bottom point. Bring your needle and thread through to the wrong side of the garment.

Carefully cut the slash down to the bottom edge of the placket so that you have just enough space to fold everything neatly in place (fig. 3-28). Pin the placket into position. With a small whip stitch, stitch along the bottom edge and back up along the long edge of the placket. Be mindful to create nice small stitches, especially where the stitching works through to the fashion side of the garment. The finished placket should lay smoothly and flat against the body of the garment. When the placket is reached, position and pin the point of the placket in place so that the line of stitching can continue

Figure 3-29 the finished placket

The very next step is to stitch in the bearer pieces inside the fall. These are particularly important to the wearer of the breeches to keep everything tucked in and out of sight. These pieces may be shaped, and usually have a fashion side and a lining side. Stitch the two pieces together, right sides together, leaving the top edge and the edge that will later be stitched to the breeches front unstitched. Trim your seam allowances, turn to the right side, and press. You can add a row of felling stitch around the sewn edges at this point before stitching the bearers to the garment. They will be easier to handle at this point than later. As with the plackets earlier, I stitch the breeches edge

to one layer of the bearer first, then I turn and press and stitch the other layer of the bearer down. The top edge will remain a raw edge until the waistband is stitched on.

If you are choosing to add pockets to the side fronts, now would be the time to create those. With right sides together, lay one pocket bag on to the front of the breeches. You will then stitch across the top edge and then either side of the pocket opening, down to the point. It will be helpful to stitch this seam by machine, shortening the stitch length as you turn the point, and leaving just enough space between the two lines of stitching to be able to get the point of your scissors in there to clip without clipping the stitching. Clip the seam open once the stitching is complete (right up to, but not through the sewn point) and press the seam allowances open. Then turn the pocket bag to the inside of the breeches, and with a felling stitch, nail that seam into place.

Figure 3-30 The stitching along the top edge of the pocket, and both sides of the deep V of the opening.

Figure 3-31 Then a close-up of the clipping of the seam, up to, but not through the stitching line.

Once the front pocket bag has been completely stitched in place with its felling stitch and pressed nicely, attach the back pocket bag and stitch around with two rows of stitching to ensure holes do not develop in the pocket. If the breeches are unlined, now would be the time to overcast

the raw edges of the pocket. Baste the top edge of the pocket pieces together so that things do not flop around later when applying the waistband. You can even diagonally bast the pocket closed at this point and gently press your breeches fronts.

The fronts of the breeches should now be completely finished and tidy. At this point, you can stitch the back legs on to the fronts and your breeches will begin to look like a garment.

Waistband

Before attaching the waistband to the breeches, if a watch pocket is desired, it is important to work this now. Watch pockets are really the first instances of welted pockets I have noticed in my research. They are often no wider than the closed fingers of a small hand to allow for the watch to sit in the pocket comfortably, but not fall out easily. Again, finish the pocket entirely, including the whipping of the raw edge prior to stitching the waistband on to the garment.

The welt is a rectangle the width of the desired pocket opening plus ½" seam allowances and should be no more than 3" tall, leaving an inch reveal, an inch interior, and a half inch seam allowance. Stitch the short ends of the welt together, trim your seam allowances, press them open and turn. Then press the welt. If you wish, do any top stitching now. One long edge of the welt will be on a fold, the other edge will be left raw. There is no need to finish this edge as it will be entirely contained within the waistband and will not fray.

Right sides together, with the raw edge of the welt facing up, pin the welt to the fashion layer of the waistband. Then right side of the pocket bag to the right side of the waistband, lay the pocket bag on top of the welt, matching the seam allowance up to the raw edge of the welt. Your pocket bag should be an inch longer than the welt is wide. This is so you can easily stitch up the sides of your pocket later and not have any troublesome holes. Stitch along the welt edge, seaming the layers together. This seam line should start and finish exactly at the ends of the welt. Press the pocket bag

upwards. Next, you are going to carefully cut your pocket opening. Firstly, you will cut along the edge of the welt starting and finishing inside the welt ends so that you can create the little triangles at either end. You will then cut the triangles right up to, but not through your stitching line where you sewed the welt and pocket bag to the waistband fashion layer. You should ONLY cut through the waistband fashion layer for this whole process. Do not cut the welt or pocket bag, and do not cut the lining of the waistband at all. Press the pocket bag to the inside of the opening, and the welt in an upwards position. At this point, bring the bottom of the pocket bag up and stitch it to the top opening edge. Be mindful to not sew past the ends of your cut triangles. It is imperative that you take great care when sewing these seams to not pull the pocket opening out of shape. The next step is to fold back the triangle ends and sew up the sides of the pocket bag. I do this step by machine so that I can backstitch back and forth over the little triangles, nailing them done nicely and completely, making for a stronger pocket. Once you are happy with your pocket, and it has been pressed nicely, stitch the ends of the welt to the fashion layer of the waistband, bar tacking at the top corners.

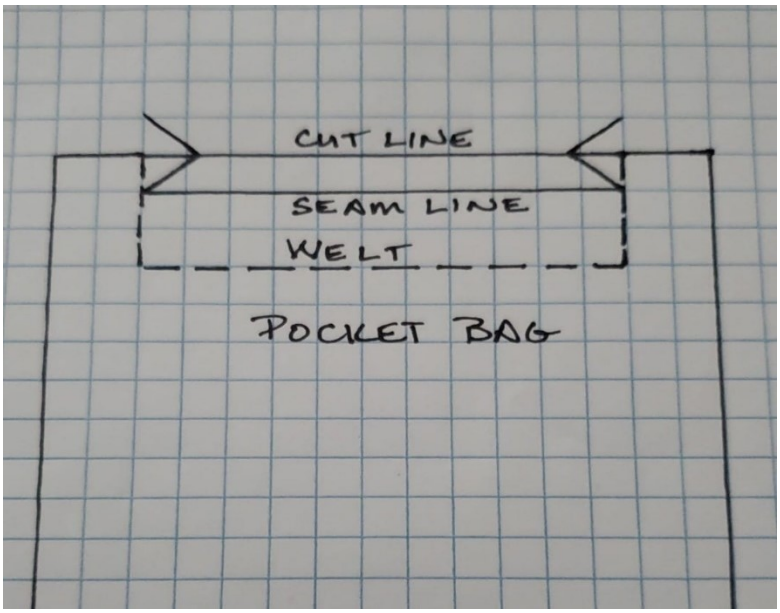


Figure 3-32 shows the welt as a dash line underneath the pocket bag with seam line and cut line noted.

I will now sew my lining to my fashion layer of my waistband, trim, turn and press. Leaving the edge that will be sewn to the breeches raw, I will turn up the fashion layer seam allowance and press for later. At this point, you will have two waistbands, a left and right side proper. The welt

pocket should be on the right side proper. The waistbands will close in the back, later, with eyelets and a drawstring tape for ease in wearing and adjustment.

I will always stitch the wrong side of the waistband to the inside of the breeches first. This allows me to then save my nice hand stitching for the outside enclosing, where it will show. Care should be taken to not stitch up the pocket bag to the waist of the breeches when sewing this seam. You will hand stitch the inside waistband to the inside of the pocket bag, allowing it to hang freely inside the breeches.

Figure 3-33 Waistband is stitched wrong sides together with the breeches first.

Figure 3-29 shows that I have stitched the lining layer of the waistband to the top of the breeches. The back waist of the breeches has been gathered into fit, with the front laying smoothly and flat with the waistband. There should always be gathering at the back waist so that a nice diaper effect in the rear is achieved. If you do not have gathering, your breeches backs are too tight, and fit should be adjusted.

Once the waistband has been stitched to the wrong side of the breeches, press all your seam allowances upwards nicely and pin the fashion layer in place. Enclose this seam with a small whip stitch, picking up the folded edge of the fashion layer and the stitching line underneath.

At this point, breeches should be checked for fit through the leg, and the length marked. The legs should be fairly snug, and all fitting should be carried out through the inseam. The crotch line should sit high and snug to the body with the fork sitting at the perineum in order for the breeches to work correctly when worn. Loose legs and low-rise fitting should be avoided as they will

cause the inseam to split in wearing as this will turn into a stress point. A well-fitted garment is the desired end point, modern sensibilities aside.

Once the leg has been fitted, it may be desirable to make a placket for the buttonholes at the side of the leg. As the outside leg is cut on the straight of grain, a simple rectangle of fashion cloth is all that is required. Stitch this to the front leg only to support buttonholes, of which, there should be roughly four.[363] Buttons will only require the seam allowance on the back leg. The buttons at the knee tend to be half inch or smaller and will touch each other when stitched in place. Buttons will be stitched a quarter inch in from that edge on the opening, as the seam allowance is folded back to create the support. Work the buttonholes on the front leg to correspond to the position of the buttons, making sure the opening is just large enough to accommodate the button passing through.

The final construction step is to cut the knee band and stitch in place. The bottom of the breeches will be cut with a distinct shape so that the front knee is cupped, and the back knee rises to prevent bulk. The front knee is eased into the knee band. The knee band is a rectangle the length of the circumference of the leg just below the knee plus extra for the buckle strap. The height of the knee band is just an inch tall at most, so the rectangle should be only 3" to allow for 1" reveals and ½" seam allowances. Fold and stitch the ends of the knee bands to finish. Turn and press properly, and if desired, add the row of top stitching. Stitch the wrong side of the knee band to the wrong side of the breeches. Turn and press. Whip stitch the fashion layer to the fashion side of the breeches as you did with the waistband. Apply the breeches buckle to the tab and mark the buttonhole placement for the buckle tang. Work the buttonhole just large enough to accept the tang.

[363] I say roughly, in that every pair of breeches will be slightly different, based on fabric, the body that will wear them, and the pocketbook of the person ordering. Usually there are four buttons up the outside of the leg in close proximity.

Finally, finish the breeches by working the final buttonholes, eyelets, and stitching the buttons in place. To be the sturdiest, buttonholes should follow the grainline of the fabric, not worked on an angle. Though some extant do have bias worked buttonholes, they tend to gape out of shape rather quickly. Eyelets are worked to either side of the waistband opening in the back and are fashioned with an awl and whipping the edges or the hole opening.

Figure 3-34 Dr. Matthew Keagle from Fort Ticonderoga with well fitting breeches.

Do not bother trying fancy blanket stitches or buttonhole stitches around the eyelet as they will do nothing more than close up the hole. Whip around solidly and be done, no need to over engineer it. They will not pull out. The back eyelets are laced up with narrow cotton or linen tape. There is also no need for a 'modesty' triangle in this opening, as the wearer's shirt should be more than long enough to stay tucked into the waist of his breeches. The wearer should also always be wearing a coat to cover his sleeves and backside, as was the fashion of the era. To go about in shirtsleeves was a sign of doing hard labour, but once complete, the coat would again be worn.

Draping a gown: 'English' style, en fourreau, fitted backed gown

Characteristics of the English style gown include stitched-down pleats that run from back neck to hem. They were the most fashionable in the third quarter of the eighteenth-century. Often worn with a stomacher that may match the gown fabric and petticoat, or with contrasting petticoat and embroidered stomacher. Most depictions in art show all three components having matching fashion fabric in upper-and middle-class paintings and sketches. Lower classes mix and match fashion fabrics more often, but still to a certain 'fashion', in that a patterned upper garment will be worn with a matching petticoat or solid coloured petticoat, but a patterned petticoat is not seen with a solid upper garment.

You will need: Fitted stays, completed shift, petticoats, and desired hip supports prior to beginning this project. Eighteenth-century people are upholstered people, meaning their clothing fits like a fine upholstered piece of furniture's fabric fits its frame. You need to have your undergarments fitted and completed before addressing the outermost layer. You will also need the source of inspiration, your reputable historical costuming book,[364] and any other images that will help you create a beautiful historical garment. Try not to copy re-enactor images, as they may have made mistakes in their interpretations. Go right to the primary sources. A 'mood board' is a handy thing to create prior to building historical clothing, the images remain stuck in your head. The steps to draping a fitting pattern for your body are demonstrated on my YouTube channel at

[364] Arnold, J. (2021). *Patterns of fashion 1: the content, cut, construction and context of Englishwomen's dress c.1720-1860*. London: School of Historical Dress. P. 37. See also Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. P. 23, 24, and 27, and Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790,* New York: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation with Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. P. 11-15, and 24-28.

https://youtu.be/5aDx5wQp7LQ. You can also start with a commercial pattern that has been altered to fit the body over stays.

Steps: This process will be guided through YouTube instructional videos. Please click through as needed, pause where needed, and leave comments and questions if you require help.

1. Following reputable historical clothing texts, drape a cotton bodice over the dressed body (finished undergarments). This bodice will form the pattern for your garment, so take care to follow historical cutting lines. Use unwashed, pressed factory cotton to complete this step. Be sure to have both centre-front and centre-back on straight of grain. Do not use selvages, rather tear a new edge, and carefully press this edge under 1 inch before beginning. https://youtu.be/5aDx5wQp7LQ
2. Transfer this cotton draping to paper, marking everything you noted on the draping. Be sure to label the full name of who the pattern is for, and the date made. You may also wish to number the pattern pieces for later use. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WocDsAiFJdk
3. Cut this pattern in linen to be used as the lining of the garment. For an En Fourreau gown, you can dip the centre-back slightly into a point *For an Italian style gown of the last quarter, this point will be well pronounced; for a sacque backed gown, the back lining is cut square across, and is open at the centre-back, with a strip for lacing tightly. Please see your reputable historical costuming source to choose which style you are re-creating. Remember to press flat your pattern pieces and your lining fabric before cutting. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KcKa5bkHQew&t=1361s
4. Stitch the centre back seam of the lining, press seam open, and finish the bottom edge of the lining by folding up the bottom edge and with a running stitch, hem.
5. *This is where my tutorial differs from many published on the internet. Instead of working on a dress form, we will work flat on a table. This allows the table to support the weight of

the fabric and relieves any stress on your body while sewing. If you have taken the time to make a lovely, fitted pattern, you will have no issues making a lovely, fitted gown.

6. With your lining lying wrong side up on your board, you are going to pleat the back fashion fabric to your back lining piece. Mark the centre line of the Fashion Fabric so that you can match it up to the centre back line of the bodice lining.
7. Working with the Fashion Fabric right sides up, match up the centre of the Fashion Fabric to the centre back of the Lining (wrong sides together). Following the pattern guidelines of an extant garment, begin to pleat the centre back pleats in place. Please do not attempt to pattern match with printed fabrics, most of the time, this is a fools errand, as there's only so much matching you can do with many prints. Follow the pleating diagrams as best you can, mirroring the pleats on both sides of the centre back line. Take your time with this step to ensure the pleats are as even and beautiful as possible. Pin in place, and leave it rest for a bit, if need be, so that you are sure you are happy with them before stitching.
8. Carefully flip the whole sandwich over so that the lining is facing upwards, and trim around the bodice, side seams, shoulder edge, and top neck edge. Leave the bottom inch or so of the side seam untrimmed, and then cut horizontally(ish) for the skirts. Flip the sandwich back over to the fashion side. With a spaced back stitch, top stitch the pleats in place along the fold of the pleat, about a 1/8" in from the fold. Stitch through all the layers, Fashion Fabric and Lining. People are going to notice these seams, so take care in your stitching. Baste the lining edges to the fashion layer around the side seams and top edges, treating the two layers as one now.
9. Continuing along the hem edge of the bodice lining, cut into the fashion fabric following the dip in the lining of the small of the back, almost all the way to the back pleats. This may feel a bit daunting but is needed to pleat the skirt into place. Folding up the bottom bodice edge

ever so slightly to create the seam (about an 1/8"), press in place. Pleat the skirt into place along this edge so that the knife pleats open towards the side seam. Pin each side in place and pleat the back skirt before committing to stitching in place. When you are happy they are even, using a small slip stitch to sew the Fashion Fabric to the pleats. You now should have a beautifully finished back panel.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XhTGYb4JAqE

10. Next, you are going to cut your front skirt panels. They should be the length of the selvage edge of your back skirt panels, the measurement from waist, over dress supports, to the floor, plus any hem or sweep you desired. With a running stitch, or by machine if desired, sew the front skirt panels to the back skirt panels. Create pocket slits by slashing into the front skirt panels where desired and roll hem the edges. You can add a bar tack at the bottom of the slash so that the gown won't tear of the pocket slit is caught on a doorknob.

Stitch the front bodice lining to the back bodice at the side seams only, using a running back stitch from the lining side. Stitch the fashion layer to this seam using a running back stitch through most of the layers. You will fold and press under the side seams of the front layers before stitching in place. Stitching should be 0.25cm/1/8" in from folded edge. Finish off the front and bottom edges of the Front Bodice Sections by a fell stitch. The lining will be folded slightly more, as it is just shy of the front edge. Working from the lining side, use a felling stitch, stitch the front edges of lining to fashion layer together. This should make a nice little 'top stitching' finish to the front edge of your bodice. Make your stitches nice, small, and even, using the finger of your non-dominant hand to guide you. You should just feel the prick of the needle before returning to the fabric. This will create a nice firm edge to stitch your skirts to. Baste the top edge of your fashion layer to the bodice lining at the shoulder strap and around the armscye.

11. Line the skirts up so the pocket slit is even and pleat the skirt in place so that the pleats open towards the side seam. Your front edge needs to be hemmed or faced, so allow for that turn under at the centre-front. Attach pleats to front bodice by slip stitching the hip curve to the pleats. You should now have a body of a gown.

    https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iDNK7POKViE

12. Cut your sleeves according to the sleeve template, making sure they are long enough to cover the elbow of the model/client, and fit the circumference of her upper arm. Cut lining as well using same pattern. Sew the sleeves together at the hem first, then side seam, making sure you have sewn any darts at the elbow as needed. The hem is stitched with a felling stitch, then the side seam of the sleeve is folded and pinned into place and a spaced back stitch is used through all layers to sew the seam.
13. Cut and prep your shoulder straps. You will be folding under and pressing the three sides that are top stitched in place, leaving the armscye edge unturned. Attach the lining shoulder strap in place using the spaced back stitch, stitching through all layers at the front and back shoulder seams.
14. Matching up the top of the straight section of the back of the sleeve head to the back shoulder point, this point is crucial for the sleeve to sit correctly on the body. Using a spaced back stitch, stitch the lower arm scye and sleeve together through all four layers. Whip/Overcast the raw edges together. For an extra sleeve construction demonstration, visit my YouTube video https://youtu.be/KsiP--SIeTM

15. Smooth the front sleeve over the curve of the front shoulder, easing in place as needed. Form pleats that open towards the back body that start just past the top of the shoulder, and end at the back shoulder seam. The line should be nice and smooth over the shoulder, the pleats all towards the back of the shoulder. With a spaced back stitch, sew the top of the sleeve in place to the strap lining. You should be able to feel the stitches catching the strap lining as you sew. You should be sewing through three layers.
16. Cover with the shoulder strap fashion layer with all four edges folded and pressed under. Stitch in place using a slip stitch or spaced back stitch on all four edges. You should now have a full gown, ready for decoration. To see how I construct stomachers, please visit my YouTube video here, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwTWX7x8w04

Robings and Decoration: . At this point in gown construction, you should decide if you prefer plain robings or ruched decoration. Robings are long rectangular strips of cloth, the lengthwise measurement is from the back shoulder seam, over the shoulder to just under the waist seam at the front edge. Stitch finished rectangular robing to the back shoulder seam, baste to front edge. I prefer to stitch my robings to the front edge, others prefer to pin in place. I do not like to have any straight pins showing when dressed and hide them underneath my robings. For the gown I created for this dissertation and Jenny's Dutch impression, I decorated with miles of ruched decoration created by cutting strips of cabbage cloth left over from the construction process and stitched together. To see how I handled the decoration of this gown, please visit my YouTube video here, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E-Ye_n0-mDc

1. Bind off the top, back neck edge with a straight cut rectangle, matching the angles of the shoulder seam. The finished bound edge should be roughly 2.5cm/1" deep on both the fashion side, and lining. This is easier to sew when the edges are folded and pressed into place before pinning to the top edge of the gown. I stitch this in place with a small slip stitch.

2. Hem skirt fronts, and bottom edge to desired length.
3. Finish sleeve ends with cuffs or frills if/as desired.

Notes: The gown should be lined with either linen or cotton plain weave fabric. Even silk gowns of the period were often lined in linen cloth. Not only was it not to be seen, but also provided the support required for the fashion fabric. Linen and cotton are also the easiest fabrics to manipulate with just your hands. These garments were draped to the body. Many interior seams were simply finished with an overcast stitch to keep the seam allowances from fraying. These gowns were hardly, if ever washed. They certainly would not have been washed in a washing machine. If required, spot cleaning is all that should be necessary. Your body linens are what gets laundered on a regular basis.

** For Sacque Construction – First, you will not cut into the back waist as far as the centre-back, only an inch or two/5cm tops. Secondly, it is important to run a permanent baste under the wide sacque pleats to hold the bodice to the lining. This allows the pleats to spring away from the body, but the bodice stays nicely close to the form of the body. Leaving this important row of basting off the garment will result in the wearer looking like they are wearing a tent, and not an elegant gown. Once you have pinned your pleats in place, pick up the side of the pleats, and run that baste as close to the centre-back as you can. Top stitch these pleats in place only to shoulder blade level.

Chapter four: Patterns of men's fashion, 1780s Shelburne, Nova Scotia

In the collection of the Ross-Thompson House in Shelburne Nova Scotia, a member of the Nova Scotia Museum, there are three suits that were purchased at auction in the early nineteen-seventies to decorate the house museum. There is only one full suit of breeches, waistcoat, and frock coat. A second suit consists of just the frock coat and waistcoat, the third is simply the frock coat. All three suits are pretty amazing examples of extant menswear, despite their deteriorating condition. In the summer of 2019, I spent a week patterning these garments and stabilizing them for future display. I did this through a process taught to me by Dr. Lynn Sorge-English in 1995. To pattern the garments, first a grid line is established by laying a tape on the grainline of the section to be patterned. From this established grainline tape, measurements are taken outwards to points on the garment piece to determine shape and size. For each section of the garment, the tapes and measures were placed without piercing the garment at all. Pattern weights come in quite handy in this regard as they sit on the garment, holding the piece in place along with the measuring tape. Care must be taken to not shift the grainline tape when the measurements are taken. Also, the researcher must remember to stick to one side of the grainline tape when taking the cross-grain measurements. I was not so interested in an exact measuring of the garment to a body for fitting, more to see how the pattern shapes plotted out in flat form. As with any garment, when making up to fit a body, a fitting process must occur during construction. A pattern is always simply the first rough shape to cut.

In this chapter, I will describe the garments, their condition, and will include the patterns drawn from the garments showing some interesting details. I include the Nova Scotia Museum artifact record for each item in the beginning of each item section. Following in the venerable Janet Arnold's footsteps,[365] I will note my findings with each artifact's description. Any notations on age

[365] Janet Arnold was ground-breaking in her approach to studying historical garments. While I hope to follow her lead, I do not propose to stand on the same stage. My research trip was short in length, and I had only a limited amount of

of the garments are based on the artifact record themselves, but also comparing to reputable sources such as Norah Waugh, and others.[366] At this point in time, I did not want to question any work on the garments done before my time there. I simply wanted to note what I saw at that moment in time.

I was anxious to start on the brown silk suit. I had noticed this suit on display back in the early 1990s when I first visited the site. I knew that the suit was still on display all these years later, a problem for the longevity of this fragile garment. As often is the case with textiles, the sun and human interaction can damage garments fairly quickly. As you can see from the photos above, the silk threads have faded in their colours, which were likely once vibrant blues, pinks, and yellows along with a metallic thread that may have been gold or copper coloured. This suit would have been quite spectacular when new. According to the artifact records, all three

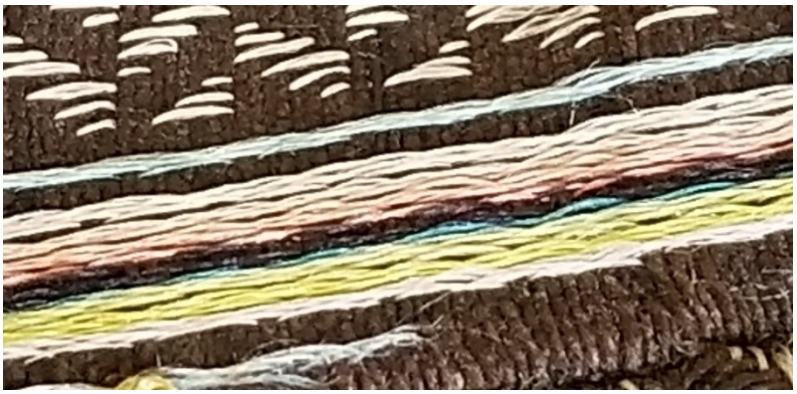


Figure 4-1 Close-up of the underside of the silk to best show the colour of the threads

Figure 4-2 Severely faded Death-head button. This form of six bars is extremely rare.

resources in which to complete this work. Please see, Arnold, J. (1972). *Patterns of fashion 1: Englishwomen's dresses and their construction c.1660-1860.* London: MacMillan. also, Arnold, J. (2021). *Patterns of fashion 1: the content, cut, construction and context of Englishwomen's dress c.1720-1860.* London: School of Historical Dress. And, Arnold, J, Tiramani, J, and Costigliolo, L. (2018). *Patterns of fashion: The content, cut, construction and context of bodies, stays, hoops and rumps c.1595-1795.* London: the School of Historical Dress.

[366] Waugh, N. (1964). *The cut of men's clothes 1600-1900.* London: Faber. (1968). *The cut of women's clothes 1600-1930* Mew York: Theatre Arts Books, and (1995). *Corsets and crinolines. Reprint* New York: Routledge/Theatre Arts Books. But also Hutter, M. (2016). "Coat tales: Changes in the fashion, cut, and construction of men's clothing, 1775-1830" *An Agreeable Tyrant: Fashion after the revolution, what's a patriotic American to wear?* Washington: DAR Museum. And also, Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790,* New York: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation with Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. And Burnston, S. A. (1998). *Fitting and proper: 18th century clothing from the collection of the Chester County historical society.* Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing.

suits of clothes range from the same narrow fashion era, the 1780s, and exhibit similar fashionable features.[367] On the brown striped suit, a feature to note is the silk wrapped death head buttons.[368] In conversation with other historical tailors, we determined that the six-spoke wrapping of the death-head button was unusual though and should be preserved.[369] The entire suit itself is now extremely fragile, and I suggested to the new curator of the adjoining museum building that the suit be removed from display. When I was finished taking the pattern and photographs, I stabilized the suit as best I could with supporting acid free tissue in the sleeves and body folds to prevent further cracking and breaking of the silk fabric along those fold lines. I also positioned the sleeve cuffs back to where they would have been originally stitched, as many visitor hands had pulled them out of position.

[367] Each suit's artifact record date is the 1780s. All three frock coat garments appear that they were cut in the same manner and style.
[368] Fuss, N. H. (2005). *Death head buttons, their use and construction.* Williamsburg: Burnley and Trowbridge.
[369] Personal conversations with Vincent Briggs in Saint John New Brunswick, who is currently researching death head button styles, Paul Dickfoss of William Booth, Draper who also has been studying these buttons, and Colonial Williamsburg's Mark Hutter and Neal Hurst all helped in determining the rarity of this six-spoke style of button. Briggs has gone on to experiment with the process of creating this button and will publish their findings at a later date.

Coat-74.54.20 A

Institution: Nova Scotia Museum
Department: History
Category: Personal Artifacts
Subcategory: Clothing, Outerwear
HumGroup: Adult
Object_Name: Coat
Quantity: 1
Gender Assoc: Man
End Date 2: 1780-01-01 C
Length: 109
Width: 42
Unit_Linear: cm
Dimension Rmks: (Arm): 60l
Material: Metal, Brass; Fibre, Silk
Colour: Pink; Blue; Green
Description: Man's silk brocade coat with matching waistcoat, in the style of the 1780's, brown and gold with stripes of blue, pink and green. 10 cloth-covered buttons down right side of front opening, 4 buttonholes near the top of the left, high collar, brass hook and eye at top of cuffs, square cut bottom in the back, flaps on either side of front opening
History of Use: From Guilford, Connecticut area.
Use Country: United States
Use ProvTerr: Connecticut
Use Township: Guilford
Acquisition Mode: Purchase
Accession No: 74.54.20 A
Accession Date: 1974-06-19 D
Condition Remarks: Lining stained and worn.
Artifact Accession Report courtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum

Figure 4-3Ross-Thompson House suit patterning and stabilization.

Waistcoat-74.54.20 B

Institution: Nova Scotia Museum
Department: History
Category: Personal Artifacts
Subcategory: Clothing, Outerwear
Object_Name: Waistcoat
Quantity: 1
End Date 2: 1875-01-01 C
Length: 67
Width: 37.5
Unit_Linear: cm
Material: Fibre, Silk; Fibre, Linen
Description: Man's silk waistcoat with matching coat, 1780's style, brown and gold with stripes of blue, pink and green, fifteen buttons (and buttonholes) at front opening, lined with natural linen, front and back.
History of Use: From guilford Connecticut area.
Cross Reference: 74.54.20 A
Use Country: United States
Use ProvTerr: Connecticut
Use Township: Guilford
Acquisition Mode: Purchase
Accession No: 74.54.20 B
Accession Date: 1974-06-19 D

Artifact Accession Report courtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum

Figure 4-4 The silk is extremely fragile and shattered from living in direct sunlight for as long as I can remember. Having first lain eyes on this suit in the early 1990s, this suit has been on display for far too long.

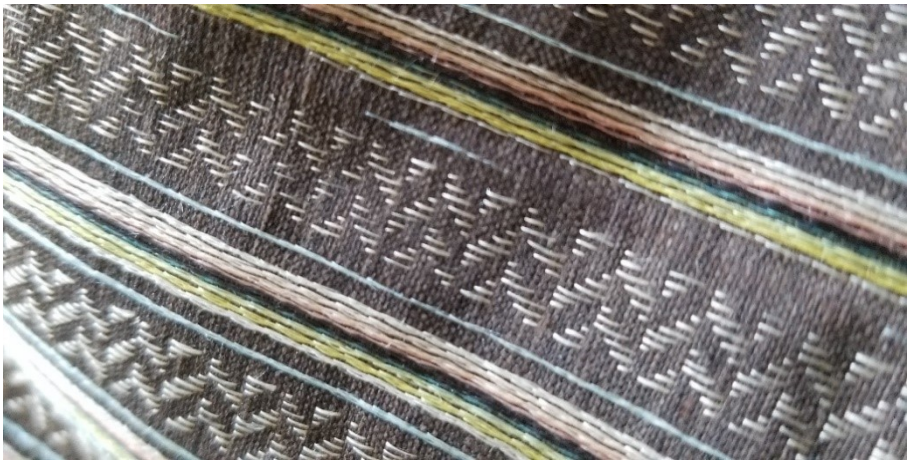


Figure 4-5 Right side of the silk brocade showing metallic threads along with the coloured silks

The pattern of the weave structure is pretty fabulous with carrying threads of blue, pinks, and yellows forming narrow stripes, and then chevrons of the metallic threads in the wider stripes. When new, this suit would have been vibrant and colourful. Historical costumers often have an extant garment they wish to reproduce one day, and this has always been mine. Finding a reproduction of this cloth would be virtually impossible though, especially on any kind of a budget.

With regards to reconstruction, if money were no object, the silk could likely still be woven, possibly even on the very same loom-type that wove the original fabric. Most historic sites do not have those kinds of budgets though, and so I began to look for a 'close-enough' fabric to create my own interpretation. In the summer of 2021, I was able to locate a silk fabric that offers up opportunities for interpretation of this suit. The piece I found was intended for men's neckties. It is narrowly woven and due to the nature of it's sale, a limited amount was available. I will possibly have enough to reconstruct a small coat and waistcoat with the yardage I have. It will be completed following this degree.

Figure 4-6 my new silk cloth find from the local fabric store.

As you can see from the photo to the left, Figure 4-6, the silk I was able to find has a similar feel to the original suit. I will need to piece the silk extensively in order to reproduce the suit as the original informs me. The new silk has the stripes running selvage to selvage, and not lengthwise, and the cloth is far narrower than modern cloth is, so piecing to fit the pattern would have had to happen anyway. I will see what I can do with this cloth, perhaps a half scale suit will need to be made instead of a full-size men's suit.

When taking the pattern, I noticed that all three of these frock coats were cut in a similar fashion. Other hallmarks of 1780s styling were the narrow sleeves, small cuffs, and oversized buttons.[370] All also had full collars instead of having the neck bound as earlier fashions had been. The collars are cut on the straight, as shaped rectangles, instead of being curved to fit the neckline. This would help keep the neckline from stretching out along its curved edge, as the straight grain will keep the bias of the neck curve from pulling. The underside of the collar is plain, unbleached linen. The bodies of all three coats were also cut fairly snug to the body and cut away from the centre front at about chest height, rendering only the top buttons useful. This particular coat only had a handful of buttons at the chest level.

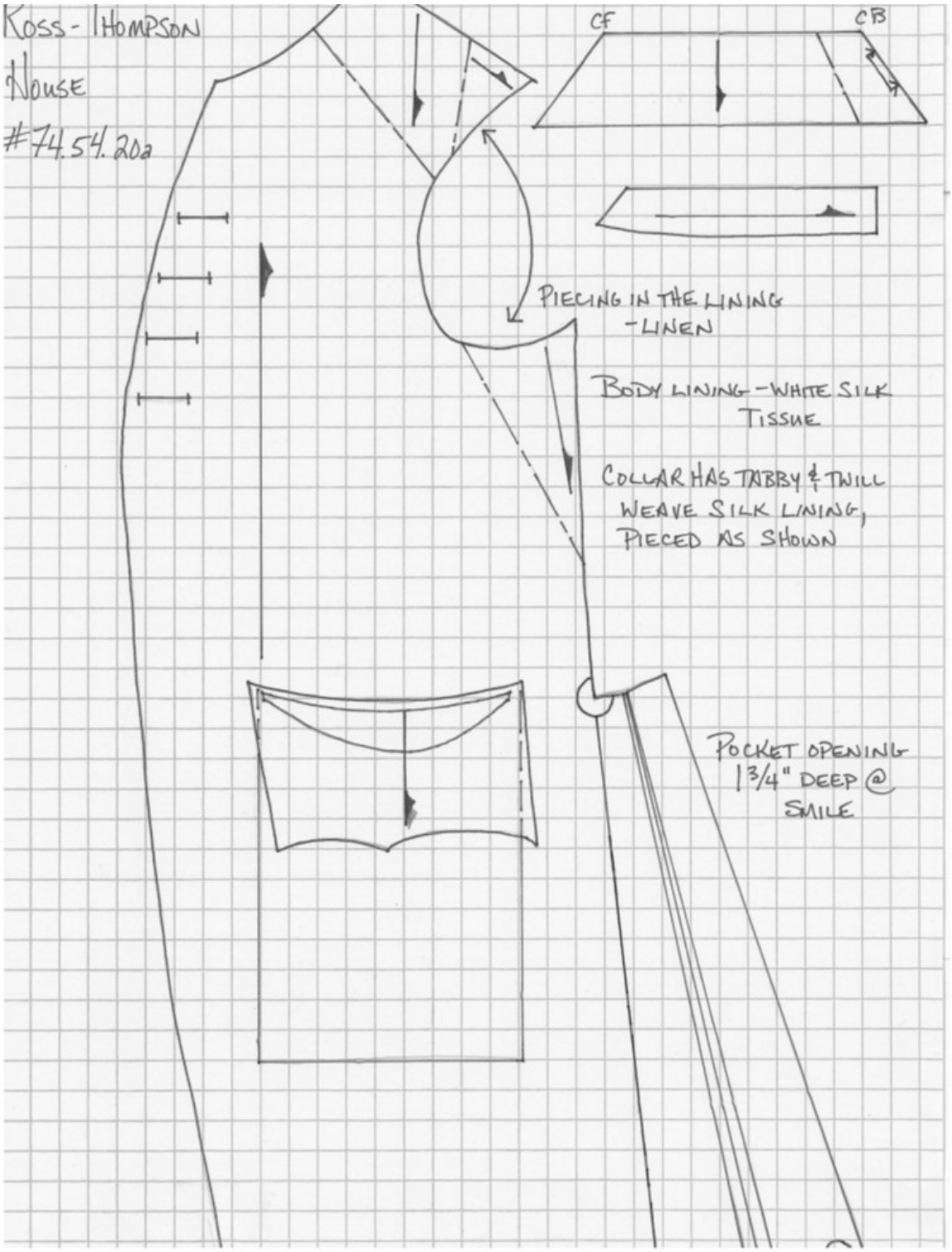
Figure 4-7The collar is cut on the straight, with no shaping or curve to form around the neckline. Forming the collar into the curve is all accomplished by hand manipulation.

This coat and waistcoat were lined in linen and silk, which may have had colour originally, but it is now difficult to tell with the naked eye what that colour may have been. As with many garments from this period, natural linen is used in places where there will be the most

[370] Again, please see Waugh, N. (1964). *The cut of men's clothes 1600-1900.* London: Faber. (1968). *The cut of women's clothes 1600-1930* Mew York: Theatre Arts Books, and (1995). *Corsets and crinolines. Reprint* New York: Routledge/Theatre Arts Books. But also Hutter, M. (2016). "Coat tales: Changes in the fashion, cut, and construction of men's clothing, 1775-1830" *An Agreeable Tyrant: Fashion after the revolution, what's a patriotic American to wear?* Washington: DAR Museum. And also, Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790,* New York: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation with Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. And Burnston, S. A. (1998). *Fitting and proper: 18th century clothing from the collection of the Chester County historical society.* Texarkana: Scurlock Publishing.

wear, the backs, sleeves, pocketbags and such, leaving the silk or coloured linens to line the places where the garment will fall open, away from the body and be seen.

Figure 4-8 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.20a



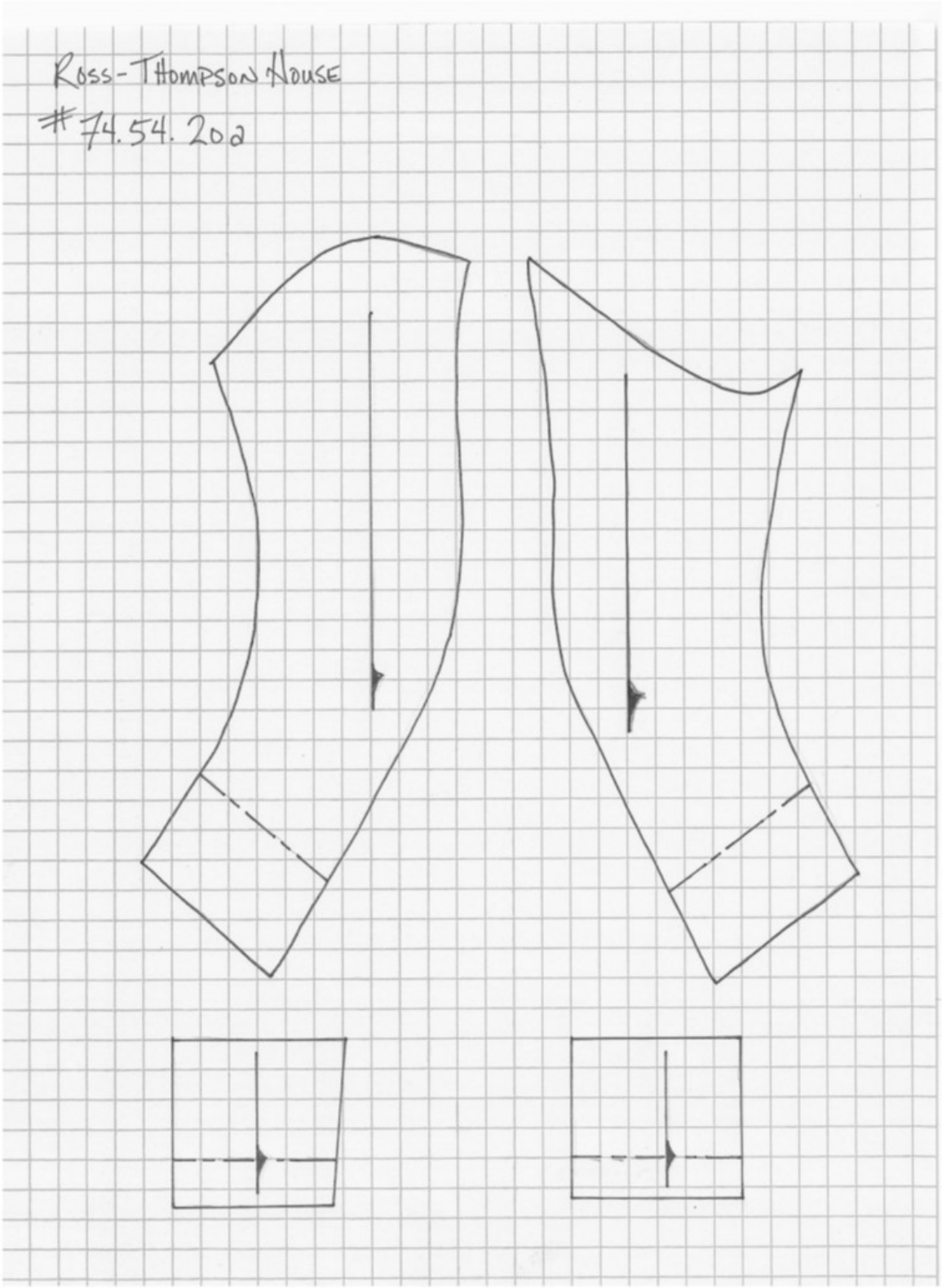


Figure 4-9 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.20a

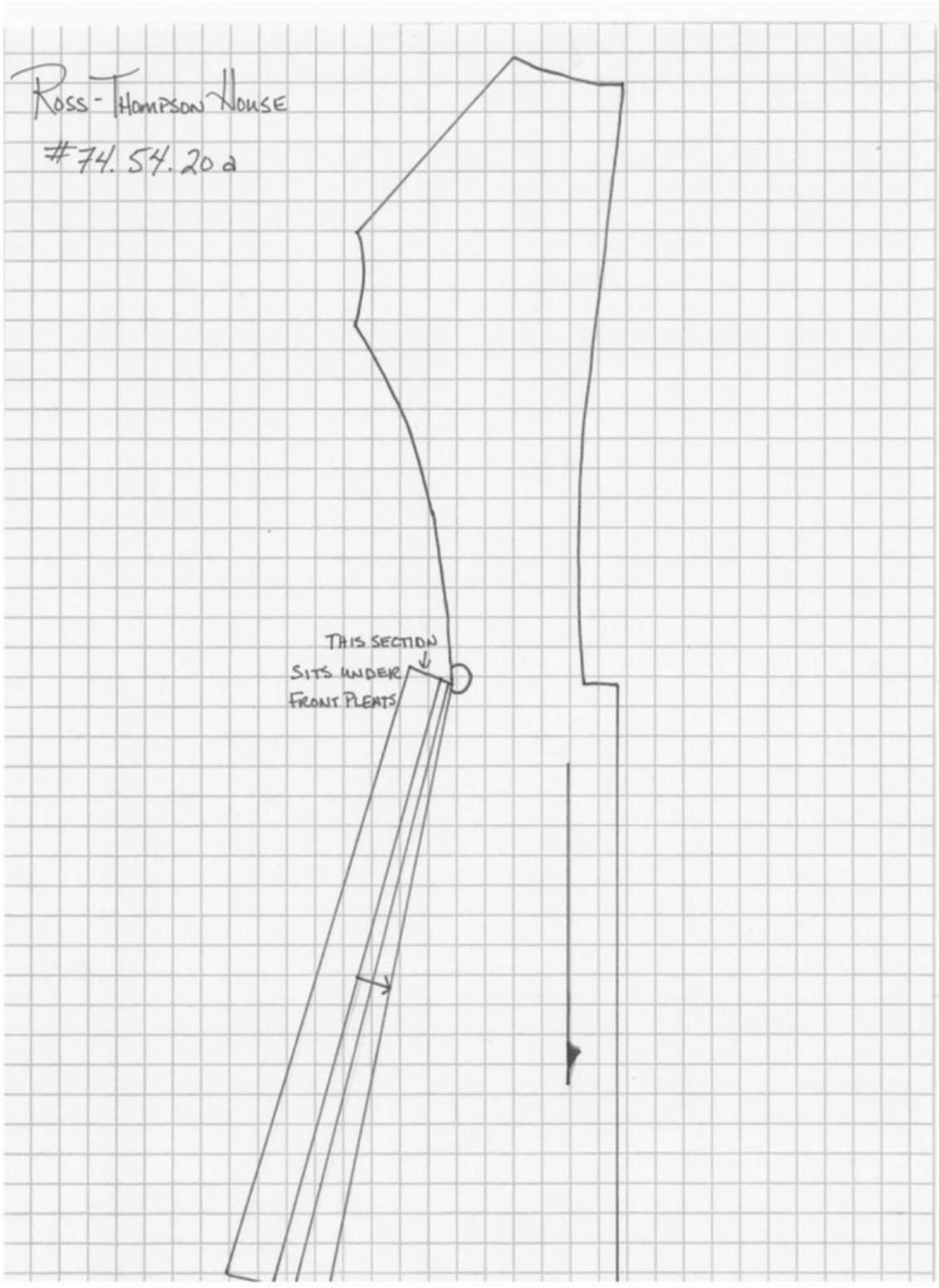


Figure 4-10 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.20a

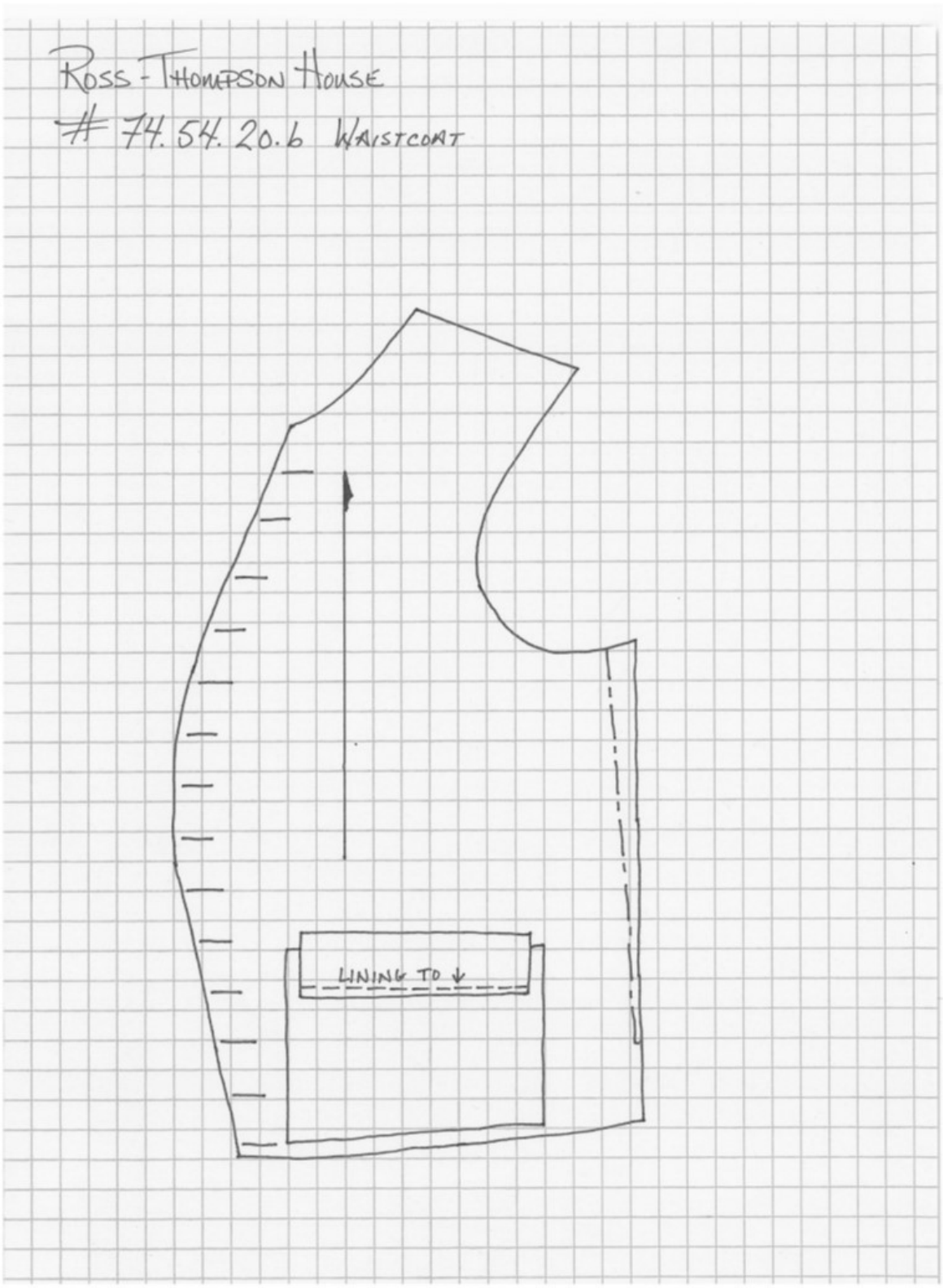


Figure 4-11Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.20b

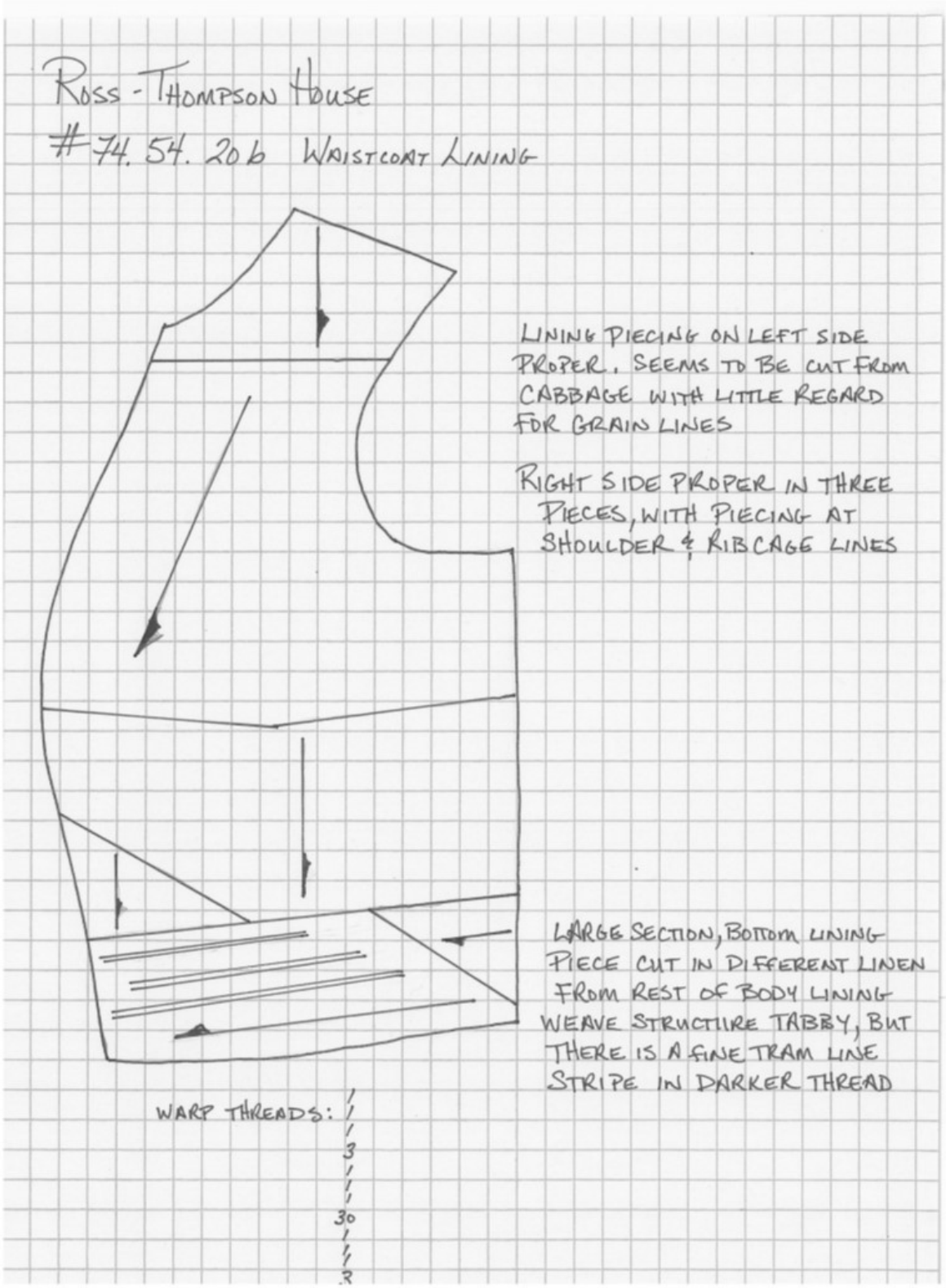


Figure 4-12 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.20b

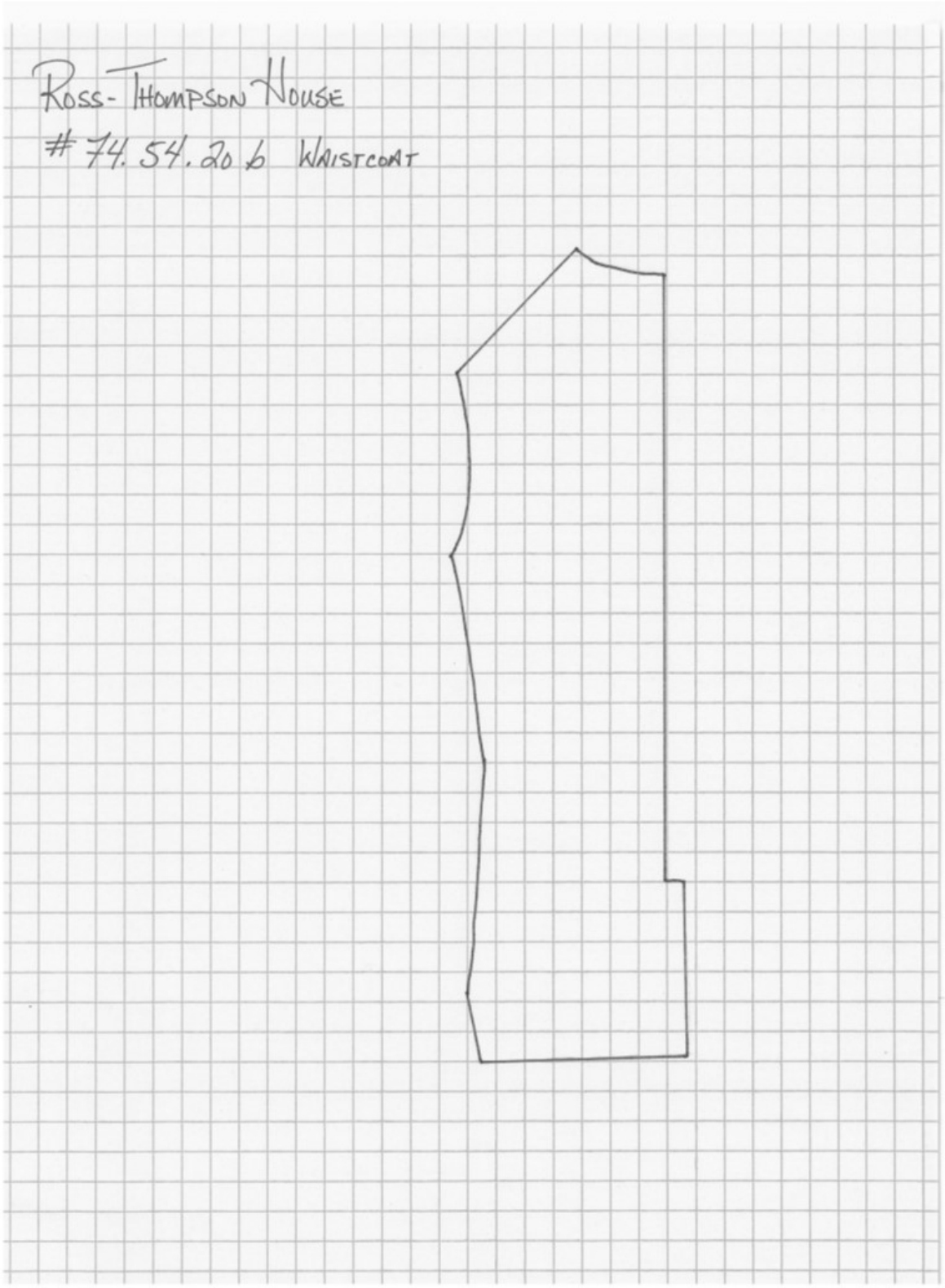


Figure 4-13 Ross-Thompson accession #74.54.20b

Coat-74.54.18

Institution: Nova Scotia Museum
Department: History
Category: Personal Artifacts
Subcategory: Clothing, Outerwear
HumGroup: Adult
Object_Name: Coat
Quantity: 1
Gender Assoc: Man
End Date 2: 1780-01-01 C
Length: 101
Width: 33
Unit_Linear: cm
Dimension Rmks: (Arm): 58L
Material: Fibre, Satin; Fibre, Linen
Technique: Sewn, Hand
Colour: Gold
Description: Man's gold-coloured satin coat, style of the late 18th century C.1780, stand-up collar, cuff only on outer part of sleeve, 7 cloth-covered buttons on right side, buttonholes on the left, two large pockets with flaps, bottom square cut, 2 buttons at back pleats, back lined with natural linen, all handstitched
History of Use: From guilford, Connecticut area.
Use Country: United States
Use ProvTerr: Connecticut
Use Township: Guilford

Artifact Accession Report curtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum

Figure 4-14 a coat once a bright yellow satin, now faded to white and entirely shattered.

The gold satin frock coat in the Ross-Thompson House collection has also experienced serious sun damage and now appears white, or off-white in colour. Features of this frock coat also put it squarely in 1780s fashion, with oversized front buttons, tight to the body cut, and small cuffs at the ends of the sleeves.[371] The silk satin is shattered in several places allowing researchers to carefully look in between the layers of the garment to see the canvases used to tailor and support the fashion fabric.

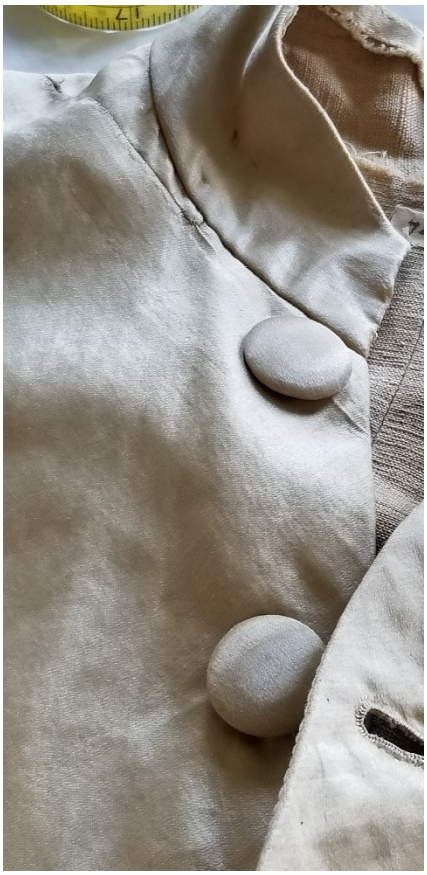


Figure 4-15 the standing collar is a folded strip of fabric shaped to fit the neck edge through stitching and steam.

The coat's fashion fabric has been pieced throughout in a manner that allowed for frugality of cloth, but still allowed for the fronts to appear whole. This particular piece, figure4-15, is on the back panel at the shoulder, in a place where the piecing would not have been noticeable to the eye unless under careful examination. If this coat was part of a full suit, like the next and final suit in this collection, careful cutting may have been observed throughout the

Figure 4-16 Extensive piecing, covered by collar

[371] Hutter, M. (2016). "Coat tales: Changes in the fashion, cut, and construction of men's clothing, 1775-1830" *An Agreeable Tyrant: Fashion after the revolution, what's a patriotic American to wear?* Washington: DAR Museum. p.45, and 69. Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. P.64

three pieces. Also of note, this frock coat also has rounded end buttonholes, figure 4-17, a feature not often seen up to this period. Predominantly, squared ended buttonholes are the fashion, so seeing this round ended one was interesting for me. The coat has a standing collar, different in fashion from the brown striped frock coat. It would originally have been lined in natural or yellow coloured linen. The buttons, figure 4-18, are domed wooden molds covered in the silk satin, a style that is commonly found on men's garments in this period. The size of the buttons, at 25mm are a feature that sets this coat in the 1780s.[372] The cuffs, figure 4-19, on this coat are also of interest in that they are shaped, and not cut squarely with the bottom of the sleeve. They are also lined with linen, which may be a contributing factor in the extended lifespan of the silk, in that the linen is supporting the fragile, shattered silk to this day. The cuff is on the outer or 'top' sleeve only and does not extend all the way around the sleeve.

Figure 4-17 Round-ended buttonhole

Figure 4-18 Button and piecing detail

[372] Hutter, M. (2016). "Coat tales: Changes in the fashion, cut, and construction of men's clothing, 1775-1830" *An Agreeable Tyrant: Fashion after the revolution, what's a patriotic American to wear?* Washington: DAR Museum. p.45, and 69. Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. P.64

Figure 4-19 Cuff with curved top

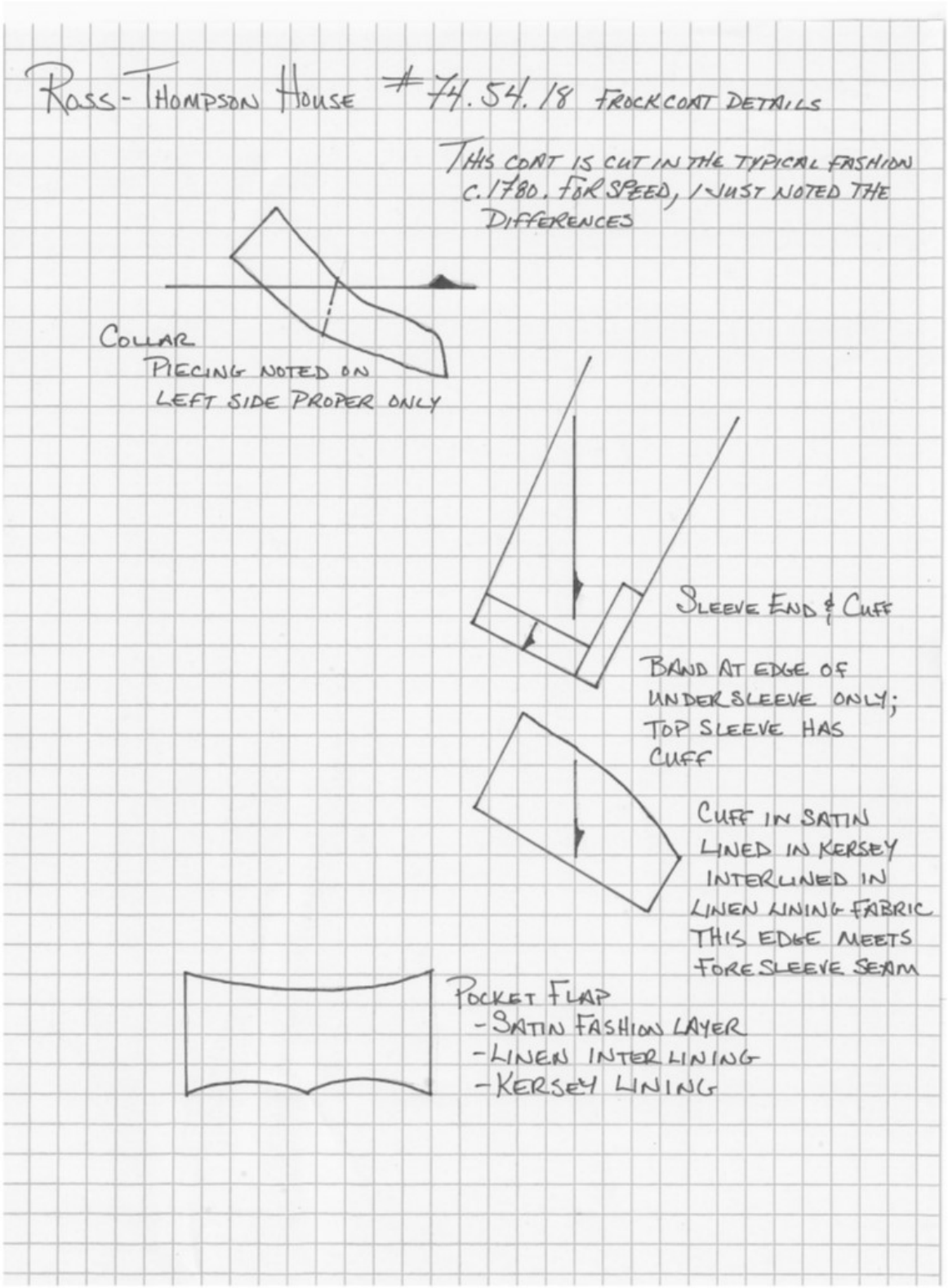


Figure 4-20 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.18

Coat-74.54.19 A

Institution: Nova Scotia Museum
Department: History
Category: Personal Artifacts
Subcategory: Clothing, Outerwear
HumGroup: Adult
Object_Name: Coat
Quantity: 1
No of Components: 2
Gender Assoc: Man
End Date 2: 1780-01-01 C
Length: 105
Width: 39
Unit_Linear: cm
Dimension Rmks: (Arm): 57L
Material: Satin
Colour: Green
Description: Man's coat with matching pants, of green corded satin in the style of the 1770's, 9 cloth-covered bone buttons on right side of front opening, 2 on each cuff, large pocket with flap on either side of front
History of Use: Guilford, Connecticut area.
Cross Reference: 79.54.19 B
Use Country: United States
Use ProvTerr: Connecticut
Use Township: Guilford
Acquisition Mode: Purchase
Accession No: 74.54.19 A
Accession Date: 1974-06-19 D

Artifact accession report curtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum

Figure 4-21 Green; corded silk satin frock coat

Waistcoat-74.54.19 C

Institution: Nova Scotia Museum
Department: History
Category: Personal Artifacts
Subcategory: Clothing, Outerwear
HumGroup: Adult
Object_Name: Waistcoat
Quantity: 1
Gender Assoc: Man
End Date 2: 1780-01-01 C
Length: 73
Width: 33.5
Unit_Linear: cm
Material: Fibre, Silk
Technique: Sewn, Hand
Colour: Green
Description: Man's green corded silk waistcoat, in the style of the 1770's, slash pockets with flap on each side, 4 satin covered buttons under each flap, 11 covered buttons down the front, back linen panel with centre seam, completely hand-stitched.
History of Use: From guilford, Connecticut area.
Cross Reference: 74.54.19 A; 74.54.19 B
Use Country: United States
Use ProvTerr: Connecticut
Use Township: Guilford
Acquisition Mode: Purchase
Accession No: 74.54.19 C
Accession Date: 1974-06-19 D

Artifact accession report curtesy of the Nova Scotia Museum

The final suit studied at the Ross-Thompson House was, in fact, a full three pieces, in the period known as a Ditto suit.[373] The accession record for the breeches was not included in the response from the curatorial department in Halifax and may no longer exist in the database. The breeches are mentioned in the accession file for the coat, so there still is record of them on file, they simply no longer have a separate record for them on their own.

Figure 4-22 The author, taking patterns at the Ross Thompson House Museum, in Shelburne, NS

This suit would originally have been bright green in colour, almost acidic in nature. The silk is in really decent shape, considering the age and display conditions. So much so, that interpretation staff at the museum believed that this suit was a reproduction and were about to issue it for wear by interpretation staff. That notion was hopefully quashed by the end of our visit, as this is another exceptional example of quality menswear of the last quarter of the eighteenth century and should be preserved at all costs. The separate pieces display a transition in fashionibility, in that the waistcoat is

[373] MediaKron, an online learning tool part of the Center for Teaching Excellence at Boston College has an excellent definition of a 1780s ditto suit here: https://mediakron.bc.edu/fashiondecor/daywear/anglomania-and-simplicity-1780 Date accessed: 09/05/2022.

cut in the 1770s style, with an inverted V hemline in the front, while the frock coat features some of the similar 1780s stylings from the other two frock coats.

The waistcoat has no real collar, the neck edge has a binding strip inserted between the fashion and lining layers as per earlier 1760s and

Figure 4-24 Bound edge of waistcoat neckline

Figure 4-23 the fine stitching line just to the left of the button denotes a layer of canvas between the fashion layer and lining to support the button stand.

1770s suits.[374] The buttonholes are squared on both ends as well, a style that harkens back to the 1770s fashion. The buttons are small, flat wooden disks covered in the silk fashion fabric. The waistcoat fronts are lined in natural linen, as are both layers of the backs of the garment. In the photos in figure 4-25 and figure 4-26, you can just make out a fine row of stitching that holds the interlining canvases in place along the centre front edges and supports the button stand and buttonholes. The waistcoat pocket has hold-overs of earlier styles in that it features a row of buttons along the bottom edge of the pocket flap. This would have been a feature of much earlier suits, c. 1750s.[375] Could this mean that the original owner was an older man, holding on to the fashions of his youth? We will not know as there is no provenance for these garments. In this photo, you will notice the shaping of the pocket flap, which is unique, having a square cut bottom edge seen on more fashionable 1780s suits and can be seen on artifact accession #2015.23 in the Daughters of the American Revolution Museum collection.[376] The faint stitching line that carries along the front hem edge from centre front edge would hold all of the layers of the waistcoat's body in place nicely and

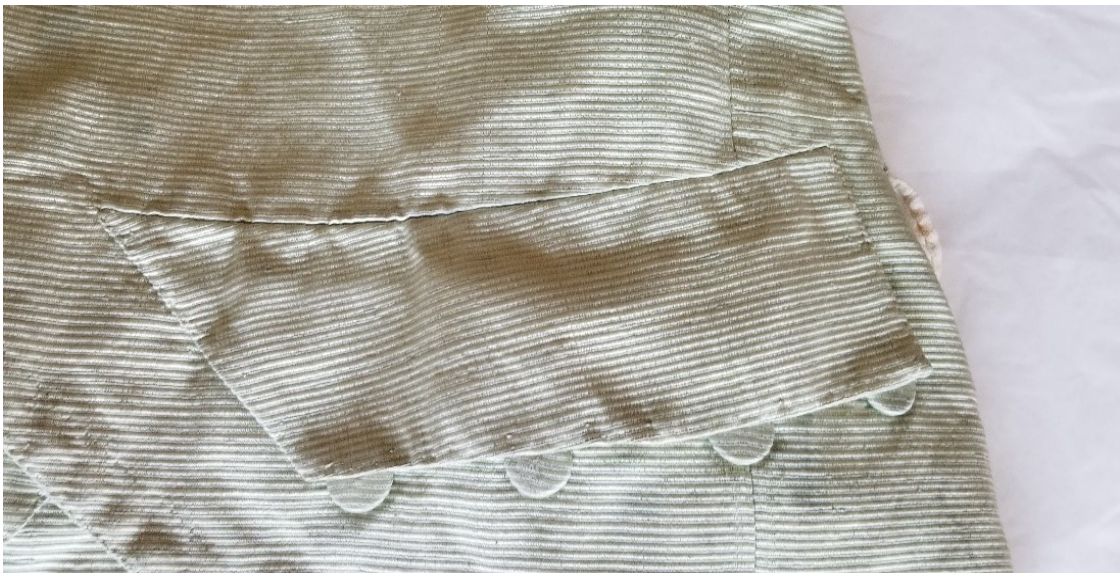


Figure 4-25 Waistcoat pocket flap

[374] Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790,* New York: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation with Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. P. 80.

[375] Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. P. 55, and 60.

[376] O'Brien, A. (2016) *An agreeable tyrant: Fashion after the revolution. What's a patriotic American to wear?* Lanham, Maryland: Corporate Press for the DAR Museum, Washington, DC. P. 69 and 184.

keep the hem from rolling to the outside. The piecing line perpendicular to the bottom of the photograph would be along the side seam of the wearer, at the hip height of the body. Once fully dressed in his frock coat, this piecing would completely disappear on the man's body, hidden by his coat. The buttons along the front edge of the frock coat are very large, flat wooden disks covered in the silk. Because the cut of the frock coat is done in a way to remain open along the front edge, no buttonholes were worked to correspond to the buttons on the opposite side. While there are working buttons and buttonholes on the sleeve cuff, this cuff is not entirely functional to unbutton. The frock coat's cuff is entirely constructed for fashionable aesthetic. The pocket flaps are cut square, without points, also showing the 1780s fashionibility of the suit.

It is the breeches in this suit that are the most surprising. The simple fact that all three pieces remain together as a group is remarkable. The durability of the silk used in this suit means that the breeches survived where other ditto suit breeches of finer cloth may not have. The cut and construction of this garment is in keeping with other extant breeches in other collections[377] save for one unique feature which I had first dismissed as just the stitching at the side seam giving

Figure 4-26 Breeches, fall front style, laid flat, front view

[377] Baumgarten, L. (1986). *Eighteenth-century clothing at Williamsburg.* Williamsburg: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. P. 55, and 63. See also, Baumgarten, L. and Watson, J. (1999). *Costume close-up: Clothing construction and pattern 1750-1790,* New York: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation with Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd. P. 89-91.

way with age. Instead, there is a hidden document pocket along the side seam of these breeches large enough to swallow a modern wine bottle. It is constructed similarly to seventeen-century men's side seam pockets in that it is a rectangle of cloth folded in thirds to make a wallet shape and stitched into the side seam.[378] In doing so, if a document needed to be hidden, it could rest flat against the leg of the wearer and not ruin the line of the suit at all.

Figure 4-27 Hidden, in-seam pocket opening

There is extensive piecing in strategic areas of this suit as well, with careful matching in of fabrics to try to make the pieces disappear as much as possible. This further cemented my own ideas on piecing, patching and repairing of garments in the period. I am of the mind that the clothier would have done everything in their power to make these pieces and patches disappear, and the careful lining up of the grain of the silk on a section of the garment that would not be seen while being worn, gave evidence to my working theory. At some point I will sit down with the puzzle pieces of the pattern of this garment to determine the cutting layout of the suit. My current theory is that the V shape cut out on the waistband (figure 4-29) is the bottom edge of the frock coat. At this time, I also believe

Figure 4-28 Breeches waistband, open at centre front

[378] Arnold, J. (1985). *Patterns of fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c.1560-1620.*London: MacMillan London Ltd. And New York: Drama Book. P.86

that two layers of cloth were cut at the same time, a method that I had thought was modern in methodology, as both waistbands are cut in the same way with a deep V pieced into place.

In the end, I removed this suit from it's modern metal coat hanger and packed it out with acid free tissue paper. I then moved the garments away from the windows and laid them out on the beds in the rooms where they are displayed. There is a reproduction suit on display in this museum site, and I explained to the staff how I could tell the difference between the originals and the reproduction. Hopefully, going forward, these suits will receive further care and reconsideration as display objects.

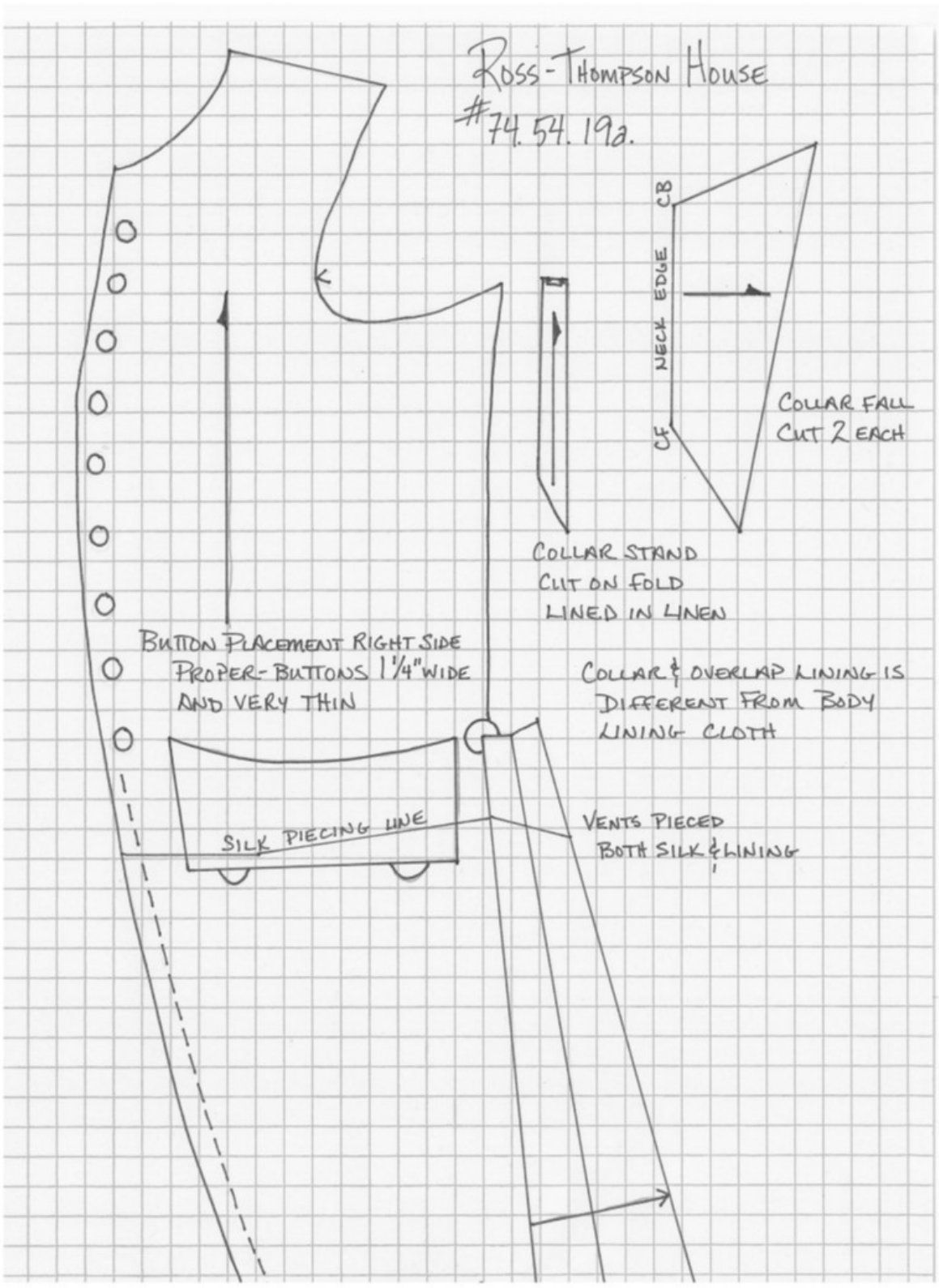


Figure 4-29 Ross-Thompson accession #74.54.19a

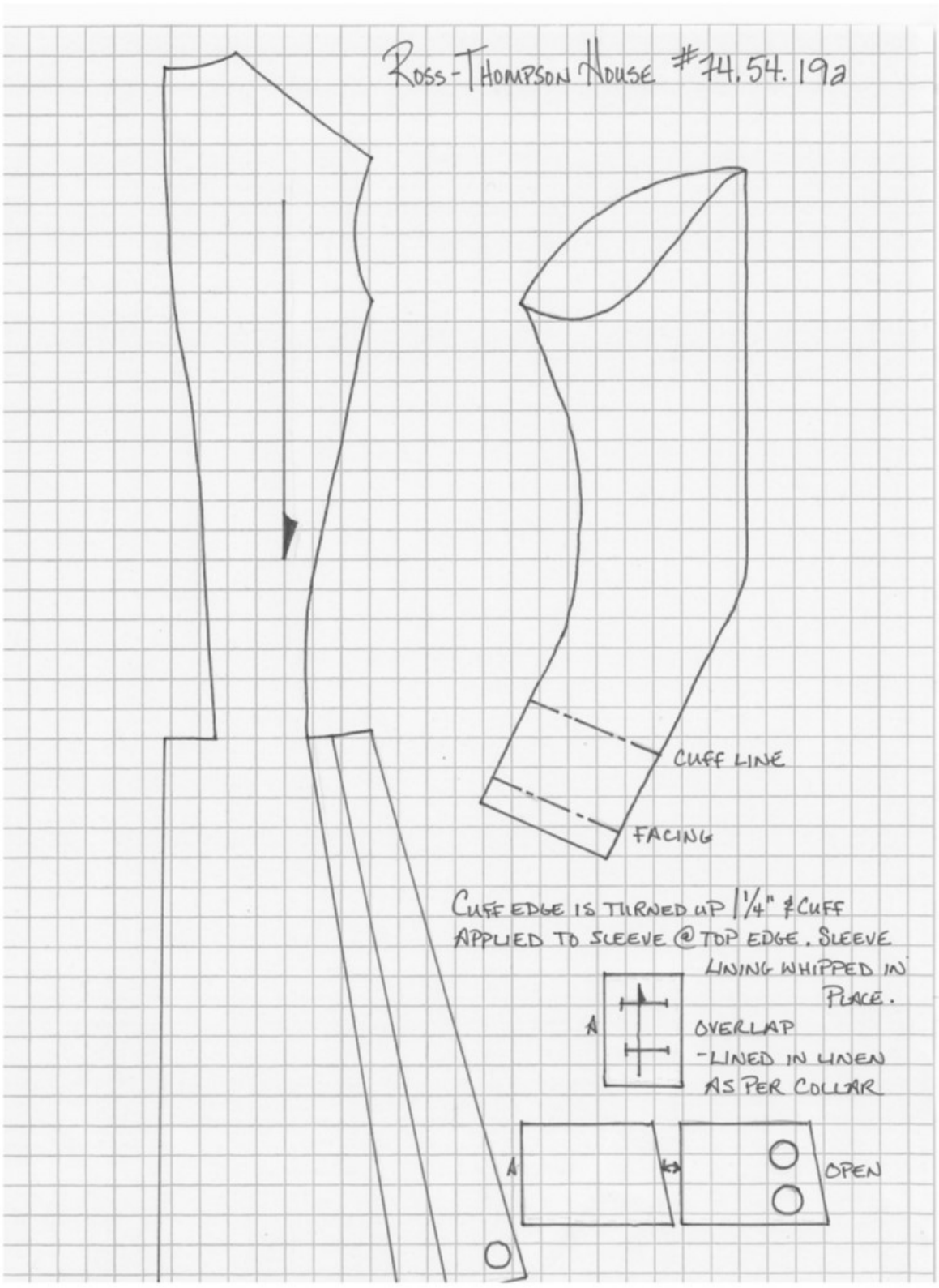


Figure 4-30 Ross-Thompson accession# 74.54.19a

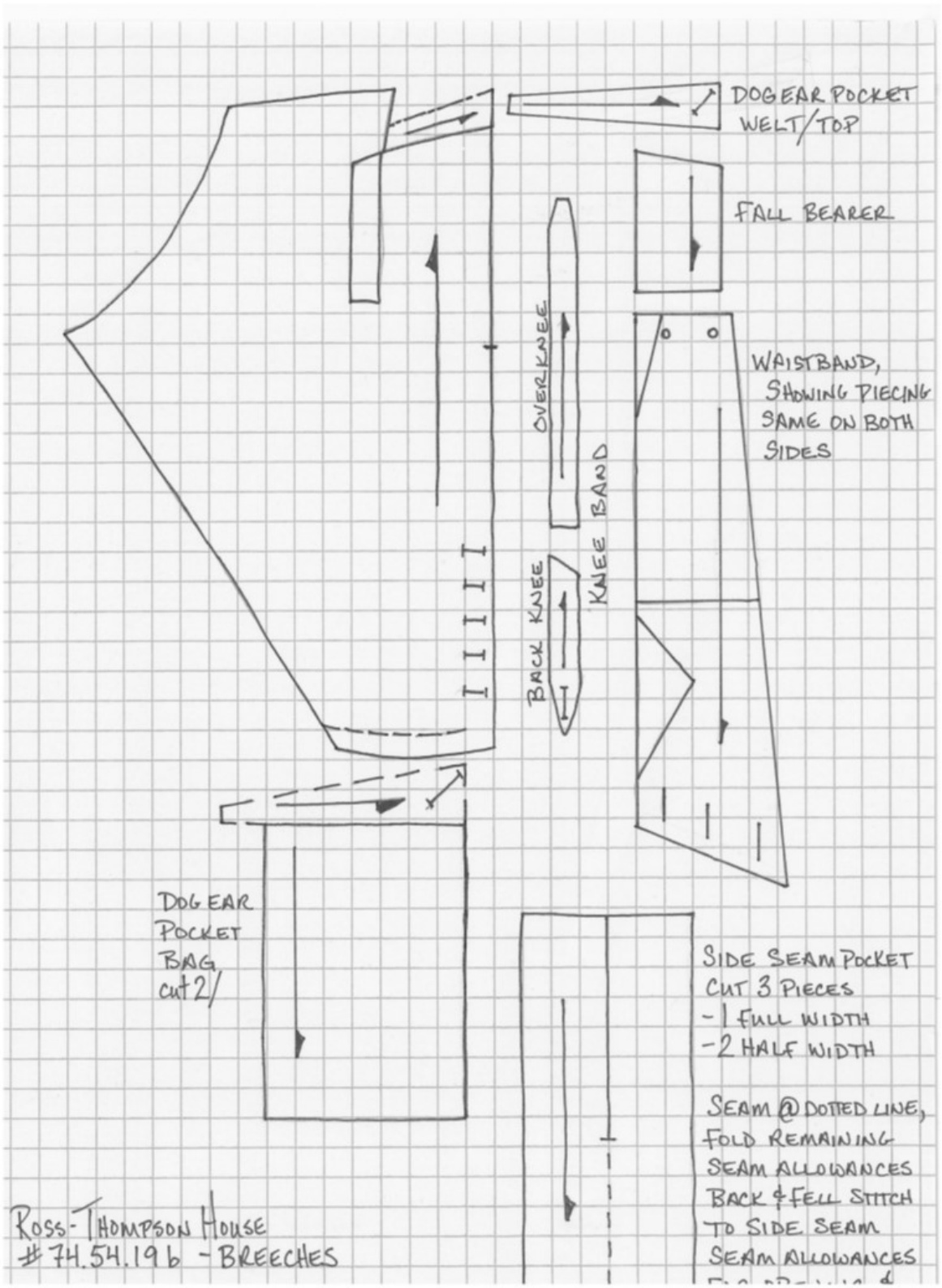


Figure 4-31 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.19b

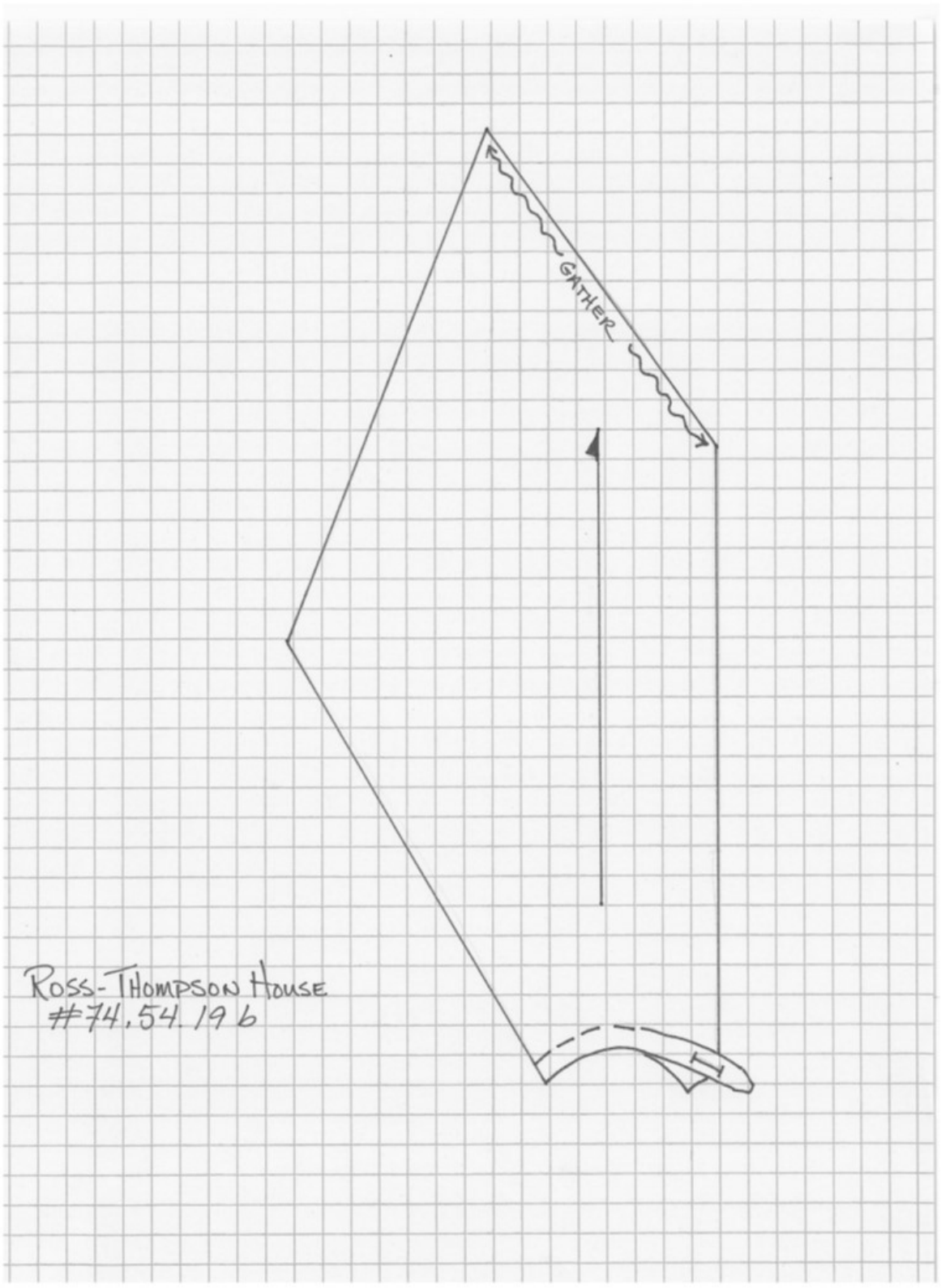


Figure 4-32 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.19b

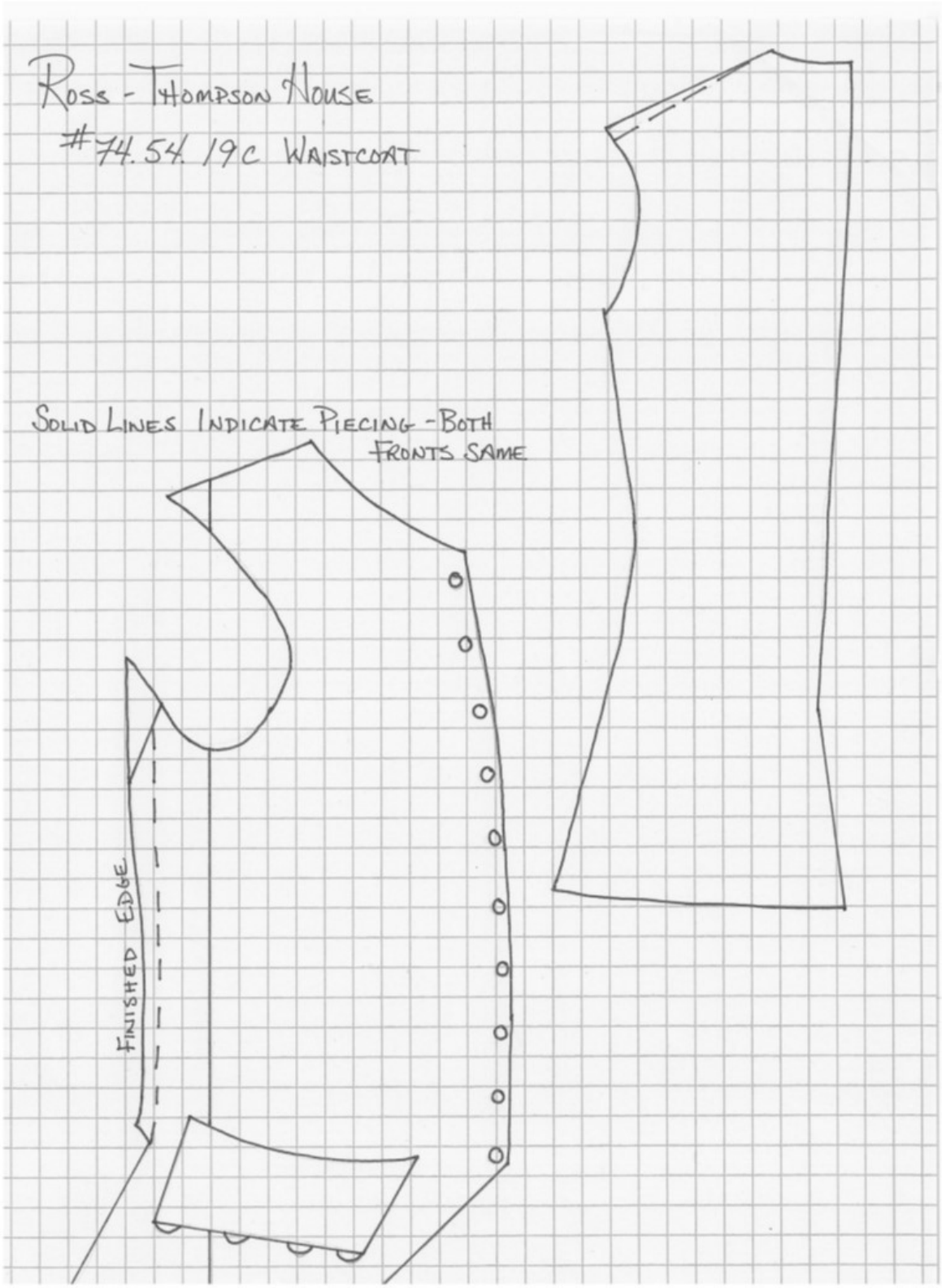


Figure 4-33 Ross-Thompson accession # 74.54.19c

My Conclusion

This dissertation was conceived and carried out to prove that a wardrobe for living history could be reproduced accurately and fairly inexpensively for the client, be they volunteer living historian or museum site. The living history community is just that, a community. One that museums and historic sites can tap into and work with easily with extraordinarily little extra work or budgetary outlay. Sites often simply need to be open to conversation with the living history community. Many living historians are eager to share their breadth of skills and knowledge just for the opportunity to participate in history. They come from a broad employment background and may often hold academic degrees in history, communications, planning, travel, and environmental tourism, or may work for other living history sites, museums, and government. Everyone in this community is well aware of how underfunded heritage is and will often gladly volunteer for local sites to keep things running smoothly. They are proud of their communities and heritage. The best living history programs tap into and support this valuable resource through town-hall meetings, winter workshops, and living history event working groups. They will include the living history community in the research and development of clothing guidelines so that everyone is following a similar path towards accuracy in kit, and interpretation. Sites and museums should welcome living historians as researchers to their collections so that up-to-date thoughts and ideas can be disseminated throughout the heritage community.

Sites themselves must show they care about the programming they are offering, including the clothing their interpretation staff are wearing. While a wardrobe need not cost a fortune, having a knowledgeable staff will prove to be cost-effective in the end by avoiding expensive mistakes. Equally important is having management and curatorial positions that are supportive of wardrobe departments and the front-line staff they dress. Heritage institutions should come together and work as the teams they were originally intended to be. To do otherwise will only hurt the institutions in

the long run as the collections can suffer due to neglect and lack of knowledge. Due to a lack in costume interpretation plans, collections management plans and succession planning of staff, several sites within the province of Nova Scotia have no idea of the importance of items in their collections. Collections vetting groups often have little background in costume history and view costume as simply old clothes with little value. During my brief field work studying the eighteenth-century pieces in just two of the sites under the direction of the Nova Scotia Museum, I located artifacts with value to the broader eighteenth-century world in North America. At this point, the conversation with larger living history sites has begun concerning these important garments, but further work needs to be done.

Each of the character sketches developed for my case studies relied on the living history community for support. Museums only have so much funding to digitalise their collections. Living historians are eager to share their research on the most intimate details. Umbrella organizations could tap into this sharing network by holding their own conferences by and for living history interpretation such as Fort Ticonderoga, ALFHAM, or the Brigade of the American Revolution do now on a regular basis. This will only improve the overall interpretive impressions presented by these volunteers and site staff. Whenever I asked a question through social media, the community responded with academic level support. We shared library references, archaeological reports, artifact photos, and methodology ideas. The community will also gather regularly to help each other construct new clothing and accoutrements. When living historians see an issue that needs to be addressed within the interpretation of the era, they will endeavour to research and develop new ways to bring a holistic approach and dismantle harmful interpretations within the heritage community. The entire, nuanced, and often challenging history of all the people who lived, worked, and took part in the cultural life of the settlement, including enslaved people who were held there against their will must be considered. New, more inclusive living history groups are being formed to address gaps

in the historical narrative. Researchers are discussing the minority groups that were here in North America but long overlooked by the dominant white-anglophone narrative. Other living historians are challenging older interpretation methods entirely to come up with new ways to address a very narrow and colonialist narrative. This dissertation is situated to begin to address just some of these overlooked visual cultures and challenge folkloric narratives of what eighteenth-century people wore, but it needs to go further. Using my own work as a jumping off point to address the inaccuracies in historic dress at sites within the Nova Scotia Museum purview, sites could develop guidelines for dress and deportment, and then workshop with living historians to produce a professional, historically accurate visual product. The online collections I used to round out in-person field work included databases throughout North America and Europe. If the Nova Scotia Museum could fund the digitalization of their own collections and create an easier to use search engine, this could only add to the breadth of knowledge in the community. Nova Scotian history is closely tied to American history, and there are pieces in the NSM collection that are valuable to the overall historical narrative.

At all times, my studio work was carried out sourcing fabrics as inexpensively as possible. This was done to prove that a site need not spend a great deal of money to outfit their interpretive staff accurately.[379] Some fabrics were sourced online through William Booth, Draper, or Burnley and Trowbridge in the United States, though this may prove costly through dollar exchange and duty prices. Other pieces were bought at local fabric stores, usually on sale. It is important to shop seasonally and build up a small collection of period-appropriate fabrics to pull from. My own collection is curated so that when I need to create a wardrobe piece, I can quickly and easily pull the

[379] Author Sharon Burnston produced a cost break-down for a simple wardrobe for men, women, and children after discussions surrounding the Minuteman guidelines on social media. I have included the post in its entirety at the end of this paper.

fabrics required. Some pieces for this dissertation were even constructed from the off-cuts and left-over fabrics from other projects and fabrics were shared within the community, so offcuts from a modern lady's suit fabric were then used for a men's coatee, and finally the last yard sent to the States to be made into a waistcoat for a third person. Other people's left-over yardage came north to me to be made into other garments. Developing a strong working relationship to the community helped make all of this happen on an exceptionally tight student budget.

Having solid dress guidelines and vetted events made the whole interpretation project easier. This idea circles back to my original thoughts that a solid costume interpretation plan should be included in the overall Interpretation Plan for the Nova Scotia Museum. I was able to make the garments I required following established construction techniques and methodologies. The vetting process allowed for me to meet site specific needs for the events they were producing. That way, I did not need to pack everything I owned, not knowing the outcome of the event, rather, I could pull the character required from my wardrobe as easily as any theatre wardrobe mistress may pull an actor's character from the theatre closet. Knowing ahead of time what sorts of characters were needed by the site and event, allowed me as a living historian to focus on the history and the narrative I needed to impart to the visitor. Having a solid interpretation plan that included dress guidelines is one of the most important curatorial documents a site can produce. It is as, or perhaps even more important than exhibit guidelines, as once the living history event is underway, all the moving parts need to understand the overall goal of the site. An exhibit is static once everything is in place and the lights turned on, an event is a series of moving parts with improvisational acting. Having a solid interpretation plan is key to the event or program staying close to what site curators and historians intend.

The few costumers employed by the province at NSM sites should be trained in the methodology of historical clothing construction. Modern sewing techniques do not often translate easily to the historical and result in garments that more closely resemble Halloween costumes than actual historical garments. The wardrobe need not be large, but it is important for it to be well rounded, with all the appropriate garments and accessories. Historical footwear can be produced to accommodate modern health and safety requirements for about the same price as modern equivalents purchased at Marks' Work Wearhouse. Actual historical garments, when worn appropriately, can achieve the same protection against weather as modern clothing does, it simply requires the wearer to want to wear all the appropriate clothing, appropriately. Interpreters will continue the mythology of bad clothing if they are not instructed in the proper methodology of wearing historical clothing.

What have I learned? Question everything, but in a purposeful way. Question your own knowledge. Is this thing that I am creating based off an extant garment using historical methodologies, or is it a re-hash of something another re-enactor created, a movie director envisioned, or an archaeologist's conjecture on what they thought the complete thing may have looked like when new? Is the advice from a museum up-to-date research, or are they still relying on research undertaken in the nineteen-seventies? Costume research has made great strides over my own career. Texts we regarded as biblical have been challenged with new research methods and utilizing interdisciplinary techniques to determine how a thing was made, worn, and used. For too long the heritage community in Nova Scotia has relied on outdated research and folkloric costume ideas and have disregarded the collections housed in it's own museums.

I will constantly question what I know and how I know it. Every new garment I create or character I develop, I go back to the original sources, the art, and the extant garments of those

original cast members. I see new things each time I look. I ask my fellow living historians and makers what they think, and how we are all seeing the historical world laid out before us. Virginia curator Martha Katz-Hyman has suggested that an interpretation plan be redeveloped every five to ten years to stay current with research methods.[380] I would argue that it is an excellent time to consider the development of a costume interpretation plan for the Nova Scotia Museum in conjunction with the redevelopment of the existing overall interpretation plan that had begun development almost twenty years ago. Living historians worth their salt are constantly updating their research and their kit, often on very limited budgets. I believe through my own work with this dissertation that I have proven this exercise could be undertaken by the province as well, with local staff, sourcing fabrics locally, and utilizing their own communities. I have also long wondered why the province has not already developed a historic trades program through the museum sites. I believe with the knowledge here in the province, such a program could rival that of Colonial Williamsburg or Fort Ticonderoga. All these things would take effort though, and a desire to bridge the gap between curatorial staff in Halifax and front-line staff in the outlying communities.

Nova Scotia history is American history. The collection of extant garments in the Nova Scotia Museum is as important to the overall narrative of dress as artifacts found at the Metropolitan Museum in New York or Boston Museum of Fine Art. Funding should be secured to digitalise the collections so that searching by researchers is made easier, with relatively little involvement from curatorial staff. This alone would free up the department to do other things such as writing about the collection, producing new exhibits, and caring for the artifacts. It would also go a long way to break down barriers felt between outside researchers and inside-the-museum staff members.

[380] Through conversations on the Association for Living History and Farms Facebook page, Katz-Hyman, M. (2020-06-23). "Keeping it Current: Updating the Historic House Furnishing Plan." Association for Living History and Farms conference proceedings. ZOOM meeting, and through personal conversations about this dissertation.

Relationships between site employees and volunteer researchers and living historians have proven beneficial to sites in the United States such as Fort Ticonderoga and Minuteman NHP. Social media platforms and digital history make collections more accessible to more of the public, which in turn, causes more people to want to visit these sites, and in the end spend more money allowing for funding circles to broaden beyond wealthy patronage. The Nova Scotia Museum system and its collection are public property, the province should show that it takes pride in this resource that supports the largest industry in the province, tourism.

Afterward: How to create a workable costume interpretation plan

Anyone who has ever worked anywhere close to the heritage field understands that the funding for anything simply is not available. This document always considered the possibilities and potential for having to create historical costumes with very little operating budget, sourcing fabrics second hand, adaptive reuse of materials, and utilizing items that may not have as their primary purpose a costuming idea. Any costume interpretation plan should consider multiple levels of accuracy, with a "best practice" as the ultimate goal, and a sound starting point as the "good" level standard. In essence, a "good, better, best" situation. Having three tiers of standard practice will give the institution and the living historian working within the costume interpretation plan a good place to start and a work-towards goal.

The role of the institution should be to provide a historically accurate platform for the living history program to take place. The most successful living history programmes have at their core, great character development. Sites determine who it is they wish to feature in the interpretation and then seek out the interpreter that best suits the role, much the same way that quality theatrical performances are created. Many living historians understand their position in the performance and will, in turn, inform the site which roles they feel comfortable working in. Some living historians are strong in leading roles, while others prefer to be background characters. Sites that develop strong working relationships with their front-line staff, volunteers, communities, and summer students can create strong living history programmes with quality costumed interpretation. Sites should consult with this team of enthusiasts and professionals to formulate a strong costume interpretation plan that can be followed, but also updated as new research material is discovered. Off season workshopping of interpretation requirements as well as how-to-build project weekends can strengthen those relationships and allow for the best end product as possible.

To that end, a quality costume interpretation plan should include the following:

A brief site history. Stick to the main points that the site wishes to convey to the public. Offer up further reading if the living history interpreter wishes to continue with their research base.

List of characters. Consider the whole range of characters available to the living historian to choose the best fit for their abilities and comfort. Understand that the key figures of history may only be portrayed by people completely comfortable with both first-person interpretation, but also the class level of dress required by the role. In some instances, those key roles may need to be portrayed by seasoned living historians who have spent a considerable amount of time developing those characters. Other interpretive roles may need to be further developed to allow for the best experience of the visitor. Some roles may also require a considerable cost outlay to dress appropriately.

Best practices standards. This is the part of the document that will lay out, in detail, the minimal standards of dress required by the site, a strong middle ground of accuracy desired, and finally the best quality one can achieve given the current research behind the dress of the era being interpreted. This section should include the kinds of materials used in garment making, the stitches used, whether it is acceptable to utilize a sewing machine, and how and what garments should be worn given the situation of the program or possible weather conditions.

Resources. This section should include things such as reading material on clothing history, interpretation, history surrounding the interpretation program, and the site itself. This section should also include resources to help recreate the garments, material suppliers, well researched patterns, how-to videos, and instructions, as well as makers that the site trusts to provide ready made clothing for purchase.

Collections management. It should be noted that if a site decides to have a historical clothing collection (wardrobe), inventory management should be employed. This includes accounting and record keeping of individual items of dress, condition reporting on a regular basis, and proper issuing of garments to the interpreters. If care is taken to complete these tasks on a yearly basis, the interpreters can fully understand all the items required to fulfill a wardrobe for their given character, historic trade and how to wear those garments properly. Replenishment of garments worn out can be carried out without guesswork over which garments need replacement and in what sizes, saving the site excess expense if simply ordering new clothing on an ad-hoc basis. Well trained wardrobe managers can also ensure the accuracy of garments for both the site and the characters developed for interpretation, steering away anyone who may fall down the fakelore path.

Costume interpretation plans should be re-examined on a regular basis, as with all interpretation planning for the museum or historic site.

Appendix 1: Authenticity requirements: 2006 Minute Man NHP

Participants in NPS events are required to dress in authentic/appropriate clothing for the 1770's period for Eastern Massachusetts. Western frontier and native dress are not acceptable; this includes hunting shirts with fringe, beads, and a general "buckskin" appearance.

1. No anachronisms such as: cameras, cigarettes, plastic items, wrist watches, non-period glasses or sunglasses, etc., will be used in sight of any spectator while on the field. (You may bring your camera, but do not use it in sight of spectators. Please hide it in a pocket or bag when not in use. Because of the expense of period glasses, modern glasses will be accepted if not too obvious [wire frames only]).
2. For safety and authenticity purposes clothing should be of natural fiber such as wool, linen or cotton. Polyester, nylon, Velcro, fringe, or other manmade fabric presents a safety hazard and should not be worn.
3. Any accoutrements such as Company pins, logos, nameplates, or any other paraphernalia not authentic to the period must not be worn.

For more information, see 18th Century New England Life website.

Men's Clothing

- **Frock coat, workman's jacket, sleeved waistcoat, farmer's smock** (non-fringed pullover style acceptable), of wool, linen (flax or hemp), or cotton (or silk if appropriate to the overall impression). Leather coats and frontier/rifle/hunting shirts/frocks/coats (the garment with the cape and the fringe) are *not* acceptable. An appropriate sleeved outer garment is required, and companies must not field with matching coats unless doing a later-war impression.
- **Shirt:** long, full sleeved, closed neck with stock, cravat, or neck cloth: Wool, linen, cotton in white, natural, or checked.
- **Waistcoat:** wool, linen, cotton (or silk if...). Necessary with frock coat, optional with buttoned workman's jacket or buttoned sleeved waistcoat or smock.
- **Breeches:** wool, linen, leather, or cotton (or silk if...). Trousers are acceptable as part of a lower-class impression. Fringed suede frontier-style trousers are not acceptable.
- **Stockings:** over the knee, wool, cotton, or linen (or silk if...), white or colors, held up with leather or cloth tape garters. Athletic socks are not allowed.
- **Shoes:** period-style leather shoes with buckles or 2-hole lace up, black, or brown (appropriate modern leather shoes may be worn if covered with gaiters)
- **Gaiters:** Optional with period-style shoes. Civilian-style half gaiters preferred to full or half military gaiters.
- **Hat:** such as civilian, cocked hat ("tricorn"), floppy hat, knitted cap, workman's cap. If no hat is worn, hairstyle should be reasonably believable (not blow-dried into fluffiness).

Women's Clothing

- **Sleeved outer garment** such as full or three-quarter length gown, jacket, caraco, "shortgown", bed jacket, or riding habit of wool, linen, or cotton (or silk if appropriate to the overall impression). Because of the difficulty of obtaining period-appropriate prints, it is recommended that you avoid prints unless you have studied them in detail or can find exact replicas (such as Williamsburg replicas); paisleys, cabbage roses, and 19th century calicoes are not correct. The sleeveless so-called "French bodice" and "English bodice" are not acceptable. A sleeved outer garment is required.
- **Petticoats:** at least three yards in circumference, longer than mid-calf; high-ankle/low-calf suggested. At least one petticoat with full length gown; otherwise at least two. See above concerning prints.
- **Shift:** low necked, sleeves reaching below elbow. Linen, cotton, or wool in white or natural.
- **Stays:** recommended. Since they are not seen, material and pattern are irrelevant. Should provide conical shape to upper body.
- **Neck handkerchief:** recommended. Triangle or folded square of linen, cotton, or wool (or silk...) in white, natural, or small checks or stripes.
- **Apron:** Optional. Wool, linen, or cotton (or silk if...) in solid color or small checks or stripes. No eyelet.
- **Stockings:** over the knee, linen, wool, or cotton, white or colors, held up with leather or cloth tape garters. Athletic socks are not allowed. (As stockings do not show above low calf at most, plain modern knee socks are acceptable, and garters are optional.)
- **Shoes:** period-style leather or cloth shoes with buckles or 2-hole lace up, black or brown (appropriate modern leather shoes may be worn if petticoats reach ankles or lower), or

period-style clogs or moccasins (workman's ankle height, not calf-high). Shoes are optional but *strongly* recommended; Battle Road takes place in highly developed suburban locations.

- **Cap:** White or natural. Acceptable cap styles are too numerous to list here, but "mobcaps" (a single circle of cloth gathered with a casing and/or elastic to form a ruffle) are *not* acceptable. Note that a plain cap with front band and gathered back is the simplest to make. A cap or hat is required except for fine ladies and slatterns. No eyelet.
- **Hat:** Low-crowned women's style in straw, chip, or felt, plain or covered, or, if appropriate to the overall impression, a man's civilian-style felt hat. A cap or hat is required except for fine ladies and slatterns.
- **Hair:** Either long, pulled back from the face, and put up, or hidden with a cap. Long or thick bangs should be pulled back off the face. Obviously dyed hair should be well-covered by a cap. If the overall impression is of a slattern, then loose hair is acceptable.
- **Make-up:** Only if 18th century style (white face paint, beauty spots, etc.). Appropriate only for fine ladies and actresses.
- **Cold weather gear:** Optional. Period-pattern cloaks, capes, tippets, hoods, etc. Wool kerchiefs. For a lowly impression, a length of woven wool used like a shawl. Woven or knitted wool, linen, or cotton (or silk...) mitts, mittens, or gloves. Wool and/or fur muffs.
- **About lace:** Eyelet and tatting are not authentic to the period. Crochet is not acceptable in any form (lace, shawls, etc.). Machine-made lace is acceptable *if* it is in imitation of period-style lace.

Children's Clothing

- Babes in arms: shirt or shift, and cap, of linen, cotton, or wool, in white or natural. Frock, shoes, and stockings optional. If plastic diapers are used, cove r with a cloth.
- Young children: shift of linen, cotton, or wool, in white or natural. Child's frock, or "shift dress" with sash. Cap and/or hat for girls (optional but preferred), cap or hat for boys (optional). Stockings as for women. Period-style shoes including moccasins; due to the expense of children's shoes, any black or brown leather lace-up modern shoes, or moccasins, are also acceptable. Shoes and stockings are optional but *strongly* recommended; Battle Road takes place in highly developed suburban locations. "Young children" are unbreeched boys from toddlers through age 3 to 7 and girls from toddlers through early puberty.
- Older boys: generally same as men.
- Older girls: generally same as women.

Please note: Depending on the weather, very early morning events may be extremely cold and may be inappropriate for babies and very young children.

Appendix 2: Basic costs for outfits, a Facebook post by Sharon Burnston (Sept 2020)

Yet another reoccurrence of a complaint by a newbie, or wannabe, that living history costs too much to get started in. What hobby can you get serious about that *doesn't* require a significant investment in proper clothing, equipment, lessons, etc? So, just for the heck of it, here is the results of a little research project:

Case Study: Minimum 18c Kit Costs

This budget assumes buying everything new, but shopping the sales for fabrics, using JoAnn [fabric store] coupons etc. Shipping costs have not been factored in, as they vary so much depending on location. All items will be handsewn or at least visible stitching handsewn. Cost for patterns is not included; with diligence you can find suitable patterns free on the internet or through ILL. All fabrics are 100% linen or cotton, this is acceptable by current standards although ideally some should be woolens/worsteds. If properly cut, fitted and sewn from proper patterns, this wardrobe will meet current juried standards for a working class kit for mid and late 18th c Anglo America. It is the absolute barebone minimum.

Prices (and standards!) as of Sept 2020, in $USD

Men

- Shirt: sew it yourself, linen 3 yds @$11/yd, spool of linen thread $3 , DIY thread buttons = $36
- Breeches ; sew it yourself, linen 3 yds @$11/yd, plus spool of linen thread $3 = $36 (make self covered buttons. If over wood button blanks, ~75c a button or less, Could be free depending on what you use for button blanks)
- Waistcoat, sew it yourself, linen 2 yds @$11/yd, plus spool of linen thread $3= $25, DIY self covered buttons Silk buttonhole twist for buttonholes not calculated in

- Coat or sleeved waistcoat: sew it yourself, linen 3 yds @$11/yd, plus spool of linen thread $3= $36 (make self covered buttons over wood button blanks, ~75c a button or less)
- Stockings: South Union Mills, $60
- Shoes: Fugawee, several styles $150
- Shoe buckles optional, can use ties
- Hat: "Tube" cap, white linen ½ yd $6
- Neckwear: white linen 3/4 yd $6, or Dharma hand hemmed square, $6 in cotton, $8 in silk
- TOTAL $355

Women

- Shift: sew it yourself, linen 3 yds @$11/yd, spool of linen thread $3, DIY thread buttons=$36
- Two petticoats: sew it yourself, linen 3 yds @$11/yd, spool of linen thread, 4 yds cotton tape for waistbands (buy a 50 yd roll of unbleached for $15 and use it for everything, can be dyed as needed, its 30c/yd) = $38 each
- Stays: 1 yd cotton drill @ $8/yd, ½ yd remnant fashion fabric $6, 8 yds off that roll of twill tape you bought @ 30c/yd, and synthetic whalebone boning, 20 yds estimated @1.50yd = $47
- Gown: 5 yds fashion fabric, document-print cotton bought from CWF $14/yd bought on sale at $12/yd, 1 yd linen lining for bodice and sleeves $11 = $71
- (Note, you can make a jacket from 3 yds each fashion fabric and lining, for a budget total of roughly $65. The gown is the better and more versatile choice in the long run.)

- Apron: One yd linen check fabric $20/yd, for ties use your cotton twill tape, 3 yds @30c/yd = $21
- Cap: ½ yd fine linen or cotton organdy, $11/yd, 1 yd china silk ribbon $4.50 = $15.50
- Stockings: cotton $12 pair
- Shoes: Fugawee $130 or mules, various suppliers, $100
- Neck handkerchief: Dharma Trading, 30" square hand hemmed silk $7
- TOTAL = $416
- Compared to acquiring top quality gear for any other hobby, this seems pretty reasonable. And the moral is, learn to sew!

https://www.facebook.com/sharon.burnston/posts/10220606246279685?comment_id=10220607079580517&notif_id=1600488252341976&notif_t=feedback_reaction_generic&ref=notif 2020-09-15

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Source: America's Historical Newspapers, and Accessible Archives

A servant butcher from Kent County, Maryland, "with stockings for sleeves to his jacket," (*Pennsylvania Gazette,* March 28, 1765).

A servant from Uwchland Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, wearing a "blue and white striped jacket, with old blue stockings for sleeves," (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 19, 1769).

A supposed servant from Culpeper, Virginia, wearing a "blue waistcoat with stockings for sleeves," (*Virginia Gazette*, March 22, 1770).

A slave from Westfield, New Jersey, wearing a "white wollen waistcoat with stocking sleeves," (*The New Jersey Journal*, May 10, 1770)

Source: The British Newspaper Archive

An apprentice currier of Southampton, wearing "a short waistcoat, with the leggings of a pair of Blue Stockings for Sleeves," (*The Hampshire Chronicle*, March 22, 1773).

A young runaway from Higham Ferrers wearing a "yellow striped Waistcoat, with cotton stocking Sleeves," (*The Northampton Mercury,* December 25, 1825)

A Littlebury highway robber wearing "a waistcoat, with stocking legs for sleeves, "slash "a waistcoat with stocking sleeves stitched into it," (*Evening Mail*, December 11, 1829)

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