“THE ACADIAN OF OUR FANCY”
Clothing, community, and identity among the Neutral French, c. 1670-1750

by

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For everyone who had confidence in me when I couldn’t find it for myself.

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Abstract

"The Acadian of our Fancy" explores Acadian textile culture from French colonists' establishment outside of Port Royal to the deportation of 1755. It addresses questions of change and identity: did the Acadians maintain a dress style consistent with their provincial French origins, or did they develop a new vernacular? How did developments in material culture shape Acadian identity?

This thesis argues that the larger Acadian settlements began to develop a localized clothing system — based on their distinct social, environmental, geographical, and economic contexts — without losing connection to the fashions of the Ancien Régime. It applies an interdisciplinary framework that draws upon fields of dress studies, history, and archaeology. It also interrogates material entanglement theory as an effective framework for dealing with the lack of surviving garments from the period. To this end, it offers an analysis of Acadian dress culture in the settlements of Belleisle, Melanson, and Beaubassin, and among Acadians living in the urban environment of Fortress Louisbourg. It analyzes 709 artifacts related to dress and textile production and use, 284 inventory entries, and 19 textual descriptions of Acadian dress and dress-related items. It demonstrates that climate and geography had a significant influence on dress change, as did new local resources such as sealskin and *tisavoyanne* dyes.

Acadian communities were not only developing a distinctive language of dress but differentiating among themselves as well. Those differences emerged based on location and environment, trade patterns and levels of contact with surrounding groups. Settlers continued to maintain their cultural and economic ties outside of Acadia, engaging in trade and social exchange that influenced their habits. Most distant from centres of colonial authority, Beaubassin's status as a trading hub made the region a locus for the evolution of Acadian fashion. Other settlements used dress and accessories that reflected their proximity to the urban elite, resulting in wardrobes more typical of European fashion. Some elements of what would later develop into Acadian folk dress were present prior to the deportation, including the striped weave commonly associated with later Acadian dress, but these elements were integrated in a vernacular grounded in contemporary style.

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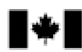

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Chapter 1: Introduction

They had no dye but black and green, but in order to obtain scarlet—of which they were remarkably fond—they procured the English scarlet duffil which they cut, teized, carded, spun, and wove in stripes to decorate the womens' garments.[1]

Our modern impression of Acadian dress from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries comes from quotations like that of Brook Watson, above, describing a dull colour palette and a life of making-do or doing-without. That stereotypical image of the isolated peasant, working the land far from the cares of imperial politics, while dressed in the simple skirts and jackets of eighteenth-century farmers and labourers, runs through both contemporary and modern descriptions. The national mythologies that have grown out of those images, inspired in part by literary treatments such as *Evangeline*, are something of a mixed blessing.[2] One the one hand, the enduring positive imagery of the so-called Acadian Golden Age became a rallying point for a community rebirth; on the other, it allows us to overlook some of the complexities of life in Acadia prior to the trauma of the Expulsion.[3] If we back away from the image of the archetypical Acadian, however, with their wooden clogs and coarse woolen clothes, we must turn to other sources in which to ground new perspectives.

This thesis takes another look at the question of Acadian exceptionalism through the lens of clothing and textile culture. In other words, what can clothing choice tell us about the nature of Acadian society? Their modes of dress contain information about individual and group priorities and mores, about trade patterns and social contact with other groups, and about how the Acadians perceived themselves and their place within the Atlantic world. Human beings gain understanding of the world by manipulating the material

things around them, using physicality both as a tool and an outlet for cognition.[4] Clothing is a tool for idiomatic communication, both deliberate and subconscious, and exploring the nature of Acadian dress through the theoretical frameworks developed in historical archaeology and material culture studies begins the process of translation.

This thesis was inspired by a growing interdisciplinary focus in dress studies, in which scholars such as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and Zara Anishanslin have been analyzing specific object and human biographies by situating them both within much broader contexts and in-depth micro-analysis.[5] Rather than focus on one or two factors, this type of material culture analysis makes connections between larger social moments and the individual, between physical attributes of objects and their accrued symbolic meanings. This is interdisciplinary by its very nature, requiring analyses to spread out along many different and interconnected lines of enquiry. A potentially useful framework in which to ground a study of this type is the developing framework of material entanglement, championed by historical archaeologist Ian Hodder.[6] In brief, material entanglement theory holds that it is the connections between *things*—the humans, physical items, social structures, habits, beliefs, and relationships between all of the above—which define a culture and cultural moment.[7] The metaphor of material entanglement as it is currently used in historical archaeology is an attempt to bridge the gap between object analysis and social theory.[8] It suggests that by knowing the *things* present in a particular system, space, and time, we can divine the ways in which those *things* influenced, constrained, and compelled one another.[9]

Prior to the rise of modern fast fashion, for example, the expense of clothing and textiles compelled the wearer to either learn and practice washing and mending, or to

engage in domestic arrangements with someone who had those skills. Marriage or labour exchange were two solutions to that need, each one coming with its own extensive series of connections and prerequisites. On the physical side, mending a torn garment required scissors and a needle, access to which depended on either the presence of a local manufacturer or someone importing sewing tools, which in turn relied on the existence of trade networks and the availability either of money or goods for barter and export. In this way, one aspect of life—wearing clothing—embedded people in a series of interconnected and interdependent processes.[10] Those entanglements also change with time. In the twenty-first century a torn t-shirt instead connects the wearer to networks that include clothing sweatshops in Indonesia, big-box stores with low-price policies, and the continuing economic erosion of the middle class.

Hodder and other scholars who have worked with the metaphor of entanglement suggest that the webs of engagements present in any given set of human-thing-thing-human relationships can be determined by examination of the *things* and people involved, and that the objects and relationships in turn generate semi-predictable types of tensions between them. I posit the reverse to be true as well. Once the shape of a network is known, and surviving *things* put into position, we should then be able to hypothesize with some degree of confidence which *things* are still missing. Specifically, by exploring the impact of the connections and the processes that archaeologists Lindsay Der and Francesca Fernandini have called "feedback loops"—examining all of the elements which shaped the people, landscape, and communities of pre-deportation Acadia—I argue that it is possible to reconstruct some of the factors which time and destruction

have removed from the modern record. That is, by building the rest of the puzzle, we can determine the shapes of missing pieces.

In this thesis I have endeavoured to do something similar with respect to pre-deportation Acadian dress, situating it in its specific context in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. That also provides us with a new lens through which to examine the emergence of Acadian identity and self-fashioning. Clothing and clothing culture are vital aspects of a community and an individual's identities, as well as a means of visual communication with a wider world. The early modern period in the west saw more rapid changes in clothing and clothing culture than ever before, and the ways in which people adjusted their clothing to their circumstances speak directly to their senses of belonging and of self.

Some excellent documentary research has already been done on Acadian clothing, but many assumptions persist.[11] Through a close examination of surviving artifacts connected with textile use and production, as well as an exploration of the specific entanglements which affected Acadian material culture, we can produce a finer-grained, more detailed look at what Acadians were wearing. This is important not only for the specifics, but for what we can learn about how the Acadian domestic and sartorial worlds were shaped, and how they reacted to change.[12] What decoding this evidence reveals is that the Acadians were more active in trade networks and the burgeoning capitalist economy than the folkloric images of Longfellow's "simple Acadian farmers" would have us believe.[13] They were in the process of distinguishing themselves visually both from the groups around them, and from each other. A combination of factors, including geography and local environment, cross-cultural contact, and the intriguing role Acadia played in local

and international trade, came together to mark Acadians as a society distinct from that of New England and New France. At the same time, they were not isolated from the prevailing whims of fashion. Rather, the growing Acadian fashion system reveals not only their awareness of and participation in fashion trends of the metropole, but the simultaneous development of a local dress culture.

Much has been made of the ways in which the forces of Atlantic empire found the Acadians to be a political problem. Blame has been placed on their political agency, the ways in which they claimed and managed land use, their blurred social structures with lack of a distinct nobility, and their engagement with Indigenous communities. One factor which has not yet been considered is the way in which the Acadians rejected colonial control over their physical bodies; not solely in the ways their movements were limited and land claims organized, but in how they moved away from the sartorial control of the metropole. Colonial power was vested in control—over colonists and their environments, as well as their bodies.[14] Keeping control over the bodies of settlers, keeping those populations culturally aligned with European concerns about nakedness and civility, meant that the uncertainties and anxieties surrounding new spaces could be kept in check as well.[15] The French and English alike expressed concern about Acadians turning to Indigenous lifestyles, both sides, at different times, calling their loyalties into question.

Acadians blurred the social boundaries between European and North American, and their new environment inspired the development, over decades, of a new culture of clothing. This movement towards a more syncretic style of dress also occurred in other colonial spaces, as explorations of colonial Louisiana have shown.[16] These changes added to the sense that the Acadians were moving away from both French and English

spheres of influence and becoming unpredictable. The elite culture of the early modern era in France particularly saw emphasis on appearance and manners as windows to states of being. Tensions built when people did not dress in a manner that befit their social and economic stations.[17] As Acadian culture began to diverge from those around them their dress followed suit, defying expectations and creating a new form of tension—an anxiety related to that waning sense of imperial control over a people who were increasingly difficult to define.

We also find layers of difference between Acadian settlements, their differing levels of engagement with nearby non-Acadian communities shaping their own expression of identity. Settlements close to centres of colonial power dressed in more European-centric modes than more rural settlements. Beaubassin's growing strength and importance as a trading hub and zone of intercultural contact, on the other hand, reveals itself in a developing style of its own. As we will see below, Beaubassin's fashions incorporated more local materials and displayed knowledge of Indigenous techniques alongside engagement with contemporary European style. Had the deportation not taken place, the new incorporation of material culture evidence suggests that Beaubassin would have developed a distinctive regional culture, one which was less heavily influenced by Europe than the settlements closer to Port Royal, or the Acadians who settled in Louisbourg.

The history of the eighteenth century is often traced in goods. In the production revolution, the consumer revolution, the beginnings of capitalist consumption and search for catalyst commodities, we attempt to define the ways in which objects have shaped the beginnings of the modern era. Production and consumption are not, however, the only

means by which material things shape and define us. The combined acts of deconstruction and reconstitution, blending old and new into a third creation—neither old nor new and yet both at the same time—is an intrinsic part of the colonial settler experience, and one which can be seen as a simultaneous reshaping of both objects and the identities defined by those same objects. The touch of the human alters the landscape, and the landscape inherently alters the ways in which humans can touch and shape it.

Moving into a new environmental and cultural space, the French settlers who would become the Acadians over the course of the next hundred and twenty years were shaped by their new environment, and they shaped it in return. Like the red duffel wool described by Boston merchant Brook Watson, they unravelled the cultural understandings they had brought with them, laid them on their looms next to new threads from their new home, and rewove them into something both unique and still created of the past.

Structure

The purpose of this thesis is threefold: first, to add to the body of knowledge around Acadian dress and accessories, as well as their production of and uses for textiles. Second, to situate that textile culture within the Atlantic world and explore the notion of developing Acadian exceptionalism within the realm of dress and self-representation. Third, to build a methodology for indirect analysis of dress and adornment for a group and region where no garments or depictions of garments have survived to the present day. To those ends, I will be discussing those three threads in relation to the material and documentary evidence surrounding four major pre-Expulsion Acadian sites: Belleisle

Marsh, Beaubassin, the Melanson site, and the Acadian presence at French Fortress Louisbourg.

A thesis of this nature must be interdisciplinary by design. Interdisciplinary studies rely on the frameworks and interpretive methods of multiple academic streams to bring new insight to old data or interpret new material. Introducing two or more disciplines together allows for cross-checks and corrections where one discipline's methods might allow things to slip through the cracks.[18] It is vital to include alternate knowledge formations including expertise from practitioners and practical experts in textile manufacture and design, as well as oral histories of the region and the perspectives of its original inhabitants.[19] While the process has drawbacks, the added value of interdisciplinary work in this case outweighs the potential problems.

The multiple frames of reference provided by historical archaeology, Atlantic history, and material culture studies open a new interpretive path into the Acadian world. Interdisciplinarity is an attempt to reconfigure the ways in which information has been collected and analysed in the past. Separating material out into texts-for-historians and artifacts-for-archaeologists isolates facts. Bringing them back together into the same analytical space returns vital context to both evidentiary pools. Integrating the raw data into the conversation on the maritime Atlantic brings Acadians into the broader picture, and offers the chance to examine their choices in the context of empire as well as colony.

Previous studies of Acadian dress and identity have focused on an unfortunately limited amount of surviving documentation. Gaps in those records have been filled by drawing on general knowledge about European and colonial dress of the time. While

extremely useful as a starting point, these textual sources, primarily generated by outside observers at single points in time, are limited in their scope. Geographical, chronological and cultural differences between the settlements and over the course of Acadian occupation are better seen once archaeological data is included in the conversation. Different sources open windows into new interpretive worlds, and the assemblages collected from Acadian sites move us beyond the limitations of the written record.

Where texts may suggest an inward-focused Acadia, the human histories traced in the material goods appearing at Acadian sites adjust that picture.[20] Fashionable buckles and cuff links trace the outlines of genteel clothing alongside silk hose and gleaming brass spurs in some areas, while hints of Mi'kmaq influence in others adds a unique local element. Traders engaging with transoceanic networks moved goods in and out of the region, connecting Mi'kma'ki with France, England, India, Indonesia, Boston, Newfoundland, and Louisiana, all these roads converging in Acadia. The hundred years of growth in Acadia were a powerful moment in time. Five generations searched for and found a sense of self and of place, only to see it deconstructed by trauma and loss. The Acadian identity of today is not the same as that which existed twenty years after the deportation, which in turn was not the same as that which existed twenty years before. There was an identity there nevertheless, formed in the embodiment of style, in code-switching, and the combination of practicality and luxury—a remade tapestry woven in the space between empires.

Using Ian Hodder's metaphor of entanglement as a guide, this thesis argues that it is both possible and productive to use those human histories of Acadia and the surviving material culture to reconstruct lost details of Acadian dress.[21] The webs of connections

between people and the objects they made, acquired and consumed, the values placed on them, the symbols inherent in each and the social context that surrounded all of them makes a coherent picture. The holes left by missing information—in this case the vanished textiles and garments—can be imagined as puzzle pieces, the outlines determined by the dependencies created by those things we do know and understand.

There are necessarily limitations to this research, some of which are based on my own status as an outsider. As non-Acadian and non-Indigenous, my understanding of the nature of Acadian identity can only be informed by diligent reading of materials written by those who are. This thesis is focused on identifying the interactions, intersections, and spaces which enabled the genesis of the Acadian sense of group and self-identification, and the ways in which those manifested in their apparel. Along with that must come the acknowledgement that the vast majority of people living in the region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Indigenous, and their presence had a lasting impact on everything that took place in their ancestral territories.

1.1 Chapters

This work explores the nature of Acadian textile culture and how it relates to their communal and individual senses of self. Textiles and associated articles of dress are used as a lens through which to examine the growth of an Acadian material identity, their engagement with markets and networks outside of Acadia, and ways in which their dress and adornment changed from something French to a vernacular that was distinctly local. Acadians were not a monolith, and the environments and communities in which groups found themselves played a large role in how their sartorial identity was expressed.

Chapter One explores the ways in which scholars have discussed, defined and disrupted material culture theory in general, and dress theory in particular. It also includes discussions of identity, Acadian history as it has been debated to date, and attempts to lay out some definitions that will make the subsequent arguments clearer.

Chapter Two describes the environment of Mi'kma'ki where the French landed and began building settlements. In examining the physical and social environment, the ways in which the settlements grew, changed, and splintered from one another, we also have the space to discuss their differences. The archaeological explorations that revealed the sites of Beaubassin, Belleisle, Melanson, Fortress Louisbourg and the most recent work at Pointe-aux-Vieux are also reviewed. Once the stage is set, the chapter then discusses trade—how goods moved in and out of Acadia, the networks through which they moved, and the values those goods held for the people who interacted with them.

Chapter Three moves the discussion from people to objects, with a look at the tools of creation: spindles, spinning wheels, sewing kits, and scissors. Scissors particularly played a large role in the definition of femininity, as spinning, carding, and weaving did with communal labour, forging bonds within and between families and networks. Chapter Four examines the different types of textiles available to and worn by Acadians. The ways in which specific textiles were made, used, and re-used is the core of dress as a subject.

Chapter Five considers the notions that survived the decay of the clothing over the intervening centuries. The chapter first examines buttons, buckles and closures, the pieces which defined the edges of the body and the points at which clothing transitions back into

skin, the edges of the artificial self. Buckles and buttons show a side of Acadian dress that corroborates findings in domestic artifacts—that the Acadians not only had access to but interest in fashionable clothing, that they engaged with the Transatlantic trade networks, and that there was more than one Acadian style. The second part of the chapter integrates Acadian religious life into their dress, examining jewellery—crucifixes, reliquaries and symbolic beads. The values they held can be seen in the images and tokens that they held close to their hearts, the stories evoked by the imagery on the crucifixes particularly connecting them to their roots in France and the Catholic Church.

In Chapter Six this thesis discusses garment types, turning the human body into a display piece for a world of goods. The clothes themselves have not survived, but enough remains in trace evidence to draw some conclusions about the styles of dress worn in the settlements under discussion, and how those styles were blended with local materials and aesthetics in order to create a new and useful reimagining of identities. Chapter Seven is the conclusion, discussing how the archaeology of Acadian dress helps us to broaden our understanding of who the Acadians were, how their sense of self and community developed, and how they fit into the changing transatlantic world.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

Many methodologies have been proposed for dress studies, but all them revolve around one vital component—an object or artifact to be analyzed. The great strength of material culture studies, the way it revolves around actual, tactile, experiential things, is also its greatest weakness. Survival is arbitrary, the chance that a piece of clothing survives intact to be studied reliant on things such as wearability, the reuse potential of

the textile, the moisture content of the area in which it was kept, and whether it was subject to harsh cleaners or salts during use-life. In the case of the Acadians, no garments—indeed, no *textiles*—have survived from the pre-deportation era, and so we are left with a conundrum. How can we study a thing, when the thing no longer exists?

We can say with absolute certainty that the thing we want to study in this case *did* once exist. The Acadians were certainly not going about their daily business unclothed, particularly not in the long, cold winters. The acidic soils of the Maritimes disintegrated any organic remains other than bone and a few scraps of leather, but there is a way in which we can resurrect these old pieces. Clues exist, scattered through surviving documents in both French and English sources. Where written descriptions and probate inventories fail us, archaeological evidence provides an opportunity to uncover more. Even the simplest of linen shifts leaves behind a legacy in the articles that surrounded it.

The context—the world in which the garments were worn—defines the parameters of the kind of dress that was known, available, and considered appropriate. Many metal, bone, and wooden tools used in the manufacture of textiles and clothing have survived. Their construction and design themselves constrain and define the kind of materials that could be created, as well as inform us about which ones were more common or prized. Finally, the remnants around the edges—notions, eyelets, rings and jewels, buttons, beads and buckles—sketch out the shape of the spaces left behind. Closures and decorations indicate both what kinds of garments they were attached to as well as give hints as to the colours, styles, and shapes that were being worn.

Rather than arguing from absence of evidence, we can instead fit the pieces we do have around the edges, defining the empty spaces by the outside contours. There will be extrapolations and assumptions, by necessity, but this method allows us, in clear and replicable ways, to resurrect the ghosts of garments past. My methodology is a form of inductive reasoning that draws on Ian Hodder's metaphor of entanglement. Using the available sources, and the assumption that everything in the Acadian sphere was entangled in a collection of prerequisites, relations and cultural meanings, we can propose a scenario for the absent pieces which fits that combination of documentary, contextual, and archaeological evidence.

Entanglement is a means of describing the various processes, objects, people, and relationships which connect to a *thing*. They may be triggered because of it, necessary to create it, or affected by its presence or absence, and both trigger and require other *things* in turn.[22] Take, for example, homespun wool. An extremely simplified chart suggests some of the entanglements that connect with it. Wool fibres are necessary, which require sheep. Someone must care for the sheep, requiring knowledge of animal husbandry and personnel available to corral and shear them. Looms are necessary for this kind of woven textile, and spindles or spinning wheels to turn the fibres into thread. On the other end, adequate homespun provides the basis for clothing, bedding, and a potential entry into trade networks.

In reality, of course, this chart is extremely simplified. Many other tasks are involved with production and distribution, and other equipment—and by extension production labour—is also required. The shears require blacksmithing and iron production; the labour requirements demand a workforce trained in carding, spinning, weaving, and

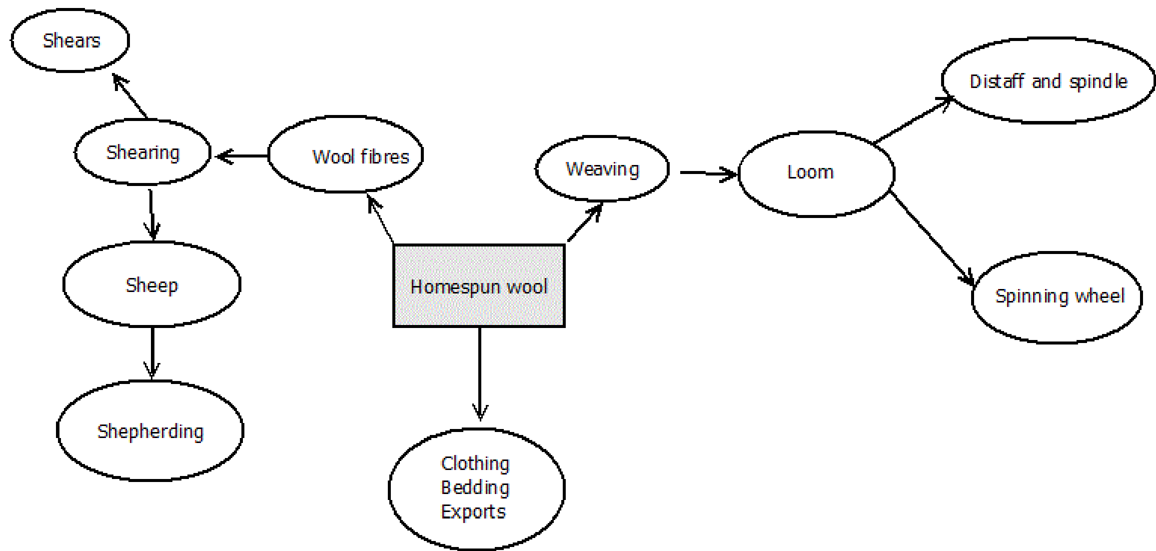

Figure 1.1. By author, after diagrams by Ian Hodder (2012)

fulling; that extends to the potential for gender-based relationships to the tasks; the environmental conditions necessary to raise sheep, wear warm wool, and provide dye plants. And further prerequisites and networks are involved—the pots for boiling the water; costs of production compared to those of other textiles; limitations on who can wear wool compared to access to other fibres; and so on. If any of these factors were different, the Acadian relation to and external reaction to the Acadian use of homespun wool would also have been different.

As an example, how may we suggest that, at Beaubassin in the 1740s, some Acadian women were wearing the fashionable *robes de chambre*? These casual but elegant day dresses were worn by the women of the French court in the eighteenth century, but the loosely-pleated full-length gowns are not commonly considered to be part of women's wear in rural Acadia. They do appear in probate inventories for Acadian women living in Louisbourg in the 1730s and 1740s, however, and many of the entanglements present in Beaubassin suggest that robes de chambre were part of fashionable women's wardrobes

(see Figure 1.2). When all the *things* are pulled together into as complete a web as possible, we can see where the missing pieces should fit.

This thesis takes the archaeological and documentary evidence relating to articles of dress, adornment, textile manufacture, embellishment, and repair, and situates them in context. That context includes not only geographical and temporal contexts, but the values, symbols, and roles played by various dress items, the social and moral value systems which related to western dress in the Early Modern period, and the relationships between people, places, and things which influence all of those. Condensing these to narrower categories makes the data more manageable: the *context* in which Acadian dress choices were made, the *tools* used to gather and transform the materials, and the *notions and accessories* which embellished and structured the garments they wore.

None of the artifact collections are enough on their own to build a detailed case for individual Acadian wardrobes, or identify specific means by which Acadians accumulated and deployed their clothing and accessories. Bringing them together with data from primary source documents and other contextual information is what gives us a better sense of trends and anomalies. Using a database and separating each entry into small, discrete data points—separating colour from material from quantity, and so on (see electronic addendum, Appendix B)—allows for robust searches which can be cross-referenced in new ways to bring out previously unseen patterns and connections.[23] Following the connections and relationships between artifacts and the human factor traces out a bigger picture into which a range of garments must have fit.

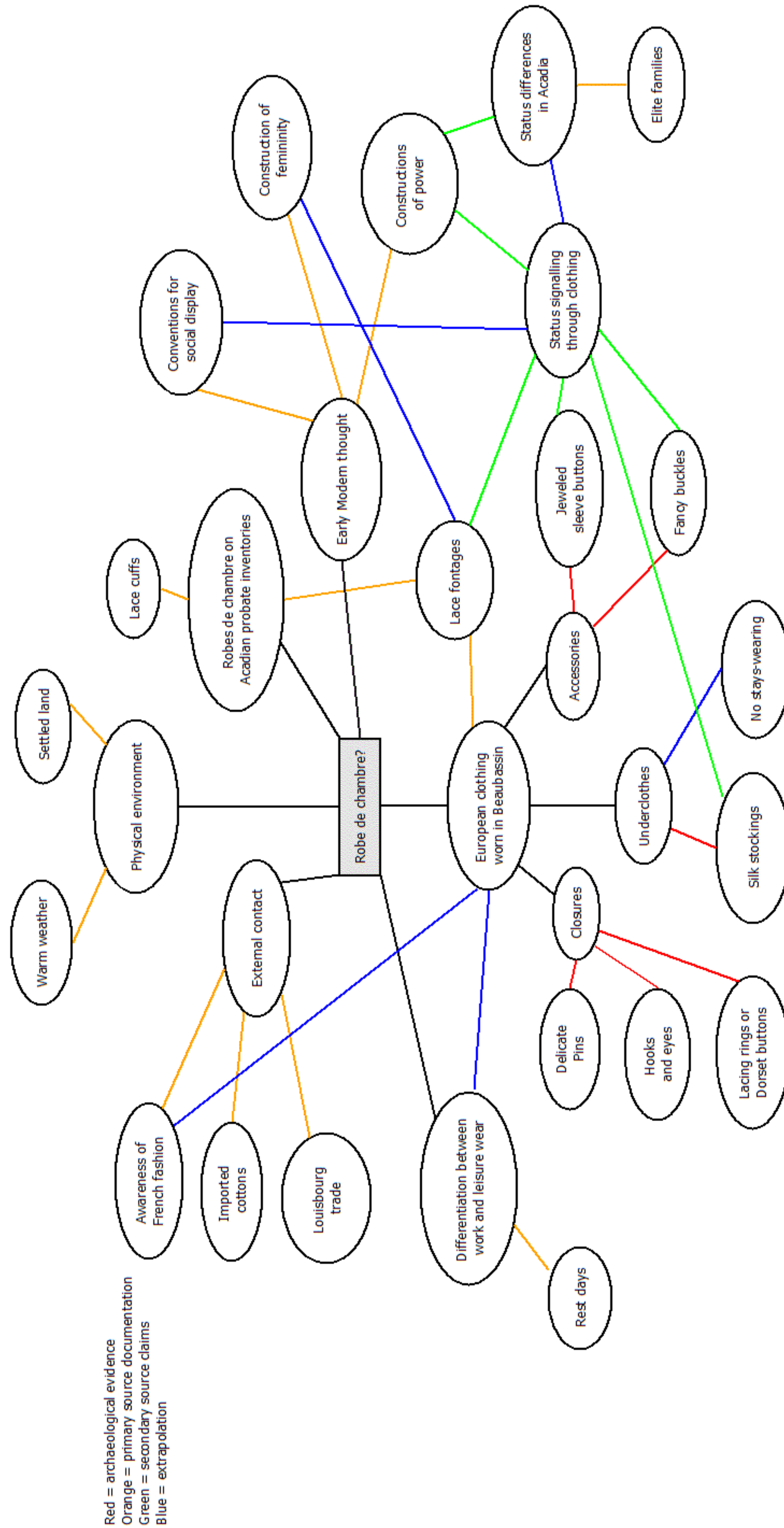

Figure 1.2 Entanglements for a robe de chambre in Beaubassin. Chart by author, after Ian Hodder (2012)

The process requires a clear understanding of the *context* in which garments were designed, constructed, and worn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The environment plays a powerful role in determining what clothes are worn and by whom, and 'environment' in this case includes more than the local ecosystem. This thesis uses 'environment' here to include the physical, social, and economic environments. The physical environment is the geography, climate, flora, and fauna both useful and dangerous, and anticipated hazards. The social environment covers socioeconomic roles, gendered expectations, notions of childhood and adolescence, divisions based on sexuality and marital status, religious mandates and customs, internal and external pressures to conform or resist certain ideals, and the current fashions of the elite. The economic environment revolves around purchasing power and availability of raw materials—including processing time and ability, trade goods, travel times, and levels of contact with other groups. Understanding what the Acadians had, what they needed, what they brought in, what they made, how they made them, and the grammar of the garments around them is a required first step.

The context in this case also includes how the artifacts in question were excavated and the histories of the archaeological projects involved. The number of sites which have been tested is very low, which reduces the quantity of artifacts available as well as the families and individuals with whom we can associate specific objects. The sites have also been only partially excavated, potentially over or under-representing proportions of various items and item categories. The information that is available, however, is very valuable. Field notes and dig reports provide the contextual data necessary to plot space use and associations between the recovered items. Looking at where and how tools were

found gives clues as to patterns of use. An awl, for instance, is a multipurpose tool with a few possible interpretations. Finding one in close association with beads and a pair of scissors, however, strengthens the possibility that the awl was being used on textiles.[24]

The *tools* available to a population determine what kinds of textiles they are able to produce, how textiles and adornments can be modified to wear on the body, and the styles of decorative embellishments that can be produced. Spinning wheels and spindles differ in design based on the kinds of fibres they were designed to spin, and fine-work embroidery scissors speak to a different set of tasks than large tailor's shears. Tools designed for embellishment work indicate interest in decorative arts and leisure time to accomplish them in a way that plain domestic scissors do not. Textile historians and economists have written extensively on production levels possible with various weaving tools; other tools—bodkins, for example—used for specific dressing tasks are indications of the garments they laced in place. Tools also reflect the social and economic environments of their production and use. Certain pieces of production equipment are gendered in their use, while others, like gold or silver thimbles, reflect the socioeconomic status or aspiration of the users.

Lastly, the *accessories and notions* worn with and attached to garments define the outer edges of those clothing articles. Both suggest how the garments functioned and how they closed, sat on the body, and were made special. Strings of beads adorned necklines, pins and brooches closed kerchiefs, and shoe buckles separated European leather from Indigenous moccasins and fieldworkers' wooden clogs. The designs of buttons and buckles spoke to social aspirations, as well as notions of civilization; spurs linked to concepts of gender, and religious jewellery embodied faith in physical form. Ideologies

can be teased out from the ways in which people decorated their bodies; conceptions of gender, status, and connection both to local spaces and the greater world are present in the forms and styles of the small finds that populate archaeological sites and museum collections.

One of the critiques of entanglement theory is that it casts too broad a net and the sheer volume of data involved in *de*tangling makes useful interpretation difficult—if not impossible.[25] The most immediately useful response is to set boundaries around a scenario to keep the data set contained. Acknowledging that these limits are essentially arbitrary, they are nevertheless necessary in order to impose some form of structure on a project. The scope will be different for every undertaking, taking into account the researcher's time, the nature of the research project, and the required depth of the answer.

Temporally, this thesis engages with Acadian material culture between the years 1670, when Acadian homesteading spread and settlements increased, and 1750-55, the period of escalation leading to the deportation. Geographically, it covers four Acadian settlements and a set of Acadian houses within French Fortress Louisbourg. Those five locations were chosen partially for the accessibility and quantity of related artifacts and documentation, as well as for their different geographies, politics, cultures, and relationships to the metropole. As a collection, they provide a useful cross-section of Acadia. Socially, relationships between humans have been kept to within two degrees of separation, primarily focusing on family groups and personal links. Merchants and Atlantic trade have been covered in enough detail elsewhere that repeating that labour was unnecessary.

The study has been divided into thematic sections, each one focusing on a different component of dress and surrounding evidence. Some, such as *Chapter Three: Domestic Tools* are more focused on the extant physical evidence, while others, such as *Chapter Four: Textiles* rely more on text references, import and export data, and the overall contexts of production and trade in the networks to which Acadia belonged. All are brought together in *Chapter Six: Garments,* for a discussion of what those wardrobes likely looked like, and again in the conclusion, for a chance to compare and contrast the different settlements and their specific vernaculars.

The geographical scope of this thesis includes four main locations: Beaubassin, a community in Siknikt with a spin-off settlement at Malpeque Bay; to the boundaries of the Belleisle Marsh; the Melanson settlement on the banks of the Annapolis River within the *banlieue* of Annapolis Royal; and to Louisbourg, a French settlement where a few Acadians made their home. The analysis draws on surviving original documents, archaeological evidence from those sites, and studies of the contexts that surround the artifacts, textiles, and lifestyles of the Acadians prior to the deportation of 1755.

1.2.1 Primary Sources

Interdisciplinary projects require contributions from a variety of different fields, and a variety of primary sources. This thesis is built on foundations laid by Atlantic history, historical archaeology, anthropology, and dress studies, and draws on primary source types used by each. Those based in the discipline of History are generally document-focused, analyses predicated on access to collections of texts and textual fragments which together build a larger picture of life within a specific geographical and temporal frame.

Anthropology also uses archival materials and—for investigations of contemporary societies—first-person interviews and observations to examine human systems and the means by which values and beliefs are communicated and changed. Archaeology incorporates documentary research but focuses primarily on artifact evidence and the physical contexts of discovery, tracing the lived-lives of civilizations through their impact on the physical world. Dress studies often favours an object-based approach as well, using item biographies as a means of accessing human interactions and understanding the systems within which the objects moved.

Each discipline brings powerful strengths and different means of examining an historical population in-situ. Combining the main strategies of the fields—artifact and archival research, coupled with investigation of systems, contexts, impacts, and interactions—brings us to an interdisciplinary model. The low quantities of documentary evidence produced by Acadians, or about Acadian values and daily life from insider perspectives, necessitate this broader scope. To answer the question—*was there an Acadian vernacular of dress, and what does their clothing and textile use tell us about their self-fashioning and cultural identity*—we must pull upon a wide range of sources.

Documentary evidence on the lives and lifestyles of pre-deportation Acadians exists in scattered references. The nature of the settlements and the violence of the deportation both limited the amount of material that survived to be archived.[26] The predominant surviving narratives are those which were written by literate contemporaries such as French entrepreneur Nicolas Denys, travel writer the Sieur de Dièreville, Englishman Robert Hale, or the Honourable Brook Watson, a baronet and secretary to Lt. Col. Monckton at Fort Lawrence.[27] Such descriptions were often incomplete, told from

external perspectives, and biased to appeal to the expectations and motivations of the author and expected audience. Where they correlate with the physical evidence, they are extremely useful; where they contradict, they only open more questions. Inventories and legal papers provide somewhat more politically neutral information. Council minutes, reports on trade, and the documentation leading up to and surrounding the deportation have been studied extensively in a number of different contexts.[28] Records of ship sales and commercial transactions with Acadians at Port Royal and Fortress Louisbourg provide another window into Acadian trade practices, and probate inventories of Acadian women who married French officers and officials at Louisbourg allow us some insight into the lives of Acadian women in a French urban environment.[29]

Physical evidence of Acadian occupation has been uncovered at a number of sites in the Mi'kmaq districts of Kespukwitk, Sipekne'katik, Eskikewa'kik, Unama'kik, Epexiwitk, Agg Piktuk, Siknikt, and Kespek, which are now known more widely as modern-day Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and parts of New Brunswick.[30] Archaeological excavations have been carried out at a number of Acadian sites, but a great deal of work still remains both to identify and study others. In addition, only small portions of each site have been excavated to date and many remain untested and unexplored. The artifacts that have been recovered are a tiny and possibly non-representational part of a much larger whole. While this makes overarching declarations difficult-to-impossible, we do have enough on hand to make suggestions as to what those assemblages represent.

The artifacts studied in this thesis came predominantly from sites in Kespukwitk, Sipekne'katik and Siknikt (around the Minas Basin and the Chignecto Isthmus), and the

addition of Fortress Louisbourg in Unama'kik (Cape Breton). Recovered during archaeological excavations between 1960 and 2012, the assemblages from Beaubassin, Belleisle, the Melanson Site, Pointe-aux-Vieux and the Acadian homes in Fortress Louisbourg give us a cross-section of different modes of Acadian life, domestic conditions, and a sense of urban versus rural priorities.[31] Artifacts uncovered at a handful of other sites like Port La Joye and the Roma Site in Epexiwtk (Isle Saint-Jean / Prince Edward Island) and Grand Pré help to provide additional detail and corroborate trends for the main sites described below.

Table 1.1: Dress-related artifacts from Acadian sites

Beaubassin	Belleisle	Louisbourg	Melanson	Other[32]
283	42	128	148	264

The artifact collections used for this study are partially housed in the Parks Canada laboratory in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, and the archives at Fortress Louisbourg. Other items are in the collections of the Nova Scotia Museum, or still under study by the excavations' primary investigators. The colonial fonds held at the Archives nationales d'Outre-mer in France, and their copies at Library and Archives Canada, contain original letters, censuses and other official documentation surrounding France's North American colonies. Others can be found at the archives at Fortress Louisbourg, the Nova Scotia Provincial Archives, and Cape Breton University's Special Collections.

1.2.2 Archaeological Explorations

Archaeological interest in Acadia grew during the mid-twentieth century concurrent with the expansion of Canadian archaeology following World War II and the rise of

Acadian institutions following New Brunswick's quiet revolution in the 1960s.[33] A series of surveys followed by targeted excavations in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s opened up sections of these settlements to modern eyes. Some, like Beaubassin, had experienced disruption or renewed use following the Acadians' departure, limiting the contextual evidence available. Others, like Belleisle, Melanson, and Pointe-aux-Vieux, remained untouched. Acadian houses in the French Fortress Louisbourg were disrupted both by the English occupation and then French re-occupation in 1745 and 1748, and the evidence there is different again because of the different lifestyle lived by the urban Acadians. The archaeological record complements documentary evidence such as surviving parish registers from Annapolis Royal, land claims and censuses, allowing for deeper insight into the lives of individuals and communities.

Archaeological interest in the Canadian Maritimes has continued to grow throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[34] The availability of funding and unprecedented industrial growth in the 1960s and 1970s elsewhere in Canada led to new protections for heritage sites, a new focus as of the mid-1970s on cultural resource management, and a concomitant reduction of funds available for traditional projects.[35] Acadian archaeology was influenced by this cycle, with a large number of new projects developed and executed between 1965 – 1985, followed by others in the first two decades of the twenty-first century. Those projects, and others since, have opened up new ways of understanding Acadia's timeline and presented a solid evidentiary base from which to interpret Acadian daily life. The things the Acadians touched, that they wore, that they produced, bought, and threw away all contain traces of relationships between the people and their things.

Belleisle (BeDi-2)

In 1960 John Erskine performed a survey of Nova Scotia and identified a number of places which would benefit from further exploration. This included a handful of potential Acadian dwellings on a site in the bend of the Annapolis River associated with the Belleisle marsh.[36] Brian Preston from the Nova Scotia Museum followed up with surveys in 1971 and 1972 which found multiple foundations on the marsh and objects that confirmed pre-expulsion Acadian occupation.[37] David Christianson and his team performed a larger-scale excavation at Belleisle eleven years later, including opening up another small dwelling to the west. The majority of the clothing-related artifacts were found near the hearth in the feature designated House 1.[38] Guillaume Blanchard, Marie's brother and the most likely resident of House 1, owned a ship and was involved in numerous enterprises, including both farming and cabotage (transport of goods), in the first decade of the eighteenth century.[39]

A large amount of work has been done on the materials and data gathered from the 1983 excavations, but the next major exploration of the site did not take place until 2004-2005, when three more dwellings were excavated.[40] Marc Lavoie's work on the site revealed two new houses, including the feature designated House 4, as well as a new collection of domestic artifacts from House 3, all associated with the family of Germain Savoie.[41] Later research on land concessions suggested that House 4 was the home of the family of Pierre Gaudet *dit* Will Denis, and his wife Marie Blanchard.

Beaubassin (BlDb-20)

The memory of Acadian occupation at Beaubassin was never lost, tradition naming hollows and dips in the ground as former homes and outbuildings, all that remained of the once-thriving settlement. Physical evidence emerged periodically, as in the late nineteenth century when a new railway line was put through the Beaubassin / Fort Lawrence area, disturbing the old cemetery and revealing human remains.[42] In the early twentieth century historians noted the presence of approximately thirty potential Acadian cellars in the region, clustered in pastures south of that same rail line.[43]

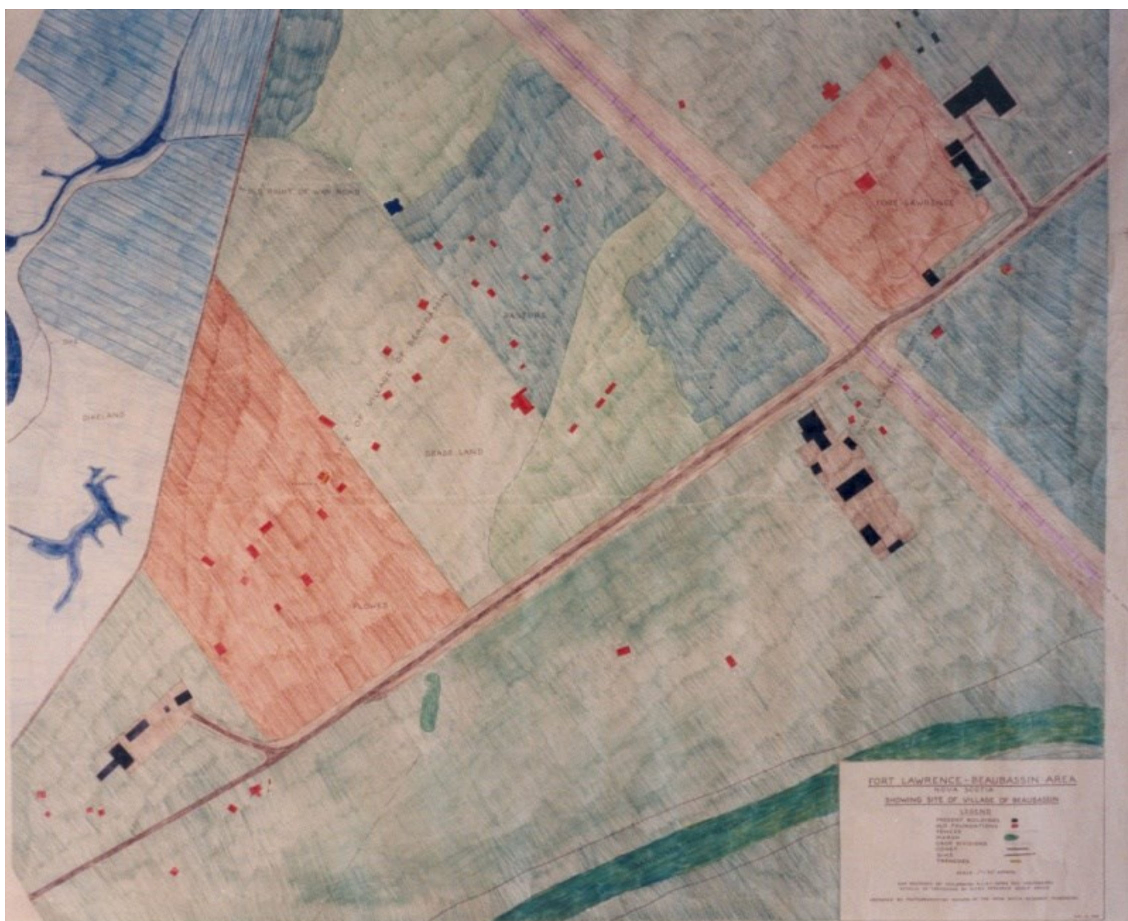

Figure 1.3: Cameron Map of Beaubassin, 1955. H.L. Cameron, Acadia University.

H.L. Cameron at Acadia University followed up in 1955, basing his excavation experiments on information from an infrared aerial photograph taken in the 1940s. He recovered some artifacts from the region, mostly animal bones, which were later determined to have a high probability of Acadian origin.[44] The sites of the purported cellars were backfilled by the landowners around the same time period, leaving a map which Cameron created (see Figure 1.3) as the primary source record for the cellars' original locations.[45] This map was the basis for a series of later investigations in 1967 and 1968 for which reports were never filed, but remain partially documented in archaeologist Pierre Nadon's field journals.[46]

Pierre Nadon's surveys revealed Acadian settlements of varying size in the Beaubassin region, though a number of the reported sites did not reveal any corroborating evidence.[47] From visual examination of twenty-three potential locations, five returned either artifact or ground-hollow evidence that suggested prior occupation. Of those, only the apparent locations of Beaubassin (the village), La Coupe, and Le Lac contained artifacts that could be dated prior to the deportation.[48] La Coupe and Le Lac, both settlements burned by Abijah Willard in 1754, produced no more than minor artifacts during the original surveys.[49] The settlement of Beaubassin is the only one to have undergone serious archaeological exploration.[50] Local historian Paul Surette disagrees with Parks Canada's tentative location of Beaubassin, locating the village further up Fort Lawrence Ridge, though surface surveys conducted of the area have not yet provided support for his argument. His extensive research into church records and family relationships, however, provide some useful ways of looking at the connections permeating the village spaces.[51]

The 1967 survey was designed to identify trace evidence of the villages in the area of the marshes. Nadon led a series of excavations of the site believed to be the village of Beaubassin the following summer, testing eight different spots in the hopes of determining the archaeological potential of the area.[52] Analysis later showed four distinct Acadian contexts within the sites tested, with much of the original area of the village disrupted by regular cultivation.[53] The remains of two Acadian homes were discovered at operations 7B7 and 7B8, constructed in a way consistent with other Acadian dwellings, with wooden floors at the ground level over fieldstone foundations.[54] Both houses were situated in the transitional area between the uplands and the marsh at what was likely the southernmost limit of the original village of Beaubassin.[55] The dimensions and original occupants of these houses are still unknown.

While the team's original intention had been to return to the site and continue excavations, no further work was done on Beaubassin until 1986 when Marc Lavoie tested the site as part of a larger exploratory project in the Beaubassin region. The team focused on two smaller sectors from Nadon's original test area, and a new space to the northeast.[56] The tests identified a refuse deposit associated with a structure at 7B2 originally discovered by Nadon, as well as a mixed-use site with artifacts dated both pre- and post-deportation, and a site reflecting the 1750-1756 British occupation.[57]

Parks Canada purchased the property in 2004 and performed a small-scale project to test Cameron's map, as well as further attempts to locate Acadian-era structures and artifacts.[58] The test protocol for this excavation avoided previously tested areas in favour of locating the filled cellars present on Cameron's original map. Out of thirty-six tests sixteen locations revealed evidence of prior occupation, some of which were pre-1750.

All the artifacts recovered fit with the dates of Acadian, rather than the later British, occupation.[59] Dress-related artifacts recovered in 2004 included a glass pendant, a brass pin, and buttons.[60] Following the tests, Charles Burke and Parks Canada organized a five-year series of public archaeological digs as a means of encouraging interest in the history of the region. More than six hundred members of the public took part in excavations in the Beaubassin and Fort Lawrence areas between 2007 and 2011, uncovering and cataloguing a significant number of artifacts.[61] Pieces discovered during this process were predominantly small finds, many of them related to trade. Metal straight pins were particularly common, approximately one hundred and twenty found in closely-related sub-operations.[62]

Melanson (BeDj-04)

Andrée Crépeau's excavations in the early eighties opened one of the houses in the Melanson settlement and revealed the remains of a wide selection of imported domestic goods. The finds, including a pair of scissors, suggested that the house had been the residence of a well-to-do family.[63] Following Crépeau's excavations, the only work done on the site before 2010 was some damage amelioration work performed by Charles Burke in 2003, which yielded no artifacts.[64] Stéphane Noël and Anne-Marie Faucher from the Université Laval performed a further series of excavations of middens at the Melanson site in 2011, focusing on the recovery of zoological remains and associated tools.[65]

Maps from 1708 and 1710 mark some of the houses on the settlement with the name "Melançon," one of which corresponded to Feature 8 in the original surveys.[66] Feature 8 was excavated by Parks Canada in 1984-1985, in the project led by Andrée Crépeau, and

is still the most comprehensively studied feature on this site. The stratigraphy shows a series of unfortunate events taking place which preserved not only some of the inhabitants' possessions, but a chronology for when they were owned and used. The first of the four structures built on Feature 8 may have been a barn or outbuilding, but by the time the second and third versions were built the buildings were constructed with hearths and ovens, indicating their use as domestic dwellings. That third structure burned in the first half of the eighteenth century, and another new structure was rebuilt on that site post-1740, only to be destroyed in 1755.[67]

This feature turned out to be the house of the eldest son of the founding couple, Charles Melanson, *fils*, and his wife Anne Bourg, *dite* Jeanne.[68] Charles Melanson *le fils*' home would have been built sometime before 1708, when it appears on the Delabat map, and likely circa 1700-1701, when he married.[69] The first house on that foundation was destroyed by fire at some point thereafter, possibly in 1710 when British attacks destroyed a number of settlements in the area.[70] The rebuild of the structure is what makes it most interesting, as the debris from the first house was not fully cleared away. Rather, new clay was laid down in the hearth area and the cellar to create new smooth surfaces, and that clay trapped some revealing debris for later discovery. A number of domestic artifacts were revealed from this layer during the excavation process, including remnants of four or five pairs of iron scissors, a bale seal, a button, and some glass beads.[71] The house next door, designated Feature 9, was the residence of Melanson's sister Madeleine, who lived there with her husband Jean Belliveau *le jeune* and their children. [72] Belliveau died in 1707, and his widow and children remained living in the house only fifteen meters from her brother and sister in law.[73]

In 2010 and 2011, doctoral student Stéphane Noël performed a site survey, a series of shovel tests and some midden excavations at Melanson, focusing on evidence of Acadian foodways and kitchen debris.[74] Noël's work at the site uncovered and tested three new features, identified four middens, and excavated two of those.[75] Of the cellars tested, one was attributed to the household of Jean Roy dit Laliberté and Marie Aubois, a mixed Black and Indigenous married couple living in the settlement. They had moved in on the urging of Anne Melanson, who brought them back with her when she returned to the settlement after her first husband's death.[76] Feature 11 on the site has been identified as the house of Anne Melanson, Alexandre Robichaud, and the five children from Melanson's first marriage to La Tour. The bulk of the artifacts recovered from the excavations and tests were food and domestic refuse, including an abundance of clam shells and bones, as well as a large collection of pipe stems.[77] Some small dress-related artifacts were recovered, including buttons, pins and thimbles.[78] Noël's analyses are still underway.

Louisbourg

Demolished by British occupiers in the 1760s following the French loss in the Seven Years War, the decaying remains of Fortress Louisbourg were designated a National Historic Site in 1928.[79] Reconstruction of the fortress and a quarter of the surrounding town began in 1961, with the intention of turning the site into a living heritage resource to open for Canada's centennial.[80] Art historian J.R. Harper carried out the first surveys of the site in 1959, confirming the placement of the fortifications and some of the town buildings.[81] Edward Larrabee joined the project in 1963 and had to coordinate

archaeological work with the competing schedules of the engineering teams, leading to debate over the purpose and direction of the project as a whole.[82]

Ultimately, a small permanent archaeological team excavated the areas intended for rebuild, working closely with historians, architects, and engineers to reconstruct the landscape, personal histories of previous inhabitants, and the patterns of their daily lives.[83] The high water table on the peninsula where the fortress is located makes for poor drainage, something that must have been an annoyance for those living in the fortress during its original occupation but one which, combined with rising sea levels, was a boon for archaeologists in the twentieth century. The water seepage flooded foundations and cellars, among other dug-in features, which preserved organic materials that have not survived elsewhere.[84]

Only a quarter of the town has been excavated, the rest left as undisturbed as possible. Periodic maintenance efforts have been underway since then to combat the effects of erosion and environmental damage.[85] Further rescue operations have been triggered as necessary, in so much as official funding permits.[86] A survey of the remaining site was performed in 1986 and while funding cuts have reduced the number of personnel working with the site, work has continued.[87] Most of the reports that have been generated are internal, however, and have not been published in publicly accessible ways. The over five million artifacts collected are available to researchers at the fortress' archives.

The majority of Louisbourg's inhabitants were not Acadian, and the four excavated properties known to have had Acadian occupants have also all had non-Acadians in residence. The uncertainty of provenance and the blurring of time periods that can happen

on a site that was periodically rebuilt and disturbed makes identifying Acadian-owned objects more difficult, but not impossible.

Malpeque Bay / Low Point / Pointe-aux-Vieux (CdCx-5)

Located in Low Point in the northwest of Prince Edward Island, overlooking Malpeque Bay, the archaeological site designated CdCx-5 is also known as Pointe-aux-Vieux, an Acadian settlement occupied between 1728 and 1758. The homesteads here do not appear to have been destroyed during the deportation, which took place in then-Isle Saint-Jean between the years of 1755 – 1758. Rather, hearing the news from mainland Acadia, many Isle Saint-Jean settlers packed up and left before being forced out, leaving their houses empty apart from the minor detritus of thirty years of living.[88] Discovered when ocean and weather erosion exposed bones and ruins, the Malpeque Bay settlement was the focus of an emergency recovery excavation in the spring of 2009, followed by more concerted efforts at a house site between 2009-2011.[89] Artifacts from the excavations are still being processed, and what is there gives us a powerful insight into life outside of the Acadian thoroughfares, a more distant satellite settlement that nevertheless maintained connections with hubs like Beaubassin.

Spearheaded by provincial archaeologist Helen Kristmanson, the first test excavation uncovered a bake oven and some domestic artifacts as well as the remnants of a small house typical of those built by Acadians. The site was located near a range of useful natural resources, including stands of trees for timber and a spring of fresh water.[90] That detritus, however, has made the difference in preservation. The local diet, heavy in shellfish, ensured that the calcium from the shells neutralized the acidity of the soil and

slowed the rate of decay for artifacts deposited nearby. A number of finds have been turned up in the area of the excavated house, including trade beads, a small thimble found near the hearth, multiple bale seals including one with the image of a lion, buttons, aglets, and buckles.[91] While the evacuation at Pointe-aux-Vieux was slow and the residents were able to take most of their belongings with them, the nature of the sheltered basement and the small deposits has left behind evidence of their use of domestic space.

1.2.3 Practical Methodology

This thesis develops a methodology for investigating clothing artifacts when those artifacts are no longer present, bringing together previous analytical work with a more concrete process for triaging and incorporating the available information. As the rising field of material culture studies regularly demonstrates, a great deal of information about individuals and about cultures can be determined from examination of their physical contexts. Research into material culture begins with the assumption that there are predictable, causal relationships between a person's environmental, social, and historical contexts, and their actions.[92] Dress and textile artifacts, as researchers including Adrienne Hood and Joan Severa have shown, are certainly no exception.[93] Choosing between iron or copper scissors, wearing skirts or trousers, weaving patterned fabrics or plain, all have triggers behind them—external motivations that go beyond matters of personal taste.[94] Any item changed by human hands contains evidence of desires and behaviours that led to the manipulation, creation or destruction of the object in question.

Artifact assemblages give us access to the physicality of material space in a way that even the most descriptive of prose cannot approach. The differences in range of

movement allowed by different cuts of coat, for instance, changes the nature of the wearer's body, and their ability to move through different spaces.[95] That change invariably alters the ways in which people physically interact with one another, and in turn, with the communities around them. The impact of the feedback from outside viewers in turn generates changes in the self-impression and expression of the community.[96] The untied stockings of Acadian farm labourers, for example—a common adjustment freeing up the body for physical work—were perceived by English observers as evidence of lax morals and laziness on the parts of the wearers.[97] The very physical nature of objects can be understood as having direct and potentially measurable impact on both the nature of the body's engagement within a space, and cultural responses to that engagement. We cannot study the one exclusively without attempting to understand and incorporate the interactions and influences of the other.

The important question, and one which has been at the forefront of dress studies scholarship almost since the discipline's inception, is how to identify those triggers. Object-directed studies focus on the physical evidence which can be gleaned from a unique object, while fashion studies are more likely to begin with a collection of garments or accessories of the same or similar types. Igor Kopytoff's conceptualization of the "cultural biography" of an object or collection of objects brings both together, exploring the collections of meanings an object accumulates as it moves through different contexts.[98] The metaphor of material entanglement provides a similar perspective, with a focus that moves far beyond the material and into surrounding cultural landscapes.

Analytical Stages

In *Entangled: an Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things,* Ian Hodder describes human cognition as reliant on material things.[99] The ways in which we think are dependant on physical objects as focuses and triggers for ideas. Along with that, we have the habit of rearranging items to inspire cognitive connections, as with the regrouping of scrabble tiles to find new word possibilities, or sorting out the straight-edged puzzle pieces to help conceive of the bigger picture.[100] Managing the quantity of information involved in even a carefully constrained thesis required careful implementation of data collection and analysis strategies, and the development of an interface that would allow for this kind of manipulation of electronic objects.

Availability of information required some fluidity in movement between different stages of the process—chiefly between primary data collection and context evaluation. Unpicking complex connections and tensions between *things* also means staying in a constant phase of re-evaluation as new information comes to light, making the naming of stages as arbitrary in some ways as the boundaries set around the question in the first place. Stage one was data collection from physical and textual sources—finding the *things* which are solid and extant and turning them into electronic artifacts within the same analytical space.

Stage two was assembling the direct contextual information about the settlements, people, and materials directly associated with each of the recorded *things.* This focused on the physical and was accomplished through primary and secondary source research, including excavation reports, environmental studies, genealogical evidence, and other,

similar work.[101] Stage three explores the more ephemeral nature of beliefs and cultural pressures, including further entanglements between material details and the social, cultural, religious, economic, and political contexts of an early modern French colonial presence.[102] This again drew on primary and secondary sources, this time extending geographically, politically, and temporally throughout the Atlantic, the religious and cultural tensions that came from France, New England, New France, and Mi'kma'ki, interpersonal relationships and contemporary perspectives on morality, modesty, gender, life stages, and other conceptual structures.[103]

This method can be imagined as charting the progressive ripples from a handful of pebbles cast into a pond. The centre of each concentric expansion is a particular item or line of text from the database. Each successive ripple—or stage of exploration—carries us further away from the original *thing*, expanding our understanding of its surroundings. Simultaneously, each set of ripples contacts, bounces off of and changes the other ripples with which they intersect. Moving back and forth between the stages is a necessary part of the process as more colliding waves and their effects are exposed. Beginning with the micro and moving progressively outward to the macro level, we can extrapolate the total picture. At the same time, identifying new ripples and understanding their impact can give us suggestions for the shapes and sizes of the missing pebbles.

The preliminary research stages for this thesis involved discovery. Many of the artifacts excavated from Acadian sites are in different locations across the province, some only partially catalogued or conserved. Once collections were located, with the immeasurable help of Parks Canada archaeologists and support staff, the staffs of the Nova Scotia Museum and Fortress Louisbourg, archaeologist Sara Beanlands and

Doctors Lavoie and Cottreau-Robins, I sorted through the materials for each site and isolated the items relating to dress, personal adornment, and textile manufacture. Other items were found by contacting small museums across Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and in one case, filing a freedom of information request for the conservation records. This process included sorting through a dozen drawers at Louisbourg, more than twenty boxes at Parks Canada, and visits across the province to the museum at Grand Pré, the archaeology lab at Université Sainte-Anne, and multiple visits to the archeological collections at the Nova Scotia Museum.

Most of these collections are not recorded in electronic form and existing catalogue sheets are in a wide variety of nonstandard formats. During the data-collection process I supplemented the information on those sheets and the collection records with field notes from the original excavations, as well as notes from the conservation labs on the composition, origins and likely dates of the materials. Artifacts which related to grooming but not to adornment, or which might have been carried on the body but whose primarily function was not clothing-related (combs or pipes, for example) were omitted in the name of restricting the scope of this thesis. Items associated with Acadian use but which could not be firmly dated prior to 1755 were eliminated from the study, which excluded a number of items from museums' historical collections. Artifacts which were likely to be textile-related but not identifiable as Acadian (as with some of the scraps found at Louisbourg) were similarly cut.

Tracking entanglements between *things* requires the ability to place them in juxtaposition in new ways, and so a robust data management plan was required from the beginning. Beginning with an Excel spreadsheet for a database, each item was given a

unique catalogue number which could then be cross-referenced with details such as colour, materials, and condition.[104] In order to fill in some of those details it was necessary to catalogue all the supporting data and research available on the sites included in this study, including (but not limited to) field notes, internal governmental reports, organizational documents from the museums and Parks locations, interviews with primary investigators, and published materials both physical and electronic. Textual references found in primary source documents including inventories and descriptive passages were entered in similar ways. Those necessitated the addition of new fields, including author and direct quotations, while omitting accession numbers and other archaeological data. In all, the database currently has 871 entries totalling over a thousand individual items, the vast majority of which are from known archaeological contexts. An electronic version of this catalogue can be found in Appendix B.

Stage two involved detailed research on the individuals and families associated with each site, the geography and environment, and the particular histories of each settlement. In this I was greatly aided by the work of David Christianson, Marc Lavoie, and Charles Burke on Belleisle and Beaubassin, Andrée Crépeau, Brenda Dunn and Stéphane Noël on Melanson, Helen Kristmanson at Pointe aux Vieux, and the staff at Fortress Louisbourg including Anne Jonah and Elizabeth Tait, and their vast volume of research on the history of the fortress and its inhabitants.[105] Where items in the database could be related to specific families or individuals, those associations were also recorded.

Stage three requires outward movement from the immediate to the immaterial. The items in the database provide the entry point to discovering the sociocultural pushes and pulls that engage with them. Items must be understood not just through their physical

characteristics, but for the signs and symbols they have accumulated during their use-lives, the meanings and weight that they held for their specific producers and chain of users, and the representational power that they currently possess. This can only be understood by pulling on the threads connected with those concepts; using spur buckles as an entry point to understanding the early modern conception of gender presentation, for example, or the connections between embroidery scissors and concepts of leisure. The specific contexts of dress and adornment inform this discussion at its core.

The Context of Dress and Adornment

When considering small finds, we need to look at them as more than the sum of the simple functions they provide. At its most rudimentary level, a needle is usually evidence of sewing. The nature of consumption patterns and the availability of choice, however, make the presence of an item reveal more about the social worlds occupied by the original owners. Arjun Appadurai describes consumption as being inherently "social, relational and active rather than private, atomic or passive," and objects once regarded as trivial can be the sources for a great deal of information.[106] Kopytoff expands on this, considering artifacts to be more than physical objects. [107] Rather, each can be identified as having a culturally constructed role or roles of its own. Objects acquire and develop specific meanings over their lifespan, accumulating relevant experiences as they pass through multiple hands. By tracing the paths an object takes, we can begin to unravel the layers of meaning an object or class of objects accumulates over time.

One caveat to consider when attempting to relate artifacts to specific activities and locations within a household is the existence of caches and hidden-object behaviours in

colonial (and beyond) era housing. Groups of domestic artifacts gathered together on a site may be considered in the context of cached or hidden objects, where residents place items within the walls of a house in order to ward off bad spirits or to attract luck. The bulk of these types of assemblages, however, included witch bottles, paper documents or books, shoes or other clothing articles.[108] While buckles were found at Belleisle in a space that has been tentatively identified as a storeroom, they do not appear to have been attached to shoes at the time of their interment.[109] The Melanson assemblage includes sherds of broken pottery, a button, beads and a bale seal, not items generally associated with caching.[110] The context suggests domestic remains for both rather than deliberately concealed objects.

Beginning from the assumption that methods of human communication do not have to be intentional or even necessarily immediately conscious, dress—consisting of clothing and adornment—can be recognized as a vital medium. Dress works as a boundary marker between groups, and as a mediator between the body and the outside world. Individuals choose dress meanings on multiple levels of consciousness, including both personal choice and culturally-determined "appropriate" clothing. Economic and trade factors, production methods and movement of items, the ways in which clothing engages with the human body and with the built and natural environments all have an impact on what people wear, and how. While methodologies have been proposed, there is so far no "one true way" to perform material culture studies, or by extension, dress studies. This leaves the field open to experimentation and exploration, and a chance to bridge the work being done on analysis of individual items and societal-level enquiry. Object-driven projects give us deeper insight into the social history of individual items, drilling down into

worlds which may not be recorded in text, while community level assemblage analysis gives us a better view of inconsistencies and moments of social disjunction.

People are inherently intersectional, a blend of a dozen different factors influencing everything from production choices to personal daily wear. It is impossible to entirely extract the environmental from the cultural, the origin from the settlement, the political from the economic. Moreover, texts are skewed in their perspective and inherently biased, artifacts limited in scope and bounded by the realities of environmental damage and rates of survival, inventories potentially redacted and only showing us a slim cross-section of society. When clothing choices depended on access to textiles through production and smuggling, on adjusting to local environments, on the cultural influences of five or six different aesthetics meeting in one shared space, every one of those factors contributed to the overall whole and must be gently teased apart to be fully understood. In an interdisciplinary project the limitations of each form of study can be partially repaired by the others, allowing more connections to be drawn.

1.3 Literature Review

An interdisciplinary thesis such as this one requires a broad research background as well as one with considerable depth. As such the nature of the literature review must be to encompass not only the disciplines directly involved, but the nature of interdisciplinarity itself. What follows is a series of discussions of the predominant conversations in each field, along with the sources most relied upon for the discussions underway in the various fields today.

1.3.1 Interdisciplinary Theory

The current discussion regarding interdisciplinarity as a solution for increasing specialization of academic disciplines has been ongoing since the 1960s. C.P. Snow registered concerns about the breaking down of academic inquiry into physical scholars and literary academics, with little communication between the two.[111] As Moti Nissani defined it in 1997, interdisciplinary research involves the bringing together of two or more disciplines in academic thought.[112] The creation of new knowledge comes out of the ways in which those disciplines are combined, whether for research, educational purposes, or artistic expression.[113] That concept has been expanded over time, with differentiation made between trans-disciplinary work, multi-disciplinary, and cross-disciplinary, all with their individual strengths and drawbacks.[114] Interdisciplinarity as a concept gained acceptance in the twenty-first century, with graduate programs and think-tanks encouraging the use of interdisciplinary theories in modern scholarship.[115]

This separation between the academic and the practical can be seen clearly in the realm of fashion and textile studies. The production of textiles and clothing has long been dismissed as 'arts and crafts' or, with the undertone of persistent ingrained misogyny, as women's work (as compared to design, a male-dominated field, which has the respect given to intellectual pursuits). Even modern academics fall prey to careless error in otherwise very well-researched works when they focus on the economics and marketplace significance of textiles, without consulting the craftspeople who have spent lifetimes building physical expertise in those same commodities. A major theme running through this thesis is the direct impact of the physical world on socio-cultural development, an argument that is interdisciplinary at its core. This dissertation is also

trans-disciplinary by some definitions, in which the distinction is between the integration of academic or practical knowledge from different fields of study.[116] The physical knowledge of textile workers and dress specialists is vital to the arguments offered below, and the differentiation—a means of ranking academic knowledge as separate and perhaps superior to applied knowledge—causes more problems than it solves.

Critiques of interdisciplinarity have focused on the dilution of knowledge that may come with the process, and the potential for lessened rigour, as it is difficult for a single researcher to stay abreast of developments in multiple fields.[117] Critics also point out misconceptions in the base concept of academic "siloing," questions of the long-term sustainability of interdisciplinary work in the modern university environment, and the unforeseen impacts of rising enthusiasm for this form of academic reintegration.[118] Objections on the basis of difficulty of review, few funding opportunities, career difficulties, and limited number of outlets for interdisciplinary scholarship, however, will self-correct over time as more incoming scholars engage with interdisciplinary tools.[119]

Material Entanglement

While material entanglement theory stems from current work in historical archaeology, it is by its very nature an interdisciplinary concept. Entanglement theory attempts to restore a psychological and social context for objects, people, and relationship networks by reintegrating as many of the original connected elements as possible, from trade networks through to colour meanings and contemporary literary metaphor.[120] It also moves away from identifying objects and influences as discrete discussion points, and attempts to integrate each along with the feedback loops that restrict the theoretically

infinite possibilities.[121] Early conceptualizations of entanglement were grounded in colonial archaeology, and in a search for new ways to understand the traditional colonizer-colonized dichotomy.[122]

Ian Hodder argues for a new view of the interrelationships between humans and objects, where constraints, affordances, and dependences lock them into both specific and constantly shifting sets of relationships with one another.[123] Hodder's addition of temporality to actor-network theory and his explorations of the networks of causality and influence give us new vocabulary to discuss the intricacies of life, even when many of the specifics may be unknown.[124] Material entanglement theory potentially remains at its most useful when it is used to deal with questions of interacting networks, and the tensions that come into play when two or more webs of entanglements collide.[125]

1.3.2 ACADIAN HISTORY

The history of Acadia first garnered widespread interest following the publication of Longfellow's *Evangeline* in 1847.[126] The long-form poem was deeply sympathetic to the Acadians, portraying them as innocent victims of British cruelty and depicting them in a pastoral, almost feudal light. Early anglophone writing on Acadia focused on the deportation as a defining event and while usually critical of the deportation itself was often more sympathetic towards British decisions.[127] Francophone writing around the same time presented duelling images of feudal-era Acadians as either obstinate and ungovernable people who resisted the intrusion of external administration, or—as in Abbé Casgrain's work on the region—a cheerfully obedient and deeply religious flock.[128] Acadian writing about the deportation itself

began with Acadian historian Édouard Richard's book *Acadie. Reconstitution d'un chapitre perdu de l'histoire d'Amérique* in 1895.[129]

Both anglophone and francophone work continued through the early twentieth century, with texts moving outward to examine Acadian connections with other colonies.[130] Émile Lauvrière's 1924 history of Acadia was the first full French-language history of the Acadians, Gaspé historian Antoine Bernard's books following soon thereafter.[131] Interest increased in the mid-twentieth century increased following the Acadian renaissance, archaeology and the social history of the Acadians tracing the development of Acadian culture chronologically, through migration patterns, genealogical work, and material culture.[132] Bona Arsenault's historical and genealogical survey of Acadia came at the end of this period, as did Andrew Hill Clark's geographical history of the region.[133]

In the 1970s, alongside the boom in Canadian heritage archaeology that accompanied Canada's centennial, work expanded on the collection and unearthing of new sources on the Acadians and evaluating old ones in new ways.[134] The group known as the "Acadiensis generation" envisioned a history of Atlantic Canada treated as more than a subsection of Canadian or British imperial history.[135] This group included Naomi Griffiths, John Reid, Margaret Conrad, Andrew Hill Clark, and Jean Daigle, among others. Their interest in regional histories added new complexity to older ideas about Acadian society and shone new light on notions of Acadian agency.[136] A movement away from the economic studies so popular in the mid-century accompanied this shift into discussions of social histories, alongside a reintegration of marginalized voices, including those of women and Indigenous

peoples.[137] Growing interest in genealogy and family histories encouraged the growth of individualized and localized publications on Acadia. Stephen White's *Dictionnaire Généalogique des Famillies Acadiennes* was the magnum opus for this area of research, and both popular and amateur historians drew on his work.[138]

Francophone surveys of Acadia multiplied around the same time, Maurice Basque, Georges Arsenault, Yves Cormier, Phil Comeau and others covering the history of Acadia in both broad and narrow strokes.[139] Nicolas Landry and Nicole Lang's major work *Histoire de l'Acadie,* updated in 2014, was first published in 2001 and quickly became an essential reference.[140] Following the turn towards localization and specialization, the 1990s and early twenty-first century saw trends in Atlantic history swing back toward a broader view. Part of this recontextualization involved reconnecting the disparate and enriched pieces of Acadian history into a broader, trans-oceanic picture.[141] Explorations were also made of a number of aspects of the Acadian economy, trade relationships and environment, which laid the groundwork for future work on Acadian cultural life.[142]

Definitions of Acadian identity were embedded in the questions being asked about Acadia's place within the Atlantic world, and Naomi Griffiths' sweeping work *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755* was the culmination of her argument that the Acadian identity had formed during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and persisted after the deportation.[143] Cecile Vidal argues for a self-concept solidifying around the time of the Conquest, while for Gilles Havard Acadian identity was primarily created through the trauma of the deportation in 1755.[144] Historian Carl Brasseaux suggested that the Acadians were the first European group to

develop a distinct new identity in North America, one partially altered by the new physical and cultural landscapes in which they found themselves.[145] Griffiths has argued for the development of an enduring Acadian social identity alongside political identity, as a result of the balance that the settlers tried to maintain between opposing French and English imperial pressures.[146] Hodson, Kennedy, and Faragher have all challenged this interpretation in various ways, exploring the intricacies of identity formation both prior to and following the trauma of the deportation, while Ronnie-Giles LeBlanc looked at the deportation as a series of events taking place across most of a decade, rather than a single trauma.[147]

The changes in Acadian historiography, moving from folklore to political overviews to close-in examinations of social behaviours, all have the effect of distancing the image of the Acadians from the mythology developed by the introduction of Longfellow's *Evangeline* to the popular imagination.[148] Interest in the folklore of Acadia and the impact that has had on the historiography of Acadia has picked up in recent years, questioning the very nature of the traditional archetypes and the ways in which historians have engaged with them.[149] The deportation, previously used more as a chronological benchmark, has been re-evaluated, along with work exploring Acadia's role in the greater Atlantic world.[150]

The newest frontier in Acadian historiography is the concept of the frontier itself, and how the ways in which Acadia itself is and has been defined change how we consider Acadian culture and lives. Gregory Kennedy's 2014 book *Something of a Peasant Paradise* begins this shift, moving the Acadians out of popular imagination and returning them to their French roots, rejecting suggestions of Acadian

exceptionalism and distinction prior to the deportation.[151] John Reid, Jeffers Lennox, and Allan Greer, in the meantime, have challenged the older definitions of borderlands, marches, frontiers and even property tenure systems altogether.[152] The predominant thread in these most recent works is a reframing of the time period usually called 'colonial' as one which was in actuality much more heavily influenced by the collisions between European empires and Indigenous nations. Moving away from a narrative which focuses on the colonies as primary actors, these texts take on different ways in which pre-existing powers intersected and influenced one another, acknowledging the presence of a strong Indigenous world that had its own perspective on the arrival of foreign empires. Within these webs of relationships and intersecting tensions, Acadia emerges as a much less defined and far more *liminal* space, in which empires, nations and peoples engaged with one another at the fringes of state control.

1.3.3 Indigenous History

Until recently, the majority of works on Indigenous history had been written from the outside looking in. The only written documentation available on contact-era Indigenous lives had been left by European explorers, whose biases were both apparent and subtextual. Mi'kmaw history has traditionally been recounted and maintained through oral history, which has not historically been allocated the same level of consideration in western academic spaces. Some of these oral histories are now being recorded and made available as electronic resources, though the act of recording itself changes the ways in which those histories can be communicated.[153] Recent movements toward a decolonization of the academy have opened discussions on the place of different source

types and approaches, as with Marie Battiste's work on reframing the humanities in general.[154]

European explorers and colonists who encountered the original inhabitants of Mi'kma'ki in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries described them as curiosities, culturally, politically, and economically unsophisticated inhabitants of a resource-rich environment.[155] Writers including the Sieur de Dièreville, Samuel de Champlain, and Marc Lescarbot describe the Mi'kmaq with an air of curiosity, and these early records remain some of the few sources for information on Mi'kmaq lifeways at the time. In the nineteenth century, Baptist minister and missionary Silas Rand spent years studying the Mi'kmaq from an early ethnological standpoint, recording linguistic information, oral histories and folklore.[156] The Indigenous nations of North America were erroneously viewed as a vanishing people at this time, and ethnological work trended toward cataloguing a terminal culture, usually with an eye toward the benefits of conversion to western "civilization."

Early to mid-twentieth century writings by authors like Wilson Wallis, Bernard Hoffman, and Alfred Bailey grappled with issues of identity and the ramifications of colonialism.[157] The perspective was still primarily western and colonial, however, many histories relying far more on the archived writings of Jesuits and French explorers than the People's own words. Resistance against the Indian Act in the 1950s and the White Paper in the 1960s, along with the accompanying social upheaval and land claim processes, changed much of the dialogue surrounding the Canadian First Nations.[158] Historical scholarship began to reflect those changes in both approach and tone.

Bruce Trigger and William Wicken took the lead in re-examining the colonial narrative, and they revised it with the aim of redressing old wrongs.[159] Some texts were still primarily ethnographical in nature.[160] Other complex analyses that emerged from the mid-late twentieth century took Mi'kmaw perspectives more into account, returning the Mi'kmaq to a central role in their own histories, as with Harold Prins' discussions of Mi'kmaw cultural survival and resilience.[161] The re-examination has continued in the work of settler researchers, with publications taking apart old mythologies and assumptions in every field from linguistics to geography and concepts of land occupation.[162] Thomas Peace has looked at Acadian-Mi'kmaq relations both in his doctoral thesis and in later research papers, arguing for a diversity of reactions and interactions across different regions of Mi'kma'ki based on differing uses of shared spaces and resources.[163]

The most important change in Mi'kmaq historiography, however, came with the rise of Mi'kmaq scholarship, as researchers such as Olive Patricia Dickason began to reconstruct the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada from the inside out.[164] Her work, along with that of Daniel Paul and William Wicken, has interrogated the impact of the political changes of the eighteenth century on Mi'kmaw communities. Research by Mi'kmaq authors is vital because of their authorship from inside the community, as well as for the strides authors like Paul and Shalan Joudry are making towards decolonization of the format of academic writing.[165] Now re-integrating oral histories and practices of Two-Eyed Seeing alongside written documentation and archaeological findings, Mi'kmaq scholarship is in itself becoming holistic and interdisciplinary.[166]

1.3.4 Dress and Material Culture Studies

The archive has, for the past two centuries, been the general purview of the historian. The main focus of the discipline has been using the documentation left by previous generations to tease out events that have shaped the current state of the world, and to understand the processes of change which led a system from one state to another.[167] The benefits that texts give, however, can also be their limitation. Covert and overt bias is an intrinsic part of any written record, whether because of an issue of restricted literacy, problems in human communication, the writer's access to information, or manipulation of facts to further political or personal agendas.[168] Sparser documentation leaves room for conjecture, and it is here where other forms of evidence play a greater role.

Material culture studies—the study of objects and how they can expose human social history and culture—evolved in the later twentieth century out of a series of concurrent streams of inquiry. Historians looking for information on smaller-scale economic trends looked to consumption studies, while art historians, curators and archaeologists began to seriously explore the layers of cultural meaning embedded in the objects they recovered, collected, and interpreted.[169] Research into the nature of objects as commodities drew on theories of capital and production, tying the concept of an object's value into its use within monetary exchange.[170]

Fernand Braudel and the French school of historians focused on the implications of individual choices in their economic histories, encouraging this newer interest in the small-scale and personal.[171] A shift in focus in the 1980s from the means of production to the end users of goods was bolstered by a concurrent rise of interest in consumerism

studies.[172] Social history followed suit, historians such as Peter Burke turning attention toward the processes of history and the systems of social engagement which were historically the purview of anthropology.[173] Anthropological theory entered the field through the work of scholars including Mary Douglas and Arjun Appadurai, forging a new interdisciplinary bridge.[174]

From there, the study of consumer behaviour pushed out along three specific trajectories: how the movement or possession of material goods indicated or conferred status, how demand for fashionable objects changed manufacturing and other economic patterns, and the role of the individual in constructing meaning for objects within their spheres of awareness.[175] Kenneth Ames' interpretations of objects as texts for the reading of daily life honed that focus on construction of meaning, drawing in theories of social communication and semiotics which would become a much heavier focus in later object-directed research.[176]

Archaeologist Lewis Binford emphasizes archaeology as the appropriate site to begin explorations of this kind, despite resistance from other disciplines. He describes the potential present in the way cultural systems were reflected in a society's material goods.[177] Three goals within archaeology that can be extended in turn to object-driven material culture studies, James Deetz argues, are, "the reconstruction of culture history, the reconstruction of past lifeways, and the identification of the processes of cultural change."[178] Ann Smart Martin describes all of these artifacts as coming "with their own grammar," one that can be read and understood once enough context is known.[179] It is through a combination of physical analysis and cultural reading of both conscious and

unconsciously communicative items that unwritten social relationships, hierarchies, and priorities can be made visible.[180]

We may reasonably comfortably situate the point of disciplinary transition from economics and consumption studies to object-based research in the mid-1980s, when material objects became seen not only as by-products of political and economic action, but as collections of symbols, fused into physical, tactile form.[181] The interdisciplinary model of object-driven historical research began to truly find its legs in the late twentieth and early twenty-first-centuries.

Object-based research

There is a distinction between object-centered analysis and object-driven analysis. The former had been the purview of art historians, curators, and archaeologists for decades prior to making the interdisciplinary links. Close examination of a single object was generally descriptive at this stage, with research focused on the materials, methods of production, condition, and general aesthetics of an item, while archival work focused on filling in the historical context.[182] The shift toward a more sociological form of examination moved concurrently with the shift from economic to consumer studies in history and the "new new historicism" of the early 1990s.[183]

At its core, object-*driven* research takes an item or an assemblage of similar objects as its starting point, treating them—as Ailsa Craig describes—as "vessels of meaning" rather than agency-free carriers *for* meaning.[184] The discipline is primarily concerned with the process of finding and explaining the connections between objects and human experience: objects become source texts in their own right, explored for evidence of

social relationships.[185] Anthropology and material culture studies scholarship has turned toward the wide range of information which can be gleaned from object-driven analysis, particularly in modern anthropological contexts.[186] In historical archaeology, entanglement theory has been a subject of much recent discussion. Material culture studies takes objects as a starting point, while entanglement theory looks at the webs of connections which range between objects, humans, and the relationships of dependency and possibility that result.[187]

A number of theoretical takes may be considered in the study of dress, including symbolic interactionism; semiotics, or the reading of symbols embedded in objects; and class or gender-based analyses of consumption.[188] Each of these frameworks draws new information out of clothing and choices in dress, which can then be utilized during the kind of object-based analysis used by art historians, curators, archaeologists, and textile specialists.[189] Textiles are now understood to contain as much symbolic meaning and transformative power as any other ritual or utilitarian object.[190]

The notion of embodied information and physical communication draws upon semiology, but also engages with historical projections of clothing as an extra layer or boundary to the body.[191] Dress becomes an individual communication within a broader culturally-imposed "grammar," an indicator of training and socialization required for the creation of socially acceptable personal appearance.[192] Choice of clothing both affects and is affected in turn by the entanglements that individuals and groups have with their political and domestic environments. Sociologist Dick Hebdige supports this suggestion, framing dress choice as part of a continuing conversation about power and status relationships, self-fashioning, and moral pressure.[193] Extant articles of dress can bring us

as close to the once-corporeal body as diary entries can to the original mind of the author, a surviving shed skin that maintains the shape, habits, and priorities of the person who lived within.

Western theoretical frameworks, however, tend to place strong emphasis on a disjunction between the material and the immaterial, and C. Pinney points out the assumptions in that artificial divide.[194] Object-driven social analysis bridges the gap built in to that problematic ontological dualism. Jules Prown's concerns about the difference in deliberate and unconscious communication through art and everyday objects are addressed in Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson's recent edited collection, also the first volume of analysis to bring material culture into the forefront as a means of exploring pre-modern lives.[195] The value of objects as primary sources for everyday lives in particular requires reconsideration of the ways in which the immaterial can be revealed by the material, particularly revealing for the lives of those not commonly uncovered in traditional documentary research.[196]

Early discussions of dress also followed economic lines, considering fashion as a tool used to indicate social status and rank, prevent the blurring of socio-economic boundaries, and as part of a pattern of jockeying for social power.[197] The incorporation of Ferdinand de Saussure's theories of signs and semiology and Barthes' application of semiotic research to fashion writing shifted the conversation from clothing as passive object to active participant in the production and dissemination of beliefs and values.[198] Hebdige brought this notion of encoded subtext deep into physical spaces, where objects contain and disseminate embodied messages of their own, while literary analysis often reads clothing items as agents of physical and spiritual change.[199] These embodied

messages can be reflected into the world of dress, where the placement of boning or the uses of different closures reshape the boundaries of physical movement.[200]

The Problem of Method

One of the major discussions in both material culture studies and entanglement theory is that of defining a repeatable methodology. A number have been proposed and tested over the previous three decades, though none have, as of yet, been generally accepted.[201] Most begin with an object or collection of similar objects of which a series of questions can be asked. Those questions range from the very physical (material, size, etc) through to the social place (affordability, availability, etc).[202] Refinements to the method tend to focus on making the questions more specific rather than questioning the need for question lists at all.[203] Critiques of object-driven analysis come from various directions. A discussion from Schlereth and Ames introduces questions of data survival, the representational nature of surviving objects, and most particularly, the repeatability of this particular subset of subjective analysis.[204]

Interdisciplinary theoretical structures (for there is not yet one established scaffold or methodology for explorations of this sort) may focus on the broader picture, as seen in studies of consumption and movement of goods, or on object-based research which digs deeply into the life cycle of a single item or connected group of items.[205] Integrated theories have suggested a 'meso' level of theory that rests at the intersection of these respective macro- and micro-levels of analysis, allowing for a focus on the community level, and the intersections of human beings with theoretical systems in a more concrete way.[206]

There is, as of yet, no solid and universally-accepted methodology for dress studies, nor even for object-based material culture studies, but there have been a series of attempts made to develop a repeatable process.[207] Beginning from a museum and conservational context of physical analysis, dress studies scholars have incorporated contextual analysis, literary analysis and symbol systems, quantitative analysis, studies of production, documentary and database work, and combinations of all of the above.[208] Much of the debate has focused on how to balance the various intersecting parts, foregrounding objects while at the same time keeping the discussion's focus firmly rooted in the spaces between the physical, historical, and theoretical.[209]

While knowing how, when, and where an item was used and how it was valued is important, we need to continue on, and dig deeper into the symbolic values it embodies, and systems in which it participates. The drive in the search for a methodological framework has, in part, been informed by a desire to eliminate as many biased factors from consideration as possible, creating a repeatable, consistent *scientific* structure for future projects.[210] The narrowing focus presents a problem, however, in that the more rogue factors we try to eliminate, the more of the complexity is stripped away. Entanglement theory provides a potential remedy, positing a framework which embraces the complicated nature of material culture.

Dress theory

The first suggestion in western academia that dress could be used as a source for information on socio-economically-driven behaviour, gender, and consumption came in the 1830s with author Thomas Carlyle's serial novel *Sartor Resartus* (The Tailor

Retailored), featuring a protagonist whose magnum opus was a dissertation on the influence of clothing.[211] In the early 1900s sociologists Thornstein Veblen and Georg Simmel suggested that it was possible to place fashionable dress within a formal theoretical framework.[212] The place of fashion fully within a feminine realm at this stage, however, contributed to the sense that fashion and dress studies were shallow, or even frivolous, and true attention was not directed this way again until much later in the century.[213]

Dress studies evolved from the intersection of material culture studies and textile studies, primarily out of work performed in the 1980s and 1990s by scholars such as Anne Hollander, Adrienne Hood, and Anita Rush.[214] Hollander's work on the intersections of dress, bodies, and art focused almost exclusively on the ways in which textiles and the body intersected in visual art. Her foray into dress studies, however, established absolutely the importance of the semiotics of dress in fashioning an understanding of the world.[215] Anita Rush synthesized the growing argument at the time that changes in dress could be linked directly to social phenomena.[216] Around the same time, Anita Campbell was evaluating the viability of domestic and textile-related sources for use in object-driven research and material culture studies, opening up the potential for not only theoretical but hands-on engagement.[217] The consumerism-driven narrative thrust of social sciences in the 1980s appeared in dress studies as analyses of fashion, demographics, and changes in the marketplace.[218] These economically-driven analyses grew commensurate with the rise of "power-dressing"—the very title of the phenomenon suggesting the inherent meaning ascribed to the style—and "fast-fashion," focusing on the social histories of particular classes of commodities.[219]

Those works blossomed in the last decade of the twentieth century, and the Spring 1990 volume of the Material Culture Review was entirely devoted to research with textiles as source objects.[220] Dress studies appear to have launched into the academic mainstream at this point. Adrienne Hood's literature review and discussion in that same volume decries the lack of integration of artifact study with traditional historical research, and lays out a potential methodology for the same.[221] That search for a consistent method echoes that seen with material culture studies as a whole, a variety of techniques proposed which began with the same type of physical analysis.[222] Variations included the impact of the body and the imprint of that body on garments and associated artifacts, and the body itself as a vital locus of information for costume studies.[223] Severa and Horswill determined that the changes made in clothing both by and to accommodate the moving human body could be read in an analytical—and more importantly, replicable—way.[224]

Janet Arnold's intensive study of surviving articles of early modern English clothing developed meticulous records of the cut and patterns for garments, as did both Elisabeth McClellan's study of early settler dress and Dorothy Burnham's similar work with Indigenous North American dress.[225] Laura Peers and Laurier Turgeon's separate archaeologically-based works studied the use of single objects as the embodiments of a journey, rather than a single moment in time—Appadurai's "cultural biography" in action.[226] Sociological and anthropological theory was not yet a deep part of this interdisciplinary study. On the other side of the humanities, textiles were approached as sources for ethnographic research and visual anthropology, in some ways reminiscent of the economic fashion study of the previous decade.[227]

The move towards theoretical work can be seen in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, with theorists including Alexandra Palmer and Mary Brooks expanding object-based studies into a more multidisciplinary framework, integrating close object study with images of the object, use patterns, documentary, and archival evidence.[228] Garments themselves were being read as texts, elements of literary critique informing projects, and object-driven research and conservation expanded into interdisciplinary spaces, with mixed results.[229] In response to accusations that historical research did not involve the application of theory, Pederson, Buckland, and Bates discussed the nature of dress studies theory overall, drawing on existing material from literary critique, sociology and social anthropology as a starting point.[230]

Given the vastness of the subject in question, there is a certain inevitability to the multiple theories and methodologies that have emerged in dress studies over the past fifteen years. The search for the core components of the field continues in some spaces, while others work at the edges, incorporating premises from other disciplines on an as-needed basis.[231] Current research directions include focus on global and trans-national movement of designs; on the embodied nature of dress and dress research, re-integrating the practical experience of construction and wearing of garments; exploring curatorial and display spaces and the connections between clothing and the built environment; and extensions of research methods previously focused on western dress—considered for a long time to be the only real "fashion," in counterpoint to the "static" nature of folk or ethnic dress—to other regions of the world.[232]

CONCLUSION

This thesis contains four different streams of thought that weave together and complement each other. First, as is primarily discussed in chapter two, the idea that clothing choices and aesthetics do not emerge from a vacuum. A variety of influences shape decisions about what to wear. Geography, climate, environment, religion, social pressures, age and expectations surrounding gender all contribute, as do factors including access to materials, participation in local and international trade, and the economic status of the individuals responsible for purchase and production. Identifying and understanding those factors is vital to any discussion of dress, which styles become popular in a given time and place, and how individual aesthetics and choices are shaped.

Secondly, based partially on context and partially on current streams of thought in material culture and dress studies, this thesis presents a methodology for determining the nature of clothing worn in a given context when the articles themselves no longer exist for study. This methodology relies on artifacts discovered in both archaeological and historical contexts—found in the ground and passed down through the generations, respectively—as well as a complete review of available documentation and exploration of the contexts described above. When the wardrobes themselves cannot be found, this data can be used systematically to find the edges of the missing pieces. This is explored in chapters three through six.

Thirdly, this thesis interrogates both the competing notions of Acadia as a series of isolated settlements of French-accultured colonists on the outskirts of empire, and the suggestion that Acadian culture was a fully realized ethnicity distinct and separate from

surrounding peoples prior to the deportation. The evidence suggests, rather, that the Acadians in at least some Nova Scotian settlements were engaging with contemporary fashion and the transatlantic marketplace. Their contexts indicate more participation in colonial French and English culture than previously indicated through examination of documents alone. Adding the evidentiary base of the artifact assemblages opens up new directions for discussion, and provides evidence that Acadians were consciously using clothing as a means of communication, as well as a tool for cultural and economic connection.

Finally, the environment, geography, and new cultural context in Acadia had triggered a series of changes in the Acadian vernacular. Driven by different values than those seen in the seigneurial system that continued to exist in New France, and at least a little bit inspired by their amiable contact with the First Nations, Acadian dress styles changed to better reflect their new conditions in their new world. Beyond that, the evidence also suggests that there was more than one Acadian dress vernacular, as the assemblages found differ between the sites examined here. Beaubassin, Belleisle, Melanson, and the Acadian families resident in Louisbourg are all that little bit different from each other. That set of differences might well have continued to grow and develop over time, but the process was indelibly altered thanks to the traumatic events of the deportation.

These changes demonstrate a shift away from early modern French emphasis on particular styles and manners which helped define the social structure of the Ancien Régime. Literature and manners instructions of the time emphasize the role of dress and comportment in defining and demonstrating identity, and the emerging Acadian clothing culture disrupted those closely held systems. In so doing, Acadian dress was partially

responsible for the growing perception of Acadians as a group whose values had drifted from those of the continent.

This thesis examines the nature of the Acadian clothing vernacular through the materials and documentation pertaining to four main archaeological sites, with supplemental evidence from others as appropriate. It will show that a new and distinctive style of dress was developing prior to the deportation, but that style was much more nuanced and influenced by contemporary New England and French fashions than previously believed. Some of that style was tied to trade patterns, some to geography, and some tied to potentially deliberate code-switching based on presentation to external viewers.

The following chapters will examine the geographical and historical contexts of the locations, the archaeology and how much of the sites have been explored, then move into the goods themselves, individual and familial connections and relations, and the possibilities for movement between the sites. Far from being isolated, the Acadians were indelibly connected to the wider Atlantic commercial network, and the global network of things. Studies have been done along these lines on foodways, glass, and architecture, and now this thesis adds clothing and dress-related artifacts into the discussion. The things worn on the body, whether made locally or imported, have a great deal to say about the world in which the Acadians lived, and the ways in which they engaged with that world and the other groups of people living in it.

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[1] Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown, 1 July 1791, cited in James Hannay, "The Acadian French," in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, ed. W. B. Tobin, vol. 1, 1881, 133.

[2] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Evangeline : A Tale of Acadie* (Boston: William D. Ticknor & Co., 1847). The quotation in the thesis title is from Frederic S. Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), 20. On meeting an Acadian on the road in 1859: "Innovation has certainly changed him, in costume at least, from the Acadian of our fancy."
[3] Jeanne Arseneault, *Le Costume Traditionnel Acadien* (Caraquet, N.B.: Self-published, 1979); Ronald Rudin, *Remembering and Forgetting in Acadie: A Historian's Journey through Public Memory* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Christina Keppie, "Understanding the Meaning of Acadie," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'etudes Canadiennes* 45, no. 1 (2011): 200–227.
[4] Ian Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 35–36.
[5] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale : The Life of Martha Ballard* (New York, NY: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1990); Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 1 (1998): 3–38; Zara Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk: Hidden Histories of the British Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).
[6] "Material entanglement is a metaphor that tries to capture the contradictory messiness of the heterogeneous flows and counter-flows that produce, enchain, and encompass entities (humans, animals, things, ideas, social institutions)." Ian Hodder, "Material Entanglement," in *The Encyclopedia of Archaeological Sciences* (American Cancer Society, 2018), 1–5; See also ; Ian Hodder, *The Meanings of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (Harper Collins Academic, 1991); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991); Kurt A. Jordan, "Colonies, Colonialism, and Cultural Entanglement: The Archaeology of Postcolumbian Intercultural Relations," in *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, LLC, 2009), 31–49; Ian Hodder, "Wheels of Time: Some Aspects of Entanglement Theory and the Secondary Products Revolution," *Journal of World Prehistory* 24, no. 2 (2011): 175–187; Hodder, *Entangled*; Ian Hodder, *Studies in Human-Thing Entanglement* (Stanford, California: Ian Hodder, 2016); Lindsay Der and Francesca Fernandini, *Archaeology of Entanglement* (Left Coast Press, 2016).
[7] The vocabulary surrounding entanglement theory is one of its weaknesses. The term 'thing' was chosen to create a remove from the usual passive associations we often have with the word 'object,' especially since entanglement theory does not deal only with physical objects. In order to find a term which encompasses individual people, groups of people, existing physical objects, abstract concepts, and relationships between all of those, it was necessary to go very general—and in so doing lose a great deal of nuance. I use 'thing' here in italics to indicate the definition as used in entanglement theory, in the hopes of providing clarity.
[8] Hodder, *Entangled*, 95.
[9] That is to say that every *thing* has dependences: preconditions that must be in place for the thing both to exist and to be needed. The existence of a car presupposes the existence of wheels, for instance, as well as sheet metal, factories, and paved roads. This holds true for non-physical concepts as well. The concept of a child being illegitimate first requires the idea of legally-defined marriages, the social desire to restrict sexual couplings, and some notion of personal property which leads to inheritance.
Along with dependences, Hodder argues, things also come with affordances, the consequences of their existence. New connections and dependences stem from engagement and trigger further relationships of their own. Once an object has been culturally integrated, the behavioural patterns of the humans who interact with it change so that suddenly being without it would cause visible disruption. These entanglements themselves change over time, as new technologies, modes of interaction, and societal rhythms evolve. (See Hodder, Entangled, 42-44, 101; and Hodder, "Material Entanglement.")
[10] Hodder, *Entangled*, 94–97.
[11] Margaret Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," Manuscript Report Series 80 (Ottawa: National and Historic Parks Branch, 1968); Brenda Boutilier and David J. Christianson, "'Clothing Artifact Group,' in Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," Curatorial Report 48 (Halifax, N.S.: Nova Scotia Museum Publications, 1983); Brenda Dunn, "L'inventaire de La Veuve Plemarais, 1705," *Les Cahiers, Journal of La Société Historique Acadienne* 25, no. 1 (1994): 27–37;

Brenda Dunn, Sally Ross, and Birgitta Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," Curatorial Report 87 (Halifax, N.S.: Nova Scotia Museum Publications, November 1998).
[12] My deep and abiding thanks to Dr. Cottreau-Robins for introducing me to the concept of entanglement and how it could inform this thesis.
[13] Longfellow, *Evangeline,* 12.
[14] Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Social Skins: Orthodoxies and Practices of Dressing in the Early Colonial Lower Mississippi Valley," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (October 1, 2001): 173.
[15] Loren, 173; Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 370–75.
[16] Loren, "Social Skins," 176; See also Sophie White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians': Cleanliness, Frenchification, and Whiteness," *Journal of Early American History* 2, no. 2 (2012): 111–149; Neal Ferris, Rodney Harrison, and Michael Vincent Wilcox, eds., *Rethinking Colonial Pasts Through Archaeology* (Oxford University Press, 2014).
[17] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 92–94.
[18] For arguments in favour of interdisciplinary methods as a means of addressing the silo effect in modern western academia, see Moti Nissani, "Ten Cheers for Interdisciplinarity: The Case for Interdisciplinary Knowledge and Research," *The Social Science Journal* 34, no. 2 (January 1, 1997): 201–16; also see; Andrew Barry, Georgina Born, and Gisa Weszkalnys, "Logics of Interdisciplinarity," *Economy and Society* 37, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 20–49; Jerry A. Jacobs and Scott Frickel, "Interdisciplinarity: A Critical Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (July 6, 2009): 43–65.
[19] Allen F. Repko, *Interdisciplinary Research: Process and Theory* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2008), 185.
[20] Gregory Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise? : Comparing Rural Societies in Acadie and the Loudunais, 1604-1755* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 26.
[21] Hodder, *Entangled*.
[22] Hodder, 18.
[23] The data analysis for this thesis was done via Excel spreadsheet. I am currently working with a software developer to engineer a query engine and interface, for this and similar databases, that will simplify and streamline what was originally a more intuition-driven process.
[24] See Beaubassin assemblage, lot 7B12V4.
[25] Stephen W. Silliman, "Disentangling the Archaeology of Colonialism and Indigeneity," in *Archaeology of Entanglement* (Left Coast Press, 2016), 44.
[26] For a non-exhaustive list of the major primary archival sources on Acadia, see "Acadian - Library and Archives Canada," accessed May 2, 2019, https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/history-ethnic-cultural/Pages/acadian.aspx.
[27] Nicolas Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, Publications of the Champlain Society 2 (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1908); Antoine Laumet de Lamothe Cadillac, *Extracts from a Memoir of M. de La Mothe Cadillac, 1692, Concerning Acadia and New England, from the Archives of Paris.*, trans. James Robb, vol. 6, Collections of the Maine Historical Society (Boston, MA: n/a, 1859); Robert Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly," *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* XLII (July 1906): 217–33; Sieur de Dièreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France : dans laquelle on voit un détail des divers mouvemens de la mer dans une traversée de long cours : la description du paÿs, les occupations des François qui y sont établis, les maniéres des differentes nations sauvages, leurs superstitions, & leurs chasses : avec une dissertation exacte sur le castor* (A Amsterdam : Chez Pierre Humbert, 1710); Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France Relation derniere de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 10 mois ença* (Project Gutenberg, 1612); Abbé (Guillaume-Thomas-François) Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Amsterdam, 1773); Jacques de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte" (1686), Série C11D. Correspondance générale; Acadie. Vol. 8, f. 49, Library and Archives Canada; Charles Morris, "Breif Survey of Nova Scotia [Sic.]" (1748), MG 18 vol. F.4- F.10, Library and Archives Canada; John Clarence Webster and Joseph Robineau Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other*

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[103] It is possible to continue outward to a fourth stage where each of those concepts are further explored in a pan-human and global context, exploring the nature of deep structures and the rise and fall of economic, religious, and social systems. That is the stage at which this work becomes unwieldy, and difficult to conceptualize.

[104] A companion project to develop a software interface for this and similar databases is underway, drawing from the techniques used for this thesis.

[105] Caplan, "Yvon LeBlanc, Architect Fortress of Louisbourg"; Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)"; Andrée Crépeau, "Lot Summaries Melanson 17B: 17B2" (Melanson, NS: Parks Canada = Parcs Canada, 1985), Parks Canada; Crépeau and Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)"; Dunn, "L'inventaire de La Veuve Plemarais, 1705"; Brenda Dunn, *A History of Port Royal/Annapolis Royal, 1605-1800* (Halifax, N.S: Nimbus Publishing, 2004); Brenda Dunn, "History of the Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Settlement" (Parks Canada Agency, 2007); Brenda Dunn, "Acadian Architecture in Port-Royal," *Heritage/Patrimoine* 5, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 10–13; Harper, "The Fortress of Louisbourg: A Report Of Preliminary Archaeological Investigations Carried Out In The Summer Of 1959 under Contract with the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources"; Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg"; Anne Marie Lane Jonah, "Unequal Transitions: Two Métis Women in Eighteenth-Century Île Royale," *French Colonial History* 11 (2010): 109–29; Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux"; Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1"; Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2"; La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg"; La Grenade, "Le Costume Civil à Louisbourg Au XVIIIe Siècle"; Lavoie, "The Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Beaubassin Region in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick"; Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy"; Lavoie, "Les Acadiens et les 'Planters' des Maritimes"; Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology"; Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de

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[107] Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," 68.
[108] M. Chris Manning, "The Material Culture of Ritual Concealments in the United States," *Historical Archaeology* 48, no. 3 (September 2014): 62–64.
[109] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)"; See June Swann, "Shoes Concealed in Buildings," *Costume* 30, no. 1 (1996): 56–69; Dinah Eastop, "The Conservation of Garments Concealed within Buildings as Material Culture in Action," in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*, ed. T Hamling and C Richardson (London: Routledge, 2010), 145–56; Manning, "The Material Culture of Ritual Concealments in the United States."
[110] Manning, "The Material Culture of Ritual Concealments in the United States," 73.
[111] See the Rede lecture, 1959, and the 1964 follow-up, The Two Cultures: A Second Look, for a cogent depicton of the broadening divide between the experimental science and the literary communities in the mid-twentieth century. This division between academic enquiry focused on understanding documents, and that with a grounding in physical matters, continues to the modern day. C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures : The Rede Lecture* (Cambridge University Press, 1959).
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[113] Nissani, 201.
[114] See definitions and expansions in Marilyn Stember, "Advancing the Social Sciences through the Interdisciplinary Enterprise," *The Social Science Journal* 28, no. 1 (January 1, 1991): 1–14; Also see Robert Frodeman, *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Barry, Born, and Weszkalnys, "Logics of Interdisciplinarity"; J. Britt Holbrook, "What Is Interdisciplinary Communication? Reflections on the Very Idea of Disciplinary Integration," *Synthese* 190, no. 11 (September 25, 2012): 1866–67.
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[116] See particularly Holbrook, "What Is Interdisciplinary Communication?"
[117] Nissani, "Ten Cheers for Interdisciplinarity," 211.
[118] See particularly Jacobs and Frickel, "Interdisciplinarity"; Also see critiques in Lennard J. Davis, "A Grand Unified Theory of Interdisciplinarity," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 53, no. 40 (June 8, 2007) and Veronica Boix Mansilla, "Assessing Expert Interdisciplinary Work at the Frontier: An Empirical Exploration," *Research Evaluation* 15, no. 1 (April 1, 2006): 17–29.
[119] Jacobs and Frickel, "Interdisciplinarity," 54–55.
[120] Der and Fernandini, *Archaeology of Entanglement*.
[121] Der and Fernandini, 15.
[122] See Thomas, *Entangled Objects*.
[123] Hodder, *Entangled*, 52.
[124] Hodder, 115–16.
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[127] Thomas Chandler Haliburton, *An Historical Statistical Account of Nova Scotia in Two Volumes : Illustrated by a Map of the Province, and Several Engravings*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, 2 vols. (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Published for Joseph Howe, and Sold by C.H. Belcher, Robert Scholey, London, and Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, 1829); Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie* (Halifax, N. S. : J. Barnes, 1865); Thomas B. Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia* (C. Annand, 1869); James Hannay, *The History of Acadia, from Its First Discovery to Its Surrender to England* (St. John, N. B., Printed by J. & A. McMillan, 1879); Calnek and Savary, *History of the County of Annapolis*.
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CHAPTER 2: GEOGRAPHY, ENVIRONMENT, AND COMMERCE

> *[S]ince the English have been masters of the country, the residents who were lodged near the fort have for the most part abandoned their houses and have gone to settle on the upper part of the river. They have made their clearings below and above this great meadow.*[1]

When it comes to dressing oneself, context matters. Human beings do not make choices in a vacuum, and factors such as the climate and weather, the availability of materials, and social expectations all directly influence what people wear, and how they wear it. These preconditions can be ancient and all-pervasive, like wet winter weather on the north-east coast, or individual and short-lived, as with a wool allergy. Identifying the surrounding preconditions for a region and a people, however, is the necessary first step in building a comprehensive picture of the restraints and affordances which influenced them.

This chapter argues that the geography, climate, political, and social environments surrounding French settlers in Acadia played significant roles in the evolution of their dress culture. Over the course of the decades between settlement and deportation, different groups of Acadians began to differentiate themselves and their dress from each other, as well as from France, New England, and New France. This differentiation was not, as Griffiths has suggested, primarily spurred on by emerging political agency, but by a complex intersection of environmental and social factors.[2] These included the different physical environment from their original homes in south-western France, as well as the changing nature of their contact with the Mi'kmaq, the distances between Acadian

settlements and seats of imperial power, Acadians' commercial position and trade habits vis-a-vis New France and New England, and the influences of the dominant cultures present in the regions from which the original migrants came. Along with all of that, the nature of the families themselves must come into play. Rather than view these groups and their changing senses of self from the top-down, as part of a larger political system, or focusing on the wealth of genealogical data, this discussion focuses more on the networks of families and individuals who made up the core populations of the habitations in question.[3]

Environmental conditions play a large role in what materials are practical and available, and these conditions can include everything from the geography of a region and its climate and landscape, to the available flora and fauna.[4] The moisture content and pH of the soil determines what crops can be grown, for example, as does the quantity of labour available for varying types of agriculture. The presence or absence of calm harbours and cleared trails alter the possibilities for trade, and the size and abundance of fur-bearing animals determine whether one hide or twenty is needed to cover an adult human body. Those preconditions alone, however, are not enough to explain dress choice. The economic realities of a region also play a powerful role, both in the availability of traded materials, the diversity or homogeneity of access to resources, and the nature of existing networks of exchange. Once we have a sense of how materials could be accessed, then we must look at the culture surrounding the medium of dress. In a settler context, that includes the culture from which the colonists originally came, as well as the cultures of the original inhabitants of the region where they settled and the level of exchange that existed between them. Dress and adornment have been used throughout

human history to convey specific impressions of the self and the group, and those constructs, along with gender roles, socio-economic strata, age roles, and the nature of the intended audience for that visual communication all come into play. In order to understand what people wore and why they wore it, we must first explore the world in which they made those choices.

Acadia is often described as relatively isolated, a border land kept separate by the multiple-week travel times from Quebec and France, and the relative dangers of sailing on the capricious Bay of Fundy.[5] The geographic isolation, it has been suggested, made Acadian farmers increasingly vulnerable and self-reliant.[6] Kennedy paints a portrait of large farms working in semi-independent but parallel streams, where trade was infrequent and fluctuating, engaging with New England was a matter of necessity rather than choice, and itinerant traders supplied small amounts of necessary goods that the farms could not provide for themselves.[7] As this chapter will discuss, however, the region was far from being an uninhabited, isolated area. Siknikt (the Chignecto Isthmus) in particular had been a hub for trade and engagement with the outside world both prior to and following the arrival of European settlers.

Acadian occupation spread upward from La Hève and outward from Port Royal in the mid through the late seventeenth century, settlers establishing a series of homesteads and villages along the rivers, marshes, and coasts. The traditional interpretation of engagement between the existing Mi'kmaw communities and the new arrivals was one of peace and mutually beneficial engagement, including intermarriages, mixed settlements, and military assistance against the English.[8] The documentation does not favour large

Figure 2.1: Map of selected Acadian settlements and major locations.

numbers of intermarriages between non-elite Acadians and the Mi'kmaw community, though some families undoubtedly maintained closer relationships than others.[9] Naomi Griffiths describes the arrangement as one of mutual interest, the groups originally tendering assistance and later drifting apart as their political goals diverged.[10] Kennedy envisions a scenario where contact was more limited, especially prior to 1710, when military necessity forced a more active alliance against the British.[11] More engagement certainly took place at fur trading hubs like Beaubassin than would have been seen at predominantly farming-focused sites like Belleisle, but even then the answer is not so clear-cut.

The environment shaped the emerging Acadian material culture, varying by location, access to imported goods, local natural resources, and examples to imitate. Similar in some ways —and in some very different—to the land they had left behind in France, newly-planted French settlers found that they needed to adjust to fit their new home as much as they adjusted their lands to fit them. Andrew Hill Clark's study of the impact of geography and terrain emphasizes the physical aspects, as studies like Jean Daigle's do the economic.[12] The history of occupation and land use influenced trading practices and resource access. Understanding all the moving pieces and reconciling them with the material culture evidence changes those traditional images of Acadia.

2.1 Mi'kma'ki[13]

The Mi'kmaq Nation has inhabited the north east of North America for at least 11,000 years, a date supported by both oral history and archaeological record.[14] Referring to themselves as L'nuk—The People—one tradition says that groups originally migrated

from the south-west of Turtle Island, the continent of North America.[15] Mi'kmaw oral history references three separate pre-contact cultural periods which generally correspond to established archaeological sequences and material culture, and one which straddles the pre-contact and contact periods and the associated societal disruption.[16] Terminology developed by the Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq, the Nova Scotia Museum, and community elders names these periods:

Saqiwe'k L'nuk - the Ancient People (11,500 - 8500 BP)

Mu Awsami Saqiwe'k - the Not so Ancient People (8,500 - 3,000 BP)

Kejikawek L'nuk - the Recent People (3,000 - 450 BP)

Kiskukewe'k L'nuk - the Historic/Modern People (c. 1000 CE - present)[17]

Mi'kma'ki extended over 130,000 km^2, including Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, parts of New Brunswick, Northern Maine, and into the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec.[18] The territory was divided into seven districts, each under the control of a district chief.[19] The Atlantic Maritime Ecozone, of which Mi'kma'ki is a large part, experiences cool summers and mild winters overall, as a result of proximity to the Atlantic Ocean. The relative humidity is high, and the area prone to storms and hurricanes.[20] The soils are highly acidic, which impedes the preservation of organic materials except in extraordinary circumstances, but which supports mixed coniferous and deciduous forest, and a wide range of flora and fauna. Many areas of the highlands are ill-equipped for farming and the short growing season makes agriculture difficult.[21] The lowlands, especially the marshlands of the Chignecto Isthmus and the Bay of Fundy, are much better situated for agricultural use.[22]

The People living in Wabanaki Confederacy territory in the pre-contact Kiskukewe'k L'nuk period were predominantly semi-nomadic.[23] Their annual routine moved them from coastal regions in the summer further inland in winter, and subsistence activities included fishing, hunting, gathering, and small-scale horticulture.[24] Their society was egalitarian and matriarchal, with leadership resting in a hierarchy of district chiefs, grand chiefs, and elders.[25] Social units were comprised of blood relatives and friends, with smaller hunting parties of close family breaking off when necessary. Large groups gathered over the course of the year for larger-scale resource gathering and social exchange.[26] Earlier works on the occupation of Mi'kma'ki can display a Eurocentric bias, describing the pre-colonial area as a "periphery" with little activity of cultural innovation, but more recent scholarship, particularly that which considers Mi'kmaw voices, has corrected that outdated evaluation.[27] Agricultural work cleared land for berry growth and maintained stable game levels. A cultural mandate for sharing resources and communal oversight of lands encouraged policies of stewardship and harvesting only enough to account for current needs, rather than viewing land, flora, and fauna as profit-generating commodities.[28]

While not nearly as extensive as the practices of fire ecology and fire hunting among Indigenous groups further south, the People did have the small-scale practice of very carefully managed controlled burns to change the landscape – clearing space for berry bushes, and firing meadows to improve fertility.[29] Desirable plants were planted and maintained for small-scale use, and regular campsites enriched with compost and burned wood over thousands of years of occupation.[30] Agricultural activities took place throughout the year, including the tapping of maple trees for syrup, and the growing and

harvesting of tobacco.[31] Suggestions have been made that the People also farmed crops like pumpkins and beans, trading them with the Abenaki further south.[32] Hunting grounds were allocated by district chiefs, and prior to the fur trade, protocols were in place for game management.[33]

While the number of villages and families within Kmitkinag (Nova Scotia) at any given point is unknown, estimates of the population for pre-contact Kiskukewe'k L'nuk give numbers of about 3,500 - 6,000 people, while others have suggested as many as five times that amount.[34] Their seasonal rounds following the harvests included hook, spear, weir, and basket fishing in the spring and summer, shellfish harvesting, and collection of seabirds and eggs during the spring, summer and autumn.[35] Winter hunting revolved around moose, beaver, bear, otter, caribou, and other mammals.[36] Travel was primarily along waterways, using cedar and birch bark canoes.

Descriptions of the People's dress at the time of contact come solely from European perspectives, subject to inherent bias and misunderstanding of what they were seeing. Seventeenth-century writings from Nicolas Denys, Marc Lescarbot, and Abbé Biard describe wardrobes based around leather, a preference that began to shift once woolen strouds were made available as trade goods.[37] Denys described men's main garments as loose tunics made from white moose-skin, decorated with red, violet, and blue dyes painted on to the surface in a wide variety of geometric and representational patterns, the colours sealed by pressing with a heated bone in a manner that Denys compares to the gilding process.[38] The tunics were tied rather than sewn, and worn open over a loincloth and leather leggings.[39]

Women's clothing was similar in makeup, albeit covering more of the body. The moose-skin tunics were tied over both shoulders and tied around the waist with a girdle. This was worn with knee-length leggings and sometimes with separate sleeves, tied on at the back.[40] Moccasins were made of old moose leather, elaborately decorated with quill-work embroidery in red and violet.[41] Quillwork and other embellishments were common and prized by French onlookers, as were accessories made from local materials—shell and seed beads, local copper, stone, bone, teeth and claws, and brightly-dyed quills.[42] The ochres and dyes used for painting garments as well as bodies were made from locally-grown roots, bark, and berries.[43] Smaller furs such as otter, martin, squirrel, and beaver were used by everyone for winter wear, and cold-weather cloaks were made of bear, deer, moose or lynx.[44]

European contact came first in small doses, meetings with Basque and Portuguese fishermen in the early sixteenth century introducing new trade goods into Mi'kmaw circles.[45] The arrival of Jacques Cartier in 1534 began an era of wider trade with France, and by 1550 French fishermen were common sights on the coast and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.[46] The fur trade developed alongside the fishery, and these changes began a permanent disruption in established patterns of exchange and land use.[47] The People became dependent on materials being brought in by Europeans, particularly once the quantities of game began to deplete thanks to over-trapping and European encroachment on hunting grounds.[48] Migration patterns changed along with the advent of trading posts, the introduction of alcohol, and the behavioural shift from hunting for food to hunting for trade.[49]

The arrival of French settlers in Kmitkinag in the 1630s effected more changes, both to land use and to exchange and engagement. The precise level of contact and communication between the People and the Acadians is unknown but some knowledge exchange took place over the following century and a half, connected both to proximity of living spaces and the needs of the fur trade.[50] Official records of the Mi'kmaq population from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries era are few and far between, references surfacing in the occasional census and official correspondence, and accurate population estimates and comprehensive records of settlements do not exist.[51] What can be generally assumed from the references which do survive is that contact between the People and French settlers began relatively amicably, with land peacefully co-occupied thanks in particular to different requirements from the landscape.[52] Tensions would begin to grow as the cartographic fiction of 'Acadia' began to usurp the concept of 'Mi'kma'ki,' and the People were drawn further into the imperial struggles for domination over the region.[53]

Culturally, the levels of exchange grew as more settlers arrived, and then diminished in later years as conflict increased, land use came under interrogation, and Mi'kmaw and Acadian priorities diverged.[54] Intermarriage between Acadian men and Mi'kmaw women took place in earlier years, though the question of the prevalence of intermarriage has remained a point of debate. Olive P. Dickason and Naomi Griffiths have argued for a larger number of unrecorded marriages, primarily between women of the People and Acadian men, while William Wicken has suggested that there were somewhat fewer than has been popularly believed.[55] Attempts to use DNA testing to resolve some of the questions have encountered problems with the reliability of commercial services and the

data pools required to make confident matches.[56] What is known is that while colonial officials discouraged mixing, social ties still developed in settlements like Beaubassin, where contact was more frequent.[57] Different settlements saw different levels and types of engagement between the Acadians and the People, those variations influenced by access to resources, the local geography, the populations, and the level of contact between them.[58]

Mi'kmaq settlements listed on the 1708 census appear at Port Royal, Cape Sable, La Hève, Minas, Musquodoboit, Cape Breton, and Chignecto, totalling 836 persons.[59] This is undoubtedly only a fraction of the number of Mi'kmaq living in the region, as not even the agriculturally sedentary Acadians are fully enumerated on the official censuses. In additions, these were summer villages rather than full-year settlements, occupied primarily for trade and community exchange.[60] Populations moved through the spaces rather than settle there permanently, and they were visited by clergy as well as European trading partners. Jesuit missionaries invested a great deal of energy into the conversion of Mi'kmaq communities, and many of them served both Acadian and Mi'kmaq groups during their postings to Mi'kma'ki.[61]

Social engagement between many groups of the People and the Acadians lessened following the British conquest of 1710, and while military alliances against the British saw Acadians and Mi'kmaq working together, British policy and retaliations against Acadian communities increased tensions between the two—particularly in the 1740s and 1750s.[62] The 1720s saw rising conflict between the People and the British in Mi'kma'ki, though the majority of the physical conflicts in the escalation between 1722-1725 took place in New England.[63] The People's drive to push the British out of the region led in

some cases to the Acadians being targets for British retribution, due to the perception of their continued alliance.[64] Hostilities broke out between France and England again in 1744 and the People and the Wabenaki were caught up in the conflict, which ended with the signing of a set of peace treaties with the English in 1749, 1752, and 1760/61, but the ways in which the provisions of those treaties were enacted or ignored set the stage for future problems.[65]

2.2 French Settlement and Expansion

The first settlers in Nova Scotia landed at La Hève and moved north to Port Royal in the late 1630s. The homesteads spread out across the salt marshes on the Bay of Fundy, incoming farmers using dyking technology to claim and desalinate the land at the mouths of the rivers and streams.[66] Agricultural rhythms were ruled by the Fundy tides, the pressures of water and silt settlement creating a tension between damage to the dykes and fields, and re-fertilization of the settling soils inside them.[67] The first seventy years saw slow immigration from various regions of Europe, the majority of the new settlers coming from the west and south-west of France.[68] While some families were connected with European aristocracy, the bulk of the newcomers were labourers, soldiers, and tradesmen.

Originally centered around Port Royal, political conflicts and population pressures encouraged migration away from the centre. Settlers moved along the coast of Sipekne'katik (central Nova Scotia and the Minas Basin) and west to Kespukwitk (Annapolis), as well as north and east into Siknikt (Shepody River, New Brunswick, and Amherst). They preferred smaller kin-oriented villages, often centered around single-

family clusters, rather than larger urban environments.[69] Their engagement with the local Mi’kmaq was stronger in the first decades of settlement, while priorities for both groups shifted in later years. Some settlements had greater levels of contact, including Mi’kmaw family members and neighbours, while others were more isolated.[70] The contact may be described using Rani Alexander’s label of “cultural entanglement,” a “long-term, gradual, and non-directed” process of social and material change as the result of the slow spread of Acadian settlement into Mi’kmaw territory.[71] These situations of mutual influence, neither based on conquest nor assimilation, created a new set of relationships that changed social and cultural relations, patterns of production, and eventually the participants’ concepts of self.[72]

Close to 2500 Acadians were living in the region by 1711, about five hundred settled around Port Royal.[73] Griffiths argues that the twenty to thirty years prior to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the handing-over of the region to British control, was the core of Acadia’s golden age—the point at which Acadian culture and identity began developing into something distinct from that of the settlers’ origins.[74] Her argument focuses on political autonomy as the core of that identity shift, one which solidified later with the evolution of the deputy system under the English.[75] The material culture from this time period and later shows more complex connective tissue between the Acadians and both New England and France.

The next few decades following Utrecht saw shifting population counts around the region as families moved away from Port Royal and spread outward. The British presence did not integrate the Acadians into English society nor did Anglos enter into theirs, contact generally restricted to trade and politics. Church records show few

marriages between British and French residents in Nova Scotia, though Acadians continued to marry French-speaking non-Acadians and some families made marital connections with Massachusetts.[76] Marriages took place between the settlements, with as many as a third of Acadian marriages involving a spouse from outside their own settlement.[77] Prior to 1710 Acadian women married French officers from Port Royal with some frequency, a pattern which continued at Louisbourg after the founding of that settlement in 1713.[78]

Community support based on kinship networks was important, with responsibility for less able members of society falling on their families and by extension their settlements, populated with kin and near-kin. Marriages created and reinforced existing kin-ties, strengthening connections and the system of labour-sharing that was common across Acadia.[79] As Watson wrote, describing marriage customs:

> Whenever a marriage took place the whole village set about establishing the young couple, they built them a log house, and cleared land sufficient for their immediate support, supplied them with some cattle, hogs, and poultry, and nature, aided by their own industry, soon enabled them to assist others.[80]

New immigrants to the region married in to already established networks and connected families, some of which had been associated by marriage prior to the founders' arrival in Acadia in the 1630s.[81] In 1686, Governor Perrot described the common practice for older Acadian parents to divide up their property among their heirs in return for a promise of continual elder care, and spend their remaining days in the household of one of their children.[82] These multi-generational households were common in Acadia and in southern France (less so in northern France), and gave younger parents access to easier childcare and more hands available for light domestic and farm labour.[83] Settlement

layouts and contemporary descriptions show farms with multiple outbuildings, some easily large enough to hold looms and textile workshops.[84]

Average family size estimates tend to rest around six to seven children per couple, with approximately 75% surviving to adulthood.[85] Complete families in the 1752 census (defined as families where one partner is dead or the mother is older than 45) had an average of 6.75 children, and incomplete families an average of 4.1 children, with no family having more than ten.[86] Children tended to be born approximately two years apart, with some cases of twins and even one of triplets, the timing suggesting that Acadian women spent a year nursing each child, with fertility returning after weaning.[87] Wet-nursing would have led to shorter birth intervals, suggesting that it was not a generally used practice. Clark's calculations suggest an average of about twenty arpents per farm in 1693, an average skewed by a number of very large farms forming up around that time.[88] Subdivision of land between adult children and general movement meant that by the time of the 1707 census most of the families were cultivating between four and twelve arpents of land, if they had land of their own.[89]

The traditional image of Acadian settlement as a land of simple agricultural labourers appealed to the imperial designs of both England and France.[90] In seventeenth-century France, particularly those areas from which Acadians had originally emigrated, grain was rarely sold as a cash crop.[91] Rural incomes in places like Brittany often relied instead on the sale of women's labour and that of the goods produced by the female heads of household.[92] Once agriculture had become well-established in places like the Minas basin, however, grain exports became an income-generating activity for Acadia, as did livestock sales for Beaubassin.[93] This different income stream freed up women's labour

to be deployed in new directions, not directed toward spinning and weaving materials for sale, but for community use and personal enjoyment. This change in focus demonstrates some of the shifting priorities of a newly emerging social identity alongside a newly forming political self.

2.2.1 Melanson

The Melanson settlement was established circa 1664, with the marriage of Charles Melanson *dit* La Ramée, son of Pierre Laverdure, and Marie Dugas, the daughter of Port Royal armourer Abraham Dugas.[94] The pair settled on a large piece of land in the District of Kespukwitk, on what is now known as the Queen Anne Marsh on the Annapolis River, approximately six kilometers west of Annapolis Royal.[95] Melanson remained small, with only nine households at peak occupancy. The relative affluence of the residents, however, along with the surviving maps which allow archaeologists to identify specific residences and the preservation of materials from the destruction by fire of the Dugas house in 1707, all contribute to making Melanson a useful window onto earlier Acadian settlements. Most importantly, unlike Beaubassin and the Acadian houses in Louisbourg, the Melanson site remained undisturbed by later settlement activity following its destruction in 1755. The preserved site allows for a more accurate archaeological record of domestic life.

Geography and Environment

The Melanson site is in the Annapolis Minas Lowlands Ecoregion, part of the Triassic Lowlands which span the entirety of the Annapolis Valley.[96] It lies about ten kilometers from the Digby Gut, where water flows from the Annapolis Basin to the Bay of Fundy.

The Annapolis region has significant salt marshes along the coast, with large shellfish populations in the mud flats.[97] Local temperatures are mild thanks to the generally sheltered nature of the area, though snow lasts longer in the winters than further east in the Valley.[98] The region is generally suited for agriculture, particularly once the marshlands were dyked and the water drained, as Charles Morris described in 1748:

> the Villages [are] divided from each other with long intervalls of marshes and they at great distance bounded by Hills covered with Trees the Natural growth of the Country [.] here may be seen rivers turning and winding among the Marshes then Cloath'd with all the variety of Grain.[99]

The People

The region was settled by brothers Pierre and Charles Melanson and their families in the late seventeenth century. The brothers were the sons of a French Huguenot and his English wife, and some of the loyalties at the settlement were impacted by that original heritage. Charles Melanson and his wife Marie Dugas were wealthy respective to other settlers, owning the second largest land concession in Acadia and the largest herd of cattle.[100] They had fourteen children, eight of whom settled on homesteads nearby. Cousins by marriage to families living in Boston, Belleisle, and at Fortress Louisbourg, the Melanson family were at the top of the region's social ladder.[101]

One daughter, Marie Melanson *dite* Laverdure, married David Basset, a Huguenot trader, and moved with him to Boston.[102] Following imprisonment in France for smuggling prisoners of the Governor of Plaisance to Boston, Basset returned to become the master of the English ship *Porcupine,* raiding French sites and privateering up and down the east coast.[103] Basset was one of a large group of traders who brought illicit New

England goods to Acadian settlements in the twenty years prior to Utrecht. Another daughter, Cécile Melanson, married trader Abraham Boudrot, an important merchant with strong ties to Boston, who nevertheless settled near her parents in the expanding Melanson settlement.[104] Following her husband's death and her subsequent remarriage, the widow Boudrot moved away. Their brother Charles brought wife Anne Bourg to live in Melanson around 1701. The Melanson-Bourg house was first excavated in 1983 and was the source of the bulk of the domestic finds from that excavation.[105]

Anne Melanson, sister to Charles and Cécile, returned to the settlement somewhere around 1700 following the death of her first husband. She soon remarried and established a household with second husband Alexandre Robichaud and her four children from her first marriage.[106] Anne's first husband, Jacques de Sainte Étienne de la Tour, had been local nobility, inheriting shared seigneurial rights from his parents Charles de Saint-Étienne de la Tour and Jeanne Motin. De la Tour's shares went to his children by Anne, and Anne Melanson was occasionally styled "Lady Anne" as a result of her association with the de la Tour family. The connections between the Melanson family, Boston money, and the variously elite status of the local seigneurs placed the Melansons in the middle of the economic and political tensions that swirled around the area, especially in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

Charles-le-fils and Anne Bourg

The oldest son of Charles Melanson, Charles-le-fils married Anne Bourg *dite* Jeanne of Port Royal somewhere around 1700.[107] Charles Melanson and Anne Bourg were part of the intricate network of Acadian families that connected the settlements. Among other

ties, his brother Michel was married to her sister Elizabeth, those Melansons living in Beaubassin.[108] Charles and Anne likely settled in Melanson rather than someplace like Beaubassin due to the death of Charles' father sometime between 1698 and 1701. Bringing their household back to the Melanson homestead meant additional support for Charles' widowed mother, Marie Dugas, whose next oldest sons were a good ten years younger than Charles.[109] By 1714 there were nine households in Melanson.[110] This was also the high point for population in the Melanson-Bourg household, as it began to decrease the next year with daughter Marie's marriage to Charles (*dit Boisjoli, dit Bellefontaine*) Godin in 1733. Eldest son Charles had married Anne Granger in 1727.[111] Three more marriages soon followed, Anne marrying Joseph Landry in Port Royal in 1735, while the two brothers, Jean and Pierre, married in 1742 and 1746, respectively.[112] Son Joseph, who never married, likely remained living with his parents as he was deported with them in 1755 and died in Quebec in 1757.[113]

The Melanson-Bourg household was very well-to-do, according to the property recorded on the 1707 census.[114] Their wealth was regularly diminished, however, by attacks from the English. Both attackers and defenders regularly killed livestock—the attackers to use for fresh meat, the defenders to prevent the attackers from taking it.[115] Three generations of Melansons are believed to have been deported on the *Pembroke* in 1755, becoming part of the group that rebelled and seized the ship.[116] They eventually made their way to Quebec where many died shortly thereafter, thanks to waves of illness that swept through the Acadian refugee community.[117]

A map made in 1708 by engineer Pierre-Paul Delabat allows us to place the various members of the Melanson extended family in their respective houses (see Figure 2.2).[118]

Labelled with the names of the individual families, the map also enables us to see just how close the respective dwellings were to one another. Both the Melanson and Belleisle sites show houses built in a strewn landscape pattern, buildings erected on convenient sites as the need arose, a common pattern for colonial and frontier settlements.[119]

Figure 2.2: Detail, Partie de la banlieue du Fort Royal de Lacadie du cost de Lisle aux Chevres [manuscript]. 1:10,400. Pierre Delabat, 1708. Edward E. Ayer Digital Collection (Newberry Library)

Closest to Port Royal of the settlements discussed here, at the mouth of the harbour entrance, those living at the Melanson settlement had easy access to the fort, the official seat of government in the region, and to cultural influences coming in from Europe along with those governmental officers. The Melansons' close association with the La Tour family gave them a certain amount of political cachet, and perhaps some impetus to more fully dress the European part. Their dress items, discussed in later chapters, show some of

the members of this settlement had access to and interest in accessories commonly used by European elite.

2.2.2 *Belleisle Marsh*

The Belleisle marsh held an Acadian settlement and farming community, with inhabitants recorded from before 1679. The marsh was over 700 hectares in size, which gave ample room to support the farms which dotted the area by 1748, most of which were destroyed during the expulsion.[120] On excellent land and near to a large metropolis, Belleisle became one of the greatest settlements in the region during the Acadian occupation.[121] The settlement, built approximately eleven kilometres east of Port Royal on the north side of the Annapolis River, was the subject of major archaeological excavations between 1983-1985 and 2004-2005.[122] The area remained undisturbed by further activity after 1755, leaving the site in good condition for future exploration.

Geography and Environment

Close to and in the same ecological zone as Melanson, the Belleisle tidal marsh made for ideal land to test techniques of reclamation and large-scale dyke-wall construction. The farmers living in and around Port Royal had brought with them an understanding of freshwater and sea coast marshes, and techniques of reclaiming the land that had been refined in regions like the Poitou for generations.[123] The high tides of the Bay of Fundy brought advantages as well as challenges, the high-rising waters keeping the banks free of trees and encouraging the meadows which had so enthralled Lescarbot in 1606.[124]

The People

Marc Lavoie's extensive survey of the property records and censuses from the region shows that the marsh was populated by a small number of families, either already linked by blood or marriage or soon to become so.[125] The 1688 Gargas census lists ten houses and seventy-four people residing at Belleisle, twenty-four of whom were adults, and the Mitchell map includes twenty-four houses in the vicinity by 1733.[126] There are some well-known Acadian names among the residents of Belleisle, including Michel Richard *dit* Sansoucy, merchant Michel Richard *dit* Lafond, and militia officer Pierre LeBlanc.[127]

Guillaume Blanchard owned and worked a property in Belleisle until leaving to travel, founding Village des Blanchard (in modern-day New Brunswick) 1699.[128] He died in 1716, and the census of 1734 lists the land as being worked by Guillaume's son René, his brother Antoine, and Pierre Gaudet *dit* Will Denis.[129] Pierre and Antoine Blanchard had other properties in Belleisle but René Blanchard had no other land under his name, and most likely continued to occupy his father's house in a pattern of generational inheritance that was common in the Port Royal area.[130]

René Blanchard married Marie Savoie, the daughter of his neighbour Germain, and together they raised thirteen children.[131] Blanchard died in 1754, while Marie Savoie survived the deportation and died in Duxbury, Massachusetts, in 1767.[132] The Blanchard family managed a number of plots of land in Belleisle between them, René, Antoine, and brother-in-law Pierre Gaudet *dit* Will Denis in charge of four different allocations by 1734.[133] This made them influential in the settlement, if not necessarily elsewhere.

Two of the Blanchard-Savoie children, a son also named René and daughter Marguerite, never married and likely remained at the homestead. René Blanchard *le fils* disappears from the records after his baptism, but Marguerite Blanchard and her mother both reappear in the civil registry of Duxbury, Massachusetts following the expulsion.[134] Marguerite Blanchard's status as an unmarried woman makes her stand out both in Acadia and in early modern culture in general. Approximately 90% of rural labourers in France married and the rates in Acadia were higher, with "virtually all young men and women" espoused.[135] Living together at the house in Belleisle following René-le-père's death, the widow Blanchard and her daughter then travelled together into exile.

As of the census of 1707, Germain Savoie was farming the land to the east of Pierre Gaudet Sr., the house partially excavated in 2005.[136] Savoie took the land over from his father François, who had been cultivating it since the middle of the seventeenth century. Savoie and his wife Marie Breau *dite* Vincelotte had at least eleven children, one every two years or so in a regular pattern common among Acadian women.[137] Germain-le-père died in 1729 and his sons, including Germain-le-fils, took over working the land.[138] Property transfers between fathers and sons often happened on the occasion of the son's wedding, which may also have happened here.[139] Of the sons who appear in the records, the second-born, François-Xavier Savoie, married Marie-Josephe Richard, whose first cousin was Marguerite Richard (of Lot 2E in Louisbourg, see page 124), solidifying the connection between the families.[140] Marriages within the settlement were common, the children of near neighbours marrying each other with some regularity.[141]

By the time the residents of Belleisle were expelled in 1755, Germain-le-père and Marie Breau had passed away. The two sisters for whom we have records married and

moved to Port Royal and Beaubassin, respectively, their families also travelling to New Brunswick and Quebec following the Expulsion. François-Xavier Savoie and Marie-Josephe Richard had twelve children, seven of them girls. Many would have married and moved out by the 1750s, considering the high rates of marriage and young ages for spouses standard in Acadia at the time. It is not known who resided in the house at the time of the deportation, but of all the brothers, only François-Xavier, Jean, and Charles were still alive and resident in the Annapolis region by 1755.[142]

Belleisle was not an isolated community, sitting just outside of the banlieue of Port Royal and Fort Anne. The residents travelled to Port Royal for church on Sundays, mingled and married with those from other cities and settlements. Unlike the Melanson family, however, the families living there did not have strong familial and social connections to the English or to the local gentry. Many were financially comfortable, but the stratification that still existed in Acadian society led to a different relationship with social display than seen in other areas.[143]

2.2.3 BEAUBASSIN

Documentation survives for Beaubassin's inhabitants despite the settlement's physical distance from Port Royal, though parish registers are incomplete. A series of archaeological explorations have revealed physical evidence of Acadian settlements, some of which remained undisturbed by later English and Planter activity, and a new social network analysis of the region has turned up some interesting cultural patterns.[144] What the assembled evidence shows is anything but an isolated or mostly self-sufficient French village. By the first half of the eighteenth century Beaubassin was a thriving

community involved in proto-capitalist trade, engaging with New England and Louisbourg for more than imports of tools and necessities.[145]

Geographically more distant from centres of imperial influence than Melanson and Belleisle Beaubassin was outside of the radius of territorial control of both the French and the English, and as such, had more social freedom to establish new practices.[146] Set in what archaeologist Sara Beanlands has dubbed the 'Oesgag Triangle,' the space between the Mi'kmaq settlements of Oesgag, Weehekage, and Oegôgômigeg, the region played host to the fur trade and was an important contact zone between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq.[147] The 1686 census showed about one fifth of the population of the area was Mi'kmaw, and they remained a significant local presence.

Figure 2.3: The hillsides of Beaubassin, looking west from the Parks Canada trail over the village site. Photograph by author.

Shipyards and mills sprang up thanks to the easy access to good lumber in the region, and the largest ship ever to be built in Acadia—Jacques Vigneau *dit* Maurice's 100-tonne vessel—was under construction in Baie Verte in 1754.[148] A flour mill and saw mill were

among the earlier buildings erected, constructed from parts brought in by New England merchants.[149] Beaubassin developed a livestock-based economy, engaged in trade with all of the major players in the region, exported goods to other Acadian regions, and included members of prominent wealthy Acadian families as well as those still eking out a subsistence living. Despite its position on what would become a theoretical boundary line between French and English territory, and despite being essentially ignored when it came to matters of Empire, Beaubassin was not an outpost, but a linchpin.[150] Subsistence and luxury goods passed through, Acadians dressed in clothing that followed current fashion alongside garments made according to their own particular vernacular, shipbuilding operations sent boats out, and bartered materials and cash influxes kept the local economy growing.

Beaubassin shows us a society that was more isolated than urban regions in France and New England, certainly, but which was neither self-sufficient nor interested in becoming so. Rather than turning inward, residents of Beaubassin engaged in a multi-faceted material culture, drew influences from the different groups surrounding them, adapted to the local environment and in turn developed their own particular and identifiable vernacular. This marked them not only as Acadians, distinct from other French groups but still able to engage in a form of 'conditional French-ness,' but also distinct from the other major Acadian groups in Port Royal and Louisbourg.

Geography and Environment

The Acadian village of Beaubassin was located at a strategically important point on the Isthmus of Chignecto, in the overall region also known as Beaubassin. The narrow

seventeen-mile span between the Bay of Fundy and the Northumberland Strait made the region the best choice for portages between the two waterways, a pathway used by Indigenous peoples for generations before European contact.[151] Four rivers drain into the Cumberland Basin, running through narrow river-valleys and picking up fertile sediment along their twelve to fifteen-mile long travels.[152] Forested highlands separate the river valleys, providing a source for lumber.

The village was founded between 1671 and 1674 by Acadian migrant Jacques Bourgeois from Port Royal, and by 1750 the isthmus as a whole was supporting a population of more than 2500.[153] Predominantly French-speaking Acadians, the population of Beaubassin also included a handful of immigrants from places like Ireland and Portugal.[154] A number of small settlements spun off from Beaubassin, including the recently-excavated community at Pointe-aux-Vieux, or Low Point, on Malpeque Bay in Prince Edward Island.[155] Beaubassin is perhaps most widely known for the method of its destruction, the village itself burned to the ground by Abbé Le Loutre's followers in 1750.[156] This was hardly an uncommon fate for Acadian settlements in the early eighteenth century, but the main distinction to be made is that unlike other settlements on the isthmus Beaubassin village was targeted by theoretically 'friendly' fire.[157] There were fewer residents still living in Beaubassin than might have otherwise been the case, as many had already moved to the region north of the river, a region administered by the French since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.[158]

The English built Fort Lawrence in 1750 on the southern side of the river, on the land originally occupied by the village, and the French constructed Fort Beausejour in 1751 on the opposing bank.[159] The other Acadian settlements on the south side of the Missaguash

were abandoned once Beaubassin was destroyed and Beausejour built, while those on the north—Pitkoudiac, Chipoudy, and Memramcook—were folded in under the administrative umbrella of Fort Beausejour.[160] This split has for all intents and purposes become the modern Nova Scotia / New Brunswick border.

Figure 2.4: Detail, Bellin's map of Accadie, 1756. BAC-LAC H12/200/1757.

The Tantramar (Tintamarre) marshes on which the settlement was founded are made of fine, tidally-deposited silts and clays which built up over millennia to form level, fertile, saline, and slow-draining areas.[161] Fresh water lakes and ponds are common around the edges. The warm waters of the Northumberland Strait and Baie Verte in the north are separated from cold tidal waters of the Cumberland Basin and Chignecto Bay in the south by the Chignecto Isthmus, and the local climate lends itself to fog banks, moderate-temperature and humid summers, cold, snowy winters, and cool, wet autumns and springs.[162]

Prior Mi'kmaw use of the area had been primarily for the collection of shellfish and other marsh resources, and the fertile soils of the Fundy salt marsh allowed for the planting of shallow-rooted crops in the lands reclaimed by dyking.[163] The region would have been very attractive to newcomers seeking to enclose and work agricultural lands. The meadows were deemed most appropriate for the raising of cattle, as seen in the number of contemporary sources praising the region for precisely that. Administrator Jacques de Meulle was impressed by Beaubassin in 1686, particularly by the grassland so extensive that it "could feed one hundred thousand head of cattle," and its "rolling hills covered in fine hardwood forests."[164] The wetlands and marshes of the southern region of the isthmus were more fertile than the rocky, mixed-forest uplands, and the Acadian settlers made their homes on the edges and low elevations of the uplands.[165] Dyking the salt marshes to claim and desalinate the land turned them into crop-capable fields within an already unique ecosystem, providing more than sufficient arable soil to support settlement.[166] Antoine Cadillac's 1692 memoir described the Beaubassin area as having "meadows as far as the eye can reach from all the shores. There are numbers of little rivers with small valleys, and with pasture-lands to support an infinite number of cattle."[167] Settlements were already in existence by this point, approximately five leagues (~28 kilometers) from the portage to Baie Verte.[168]

Ecology and sustainability aside, Beaubassin was an attractive settlement point for logistical reasons. De Meulles describes a trip of approximately six weeks from Quebec to Beaubassin in October and November of 1686, and another two weeks beyond that from Beaubassin to Port Royal by ship, making Baie Verte and the portage to Beaubassin a natural route and stopping place for travellers from New France.[169] The five hundred

and fifty kilometre run from Baie Verte to Louisbourg through the Northumberland Strait was also safer than bringing ships through the Cumberland Basin with its unpredictable tides. Acting as a crossroads between Acadia and New France, Beaubassin's central location gave it greater reach and influence with other Acadian settlements than the more distant Port Royal.[170]

The People

The first European settler on the Chignecto isthmus was Jacques Bourgeois, who sold off land in Port-Royal in 1672 and moved northeast between 1671 and 1673.[171] Bourgeois was a surgeon, farmer, and marine merchant with a number of boats to his name. The move may have been in reaction to the newly-signed Treaty of Breda (1667), which saw the return of French officials to Port Royal and a change in the power of Bourgeois' father in law, Guillaume Trahan, as local community leader.[172] Or it might have simply been part of the general Acadian migration out of Port Royal in the 1670s and 1680s.[173] Whatever their personal reasons, Bourgeois, together with his wife Jeanne Trahan, three of his sons and two sons-in-law, made his way northeast in the early 1670s to establish a new settlement on the Tantramar marshes.[174] Bourgeois would have been familiar with the area thanks to his prior involvement in the fur trade, and had contacts with local Mi'kmaq groups.[175] After some shuffling back-and-forth between Beaubassin and Port Royal, by 1686 Bourgeois had made a permanent move to Beaubassin.[176]

The 1686 census, the first enumeration for Beaubassin, shows a hundred and twenty-seven settlers resident on the isthmus, across 426 arpents of cultivated land.[177] By this point twenty-two houses had been built on hills near the wooded uplands, and de Meulles

describes each settler as owning three or four main buildings to house themselves, family members, and livestock.[178] Wealth and holdings varied dramatically between the families in the region, from the family of Robert Cottard, with his wife, one young son, two arpents of land and a handful of livestock, through to the seigneur, Michel le Neuf de La Vallière, with sixty arpents cultivated, fifty-three large animals (cows, pigs and sheep), and his own gunsmith hired to care for his seventy different firearms.[179] Some land was held in absentia by those living in Port Royal and cultivated locally, but the bulk of the fields were held and worked by those living at Beaubassin. The majority of families held thirty or forty arpents each—approximately 25-34 acres.[180] A map from 1686 (Figure 2.5) shows settlement activity on the south bank of the Missaguash river, near Fort Lawrence Ridge, but the identities of those homeowners are unknown.[181]

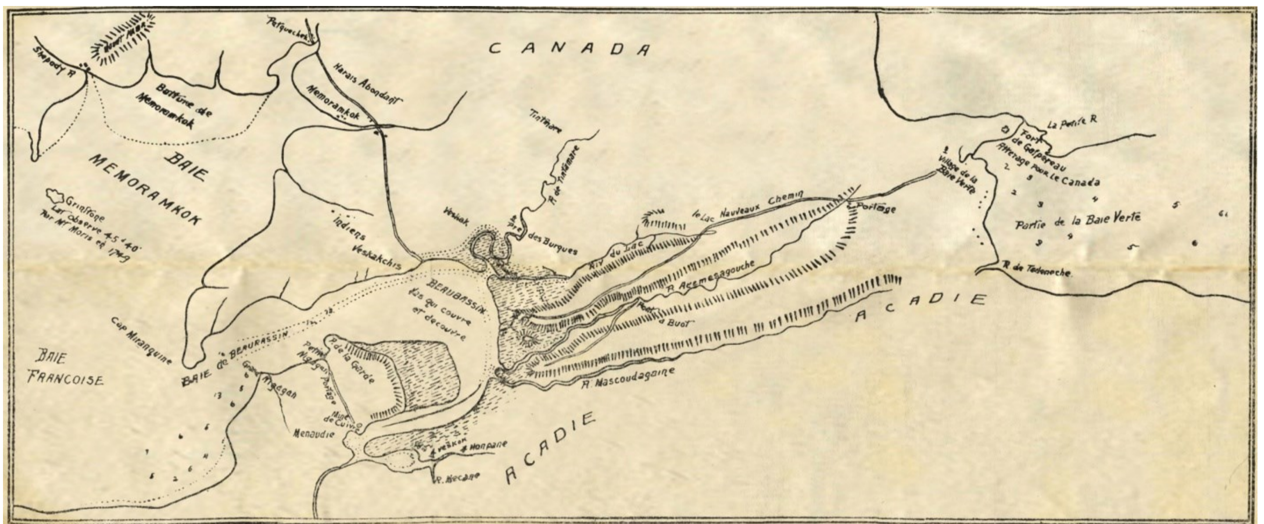


Figure 2.5: Carte geralle du voyage que Monsr. DeMeulles intendant, Jean-Baptiste-Louis-Franquelin, 1686. BAC-LAC H2/900/1686.[182]

La Vallière received the seigneural grant to the isthmus in 1676 and moved there himself in 1705.[183] Over the years he facilitated the emigration of settlers from Canada.[184] These new arrivals adopted Acadian methods of farming, and many women in particular

married in to the growing settlement centered around the original families from Port Royal.[185] While trade with New England was a relatively common thing, the English having been granted fishing permits in the region, the relationship was not always kept amicable. The settlements in Beaubassin were attacked and burned by Benjamin Church and a group from New England in September 1696, despite pleas from Germain Bourgeois based on the history of close trade between the groups. Bourgeois' house was spared, along with a few others nearby, but the rest of the region was sacked.[186] A second English attack followed in 1704, the English burning crops and houses alike.[187]

Beaubassin's extensive meadows made the environment ideal for cattle, and beef production played a major role in Beaubassin's economy.[188] Farmers from Chignecto transported cows into Cape Breton through the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, much to the dismay of British officials.[189] By 1707 the shift in agricultural focus from crops to livestock seemed to be well underway, even as the census region narrowed from all of Chignecto in 1686 to Beaubassin specifically. The number of heads of livestock had more than doubled across all the enumerated categories by that year, and sheep had multiplied by a factor of five.[190] Some of these were undoubtedly kept for meat, though osteological evidence from Pointe-aux-Vieux found a greater quantity of cows and shellfish remains than sheep or goat bones.[191]

The settlement grew relatively rapidly, with a dramatic increase in population after the region came under British control in 1710.[192] Jeffers Lennox's discussion of the pre-1710 period defines Acadia as a collection of settlers making homes on indigenous-controlled lands, within nebulous and ill-defined colonial borders.[193] Beaubassin follows that model. It is after this date that Beaubassin hit critical population mass, becoming —and

remaining—the third largest French settlement in the region, following Minas and Port Royal.[194] The geography of Beaubassin played a vital role in the choice of locations and the ways in which resources were used, the lumber mills, relatively short portage to Baie Verte on the Northumberland Strait, and marine access to both Port Royal and Louisbourg would come to define the role of the settlers there.

Diversity and Indigenous Relations

The population of Beaubassin was a mixed group beyond the Acadians from Port Royal and La Vallière's French imports from Canada. Emmanuel Mirande *dit* Tavare, a Portuguese sailor from the Azores, married Jacques Bourgeois' daughter Marguerite sometime between 1675 and 1680. Roger Caissie, an Irishman, married Marie Françoise Poirier of Port Royal circa 1668, and their family were among the first settlers in the Beaubassin.[195] Michel Haché *dit* Gallant, of mixed Indigenous and French descent, married Anne Cormier, the daughter of the Beaubassin militia captain, somewhere around 1688-1689, and they settled in Ouescoque.[196]

The so-called "Indian census" of 1708 recorded a hundred Indigenous persons living in Chignecto as a whole, though those communities were not in regular close contact with the Acadian population.[197] Multiple concerns arose from the proximity of the communities, including the availability of alcohol and differing attitudes towards modesty and sexual morality.[198] Conflicts grew between the Mi'kmaq and the Acadian settlers over land use and ownership of livestock, particularly escaped cattle or wenjooteam, the "French Moose."[199] The fur trade brought the groups into contact more often in the community's early years, a common pattern for smaller and newer

settlements.[200] Thirty-four Mi'kmaq were baptised in Chignecto in the earlier years of European settlement and were given Acadian godparents during the ceremony, but only four similar baptisms occurred in the entire century that followed, suggesting lessened engagement.[201] Acadians also had some contact with the Malecite of the Saint John River Valley, another source for furs and outlet for trade goods.[202] The French colonial government had vested interest in maintaining a relationship with the Mi'kmaq, one which included gift-giving.[203]

Intermarriage, if it took place in any formal way, does not appear in the written records. No Mi'kmaq names appear on the multitude of censuses taken of the Acadian settlements at Beaubassin. Other than Michel Haché, whose half-indigenous ancestry was noted in his baptismal record, the surviving parish registers show only European names among the newly married couples.[204] Acadian men recorded as bachelors, or those living in the woods and unrecorded on the censuses, may well have had unofficial arrangements with Mi'kmaq women which would not appear in contemporary documentation.[205] However these relationships may have proceeded, they do not seem to have happened often enough or in great enough numbers to have shifted the gender balance in the Acadian settlements through the loss of young bachelors, or to have produced many, if any, children out of wedlock.[206]

Social network analysis suggests that, following a dispersal period in the 1720s, the social hierarchy in Beaubassin strengthened and solidified during the final period of demographic growth prior to the deportation.[207] Beaubassin was not socially staid through the generations of occupation. Status and power relations rearranging as time went on, as newcomers entered Beaubassin society, and other family groupings moved

on. Unlike Clark's assertion in the 1960s that sophisticated European fashions were restricted to the areas close to Port Royal, Beaubassin's residents engaged in contemporary style and engaged directly with the Atlantic marketplace.[208]

2.2.4 Pointe-aux-Vieux, Malpeque Bay

Families came in to Beaubassin and some eventually then migrated outward again. The reasons are varied. Population pressure and the search for more easily available land may have been a motivation, though the intricacies of social networks and the in- and out-groups may have presented some incentives to move on.[209] In the 1720s, the families of Pierre Arsenault, his son Charles, and Jean Lambert made their way from Beaubassin to Malpeque Bay in the northwest of Ile Saint-Jean.[210] Malpeque Bay is a wetland region, a series of salt marshes in a shallow coastal lagoon.[211] The warm, protected waters harbour a variety of fish and shellfish, as well as an abundance of shorebirds and waterfowl.[212] The Gulf of St Lawrence has a moderating effect on the weather, as well as encouraging steady breezes and higher winds.

Censuses trace the growth of the settlement from one family cluster to a thriving village of thirty-two households by 1752, the Arsenault family cluster expanding into a wider set of linked nuclear families and associates. The bulk of the growth came in the 1740s, with migrations from the Acadian mainland proceeding at an ever-increasing pace.[213] According to Laroque's census of 1752, much of the land at Pointe-aux-Vieux, as the settlement came to be called later, was held under grants from Robert Potier Dubuisson, subdelegate of the intendant on Ile Saint-Jean, and king's lieutenant Louis Du Pont Duchambon.[214] Land passed from father to son or to son-in-law, as seen in other

settlements, with a number of the younger residents living on land originally deeded to their parents.[215] Pointe-aux-Vieux was a young settlement and for the short time that it remained can, in some ways, be considered a subsidiary of Beaubassin culture.

Figure 2.6: Detail of Prince Edward Island and the Northumberland Strait, *Nova Scotia. Drawn from surveys by T. Kitchin*. Engraved for the London Magazine. 1747. Note some Indigenous settlements are missing (as per Lennox, p. 152.) BAC-LAC, H3/200/1749.

The first census to record European settlement at Pointe-aux-Vieux was the census of 1728, commissioned by the French government out of Isle Royale. The population was extremely small, the settlement new, consisting of seventeen people from two Acadian families divided among three households moving out of Beaubassin: Pierre Arsenault, his wife Marie-Anne Boudreau and their six children, his adult son Charles with his wife Cecile Breau and young daughter, and Jean Lambert, with his wife and four minor children.[216] The Arcenauds (also Arsenauld, Arsenault, and Arsonneau, among other spellings) remained in the region and became the core family group in the settlement, while other families moved in and out over the course of the next thirty years of local occupation.

By 1752 the settlement had expanded to thirty-two households, many of them including or linked by kinship to members of the Arsenault clan. This is the last record we have of most of these families, many of them lost to history following the disruptions of the late 1750s. The Acadians of Ile Saint-Jean were better able to prepare for their move, having been warned by the events in Grand Pré three years earlier, and it appears likely that the settlers at Pointe-aux-Vieux packed and moved—likely to New Brunswick—rather than remain and wait for deportation orders. The relative isolation of Pointe-aux-Vieux did not stop the settlers from engaging in trade and commerce, as multiple items uncovered during the excavations reveal. Bale seals indicate the purchase of imported fabrics, jewellery and trade beads suggest their interest in external goods as well as personal adornment—lives lived not on the frontier, but a thriving spoke attached to a local hub.[217]

2.2.5 Acadians in Louisbourg

Founded in 1713, the French military outpost of Fortress Louisbourg was a later addition to the coastline of Nova Scotia. Initially known as Havre à l'Anglois, in 1719 Louisbourg became the location for the central French colony on Isle Royale and the home for French fishermen who had moved from Newfoundland.[218] The fishing port subsequently grew to become a major commercial port and a strongly defended fortress. The walled fort itself was built in 1720, and survived as a garrison for the French Navy, protection for Quebec City, and a sea link to France.[219] English conquest in 1745 gave them control of the fortress until it was ceded back to the French in 1748, and English re-conquest in 1758 finally saw the fortress demolished.[220] The inhabitants were primarily French soldiers and officials, fishermen originally from Newfoundland, and eventually, a

number of Acadians who married into French families or who came to live and work at the fortress alongside the French majority.

Documentation from the site of Fortress Louisbourg is quite extensive, as are the archaeological reports and curated reconstructions. Louisbourg was an urban centre at its height, in contrast to the rural farming settlements typified by Belleisle and Melanson.[221] Demographically more diverse than is often assumed, Louisbourg was home to a moderately sized community of Black men—both former slaves and those born free—a few hundred Germans and Basques, a small community of Spanish soldiers at the garrison, and a range of individuals many of whom might not show up in the church or court records—including Catholic Irish, and at least one Jew.[222] The overriding culture was French, and heavily informed by official and trade connections to the metropole.

The original settlement on the site comprised only one hundred and sixteen men, ten women, and twenty-three children, but by 1737 there were 1,436 civilians living in Louisbourg, added to a garrison of approximately 550 military men.[223] As early as 1707 the French authorities had tried to bring Acadian settlers in to swell the numbers, but few accepted the invitation. Reports from the garrison suggest that the isolation made a posting there an unpleasant temporary duty rather than an attractive option for permanent residency, the steady ratio of eight to ten men to every woman not helping matters.[224] The presence of markets, notaries and other services alongside the garrison did make Louisbourg a useful destination for those already local. A few Acadian women married French government officials and military officers who had been stationed at Port Royal, moving with them to Louisbourg following the British takeover. These Acadian women partially integrated into local high society, even socializing with the governor.[225] Other

Acadians travelled to the fortress as merchants or for work such as carpentry or domestic service.[226] A handful of houses in Louisbourg were occupied by Acadians or French inhabitants with Acadian spouses, four of which were excavated during the reconstruction of the fortress by Parks Canada. Beyond the archaeology, these families are special because of the availability of written documentation in the forms of probate inventories, something unknown elsewhere in Acadia.

Figure 2.7: ***Plan de la ville de Louisbourg suivant le toise qui a este fait l'an 1734*. Courtesy of Parks Canada and Fortress Louisbourg. Acadian houses marked.**

Each of the four properties presented some form of evidence related to textile manufacture or manipulation. Town lot 2E in particular, the site of a house on Rue Royale, is the source of all six pairs of scissors which can be positively dated as earlier than 1755.[227] Lot E on Block 2 has been designated the Detcheverry-Dugas Property, and ownership passed through a few hands between 1722 and 1768.[228] The most

interesting are long-term occupants Joseph Dugas and his wife Marguerite Richard, followed by her second husband, merchant Charles St. Etienne de la Tour, the grandson of his famous namesake.[229] Joseph Dugas was a carpenter and first cousin to Charles Melanson *le fils*, resident of the first excavated house at the Melanson site (see *Chapter 2.2.1, Melanson*). Dugas died in a smallpox outbreak in 1733, and his widow Marguerite, grand-daughter of Sansoucy, married Charles St. Etienne de la Tour in 1736.[230] The family appear to have continued to live on Lot E until 1745, when the property was occupied by the incoming English governor.[231] The position of Lot 2E on Rue Royale, close to the bastion and the Maison Lartigue, put it on a busy thoroughfare near the heart of the city.

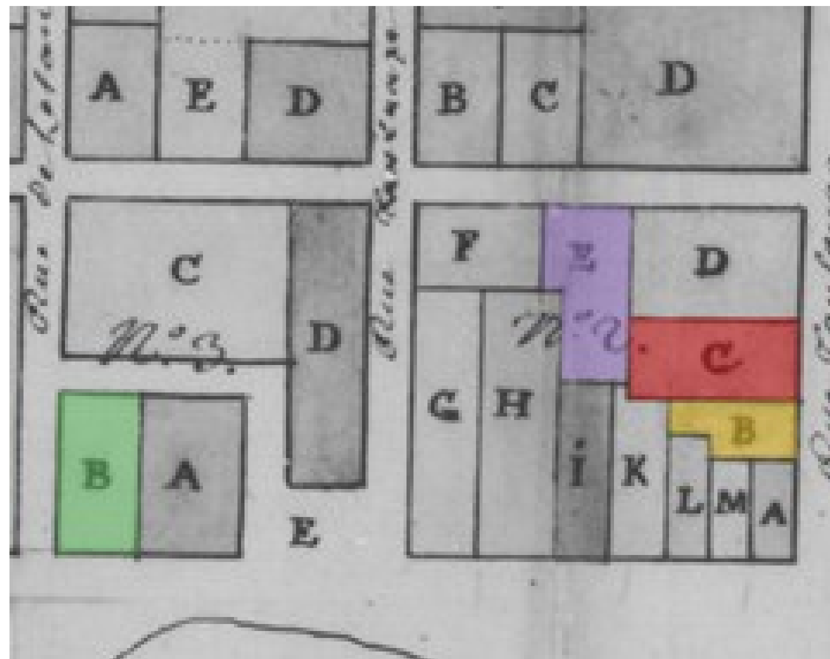


Figure 2.8: Detail of 1734 map, Acadian houses marked. Yellow: Seigneur Property. Red: Benoist Property. Purple: Detcheverry-Dugas Property. Green: Cressonet Property. Courtesy of Parks Canada and Fortress Louisbourg.

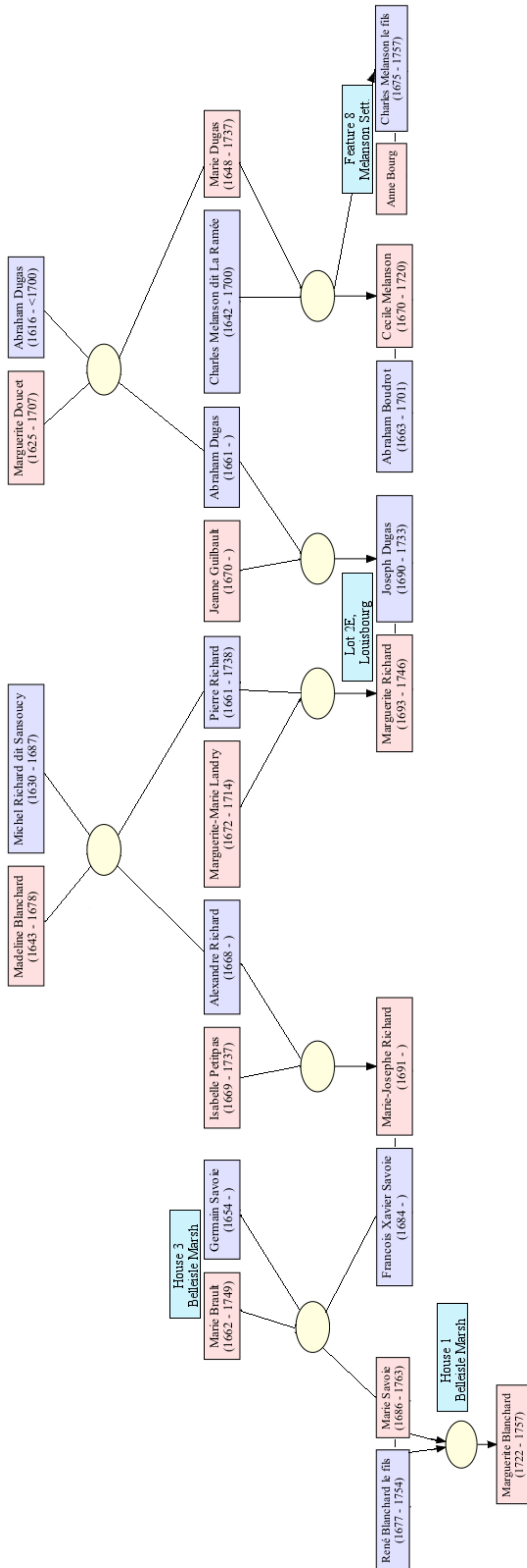
Acadian women married French officers and moved to Louisbourg, and their sartorial presentation changed accordingly. Jeanne Thibodeau, an Acadian woman originally from

Annapolis Royal, married Mathieu de Goutin, the French-born *lieutenant général civil et criminal*, and colonial secretary, the first Acadian woman to marry a French officer.[232] The match was the subject of critique, as de Goutin was from a minor noble French family.[233] Despite their differences in origin—the governor lamenting that de Goutin had married "à la fille d'un paysan"—the marriage appears to have been stable, and produced thirteen children.[234] They lived in France between 1711 and 1714, returning to Isle Royale when de Goutin was appointed as king's notary for the colony.[235] He died that year and Thibodeau remained in Louisbourg with her children.[236] She died a wealthy widow in April 1741 and her probate inventory displays the kind of material environment appropriate for a woman of rank.[237]

Three other Acadian women left inventories behind. Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle was the niece of Jeanne Thibodeau and wife (and later widow) of Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau, a notary and agent of the treasury of the Marine.[238] Marie moved from Port Royal to Louisbourg and engaged in trade and sales, particularly of textiles and dressmaking supplies. The inventories made after Rondeau and Le Borgne's deaths separate out personal belongings from damaged goods from saleable merchandise, giving us a glimpse into the kinds of import/export activities and commodities available to the network of Acadian women and their families in the fortress and beyond.[239]

Anne Levron of Port Royal married Pierre Benoist, an apothecary's son and an ensign in the Louisbourg garrison, in 1713. They set up house in Louisbourg in 1722, in a section of the fortress town which would become a centre for Acadian life.[240] Levron is notable as one of the few Acadians known to have owned an enslaved man. Charles' primary occupation would have been outdoor tasks on the property, cutting wood and

Figure 2.9: Some genealogical connections of interest



tending to the family's fires and stove.[241] He appears as property in Levron's probate inventory, one of more than two hundred enslaved individuals held in Louisbourg.[242] Marguerite Terriau was twenty-four when she became thirty-one-year old Pierre Bouisseau's second wife. His first marriage had been childless and Marguerite bore nine children, three of whom died in infancy. Pierre died in 1755 and his belongings were inventoried together with Margeurite's, as was common practice under French laws.[243] Together, their inventories open a world of documentation unavailable to us for the other Acadian locations.

One major point of interest regarding the relationship between Louisbourg and the Acadian settlers was Louisbourg's position as a hub for trade, both legal and contraband. The volume of goods moving between Acadia, New England, and Louisbourg was treated by many contemporaries as primarily a problem of economic control. New England traders brought cod, French wines and brandy, tobacco, and sugar up from the West Indies, in return for food, building materials, and tools.[244] Acadian farmers' role in the exchanges was the supply of provisions, specifically livestock and vegetables, in return for tools and domestic materials including textiles and ceramics.[245] Trade that had formerly been focused within Minas moved to Louisbourg to take advantage of the bigger markets, and contact circulated further through the area as a result.[246] Charles Morris described the movement of goods between Louisbourg and the Minas Basin in 1748:

> Vessells from Cape Britton Spring and Fall come to Minis... bring Wine, Brandy and Linnings which they can afford four pence and Six pence in a Yard cheaper then our [English] Traders can Possible doe, And Take from thence nothing but Wheat & Cattle which they Kill there & Salt up and from Chignecto... They Drive

> Cattle over to Bay Vert and from thence Transport them... The French Inhabitants haveing the sole Trade with the Indians & what our Traders get is intirely from the French.[247]

Summation

Vibrant parts of a closely interlinked community, Acadian families throughout the Maritimes were connected by blood and by trade.[248] As John Reid originally described, they lived at an intersection of spaces, a crossroads between the French, English, and Indigenous peoples where both goods and ideas circulated with relative freedom.[249] They had access to supplies entering from England, France and the continent, as well as from New England, both before and after such trade was legal. The Richards, Dugas, Blanchards, Melansons, and indeed the Belleisle Savoies, formed a kinship network that transcended the bonds of ancestral villages.[250]

Beyond that, their living environments played a strong role in the ways they presented themselves to the outside world. Embroiled in the politics of the fort and connected through marriage to the seigneurs and to Boston trade, the Melansons engaged with European and colonial power to a greater extent than more-distant Beaubassin. At Beaubassin, a region which had a stronger Indigenous presence long after other regions had been more completely colonized, the Acadians looked to their trade partners and nearest neighbours for style and materials cues, the fur trade and closer contact with Mi'kmaq families shaping their aesthetic in different ways.[251]

Belleisle's settlers and the Acadian families at Louisbourg, while linked by kinship ties and similar in terms of wealth, engaged with fashion very differently. Louisbourg was a French urban environment, one in which Acadians moved but did not control, and

their dress choices, as will be shown in later chapters, reflected that rural-urban difference. Louisbourg also had far greater access to trade goods than Belleisle, and the patterns of that trade and commerce in general shaped the material culture of the settlements in different and complementary ways.

2.3 COMMERCE

Traditional mythology surrounding Acadia portrays the settlements as isolated farmsteads, eking out a pastoral living far away from the dramatics of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century imperial politics. This derives from seventeenth-century descriptions as well as modern nostalgia, as we see from the Abbé Raynal: "The neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbors, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves ; because each separate family was able, and had been accustomed to provide for its own wants."[252] Despite this description of self-sufficiency, however, trade was a vital part of the Acadian economy as well as a means of maintaining and strengthening contacts with other communities.

This section examines the realties of trade in three regions with an Acadian presence—the Chignecto Isthmus, the Minas Basin, and Fortress Louisbourg. It argues that each region played a role in the kinds of goods circulating through Acadia, the network of merchants, their families, connections, and suppliers entangling Acadia in a web that extended from Montreal to Indonesia. The goods and ideas that moved along that web brought new possibilities and entanglements of their own.

Trade has a variety of functions, from the very practical and surface level goods-and-services subsistence level, through to the more esoteric and nebulous. A single exchange

is never only about the specific items being bought and sold. Each item passes through and is transformed by the process of becoming a commodity, the act of acquisition itself marking the goods as something different, often more valuable, than a homemade equivalent.[253] Fundamentally, the movement of goods through a space impresses the space upon the goods, and the goods upon that space.[254] The arrival of copper kettles with Basque whalers in the sixteenth century, for instance, changed the material landscape of the east coast First Nations. Not only did it alter direct physical behaviour such as burial practices, but the presence of the copper kettles added the visual beat: 'here is something new.' 'Here is something From Away.'[255] Trade goods can be understood as a means of staking out territory. The presence of certain items in a network indicates that the origin points of those goods have influence, even if only in the minds of rivals. English strouds become a signpost for the British empire in this way, taking a space in the textile market denied to French woolens.

Borders of contact regions pushed outward along with the goods even when not followed by the people, some of the signifiers of foreign-ness remaining even as goods and their primary meanings changed hands and shapes.[256] Bringing French-ness into Mi'kma'ki, European traders and the settlers who followed were part of a wave of visual takeover, the new people-shapes on the land different in silhouette, colour, and detail than anything that had been seen there before. Those visual cues followed them into the forests, where explorers and traders also took on the clothing and body modifications of the Indigenous peoples they encountered.[257]

Many Europeans felt a growing anxiety about the young men who shed their clothes to join the Mi'kmaq, a reaction that had its grounding in early modern understanding of how

clothing shaped and built both individual and collective identity.[258] Those anxieties suggested that the action of putting on Mi'kmaq clothing could move young men from one cultural identity to another, making them lose their European natures under the influence of leather breechclouts. The reverse was also considered true. Encouraging the Mi'kmaq to wear linens and dress in European fashions was seen as a means of "civilizing" them, alongside religious instruction and conversion. Like with the sixteenth century English, sending linen shirts to Ireland to "civilize" the Irish, Indigenous children were given fashion dolls dressed in European clothing (see figure 2.9), and gifts of shirts and yardage were common.[259]

These attempts did not prove effective with everyone. While Abbé Biard had described Mi'kmaw use of French clothing in 1612, in 1691 Father LeClercq explained Mi'kmaw women's disdain for most articles of European women's fashion:

> They say they cannot make themselves like this dress, and that it would be impossible for them to walk or to work freely with the clothes of our Frenchwomen. In a word, they are so enamoured with their own, that they are not willing even to hear ours mentioned.[260]

Rejecting the physical pressures of stays and long skirts, the Mi'kmaw women whom LeClercq encountered maintained their own styles of dress—undoubtedly more practical in woodland spaces. Under this model, spreading European clothing as the ideal and bringing the visuals of French clothing into Indigenous spaces became a challenge for psychological territory. Identification with the French by way of French goods, and more so, the changing of the Mi'kmaq inner self into something Frenchified, became a marker of psychological conquest for one side. Those taking the goods and reworking them to fit

within their own perspectives and processes, on the other hand, may have seen that transformation in an entirely different light.

Figure 2.10: Detail from *Mother and Child of the Secotan Indians in North Carolina*. John White, 1585. (British Museum, London) [Public domain]

Acadia became an outpost of empire in this way, the settlers a vanguard intended to bring the land under control. Maps were used to create and reify geographical boundaries, as Jeffers Lennox has so deftly explained.[261] In the same way, dress placed a European stamp on the land, the sight of farmers in skirts and trousers creating the pastoral landscape so closely associated with modern civilisation in the period.[262] The baroque curves and gingham squares of imported textiles brought the aesthetic of India and Indonesia to Acadia alongside those of England, Italy, Spain, and France, the visual evocation of distant shores alongside the continued intrusion of European gentility into Indigenous spaces.[263]

Trade and Dress

Acadians began with wardrobes comprised of imported fabrics and garments but did not remain exclusive to them. They made their own textiles, but those materials did not entirely replace imports, particularly those such as silk and cotton which could not be made locally. Settlements furthest removed from the forts held on to wool for longer, while Acadian women in more urban areas had added more silks and cottons by the second quarter of the eighteenth century. They also incorporated local materials and goods, weaving the threads of local and Indigenous fashions into their own vernacular. These changes from the fashions of the French countryside changed the impact of the Acadian presence. By letting go of some of the markings of imperial clothing culture, incorporating what they learned and found around themselves, they created their own language in this different battleground. This can be seen as an act of resistance toward imperial incursion, a modification in the plan as though to say 'we are different now, we are from Europe but no longer *of* Europe.'

Changes in Acadian dress over the course of their occupation relied partially on their own skills as homesteaders, but also heavily on trade. Mercantile trade was less overtly about empire-building than diplomatic trade envoys, but the results remained—objects becoming commodities, moving into new spaces, and taking on multiple and varied meanings as they changed hands.[264] The paths the goods took, the hands they passed through, and the intents of the ends users all contributed to the meanings they accumulated along the way. Jean Daigle mapped out Acadian trade patterns and partners between 1670 and 1711, and other patterns can be traced through later documentation

from trading partners, materials from the port at Fortress Louisbourg, and the archaeological record.[265]

Documentary evidence shows the extended web of Acadian connections to the outside world—through trade, legal action, and family connections spreading out to Louisbourg, Massachusetts, and beyond. Travel time between Port Royal and Boston was much shorter than the distances to either France or Canada, encouraging the high rate of often illegal cross-border trade into New England (see figure 2.1).[266] Mercantilist histories have been well-covered for this region, and there is no need to replicate those works.[267] What is important is understanding the types of goods being brought into Acadia, and the resonances that those imports had within local society.

Jean Daigle describes Acadian trade interests as a means of staking out their geographical claims in the face of external pressure, a desire to bind themselves physically and emotionally to their land by ensuring their survival upon it.[268] Goods taken out of the colonies, if they were not unique to the colonies, were at a distinct disadvantage in European markets due to the excessive cost of transport added on to the cost of production. If there were "like comoditys from England, Ireland and other places" available, those would be sold at a third the markup or less, making it not cost-effective to ship those common goods back in return.[269] It made more sense to trade local goods locally, into Louisbourg, Acadia, Canada, and New England, rather than run up surcharges which could not be earned back. Local markets and exchange became vital, some urban merchants like Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle promoting their goods through their own bodies, displaying their wares on themselves. Their presence in these

spaces became advertising for the fashions and accessories, and as a declaration of connection to the sources of production.

Acadian self-sufficiency was a fiction, convenient in order to boost the image of Acadia as an isolated paradise that would soon be ready to export surpluses to the metropole. Some households were able to provide enough wool and linen for their own use, particularly in the eighteenth century once the settlements and pasture lands were well-established. Some textiles—knitted stockings, in one example—were made available for trade and sale, but not in large quantities or to make any major profit.[270] What weaving for exchange did, as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich argues, was open up space for families to engage in more lucrative forms of commercial trade.[271] Within settlements, where one herd or field could not supply enough raw material, groups of families could combine both their supplies and their labour. This was an established pattern of cooperation, especially in the early years when so much work was also required to construct the dykes on the marshes, build homes, and establish viable farms.[272]

Taking wool as an example demonstrates how necessary trade was to not only the survival but the economy of Acadia. The old assumption has been that the Acadian herds were their main source of wool and woolen textiles, and contemporary descriptions support this belief. Villebon describes the Acadian fleeces as of very good quality and writes in his memoir that "the clothing worn by the majority of the men and women is made of it."[273] His descriptions from 1699 suggest that most of the wool clothing worn in the Minas Basin was produced from local materials:

> As for the women they are always busy, and most of them keep their husbands and children in serviceable linen materials and stockings which they make

> skillfully from the hemp they have grown and the wool produced by their sheep.[274]

Haliburton concurred thirty years later, with a very similar description from Abbé Reynal: “Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep ; with these they made common linens and coarse cloths.”[275] De Meulles reported much along the same lines:

> La plupart des femmes font elles mesmes des Etamines dont elles s’habillent et leurs maris aussy, Elles font presque toutes des bas pour leur famille et se passent den achepter; Ils ne se servent tous que de sousliers sauvages qu’ils font eux mesme;
>
> Il vient tous les ans dans ce leiu une barque angloise au mois d’avril qui leur aporte de leurs petites necessitees qu’ils acheptent pour des pelteries qu’ils ont eu des sauvages. Il sy fait aussy de la toille de lin.[276]

The overarching narrative in all these cases is the self-sufficiency of the households, with the traders bringing in luxuries or ‘small necessities’ that could not be manufactured locally. However, far more fabric was required to clothe the growing populace—not to mention the textiles needed for blankets, table linens, bedrugs, bags and wagon covers around working farms—than the sheep population could reasonably supply.

Table 2.1: Wool yardage needs in Acadian settlements

1707 census	Men	Women	Children	Sheep	Minimum annual yardage req’d (clothing only)	Estimated wool yardage available / year
Cobequid	28	22	32	121	844	305
Mines	159	148	265	718	5342.5	1795
Beaubassin	72	71	127	500	2492	1250
Port Royal	160	149	238	1245	5291	3115

Basic articles of clothing for an average sized adult would take somewhere from three or four yards for a woman's skirt or a pair of men's trousers, to upwards of eight or ten for a full formal gown or men's working outfit with jacket.[277] Adrienne Hood has calculated that it would have taken approximately sixteen and a half yards of fabric per year to create and maintain a basic wardrobe for a working man, consisting of a good suit, five shirts, two pairs of trousers, two pairs of drawers, a waistcoat, and a coat.[278] A woman's basic wardrobe required thirteen yards, and by incorporating hand-me-downs, a child could be clothed for about three yards a year. A family of six, by these numbers, would need on average about forty-two yards of fabric per annum in clothing alone to maintain basic levels of coverage and cleanliness.

Sheep were introduced to Canada in 1664, and prior to that all wool fabric would have to have been imported or brought in with the arriving settlers. The 1671 census counted 407 head in Acadia, and bone evidence strongly suggests that these animals were being used for wool rather than as a primary source of meat.[279] A variety of factors contributed to the quality of a sheep's fleece, including the breed of sheep, the nature or existence of enclosures, and overall nutrition.[280] English wool is described as superior due to its longer staple, making it possible to use for flatter wools like worsteds, suggesting the French fleeces had shorter fibres.[281] This is corroborated by Watson's description of seeing Acadian women "carding" fleece, as carding was used for short-staple fleeces and their resulting woolens, while longer-staple fleeces for worsteds required the use of combs.[282]

The sheep were shorn once a year, as Perrot described in 1686, and that would generally net somewhere between one and two pounds of wool for spinning, depending

on the quality and cleanliness of the fleece and the skill of the shearer. [283] Each pound of wool yielded enough thread for between one to two and half yards of finished wool cloth, depending on the thickness of the threads, the width of the cloth, and whether the wool was fulled. The fulling process thickened and compressed the fabric and made it close to waterproof, but reduced the yardage by about one quarter both lengthwise and widthwise.[284]

The early years of the Beaubassin settlement must have seen either a dearth of new clothing or a higher quantity of imported textiles, as the number of sheep counted on the census would not have produced enough wool to clothe the settlements.[285] By 1707 there were almost twice as many sheep as there were people in Beaubassin. Some, usually younger families, had no livestock or only three or four sheep, while others had as many as thirty. Three brief case studies may serve to demonstrate more clearly exactly what those numbers mean in terms of local production:

Roger Quessy (Caissie) and his wife Marie Poirier owned six sheep as per the 1686 census, but by 1707 their four sons, all of them married and with children of their own, owned forty-six sheep between them.[286] Marie's six sheep, sheared once a year, could produce six to fifteen pounds of wool for spinning, yielding her potentially between twelve to thirty yards of finished wool cloth of one form or another. With very careful management and the extensive use of hand-me-downs, as well as accommodations made for the flax and hemp she may have been growing and processing for linen, the high end of that estimation is barely enough to clothe her family of seven for the year. Her household economy would have to be extremely carefully managed and rely on gifts, second-hand clothing or imported textiles to achieve a basic standard of living. The

Quessy family would have needed to purchase at least fifteen yards of fabric per year from elsewhere in order to survive.

Their neighbours Pierre Mercier and Andrée Martin—and the ten children they had between them—had no sheep in 1686, meaning that all their wool fabric would have had to have been sourced from elsewhere. That situation must not have been ideal, as by the 1693 census they had acquired a flock of fourteen as well as married off their oldest child, reducing the number of people in the household.[287] Fourteen sheep could potentially have given them up to seventy yards of unfulled wool for clothing, or six and a third yards per person per year. Not quite enough for fancy dress, but enough for each member of the household to have a new skirt or jacket (or knitted mittens and stockings) each winter and spring.

Pierre Hebert's family, on the other hand, had thirty sheep in 1707. Their fleece would have been enough raw material to be made into a hundred to a hundred and twenty yards of finished cloth, far more than necessary to clothe Pierre, his wife and their two sons. Wool is not a notable export from Acadia, so this extra fleece would have been part of their household economy—shared, sold, or bartered between families, either as fleeces or prepared rovings. Spinning was woman's work, and the lack of daughters in the family meant a serious dearth of female labour to process the fleece into thread, unless Mme. Hebert took in daughters from other families as helpers and informal apprentices. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich describes that kind of household production as part of an invisible economy, labour contributed to a household that was not recorded, but which allowed the household to participate in trade and other commercial ventures nevertheless.[288]

As per the 1707 census of Acadia, the last for which we have livestock data, none of the settlements were producing enough wool to meet their basic needs. Even if we allow for a full half the quantity of required clothing textiles to be filled with linen and imported cottons, only Port Royal and its surrounding settlements could fulfil their minimum wool needs with local production. That extra material had to come from somewhere, and that gap was filled by trade. Wool arrived as an import, red and blue cloth listed on a cargo manifest along with knitted wool stockings, and bale seals found at Belleisle, Beaubassin, and Pointe-aux-Vieux confirm the presence of bolts of fabric from multiple European sources.[289] The New England colonies were forbidden to export wool textiles as of 1699 so all legal imports to Acadia were coming from Canada or Europe, and the illegal movement of textiles through smugglers was both common and prolific.[290]

Metallurgical analysis and chemical studies are required in order to situate surviving metal goods most accurately within what Adrienne Hood and Giorgio Riello have termed the "world of goods," tracing their movements from forging to sale and into the hands of the end user.[291] While that level of work is out of the scope of this particular thesis, we can look at the general movement of goods of the same type through the Atlantic world to see the types of connections these items may have brought with them into the sewing boxes of Acadia. While Daigle's work focuses on the economic realities of Acadian trade, defining their willingness to engage with outside trade as a means of survival, the material culture which developed moved beyond economics and into the question of identification.[292] The goods the Acadians brought in shaped their sensory world, the variety of materials and what they did with them becoming the canvas on which to create a new tapestry of their own.

2.3.1 Allies and Smugglers

From earliest days of the colony—long before the marshes had been drained and crops established—through to the import of supplemental and luxury goods in the later years of the settlements, ships of all sorts found their way to Acadian trading posts.[293] Official support for that trade varied as borders shifted and land changed hands, clandestine exchanges continuing even after various control measures were invoked. English merchants coming up from Boston were threatened with sanctions in the 1670s when fishing permits were revoked to get the English out of French waters, and Acadians complained heavily about losing the New England sources for "small necessities."[294]

The precarious nature of dealings with France in the years prior to 1710, and subsequently with England, led the Acadians to maintain their relationships with everyone they could in as balanced a way as possible. As empires rotated in and out and legalities changed, Acadian traders reaffirmed their policies of surface-level accommodation and backup sources of materials, through Louisbourg, Boston and Mi'kma'ki.[295] Merchants like Henri Brunet travelled back and forth between Plaisance, Acadia, and Boston, establishing ties between the locations.[296] Acadian merchants moved in and out of Boston's harbours as well, taking goods on consignment and in some cases petitioning for redress for wrongs suffered across the putative border.[297] Farming, weaving, and domestic tools that were not being made in Acadia were being brought in from Massachusetts in the early years especially, Boston merchants like John Nelson making annual trips to "La Baye Françoise."[298]

Many residents of Acadia between 1671 and 1707 traded with New England, despite the illegality of such trade prior to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.[299] Governor Meneval was accused of encouraging English trade with Port Royal, and Villebon describes English ships coming to Port Royal to trade semi-openly between 1693 and 1701.[300] Clandestine trade was not isolated to the governors. Jacques de Meulles' 1685 report on Beaubassin describes supply runs coming in from English traders, with whom the Acadians traded local furs in return for tools and other useful goods.[301] In 1707, a canal was proposed to cut across Siknikt in order to put an end to the trade, "which now is all done by the English, and which is quite considerable, since each summer three or four ships from Boston, sell at whatever price they want to charge, all their merchandise to the inhabitants."[302]

After Utrecht

On 24 November 1720, Governor Philipps of Acadia wrote to the Commissioners of Customs, reporting on legal trade with Boston: "Trade considerable, by four or five sloops from Boston, bringing English woollens and W. Indies goods for furs and feathers. Value £10,000" as well as the illegal: "French settlements up the Bay carry on clandestine trade with C. B. Garrison too weak to prevent."[303] This was still continuing in 1734, and L. Armstrong reported on it on 13 September:

> There is clandestine and unlawful trade in the province, to the detriment of trade and the prejudice of the fair trader, C. is empowered "to Examine into these Unlawful practices and to take and bring into this Port all Such Vessells and the Masters thereof Whether they be foreigners, Strangers or subjects that are not qualified to Trade in this province According to Law" : to be there further examined.[304]

Intimately connected to leading Acadian families, traders brought tools, fashions and new aesthetics back and forth across the Atlantic harbours.[305] Beyond familiarity with trade goods, the local land and resources, and their connections with urban life, settlers would also have remained familiar with the tools and skills brought to Acadia by their great-grandparents.[306] Techniques for patterning and making clothing, woodworking, knitting stockings—all of these would have been part of the original migrants' repertoires, the cultural knowledge of home and one of the foundations for the skill sets and equipment generated and used by families in Acadia decades later.[307] Combined with new materials, new tools, and advances in technology, their styles, tastes, and techniques changed with that exposure.

2.3.2 Trade in Chignecto

The Siknikt region—later redubbed the Chignecto Isthmus—began as an extension of Acadia, European involvement originally focused on mission work and fur trading. The arrival of Jacques Bourgeois and his family—followed by LeNeuf and his colonists—in the 1680s changed the balance in the area, though Beaubassin and the surrounding settlements did not become politically relevant to England and France until rival forts were built in the area in 1750.[308] Like many Acadian settlements, Beaubassin was dismissed as unimportant in the grand scheme of things. Unlike many, its location, demographics, and geography made it perfectly positioned to become a trading hub and a centre for commerce that flew under the radar of imperial interests.[309]

In 1686, Jacques de Meulles described his experiences in Chignecto with the English merchants who persisted in sailing north from Boston in order to sell commodities to

Acadian locals. His concerns focused on the problems this trade created for the future of New France, since the distance required to bring goods from Quebec to Acadia was far greater than the short sail between Boston and Port Royal, or Boston and Beaubassin. A canal, on the other hand, cutting across the top of the isthmus, would create "une belle Rivière" for Quebec's ships.[310] Not coincidentally, this maneuver would also diminish the importance of the portage route between Minas and Baie Verte, the primary route by which goods were moved by Acadian middlemen from one end of the region to the other. The suggestion was discussed at multiple points, primarily as a means of reducing travel time between Acadia and New France—and, not inconsequentially, reducing Acadian trade with the much-closer New England. Despite interest from various involved parties, those plans never came to fruition.[311]

France's continued perceived lack of interest in maintaining strong economic connections with Acadia prior to 1710 helped to reinforce Acadian connections with local trading partners, from whom they nevertheless received European goods.[312] Massachusetts had strong connections and interest in Acadia, both politically and economically, and in the early years trade connections continued to be forged and exploited between the two regions.[313] A number of known merchants with ties to Port Royal and Boston were based out of Beaubassin or travelled there regularly, including Robert Hale of Boston, Jacques Bourgeois who founded the original settlement, and Zacharie Richard, son of Michel Richard *dit* Lafond, who also transported Acadian goods for export.[314] Bourgeois, a surgeon and ship owner as well as merchant, was partially funded by John Nelson, the nephew of Boston resident Thomas Temple, himself a former Governor of Nova Scotia.[315]

Settlers from Beaubassin made trips into Port Royal to purchase and trade for fabrics, among other merchandise. Some of the goods acquired in Port Royal would then be brought across to Baie Verte for the next leg of the journey and sailed down the Northumberland Strait to be traded again in Louisbourg, along with isthmus-raised cattle and grain.[316] European goods came in from Canada by way of Baie Verte, or through the Minas Basin by Boston and Acadian traders.[317] In 1718, Captain John Doucett, English lieutenant-governor of Annapolis Royal, described trade between the French in Louisbourg and Acadians in the Minas Basin which undercut English traders bringing in the same materials: "The French from Cape Britton Bring Wine Brandy and Linnings which they can afford four pence and sixpence in a yard cheaper than our traders can possibly doe."[318] The trade included textiles and had been going on in both directions since long before the British takeover: "They [the Acadians] furnish't [the fort] with Cattle and other Live Stock and took in Exchange; Rum sugar Cotton Molasses Wine and Brandy."[319]

The things most in demand were "Little ordinary Stuffs" of British manufacture, like "Woolings, as Strouds, and Duffles"[320] We get more of a description of these British imports from Governor Phillipps in 1731, noting the textiles were "Cheifly Red and Blew strouds, Kerseys and stufs of various kind and Linnens."[321] This circuit had more stops—the settlements at Pentagouet even after the fort's destruction in 1674, Louisbourg, Boston, and Canso.[322] Boston merchants like Peter Faneuil and Joshua Scottow brokered deals with Acadian go-betweens and proxies to get goods in and out of restricted regions.[323]

By the 1740s, some households in Beaubassin were producing clothing articles for export. In June 1743, Michel Richard's son Zacharie took out a cargo including 30 to 40 pairs of woollen socks "fabriqué a laccadie," and five women's skirts.[324] Hosiery was in demand in Montreal, a welcoming market for items like stockings.[325] The difference from fifty years prior is noteworthy, when Charles LaTour was bringing "Two dozen halfe stockins" *in* to Acadia for sale in 1696, or 1707 when the number of sheep in the settlement were barely enough to cover the region's own needs.[326] Richard's manifest is the only one to include manufactured clothing, though it is unlikely to have been a single-instance anomaly. Other surviving inventories from Acadian traders listed oats, wood, and large numbers of livestock as commodities being delivered to Louisbourg in trade.[327]

A 1715 report from Michel Bégon, brother -in-law of Jacques de Meulles and Intendant of Quebec, recorded that Acadian traders preferred to sell to New England traders rather than locally, as they received better returns. English traders were also offering employment, both as middlemen and as interpreters, an "Arsenau" from Beaubassin mentioned in particular as someone employed in that capacity.[328] Other dealings included trade with Gorham's Rangers, a British-allied Ranger unit more normally found on the opposite side of conflicts from the Acadians, a potential conflict of interest which didn't seem to bother the Rangers, or the more than half-dozen Acadian men with transactions in the Rangers' record books.[329]

Images of maritime trade with the Acadians often involve picturesque ideas either of laden galleons sailing into port from France and England, or small smuggling ships zipping through enemy harbours under the dark of night, trying to avoid the watchful eyes of the opposing navies. They also engaged in far more sophisticated trade practices,

particular to that given time and place. Regis Brun references the multitude of small shipyards and mills which sprang up throughout Acadia in the early eighteenth century.[330] Boat-builders were still being hired from Boston in 1671, the Acadian boat-building industry not yet at the point where they could manage themselves. By 1719, however, Captain Doucett reported that Acadian traders were purpose-building sloops to be loaded with cargo, sailing them to Cape Breton, and selling both cargo and the ships to dealers located there.[331] Letters from de Brouillan, governor of Ile Royale, to Doucette in that same year describe the Acadian-built vessels as "little ships… [which] they were obliged to sell almost for nothing to English merchants" due to a lack of rigging.[332]

This was not always the case, however, as records show that in 1743 Beaubassin resident Pierre Cyr sold his 45-tonne ship 'Marguerite' to fellow Acadian J Vigneau for the remarkable amount of 2800 pounds.[333] Jean Vigneau had been involved in large trade in previous years, selling a single 11-tonne ship (the Sainte-Jean) to Ruellen & Chaufaux for ₤1738—more than the net worth of many entire households in Ile Royale.[334] The transactions are reported in terms of total cost, but it is more likely that something other than cash was in play. Walking back home to Baie Verte with ₤2800 in cash on one's purse would have been difficult, if not dangerous-to-impossible at the time, but partial payments and sophisticated arrangements such as mortgages were certainly known at the time.[335]

Some of that cargo was textiles, as in the knitted stockings being produced for export mentioned above, but the bulk of the export items moving out of Beaubassin and Minas were cattle. They were brought to the fortress alive (or, "on the hoof"), slaughtered and salted on-site.[336] Beaubassin could not and did not supply all of the beef consumed at

Louisbourg; Cape Breton had some of its own cattle producers, and military officers as well as civilians kept livestock for their own uses, including cattle and pigs.[337] Using ships built locally gave them a cost advantage over other traders, the Nova Scotia wood used for masts, yards, and bowsprits was less expensive than buying shipbuilding materials from abroad, as was local labour.[338]

Not only a pass-through and a waypoint for European goods, Beaubassin's location in Siknikt, as well as its founder's experience with the fur trade and pre-existing relationships, made it an ideal location for trade with nearby Mi'kmaq groups. Discussed in greater detail below, the exchanges involved imported wools, trade silver, and furs. That regular contact introduced new contexts for communication through apparel, helping to shift the Beaubassin sartorial vernacular away from that seen in other Acadian settlements.

2.3.3 Trade in Fundy

The Acadians in Port Royal were heavily involved in trade with Boston, a major supplier for goods that Acadians either could not or did not produce on their own.[339] Evidence from both Melanson and Belleisle confirms that the homesteads there were neither isolated nor self-sufficient. The wide variety of ceramics styles present in the assemblages, the pottery from Saintonge, and the presence of English lead crystal alongside French and German artifacts confirm the Belleisle settlers' active participation in contemporary Atlantic trade networks.[340] The trade was not clandestine or hidden, but very much commented on even in New France. In 1671, Intendent Jean Talon wrote to

Jean-Baptiste Colbert with a proposal to redirect Acadian trade from New England to New France, by making those "little necessities" available:

> It is necessary to stop without violence the trade which the English carry on with Port Royal, from whom they take every year a quantity of meat in exchange for some druggets and other cloths made in Boston; it would be enough, in my feeling, to send from France, or from here [Quebec] to Port Royal, some stuff [wool cloth] to fill their most pressing needs, and even some looms which the colonists asked me for, in order to use the wool from their sheep and the hemp that the earth gave them thanks to the work of their hands.[341]

One merchant's invoice from 1691 included listings for over 135 yards of assorted fabrics, including gingham, red and blue cloth, 155 1/2 yards of silk lace, 12 pairs of stockings and 46 yards of ribbon, all of it shipped from Boston to be sold on consignment in Port Royal.[342] Other elements appearing at the sites confirm local trade relationships with Louisbourg or France.

Michel Richard *dit* Lafond was one entry point for goods into Acadia in general and the Belleisle settlement specifically, his routes including dealings with Guillaume Delort, a trader who brought merchandise in from La Rochelle and New York.[343] Abraham Boudrot was the son-in-law of Melanson settlement patriarch Charles Melanson, and another of Melanson's sons-in-law was David Basset, married to his daughter Marie *dit* Laverdure.[344] Basset was a Huguenot trader, whose ship *Porcupine* was based out of Boston.[345] Other merchants brought goods for sale to Port Royal and Cape Sable, and some of the surviving invoices confirm that textiles and sewing equipment were among the cargo.[346] An invoice between Boudrot and Boston supplier André Taneuil from 1691 includes a list of the goods which Taneuil had commissioned Boudrot to sell at Port Royal on his behalf, including fashionable fabric, silk ribbons, silk lace, and pairs of

stockings.[347] In September of 1695, Charles St. Etienne de la Tour carried cotton, serge, thread, buttons and lining, vermillion dye, stockings and shoes, and “two doz: sizzers” from Suffolk County, NY to Cape Sable on Nova Scotia’s southernmost tip.

The Melanson settlement within the *banlieue* of Port Royal and Fort Anne is interesting for its strong connection to the English—at least by Acadian standards.[348] The Melansons had Huguenot in-laws in Boston, which gave them more access to textiles from New England. In 1690 Pierre Faneuil, and David Basset, the aforementioned Melanson in-law, negotiated with Abraham Boudrot and Jean Martel for consignment sales of linens and other fabrics, but Boudrot and Martel were, at least on that trip, raided by privateers while travelling home.[349] Six years later, Charles Melanson informed Massachusetts Governor William Stoughton that Boudrot was leaving for Boston, bringing two boats loaded with wheat and coal.[350]

Charles and Pierre Melanson, the original founders of the settlement, had an English mother, and Charles Melanson’s continuing attachment to the English was known, though it did not protect them from English attack. Along with working to ensure the good favour of Boston magistrates, he also informed on local privateers and merchants to the English.[351] In return, the Melanson family and their allies were described by the English as being “aw’d by the Garrison [and] are the most, if not the only tractable Inhabitants in the province.”[352] This close relationship, their relative wealth and access to imports, and the Melanson site’s close proximity to the official presence at the fort shaped their material culture. More focused on European fashions, materials from the Melanson site support the narrative sketched out by the documentation and interpersonal politics.

During the English years, trade continued to come both through and around the renamed Annapolis Royal, and connections expanded further. The Savoie family in Belleisle produced at least one Acadian delegate, and the presence of Saintonge pottery in the house affirms their continued connection to France.[353] Geneviève Massignon located the Savoies' origins in southwestern France—Martaizé, in the Loudon.[354] They had social capital, the Savoie family one of the largest and most prosperous in the region.[355] The wide variety of ceramics styles present in the assemblages, the presence of English lead crystal in the Blanchard and Gaudet homes in Belleisle, and the French and German artifacts found in the Savoie house indicate active participation in the trade networks of the time.[356]

Joseph-Nicolas Gautier *dit* Bellair's holdings on the south side of the Annapolis river were not officially part of Belleisle, but his proximity between them and the Fort, as well as his influence and the saw and grist mills that he ran, made him an extremely important player in the Belleisle world of goods. Rejected in 1720 as a potential Acadian delegate because he was still "transient," he had by the 1730s built himself a small trading empire.[357] Importantly, his sloops sailed to the Caribbean, bringing goods from the colonies there to Ile Royale as well as France, New England, and to his home base only a few kilometers from Annapolis Royal.[358]

Gauthier's close alliance with Sieur François Duvivier against the British in the 1740s undoubtedly put him in the path of Duvivier's sister in law, Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle, already cousins to the Duviviers and as of 1750, married to Duvivier's younger brother Joseph.[359] Her strong presence in Louisbourg trade likely made them business associates earlier than that, the webs of kin and trade connections expanding with every generation and new link.

2.3.5 *TRADE IN LOUISBOURG*

Trade in and out of Louisbourg has been covered before in other places, and trade between the fortress and Acadia has already been touched upon, above.[360] Illicit trade in the region was still an issue leading into the expulsion, Mascarene complaining to the Lords of Trade about French trade in Cape Breton in 1741 and 1748.[361] Materials also came in from the West Indes, Europe, Indonesia, and beyond. For the Acadians living in Louisbourg itself, life looked a little different than for those trading materials in from the outside. One Acadian in particular, Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle, played a remarkable role in the acquisition and production of a great deal of textile, garment, and accessory wealth.

Born in Pentagouet in 1712, Marie Le Borgne died in Louisbourg in 1754, and her probate inventory—as well as that of her first husband—gives an excellent look at the kinds of goods that textile merchants were bringing in to the colony.[362] Not only Acadian, Le Borgne's mother was of mixed French and indigenous ancestry, the granddaughter of Abenaki Chief Madokawondo.[363] Intermarriage of this kind was growing less common among Acadian communities as the eighteenth century progressed, but was not unheard of.[364] Le Borgne married in 1733 to Jacques-Philippe-Urbain Rondeau, the treasurer of the Marine in Ile Royale.[365] As treasurer Jacques Rondeau could not be seen to be engaging in trade, but his wife's participation absolved him of the appearance of conflict of interest.[366]

The property evaluation Le Borgne had performed in 1750 included Acadians on her list of debtors, and at last one debt which she owed into Acadia in return.[367] Joseph

Munier, "accadien," in debt to Marie Le Borgne for 116 livres, appears in the list of deportees from Grand Pré five years later. Le Borgne's cousin through their shared grandmother, her parents were also his godparents.[368] A reference in the minutes of the council at Annapolis Royal in 1734 described Munier as "Munier a half-Indian" and a clandestine trader, in league with "one Bently of Charlestown in New England" and his uncle François Meneux of St. Castin, of Penobscott.[369] The difference in perception in the two entries for Munier is intriguing, with Le Borgne claiming Munier as hers—Acadian—and part of her community, while the English writers of the minutes are careful to deny any responsibility for him at all.

"Pierre Doucez, accadien," in debt to Le Borgne for 112 livres, is probably Pierre Doucet, though two men by that name feature on the 1752 Acadian census.[370] Both lived in Rivière de Nanpan, a settlement south-east of Beaubassin. Both Doucet and Munier owed Le Borgne large sums of money for individuals, enough for forty yards of very good wool, fourteen of silk taffeta—or fifty-six pairs of wool socks. This would have been enough to cover a small collection of goods brought to sell on consignment, or a year's worth of personal expenditure on clothing. Considering the men involved, and Joseph Munier's occupation specifically, it is likely that Le Borgne's inventory puts her at the centre of a web of trade that linked Acadian and Indigenous buyers with suppliers in England, New England, the West Indies, Asia, and France.

Le Borgne may have begun her career as a merchant with an eye toward helping her husband, or for her own sake. Her aunt, with whom she had been living in Louisbourg, was also a merchant, and many merchants' wives and widows in the town operated as independent sellers.[371] Louisbourg was not at the forefront of fashion, styles from the

metropole necessarily taking time to cross the Atlantic and take hold in the colonies. Fontages, lace headdresses which fell out of fashion elsewhere early in the eighteenth century, were still lingering in Le Borgne's store in 1754, while the blonde lace of which they were constructed only became popular in the mid-eighteenth century, suggesting a lingering fashion made with new materials rather than old individual pieces.[372]

Le Borgne's personal wardrobe reflected the materials she sold, both in nature and in quantity. Her wardrobe, as seen in Chapter Five, was larger than any of the other Acadian women studied. For mercantile families, acts of consumption were also acts of marketing. Le Borgne was making a statement with her clothing, not only about her place in Louisbourg society, but about her ability to identify and provide the best.[373]

2.4 Indigenous Connections

Mi'kma'ki was an Indigenous space for tens of thousands of years prior to European arrival, and some of it remained so even after the intrusion of European colonizers. Siknikt remained a hub of activity for Mi'kmaw travel and trade, while settlements more distant from Port Royal and Grand Pré maintained some level of engagement even as political relations between Mi'kmaq and Acadians grew more distant into the 1730s and 1740s. Beaubassin's status as a trade hub was not limited to the shipyards. The presence of French trade goods designed and produced for the fur trade confirms that Beaubassin was an important point of contact between Acadia and the Mi'kmaq groups living nearby. These shared contact spaces were not permanent installations like the forts, but created as moments in time, structured by the effort to make contact and connect.[374] The places of

intersection were defined as much by intangibles like co-operation as by indicators on a map.

Mi'kmaq settlements at Siknikt were some of these intersectional places, the Gargas census of 1688, taken in winter, showing a village already established near Beaubassin.[375] Pointe-aux-Vieux, the spin-off settlement on Ile Saint-Jean, also engaged with the nearby Mi'kmaq village which appeared on Thomas Kitchin's map from 1749 (see Figure 2.7, 'Ind. Vil.').[376] While cooperation with Acadian settlers was not always smooth, and controversy over the frequency of mixed Acadian-Mi'kmaq marriages continues, the evidence shows some level of generally peaceful interaction.[377]

More than that, Acadians and Mi'kmaq shared mobile geographical spaces, travelling along waterways and engaging with coastal resources. Remains of shells at Pointe-aux-Vieux confirm fishing activities, and Acadian boat-builders moved up and down the rivers as highways, permeating the boundaries of Mi'kmaq space.[378] That knowledge of the coasts and water networks moved from them into the European consciousness, when the British called Acadian pilots in to help them navigate the no-longer-private thoroughfares.[379]

The contact space encouraged trade along predetermined lines, goods designated for the fur trade and designed supposedly with Indigenous tastes in mind shipped into the colonies from France, England, and the West Indes. Furs brought in by the Mi'kmaq were used as trade goods by the Acadians with Massachusetts, changing hands outside of the reach of the various fur trade companies.[380] Relationships extended beyond trade, with Mi'kmaq families playing prominent roles in Beaubassin society, even into the last

few years prior to the deportation.[381] The Sieur de Bonnaventure, commanding the French ship Envieux, brought cotton fabric, thread, ribbons, tapes, and pins, among other things, to trade for furs at Beaubassin in 1699.[382] Three types of artifact in particular—trade silver, trade beads, and bale seals from the Compagnie des Indes—speak to the ongoing nature and value of the contact spaces and the exchanges made within them.

2.4.1 Trade Silver

Silver was a common metal for trade ornaments, which became popular alongside glass beads and wampum as adornment for local dress as well as the newer fashions inspired by European woollens. Brooches and buckles, beads, and hair ornaments made of wampum were quickly incorporated into Indigenous dress, in return for which local hunters supplied pelts.[383] Trade silver was ubiquitous between the mid-seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, lightweight pieces smithed in Montreal and Quebec City as well as abroad.[384] The trade became much more common in the late eighteenth century, however, so the presence of the ring brooch at Beaubassin prior to 1750 indicates a use that was less expected at that time than it would be even thirty years later.[385]

Figure 2.11: Trade silver buckle found at Beaubassin. Photo courtesy of Parks Canada.

The basic ring brooch style was an extremely common form of trade silver, with almost-identical examples appearing in assemblages as far away as Ohio. The silver ring buckle found at Beaubassin (Figure 2.11) was one of many produced in New France and would have travelled to Beaubassin down the Saint Lawrence. Brooches of this type were used as jacket and cloak closures across the northeast, worn by all genders.[386]

The use of silver as dress ornament may indicate adoption of forms of European status-signalling, silver replacing copper as a preferred material for ornamentation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[387] This merging of style systems is seen in other articles found at Beaubassin, including trade beads partially carved into rosary links. The aesthetic environment created by the exchange of textiles and adornments was a blending, a visual indication of the social engagement of the two groups.

2.4.2 Beads

Trade beads were an integral part of engagement with Indigenous peoples at least as late as 1750 in some areas of colonized Mi'kma'ki. Large beads were worn in necklaces and bracelets as well as strung for rosaries, while small seed and glass beads were sewn as embellishments or as part of embroidered designs onto garments and accessories.[388] While older sources suggest that trade beads were falling out of favour by the 1730s, the discovery of a barrel of beads at Fort Beausejour—a fort built in 1751—indicates that trade beads were still in demand in the region into the mid-century.[389] Glass beads manufactured in Venice and Amsterdam were particularly valued, though beads were manufactured across Europe to be funnelled into the colonial trade.[390]

The Mi'kmaq prized beads, embroidering them on to caps, leggings, and moccasins as well as wearing them on strings around their necks, wrists, ankles and other joints.[391] Amber, white, green, and blue beads were popular, as were long beads carved from clay pipestems. The glass beads at Beaubassin and Pointe-aux-Vieux are of types identified as trade beads from other sites and collections, though disassociated from their original context it is difficult to know whether they were intended for trade or were being used on clothing.

All the assemblages in this study contain glass beads, though the quantities vary considerably. Beaubassin and Pointe-aux-Vieux, the sites in Chignecto and Prince Edward Island, had the most beads, while a good half of those at Melanson, an already small quantity, appear to have been part of Anne Bourg's personal jewellery rather than earmarked for trade purposes. The small number of beads found at Belleisle and Melanson indicates that these sites may not have been locations that saw a great deal of Indigenous trade.[392]

Figure 2.12: Glass beads found at Melanson, associated with Anne Bourg. On display at Grand Pré National Historic Site, photo by author.

Forty glass beads have been found so far at Beaubassin and more than sixty black, yellow, and white glass beads at Pointe-aux-Vieux, in a variety of shapes and styles similar to trade beads held in the Nova Scotia museum's collections.[393] The bead styles fit in with the general chronology that has been established for French colonial sites. Bumpy raspberry beads were present in trade bead bundles throughout the colonial period, manufactured in Italy and Holland and exported en masse, designed for an international market.[394] One large wound clear bead and six donut-shaped round beads match types that have been dated to the 1720s – 1730s, which matches the economic heyday of Beaubassin village.[395]

Table 2.2: Beads found at Acadian archaeological sites

	Belleisle	**Melanson**	**Beaubassin**	**Pointe-aux-Vieux**
Glass beads	1	11	40	60
Seed beads		1	11	
Clay beads (pipestem)			6 possible	
Stone beads			5	
Wood and bone		1	3	

The difference in bead quantities and utility is one of geography. Melanson and Belleisle are within a few kilometers of Port Royal, a trade center focused primarily on exchange with New England. Beaubassin and Pointe-aux-Vieux were engaged in different networks, their respective positions—within a short portage of Baie Verte and the Northumberland Strait, and across Malpeque Bay from a Mi'kmaq community—

giving trade beads more purpose. The beads served a function similar to the trade silver when worn, and Loren argues that the presence of glass beads in quantity at a colonial site suggests Indigenous dressing styles in play alongside European ones.[396] Investigations into French colonial sites in Louisiana indicate that the settlers and local nations were wearing similar styles of beads, with no type reserved for solely Indigenous or colonial use.[397]

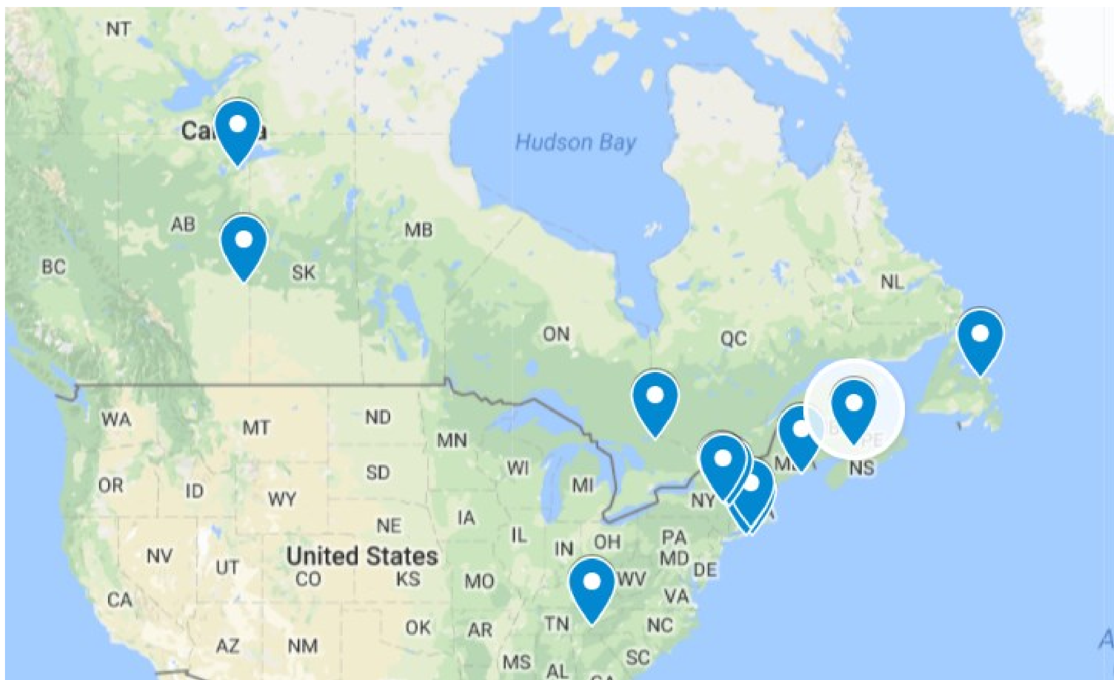


Figure 2.13: Sites containing pipe stem beads, data from Karlins (2015), Beaubassin added and highlighted.

Other bead finds at Beaubassin included a broken pipe stem scored in preparation to be cut, and discs that appear to have been carved from the remnants of other pipe stems. A wide-ranging survey conducted in 2015 found that pipe stem beads have a hundred-percent correlation with Indigenous or fur-trade sites: no pipe stem beads to date have been discovered at European settlements that were not officially part of the fur trade.[398] Most of the sites where pipe stem beads have been found are in the northeast of North

America and dated between the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The western sites were occupied during the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, indicating a westward movement of the style.[399]

The discs from Beaubassin are distinctly different in size from those found elsewhere. While Karklin's sites have beads ranging in length from 11.5 – 56mm, those from Beaubassin are all under 8 mm in length. The possibility exists that those without wear patterns could be discarded remnants of other work on pipe stems, but the consistency in their shape and size, proximity to other beads on site, and the presence of what appears to be a wear pattern on two of the discs suggests this may not be true in every case. The disc shape enables them to be strung and worn with the stone rosary beads and glass trade beads found nearby.

Beaubassin is an outlier as a settler site which was not an official trading post, but the beads, bale seal evidence, and the close presence of allied Mi'kmaq villages in the Oesgag Triangle confirm its role as an active hub within the local fur trade. The distinction between formal sites of exchange and the more informal nature of the trade at Beaubassin is embodied in the smaller, more flexible bead, appropriate for embroidering on to clothing as well as being strung as spacers in a rosary. Made on site rather than imported, clay pipe stem beads are an example of cultural transformation in action, repurposed out of imported European goods that had been originally designed for the use of an Indigenous drug.

The malleability of clay as a material accompanies the betwixt-and-between status of the pipe stem beads. Turgeon's investigation of bead use among the First Nations found

that beads were multi-faceted builders and conveyers of individual identity. They were worn on the joints—elbows, knees, wrists—to strengthen and protect, and to convey power beyond the physical.[400] If the hardness of the glass and stone beads influenced the hardness of the body, then the softer fired clay, prone to eroding between the teeth and easy to score and break, was of no use for symbolic protection.[401] Their value lay in the ease of change, in the simplicity of scoring to snap and painting to colour, moving between contexts and crossing meanings as they went.[402]

Figure 2.14: Pipe stem fragments, possibly beads. Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Rosary spacers, the only beads without a prayer in the chaplet, are similarly liminal. They mark beginnings and endings, separating beads and groups of beads into discrete sections for prayer, filling the same essential function as a period at the end of a sentence. For both traditions the clay beads do not, then, represent power, but the counterpoint—

the malleable breathing space in contrast to which strength, hardness and power can be more fully seen.

2.4.3 Textiles

Alongside the buckle and beads comes another confirmation of trade goods, this one from abroad. A bale seal found at Beaubassin bears the arms of the Compagnie des Indes, or the French East India Company, which held the monopoly on the Canadian beaver-fur trade between 1719 – 1769.[403] Along with the fur trade, the company held monopolies on the sale of tobacco in France, the slave trade, and owned Louisiana.[404] The Compagnie had a major advantage when it came to the French fur trade, in that it was the only French institution allowed to import the English strouds, woollens that were the most highly prized textiles by the Indigenous traders. The strouds, or *écarlatines,* were brought through La Rochelle to Montreal and then spread further, the cloth permitted in the colony only for the sake of the fur trade.[405] CdI seals were found at Beaubassin and at the British encampment at Grand Pré, both in non-domestic contexts, which further suggests their presence as trade goods.[406]

Indigenous traders had limited interest in French woollens, disdaining their poor quality and considering them cheap imitations of English wool.[407] While they could have procured the fabric from the English, the Compagnie was able to provide the fabric for less. Not being subjected to English duties meant that costs were measurably lower.[408] Écarlatines circulated from their origin in the town of Stroud in Gloucestershire County in England to the port of La Rochelle in the possession of the Compagnie des Indes, where they were measured, checked for quality, and importantly, tagged with the

Compagnie's seal. Loaded on ships, the red, blue, black, and green woollens were sailed across the ocean in holds filled with other trade goods, to stop first in Louisiana, and then head north to Louisbourg.[409]

Being part of the circuit of the French East India Company adds a new circle of influence for the Acadian shores, expanding their access out of the Atlantic and into the global sphere. The Company had trading routes that extended into the Indian and Pacific oceans, including the vital textile production regions of Pondicherry and Chandanagor in Bengal, creating intersecting networks of production, trade and consumption.[410] The CdI traded extensively across the Northeast, the Great Lakes area and down the Mississippi river, bringing in an average of 166,000 pelts per year.[411] Receiving agents brought in goods from the ships in Quebec City and distributed them to the voyageurs, who took the trade goods to the trading posts. They brought the furs they received in trade back to Quebec City, where they returned to the Compagnie agent and were shipped onward to France.

In this way, textiles, trade silver, Jesuit rings, and tools passed from one sphere into another, through contact zones like Beaubassin.[412] The furs and trade goods sat in ships' holds next to Indian calicoes and Malaysian ginghams, English wools and French silks. The Compagnie des Indes' trade circles linked Beaubassin with textile producers in Chandanagor in Bengal, Nimes in France, and Lorient in Louisiana. The settlement's geography and location made it a hub, linking the Acadians and Mi'kmaq in an overlapping diagram of trading partners, spheres of influence, and empires.

French laws forbade exports to British colonies, making trade through British-owned Beaubassin prior to 1710 something more exciting than straightforward, and many Acadians were engaged in smuggling and redistribution operations. Albany was a hub for the clandestine fur trade between the English and Canadian Iroquois, despite Albany being blocked from westward trade. The desire for English goods could be fed through spaces like Beaubassin with less worry about interception or interference.[413] While systems and regulations theoretically changed after British conquest, the rise instead of French privateers and Acadian disinterest in British rule meant that the maritime trade continued.[414]

Conclusion

The sites discussed in this thesis are as similar in some ways as they are distinct in others, their particular geographies, environmental constraints, time frames of occupation, and particularly location in respect to other settlements and transport nodes determining their character. The quantity and type of documentation available for each differs dramatically, as does the size and quality of the associated artifact assemblages. That diversity in and of itself helps to explain the diversity of lifestyles and attitudes among the Acadians living there, their cultural geographies and senses of self indelibly marked by the locations in which they grew and thrived. Bringing with them aesthetic senses honed by their former homes, the first wave of settlers understood the language of clothing with which they had grown up in France. Successive generations were shaped by other forces, different visual and cultural cues that began from but were not entirely like those of their parents' generation.

Understanding the environments in which the settlements were built allows us to make some predictions regarding the clothing which was worn there. The basic outlines of physical protection against specific climates, the specific materials which moved through trade networks, and the demographics of the settlements all provide information with which we can begin to build our network of *things*. Factors taken into account must include a region's climate and geography, type of settlements, options for trade, population size and proximity to one another, the available flora, fauna, and mineral resources. Beyond that, we must add the human factor: both settlers and indigenous peoples and the ways in which those groups engage and intersect, alongside the cultural frameworks and cosmologies in which those groups operate. Knowing as much as possible about these factors allows us to translate the meanings encoded in their daily wear, the messages being sent out to the external viewer, and how those messages might have been received.

The climates of the Acadians' original homes in France and their new settlements in Mi'kma'ki were similar in some respects, but Maritime winters were far harsher than those experienced in the Loudon. Comparisons of textile purchases in other French colonies found that New France, subject to winters of similar duration—though colder and drier—than Acadia, used far more woolens both for themselves and for the fur trade than the warmer, linen and cotton-dependant colonies in Louisiana and Saint-Domingue.[415] Flora and fauna in the region differed as well, fur-bearing mammals most famous for their role in the ongoing fur trade. Differences in dyestuffs, in the breeds of sheep which thrived on local forage, and in the kinds and quantities of flax which could be grown in Acadia all contributed to which textiles could be made locally and which

imported. That determined how much of a reliance on trade would be necessary to maintain a lifestyle that looked like the one they'd lived in France, and how much accommodation could and would be made based on the materials that came more easily to hand.

Purely based on climate, geography, and available materials, looking forward to further chapters, we should expect to see more footwear designed to withstand the wet and cold. We should also expect to find woolen socks and outerwear, more use of furs than seen in continental French clothing, as well as some evidence of influence drawn from the clothing of local Indigenous groups. Even if the cultures were not compatible, simple practicality suggests that Mi'kmaq adaptations to the climate and vegetation of Mi'kma'ki were useful to learn. Other influences also play a major role in determining dress choice, however, making a one-to-one correlation less likely.

If human beings only dressed according to practicality and environment, then clothing for similar biomes would be much more alike than it is. While some physical aspects remain the same—looser clothing in hot, arid regions, use of furs and hides in colder ones—aspects such as style, fit, and decoration are affected much more by the human element inside. The Europeans who settled Acadia were drawn primarily from farming settlements in western France, part of a western European Catholic culture steeped in visual and oral tradition. Prone to early marriage and large families, Razilly's wave of settlers in the 1630s spread out rapidly along the Acadian marshlands, using technology developed in Europe to alter the terrain. Despite the distance between many of the homesteads and settlements, kinship networks, strong ties between family members, and community-centric labour practices kept the bonds strong.

The families who settled in the areas studied here are examples of the range of socioeconomic levels seen in Acadia. The lines between 'elite families' and farmers blurred quickly thanks to limited choices for marriage partners, and particularly in the early years, marital links occasionally included marriages of French men with Mi'kmaw women. This opened up more pathways for Indigenous production techniques to be brought into European households, as well as extending those important kinship networks into the Indigenous community. Those networks can be seen in action with Marie Josephe Le Borgne's commercial trade, her personal connections to the Mi'kmaq and Acadian communities kept alive despite her marriage to a French official. The goods she brought in to Louisbourg moved from her hands into the communities at Port Royal, Beaubassin and Grand Pré. Her position in Louisbourg, alongside others like David Basset trading in and out of New England, was part of the greater context describing Acadian access to goods and materials beyond what could be produced locally.

In the end, spaces, neighbours, networks and tools all have a major impact on the styles of dress that people wear. These effects are not only in the general. Differences between settlements contribute to different modes of dress being deployed. Proximity to places of metropolitan power, emotional and political connection to particular people or places, trade relationships, and the role of clothing in diplomacy, trust-building and identity all had impact on different modes of dress being deployed in different regions of Acadia. With the context of these decisions now in place, we can turn to look at some of the specific extant items which can help us trace the outlines of the clothing that we seek.

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[1] Denys, *The Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, 123.

[2] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 238, 260.
[3] Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto"; J. M. Bumsted, *Land, Settlement, and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island* (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); Ross and Deveau, *The Acadians of Nova Scotia: Past and Present*; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*; Dunn, *A History of Port Royal/Annapolis Royal, 1605-1800*; Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin, 1660 to 1755 : The Great Marsh, Tintamarre and Le Lac*; Marcel Barriault, "Famille DesRoches," *Les Cahiers, Journal of La Société Historique Acadienne* 37, no. 2–3 (September 2006): 51–160; Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin 1660 to 1755 Vol 2 Mesagoueche and LaButte*; Melanson, *The Melanson Story*.
[4] Connections can be made across incredible spans of time. See, for example, the case made for the influence of a Cretaceous-era coastline on twenty-first century elections in the United States. This is traced through from carbonate deposits from mollusc shells along a shallow Cretaceous sea to the effect those deposits had on soil fertility, leading to cotton production and plantations, the arrival of enslaved Africans to form the so-called "Black belt," and the impact of Black votes in the modern-day electoral process. See Craig McClain, "How Presidential Elections Are Impacted by a 100 Million Year Old Coastline," *Deep Sea News* (blog), June 27, 2012, http://www.deepseanews.com/2012/06/how-presidential-elections-are-impacted-by-a-100-million-year-old-coastline/.
[5] Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 26.
[6] Kennedy, 17, 103–4.
[7] Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*.
[8] Paul, *We Were Not the Savages*, 72–73, 83; Griffiths, *Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784*, 23–25; Stephen E. Patterson, "Indian-White Relations in Nova Scotia, 1749-61: A Study in Political Interaction," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region / Revue d'histoire de La Region Atlantique* 23, no. 1 (October 10, 1993): 25.
[9] Gregory Kennedy, Thomas Peace, and Stephanie Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto: Applying Social Network Analysis to Acadie, Mi'kma'ki, and Nova Scotia, 1670-1751," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region / Revue d'histoire de La Region Atlantique* 47, no. 1 (May 9, 2018).
[10] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 172, 434–35.
[11] Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 68–71; Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," 101; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 296–97.
[12] Clark, *Acadia*; Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis."
[13] For this section in particular I have privileged Indigenous Traditional Knowledge, Mi'kmaq Environmental Knowledge (MEK), descriptions and discussions of their history and society over non-Indigenous interpretations. Drawing on millennia of oral tradition as well as western-style academic discourse, the authors cited here are better placed to explain the context and nature of Mi'kmaq activities than even the most well-meaning of external observers. I thank the authors cited below for their willingness to share their knowledge with us.
[14] The Debert site in Colchester County, Nova Scotia is the oldest recorded habitation site in Atlantic Canada, and has been dated c. 11,000 – 10,500 BP. Canadian Museum of History, "Gateway to Aboriginal Heritage - The Debert Palaeo-Indian National Historic Site," Canadian Museum of History : Native Material Culture in Canada, accessed June 11, 2019, https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/ethno/etb0370e.html.
[15] Darlene A. Ricker, *L'sitkuk: The Story of the Bear River Mi'kmaw Community* (Lockeport, N.S.: Roseway, 1997), 4.
[16] Benjamin C. Pentz, "A River Runs through It :An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Mersey River and Allains River in Southwest Nova Scotia" (M.A., Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008), 4, Library and Archives Canada.
[17] Roger J. Lewis, "Mi'kmaq Rights and Title Claim: A Review of Pre-Contact Archaeological Factor," *Mi'kmaq Maliseet Nations News*, 2006, 16–17; Pentz, "A River Runs through It," 5.
[18] Suzanne Berneshawi, "Resource Management and the Mi'kmaq Nation," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 17, no. 1 (1997): 117.
[19] Ricker, *L'sitkuk*, 7.

[20] “Canadian Biodiversity: Ecozones: Atlantic Maritime,” accessed May 16, 2018, http://canadianbiodiversity.mcgill.ca/english/ecozones/atlanticmaritime/atlanticmaritime.htm.
[21] Clark, *Acadia*, 13.
[22] “Canadian Biodiversity: Ecozones: Atlantic Maritime.”
[23] Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 3, 17.
[24] Joudry, “Puktewei: Learning From Fire in Mi’kma’ki (Mi’kmaq Territory),” 22; Paul, *We Were Not the Savages*, 18.
[25] Berneshawi, “Resource Management and the Mi’kmaq Nation,” 118; Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 7.
[26] Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 6–7.
[27] Clark, *Acadia*, 5.
[28] Berneshawi, “Resource Management and the Mi’kmaq Nation,” 118.
[29] Joudry, “Puktewei: Learning From Fire in Mi’kma’ki (Mi’kmaq Territory),” 48–49, 50, 54; Also see Omer Call Stewart, *Forgotten Fires: Native Americans and the Transient Wilderness* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); Where this would come into conflict was against the European desire for logging – wood was a major export and resource, and burns to clear forest undergrowth caused consternation. See William J. Hinke, “Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 2 (April 1916): 113–41 for a contemporary description. Rather than the misconception of the Mi’kmaq passing through their lands without leaving agricultural marks, it is vital to understand the arrival of the settlers as the arrival of a new form of agriculture that competed with long-standing local practice.
[30] Joudry, “Puktewei: Learning From Fire in Mi’kma’ki (Mi’kmaq Territory),” 71.
[31] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France Relation derniere de ce qui s’est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 10 mois ença*, Vol. III, 252.
[32] Calvin Martin, “The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (1974): 8.
[33] Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 7, 8.
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[37] Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Vol. III, pp. 75–77; Bruce J. Bourque and Laureen A. LaBar, *Uncommon Threads: Wabanaki Textiles, Clothing, and Costume* (Augusta, ME: Maine State Museum, 2009), 85–86.
[38] Nicolas Denys, *Concerning the Ways of the Indians (Their Customs, Dress, Methods of Hunting and Fishing, and Their Amusements)* (Nova Scotia Museum, 1672), 8; Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 74.
[39] Denys, *Concerning the Ways of the Indians*, 9.
[40] Denys, 9; Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads*, 82.
[41] Denys, *Concerning the Ways of the Indians*, 9.
[42] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France Relation derniere de ce qui s’est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 10 mois ença*, 212.
[43] Andrew Graham, *Andrew Graham’s Observations on Hudson’s Bay, 1767-91*, ed. Glyndwr Williams, Publications of the Hudson’s Bay Record Society 27 (London: Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1969), 135–38.
[44] Denys, *Concerning the Ways of the Indians*, 9.
[45] Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 8–9.
[46] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France Relation derniere de ce qui s’est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 10 mois ença*, vol. II, pp. 45–46.
[47] Paul, *We Were Not the Savages*, 39.
[48] Denys, *Concerning the Ways of the Indians*, 34–35; Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 9–10.

[49] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France Relation derniere de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 10 mois ença*, 247.
[50] Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales," 442; Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations."
[51] Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," 95. Also see the so-called "Indian Census" of 1708, by Antoine Gaulin.
[52] Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," 95; Paul, *We Were Not the Savages,* 54.
[53] William C Wicken, "Mi'kmaq Decisions: Antoine Tecouenemac, the Conquest, and the Treaty of Utrecht," in *The "Conquest" of Acadia, 1710: Imperial, Colonial, and Aboriginal Constructions* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 90; Jeffers Lennox, *Homelands and Empires: Indigenous Spaces, Imperial Fictions, and Competition for Territory in Northeastern North America, 1690-1763*, Studies in Atlantic Canada History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2017), 77, 127–28, 152.
[54] Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," 95-96;
[55] William C Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," in *Habitants Et Marchands, Twenty Years Later: Reading the History of Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 93–94, 102; Olive Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto, ON: McClelland & Stewart, 1992), 169–70; N.E.S. Griffiths, *Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784*, 2nd ed. (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 24–25.
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[58] Peace, "Mi'kmaw and Acadian Neighbours."
[59] Thomas G. M. Peace, "Two Conquests: Aboriginal Experiences of the Fall of New France and Acadia" (Ph.D., York University (Canada), 2012), 45–46, https://search.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1082300614/abstract/DE2ED172C5C043E2PQ/1; "General Census Taken in the Month of November 1708 of All of the Indians in Acadia Who Reside on the East Coast, and Those of Pintagouet and of Canibeky..." (Census, 1708), Extrait G.1, 466-1., Library and Archives Canada.
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[61] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents : Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 ; the Original French, Latin, and Italian Texts, with English Translations and Notes*, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Bros. Co., 1896), http://archive.org/details/cu31924092217938; Kathy Moggridge Kuusisto, "Priests and Parish Organizations in Acadia, 1604-1755" (Research paper (unpublished), 1981 1976), MG 1, Vol. 2858, #14, Nova Scotia Archives Kathy Moggridge Kuusisto Collection.
[62] William C Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," in *Habitants Et Marchands, Twenty Years Later: Reading the History of Seventeenth-and Eighteenth-Century Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 105, 108; Paul, *We Were Not the Savages*, 82–83.
[63] Peace, "Two Conquests," 22.
[64] Wicken, "Re-Examining Mi'kmaq-Acadian Relations," 105–7.
[65] William Craig Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales: Mi'kmaq Society, 1500-1760" (Ph.D., McGill University, 1998), 425, 427.
[66] Christianson and Crépeau, "Home and Hearth: An Archaeological Perspective on Acadian Domestic Architecture," 93.
[67] Clark, *Acadia*, 29–31.
[68] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755* Other non-French settlers came from England, Ireland, Portugal and Belgium.
[69] Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 18–19.
[70] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto."

[71] Rani T. Alexander, "Afterword: Toward an Archaeological Theory of Culture Contact," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25 (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1998), 485.
[72] Jordan, "Colonies, Colonialism, and Cultural Entanglement," 32.
[73] Père Anselme Chiasson and Nicolas Landry, "History of Acadia," The Canadian Encyclopedia, August 19, 2013, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/history-of-acadia/; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 531.
[74] Griffiths, *The Acadians*; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*; Johnston, "The Call of the Archetype and the Challenge of Acadian History."
[75] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 167, 171.
[76] Robert H. J. Shears, "Examination of a Contested Landscape : Archaeological Prospection on the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia" (M.A., Saint Mary's University, 2013), 60; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 290–91.
[77] Clark, *Acadia*, 204.
[78] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 23, 27–28.
[79] Clark, *Acadia*, 161, 176; Dièreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 175.
[80] Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown, 1 July 1791 Hannay, "The Acadian French," 133. Some details of the description are suspect, as Acadian houses were not log houses in the early years, but the point regarding shared labour nevertheless remains.
[81] C. A. Brasseaux, "Acadian to Cajun: History of a Society Built on the Extended Family" (August 9, 1999), https://www.medschool.lsuhsc.edu/genetics_center/louisiana/keynote_brasseaux_p.htm.
[82] Cited in Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," 24.
[83] Clark, *Acadia*, 202; Karen Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 51; James B. Collins, "The Economic Role of Women in Seventeenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 2 (1989): 442.
[84] Adrienne Hood, *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 104.
[85] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 124 for an estimate of 6-7 children, while ; Clark, *Acadia*, 202–3 gives an estimate of 5.5 - 6.
[86] de la Roque, "Census by the Sieur de La Roque, 1752," in *Report on Canadian Archives, 1905. Part 2*, vol. 40, Annual Report on Canadian Archives 7 (Public Archives of Canada, 1906), 3–172.
[87] Peter T. Marcy, "Factors Affecting the Fecundity and Fertility of Historical Populations: A Review," *Journal of Family History* 6, no. 3 (September 1, 1981): 314; Giovanni A Tommaselli et al., "Using Complete Breastfeeding and Lactational Amenorrhoea as Birth Spacing Methods," *Contraception* 61, no. 4 (April 1, 2000): 253; Gisa I. Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region / Revue d'histoire de La Region Atlantique* 3, no. 1 (1973): 15.
[88] Clark, *Acadia*, 164.
[89] "Rescensement Du Port Royal a l'accadie de l'année 1707" (Census, 1707), Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies; état civil et recensements : Série G1 : Recensements et documents divers : C-2572, Library and Archives Canada.
[90] Hodson, *The Acadian Diaspora*, 20.
[91] Collins, "The Economic Role of Women in Seventeenth-Century France," 442.
[92] Collins, 442.
[93] Clark, *Acadia*, 166; Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une colonie féodale en Amérique*, 308.
[94] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 38; Crépeau and Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," 3; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol. 1, 562 The "Melanson" surname appears to have originated with brothers Pierre and Charles, with no obvious source. All Acadian Melansons are descended from these two.
[95] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 38.
[96] "EnviroStats: Ecoregion Profile: Annapolis-Minas Lowlands," accessed June 13, 2019, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/16-002-x/2012003/part-partie3-eng.htm.

[97] M-I. Buzeta, R Singh, and S. Young-Lai, "Identification of Significant Marine and Coastal Areas in the Bay of Fundy" (St. Andrews, N.B.: Fisheries and Oceans Canada, Oceans and Coastal Management Division, 2003), 49.
[98] Michael Parker, "Ecological Inventory of Melanson Property, Annapolis County, Nova Scotia. Prepared for Chris McCarthy, Conservation Biologist, Kejimkujik National Park" (Nova Scotia: East Coast Aquatics, February 2003), 1.
[99] Morris, "Breif Survey of Nova Scotia [Sic.]."
[100] Crépeau and Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," 3.
[101] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 33.
[102] Basque, "Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia," 52; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 78–79 Marie died in Boston in 1722 - she evidently moved there on marriage, because all of her children are born in Boston; M. C. Rosenfield, "BASSET, DAVID," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/basset_david_2E.html Though this biography identifies his wife as the daughter of Pierre Melanson, rather than that of Charles le pere.
[103] Basque, "Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia," 52; Rosenfield, "BASSET, DAVID."
[104] Basque, "Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia," 53; Crépeau and Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," 3.
[105] Crépeau and Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," 3.
[106] Dunn, "History of the Melanson Settlement," 17–18.
[107] Dunn, 27.
[108] Dunn, 27.
[109] Dunn, 27.
[110] Dunn, 39, 41; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1156.
[111] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1155.
[112] "Registre de Baptêmes Mariages et Sepultures Pour La Paroisse de St Jean Baptiste à Annapolis Royale... 1727-1755" (1755), https://novascotia.ca/archives/acadian/, Diocese of Yarmouth; Nova Scotia Archives RG 1 Vol. 26a pp.132, 214, 306; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1155–56.
[113] Dunn, "History of the Melanson Settlement," 49; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1155–56.
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[115] Dunn, "History of the Melanson Settlement," 59, 70.
[116] Paul Delaney, "La Reconstitution d'un Rôle Des Passagers Du Pembroke," *Cahiers de La Société Historique Acadienne* 35, no. 1–2 (2004): 5. See especially footnotes 4 & 5.
[117] Dunn, "History of the Melanson Settlement," 65.
[118] Pierre-Paul Delabat, *Plan de La Banlieue Du Fort Royal a Lacadie Et de Ses Environs*, 1708, No scale.1 inch to 170 toises approx., 1708, H3/240/Port Royal/[1708] - Microfiche NMC685, Library and Archives Canada.
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[120] Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," 196.
[121] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 7.
[122] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)"; Dunn, "Acadian Architecture in Port-Royal"; Taylor, "French Vernacular Architecture in Pre-Deportation Acadia"; Also Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 77.
[123] Bleakney, *Sods, Soil, and Spades : The Acadians at Grand Pré and Their Dykeland Legacy*, 5.
[124] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France Relation derniere de ce qui s'est passé au voyage du sieur de Poutrincourt en la Nouvelle France depuis 10 mois ença*, 314–16, 321, 355.
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[126] William Inglis Morse, *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779): New and Unpublished Documents and Other Data Relating to Acadia (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Maine, Etc.; the Actors, Sir William Alexander,*

Jacques de Meuelles Gargas, Vincent de Saccardy, Marquis de La Roche, Delabat and J. F. W. Des Barres (London: B. Quaritch Ltd., 1935), 144, 146, 150; Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 8.
[127] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 78–80.
[128] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 7; Maud Hody, "BLANCHARD, GUILLAUME," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/blanchard_guillaume_2E.html. Blanchard's house is the feature designated House 1 in the 1984 excavation.
[129] Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy."
[130] Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," 6; Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 82.
[131] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol. 1, 146.
[132] White, Vol 1, 152.
[133] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 78–79.
[134] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol. 1, 152-153 Marguerite died at the age of 34, in 1757, and Marie Savoie at age 86 on 10 February 1767. See also Duxbury, Mass. [From Old Catalog]. Vital Records of Duxbury, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850. Pub. by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, at the Charge of the Eddy Town-record Fund, 1911. 415. (Marie Savoie as "Mary Savory").
[135] Suzanne Desan, "Making and Breaking Marriage: An Overview of Old Regime Marriage as a Social Practice," in *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 3; Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," 7.
[136] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 78; "Rescensement Du Port Royal a l'accadie de l'année 1707."
[137] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1460–61.
[138] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 78. Germaine-le-père appears on the censuses from 1698 and 1707, while his sons are listed as co-proprietors in 1734.
[139] Lavoie, 82.
[140] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1376, 1378, 1460.
[141] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 78–79.
[142] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1458, 1460, 1521.
[143] Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy," 267.
[144] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto."
[145] Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly."
[146] Jordan, "Colonies, Colonialism, and Cultural Entanglement," 36.
[147] Personal communication with Sara Beanlands, October 2018. See also Eric Tremblay, "A Typological Analysis of the Stone Pipes of the Isthmus of Chignecto, Eastern Canada" (Conference Paper, October 20, 2018).
[148] Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 84, 92.
[149] John Nelson (nephew of Thomas Temple) & Jacques Bourgeois (mill builder in Beaubassin, funded by Nelson). See Hodson, *The Acadian Diaspora*, 29; And Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 104.
[150] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto," 9; See Lennox, "Nova Scotia Lost and Found"; and Lennox, *Homelands and Empires* for discussions of the nature of boundaries and geography in Acadia.
[151] "Marshland: Records of Life on the Tantramar," Mount Allison University, 2004, http://www.mta.ca/marshland/topic2_firstpeople/firstpeople.htm; Cadillac, *Extracts from a Memoir of M. de La Mothe Cadillac, 1692, Concerning Acadia and New England, from the Archives of Paris.*
[152] Howard Trueman, *The Chignecto Isthmus, and Its First Settlers* (Toronto, ON: William Briggs, 1902).

[153] Nadon, "The Isthmus of Chignecto," 10 Various dates given include 1671 (Arsenault), 1672 (Annual Report Of The Beaubassin And Fort Lawrence Public Archaeology Experience), and post-January 1673 (Nadon).
[154] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 72 Faragher flags certain locations, such as Butte a Roger and Butte a Mirande, as having been named for well-known Irish and Portuguese immigrants, specifically.
[155] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux."
[156] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 392.
[157] Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto," 3.
[158] Lavoie, "The Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Beaubassin Region in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," 4.
[159] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 395.
[160] Nadon, "The Isthmus of Chignecto."
[161] Lavoie, "The Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Beaubassin Region in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," 4 citing Roland, 1982: 42; Fernand Verger, *Marais maritimes et estuaires du littoral français* (Paris: Belin, 2005), 74.
[162] Alexander Macdonald and Roberta Clowater, "Natural Ecosystem Connectivity across the Chignecto Isthmus - Opportunities and Challenges. A Collaborative Project of CPAWS New Brunswick and CPAWS Nova Scotia" (Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society, January 1, 2005), 11.
[163] "The Acadians and the Creation of the Dykeland 1680–1755," The Landscape of Grand Pré, accessed October 12, 2017, http://www.landscapeofgrandpre.ca/the-acadians-and-the-creation-of-the-dykeland-1680ndash1755.html.
[164] de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte" translation by Marc Lavoie.
[165] Macdonald and Clowater, "Natural Ecosystem Connectivity across the Chignecto Isthmus - Opportunities and Challenges. A Collaborative Project of CPAWS New Brunswick and CPAWS Nova Scotia," 11; Lavoie, "The Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Beaubassin Region in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," 4.
[166] Christianson and Crépeau, "Home and Hearth: An Archaeological Perspective on Acadian Domestic Architecture," 93.
[167] Cadillac, *Extracts from a Memoir of M. de La Mothe Cadillac, 1692, Concerning Acadia and New England, from the Archives of Paris.*, 6:89.
[168] Cadillac, 6:89.
[169] de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte."
[170] Brebner, *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada*, 116.
[171] Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," 1 as per Cormier, 1969: 98; Nadon, "The Isthmus of Chignecto," 9. Bona Arsenault dates this to 1671, but Bourgeois was present at a meeting in Port Royal in 1673, possibly making his move later than originally assumed.
[172] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 78.
[173] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1," 22; Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin, 1660 to 1755 : The Great Marsh, Tintamarre and Le Lac*, 3; Dunn, *A History of Port Royal/Annapolis Royal, 1605-1800*, 31–34.
[174] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1," 22.
[175] Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," 1.
[176] Connected to the Dugas, Cyr and Melanson families. Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin, 1660 to 1755 : The Great Marsh, Tintamarre and Le Lac*, 3.
[177] Jacques de Meulles, "Recensement fait par de Meulles, Intendant de la Nouvelle-France, de tous les peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière Saint-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée et autres costes de l'Acadie, s'y étant luy même transporté dans chacune des habitations au commencement de l'année 1686" (1686), 33, Microfilm reel C-2572. MG 1, G1, volume 466, partie 1, pages 14 à 57, Library and Archives Canada.
[178] de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte."
[179] de Meulles, "Recensement fait par de Meulles, Intendant de la Nouvelle-France, de tous les peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière Saint-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée et autres costes de l'Acadie, s'y étant luy même transporté dans chacune des habitations au commencement de l'année 1686."
[180] de Meulles.

[181] Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto," 4.
[182] Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, *Carte Geralle Du Voyage Que Monsr. DeMeulles Intendant de La Justice Police et Finances de La Nouvelle France a Fait Par Ordre Du Roy et Commencé Le 9e Novembre & Finy Le 6e Juillet 1686 Ensuivant Comprenant Toutes Les Terres de l'Accadie, Isle Du Cape Breton, Golfe & Riviere St. Laurens Depuis La Riviere St. Georges Limittes de La Nlle. France et de La Nouvelle Angletere Jusqu'a La Ville de Quebec* (Quebec: s.n, 1686).
[183] Nadon, "The Isthmus of Chignecto," 9; Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," 1.
[184] Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto," 5; Patrice Gallant, "HACHÉ-GALLANT, MICHEL," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hache_gallant_michel_2F.html.
[185] Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," 2 as per Rameau 1889, I:171; Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto," 5.
[186] Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin, 1660 to 1755 : The Great Marsh, Tintamarre and Le Lac*, 12.
[187] Nadon, "The Isthmus of Chignecto," 9; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 208.
[188] Lavoie, "Beaubassin Revisited: History and Archaeology," 1.
[189] Akins, *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, 37 July 1720, Phillipps to Craggs; "MG11, Nova Scotia A" (Microfilm, n.d.), vol. 25, Série C11D. Correspondance générale; Acadie, Nova Scotia Provincial Archives p. 135; 23 November 1741, Mascarene to Lords of Trade.
[190] de Meulles, "Recensement fait par de Meulles, Intendant de la Nouvelle-France, de tous les peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière Saint-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée et autres costes de l'Acadie, s'y étant luy même transporté dans chacune des habitations au commencement de l'année 1686"; "Rescensement Du Port Royal a l'accadie de l'année 1707"1686: 236 cattle, 111 sheep, 189 hogs. 1707: 510 cattle, 500 sheep, 328 hogs.
[191] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2," 26.
[192] Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy," 35–36.
[193] Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*, 45.
[194] Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," 14.
[195] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1199. Mirande had previously been living in Quebec, leaving in 1675 after one Catherine Basset, a woman with whom he "had been keeping company," was expelled from the city due to her bad reputation. See White, English Supplement to the Dictionnaire, 255. White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*.
[196] Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin, 1660 to 1755 : The Great Marsh, Tintamarre and Le Lac*, 8–9; John Gallant, "Life and Times of Michel Haché-Gallant," The Island Register, February 10, 1998, http://www.islandregister.com/biograph.html.
[197] "General Census Taken in the Month of November 1708 of All of the Indians in Acadia Who Reside on the East Coast, and Those of Pintagouet and of Canibeky..." (Census, 1708), Extrait G.1, 466-1., Library and Archives Canada.
[198] Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales," 239–40.
[199] Wicken, 231–32; "General Census Taken in the Month of November 1708 of All of the Indians in Acadia Who Reside on the East Coast, and Those of Pintagouet and of Canibeky..."
[200] Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales," 233–34.
[201] Wicken, 234.
[202] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 271.
[203] Clark, *Acadia*, 68–69; Wicken, Mi'kmaq Decisions, in Reid, *The "Conquest" of Acadia, 1710*, 88.
[204] Wicken, "Encounters with Tall Sails and Tall Tales," 236–37.
[205] Wicken, 238.
[206] Wicken, 238.
[207] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto," 16, 18.
[208] Clark, *Acadia*, 212.
[209] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1," 24; Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto," 29.
[210] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1," 24–25.
[211] "Atlantic Green Lane - MALPEQUE BAY."

[212] "Atlantic Green Lane - MALPEQUE BAY."
[213] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1," 26.
[214] de la Roque, "Census by the Sieur de La Roque, 1752," 152–59; Mary McD. Maude, "POTIER DUBUISSON, ROBERT," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/potier_dubuisson_robert_3E.html; T. A. Crowley and Bernard Pothier, "DU PONT DUCHAMBON, LOUIS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/du_pont_duchambon_louis_4E.html.
[215] de la Roque, "Census by the Sieur de La Roque, 1752," 158 See Jean Baptiste Hent, settled on Pierre Arcenaud's land (his FIL).
[216] "Recensement de l'Isle Saint-Jean. Noms Des Chefs de Familles et Lieux d'origine" (Census, 1728), Accession 2702/670, Smith-Alley Collection, Public Archives and Records Office of Prince Edward Island.
[217] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1"; Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2."
[218] William Wood, *The Great Fortress: A Chronicle of Louisbourg, 1720-1760*, Chronicles of Canada 8 (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1915), 2; Bruce W. Fry, *"Un Air de Fort": Les Fortifications de Louisbourg*, Études En Archéologie, Architecture et Histoire (Hull, QC: Parcs Canada, Direction des lieux et des parcs historiques nationaux, 1984), 49.
[219] Wood, *The Great Fortress*, 1.
[220] Johnston, "Preserving History: The Commemoration of 18th Century Louisbourg, 1895-1940," 54.
[221] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 33.
[222] A. J. B. Johnston, "The People of Eighteenth Century Louisbourg," in *Aspects of Louisbourg : Essays on the History of an Eighteenth-Century French Community in North America* (Sydney, N.S.: University College of Cape Breton Press : Louisbourg Institute, 1995), 150–61.
[223] A. J. B. Johnston, "From Port de Peche to Ville Fortifiee: The Evolution of Urban Louisbourg 1713–1858," in *Aspects of Louisbourg : Essays on the History of an Eighteenth-Century French Community in North America* (Sydney, N.S.: University College of Cape Breton Press : Louisbourg Institute, 1995), 4, 10.
[224] Wood, *The Great Fortress*, 3–6; A. J. B. Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 5.
[225] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 37.
[226] "Acadia Q & A for Louisbourg, Fortress of Louisbourg, 2004," 2004, http://www.krausehouse.ca/krause/FortressOfLouisbourgResearchWeb/Search/AcadiaPaperQ&A.html.
[227] Harris, "Louisbourg - In-House Report on Site Histories."
[228] Harris.
[229] Harris; Also see White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol. 1, 569; vols. 2, 1376.
[230] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol 1, 569; vol 2, 1376.
[231] Harris, "Louisbourg - In-House Report on Site Histories."
[232] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol 2, 1509 Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 28–29.
[233] Bernard Pothier, "GOUTIN, MATHIEU DE," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/goutin_mathieu_de_2E.html.
[234] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 28–29.
[235] Pothier, "GOUTIN, MATHIEU DE."
[236] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 37–40.
[237] Jonah and Tait, 37–40.
[238] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1030.

[239] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle,"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau."
[240] Dunn, "Louisbourg - Block 2," 70–71.
[241] Kenneth Donovan, "Slaves and Their Owners in Ile Royale, 1713-1760," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region / Revue d'histoire de La Region Atlantique* 25, no. 1 (October 1, 1995): 3.
[242] Craig N. Cipolla, ed., *Foreign Objects: Rethinking Indigenous Consumption in American Archaeology*, 1 edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2017), 17–18.
[243] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire de La Communauté de Marguerite Terriau, Veuve de Pierre Boisseau."
[244] Wood, *The Great Fortress*, 7; Also see Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 98.
[245] Wood, *The Great Fortress*, 8; Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 30–31.
[246] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 62–63.
[247] Morris, "Breif Survey of Nova Scotia [Sic.]," 257–58.
[248] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 177.
[249] Reid, "Acadia and the Acadians," 26–31; For expansion on Atlantic Canada's situation within a global Atlantic, and a summary of modern scholarship on the subject, see Bannister, "Atlantic Canada in an Atlantic World?," 3.
[250] Germain le pere's son François Xavier married Marie Josephe Richard, another granddaughter of Sansoucy, and Marguerite Richard (the widow Dugas)'s second cousin. René Blanchard le fils married François' sister Marie. White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol 2, 1458.
[251] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto," 30–31.
[252] The Abbé Raynal, as described in Haliburton, *An Historical Statistical Account of Nova Scotia in Two Volumes : Illustrated by a Map of the Province, and Several Engravings*, 1:Vol. 1, 196.
[253] Laurier Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption: French Beads in North America, 1500-1700," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9, no. 1 (October 1, 2001): 87.
[254] Lewis Borck and Barbara J. Mills, "Approaching an Archaeology of Choice: Consumption, Resistance, and Religion in the Prehispanic Southwest," in *Foreign Objects: Rethinking Indigenous Consumption in American Archaeology* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2017), 42–43.
[255] J. Russell Harper, "Two Seventeenth Century Micmac 'Copper Kettle' Burials," *Anthropologica*, no. 4 (1957): 11–36; Genevieve Fisher and Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Introduction: Embodying Identity in Archaeology," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13, no. 2 (2003): 225–30.
[256] Cipolla, *Foreign Objects*, 17–18.
[257] Jacques de Meulles, "Account of the Voyage of Monsieur de Meulles to Acadie, 1685-1686," in *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779) : New and Unpublished Documents and Other Data Relating to Acadia (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Maine, Etc.; the Actors, Sir William Alexander, Jacques De Meuelles Gargas, Vincent De Saccardy, Marquis De La Roche, Delabat and J. F. W. Des Barres*, ed. William Inglis Morse, vol. 1 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1935), 110; Dièreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*, 175; Pehr Kalm et al., *Voyage de Pehr Kalm au Canada en 1749* (Montréal: CLF, 1977), 569; Arnaud Balvay, "Tattooing and Its Role in French–Native American Relations in the Eighteenth Century," *French Colonial History* 9, no. 1 (July 9, 2008): 3–4.
[258] See discussions in Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*; Mary Roach-Higgins and Joanne Eicher, "Dress and Identity," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 10, no. 4 (1992): 1–8; Carolyn L. White, "Constructing Identities: Personal Adornment from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1680–1820" (Ph.D., Boston University, 2002); Richardson, "Domestic Objects and the Construction of Family Identity"; Richardson, "'Havying Nothing upon Hym Saving Onely His Sherte'"; Hamling and Richardson, *Everyday Objects : Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings*; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians.'"
[259] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Cloth, Clothing, and Early American Social History," *Dress* 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1991): 39–48; Loren, "Social Skins"; Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Threads: Collecting Cloth in the North American French Colonies," *Archaeologies* 4, no. 1 (April 2008): 50–66; Robert S. DuPlessis,

"Cottons Consumption in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century North Atlantic," in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850* (OUP/Pasold Research Fund, 2011), 227–46.
[260] Chrestien Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia : With the Customs and Religion of the Gaspesian Indians*, trans. William F. (William Francis) Ganong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1910).
[261] Lennox, *Homelands and Empires*; Lennox, "Nova Scotia Lost and Found."
[262] Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*, 53–54.
[263] Anishanslin, 216.
[264] Anishanslin, 269–70.
[265] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis."
[266] Ships from France or England could take a month or more to make a single crossing, with instances of ships delayed over three months due to bad weather on the crossing. Times generally ranged between 40 – 100 days, with some outliers on either side depending on wind and weather. See Gilles Proulx, *Between France and New France: Life Aboard the Tall Sailing Ships* (Dundurn, 1984), 54 (54-70 for longer discussion); S.D. Macdonald, "Ships of War Lost on the Coast of Nova Scotia and Sable Island, during the Eighteenth Century," in *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*, vol. IX (Read before the Nova Scotia Historical Society, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, March 6th, 1884.: Nova Scotia Historical Society., 1891), 119–35. From the Bay of Fundy to Quebec City takes approximately 2,000 km by ship, up and around Cape Breton. Making a high estimate of a speed of 10 knots, the shortest time such a trip would take would have been between five days to a week, depending on the winds. The approximately 490 km between Port Royal and Boston was a straight line that could be navigated in less than two days.
[267] Henry Percival Biggar and George McKinnon Wrong, *The Early Trading Companies of New France. A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America*, University of Toronto Studies in History (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1901); Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis"; Christopher Moore, "Merchant Trade in Louisbourg, Ile Royale" (M.A., Université d'Ottawa / University of Ottawa, 1977); Christopher Moore, "The Other Louisbourg: Trade and Merchant Enterprise in Île Royale 1713-58," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 12, no. 23 (May 1979): 79–96; Natalie Rothstein, "Silk in European and American Trade before 1783: A Commodity of Commerce or a Frivolous Luxury?," in *Textiles in Trade* (Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium, Washington, DC, 1990); Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, trans. Liana Vardi, Studies on the History of Quebec (Montreal, Que.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1600-1800* (Palgrave-MacMillan, 1997); Peter A. Coclanis, ed., *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*, The Carolina Lowcountry and the Atlantic World (University of South Carolina Press, 2005); DuPlessis, "Defining A French Atlantic Empire: Some Material Culture Evidence"; Beaudry and Symonds, *Interpreting the Early Modern World Transatlantic Perspectives*; DuPlessis, "Cottons Consumption in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century North Atlantic."
[268] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 70.
[269] Governor Simon Bradstreet, 1680. George Francis Dow, *Every Day Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Boston, MA: The Society for the preservation of New England antiquities, 1935), 150.
[270] "Billet de Zacharie Richard, de Port-Royal, En Faveur de Minet, Pour Marchandises Reçues, 1743; Enregistré à La Requête de Mme Mullot (Julienne Minet)." (July 15, 1743), Amirauté de Louisbourg à La Rochelle (R12063-4-X-F), Library and Archives Canada; Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 101.
[271] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 133–34.
[272] Dièreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*, 94–95; Clark, *Acadia*, 161–62; Gregory Kennedy, "Marshland Colonization in Acadia and Poitou during the 17th Century," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region / Revue d'histoire de La Region Atlantique* 42, no. 1 (2013): 45.
[273] Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 128.
[274] Webster and Villebon, 132. Minas, 27 October, 1699.
[275] Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses*, 295.

[276] "Most of the women make themselves woolens with which they dress themselves and also their husbands, They make almost all of the socks for their families and they go without buying; They [ils - now including husbands as well] use only moccasins which they make themselves. An English barque comes to this place every year in the month of April which brings them their little necessities that they buy with the furs that they had from the savages. He also makes linen cloth." Translation by author, from de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte."
[277] Judith Anne Rygiel, "'The Homespun Economy': Persistence of Handweaving in New Brunswick in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D., Carleton University (Canada), 2004), 178.
[278] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 120–23.
[279] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 92; François Castonguay, "Sheep Farming," The Canadian Encyclopedia, accessed November 3, 2017, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sheep-farming/.
[280] M. L. Ryder, "Medieval Sheep and Wool Types," *The Agricultural History Review* 32, no. 1 (1984): 14, 23; P. J. Bowden, "Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry," *The Economic History Review* 9, no. 1 (1956): 49.
[281] Ryder, "Medieval Sheep and Wool Types," 24.
[282] Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown, 1 July 1791, cited in Hannay, "The Acadian French"; Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 60.
[283] Perrot, "Relation de l'acadie Envoyée Par Le Sr. Perrot."
[284] Rygiel, "'The Homespun Economy,'" 53.
[285] "Recensement Fait Par de Meulles, Intendant de La Nouvelle-France, de Tous Les Peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière Saint-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée et Autres Costes de l'Acadie, s'y Étant Luy Même Transporté Dans Chacune Des Habitations Au Commencement de l'année 1686." (Census, 1686), Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies; état civil et recensements : Série G1 : Recensements et documents divers : C-2572, Library and Archives Canada.
[286] "Recensement Fait Par de Meulles, Intendant de La Nouvelle-France, de Tous Les Peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière Saint-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée et Autres Costes de l'Acadie, s'y Étant Luy Même Transporté Dans Chacune Des Habitations Au Commencement de l'année 1686."; "Rescensement Du Port Royal a l'accadie de l'année 1707." Jean did the best of them all, with 20 sheep, while poor Guillaume struggled along with two.
[287] "Estat Des Habitans de Port-Royal [Des Mines, Cap de Sable, Beaubassin], Leurs Familles, Terres En Valleur, Bestiaux et Fusils" (Census, 1693), Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies; état civil et recensements : Série G1 : Recensements et documents divers : C-2572, Library and Archives Canada.
[288] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 133–34.
[289] "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil" (April 26, 1691), XXXVII 93, Massachusetts Archives; William Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed," January 12, 1696, Suffolk Court Files XXXVIII, 3007, 9th paper, Suffolk County Court.
[290] "An Act to Prevent the Exportation of Wool out of the Kingdoms of Ireland and England into Forreigne Parts and for the Incouragement of the Woollen Manufactures in the Kingdom of England. 10 W. III. c. 16 (1699)," in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 7: 1695-1701 (British History Online, 1820), 524–28; Also see Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis", for more on illegal and legal trade in early Acadia.
[291] Gerritsen and Riello, *The Global Lives of Things : The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, 8.
[292] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 76.
[293] Daigle, 79–80.
[294] Coleman, "Acadian History in the Isthmus of Chignecto," 116–17; Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 97.
[295] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 116.
[296] Brunet, "Voyages of Henri Brunet."
[297] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 100.
[298] "De Meulles au roi", 1684, F3 II, 200. Cited in Daigle, 102.
[299] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," Chapter 9, 1; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 107, 186.

[300] Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 46, 56, 175, 194. 17 April 1693: "two English vessels had arrived at Port Royal, one of 30, the other of 25 tons, with fifty men in both: they were laden with merchandise and asked only to trade." (46); 18 July, 1694: "M. Baptiste arrived at the mouth of the river, having captured five prizes. He sank the first, a fishing boat. The second, taken on its way from Barbadoes to Boston, loaded with rum and molasses, he ransomed. A third, loaded partly with cloth from Lancaster in England, and two others with supplies and dried fish, were recaptured by the Boston frigate while he was off Cape Sable. The men whom he had placed aboard to navigate his prizes escaped to land and returned here by way of Port Royal." (56); "A letter of Saint-Castin dated La Rochelle, Nov 21, 1701, contained a justification of his trade with the English." (194) .
[301] de Meulles, "Account of the Voyage of Monsieur de Meulles to Acadie, 1685-1686" "Il vient tous les ans dans ce lieu une barque anglais au mois d'avril, qui leur apporte le reste de leurs petites necessities, qu'ils achètent pour des pelleteries qu'ils ont en des sauvages..." ("An English ship comes every year in April, from which they buy the rest of their small necessities. They buy them with the furs that they get from the savages [sic]...").
[302] Mathieu Desgoutins, "Résumé d'une Lettre de Mathieu de Goutin," December 23, 1707, Série C11A. Correspondance générale; Canada. fol. 189-192, Library and Archives Canada.
[303] "Governor's Letter-Book, Annapolis, 1719-1742," in *A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741* (Halifax, N.S.: Herald Printing House, 1900), 69.
[304] "Nova Scotia Archives Commission Book, 1720-1741," in *A Calendar of Two Letter-Books and One Commission-Book in the Possession of the Government of Nova Scotia, 1713-1741* (Halifax, N.S.: Herald Printing House, 1900), 201.
[305] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 103–4.
[306] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 177.
[307] Griffiths, *Contexts of Acadian History, 1686-1784*, 29.
[308] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto," 9.
[309] Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, 9. Many of the arguments in this section were refined and expanded thanks to conversation with Charles Burke, and the chapter has been greatly enhanced by his contributions.
[310] de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte."
[311] For further discussion, see Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy."
[312] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 84; Also see Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy."
[313] Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 86.
[314] Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 101 Arrivees, f. 155, 157 ; Also see Hodson, *The Acadian Diaspora*, 29.
[315] In collaboration with Huia Ryder, "TEMPLE, SIR THOMAS," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/temple_thomas_1E.html.
[316] Report by M. Tiberge, Agent of the Acadia Trading Company, 30 September 1695 Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 141–42.
[317] Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une colonie féodale en Amérique*, 165.
[318] Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," 31.
[319] Coleman, 32.
[320] "MG11, Nova Scotia A" vol. 11, p. 211.
[321] "MG11, Nova Scotia A" vol. 20, p. 125.
[322] See logs from Henri Brunet (1690s), and the letter books of Peter Faneuil in particular.
[323] William Henry Whitmore and William Sumner Appleton, *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston : Containing the Boston Town Records from 1742 to 1757*, vol. 14, City Document 70 (Boston, MA: Rockwell and Churchill, 1885), 162–63; Also see Faneuil Letter Book, Peter Faneuil,

"Peter Faneuil Papers, 1716-1739. Letterbook (Business), 1737-1739" (1739 1737), H234, Volume F-4, Mss:766 1712-1854, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.
[324] "Billet de Zacharie Richard, de Port-Royal, En Faveur de Minet, Pour Marchandises Reçues, 1743; Enregistré à La Requête de Mme Mullot (Julienne Minet)."; Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 101.
[325] Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, 80.
[326] Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed."
[327] Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 100–105.
[328] 25 September 1715. MG1, C11A, vol. 35, p. 203. Also see Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," 34–35; Yves F. Zoltvany, "BÉGON DE LA PICARDIÈRE, MICHEL," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/begon_de_la_picardiere_michel_3E.html.
[329] John G. Reid, "Nova Scotia Archives - Introduction to Colonel John Gorham's Account Book," August 1, 2013, https://novascotia.ca/archives/gorham/background.asp.
[330] Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 90–91.
[331] Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," 32; Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 82.
[332] From Mr. de Brouillan, governor of Cape Breton, to Doucette. Louisburg, 21 July, 1718. Colonial Records, N. S., Vol. II., quoted in Richard, *Acadia*, 110–11.
[333] Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 100 F1965, Laborde, 2046, 17-06.
[334] Nicolas Landry, "Culture Matérielle et Niveaux de Richesse Chez Les Pêcheurs de Plaisance et de l'île Royale, 1700-1758," *Material Culture Review / Revue de La Culture Matérielle* 48, no. 1 (June 6, 1998); Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 100–101.
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[338] Otis Little, *The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies Considered: With an Account of Their Produce and a Particular Description of Nova Scotia* (London: G. Woodfall, 1748), 20–22.
[339] Ross and Deveau, *The Acadians of Nova Scotia: Past and Present*, 38; Daigle, "Nos amis les ennemis," 71–72.
[340] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 86–87, 88.
[341] Pierre-Georges Roy (ed.), "Lettre de Talon Au Ministre Colbert (11 Novembre 1671) Rapport de l'archiviste de La Province de Québec Pour 1930-1931." (Québec: Rédempti Paradis, Imprimeur de sa Majesté, November 11, 1671), 164. Translation by author.
[342] "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil."
[343] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol 1, 476; Barbara Riley, "DELORT, GUILLAUME," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/delort_guillaume_3E.html.
[344] Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 103.
[345] Basque, "Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia," 52. Marie moved to live with him in Boston, as White lists all of their children as having been born in that city. See White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, Vol 1, 78-79.
[346] Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed." Other materials included in the cargo were axes, fishing hooks, cooking ingredients, and rum.
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[350] "Charles Melanson to the Governor Stoughton" February 5, 1696, Mass. Archives II, 587.
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[368] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1180.
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Chapter 3: Scissors and other Household Tools

[I]n that bit of white rag with the invisible stitching, lying among fallen leaves and rubbish that the wind has blown into the gutter or street corner, lies all the passion of some woman's soul finding voiceless expression.[1]

The environment in which textiles and garments are created has a great deal of influence over the types of materials available, which in turn affects the styles of garments which can be made from those materials. The next entanglement—one which changes everything about the visual texture of a garment, and by extension the body within it—is the series of affordances generated by the types of tools in use. Having wood available to build standing looms, for example, as well the space in which to build and work one, access to steel scissors and fine pins, and spinning technology that produces a certain amount and fineness of thread, all contribute to the kinds of textiles that can be developed and made in enough quantity to clothe a settlement. Connected to those physical nodes are changing assumptions about division of labour and perceptions of status that add cultural and political tensions to the web of interlocking relationships.

This chapter explores the surviving production tools associated with Acadian sites and places them in their socio-cultural contexts. The tools used for spinning, weaving, and sewing restrict the types of textiles which could be produced. The styles of those tools, and the patterns of domestic life which they facilitated and required, reveal a great deal about the ways in which the Acadian domestic world functioned. Patterns of gender relations, social status, labour division, and community engagement are all made visible through the networks that centre around scissors, sewing kits, and spindles. Those interconnected webs follow trade patterns out across the Atlantic, rest for a while in the

domestic spheres of familial and community connections, and tie those to questions of what it means to be a settler on a farmstead in a time when concepts of leisure and power are being questioned.

Acadian society functioned with a social hierarchy, even if the distinctions between the levels of status were on a much finer gradient than might be seen in more formally hierarchical European cultures. Naomi Griffiths argues for a levelling of social status that took place due to the small numbers of families in early Acadia.[2] She suggests that the presence of deputies was a sign of the rise of Acadian political agency, rather than part of the kind of socio-economic stratification seen in seventeenth-century Europe. Maurice Basque, on the other hand, argues that there was a visible distinction between Acadian "elite families" and the others, a distinction marked by social connections such as frequency of marriage with French officers.[3] Jonah and Tait find evidence for both takes, suggesting that there was a social elite, but one which was far more permeable than in other regions.[4] The material culture they examined suggests little difference in wealth and belongings between the elite and non-elite: "economic stratification, but neither great wealth nor extreme poverty."[5]

Status could be conveyed through possessions as well as occupation. Farming communities back in France functioned along those lines, as what James Farr describes as a "primary characteristic" of the early modern period.[6] The clothes someone wore, kinds of food they ate, and types of vessels used for food and drink would have been expressions of standing as well as individual preference.[7] Lewis Binford made one of the early major arguments in favour of using material culture as a means of examining social systems, in that the objects' stylistic properties: "have their primary functional context in

providing a symbolically diverse yet pervasive artifactual environment promoting group solidarity and serving as a basis for group awareness and identity."[8] Decorations and embellishments on an object, in other words, were a means of projecting status and community membership. Appadurai places similar intrinsic value on the entire object, calling culturally valued items, "guardians for the status systems."[9] Belongings are gatekeepers that distinguish between those who have access to valuable commodities, and those who do not.

A ranking is not a static thing, but a fluid consideration of relationships and exchanges that reflects the motion of social change. The wide range of inventories studied by Jonah and Tait demonstrate the visible status differences between Acadian households, even within the network of Acadian women living in Louisbourg.[10] Those differences are occasionally visible in the consumption patterns of other domestic goods, particularly porcelain.[11] Elaborately decorated sewing equipment acts as a status-giving commodity, and archaeologist Mary Beaudry has uncovered incidences of sewing tools used for the projection of status and influence in colonial-era New England settlements.[12] Acadians purchased some of their tools from peddlers carrying items manufactured in Europe and New England, made some for themselves from local materials, and incorporated all of these into the rhythms of their daily lives.

Looms were used in Acadia, though shortages of said equipment in the colony were reported in the 1670s in a supply request made to Quebec.[13] Large weaving equipment is a current gap in the archaeological record, but smaller finds give us more insight into the processes of textile and clothing manufacturing and embellishment.[14] Small finds such as scissors, pins, and thimbles open up a window into the large world of production and

maintenance of the body and its adornment. Acadians had access to "petites necessaries" and luxury items thanks to the robust trade enjoyed at varying times with New England and Louisbourg. Embroidery floss, silk threads, decorative scissors, and other small goods were available first through traders like Henri Brunet and later through Louisbourg, as were dyes like indigo and vermillion, and other tools including knitting needles.[15] Aspects of fine sewing and the equipment used for that task were a crucial part of the definition of elite European womanhood, and their appearance in Acadia sheds new light on some of their value systems and means of navigating complex social structures in the colonial environment.[16]

Sewing is commonly associated with women's work in the modern eye, though it has never been an exclusively gendered activity. Sewing tools including scissors, pins, and thimbles were part of soldiers', farmers', and sailors' regular kits from the medieval period to the modern day, maintenance and repair of uniforms and gear important among their daily tasks.[17] Embroidery and fancy work, however, while part of both men's and women's skill sets during the medieval period, became more closely associated with femininity—and specifically performative femininity—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[18] Artifacts associated with women's labour and, more particularly, labour and the body, gained a particular kind of importance in the early modern period.[19] Personal artifacts like bodkins and embroidery scissors were worn visibly among the clothes, were focal points in portraits, and became objects of social display and status negotiation.[20] Decorative tools associated with women's labour added a layer of prestige to regular labour, items such as silvered scissors and decorative snips translating a subsistence activity into an elite one.[21] Scissors have been found at every Acadian site to date, the

variety of shapes and sizes indicating different patterns of behaviour. Finds at Beaubassin and at the Blanchard house in Belleisle suggest a different attitude towards social status signalling than seen at Melanson, or with the Acadian women living in Louisbourg.

In her book *Findings,* Beaudry sets out a framework with which to classify categories of sewing tools.[22] She separates practical and necessary work such as plain sewing, knitting and repairs from fancy work—including techniques such as embroidery, whitework, cutwork, and other purely decorative elements—and work intended for sale, which may be of either sort.[23] In this schema, the types and quality of the tools used for production give clues as to the nature of the tasks, the quality and purpose of the work, and the social standing and display practices of the needleworkers. The ways in which sewing tools are embedded in different forms of labour opens discussion on gender identity, status, and community.[24]

3.1 Scissors

Scissors are a commodity—an object with both use and exchange value—both when they leave the manufacturer and as they pass through the hands of traders. They become a tool when they reach the first user, decorative versions become status symbols and reflections of idealized domesticity, and all have the potential to become a symbol of generational bonding when given from mother to daughter, grandmother to grandchild.[25] As such, they move between Kopytoff's separate spheres: from subsistence items necessary for basic tasks, to prestige items, to markers of relationships and social exchange.[26]

The visual symbols of textile labour carried a great amount of social meaning. The accoutrements of sewing and finework—scissors, needles, bobbins and lacemaking pillows, for example—appear frequently in depictions of elite women as an appeal to their industry and skill.[27] Scissors appear in images alongside other tools and symbols of domesticity throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Philip Mercier's *A Girl Sewing* (1750) is not an image of wealth, but places plain sewing within an intensely intimate domestic setting, a small child looking on at the young girl engaged in working fine linen.[28] The call-out here is to the warm world of intimate domestic labour, a window into something deeply sensual.

Figure 3.1: *Jeune fille brodant,* Jean-Etienne Liotard n.d. (c) RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Michèle Bellot

Images of women engaging in needlework abound in continental portraiture of the time, their tools focal points of the artwork and by extension of the scene. The young embroiderer in *Jeune fille brodant* (figure 3.1) has been captured in paint in a moment of preparation, her large tapestry needle threaded and poised to continue her work, her scissors attached to her apron by a blue silk ribbon that matches the colour of the thread—likely also silk—in her lap. Stephen Daniels described the use of sewing tools like these in portraiture as "emblems of activity": markers of the sitter's industry and skill.[29] She is engaged in decorative needlework rather than plain sewing, and the ribboned scissors with decorative handles become a symbol of her elevated status. Rather than maintenance work or production intended to ensure comfort and survival, the luxuries of silk ribbons and threads, fancy embroidery snips and the tapestry in her lap show that she spends her time on refined labour instead.[30]

Tensions between productive and misused time are apparent in the way in which the term luxury transformed during the eighteenth century in France. John Shovlin has found that, prior to the 1750s, the word referred almost entirely to the unearned use of elite goods by those of lower status.[31] Concerns revolved around the blurring of social boundaries, much as earlier concerns about the poor usurping the clothing of the rich led to sumptuary legislation in previous centuries.[32] Rising access to consumer goods and luxury items confounded pre-existing categories of those who could afford elite goods and those who could not, an entanglement that changed the symbolic meaning behind women's use of luxury sewing tools.[33] While blacksmiths had been present in Acadia since the first arrivals most of the scissors found there were likely imported, the distance and expense adding some extra cachet to tools already heavy with meaning.[34]

There are no images of scissors that can be directly related to Acadia, and scissors only appear a handful of times in inventories. The bulk of what we know about scissors must come from analysis of the physical artifacts. The origins, physical qualities, typologies, and the contexts in which scissors have been found all contribute to our understanding of their use, and what values they embodied.

King Philip's War and the subsequent unrest all but halted tool production in Maine between 1676 and 1740, and the majority of scissors found in American colonial archaeological sites were likely produced in Sheffield and shipped elsewhere as part of Atlantic trade circles.[35] In 1696, Charles LaTour brought a cargo including "Two doz: sizzers" from Massachusetts to sell at Cape Sable, and scissors would have been available for purchase at Louisbourg.[36] Both English and French ceramics and stoneware were found in Acadian houses, as well as pieces from New England, Spain, Germany and Holland, confirming a range of potential sources for household goods.[37]

While Germany, Belgium, and Spain were centres of early modern scissors and shears manufacture, France in particular had a claim on the most decorative and elaborate designs until Spain's craftsmen rose in popularity in the eighteenth century.[38] French-made scissors in the seventeenth century were often heavily embellished with precious metals, decorated with cast and inlaid embellishments, or made with exquisitely delicate metal sheaths as covers.[39] Sheffield was the primary English location for scissor making, and eighty-seven separate manufacturers of fine and common scissors are listed in the *Directory of Sheffield* for 1787, but while larger scissors are associated with English manufacture, French scissors were known for their delicacy.[40]

Scissors are an artifact type almost predestined to be some of the rare surviving evidence of sewing work in colonial Nova Scotia. The collection of pairs of scissors and scissor fragments recovered from the sites make up one of the largest diagnostic populations in these assemblages. While the wet and acidic soil of the Maritimes consumes textiles at a rapid pace, the iron, copper, and brass used to make scissors survives much longer.[41] Scissors associated with Acadian occupation have surfaced at each of the sites and records of the same appear in personal inventories, merchants' invoices, and traders' inventories.[42] Every household engaged in any kind of domestic textile or garment production—that is, the vast majority of settler households—would have possessed at least one pair of scissors. Mary Beaudry's examination of colonial-era sites in New England found that the predominant ratio of finds was a single pair of utility scissors per site.[43] The numbers are intriguingly different in Acadia.

While scissors are standard kit, required in order to build and repair clothing, the variety and quantity of scissors a family owned were not solely about having an object with which to cut. Some of the pairs of scissors present at Beaubassin, Belleisle, Melanson, and Louisbourg are decorated prestige items, and the assemblages contain many more pairs than are necessary for general survival activities.[44] The majority are embroidery or fine-work scissors, with no major differences in ratio between the sites regardless of the reason for the deposit—quick evacuation, fire, or leisured packing. Only the quality and embellishment levels of the scissors differ, which reveals something about how the women living in each space considered and performed femininity and leisure.

3.1.1 *The Collection*

Excavations at Belleisle in 1983 and 2004 revealed seventeen partial scissors or scissor fragments, adding up to a potential twelve to fifteen pairs. Fifteen fragments and pieces may add up to anywhere from ten to twelve pairs of scissors at Melanson. Five have been found so far at Beaubassin, and Fortress Louisbourg's collections contain ten artifacts which may add up to somewhere between five to ten pairs of scissors associated with pre-expulsion Acadian occupation, with one further fancy set listed in an inventory.[45] Some of these items were undoubtedly designed and used for sewing and tailoring, while others may have been general-use domestic scissors. Studies of scissors recovered from various colonial and post-colonial sites have enabled the production of a typology and chronology of scissor styles, with an eye toward identifying the associated activities. Size and blade-to-handle proportion are the key factors in that identification process.[46] Some specialized forms of scissors have differently shaped blades which make for useful diagnostic features, such as the knob at the end of the blade for lace-making scissors, but the corrosive nature of Nova Scotia soils makes identifying some of those details difficult.[47]

The differences between standard domestic multi-purpose scissors and tailor's shears are easy to list, but more difficult to discern in practice. As anyone with a sewing-box is well aware, scissors originally intended for one task are often borrowed for others by incautious members of the household, and general-use scissors can be repurposed for sewing tasks. The Ministère de la Culture in France distinguishes the types of cutting tools found in the early modern and modern period by length: *ciseaux à broder* (embroidery scissors / snips) are less than 12 cm long, with very narrow and tapered

blades.[48] These smaller scissors, designed to be held in the palm of the hand and worked with the finger and thumb, are inappropriate for continuous cutting use. They are perfectly designed, however, for cutting single threads or making very precise snips in the warp or weft of a textile, indicating use for mending, application of trim and buttons, or other fine work.[49]

Ciseaux de coupe (tailor's scissors / shears) generally measure from 20-30 cm long, with broad blades.[50] Their long blades and long, proportional handles are the most appropriate overall for cutting quantities of heavier material, including garments.[51] Cloth shears were the largest of the sewing scissors, and the length of the blades made it easier for the user to make a continually straight cut: Goodall describes a pair with an overall length of 24.8 cm and a blade width of 20 mm as a good example of the style.[52]

Domestic scissors in the middle range are the most difficult to relate specifically to sewing, but their presence around other items used primarily or solely for garment and textile work is a strong indicator of their purpose. The line between standard domestic scissors and snips is more nebulous, but modern embroidery scissors tend to fall within the range of ~7 – 11 cm (3.5 – 4.5"). A bottom boundary of 11 – 12 cm seems to best fit the multiple designations, with the width and style of the blade being the secondary indicator of function.

In cases where not enough remains of the item to use size as a diagnostic, their context can be used to make a tentative identification. Scissors of similar style and different size categories are found together more often than not, including a set of silver-plated scissors and snips from lot 7B7D8 at Beaubassin, or the pairing of sewing scissors

and snips found together in the Blanchard house in Belleisle.[53] The combination, sometimes found in conjunction with pins and other sewing tools, indicates the presence of a sewing kit or huswife, and potentially an area of the home used for textile labour.

Table 3.1 Scissors found at Acadian sites

<table>
<tr><th>Type</th><th>Size / Features</th><th>Beaubassin</th><th>Belleisle</th><th>Louisbourg</th><th>Melanson</th></tr>
<tr><td>Snips / Embroidery scissors</td><td>< 12 cm long, narrow, tapered blades, often decorated.</td><td>3</td><td>6</td><td>8</td><td>4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Domestic scissors</td><td>10-15 cm, thin blades, plain.</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">5</td><td></td><td rowspan="2">4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sewing scissors</td><td>12-20 cm, decorated</td><td>2</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Dressmaking / Tailoring scissors</td><td>20-30 cm, offset bow, broad blades.</td><td></td><td>1</td><td></td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Fragments</td><td>Not enough survived to tell</td><td></td><td>2</td><td></td><td>7</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td></td><td>5</td><td>13-14</td><td>9</td><td>Between 9 – 16</td></tr>
</table>

Five pairs of scissors have been found at Beaubassin to date, three of which (two pairs of scissors and one of snips) were silver or tin-plated to give a silvered appearance.[54] The Belleisle scissor assemblage contains a broad mix of plain and fancy scissors, about half small enough to be embroidery snips. Two of the pairs of larger domestic scissors were found in association with snips, suggesting they were used for sewing rather than kitchen chores. One larger pair has an extended rivet, of the type seen in contemporary illustrations of tailors' shears (see figures 3.16-3.18, below). The Melanson site contained many small corroded pieces of larger scissors and snips, most of those apparently plain in

design.[55] Lot 2E at Fortress Louisbourg, the home of the Widow Dugas, provided one pair of mid-range scissors and four pairs of snips of varying sizes, at least one with fancy decoration similar in style to the snips recovered at Belleisle.

The ownership breakdowns show disparities in style and quantity, though that quantity can be difficult to judge. It is possible that many pairs existed at the Savoie house, for example, but were removed by relations over the years, or packed and taken during the deportation. We have minimal chronologies available for the finds at these sites, only the Melanson settlement offering up one house with very clearly delineated occupational time periods, and so any evidence for ownership changing over time is also lost.

3.1.2 Beaubassin

Beaubassin's collection of scissors are styles predominantly associated with finework and precise dressmaking. The first scissors found at Beaubassin were uncovered underneath a burned layer, indicating use in the earlier stages of the site's occupation. Two pairs—one pair of sewing scissors and one highly decorative pair of snips—came from the same site. Both were plated, likely with tin, and both were retrieved and conserved mostly intact. The sewing scissors are undecorated save for the plating, the curved hafts reserved, as was common, for the snips. The scissors are identical to a pair catalogued by Noël Hume and dated to the mid-seventeenth century, the combination of wrapped loops and rectangular cross-section of the hafts confirming the earlier manufacturing date.[56] The fancy embroidery snips have shaped hafts with distinctive curves and separate, symmetrical loops, indicative of later seventeenth into eighteenth-century manufacture.[57] Not quite to the decorative level of the later rococo pieces, these

plated snips still show an attention to detail and a level of luxury expense that elevates them above basic workhorse domestic scissors.

Figure 3.2: Plated scissors and snips 7B7D8.10 and 7B7D8.11 found at Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

The pairs were found together with other household artifacts beneath a burned layer of earth on the south side of a structure.[58] While impossible at present to associate specific homeowners with specific structures, the presence of the sewing tools in close association, and the location in which they were found, can tell us much about the use of space. The sewing kit was discovered along the south wall, the side of the house which would receive the greatest amount of sun.[59] While the door to the house was not discovered during these excavations, it was also not in the south wall, indicating that the sewing kit was not secreted beneath the front stoop as has been seen in other locations.[60]

Rather, it was found likely where it had been used, the owner—one of many women who lived in Beaubassin—sitting in the afternoon sun with her handwork and her mending. This use of public space for domestic work was common, turning an intimate activity into shared experience. The prime loci for sewing work prior to the advent of electric light were the hearth and the solar, spaces designed for the availability of light and heat. Moving to the outdoors, a practical solution in geographies and seasons where weather permits, removes the action from the closed world of the family and into communal space.

Figure 3.3: Snips from Beaubassin.

Figure 3.4: Iron snips handle found in association with the awl at Beaubassin. Photos courtesy of Parks Canada.

The other pairs of scissors from Beaubassin are smaller, and the two with surviving tips have a blade shape associated with embroidery scissors. Two pairs were found together along with glass beads and a bead in process of being made, and the last was found close to more beads—both glass and stone—and a small sewing awl. The groupings of sewing tools close together suggests remnants of more abandoned sewing kits. The small size of the scissors indicates that they were used for fine handwork and embellishing clothes, possibly using the beads found nearby. Images from the 1740s show almost identical scissors available for general purchase (figure 3.5). The peddler

carries his wares for display in an open box along with reading glasses, shoe buckles, buttons, and other items related to easy domesticity.

Figure 3.5: Detail from *Peddler of Knives, Scissors and Combs* by Anne Claude Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus, 1742. Met Museum, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953. Acc. num 53.600.588(39)

A pair of plated embroidery scissors stands out as a second level of luxury consumer good. Embroidery snips in general indicate the presence of feminized aesthetic work, while the extra expense of plated tools adds a layer of prestige and social display. These scissors were badly crushed and bent at some point before the process of being discarded and interred, perhaps by fire. The damage incurred makes it difficult to tell if there was a maker's mark or ornamentation on the handle, but the high placement of the rivet, approximately a third of the way down the blade, indicates an early manufacturing date.[61]

The surface is plated with a silvered coating, most likely tin, which makes these small scissors a luxury item. Plating one metal with another is a technique which goes back centuries, gilded spurs common adornments for male nobles in the middle ages.[62] Silver plating was a common eighteenth-century method used to make brass items look like

solid silver, and both brass and silver scissors had the distinct advantage over iron ones in that they were protected from rust.[63] Those who could afford the luxury would sometimes indulge in an upgrade from wrought iron to silver, as did one successful French seamstress in 1770, purchasing silver scissors along with a matching silver thimble.[64]

Figure 3.6: Plated scissors 7B16F6.08, Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

The prioritization of expensive scissors—possibly a second fancy set, if this is part of one of the two sewing kits found nearby—indicates an emphasis on gendered tasks alongside socioeconomic status as part of the owner's sense of self. Wealth can be displayed through gems and buckles, through expensive fabrics and fancy stockings, but to go to the expense of purchasing silvered sewing tools draws in embroidery and finework as an expression of feminine identity. In *The Subversive Stitch*, Rozsika Parker separates the categories of plain sewing and embroidery on both the practical and ideological levels. While plain sewing was a requirement to furnish a household,

embroidery in the eighteenth century signified a higher socio-economic status—a refined and aristocratic lifestyle where access to leisure time for art was proof of gentility and economic privilege.[65] The art of finework was intrinsically connected to the status of a household, and part of the way in which a genteel family maintained its social position.[66]

Silvered scissor sets and fancy snips from multiple lots at Beaubassin reveal a system that saw sewing as a marker of elite womanhood. This is not the kind of activity commonly associated with the archetypical "outpost" or "border" labels often used to describe Beaubassin.[67] Rather, it speaks to an investment in European social norms that separated subsistence living from leisure crafts and using the latter as status marker as well as a venue for conspicuous consumption. Beaubassin, the large settlement furthest away from the concentrations of European power at Fort Anne and Fortress Louisbourg, also included the highest number of fancy scissors in the assemblages found to date. Those living there appear to have been in the process of developing their own social elite, beyond the malfunctioning seigneurial system or ranks of the deputies, one that reflected in dress as well as in the tools used to produce that dress.

3.1.3 Louisbourg

The Acadian-owned lot which revealed the bulk of the scissors in Louisbourg was lot 2E, one of four lots known to have been inhabited by Acadians. The family in residence at lot 2E directly before the British occupation consisted of Marguerite Richard (the window Dugas), her second husband Charles St. Etienne de la Tour, and six daughters.[68] Most of the pairs of scissors recovered from this site bear a striking resemblance to modern sewing snips designed for fine work and embroidery. All but one pair are dated

prior to 1750, when the original house was destroyed and the assemblage caught in the surrounding debris.[69] The other is of unknown date but a style common to the early 1700s.[70] It must be noted that there is a chance that some items found there could be from the brief period of the British Governor's occupation, 1745-1749. Any remains from that brief occupation would have been mingled in the rubble from the 1750 deconstruction of the house, a common problem with multiple-use sites.[71]

Figure 3.7: Scissors 2L81D4-79, Louisbourg lot 2E. Photos by author, extrapolation by Richard Morris. With thanks to Parks Canada.

Of the four pairs of mostly intact snips recovered from the site, three are on the larger end of the category, and one much smaller (see table 3.1). Four of the scissors are iron and two include copper alloy rivets. They range from standard sewing scissors to delicate snips potentially small enough to have been used by a young child. More likely, however, given their extremely sharp points and the lack of other child-sized sewing tools on site, they were used to clip threads and other fine detail work. Two of the larger pairs of snips are plain-handled with no decoration, and the third has a haft decorated with geometric cast iron designs (Figure 3.8). Noël Hume describes this sort of decoration as being most

frequently found on embroidery scissors.[72] The snips range in length from just over eight cm up to twelve cm, the larger ones very similar to those seen elsewhere in Acadia.

The fancy snips are not unique to the Acadians at Louisbourg, as an identical scissor handle was found across the street in Lot 2I, residence of the French de la Vallière family (Figure 3.9). These pieces are so similar that they could easily be two halves of the same pair, except that they are both designed for the same side. An increasing number of decorated scissors were being mass-produced, and it is more likely that these represent two different pairs cast from the same mould.[73] That these same sorts of decorated snips also appear at Belleisle indicates similar sources for the products, or at least that Marie and Marguerite Blanchard had an eye for the current fashions of France.

Figure 3.8: Scissor handle from 2E, 2L80T11-77. Photos by author, with thanks to Fortress Louisbourg.

Figure 3.9: Scissor handle 2I37-2L29P24-4.

The larger iron scissors from the Richard / de la Tour house at Louisbourg measure thirteen cm from end to end. Only one side of the scissors survives and that is corroded, the tip missing. Even so, enough remains of the haft to see the light ornamentation, the haft curving into a baluster before connecting to the circular loop. The handle is shorter by comparison to the blade, suggesting it was not designed for exceedingly difficult

cutting jobs. The shape of the blade is of a style which Noël Hume has identified as early 1700s, the wider blade angled obliquely toward the tip and almost resembling a modern dinner knife.[74]

The width and length of the blade suggest general-use scissors, though a similar pair with almost identical haft design and blade shape in the collection of the Winterthur Museum have been identified as sewing scissors.[75] As always, the boundaries between the types are blurry, and scissors designed and purchased for one set of tasks may be easily repurposed for another in the home.

Figure 3.10: Plain snips / scissors from Louisbourg. Iron with copper alloy rivet.

Jeanne Thibodeau's "scissors with a cover" are an interesting addition to the list, though we only have the textual description to go by. Scissor covers of the time were often metalwork rather than fabric or leather, though the material of Madame Thibodeau's is not disclosed. The Musee le Secq des Tournelles in Rouen has a large display of sheaths of the sort most likely described in the inventory, and Wright's *Portrait of a Woman* (1770) shows a similar sheath for the gentlewoman's scissors on the

table (figure 3.11).[76] Thibodeau's scissors and cover were likely similar, small tools meant for both use and display as status objects. The contents of her sewing basket in the inventory provide more information about her habits, including one hundred and fifty-one skeins of linen thread, six skeins of colourful silk thread, ribbons, taffeta, and braid. By all indications she was engaging in handwork appropriate to a genteel woman, not spending her time on practical or subsistence sewing.[77]

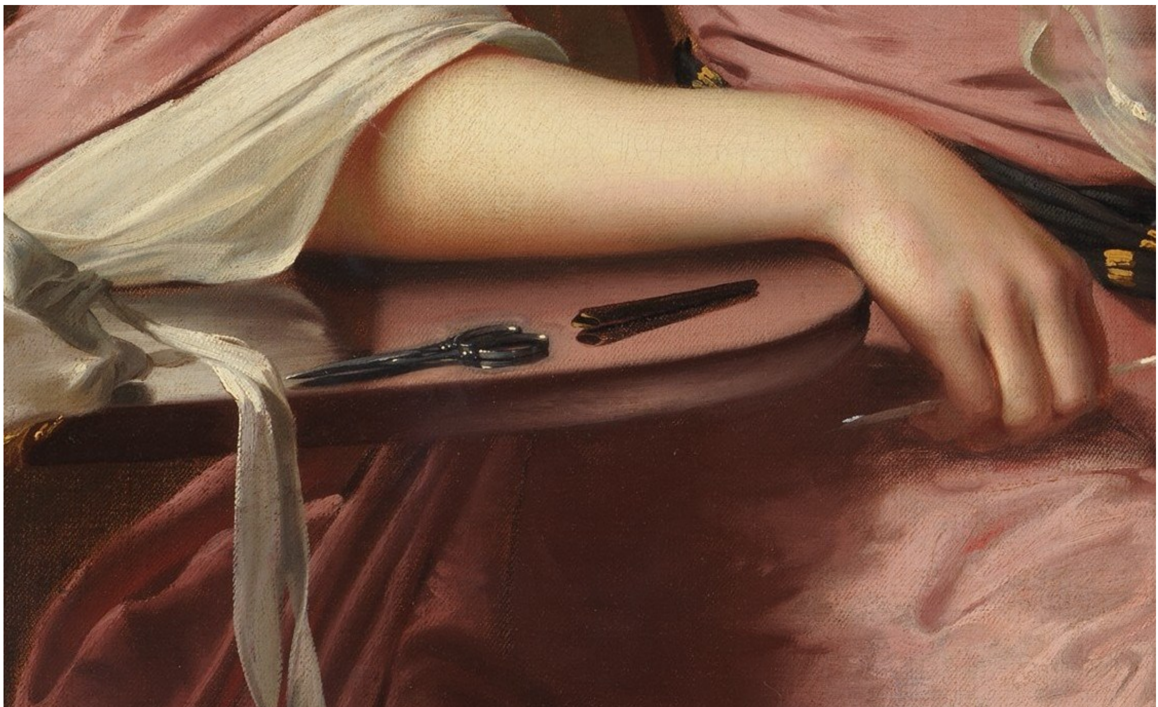

Figure 3.11: Detail, Portrait of a Woman, Joseph Wright, c. 1770. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1986.264.6. (public domain)

Louisbourg itself was part of the Atlantic trade routes, and while fashions were delayed getting to Ile Royale from Paris, those living in the fortress were still aware of and interested in following the fashions of the empire. The similarities between the scissors at Louisbourg and those from the other settlements—Belleisle in particular—suggest a shared aesthetic as well as communication and trade. Acadian women in more rural areas were nevertheless following the prevailing fashions in tools. The variety in

size indicates a variety in the tasks being performed, the presence of sewing scissors indicating engagement in either dressmaking, tailoring, or both. The emphasis was still on finework tools, and the attendant Eurocentric marking of feminine-coded tasks.

3.1.4 Belleisle

Belleisle was an older community than Beaubassin and survived a few years longer, evacuating only in 1755. Following up on Lavoie's analysis from 1983, with the addition of two new pairs discovered in excavations in 2004, the scissors found there tell a tale similar to that seen at the other sites.[78] As many as thirteen or fourteen pairs of scissors are represented in the Belleisle assemblage, at least half directly connected to dressmaking and finework rather than kitchen or general household use.

The Blanchards, the family who owned the property where most of the sewing tools were found, were among the wealthier residents of Belleisle. Brothers René and Antoine held four separate plots of land, sharing maintenance with brother-in-law Pierre Gaudet.[79] Pierre Blanchard was listed as a deputy for Belleisle in 1740, empowered in a letter from Mascarene to organize road building around part of the marsh and arbitrate fence disputes between neighbours.[80] The Blanchards' wealth in the earlier censuses and Pierre's later status as a deputy makes the Blanchards a nominal part of the so-called "elite" Acadian families—mostly defined as including the wealthiest and most politically-connected families, often centered around the Melansons and de la Tours.[81]

Belleisle lay outside the banlieue of Fort Anne, the region that Clark described as "liv[ing] in the same bucolic fashion as their cousins in Grand Pré and Beaubassin," without marks of European "elegance."[82] This has since been proven both true and untrue

at the same time—those in Belleisle lived in similar fashion to their cousins at Beaubassin, but *with* access to and use of similar sorts of luxury goods and status markers as those in urban areas like Louisbourg. The inverse of Clark's statement also appears to be true as far as sewing tools and linens are concerned: the fanciest scissors and pins for the finer linens were found at Beaubassin, farthest from the fort, and the goods from the Gaudet, Savoie, and Blanchard houses in Belleisle were plainer. The trend continues, as will be seen in the following section, with the plainest sewing tools of all found at Melanson which was also the closest site to the English presence at Fort Anne.

Figure 3.12: Scissors BeDi-2-2A7-6096 from Belleisle. Photograph by author, with thanks to Marc Lavoie

The most complete set of scissors to date was uncovered at Belleisle in 2004 in suboperation 1C7, the house of Germain Savoie (Germain-le-père) and his family. The intact scissors are heavily corroded but in otherwise good condition, 10.5 cm in length, with symmetrical loops. Like the Beaubassin snips, they bear a striking resemblance to

the snips on display in the peddler's sale case, though the haft is straight and the blades are wider. From visual examination, the separate symmetrical handles, round hafts and blade shape confirm a likely manufacturing date in the first or second quarter of the eighteenth century. As with all of the scissors recovered in Acadia so far, there is no visible makers' mark. In this case, if there had been one originally, it has been entirely concealed by corrosion.

The second set from the 2004 excavation were found in the same lot as a sewing needle, suggesting some connection, though the lot also contained a great number of bones and domestic waste, including pottery sherds and pipestems.[83] The likelihood, given the size, shape and context, is that these were domestic scissors used for kitchen and other household tasks (see Figure 3.13). Germain's wife Marie Breau *dite* Vincelotte died in 1749, so it is possible that one or both of the pairs of scissors began life in her sewing kit, moving to that of her daughter-in-law following her death.

Figure 3.13: Belleisle domestic scissors BeDi-2 6833 (2004; 1C7)- blades only, 8.8 cm long. Photograph by author, with thanks to Marc Lavoie

The snips from the Savoie house are relatively plain in design, from what can be seen underneath the corrosion. Across the path, about four hundred meters away at the Blanchard residence excavated in 1983, some more decorated items make an appearance. The overall collection here includes at least four pairs of snips, a possible pair of tailoring shears, and at least one set of small sewing scissors out of group of, at minimum, nine separate pairs. Most of the recovered hafts are relatively plain, though one pair of snips was found with ornate hafts and blades similar to those found in Louisbourg (Figure 3.14).[84] These snips are quite ornate, cast in a decorative style suggesting an eighteenth-century date of manufacture.[85] The rivet appears to be iron, differing from the Louisbourg trend for copper alloy rivets.

Figure 3.14: Snips from Belleisle, BeDi-2:1955 and handle BeDi-2:256, found together in the Blanchard house, unit A, level 1. 85 mm long (1955) and 47 mm long (526). Photo by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

The remains of the other pairs of scissors found at the site are in less of a complete state. Two larger pairs of domestic scissors of approximately the same size have been recovered, the handles and portions of the loops of one, and the blade and rivet section of

the other. The size and shape of these scissors suggest general sewing use, too large for snips but the blades narrower than would be expected for *ciseaux de coupe*.

Figure 3.15: Sewing scissors from the Blanchard house, Unit C, level 1. BeDi-2:488 (body) and BeDi-2:2475 (loop fragment). Photo by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum

Another piece of a blade appears to be the middle of a set of scissors of similar size and shape, perhaps a little smaller (Figure 3.16). The extended rivet in the centre may be caused by corrosion buildup or may be the remainder of a high pin that extended out the side. A pre-1800 pair of scissors of excellent quality but undetermined origin in the Nova Scotia Museum collection has an extended pivot-pin of 0.6 cm in height, suggesting a deliberate design feature. Diderot's 1771 encyclopedia entry shows tailor's shears with an identical elongated rivet, suggesting a correlation.[86]

The final two pieces from Belleisle are a pair of loops from different pairs of snips of the same general shape and size (figures 3.19 and 3.20). One loop has been drawn-forged, an older technique where the iron was pulled into a circle and then wrapped around to connect again with the haft. The other appears to have been forged as a separate piece

before being attached indicating that the loops are from two different pairs of scissors, one likely manufactured at an earlier date than the other.[87] Both loops are simple iron, with no evidence of decoration. Of a size with the ornate pair and the snips from Louisbourg, these pieces represent another two pairs of embroidery snips.

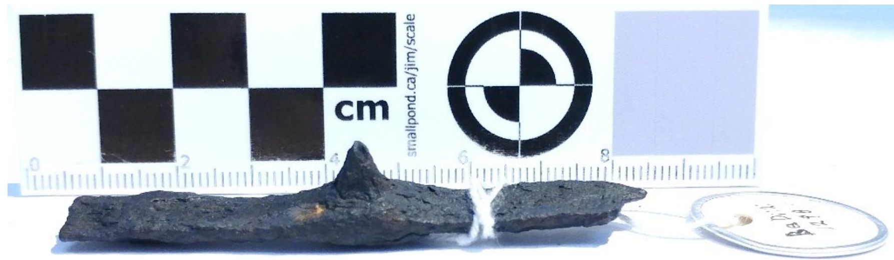

Figure 3.16: Blade section BeDi:2-1298. Scissors found at the Blanchard house, Belleisle.

Figure 3.17: Profile view of Z2313, NSM historical collection.

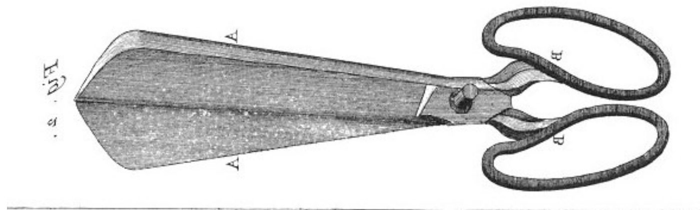

Figure 3.18: Tailleur d'habits et tailleur de corps, *The Encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert*, Plates vol. 9 (1771).

The presence of three different kinds of sewing scissors—embroidery snips, dressmaking scissors and tailors' shears—at the Blanchard house suggests activities beyond basic garment production and repairs, carried out by more than one individual.

Each woman would have had her own sewing basket with tools ranging from the basic to the brilliant, including needles, thimbles, scissors and other assorted tools such as bodkins and awls.[88] Assuming one owner for a pair of shears, scissors and snips, and the fancy snips as a gift or a special pair, we are left with enough variety and quantity for three members of the household to be actively engaged in textile labour.

Figure 3.19: BeDi2-5313, Blanchard house, Belleisle.

Figure 3.20 BeDi:2-2274, Blanchard house, Belleisle.

Without large datable diagnostic features like the 1707 house fire from Melanson, it is difficult to track changes over time in the Belleisle assemblages. Any ownership speculation must rest on the data available for the time of the deportation, the point at which activity at the houses ceased. René Blanchard's wife Marie Savoie and their unmarried daughter Marguerite Blanchard are the logical owners of the sewing equipment found in association with the Blanchard home. The Blanchard and Savoie houses are about a five-to-fifteen-minute walk apart, depending on weather and terrain, and the Savoie siblings were not nearly as physically close as the combined households in Melanson, making an assumption of shared tools and resources much less automatic.[89]

The assemblage is suggestive of a craft culture in Belleisle that valued ornate tools less than those in Beaubassin. More removed both from the bustle of Annapolis Royal and the

trade routes passing through Beaubassin, they were by no means cut off from luxury goods, but may have been less able to access the kinds of varied and profitable trade which flowed through the more connected communities. The fancy plated scissors and snips found in Beaubassin have no equals in Belleisle, while the similarity of the snips found in the Blanchard house to the cast iron snips from Louisbourg possibly indicate their use as a gift, or as an imported luxury purchased at the Fort. While Acadian women at Belleisle certainly valued finework enough to own tools designed for its execution, the simpler designs and material composition of the scissors indicate a lower priority placed on this particular form of feminine-coded status display.

3.1.5 Melanson

One thing we have at Melanson that is not available at the other sites is a chronology. The earth at Beaubassin was disturbed during the construction of Fort Lawrence, Belleisle's remains are dated primarily by the 1755 destruction, and Louisbourg's artifacts and inventories can only pick out specific points in time for specific individuals, with disruption from the English conquest. The Melanson homestead of Charles Melanson (le fils) and Anne Bourg has given us an undisturbed look at an occupation marked by specific archaeologically discoverable events. Various structures on site were demolished on four different occasions, from a fire in 1707 to the final destruction in 1755, each incident leaving its own evidence behind.

Fragments of either one or two pairs of scissors discovered in the early midden at Charles Melanson's house are the earliest based on their archaeological context, but not enough remains of them to make any kind of identification. The house had burned down

at some point, likely in the late 1730s or early 1740s, resulting in a debris field which was not completely cleared away.[90] Rather, as part of the rebuilding process, clay taken from the collapsed chimney flue was spread across the hearth and surrounding area. Clay was also used to reseal the cellar, and this action sealed in the debris left over from the fire in both locations. Two pairs of scissors survived from prior to 1740, the pair of sewing scissors caught in the clay used to reseal the basement following the fire, and a fragment of the handle of a plain pair of snips.

Figure 3.21: Blade tips of small sewing or domestic scissors. 17B2C9.12, from Melanson. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Figure 3.22: Partial haft and loop of snips. 17B2C11.1, from Melanson. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

The remaining seven pairs of scissors and snips were found above the burned layer of the third structure, meaning that they were either saved from the fire or were acquired following the rebuild of the house, between 1741-1755. The tailoring shears seen below are unfortunately undated but speak to the wide range of dressmaking tasks taking place in the house. That very distinct pair from Melanson is what we might call dressmaker's shears today, long-bladed and heavy (Figure 3.23). The missing hafts and loops do not permit us to judge the proportional length and the cutting power of the shears, but those with blades of a comparable size and shape could be domestic scissors for kitchen or household use, for sheep-shearing, or for cutting out garment patterns and long seams.

The blades are a similar width almost all the way along before narrowing to a point, a curve similar to the shape and proportions of tailors' scissors portrayed in fifteenth and sixteenth century artwork (Figure 3.24).[91] They are the wrong shape for fuller's shears, which widen to a squared-off end. They would be equally inappropriate for fine work or lace making.[92]

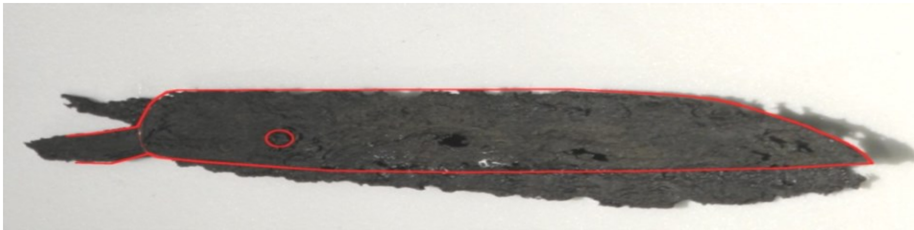

Figure 3.23: Shears from Melanson site. Picture provided by Brigitte Clooney, Parks Canada. (Perspective skewed). Possible location of rivet highlighted.

Figure 3.24: Detail, 'Il Tagliapanni' (The Tailor), Giovanni Battista Moroni (1565-1570) NG697 © The National Gallery, London

The other pairs associated with Bourg's household are of a different style and designed for a different function.[93] Falling generally between ten to twelve and a half centimeters long, the three or four pairs represented by four individual pieces are all of a similar style,

with a sharply curved blade that comes to a point, and an angled stop (Figure 3.25). Features of these scissors correspond with various types that Noël Hume locates in the middle of the seventeenth century, earlier than the styles uncovered at Belleisle and Louisbourg.[94] This style and size of scissor corresponds with the large snips found at Louisbourg and Belleisle. Interestingly, despite the family's association with the theorized Acadian elite group, no ornamented snips were found at Melanson. The scissors all had plain hafts and the surviving loops were equally undecorated.

Figure 3.25: Scissors from Melanson. Photograph courtesy of Parks Canada

The division between large work scissors and smaller snips is present in the Melanson assemblage just as with Belleisle and Louisbourg. The larger Melanson snips are plain, and more typical of the earlier style of scissors as seen in Noël Hume's typology. The bottom pair in Figure 3.25 appear to be general work scissors, the high rivet giving the scissors more cutting power for the same pressure. The strong taper and general

proportions on the narrower blades above suggest that they were *ciseaux à broder,* used for fancy work.[95]

The style of snips seen later in the period tends to be fancier, as tool decorations began to move toward the arcs and curves of the rococo.[96] These may have been older pairs rescued from the house before or during the fire, perhaps along with a sewing basket. No thimbles, pins, or needles were found in the charred layer, though a handful were found in various layers of the midden. If Bourg's house followed the same pattern as other Acadian sites then her sewing kit could have lived beneath the stoop of her front porch, all but one set of scissors and snips protected from the heat and flames.

The expense of rebuilding the house would have been large, both in terms of labour and cost of construction goods, even with family labour to call upon. The charpente construction of the fourth and final structure was timber framed and the hearth and fireplace quite a bit smaller than the previous iteration, suggesting a conscious decision to scale back.[97] The size of house Charles-le-fils needed for his family in the 1730s was unnecessary once many of his children were married, and by 1740 Melanson and Bourg would have needed space only for themselves, Pierre—who would marry in 1746—Joseph, and the final baby, Claude, who would have been between eight and twelve years old. Depending on the exact date of the fire the household may still have included son Jean, who married in 1742.[98] With fewer people to sew for we might expect Bourg's need for tools to drop, and yet we find her in possession of a very well-appointed array of scissors, shears, and snips in the final fifteen years of her residence in Acadia.

The ratio of three pairs of snips to two pairs of scissors and one pair of specialty shears is similar to others seen across the Acadian settlements, indicating interest in finework, embellishments, and embroidery. Overall, the predominance of small scissors indicates smaller-scale production aimed at dressing an individual family rather than a production or putting-out system with one dressmaker's workshop supporting many families. Bourg had no daughters to teach or do her finishing work, but she did have her sister-in-law Madeline Melanson, who did not remarry following her husband Jean Belliveau's death in 1707.[99] The widow Belliveau's son Charles and his wife Marguerite Granger may have moved in with her after they married in 1717, or they may have taken up residence in the larger house (feature 7), almost directly north.[100]

At Melanson in 1710, Anne Bourg had an eight-year-old son and a toddler girl underfoot and her sister in law had four children ranging from four to thirteen years old. Her only daughter was seven. Between 1707 and 1710, following the death of her husband, the widow Belliveau would have been relying on her brother Charles and her sister-in-law for assistance on the homestead. Labour was distinctly gendered in Acadia, with men doing the bulk of the travel, field labour, and engagement in public life, leaving the women to run the dairies, gardens, and domestic sphere.[101] A married couple created the minimum economic and labour unit required to run a farm settlement, meaning that Madeleine would have been folded in to Charles and Anne's labour pool—or perhaps they, into hers.[102]

The close proximity of the widow Belliveau's house to her brother's household would have given her and her sister-in-law the ability to task-share and divide the labour of running the homes and raising the children. It is easy to picture Belliveau and her young

daughter Marie traipsing across the grass to Anne Bourg's house, their sewing tools and mending tucked into the baskets they carried beneath their arms. The women would have sat and sewed on the stoop in the summer sun, taking advantage of the light to complete their fine needlework and mending before having to move inside to sit by the fire. Trestle tables would have made space to lay out lengths of wool for cutting, the heavy shears slicing through homespun and imported strouds alike. The design made for easy balance and the ability to estimate seam allowances by eye, making sewing up of the pieces simple enough for even those daughters still learning the task.

Three pairs of basic scissors served for lighter fabrics or smaller cuts, slicing through curves for armscyes and bodice seams with much greater control than the heavy shears. Each woman had her own, nestled beside pairs of snips to cut the finely-spun sewing threads. Beyond construction, the fine-tipped snips would have been useful to unpick tangles, trim threads and cords used to sew on the kinds of round glass beads found in a few places on the site. Buttons discovered in the yard might have been lost from clothing, but could also be lost from mender's fingers, or a sewing basket accidentally spilled into the longer grass. The little accidents of life lie waiting to be uncovered, busy hands working their way through the stacks of mending that come from regular wear and farm labour, tacking split seams, patching holes, and replacing buttons lost from a husband, brother or son's waistcoat or trousers. Conversation would make the work fly faster, a pin or needle lost in the dust and left to lie, unnoticed, the remainders of a constant and vitally important chore.

The fancy scissors and snips found at Beaubassin and to a lesser degree at Belleisle are nowhere to be found at Melanson. The plain nature of the scissors suggests a more

utilitarian intent rather than display, an intriguing distinction. It may have been a question of replacement cost, tied to the need to put assets into rebuilding the home that had been destroyed by fire. Association with aristocracy did not in and of itself guarantee wealth—Anne Melanson's daughter Agathe sold the seigneural rights she had inherited to the British in 1734 for the grand sum of £2,000.[103] On the other hand, the Melansons were not poor, and other status-carrying items have been found there, including sleeve buttons and a spur buckle.

Conclusions

The distinctions between the styles of scissors found at the different sites may reflect a distinction in how women's identity was being deployed within the different Acadian communities. With their proximity to Port Royal, the Melansons were never far from the eyes of power. At the same time, the women living at the Melanson site had little to gain by presenting themselves as high-status members of the elite. Anne Melanson had returned to her birth family and taken a local man as her second husband, bringing her connections, status, and the rights to administer the La Tour estate with her as resources for Alexandre Robichaud, at least until her children came of age themselves. The household must have been an interesting one, the five daughters from the second marriage following the four children and their inherited status from her first husband. Treating all the children equally would have meant reducing expectations for the elder four. Possibly thinking along those lines, Melanson's eldest daughter Jeanne took no dowry into her marriage in 1703, her seigneurial rights acting as her marriage portion instead.[104] Blending in could have been more important than standing out, bringing Anne Melanson and her daughters back into the vernacular in which she had come of age.

Beaubassin, by contrast, was important because of the constant movement of goods through a wide variety of hands. Beaubassin was on a highway of sorts, and as a trade centre, it hosted groups of travellers from many directions. Traders from New France came down the Northumberland Strait and through Baie Verte, while New England traders sailed in through the Bay of Fundy to bring their goods to Acadia, and the Mi'kmaq circulated along their millennia-old portages and trails. Being able to appear as European-sophisticated as possible was an asset when trading with partners from New France or Louisbourg, awareness of trends and the ability to access expensive goods for feminine-coded activities both signs of prestige. Lady Anne Melanson, on the other hand, both had no need to display her status to those at Fort Anne, and indeed may have been better off keeping to the simpler lifestyle afforded to Madame Robichaud.

Marie Savoie and Marguerite Blanchard at Belleisle had a minimum of five sets of scissors between them, three of a type dedicated to fine work and embroidery—and not only plain ones, but decorative snips of good quality. This suggests that, like for Jeanne Thibodeau at Louisbourg, embroidery was a passion and a pleasure for at least one of the residents. Marguerite Richard, the Widow Dugas, had six unmarried daughters in the house in 1745 when the British took Louisbourg for the first time: her eldest two with Joseph Dugas, the two daughters of her second husband de la Tour, and the eight year old twins they shared.[105] We have fragments from this site of six pairs of scissors: one set of larger scissors and five sets of embroidery snips.

What we see in Acadia, contrary to other experiences of single pairs per site, is one pair of utility scissors per adult woman and at least one pair of snips for every adolescent and adult.[106] Where there are multiple adult women and a traumatic departure, as with

Belleisle, we see plain work and fine work scissor sets for each adult woman. The fire at Melanson left one pair of large scissors and three or four finework pairs in the rubble, suggesting one main garment worker and a handful of others associated with finishing and embellishment. At Louisbourg, the departure may have left Marguerite and her daughters enough time to pack the larger items, but the snips were left behind. However the materials ended up where they were, we are still left with one pair of larger working scissors for the adult woman in the house, and five pairs of snips.

Never just simple tools, the scissors, snips, and shears used by Acadians for clothing construction and decoration speak to the priorities, goals and self-image of the women who owned them. Some women in Beaubassin saw power and pride in silvered plating and in the skills which the scissors represented. The construction of a high-status feminine identity there would have been immediately understandable and visible to anyone who came through the settlement.

3.2 Sewing Kits: Pins, Needles, Awls and Thimbles

Sewing kits, collections of tools including scissors, pins, needles, and thimbles, were vital possessions for women in the early modern period. The amount of labour required to clothe a family meant that sewing kits saw daily, if not constant, use. Archaeologist Marc Lavoie has discovered sewing kits placed beneath the front stoops of Acadian households at Belleisle and sewing tools have also been found outdoors at the Melanson site. Sewing in the sunlight on the front stoop, the domestic world was brought into the public sphere. The community aspects of sewing work, textile production, and processing were a vital part of Acadian women's regular routine. Their decorated embroidery scissors bear

witness to their pastime and to their engagement in the global world of goods, buying materials from traders like Michel Richard *dit* Lafond and Marie's grandfather Guillaume Blanchard, whose cargos of silks, ribbons, lace, and pins were an anticipated supplement to home-grown flax and wool.[107]

There is a deep sense of intimacy in period paintings of sewing work, and the tools of hand sewing require physical intimacy with the material being manipulated. Stitchers would have needed to sit closely together, bending over the fabric by sunlight or firelight, needle and small scissors in hand. Their knees touched, hands brushing, making physical and emotional contact over the textiles later used on a marital bed, on a household's dining table, to clean the mouths of a guest, or protect a child's delicate skin. Each hour spent working on a quilt or a smocked shirt meant an hour in the company of one's sisters, daughters, and friends.

Sewing in this context is predominantly a communal activity, giving women time to strengthen their independent social bonds while maintaining the required levels of production for a functional and vibrant household.[108] The webs of connection forged by the shared labour were not based only on barter and labour exchange, but tangled in with concepts of family, community, and caregiving. The physical nature of the work created deep and abiding investment in the well-being of the recipients, the stitchers, in some real sense, becoming part of other households along with their art. Blood and saliva were invariably incorporated into the textile, from moistening thread before threading a needle, or pricking a finger on a pin, dampening the cloth with saliva to work out the blood. Daily use of the cloths and clothes they made kept the workers in the forefront of memory, a tablecloth, a blanket, a quilt acting as a proxy for the presence of its creator.

The tools they used for these tasks, pins, thimbles, awls and needles, the bodkin that drew ribbons and lace through hand-worked eyelets, are tantalizing clues as to the garments and household draperies that have long since returned to the earth.

3.2.1 Pins

Prior to around 1744, pins were sold by weight, wrapped in paper. By the mid-century it was possible to purchase pins in boxes of specific weights. While pin-papers, which allowed pins to be sold in small and less expensive packets, are generally described as not having come in to common use until about 1785, Jeanne Thibodeau's probate of 1741 includes a listing for six packets of pins.[109] Used by tailors and dressmakers in lower quantities than one would expect for pinning together garments under construction, pins were more likely to be used by the domestic sewer than the professional, and were used for duties other than sewing. Pins have been found holding together pages of manuscripts and books, as well as used on a regular basis to hold together articles of clothing—particularly, by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women's clothing.[110] Tin-plated copper pins would have been used most often for holding together dress, while the plain copper were certainly interchangeable in a wardrobe emergency, but would have been less decorative than their gleaming silver-coloured cousins.[111] Three of the pins at Beaubassin retain their silvered plating, and others still have hints.

The lengths and gauges of the wire used for pins differed based on the intended use of the pin.[112] Linen hair coverings, fichus, sleeves, and apron bibs held on by pins came in different weights and styles, and the sizes of the pins found at the sites can give us clues as to the kinds and quality of textiles in use. Some of the accumulations of pins suggest

storage units, and in some cases the contexts indicate that the pins were part of a sewing kit when they were lost or disposed of. How the pins were found and with what tells as much of the story as the sizes, shapes, and styles.

Beaubassin

Approximately half of the pins found at Beaubassin were between 20 - 30 mm long and 0.5 mm wide. These were a style known as 'short whites,' common pins primarily used for dressmaking and everyday sewing.[113] Another third were long whites, over 30 mm in length and usually around 1 mm in diameter, which were used for heavier fabrics. Four were twice the width and more than twice the length of the long whites, large enough to be used for pinning blankets or utility fabrics, including sail canvas or leather.[114] The overwhelming majority of the pins were made of a copper alloy, the most common material for that purpose in the seventeenth century. The sizes fit the mean distribution for pins associated with seventeenth century sites, slightly longer than the pins used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[115]

Figure 3.26: Short white pin from Beaubassin, 17B2C9.12. Type C compressed wound-wire head and mostly intact tin plating. Photograph by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Prior to the seventeenth century, pin heads were a large ball made of solid of hollow metal (pewter or brass), but by the beginning of that century the vast majority of pins were made by turning a wire two or three times around the head of the pin.[116] There are three major forms for the heads of wound-wire pins, all of which are represented among the pins at Beaubassin (see table 3.3).[117] A large quantity of older-style pins could suggest careful reuse of supplies originally brought from Europe. The pin collections found at Acadian sites, however, indicate reliance on imported pins from England, France, or New England.

The prevalence of longer short white pins at Beaubassin suggests the use of coarser fabrics for headdresses and kerchiefs, or less concern about the visibility of pins worn on the body. The use of slightly cheaper, older, longer pins than the height of fashion in the 1740s suggests that they were using older pins, either from earlier occupation or due to delay in receiving goods from France – or the import of cheaper, lower-quality goods to the colonies than was generally available in the metropole. The variety of sizes and head types indicated access to multiple sources and manufacturers, and the two pins with A-type hand-wrapped heads indicates the possibility that some pins were being made on-site. The stamped head of the pins indicates imports, as there is no record of a pin-making operation of any scale in Acadia at the time.

Pointe-aux-Vieux

Over one hundred and fifty straight pins were found at Pointe-aux-Vieux, a similar quantity to those found in the 7B17 sub-operation at Beaubassin.[118] These were not only used for sewing but were integral items for holding together clothing, pinning hats and

Table 3.2: Pin types found at Beaubassin

Type (adapted from Beaudry 2006)	Sizes	Quantity
Small pins	≤ 23 mm long, < 0.75 mm diameter	23
Short whites	23-30 mm long, 0.75 – 1 mm diameter	39
Long fines	>23 mm long, but < 0.75 mm diameter	17
Long whites	>30 mm long, ≥ 0.75 mm diameter	20
Data missing	Original length and/or diameter unknown	21
Total		**120**

Table 3.3: Pin head types found at Beaubassin

Type (adapted from Caple 1992)	Description	Quantity
Type A	2 twists of wire fixed to shaft with adhesive. Dominant in the 15th cen.	2 [119]
Type B	2 twists of wire loosely crimped onto top of the shaft. Dominant style in 16th cen.	14
Type C	2 twists of wire tightly crimped onto the top of the shaft, forming a spherical head. Dominant post-1600.	74
B or C, inconclusive.		7
Corroded or small & bulbous head	Corrosion or damage makes it difficult to determine with naked eye or microscope.	10
Broken / unknown		13
Total		**120**

aprons in place, and so forth. Pins were imported in great quantities, and there has been no evidence to date to prove that any were being made locally. The pin deposits at Beaubassin and Pointe-aux-Vieux may be indicative of the presence of stores of trade goods, the trade beads and bale seals found at both sites strengthening that case.[120]

Belleisle

The four pins found at Belleisle do not give us enough data points to make any conclusions regarding patterns of use. Three of the four were associated with the same feature in the Blanchard house, possibly a storage closet, and are all copper-alloy with soldered, wire-wound heads suggesting professional off-site manufacture.[121] One broken copper alloy pin is fine-weight and delicate. Two of the pins are complete, one a standard mid-range size for sewing pins (29 mm), while the other is 54 mm long, a length suggestive of heavier-duty use.

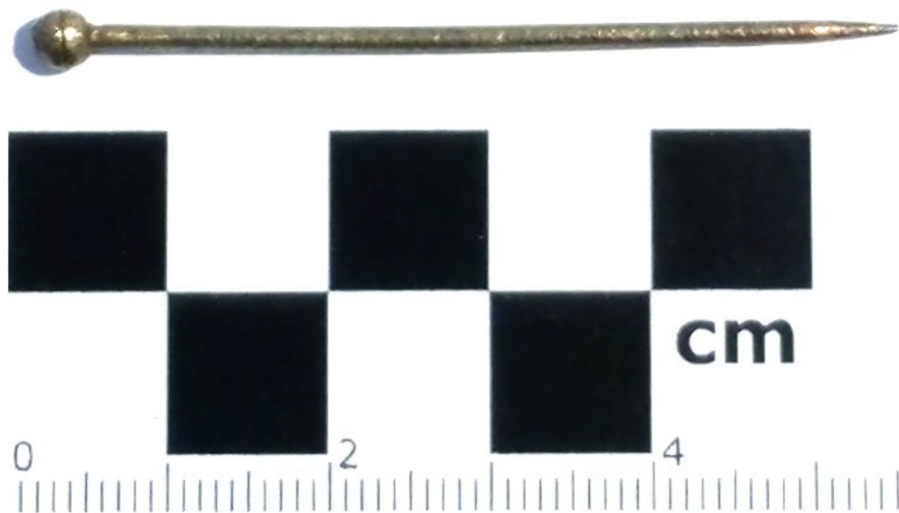

Figure 3.27: BeDi-2:238, a straight pin from the Blanchard house, Belleisle. 54 mm long. Photo by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

The single pin fragment found at the Savoie house is heavy and thick, suggesting it was originally of similar size to the largest from the Blanchard house.[122] The long double-white pins were used for blankets and cloaks, but could also be for farm-related labour such as tack repair.

Melanson

A handful of needle fragments and a single copper pin were found at Anne Melanson's house, mostly in the area associated with the house's midden. Broken pins could have been easily tossed or lost there, the placement not revealing much about her sewing practices. The majority of the broken pieces found were iron, more likely to be sewing needles than pins, and the single copper pin recovered was very fine and delicate. Pins this narrow were more commonly used for holding together delicate fabrics like fichus, rather than for sewing purposes.[123]

By contrast, thirty pins were found at Anne Bourg's house higher up the hill, many of them in the yard area. These varied in diameter and length, some very fine and small, of the kind used for fine linens and silks, and others larger and more durable, some in iron, designed for domestic sewing. Tailors and professional seamstresses tended not to use as many pins as home sewers, holding and basting the seams together as a time-saving measure, so this quantity of pins—scattered, and not confined to a single area like a storeroom—suggests that the outdoors space was used for sewing on a regular basis.

Twenty-five pins at the house of Jean Belliveau and Madeleine Melanson were also all found in the yard exterior to the house. The use of sunlight to sew by in the warmer months created less eyestrain than attempting to do the same by firelight or candlelight in

winters. While necessary repairs would have happened throughout the year, the rhythm of the seasons may lend itself more to fine sewing taking place in the spring and summer months, as the days grew longer, the sunlight clearer, and the chance to sit outdoors and take advantage of the clear natural light kinder to cold fingers. Sewing becomes a visible activity this way, the workload ensuring that Acadian women and girls sitting and sewing on their stoops would be a consistent presence in the settlements' public sphere.

3.2.2 Needles and Thimbles

More specifically associated with fabrication and decoration activities, needles and thimbles were integral parts of any sewing kit. Forged from wire, drilled, grooved, and sharpened, needles were both ubiquitous and precious, particularly for those living in regions where replacements for the delicate items were not immediately available. A sixteenth century play, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, centres around a lost needle—the only one owned in a wealthy household—demonstrating the needle's symbolic and psychological importance to a well-run household.[124] While needles were inexpensive enough by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for even rural farmers to own multiples, their importance made their care and use a non-negligible chore. Needles were kept in needle-cases, some of which have been preserved at Louisbourg, or in wool panels in needle-books, emery and sand used to keep them from rusting.[125]

By the mid-seventeenth century, two main types of thimble were in steady use—a one-piece cast cup, and a two-piece thimble composed of a ring and top.[126] The top of the two-piece thimble was often of iron or steel, regardless of the metal used for the ring. Older thimbles that were soldered with tin may have seen the tin decay over time,

releasing the various parts of the thimble from one another.[127] The spiral pattern of the indentations regulated over time, allowing them to be of some use establishing date and provenience.[128] The most common form, brass thimbles were cheap and came in three sizes: child, maid, and woman.[129] The size of the indentations on a thimble reveal the size of the needles with which they were expected to be used. This measure is not granular enough to distinguish thimbles used for specialized kinds of embroidery, for instance, but does permit some differentiation between thimbles designed for heavy sail work, and those intended for fine embroidery.[130] We must be careful in associating sewing work solely with women. Fishermen and soldiers certainly carried needles in their kits in order to effect repairs, and tailors were usually men, an open thimble an indispensable part of the tailor's usual kit.

Table 3.4 Other Sewing Tools in Acadia

	Beaubassin	**Belleisle**	**Louisbourg**	**Melanson**
Sewing Needles	38	4	-	12
Thimbles	2	-	-	3
Needle Cases	-	-	2	-

Thimbles were made in a range of sizes to suit different users and the length shifted over time, but the shape remained relatively consistent overall. The only major distinction is between tailors' thimbles (not necessarily only used by tailors) with no built-in cap, and full thimbles made with a cap to cover the tip of the finger.[131] Thimbles were also used as trade goods with Indigenous communities, either for use with sewing lessons, or to be cut apart and used as tinklers for dress decoration.[132] England imported large

numbers of thimbles to the colonies, beginning with some destined for trade with Indigenous populations, and continued to do so through the eighteenth century.[133]

By the seventeenth century even the middle classes in France were regularly using silver thimbles, partly due to the much wider availability of the precious metal for domestic use following the looting of Central American silver.[134] The few surviving trade manifests for Acadian imports do not list thimbles among the goods for sale.[135] From what can be seen in newspaper advertisements in New England at the time, imported thimbles were mostly brass, as were all the thimbles and remnants of thimbles found at Acadian sites.[136] Sundry European goods can be found advertised in pages of the *Halifax Gazette* from 1753 and 1754, but sewing tools seem to have been filed under the "sundry other goods too tedious to name" and are not specifically mentioned.[137]

Thimbles found in Acadian contexts have minimal decoration. They have no border, only the pitted bell and the rim. Plain rims suggest English thimbles, which tended to be simpler than German or French-made ones.[138] The full brass thimble found in Louisbourg is an eighteenth-century Lofting style, shorter than later versions.[139] The owner, likely a member of the Dugas family in the 1750s, was tuned in to the current fashion and probably purchased that thimble as an English import. The even machined spacing of the indentations on the recovered thimbles dates them all to after 1650, indicating that these were purchased locally and not family heirlooms of great value.[140] All but one were cast rather than the new deep-drawn method which marked the most technologically advanced pieces from the mid-eighteenth century and later.

Thirteen needles, one intact thimble, and pieces of potentially two more thimbles have been found at Beaubassin, and one small thimble uncovered at Pointe-aux-Vieux.[141] The presence of needles and thimbles is far more likely to indicate sewing activity at a location than the presence of pins, as thimbles are not used for any other purpose. More expensive and far more important than pins, needles were also primarily made of steel and so were far more likely to rust and decay in archaeological contexts than brass pins.[142] Seventeenth-century professional needle makers had a series of specific types of needle, described in more general terms than they would later acquire.[143] Randle Holmes, in his 1688 treatise on society and trades, listed the types with some useful descriptions:

> Pearl Needle, is the least size of Needles.
> The first, second and third sort of Needles, according to their sizes; so numbred till you come to ten.
> Ordinary Needles.
> Bush Lane Needles.
> Glovers Needles have square points.
> Book Binders Needles are long and round point
> Sow-Gelders Needles are flat pointed.
> Chyrurgions Needles are the same, flat pointed.
> Pack Needles, crooked at the point, and some flat, others three square; others with a Back and Edge (like a Knife) at point.[144]

Needle sizing became standardized in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, as the production became more industrialized, but the associations of size with specific activity came earlier. Certain needle types are naturally suited to certain activities, and while—as with pins and scissors—we cannot assume that the appropriate tool was being used for a specific activity, it gives us a sense of the types of work that were going on at the time in our particular locations.

All the needles found at the four main sites were ordinary needles with rounded points, the kind commonly used for domestic sewing and repair work on looser weave or coarser fabrics. The recovered samples are unfortunately rusted and degraded, but the surviving eyes are between 2-3 mm in length, with the suggestion of thread grooves above and below. The generally consistent length (~35-40 mm) and diameter (~1 mm) suggests the needles are all of the same basic type. The fact that the only needles found so far have been large does not preclude the possibility of fine work, as small pearl needles used for embroidery and lace making may well have rusted away in the intervening centuries.

Needles, needle-cases, and most especially thimbles have a special place in early modern sewing kits, their practical and symbolic value exceeding their relatively low prices.[145] Carried in a woman's pockets, these tools straddled the line between private and public, mediating personal and communal spaces.[146] The presence of sewing kits under the stoops of Acadian homes exposes sewing as a part of the communal domestic space, while thimbles and needle-cases carried inside the pockets, as close to the skin as possible, brought them deep into a woman's personal space. Made to fit the body, the intimacy of the finger inside the thimble—sweating inside them, the metal leaving traces on the fingertips in return—suggested the sensuality of lovemaking.[147] The connection was not lost on contemporaries, as thimbles were often given as gifts, either during courtship or by family members as a girl entered the woman's working world.[148] Knowing someone's hand well enough to size a thimble as a gift was confirmation of that intimacy, thimbles occasionally becoming a preliminary or replacement wedding band.[149] A decision as closely fit as her stays and involved in all of her handwork, the thimble

choice was an expression not only of a woman's working life but how she wanted that life to be seen.

Thimbles were integrated into all areas of domestic life, used for measurements in cooking as well as for sealing letters.[150] They also represented a woman's earning potential, particularly in a barter-style system as seen in Acadia, where domestic labour was shared.[151] A thimble and full needle-case indicated a woman's ability to engage in the community aspects of production and enter into reciprocity with her neighbours. These packages of sewing tools often vanish from the written record, going unrecorded on inventories or listed in advertisements, but archaeology gives us some of the evidence that they were there.[152]

Beaubassin

All the thimble fragments found at Beaubassin have rims and regular indentations, marking them as post-1675 in manufacture.[153] The small thimble from Pointe-aux-Vieux has less-regular indentations, suggesting it may be of cruder or earlier manufacture.[154] The Beaubassin thimbles that can be sized are for adult hands, made of copper alloy (brass), at least one is clearly machine-stamped, and the surviving pieces are unadorned. Other thimbles from the time period can be silver-plated or have inscriptions or engraving, but these are all plain and utilitarian and unlikely to have played much of a direct role in negotiation of social status.[155] The size of the thimble found at Pointe-aux-Vieux corresponds with the small size of some pairs of scissors found at other sites, indicating the participation of young women or children in the production and

maintenance of garments. It has a bare crown, or tonsure-style top, the side of the finger used for pushing the needle through the thread.

Figure 3.28: Brass tailor's thimble, Beaubassin. Photo courtesy of Parks Canada.

Figure 3.29: Copper thimble fragment, Beaubassin. Photo courtesy of Parks Canada.

Belleisle

The four sewing needles found at Belleisle—one from the Savoie house and three from the Blanchard house—are incomplete specimens. Their diameters range between 1-1.5 mm, which puts them on the heavier end of the scale for standard sewing needles, rather than fine embroidery.[156] Darning needles have a larger diameter but are best identified by the larger eye, which is unfortunately missing in all but one case. As far as pins and needles at Belleisle are concerned, the very small sample suggests the trend was towards *utilitarian* and *durable*. Heavy pins and needles would have been much more useful for basic sewing, mending, and wool embroidery or tapestry work rather than finework, lace-making, or sewing delicate fabrics like silk. It is therefore tempting to suggest that the sewing work done at Belleisle was predominantly done with utilitarian materials, but the problems of needle survivability and the small percentage of the site which has been excavated make this a dangerous assumption.

No thimbles have yet been uncovered at Belleisle, a gap which certainly does not indicate lack of use. Particularly since the needles found were on the heavy side, meaning that they were being used for heavier materials, the use of a thimble becomes even more vital to protect the hands. It is possible that they were using leather thimbles of the kind used in England during the medieval period, but it is more likely that the stichers of Belleisle took their thimbles with them when they left. Small and easy to tuck into a pocket, both the utilitarian and the fancy thimbles would certainly have been among the first goods packed, if not already on the bodies of their owners, when the evacuation order was received. The lack of broken pieces or discarded thimbles at Belleisle may indicate a more utilitarian focus there than elsewhere. Those that were used were kept close, perhaps less easily replaced, melted down for the brass content, or sent away for repair rather than being discarded when tops came loose and sides wore thin.

Melanson

Work is intimately tied into architecture, the size and layouts of rooms allowing certain kinds of labour, the placement and directionality of light determining the possibility of others. The hearth was the centre of the Acadian home, the source of light, heat and cooking during long winter and short summer nights.[157] The discovery of thimbles under the hearth at Melanson gives tangible life to the theories of use of domestic spaces. One thimble was discovered in the layer corresponding to the destruction of the first structure on site, one which did not appear to have a hearth. It was discovered in context with a porcelain sherd and a seed, suggesting nevertheless that sewing work was being done near a space for food preparation or consumption.[158]

The other two thimbles were found in the remains of the penultimate structure built on the site, a house destroyed by fire circa 1740.[159] Found buried near the building's hearth, they were in close association with seeds, an expected find so close to the cooking area and bake oven. The oven was built into the west side of the house, leaving space for windows on the north and south walls. The windows of the subsequent construction on the site were glass, an expensive treatment compared to other houses in the area described as having paper windows.[160] Oiled paper allowed light inside but not nearly as much as clear glass, reducing visibility for fine work. Sitting outside to make use of sunlight was one option. The constant need for clothing, however, did mean that work had to continue into the evening hours, and the fire in the hearth would be the most useful indoors source of light. This places sewing alongside food preparation in the centre of Acadian domestic life in both public and private spaces.

The needles at Melanson, on the other hand, were primarily found outdoors, both in the yard area and in the middens. Both the midden at Anne Melanson's house and that at the Bourg house produced pins and needles, both partial and intact. Given the importance of needles and their limited local availability, it seems unlikely that intact needles would have been deliberately thrown away. Bourg's house midden also included other sewing and dressing equipment, including a bone bodkin (discussed and pictured below), three brass buttons of varying sizes, two fragments of small scissors, and a small iron ring, perhaps of the sort used to support thread buttons or eyelets.

The presence of needles and pins in both middens can be explained through space use. Sewing outside, while useful to catch sunlight, also lends itself to the risk of losing small items in the grass and dirt. A lost needle or pin that fell from a garment could be swept up

into the nearby garbage pile without being noticed, as certainly seen with a straight pin and pair of pewter sleeve link buttons found in the earth used for the burial of a diseased pig elsewhere on the site.[161] The other objects found in Bourg's midden are less likely to have been accidentally disposed of, however. The bodkin especially was quite large, intact and easily visible, as well as being an item vital to daily dressing. Found in the middle layers of the midden, above the layer of tamped-down clay associated with the 1707 rebuilding, the bodkin, buttons, iron ring, and one pair of scissors were in close association with a needle.[162]

This collection almost certainly represents a repair or dressing kit, the kind of maintenance and repair items often found contained in fabric rolls called hussifs, or "housewifes," and carried in women's pockets.[163] Bourg was the only adult woman in her household in the first decades of the eighteenth century, and the pocket or hussif likely belonged to her. How did her pocket contents end up in the garbage pile? The midden contained more than 54,000 pieces of shell and other faunal remains, as well as architectural debris from house destruction and construction. If caught in the household fire that destroyed the second structure on the site, a partially burned pocket or sewing roll could have ended up with the other materials cleaned out to make way for a new dwelling. That the pieces in decent condition were not recovered suggests that finding or buying replacements was not a concern. Either these were lower-quality items than others already in her possession, or it was less trouble and inexpensive enough to buy replacements than to go digging through the midden for the lost kit.

The hussif also demonstrates the portability of sewing work. The spinning wheel and loom kept operators confined to the workshop and hearth, but the small, fabric-wrapped

sewing kits, commonly stashed under doorstops, also traveled with their owners.[164] The brass buttons in the kit are the kind worn on men's jackets and waistcoats, while the bodkin was primarily used for relacing women's gowns and bodices. Armed with notions and a needle, wearing her kit in the pocket hanging beneath her clothes, Bourg's readiness is an example of the kind of emotional labour that went along with the physical work of maintaining a household and raising a family.

Louisbourg

The handworking tools found at Louisbourg, as with garments discussed in chapter six, demonstrate the extra access to quality notions enjoyed by Acadians living at Louisbourg. Their statuses as wives of officers would have contributed to access, as well as pressure to keep up the appearance of sophistication.[165] Storing their needles and pins in ivory and wood needle-cases rather than fabric pincushions or hussifs, Anne Levron and her daughter Marianne Benoist had sturdier, showier, and less home-made versions of carry cases than Anne Bourg's hussif. Made by joiners and other professional artisans, needle-cases with their tightly fitted screw ends were better able to protect needles and pins from rust than fabric needlebooks.[166] Pin-poppets, a slightly shorter derivation of needle-cases, were used in a similar way to hold the fine copper pins used to pin articles of dress together.[167] Their presence was another visible marker of the attention paid to needlework, dress, and the construction of the self.

Figure 3.30: Needle-case, Louisbourg (2L61C3-5). Likely belonged to Anne Levron, Marianne Benoist, or Anne Jacau. Photo by author, with thanks to Fortress Louisbourg.

Alongside the needle-cases, two intact thimbles and one piece of a third were found at the Dugas and Richard residences, all made of brass. The knurling on the complete crowned thimble, which goes up and over the top in a continuation of the impressions of the body, is similar in shape and style to later Dutch brass thimbles found at St. Mary's City in Maryland.[168] There is not a great deal of visible wear, supporting its identification as a relatively recent purchase. Fancy thimbles meant for show were usually made from silver or gold, not brass, which would have been bought and used as a working tool. The short band and the larger indentations on the second thimble from the Dugas house in Louisbourg mark it as a tailor's thimble, likely made without a crown at all, and used by catching the needle on the side of the finger rather than the tip.[169] These ring thimbles were commonly used for heavier fabrics (saddle and harness making, sail making, shoe making), and were often larger, to fit on men's fingers.[170]

3.2.3 *Sewing Awl*

The awl discovered at Beaubassin is interesting both for itself and for the artifacts with which it was found. Awls are multipurpose tools, used for boring holes in leather, cloth and other materials, and it can be very difficult to establish a particular purpose for an individual example. This small awl, with a spike about five centimetres long, was found close to a broken pair of snips.[171] Awls, as well as the very similar stilettos, could be used to unpick seams and draw threads out of fabric for cutwork or whitework embroidery.[172] With the largest diameter of the spike approximately 0.5 cm, the awl is sized appropriately for piercing fabric to make small eyelets for lacing.

Figure 3.31: Wooden and iron awl from Beaubassin. Photo Courtesy of Parks Canada.

Figure 3.32: Detail from *Interior of a Tailor's Shop,* c. 1655-60. Quiringh Gerritsz. van Brekelenkam, © Worcester Art Museum.

Lacing holes were necessary closures for a range of garments in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. When not closed edge-to-edge with hooks and eyes, bodices and stays were drawn closed with laces. Men's breeches often had a lacing placket in the back waist that enabled size adjustments, and knee bands could have eyelets if they were tied with points rather than buckles.[173] Until the nineteenth century introduction of metal grommets eyelets were commonly worked with thread, often silk or

linen, and often with a metal ring inserted between layers of fabric in order to provide a solid base for the stitching.[174] The small iron ring found at Melanson is the right size to be one of these.

This provides another possible interpretation for the small iron rings which were also discovered at Beaubassin, though at approximately 1 cm in diameter they seem a little too large to be eyelet rings for the size of eyelet opened by this particular awl. The size and the broken wire extensions on the sides of the rings from Beaubassin (figure 3.33) are closer to lacing rings. Lacing rings stitched onto the surface of the garment rather than bound into eyelets were used on women's bodices from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries. A later example of a waistcoat from Colonial Williamsburg (figure 3.34) has elaborate lacing rings with extra curlicues to secure the ring to the bodice, adding fashionable flair to a structural necessity.

Figure 3.33: Iron rings from Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Figure 3.34: Detail of women's embroidered jacket with lacing rings, c. 1780. *The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Museum Purchase.* Acc. Num: 2000-86.

Applied to the surface of the garment rather than integrated between the layers, lacing rings are inherently less stable and capable of withstanding less structural tension than eyelets pierced through the textile layers. The use of lacing rings could suggest a young or slim woman, or one who preferred less pressure from her garments, as lacing rings alone would not provide as much physical support.

3.2.4 Bodkin

A bone bodkin found in the midden at Bourg's house in Melanson is a tool similar in some respects to both a heavy needle or an awl, though its purpose is to draw ribbons or laces through casings or eyelets in clothing. Both men and women's clothing could be closed with a bodkin, though their primary function was to serve as a means of easily lacing closed corsetry and bodices.[175] Some fancy bodkins could be worn tucked into the coif or the apron as a piece of personal jewellery, when made in silver or brass.[176] While bone bodkins were utilitarian rather than decorative, and unlikely to have been used in a jewellery context, they still played a role in the construction of female identity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Bodkins filled the same signalling space as buckles, both necessary for the fashionable clothing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but capable of becoming much more than functional. All of those found to date in a New England colonial context have been made of precious metals, mainly silver, silver alloy, and copper alloy and many were heavily decorated, even monogrammed with the initials of the owner.[177] The Acadian bodkin seen here is non-decorative and was most likely made locally, missing the usual

sorts of decoration or attachment points for jewels or pastes seen in more expensive versions.[178]

Figure 3.35: Bone bodkin on display at Grand Pré. Photograph by author, with thanks to the Grand-Pré National Historic Site and Parks Canada

Bone smooths from use, showing the passage of time and thread with every worn section of the bodkin. The simplicity and materials suggest that it was home-made, possibly by Bourg herself from the bone of an animal raised on the farm. The local production of bone buttons indicates that processing for clothing items was done, and the long, natural shape of a simple bodkin would have been easy enough to sand down even for a non-expert. The act of creation was an intimate act, especially for an item she wore tucked into her bodice or in a pocket, warm from her body and her hands, a regular and required part of her daily life. This bone bodkin is neither flashy nor a sign of conspicuous consumption; rather, it roots its owner in her geography and her herd of cattle alike.

Mary Beaudry has tracked court cases regarding bodkins in colonial New England, discovering that while men also used bodkins for lacing, all of the legal actions surrounding the tools involved women.[179] This suggests women placed more symbolic importance on the item, possibly because of the intrinsic value of those made from expensive metals, but also because of the intimate relationship the bodkin had with the body that it dressed. While modern maternity wear comes with a wide variety of options for breastfeeding access, women's clothing in the colonial period was not specialized for pregnancy and nursing.[180] It would be relatively pointless, especially in Acadia where married women gave birth on average every two or three years, leading to most of their fertile years being spent in a state of either pregnancy, nursing, or both. Women's clothing laced for closure instead and could be supplemented with stomachers—cloths that pinned across or behind lacings to cover a wider opening—or aprons worn high, allowing for adjustment of size and fit as the pregnant body changed shape.[181]

Nursing access demanded front-closing bodices and jackets, and a quick means of unlacing and lacing in order to feed a hungry infant with minimal disruption. A bodkin, designed to speed up the dressing process, would be a vital part of a mother's daily kit and needed to be carried on her person. It spoke to her practical needs as well as provided a place for display and purpose. Despite the recorded fecundity and maternal survival rates in Acadia, pregnancy and childbirth in the early modern period were still extremely high-risk, the loose-laced bodice of the last few months of gestation both a testament to a woman's fertility—and a potential countdown to her death. The bodkin takes on new meaning in that context. When used to relace a gown for a nursing mother, the simple bodkin becomes a physical celebration of survival.

3.3 Spinning: The Spindle Whorl and Distaff

Spinning was a cultural constant for European women, a gendered task that was taught young and practiced throughout a woman's life.[182] How thread was spun and what kind of thread was being spun impacted how a woman or girl moved through both private and public spaces. Without any surviving textiles from the pre-deportation period available for examination it is impossible to know precisely what style of spinning and weaving was performed by Acadian textile workers. We do know from documentation and from surviving artifacts that Acadian women used both spinning wheels and drop spindles for their spinning. The spinning wheel was a standard part of a French labourer's household in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the slower drop spindle with its whorl had been a staple in one form or another as far back as the stone age.[183]

The drop spindle was a simple device used for spinning fibres, made by placing a whorl—a disk of even weight and diameter—on the bottom of a straight stick in order to balance the stick and generate spin. Whorls have been made from many different solid, durable substances, including wood, stone, and repurposed pottery. Similar discs or bowls without drilled holes were often used as catches for the point of the spindle for supported stationary spinning, creating drag as necessary or containing a wobble. While spinning can be done without a whorl, the use of the whorl creates smaller-diameter threads or cords, of a more consistent size, faster and more efficiently.

A spindle whorl was discovered outside the Blanchard house in Belleisle, the small, perforated weight only 36 mm in diameter and weighing 9.3 g. The weight appears to have sheared in half widthwise, and likely would have originally weighed between 11-18 grams. The size and weight of the whorl, in order to be useful, must be calibrated for the

type of fibre being spun—the smaller the whorl, the faster the spin, and generally the shorter the staple of the fibre used with it.[184] Large, heavy whorls are best suited for the production of flax and thick wool threads (>1 mm in diameter).[185] Smaller, lightweight whorls have been associated in south and central America with cotton production; in the case of Acadian home textile production they would have been used for fine woolen threads, between 0.2-0.7 mm thick.[186] The Blanchard whorl was made of what appears to be local clay, perforated—albeit at an angle—to allow for the insertion of the spindle.[187] The size and shape, as well as the angled perforation, suggest that it was locally made by an amateur, and would have been best suited to the production of very fine wool thread for both sewing and weaving.

Figure 3.36: Spindle whorl BeDi-2:4316. Clay, likely local. Photo by author with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

The drop spindle was inexpensive and simple to make but was generally inefficient compared to newer technologies. It had been replaced by the spinning wheel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by those who could afford it. The spinning wheel was faster and more efficient, but it restricted women's activities in a way that seems incompatible with Acadian women's use of public space, as well as the bulk of their farm chores. The lightweight drop spindles could be spun in the air while the user was mobile, allowing gravity to do some of the work.[188] The drop spindle's portability meant that the user could engage in other tasks and public social life while continuing to work the fibres. The spinning wheel, on the other hand, confined her to a single spot, usually the main room of the home. Given the ways in which Acadian women made use of the sunlight and outdoor spaces in the settlements, this stationary chore left the spinner disconnected from public life. The use of a drop spindle outdoors on the Blanchard property confirms that even families with means were using the less expensive tools, suggesting that the motivation was not poverty, but mobility.

Figure 3.37: Woman with a distaff and drop spindle, feeding chickens. Luttrell Psalter (1325-1335). The British Library, Add MS 42130, Psalm 91, ff. 166v.

Figure 3.38: Detail, Peasant Interior, by the Le Nain Brothers, 1642. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington.

The spinning wheels the Acadians used were invented around 1600 CE, based on Chinese or Indian designs that entered European use in the thirteenth century.[189] While no parts of the main body of a spinning wheel have yet been found at a pre-expulsion Acadian site, an Acadian distaff in the museum at Fort Beausejour is 68.5 cm in length, the right size for use with a spinning wheel.[190] At that length it is shorter than a distaff designed to be used with a drop spindle, which was generally approximately 0.9 m long (three feet). Using a wheel and distaff, a skilled spinner could spin an average of two skeins of linen thread in a day—or six skeins of wool.[191] Recent experiments have shown that with a drop spindle, it is the skill of the individual spinner more than any variation of tool that determines the consistency and quantity of hand-spun wools; the human factor is more pronounced.[192]

Linen and wool required different wheels, a small "Saxony" or flax wheel for spinning linen fibres, and a larger "great wheel" for spinning wool. The flax wheel was used from a seated position while the wool wheel required a walking motion to provide tension on the fibres.[193] Inventories in Salem, Massachusetts from the mid-seventeenth century show that of twenty-nine households that had spinning wheels listed, fourteen had more than one wheel in their possession, some defined specifically as "linen wheeles."[194] Wheels were ubiquitous but relatively expensive considering their necessary role in the production of household textiles, the cost to purchase one in England in the early seventeenth century two shillings and fourpence—but rising to about five shillings a hundred years later.[195]

The only evidence we have for looms in Acadia are Dièrville's first-person accounts, and inventories which describe looms in the households of Acadian refugees in New

England following the deportation.[196] In New England only between 65-80 percent of households owned wheels by 1750. By comparison, only 6-10 percent had looms.[197] This is relatively unsurprising considering the workload required to produce enough thread to fill a loom, with eight spinners required per weaver.[198] The looms used at the time were two-harness floor looms, the same style later used in both Louisiana and northern Acadian settlements.[199] This basic loom was capable of producing two different weaves, a plain and a tabby, with basket-weave and other variations made possible by varying the threading of the harnesses.[200] The tabby weave was the most common in later Acadian weaving, with pattern banding created through manipulation of weft colours.[201] Brocades, satins, and jacquards were not physically possible.

Weaving was traditionally a male-coded task, with Mathieu Martin the only weaver appearing in an Acadian census.[202] In 1685 de Meulles wrote that there were weavers, plural, in the colony, the trade being passed down through the generations, but weavers at this stage must have become less specialized, combining their work with other professions, as no professional weavers are enumerated after Martin's death.[203] A changeover happened in the mid-eighteenth century in terms of the gendered nature of the task.[204] Looms became more common in New England household inventories post-1750 and production appears to have moved to the other side of the domestic sphere, from trained male specialists into the hands of female domestic workers.[205] This shift must have begun earlier in Acadian circles, as by the time of the expulsion it is Acadian women being given the credit for weaving. The group of deportees that settled at Belle-Ile-en-Mer in 1765-1766 had strong reputations as weavers and were given looms by the French government in order to ply their skills in "tissue acadien."[206]

CONCLUSIONS

Examining the tools of textile production can tell us some useful things about Acadian dress and about the culture surrounding their production and embellishment methods. Without looms and spinning wheels the evidence is limited to the smaller items, but even those have proven to be a wealth of information that has been previously unexplored. The presence of a small spindle whorl at the Blanchard house necessitates the existence of a spindle to go along with it, and fine wool thread as the end result. The presence of sewing tools outdoors leads to an exploration of the idea of work spaces, turning textile production and maintenance into activities that blur the boundaries between the nuclear family and the community.

The pins, awl, and bodkin give us the most specific information about garment styles of any of the tools, while the spindle whorl and distaff speak more clearly about the types of textiles produced locally. The delicate pins found at the Melanson site suggest that residents were wearing lightweight and fine textiles, possibly linen caps and fichus for the women and girls of the households. The awl and rings may have ended up together thanks to the use of eyelets on bodices or breeches, lacing plackets confirmed by the presence of a bone bodkin. The simplicity of the bodkin and plain nature of the scissors at Melanson contrast to the silvered scissors and snips found at Beaubassin, suggesting—in the absence of further finds during future excavations—a difference in the way femininity was being constructed and presented in the various communities. This may relate to differences in audience: that is, for whom the display was being created.

Beyond the start of a catalogue of potential garments, the artifacts inform us about the social dynamics of textile production in Acadia. The means of textile production in Acadia belonged to both men and women, the locations of the finds and the styles discovered revealing not only the ways in which the items were used, but what meanings they held for their owners and onlookers. Fancy scissors meant to be seen rested in fabric pockets and sewing rolls alongside utilitarian thimbles, awls, and bodkins. Pins carried in wooden and bone poppets moved in and out, used to secure garments. Women's dress specifically was a precarious and renewable thing, pieces held to each other with pins and finely basted threads, the position of an apron corner, a sleeve, a cravat, shifting and changing throughout the day.

As previously noted, generalizing based on the size of the assemblages is dangerous, especially in cases where the bulk of the site has yet to be excavated. It is impossible to know for certain if the tools found at each house site are representative of the original array of items available. Given descriptions of shared labour, however, and the differences between two sites sitting so closely together and belonging to members of the same family group, we may still make some extrapolations.

Many comments on Acadian productivity appear in letters both from French and English officials. Called lazy and indolent, the official ire appears to be primarily directed at Acadian men for leaving the uplands uncleared and unfarmed.[207] Governor Jacques-François de Monbeton de Brouillan, replacing Villebon in 1701, wrote on arrival that he had discovered the Acadians of Minas to be living "en vrais républicains, ne reconnaissant ni autorité royale ni justice," an expression of frustration at a people apparently chafing at his assertion of imperial control.[208] Women's work is mentioned

only in positive praise for their industry, but there may be an issue of perception at play. Gloria Main has posited a transition point in the colonial consumer economy around 1715, when, she argues, there was less need for unskilled labour on the farms, freeing up men and women alike to specialize in non-farming occupations.[209] Certainly swelling demographics suggest that the number of workers available for farm labour in Acadia had increased, even considering the general distaste for hiring outside servants and hands.[210] The variation in scissor types between Melanson and Belleisle is not a sign of socioeconomic differences nor of access to ornamented tools. Jeanne Thibodeau and the Widow Dugas had the time for fancy work, as all the Acadian wives living in Île Royal hired servants for domestic labour.[211]

Where Villebon and Dièreville saw the products of women's work, they did not look too closely at the details—else why describe the Acadians as being "in no way distinguished by new styles," when their accessories (see *Chapter 5*) demonstrate that to be incorrect. Women's leisure at Beaubassin and Belleisle may have taken the form of genteel pursuits, changing from subsistence sewing and weaving to embroidery and finework during the day. They sewed and spun in spaces with the potential for social engagement, buying and using decorative tools as a means of displaying further pride in their work. This maps on to the ways in which fine work was associated with higher status for European women, and the prevalence of fancy tools at Beaubassin indicates the growth of a new, local elite differentiating themselves and triggering anxious commentary from officials concerned about a subtle usurpation of authority.[212]

The fancy embroidery scissors and the attendant silks and ribbons found in Jeanne Thibodeau's sewing equipment and with Marie Savoie and Marguerite Blanchard at

Belleisle indicate ways in which the women defined themselves through the use of luxury-level tools.[213] Fancy work and the attendant idealized domestic femininity stands in contrast to the descriptions of simple Acadian farmers given by English travellers, who saw "clothes pitched on with pitchforks," and the practical reuse of English "scarlet duffil" recycled into homespun skirts.[214] They did whitework and embroidered with colourful silks, and while lace making scissors were not found at any of the sites in question, lace bobbins and contemporary testimony confirm that lace was a product in demand.[215] They spun fine threads with light spindles and wove textiles in domestic settings. Silk lace was imported in quantity, but cotton and linen lace may have been made locally.[216]

The geometric stylings on the hafts of the decorated embroidery scissors mirror the simple geometry of weaving and stitching, crosses, curves, and squares turning both handles and fabric into works of art. Jules Prown describes artifacts as "artistic signs articulating a climate of belief," the forms of objects reflecting and personifying cultural subtext, and the specialized tools for fancy work are marked as fancy work themselves.[217] The social importance of decorative work is doubly underlined in the scissor design, a privileging of artistic expression. The sizes of scissors represented in the assemblages may hold further answer to the compelling question of "why so many": the snips found in quantity at Acadian sites correspond generally with the number of young women living in their mother's households. Servants were not employed in Acadia—a dramatic contrast to both the cheap household labour available in France and the enslaved people in households of Acadian women who married French officials at Île Royal—and the tasks of maintaining a household were performed by family members.[218] Girls would learn

sewing at their mother's knees, beginning with simpler tasks such as hemming and sewing long seams.

A young woman's textile skills were of paramount importance, the ability to "weave a web of cloth" considered as fundamental to the proper running of a household as a young man's abilities in carpentry and farming.[219] Their sewing kits included thimbles, needles, and pins, and needed only a single pair of smaller scissors for completion. Sitting at the fire and on the front stoops of their houses with their mothers, aunts and sisters, the girls of Acadia learned the skills they would need for their own households and gave their communal labour to textile production and fancy work.

Imagine, for a moment, the Widow Dugas in Louisbourg, sitting on her stoop in summer or the hearth on a winter's evening, surrounded by her daughters and stepdaughters—sisters, step-sisters and half-sisters ranging in age from eight to seventeen and all connected in some way to the major bloodlines of Acadia. There they sit, sharing their hopes for the future, linen for a trousseau golden and warm upon their laps, their needles flickering in the fire's glow. We can add others to this cozy group. Louisbourg was home to a network of related Acadian women, many married to French officials.[220] Anne le Borgne de Belleisle, first married to the merchant Jean Baptiste Rodrigue, lived at house 31, kitty-corner to the Widow Dugas; we may add her to the gathering, along with Joseph's cousin Marguerite Dugas and her children.[221] Jeanne Thibodeau fits neatly into this network of related women as well, her brother Michel married to Joseph's first cousin Marie-Agnes Dugas.[222] Based on the physical evidence, we might even project so far as to include Mme. de la Vallière, the French neighbour across the street, in whose house the matching scissor handle was found.[223] Evidence of connection and exchange

persists even outside of the settlements, the networks of women keeping their community bonds significant, and even inside the French fortress, strengthening their growing sense of a new Acadian identity.[224]

The items owned in each settlement were similar in many respects, the Dutch thimbles, plain steel needles, and copper pins the same imported items used across the colonies. The differences can be most strikingly seen in the scissors and the needle-cases, items meant to be seen both in context of sewing work and otherwise. Finely pointed and decorated on the handles, silver-plated or steel, scissors played an important role in Acadian women's structuring and consideration of their roles as women and providers. Distinct—and yet not entirely divided—from the scissors used by the women round her, Jeanne Thibodeau's covered scissors reveal something about her preferred leisure activity alongside her beliefs about her place in Louisbourg society.

The scissors found at the Melanson settlement, on the other hand, tell us that this is not the only force at play. The pairs of scissors found there are plain by comparison to those seen at Belleisle and Louisbourg, with undecorated hafts and clean blades and no maker's mark or inlay to distract the eye. And yet we know from various censuses that the Melansons were among the wealthiest landowners in Acadia, so it is not for lack of funds. The settlement was flourishing in 1707, cultivating seventeen arpents of land between six family groups.[225] Basque considers the Melansons to be one of the elite families, or at the very least one of the most locally connected.[226] Additionally, analysis of socioeconomic differences between the "elite" Acadian families and the poorer settlements found limited differences in the kinds of goods owned.[227]

This difference is heightened when compared to Belleisle, where the clothing was more rustic (see *Chapter 6*), but the sewing equipment was fancier. This dichotomy disturbed cultural expectations associated with European gentility, which paired elite femininity with leisure sewing. The disparity between social presentation and coded activity between the women in the banlieue and those in the marsh would have been a source of tension. It was the kind of mismatch that may have increased the general perception of Acadians as moving away from the manners and mannerisms which were so much a part of continental French social understanding. It is that growing distance from imperial expectation and changes in social cues which suggests a forming perception change, and more justification for those on the outside to begin to see Acadian culture as something *other*.

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[1] Olive Schreiner, *From Man to Man, or Perhaps Only* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927).
[2] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 182–83.
[3] Basque, “Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia,” 61–62.
[4] Jonah and Tait, “Filles d’Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg,” 24–25.
[5] Jonah and Tait, 24–25.
[6] James Richard Farr, *The Work of France : Labor and Culture in Early Modern Times, 1350-1800*, Critical Issues in World and International History (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 26.
[7] Farr, 26.
[8] Binford, “Archaeology as Anthropology,” 220; Craig, “When a Book Is Not a Book”, for her discussion on the use of objects as foci for community creation and identification.
[9] Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 25.
[10] Jonah and Tait, “Filles d’Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg,” 38–39.
[11] Lavoie, “Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy,” 221.
[12] Beaudry, *Findings*, 84–85.
[13] “Lettre de Talon au ministre Colbert,” 1671, in Clark, *Acadia*, 164.
[14] No evidence for looms has yet been uncovered at Beaubassin, though documentary and logical evidence informs us that they must have existed. Looms could be relatively easily broken down and rebuilt from existing timber, the construction not requiring a huge amount of specialized expertise. The element of the loom which was valuable and required specialized knowledge was the reed, a section of carefully spaced vertical dividers used to separate out the threads of a warp and beat down the weft once a shot had been passed through the warp shed. These could be made of wood, river reed or metal, or a combination of materials. While not easily broken down, reeds were removable and small enough to be packed and transported during even a hasty evacuation scenario. The larger

equipment was also of practical use, and anything remaining may have been either removed by the incoming British or French officers or put to the torch.

[15] Brunet, "Voyages of Henri Brunet," 150; Chard, "The Price and Profits of Accommodation: Massachusetts-Louisbourg Trade, 1713-1744," 133; Coleman, "Acadian Social Life," 35 List of supplies brought for refugees in Beausejours, May 1, 1751.

[16] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (London ; New York: I.B. Taurisr, 2010), 113; Beaudry, *Findings*, 71.

[17] Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation of Fort Ligonier 1960-1965*, 97.

[18] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 82.

[19] Parker, 81.

[20] Beaudry, *Findings*, 85; Also see Mary Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity," in Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster, eds., *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, 2009 edition (New York; London: Springer, 2011), 218–19.

[21] Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 129–31.

[22] Beaudry, *Findings*, 5–6.

[23] Beaudry, 5–6.

[24] Beaudry, 5–6; Adam Smyth, "What We Talk about When We Talk about Scissors," in *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories* (University of Michigan Press, 2011), 293–307.

[25] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 11; Beaudry, *Findings*, 4–5.

[26] Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 5; Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," 65.

[27] Beaudry, *Findings*, 133.

[28] Philip Mercier, *A Girl Sewing*, c 1750, Oil paint on canvas, 760 x 635 mm, c 1750, Tate Gallery, UK.

[29] Stephen Daniels and Joseph Wright, *Joseph Wright* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press and Tate Gallery, 1999), 13; Joseph Wright, *Portrait of a Woman*, c 1770, Oil paint on canvas, 126.7 x 101.6 cm, c 1770, 1986.264.6, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[30] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 10.

[31] John Shovlin, "The Cultural Politics of Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 576–77.

[32] Shovlin, 578; Also see Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions : A History of Sumptuary Law* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1996).

[33] Shovlin, "The Cultural Politics of Luxury in Eighteenth-Century France," 578.

[34] The term used for Guillaume Trahan in the description on the passenger list from the St. Jehan, however, "marechal de trenchant," may refer more closely to the maintenance of existing tools rather than training in the manufacture of new ones —"edge-tool worker" rather than blacksmith. Stephen A. White, "RE: [AFC] From Stephen A. White - Some Corrections to John Farragher's Book," E-mail, *ACADIAN-FRENCH-CANADIAN-L Archives*, April 18, 2010.

[35] H. G. Brack, *Registry of Maine Toolmakers : A Compilation of Toolmakers Working in Maine and the Province of Maine Prior to 1900*, vol. 10, Hand Tools in History (Davistown Museum, 2008), 13; Beaudry, *Findings*, 119.

[36] Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed."

[37] Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy," 190; Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 88.

[38] Beaudry, *Findings*, 119.

[39] Beaudry, 119; Smyth, "What We Talk about When We Talk about Scissors," 295–96.

[40] Rees, Tool and Trades History Society, and Gales & Martin, *A Directory of Sheffield* Thirty-nine are listed as manufacturers of "fine scissors," and the remaining forty-eight of "common scissors"; Smyth, "What We Talk about When We Talk about Scissors," 296.

[41] Gordon Fader, "Marine Archaeology Offshore Digby Neck, Bay Of Fundy" (Halifax, N.S: Atlantic Marine Geological Consulting Ltd., March 2005), 3, https://www.novascotia.ca/nse/ea/whitespointquarry/09.Reference.Documents/14.Fader.Marine.Archaeology.pdf.

[42] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 176; Dunn, "L'inventaire de La Veuve Plemarais, 1705," 27.
[43] Beaudry, *Findings*, 133.
[44] Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 38.
[45] See spreadsheet in Appendix A.
[46] J. Cowgill, Margrethe de Neergaard, and N. Griffiths, *Knives and Scabbards*, vol. 1, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 58.
[47] Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, *The Workwoman's Guide: Containing Instructions to the Inexperienced in Cutting out and Completing Those Articles of Wearing Apparel, &c. Which Are Ususally Made at Home : Also, Explanations on Upholstery, Straw-Platting, Bonnet-Making, Knitting, &c.* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co, 1838), 15; Fader, "Marine Archaeology Offshore Digby Neck, Bay Of Fundy," 15.
[48] Catherine Arminjon et al., *Objets civils domestiques: vocabulaire* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1984), 580.
[49] Cowgill, Neergaard, and Griffiths, *Knives and Scabbards*, 1:58.
[50] Arminjon et al., *Objets civils domestiques*, 580.
[51] Cowgill, Neergaard, and Griffiths, *Knives and Scabbards*, 1:58.
[52] I. H. Goodall, "The Medieval Blacksmith and His Products," *Medieval Industry* 40 (1981): 20, 54.
[53] Scissors from Belleisle are BeDi:2-232 and -240, with -2274 as the other handle from -240. Found at House 1, unit D, level 2 (and 2E for 2274).
[54] Tinning or plating of iron involved sprinkling an iron surface with tin filings and applying heat, a process known in some form in Europe for hundreds of years. E M Jope, "The Tinning of Iron Spurs: A Continuous Practice from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Century," *Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society*, 1956, 37.
[55] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 27 (figure 38). Also see Crépeau and Dunn. .
[56] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 267, 268 Figure 87, #2.
[57] Noël Hume, 268.
[58] Nadon, "Field Journals for Digs at Beaubassin, Fort Beausejours and Fort Cumberland," 68-57–405.
[59] Nadon, 68-57–405.
[60] Personal communication, Marc Lavoie, 20 August 2017.
[61] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 267.
[62] Jope, "The Tinning of Iron Spurs: A Continuous Practice from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Century."
[63] Peter Cameron, "Anthony Christian and the French Plating Trade in Eighteenth-Century London," *Journal of the Antique Metalware Society* 20 (June 2012): 264–71.
[64] Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 129–30.
[65] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 11.
[66] Parker, 11.
[67] Brebner, *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada*; Jones, "From Frontier to Borderland: The Acadian Community in a Comparative Context, 1605-1710"; Jared Smith, "Acadia's Outpost: Beaubassin before the Deportation" (Honours, Acadia University, 2014).
[68] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 1437. Also see Louisbourg in-house report written by Donald Harris, 1982.
[69] Harris, "Louisbourg - In-House Report on Site Histories."
[70] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 269.
[71] Harris, "Louisbourg - In-House Report on Site Histories."
[72] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 269.
[73] Massimiliano Mandel, *Scissors* (Wingston: First Glance Books, 1990), 5. Further physical analysis will hopefully answer this question.
[74] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 269. See item 2L31Q22-3.
[75] Beaudry, *Findings*, fig. 5.3.
[76] Wright, *Portrait of a Woman*.
[77] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 40.
[78] Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy," 50–52.

[79] Lavoie, “Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse,” 78–79.
[80] Though it is uncertain whether this was Pierre Blanchard (Gougeon), Guillaume’s son, or Pierre Blanchard (Savoie), Guillaume’s grandson through René. Order for Road Making, Mascarene, 12 May 1740, and Order to Deputies to Enquire, Mascarene, 2 June 1740. In MacMechan, “Nova Scotia Archives Commission Book, 1720-1741,” 235, 240 This was probably Pierre Blanchard (Gougeon), by virtue of ages—the elder Pierre was 45 in 1740, making him a long-term adult member of the community, while his nephew Pierre was only 27; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 147, 152.
[81] Basque, “Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia,” 61–62; Johnston, “The Call of the Archetype and the Challenge of Acadian History,” 73; Jonah and Tait, “Filles d’Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg,” 24; Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 13.
[82] Clark, *Acadia*, 212.
[83] Lot 1C7, as per inventory from primary investigator Marc Lavoie. Lot contained 24 bone fragments and six clay shards, including the edge of a plate.
[84] See artifact BeDi2-1955.
[85] Christianson, “Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2),” 52.
[86] Tailleur d’habits et tailleur de corps: Plates vol. 9 (1771) Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert, *The Encyclopedia; Selections [by] Diderot, D’Alembert and a Society of Men of Letters. Translated, with an Introd. and Notes, by Nelly S. Hoyt [and] Thomas Cassirer.*, trans. Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).
[87] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 269.
[88] Hale, *The Workwoman’s Guide*, 15.
[89] Lavoie, “Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse,” 84.
[90] Crépeau and Dunn, “The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755),” 10.
[91] See Moroni’s painting *The Tailor* (1565-1570), and Francesco Cossa’s *Allegoria del mese di Marzo* (c. 1470), for example.
[92] Beaudry, *Findings*, 118.
[93] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, “Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies,” 27, Figure 38.
[94] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 268.
[95] Arminjon et al., *Objets civils domestiques*, 580.
[96] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 269.
[97] Noël, “Inventory of Archaeological Records of the Melanson Settlement National Historic Site, Nova Scotia,” 31, 33.
[98] Dunn, “History of the Melanson Settlement,” 41.
[99] White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 99–100.
[100] White, 99. The other two Belliveau sons moved away, but a story from the time of the deportation puts Charles at the settlement upon the arrival of the Pembroke in the last week of November, 1755.
[101] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 284; Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, 182–83.
[102] Desan, “Making and Breaking Marriage: An Overview of Old Regime Marriage as a Social Practice,” 3–4.
[103] Dunn, “History of the Melanson Settlement,” 17; Melanson, *The Melanson Story*, 98–99.
[104] Dunn, “History of the Melanson Settlement,” 30; Melanson, *The Melanson Story*, 98.
[105] Caplan, “Yvon LeBlanc, Architect Fortress of Louisbourg,” 59. As per Acadians in Gray, the daughters were: Angelique (1727 – 18 in 1745. d. At 20 in 1747, in Grand Pre), Jeanne (1731 - 14 yrs old in 1745), Marie Charlotte de Saint-Etienne (1728 – 17 years old in 1745) Louise Francoise de Saint-Etienne (1730 – 15 years old in 1745), and Anne & Jeanne-Charlotte (twins b. 1737 - 8 yrs old in 1745).
[106] Beaudry, *Findings*, 153.
[107] “Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil.”

[108] Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 15.
[109] Beaudry, *Findings*, 29; Centre des Archives d'Outre-mer [CAOM], G2, vol. 197, dossier 151.
[110] Caroline Duroselle-Melish, "A Pin's Worth: Pins in Books," The Collation - Research and Exploration at the Folger, August 4, 2015, https://collation.folger.edu/2015/08/a-pins-worth-pins-in-books/.
[111] Beaudry, *Findings*, 26.
[112] See the excellent typology put together by Beaudry, 22–28.
[113] Beaudry, 24–25.
[114] Beaudry, 25.
[115] C. Caple, "The Detection and Definition of an Industry: The English Medieval and Post Medieval Pin Industry," *Archaeological Journal* 148, no. 1 (1991): 253.
[116] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 254–55; Also see Caple, "The Detection and Definition of an Industry: The English Medieval and Post Medieval Pin Industry," 242.
[117] Caple, "The Detection and Definition of an Industry: The English Medieval and Post Medieval Pin Industry," 248.
[118] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2," 35.
[119] These pins have been sent to the University of New Brunswick for laser ablation tests to determine the origin of the copper and location of manufacture, but the data has not been made available as of the time of this writing.
[120] Interview with Charles Burke, Dec. 13, 2017.
[121] Boutilier and Christianson, "'Clothing Artifact Group,' in Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 52–53.
[122] Belleisle, 2004 dig, as per inventory from primary investigator Marc Lavoie.
[123] Beaudry, *Findings*, 36.
[124] W. Stephenson, "Gammer Gurton's Needle," in *The Oxford Anthology of Tudor Drama*, ed. Greg Walker (OUP Oxford, 2014).
[125] Sylvia Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*, 2nd ed. (London: Country Life Books, 1966), 29.
[126] Edwin F. Holmes, *A History of Thimbles* (Cornwall Books, 1985), 53, 55; Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*, 37; Beaudry, *Findings*, 94–96.
[127] Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*, 37.
[128] 'Provenience' is a term used in archaeology to refer to the precise location and context from which an artifact was excavated.
[129] Holmes, *A History of Thimbles*, 39.
[130] Holmes, 23.
[131] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 255–56.
[132] Noël Hume, 256–57; Beaudry, *Findings*, 112–13.
[133] Holmes, *A History of Thimbles*, 55.
[134] Holmes, 38, 67.
[135] Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed"; "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil."
[136] Holmes, *A History of Thimbles*, 56.
[137] Halifax Gazette May 5 1753 (among others) https://newspaperarchive.com/halifax-gazette-may-05-1753-p-2/
[138] Holmes, *A History of Thimbles*, 43.
[139] Holmes, 138.
[140] Erica Hill, "Thimbles and Thimble Rings from the Circum-Caribbean Region, 1500-1800: Chronology and Identification," *Historical Archaeology* 29, no. 1 (March 1995): 85.
[141] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 1," 35.
[142] Beaudry, *Findings*, 44.
[143] Beaudry, 51.
[144] Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory, or, A Storehouse of Armory and Blazon Containing the Several Variety of Created Beings, and How Born in Coats of Arms, Both Foreign and Domestick : With the Instruments Used in All Trades and Sciences, Together with Their Their Terms of Art...* (Chester: Printed for the Author, 1688), 91.

[145] Brass thimbles cost between a half-penny and a penny. Jenny McKenney, "That 'Bossy Shield': Money, Sex, Sentiment, and the Thimble," in *Lumen: Selected Proceedings from the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies | Lumen: Travaux Choisis de La Société Canadienne d'étude Du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, vol. 34 (Enlightenment Constellations, London, 2015), 7.
[146] McKenney, 2.
[147] Beaudry, "Stitching Women's Lives: Interpreting the Artifacts of Sewing and Needlework," 150.
[148] McKenney, "That 'Bossy Shield': Money, Sex, Sentiment, and the Thimble," 11–12.
[149] McKenney, 11.
[150] McKenney, 5.
[151] Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown, 1 July 1791, cited in Hannay, "The Acadian French," 132–33; Clark, *Acadia*, 183; Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 175.
[152] McKenney, "That 'Bossy Shield': Money, Sex, Sentiment, and the Thimble," 6.
[153] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 256.
[154] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2," 36; Beaudry, *Findings*, 101.
[155] Beaudry, *Findings*, 111.
[156] Boutilier and Christianson, "'Clothing Artifact Group,' in Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 53; Beaudry, *Findings*, 52.
[157] Christianson and Crépeau, "Home and Hearth: An Archaeological Perspective on Acadian Domestic Architecture."
[158] Noël, "Inventory of Archaeological Records of the Melanson Settlement National Historic Site, Nova Scotia," 22.
[159] Noël, 25.
[160] Christianson and Crépeau, "Home and Hearth: An Archaeological Perspective on Acadian Domestic Architecture."
[161] Feature 12, event 8. See field notes by Andrée Crépeau, as well as summary in Noël, "Inventory of Archaeological Records of the Melanson Settlement National Historic Site, Nova Scotia," 38.
[162] Lot 17B2E3. See field notes, as well as summary in Noël, 35–36.
[163] Barbara Burman and Seth Denbo, *Pockets of History: The Secret Life of an Everyday Object* (Chester: Arts and Humanities Research Council, 2006), 23–24.
[164] Re: sewing kit storage, personal communication, Dr. Marc Lavoie.
[165] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 23–24.
[166] Beaudry, *Findings*, 77–79.
[167] Beaudry, 77.
[168] Beaudry, 98.
[169] 2L81K9-71 - also see Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*.
[170] Hill, "Thimbles and Thimble Rings from the Circum-Caribbean Region, 1500-1800," 85.
[171] Awl 7B12V4.4 and snips 7B12V4.02.
[172] Beaudry, *Findings*, 164.
[173] "I wear a buckle behind and you have made eyelet holes for strings only and no cloth straps for the buckle." 1745. L. G. Mitchell, *The Purefoy Letters, 1735-1753* (New York: Sidgewick and Jackson, 1973).
[174] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 94; José Blanco F et al., eds., *Clothing and Fashion: American Fashion from Head to Toe* (ABC-CLIO, 2015), 331.
[175] Mary C. Beaudry, "Bodkin Biographies," in *The Materiality of Individuality: Archaeological Studies of Individual Lives* (New York, NY: Springer, 2009), 95.
[176] Beaudry, *Findings*, 81–85.
[177] Beaudry, 82, 84.
[178] Beaudry, "Bodkin Biographies," 96; Paul Huey, "The Archaeology of 17th-Century New Netherland Since 1985: An Update," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 34, no. 1 (2005): 106–7.
[179] Beaudry, "Bodkin Biographies," 105.
[180] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 149, 152–53.
[181] Baumgarten, 152.
[182] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 76.

[183] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 73–74; Perry Walton, *The Story of Textiles : A Bird's-Eye View of the History of the Beginning and the Growth of the Industry by Which Mankind Is Clothed* (Boston, Mass: J.S. Lawrence, 1912), 14–15.
[184] Karina Grömer, "Efficiency and Technique – Experiments with Original Spindle Whorls," "Hallstatt Textiles" Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiments on Iron Age Texiles, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 2005, 110–12; Geoffrey McCafferty, "Spindle Whorls," University of Calgary, accessed April 13, 2018, https://antharky.ucalgary.ca/mccafferty/cholula-mexico/material-culture/spindle-whorls.
[185] Grömer, "Efficiency and Technique – Experiments with Original Spindle Whorls," 114.
[186] Grömer, 110–11.
[187] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 54.
[188] Grömer, "Efficiency and Technique – Experiments with Original Spindle Whorls," 109.
[189] Beaudry, *Findings*, 138.
[190] Files provided by Parks Canada and the museum at Fort Beausejours.
[191] Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days* (New York : Macmillan, 1917), 175, 198.
[192] Katrin Kania, "Soft Yarns, Hard Facts? Evaluating the Results of a Large-Scale Hand-Spinning Experiment," *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2013): 129.
[193] Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, 3:306; Beaudry, *Findings*, 139.
[194] Beaudry, *Findings*, 140–42.
[195] James E. Thorold (James Edwin Thorold) Rogers and Arthur G. L. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England : From the Year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1866), 750; David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630-1830*, History of Ireland & the Irish Diaspora (University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 206.
[196] French neutrals were living in a house that was commandeered as part of a movement around smallpox hospitals, 22 February, 1764. "The following is an Inventory of the Things which were found in Mr. Gordons House, lately Occupied by the Robertsons and other French Neutrals."; William Henry Whitmore et al., *Records Relating to the Early History of Boston: Selectmen's Minutes, 1764-1768*, vol. 20 (Boston, MA: Rockwell and Churchill, City Printers, 1889); N. de Dièreville and L. Urgèle Fontaine, *Voyage du sieur de Dièreville en Acadie* (Quebec: A. Côté., 1885), 85–86, 96, 118.
[197] Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," 6, 9.
[198] Ulrich, 10.
[199] Dorothy K. Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts: Traditional Spinning and Weaving in Canada* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1981), 54.
[200] Personal communication with master weaver Lesley Armstrong, July 2018.
[201] Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts*, 54.
[202] "Familles Établies à l'Acadie. Abrégé Envoyé de Québec à Colbert Par Le Sieur Randin, 8 Novembre 1671" (Census, November 8, 1671), Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies; état civil et recensements : Série G1 : Recensements et documents divers : C-2572, Library and Archives Canada.
[203] de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte," 43.
[204] Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," 6.
[205] Ulrich, 6.
[206] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 202.
[207] Clark, *Acadia*, 158–60 Also see Diereville; Perrot, AC, C11D-2 (1), 40-41: 1686; Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 132–33.
[208] Brouillan to Minister, 6 October 1701. Nova Scotia Archives. RG1 vol 3 doc 6, reel 15, 218.
[209] Gloria L. Main, "Gender, Work, and Wages in Colonial New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (1994): 62.

[210] Hynes, "Some Aspects of the Demography of Port Royal, 1650-1755," 7–8; Also see Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 30, on servants.
[211] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 31.
[212] For a much older take on the notion that Acadians were recreating / creating a form of European gentility for themselves, see Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une colonie féodale en Amérique*, 112.
[213] "Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin."; Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 40; Lavoie, "Belleisle Nova Scotia, 1680-1755 : Acadian Material Life and Economy."
[214] Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly," 234; 1 July 1791. Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown. Original transcription by W. B. Tobin, Esq. in Hannay, "The Acadian French," 133.
[215] A complaint filed against the parish priest at Beaubassin described how, Abbé Claude Trouvé had refused to grant absolution to several local women after confession, as they were wearing lace and ribbon. NA, MG1, C11D, Vo1.2,"Memoire de L'acadie, nouvelle angleterre, nouvelle hollande et virgine par le sieur de Cadillac," fols. 147-152, 1692.
[216] "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil."
[217] Jules David Prown, "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?," in *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 14.
[218] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 30; Donovan, "Slaves in Ile Royale, 1713-1758."
[219] 1 July 1791, Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown. In Hannay, "The Acadian French," 133.
[220] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 29.
[221] See Louisbourg site map, courtesy Parks Canada, figure 4.
[222] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 29; White, *Dictionnaire Généalogique Des Famillies Acadiennes*, 562.
[223] Items 2L80T11-77, belonging to lot 2E / house 21, and 2I37-2L29P24-4, belonging to lot 2I / house 25.
[224] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 44.
[225] Crépeau and Dunn, "The Melanson Settlement: An Acadian Farming Community (ca. 1664-1755)," 7.
[226] Basque, "Family and Political Culture in Pre-Conquest Acadia," 61–62.
[227] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 26.

Chapter 4: Textiles

Ils sont en tout bons ouvriers / Il n'est rien dont ils ne s'acquittent / Cent besoins divers les excitent / A se donner ce qu'ils n'ont pas ... Enfin leur nudité par leur travail se voile.[1]

The archetypical Acadian of poetic fancy wore plain wool and homespun linen, cut and sewn into simple shapes.[2] The striped skirts and long woolen waistcoats from modern paintings of the past have grounding in reality, though popular history overviews do not cover the full breadth of Acadians' options. Cotton, for instance, is often dismissed as having been readily available until the 1800s.[3] Both documentary and physical evidence, however, show a wide range of textiles worn in Acadia. Wool and linen were certainly mainstays, but imported silks and cottons also played important roles in Acadian wardrobes.[4] The Acadian connection to the Atlantic marketplace can be seen in their textiles, markers of their engagement in the global world of goods.

This chapter traces the ways in which Acadians acquired textiles, the types of textiles they used, and the roles those textiles likely played in forming the look and style of Acadia. The global textile trade saw massive flows particularly of printed cottons from east to west following 1500 CE, and the fashion shifts which resulted from that broadening of trade networks impacted Acadia as well.[5] This chapter argues that the specific entanglements of textiles—their physical qualities, social meanings, and the ways in which they were embedded in a web of interdependent exchanges that extended beyond the Atlantic world—determined what was possible for Acadian clothing, and how that clothing could be worn.

The physical qualities of different textiles deeply informed the cultural connotations which developed around each, though these shifted and new ones were created, over the course of the decades. The different webs of meaning surrounding textiles for the Mi'kmaq and the Acadians collided and intertwined in complex ways, the tensions and ambiguity triggering ripples in multiple directions.[6] Fibres entered the weaver's studio with value judgements already upon them, based on the symbolism embedded in them in specific places and times. The staple length of fibres, their durability, the ways in which they uptake and hold dye, and the possible drapes of the different textiles made from them also created a set of constraints around how clothing could be made, and parameters determining how those garments would look.

This chapter traces those connections and ideas about textiles, the subtextual understandings which the Acadians brought with them, those they accumulated in their new context, and the ways in which those understandings shaped dress choice in Acadian settlements. Colours and dyes, tactile sensations, the ways in which different fabrics aged, frayed, and felted, and the cultural tensions between imported fabrics and homespun all contributed to the types of garments into which the yardage was made and the messages those garments could send. The transformative potential of textiles was mirrored in their socio-cultural uses, cloth used as trade good, symbolic gift, a centering force for a community, and a transformative addition to the body.[7] Combinations of textiles created visual transitions that generated new meaning as they blurred the lines between the familiar and the new.

The five major fibres of western pre-industrial civilization—linen, hemp, wool, cotton, and silk—all found homes in Acadian dress next to leathers and furs, though the

stories they tell there are different than those same textiles found in Paris or London. Objects change meanings as they change contexts, and the presence of Indonesian cotton in Port Royal means something quite different than the presence of French silks in Louisbourg.[8] The biographies of the different fibres and weaves, the hands they passed through, and the reactions of consumers and onlookers to the end results all play a vital role in understanding Acadian relationships with the fabrics that clothed their world.

Cloth of all kinds was an absolute necessity for colonial life, and descriptions of the kinds of textiles in use appeared in probate inventories as well as other legal documentation. Acadians tended to live a long time compared to the average lifespan of the day, and inheritance traditions in Acadia often included elderly parents giving their sons their land and house as their abilities to work the land and livestock dwindled.[9] Many of these properties were deeded to the next generation in return for the promise of lifetime maintenance, which included enough cloth annually—likely wool—to be made into a new suit of clothes.[10]

Textiles are unique among the articles available to material culture analysis. All objects with which human beings interact are changed by those interactions in one way or another. Textiles in general and garments in particular are marked at an essential level, both by the bodies that make them and the bodies that wear them. As much as constrictive and rigid clothing changes the shape of the body inside it, the bodies of the spinners, weavers, cutters, tailors, and ultimately the wearer dictate the form and structure of the clothing and textiles with which they engage.[11] Prior to the industrial revolution and the mass mechanization of the textile production process, the tension, weight, texture, and body of a fabric were all subject to change through the different skills levels, tastes,

and physical abilities of the people involved in its manufacture. The thread, fabric, and eventually garments passed from one hand to another, changing meaning along with their changing contexts.[12]

Beginning in the 1970s, with rising interest in domestic lives and the relatively silent presence of women in the standard high-politics-oriented historical narrative, interpretation of the indirect evidence presented in textile collections gained much more traction than earlier economic and purely descriptive materials.[13] Linda Baumgarten, Joanne Eicher, Ann Smart-Martin, and Adrienne Hood, among others, engaged with collections and theoretical frameworks to design new methodologies for extracting information about societal values and patterns of behaviour from clothing and textiles.[14] Later scholars elaborated on those frameworks, bringing in aspects of other disciplines including literary analysis, reconceptualizations of geography, economy, privacy, comfort, and luxury, in order to understand the vital role textiles have played in the creation of personal and psychological spaces.[15] The collision between sociological and curatorial approaches in the discipline led to work that attempted to bridge the two, resulting in a framework for dress studies that was more encompassing than its theoretical predecessors.[16]

Textiles carry a personalized importance and a complex relationship with the human body well beyond their visual design or economic value. Producers become active participants in the creation of social meaning. Thanks to the interaction between a garment and the person inside it, the embodied impact of clothing is different from the messaging that is carried by furnishings, for example, or architecture.[17] The intimate connection between clothing and the body is as intensely personal as the production and

consumption of food. In the act of dressing, the flesh is consumed by cloth. As Mary Brooks describes, garments carry evidence of use in themselves, perspiration and scent impressing itself upon the clothes as traces of the dyes and particles of the fibres blend themselves with the wearer's skin.[18]

The human body first intertwines with textiles during the process of production. Threshers and sheep-shearers wrestle raw materials with their shoulders and arms, using giant shears to cut away the raw wool and lighten the sheep's summer burden. Heavy hackles thud against the ground or threshing floor to break the long, hard flax fibres. Whether using a wheel or a drop spindle, a seventeenth and eighteenth-century spinner teases out the fibres with her fingers and, with linen, her saliva or drops of water smooth the thread as she twists it into being. The intermingling of spun thread with the female body appears in the consciousness of the time, folklore driving home the intimacy of the conjunction.[19] As with the sewing needle and the use of saliva to moisten sewing threads, spinning intermingles the body of the worker with her ultimate creation. Both Beauty and Talia, in the two major seventeenth-century renditions of the Sleeping Beauty story, are stripped of their autonomy and consciousness itself by spinning and by flax, a woman's constant companions.[20] Their bodies are connected to the thread, their lives put on pause at the moment of bloody penetration by the flax fibre, needle, or spindle.

Before the advent of the power loom, weaving similarly depended on the weaver's body to generate form, tension, and strength. The ways in which the weaver structured the warp, threw his shuttle, and beat the weft down all contributed to differences in the final product. Stretched, shaped, fulled, beaten, kneaded by hand or brushed to raise the nap, the finished textiles were cut to specific shape and size to fit individuals. Those

bodies then stretched, warped, and sweated in the fabrics, the stains, tears, rough patches, and marks from alterations all signs of the human form that gave the textile public life. Wearing clothing changed garments in ways other adornments like jewellery did not. Body acids and wear left marks on metal, but the signs of change on clothing—letting in and taking out for the pregnant and breastfeeding shape, the patches and sun-bleaching of clothes worn for heavy labour—were just as visible.

Some textiles became second skins. Within the European tradition, linen specifically was considered to act as a barrier layer, a second skin between the body and the outer garments.[21] Moral codes regarding stance, gesture and body boundaries—the rejection of the open, loose orifice—were expressed through conversation about clothing and fabric.[22] The origin, type, colour, and hand of the textiles worn either against the skin or exposed to the public eye spoke a great deal about a person's priorities, origins, and personality.[23] Sophie White's discussions of the intersections of race, gender, and textile use emphasize the many ways in which textiles were used as resistance against those social judgements, arguing in favour of reading fabric choices as conscious elements of meaningful communication.[24]

Fabrics came in bales of dozens of aunes as well as in shorter lengths, and could be cut to size as-is, or treated and manipulated to become something new.[25] Acadian buyers purchased and then unraveled red wool yardage, using the yarn they obtained as weft threads for striped homespun.[26] Acadian textile producers were aware of but not constrained by continental styles. Reworking the materials that had been produced by European bodies, they unravelled some imported textiles, incorporated dyestuffs from

their local environment to recolour plain imported fabrics, and ultimately re-marked the newly purposed warps and wefts with a body-rhythm of their own.

An Acadian aesthetic appeared thanks to the combinations of textiles they used, and each region incorporated their fabrics into garments in different proportions and combinations. While no textiles from the pre-deportation era have been recovered, there are similarities in the weaving of Acadian refugees from Louisiana diaspora communities and those in Canadian communities from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that bear closer examination. Distinctly Acadian weaves emerged over their years in Mi'kma'ki. A consistent pattern of alternating stripes appears in post-deportation weaves in multiple parts of the Acadian diaspora, indicating a common ancestor.[27] Another consistent feature noticed by weaving expert Dorothy K. Burnham is the so-called "barberpole twist," a manipulation of two weft threads, one dark and one light, spun together to create a visibly twisted stripe.[28] As the technique appears in weaving styles consistent across groups who had endured minimal contact since the deportation, it stands to reason that the barberpole twist was something developed prior to the separation. A survey of surviving French wool samples from early eighteenth-century sources shows that stripes were popular, but none showed the same use of barber-pole twist in the weft, or the same types of mirrored stripes.[29]

A weave was as much a declaration of the identity of the weaver as the wearer. Weavers, once finished their apprenticeships, would adjust the weaves they had learned by rote: using five shots of white instead of four on a common stripe pattern, for instance, or changing up the colour balance to a preferred palette. As much as their bodies played with the rhythm of the loom, their tastes and individual marks displayed their prowess on

the bodies of their customers and families.[30] Imported wools and knitted silk stockings in Beaubassin would have stood out against the homespun striped wools by familiar weavers, or the *indiennes* and silk gowns worn in Louisbourg. Holland linen was used for fancy cuffs and caps, worn alongside homespun for shifts, leather and even wood appearing in the moccasins and clogs for the marshes and muddy ground.

The environment played a large role in some of their choices, the harsh, wet winters in Mi'kma'ki very different than those of the Acadians' home provinces in western France. If, as Naomi Griffiths argues, French officials wanted the colonies to be the reflection of the best of what the empire had to offer, the alterations to costume made by the Acadians in response both to their new environment and different access to materials would have been a blow to imperial pride.[31] This may be one of the reasons for early French travellers' somewhat disparaging commentary on Acadian dress—that it no longer looked like the high fashion of France, but was becoming a style all of its own.

The ratio of imported goods to homespun varied throughout the century. More basic textiles were purchased early in the settlements' histories, before land could be cleared and flax farmed in great enough quantity, and before flocks of sheep were established to provide wool. In 1670, despite having a local production economy robust enough to supply Quebec with "6,000 lbs of salted beef" Acadians still needed to import textiles and pre-made clothing, some sent by Intendent Jean Talon as part of the exchange for the meat.[32] In the 1680s, trader Henri Brunet, trading down from Plaisance, brought yards of fine Holland linen; the East India Companies imported woolens and cottons; and silk ribbons, thread, and accessories came in through Acadian and Boston merchants alike.[33]

Textile trade networks connected the globe in the early modern period, the trade routes in Asia facilitating the exchange of cotton and silk for spices and dyes.[34] These materials made their way into the west, bolts of fabric arriving in Europe carrying the aesthetics, scents, and exotic cachet of the distant east. Chintzes and indiennes appear in Louisbourg inventories in large quantities, a link between Acadia and southern India's Coromandel Coast, a centre for textile production.[35] Through Boston trade, Acadia could access silks, more Indian cottons, and fine worsted wools.[36]

The clothing worn in expanding Acadia most likely would have resembled that of France to a greater degree in those first years, the tailors and seamsters replicating what they knew. Though even then, local resources must have had an effect. With familiar plants unavailable and imported dyestuffs limited and expensive, the settlers would have been forced to turn to local flora to find materials to use for dyeing. One likely route for that education was through contact with Mi'kmaq wives of early settlers or from trading partners living close by. Even intermittent and occasional contact may have led them to local resources like goldthread (yellow dye), alder bark (browns and tans), marsh bedstraw (red), yew (green), and hemlock.[37] One anecdote from John Erskine's botanical survey of Nova Scotia describes the discovery of a birch bark pattern made from a French shoe, a method of replicating an item that was falling apart beyond repair or that needed to be scaled up in two dimensions before being rebuilt larger in three.[38] Traditional Mi'kmaq use of birch bark included large-scale projects like housing as well as personal items such as containers and bowls, making regular use of the versatile material.[39]

Local resources were managed alongside imports, the proportion of each varying over the course of Acadian history. The first few decades would have been clothed almost

entirely by imports, especially prior to the introduction of sheep. Later, wool and flax were both exported from Acadia in enough quantity to be recorded by colonial officials, even as wools and linens continued to be imported from around the Atlantic.[40] Cotton and silk could not be grown locally, however, the climate of Mi'kma'ki not suitable for either. Attempts at sericulture had been made in New England from 1616 until the nineteenth century, without great success.[41] Silk brought in from French traders nevertheless enjoyed a place on Acadian bodies in a number of different forms, from ribbons and laces, to velvets and damasks, to luxurious stockings (see *4.5, Silk*).

The heavy fabrics of the baroque gave way to the new draperies and light colours that typified the rococo in the eighteenth century, a new pastoralism demanding light, airy, and above all, nature-inspired design.[42] Florals were popular in Louisbourg, many of the most fashionable fabric lengths and garments described in the probate inventories "a fleur" or "avec fleurs."[43] Goods that travelled through Minas, however, were more often checked or striped.[44] From the limited evidence available, Acadians in the Minas basin settlements seem to have embraced the stripes and squares that subverted as well as complemented the nature that surrounded them. Set against the lush greens and blues of the lakes and forests, the vibrant reds and golds of ginghams and wools made splashes of colour against the fields.

Zara Anishanslin argues for the importance of textile design both as a reflection of and a contributor to philosophical movements and the human sense of place in the eighteenth century.[45] In the city—and likely in both the banlieue settlement of Melanson and the trading hub of Beaubassin, where European clothing accessories show up more frequently—the sinuous florals of the eighteenth century fabric designers brought them

back to nature. The greens, oranges, and browns of local dyes were a backdrop for imported reds and blacks, the regulated squares of gingham and balanced stripes of *siamoise* cottons and blends planned and confined.

Fashionable styles of fabrics changed quickly, shifts in weight and colour of which settlers were certainly aware. A 1733 letter from a trader to Mme. Péré, a fashionable French businesswoman in Louisbourg with family connections to Acadia, confirms that those living in and around the town were aware of the changes in fashion, even though their access was limited.[46] The distance between the metropole and the colonies was enough to create lag between the emergence of a new fashion in Paris and its arrival in Louisbourg, but generally that lag was a matter of months rather than years. Pierre Joubert, Mme. Péré's French agent, writes to her with his apologies at not being able to find the specific red and white floral damask she had requested. He sends a different green damask instead, "of the latest style, the one that is now worn in France."[47] The weeks the textile would take to come across the Atlantic would not be enough to make Mme. Péré's daughter's trousseau out of step with contemporary popular style in France.

4.1 Weaving and Production

The only professional weaver listed on the Acadian censuses was Mathieu Martin (c. 1636 – c. 1724), resident of Belleisle.[48] Mathieu does not appear to have married and had no children, nor any recorded apprentices. Following his death in 1724, no other Acadian is listed as a working weaver. As hard as he might work in his lifetime, no one person could weave the quantity of fabric necessary to clothe thousands of settlers. A second option for locally produced textiles appeared in the form of the itinerant weaver, a

familiar figure in colonial New England and one for which there is some evidence later in the Acadian story. Travelling weavers presented an ingenious solution to the need for textile production labour for smaller settlements. For a fee, the weaver would set up his reed and harness with its pre-strung warp on a family's loom, negating the need for him to build a portable frame.[49] He would weave with a weft provided by the household, cut off the woven textile at the agreed-upon length, and then carry the remainder of his warp on to the next port of call.[50] A nineteenth-century reed and harness belonging to Acadian weavers Wilfred and Charles Boudreau is strung with a cotton warp (see Figure 4.1), though wool and linen would have been more likely for local production in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[51] There are no travelling weavers listed on the Acadian census records, but not everyone known to have lived in the region is accounted for in each document.

Figure 4.1: Reed and harness belonging to itinerant weavers Wilfred & Charles Boudreau, of Cannes. c. 1870. Photo by author, with thanks to Lesley Armstrong.

Adrienne Hood's work on Pennsylvania weavers indicates that carding and weaving were often done outdoors or in outbuildings, thanks to the quantity of dirt coming off of the wool as it was being cleaned, as well as the noise levels created by a functioning loom.[52] Outbuildings found at Acadian sites—as with one structure currently identified as a barn on the Blanchard property at Belleisle, for instance—were large enough to hold a loom or two, opening up the possibility that we could be looking at weaving studios in among the barns and storage structures.[53] The discovery of artifacts such as reeds or loom weights at one of those outbuilding sites would be exciting confirmation of similar practices.

The fashion for light-coloured plain silks in France in the early 1700s could be replicated on the old two-shaft looms used in French backwaters and the colonies, but the shiny, smooth satins and sateens required more complex machinery—five or more shafts at minimum.[54] The basic tabby weave of the two-shaft looms found complexity in stripes and checks, and pattern bands made by changing colours in the weft.[55] The maximum fabric width on the two-shaft looms was defined by the arm span of the weaver, with textiles generally woven in widths of twenty-seven, thirty-six or forty-five inches.[56] Heavy, two-man looms were used elsewhere to try and increase that maximum, but the major innovation which allowed for increased width of yardage, the flying shuttle, was only patented in 1733 and did not enter into widespread use until the 1760s.[57]

From comments by Bishop of Quebec Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier during his tour of the region in 1686, we know that Acadian households were weaving for themselves. This was a recent development, as looms were among the badly needed supplies sent to Acadia from Quebec in 1671.[58] While his comments have

been interpreted to apply to the women of Chignecto, Saint-Vallier in fact makes no such claim. He describes the materials themselves and not the weavers, except in that his pronoun choice shows they were not all women: “la nécessité leur a donné l’industrie de se faire quelques toiles et quelques étoffes grossières, mais ils ne peuvent en fabrique assez pour se vêtir tous.”[59] Female weavers only appear in account books in New England by 1704, though it is unclear if the Acadian transition from weaving as a male profession to a female domestic duty took place earlier.[60] Saint-Vallier’s commentary about coarse homespun of inadequate quantities likely correctly reflects the status quo in 1686 when the Acadian settlements in Siknikt were new and poorly provisioned. That status quo would not last.

Once the land was cleared for farming and herds of sheep were introduced to Acadia, the Acadians harvested, spun, and wove their own linen and wool. They had a system of division of labour and sharing work within kin groups that undoubtedly extended into textile production as deeply as they relied upon it for maintaining the marsh dykes.[61] Surette’s maps of Acadian homesteads in the Beaubassin region show closely related kin groups living in close proximity, holdings expanding outward as subsequent generations claimed new lands on the outskirts of their family’s current farmsteads.[62]

Brook Watson describes Acadian women working collectively in textile manufacture, primarily in the summer months, corroborated by Perrot in 1686.[63] It seems reasonable to suggest that the seasonal time frame for such activities would be similar in pre-deportation Acadia. During the seasons when materials were readily available, daylight lingered longer and travel between homesteads and settlements was easiest. Maintenance and production of clothing items, however, including all stages of pattern making,

cutting, and sewing, would by necessity happen throughout the year. Shared labour was an extremely efficient way of processing fibres and threads into textiles, as the productivity of five or six carders and spinners was necessary to supply one full-time weaver.[64] Family and community units would all need to be working together to produce the materials required.

Figure 4.2: Map showing location of Hallowell, Maine in comparison to southernmost reach of Acadian settlement (Fort Pentagouet, 1670-1674)

Martha Ballard's records of life in Hallowell, Maine, only a day's walk from the southernmost point of Acadian habitation, describe a reciprocal labour economy that required investment in new families.[65] One of the best surviving examples of colonial women's journaling, Ballard's diary describes a secondary female economy regularly exchanging labour hours and materials, their personal relationships acting as a web across which reciprocal ties were formed.[66] The hours that went into spinning, weaving, and sewing for household use were made possible by labour agreements—both formally,

sending daughters into service, and informal sessions such as quilting or carding bees.[67] While New England is not Acadia, the frequency of trade and the much shorter routes between Acadia and Boston, along with the familial and social connections crossing the borders, all help to explain some of the similarities between groups often presumed to be isolated.

Contemporary accounts from writers like Villebon and Dièreville describe Acadian women as making much of their families' clothing at home, processing and weaving flax and wool, but do not describe whether the women worked together or in solitude, more during one season than another, or even the general rhythms of their day.[68] A nineteenth-century description of Acadian traditions in and around Chéticamp describes a communal event with similar details:

> When the warm days of summer began, everyone sheared their sheep. Then, outdoors, in large cauldrons, the wool was boiled, to wash it. After drying in the sun, it was teased so that it would be easier to card. It was then ready for the carding bee. Neighbourhood women and other friends were invited with their carding combs and their aprons. With ten or twelve carders, the wool was soon done. After a few hours of work, and a lot of gossip, the wool piled up in front of each carder in soft rolls ready to be spun.[69]

Communal and intergenerational work appears in the customs of Louisiana Acadians as well, where textile crafts were passed on to children by older female relations. Grandmothers were particularly important in this transmission of skills and behaviours in multigenerational communities, which fits with the descriptions offered in contemporary and later sources.[70] The same behaviours are present in all the communities surrounding the Acadians both temporally and geographically, two distinct diaspora groups (post-deportation Chéticamp and Louisiana) engaging in the same activities.

Professional master craftsmen guarded their secrets jealously, the guilds acting as gatekeepers to ensure that the secrets of a trade were passed down only through approved channels. Domestic weavers were set apart from this system and while they had no access to a guild's trade secrets, they could and did share freely amongst themselves.[71] Outside of the guilds' use of apprentice labour for proprietary yard goods, domestic weavers relied on the efforts of a support crew, usually daughters and younger women in the community, to assist in the hours of labour it took to spin thread and warp the looms.[72] In New England villages, the young women of affiliated families would move back and forth between households sharing domestic labour, a tendency we see in the Acadians in Watson's descriptions of their heavily social carding bees.[73] The exchanges that would come as part of this communal labour, as differentiated from the vertical transmission of knowledge from master to apprentice, made creative synergy that much more possible. Gossip and news—sometimes one and the same—would be passed on during these meetings, keeping the households engaged politically as well as socially with the world around them. As Acadian weaving shifted into the domestic sphere, the styles learned from other women in the community reified themselves, inspiration begetting inspiration, distinct fashions forming which were unknown elsewhere.[74]

4.2 Bale Seals and Inventories

Artifacts related to textile production and sale survive in the archaeological context of the Maritimes where the textiles themselves do not. While spindles, distaffs, and scissors can tell us about local production, it is to the bale seal that we need to turn to find physical evidence of imported fibre goods. Bale seals were identification tags placed on

merchandise that passed through various European hands, marking quantities, weights, original manufacture or licensed importer for tax and export duty records.[75] Before the industrial revolution, cloth was produced in a cottage industry, where workers possessing their own looms would take in raw materials and produce cloth for resale.[76] This led to a situation where cloth was not produced to a consistent standard, and a system was put in place to control for differences in quality.[77] Some of the insignia marked on surviving bale seals can be identified, while others have not. Still others remained blank or only show a cryptic fraction or number sequence which has yet to be decoded.

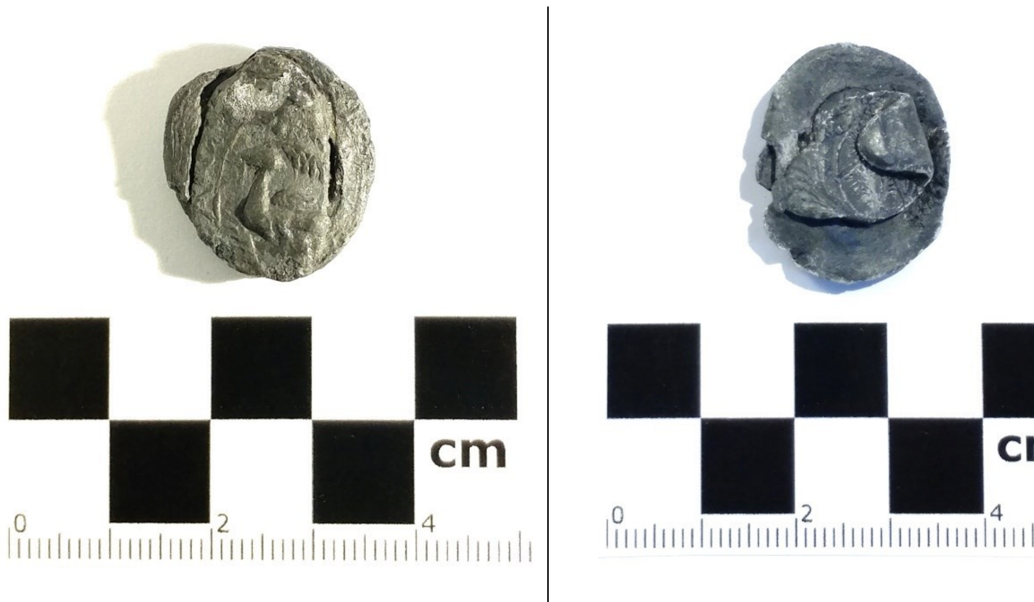

Figure 4.3: Bale seals found at the Blanchard house, Belleisle. BeDi-2:2773 and BeDi-2:2775. Photos by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

Eighteen bale seals have been found to date at the Acadian sites discussed here. Of those, twelve have enough information on them to attempt identification, and six are blank or only show numbers. Some of the unidentified seals have enough information to make a partial association. The seal with the lion passant found at Pointe-aux-Vieux, for instance, is of a size commonly associated with silk textiles or lightweight worsteds rather than heavier woollens, and the lion may indicate an origin point in the City of

Lyons.[78] Intriguingly, two of the seals found at Beaubassin are silk seals from the city of Nimes, the text around the seals identifying them as belonging to importers of silk stockings.[79] Silk accessories, as with fancy embroidery scissors, carried connotations of status. Their presence at Beaubassin fits with other evidence of performative display.[80]

Another seal found at Beaubassin bears the arms for the Compagnie des Indes, once attached to écarlatines designated for the fur trade, and two others have the seal of the Sceaux de controle in the French city of Mazamet.[81] While Mazamet later became famous as a wool production centre, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries it was better known as a site for dyeing and finishing the coarser woollen textiles commonly used for clothing items in North America, particularly among the voyageurs and habitants.[82]

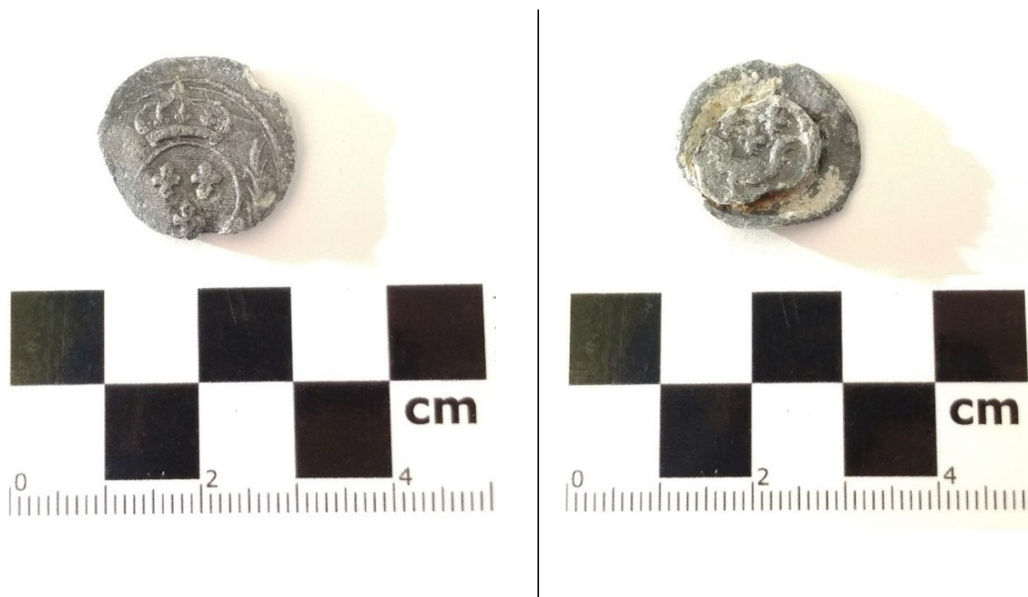

Figure 4.4: Bale seal 7B16F2.05, Beaubassin, with the mark of the town of Mazamet. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

The quantity of bale seals found at Beaubassin is extraordinary for a site of this size when compared to the small number of seals found so far at other Acadian settlements

(see Table 4.1). Jacques Bourgeois, the first French settler at Beaubassin, had been trading with the Mi'kmaq of Chignecto for forty years before moving his family there, and the Indigenous village of Oesgag would have been a natural trading partner once he was fully settled.[83] Beaubassin was in an ideal location to become a hub for the fur trade, and textiles brought from New England and Louisbourg were likely exchanged with Mi'kmaq traders.[84] They would have stripped the lead seals from the fabric bolts on site, possibly with the intent of melting the lead down later for reuse.[85]

Table 4.1: Fabric seals

Location	Quant.	Associated Textile	Seal type
Beaubassin	2	Silk stockings	Single-disc lead seal, series C type,[86] NIMES / COL NEM
Beaubassin	2	Wool	Two-disc lead seal with stamped rivet, Controle de Mazamet
Beaubassin	1	Écarlatines (red wool stroud trade cloth) for use in the fur trade.	Type A two-disc with rivet, stamped on one side with the French royal arms, on the other with the Arms of the Compagnie des Indes (French East India Company).[87]
Beaubassin	2	Unidentified	Numbers only / R + fleur de lys. In 1779 the R became a required marker for French silks which had passed quality control inspection, but it is not clear if the marking was used for similar purpose prior to that date.[88]
Beaubassin	3	Non-classifiable lead or copper fragments	
Pointe-aux-Vieux	1	Silk or lightweight wool	Two-disc lead seal with rivet, lion passant stamped on obverse, reverse blank – Lyons.[89]
Belleisle	1	Unidentified	Two-disc lead seal with stamped rivet, overlapping ferns, 303.
Belleisle	1	Unidentified	Two-disc lead seal with stamped rivet, ostrich and branches image, border with fleur de lys and leaves. Possibly Mazamet / gallic cock. 4316 numerals in same style as Michilimackinac seal Type 1, Variety M, Figure 175d (Stone 285)
Belleisle	1	Unidentified	A two-piece seal, the number 302 scratched on one side. Obverse folded over, part of a crest

Location	Quant.	Associated Textile	Seal type
			visible, with ferns below and feathers or leaves visible under the fold.
Belleisle	1	Unidentified	Blank single-disc seal, attached with wire.
Melanson	1	Unidentified	Numbers only, round seal.
Grand Pré	1	Likely to be Écarlatines (red wool stroud trade cloth). Associated with English encampment c. 1755.	Type A two-disc with rivet, stamped on one side with the French royal arms, on the other with the Arms of the Compagnie des Indes (French East India Company).[90]
Total	**18**		

One bale seal found at Beaubassin marked with the arms of the Compagnie des Indes is a strong corroboration of other finds connected to a thriving fur trade with the Mi'kmaq. Indigenous buyers preferred wool to linens, sales of wool from Philadelphia traders outstripping linen at a ratio of three or four to one.[91] Importing English strouds marked with their own seal, the Compagnie had the monopoly on the fur trade between 1719 and 1763. By the 1750s, the Compagnie was supplying between 1000 – 1200 pieces of cloth per year directly into the fur trade market.[92] A similar bale seal was uncovered at Grand Pré, in a context suggesting association with the remnants of the British camp from 1755.[93]

The types of textiles worn by Acadian women in Louisbourg are recorded in probate inventories rather than through seals. Fashionable fabrics like *siamoises* and silk damasks make their appearance in more than one Acadian Louisbourg wardrobe, alongside painted *indienne* chintzes, calico cottons, and inexpensive drugget wools more like those identified by the Mazamet bale seals. Personal probate inventories show the use of wool and cotton, while shop inventories from Acadian merchants show velvets, silks, and lace available for sale in large quantities.[94] While textual evidence removes some of the

problems of identification we see with bale seals, it comes with its own uncertainties. Names of imported fabrics particularly were often based on area of manufacture, or worse yet for our purposes, target markets, many of which have been corrupted in translation and transcription from combinations of Indian, Malayan, and Portuguese into English and French.[95] A given textile centre would also produce a wide variety of fabrics, and sometimes it is impossible to be certain to which local fabric a particular use of the city name refers.[96] Surviving swatch books from eighteenth century textile manufacturers preserve samples of the popular fabrics of the day as well as their prices, which make for useful cross-reference.[97]

Any conclusions about the breadth of fabric types used in Acadia come from combining the archaeological and documentary evidence with what we know about textile production and trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The nature of travel between Acadia and other colonized areas, the relationships between Acadians and both Indigenous and settler groups, and their engagement with the natural environment all played major roles in the textiles they acquired and influenced how they used those textiles in turn. Their garment styles were reliant on the textures, weights, and weaves of the fabrics used to make them.

4.3 Linen

The primary textiles in use in colonial Acadia were wool and linen. Some of that fabric was locally produced, but contrary to some contemporary reports, not all. Local production was supplemented with imported textiles, some of which were of better quality or higher status than those which Acadians were able to produce on their own

equipment. Imported high-quality linen from Ireland or the continent appeared more than once in records from merchants serving Acadia throughout the colony's history.[98] Garments worn next to the skin were made almost exclusively from linen, as were shifts and shirts, kerchiefs and cravats, sheets, table cloths, and napkins—dozens of the trappings of every day life.[99] Linen's general durability and the ease of washing and bleaching made it uniquely suited to those intimate tasks.

Linen fibres come from the flax plant, *Linum usitatissimum*. Flax is a hungry plant and requires fertile soil, ideally space which has never previously been used for growing flax, and the newly-drained and cleared marshes and pastures around the Bay of Fundy were ideal ground.[100] Flax reached peak utility for textile fabrication at the time of flowering, rather than later in its growth cycle, and so it was common practice to sow two plots—one intended for harvesting and processing into fibres, and a second smaller plot to allow to ripen and provide seed for the next year.[101] One pound of seed was enough to sow an area of 35 m^2, and between 20-25 m^2 of planted field would produce enough linen fibre to spin and weave into a single man's shirt.[102] Roche estimates that approximately sixty percent of rural French households were engaged in linen production in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and based on the land-clearance records included in early Acadian censuses, this figure seems reasonable to extend to Acadia in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[103]

Records from trader Henri Brunet show that linen was being imported in reasonable quantities on a regular basis. His log-books from the later decades of the seventeenth century list a number of sales of yards of "ollonne," or Holland cloth, fine European linen. In 1673, Brunet delivered "une piesse de toille Blanche de 22 aune, deux ollonne"

—approximately sixteen yards, or enough for three or four shirts—to a customer near Fort Pentagouet, and more to Plaisance, "Plus Cinq piesse de toille de lin apartenant a m-depont par mesprisse pour 140 au[nes] a 20 s."[104] He traded with Charles Melanson in Acadia, bringing his fine fabrics to the family's new settlement.[105] Later that same year Brunet made a request to his sister to have more fabric shipped to him in Pentagouet by the first available vessel: "memoire que ma soer aura soing De macheter et envoyer par les premiers navire qui viendroit a plaisance."[106] Germany, Holland, Flanders, and France were the major linen exporters, the Dutch Holland linen generally high quality.[107]

Linen came in a wide range of qualities, with an equally wide range of prices. Margaret Spufford isolated ranges for basic linen in the late seventeenth century (1660-1705) as between 5.3 - 22 pence per yard, and Holland specifically ranging from 20.6 - 89.1 pence per yard.[108] The French aune was approximately equivalent to 0.71 yards, so doing the math indicates that Brunet's linens were, by price, reasonably high-quality materials. Brunet's records show that even early Acadians (1670s-1680s) had access to and interest in higher quality imports.[109] Montreal's habitants, by comparison, also had access to fine linens through French sources. Rather than grow and spin their own as a supplement, however, Montrealers purchased linen cloth of the quality normally associated with the fur trade: unbleached hemp, along with some bleached linens and *mélis* from the Indies.[110]

Production of linen increased in Acadia as the settlement grew, as seen in one report from 1699: "Flax and hemp, also, grow extremely well, and some of the settlers of that region use only the linen, made by themselves, for domestic purposes."[111] Villebon confirmed this observation the same year: "As for the women they are always busy, and

most of them keep their husbands and children in serviceable linen materials...which they make skillfully from the hemp they have grown."[112] Most descriptions of Acadian farming activities describe the production of linen cloth as part of women's standard workload, and early land grants along Baie Sainte-Marie (the other end of the Bay of Fundy from Beaubassin) stipulated that the grantees must cultivate "20 square rods of flax" as a condition of holding the land.[113] Frederick Cozzens quoted Abbé Reynal from the 1730s in saying, "their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax... with these they made common linens and coarse cloths."[114]

Table 4.2: Imported linen for sale in Acadia

Type	Price	Year	Location
White toille	20 s / aune	1750[115]	Louisbourg
"Bretagne"	30 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
"household linen"	36 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
White toille	36 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Cambric	22 £ 10 s / piece (no lengths given)	1750	Louisbourg
"Toile de Bretagne"	30 s / aune	1754[116]	Louisbourg

Correspondence from Mathieu De Goutin, lieutenant general for justice in Acadia and husband to Jeanne Thibodeau (of covered-scissors fame, see *Chapter 3.1.2*), describes flax production as being so plentiful in Acadia that flax was one of the materials exported to Boston in return for iron, tools, and manufactured goods.[117] Purchase of linen from traders was not a matter of necessity by this point, but one of desire for alternate options. Any purchases of European linen were deliberate choices to acquire something of finer

quality, or with a different embedded significance. Descriptors like “serviceable” and “common” do not suggest overly fine work, and it may be that the strain of flax grown in Acadia did not lend itself to finer fibres, or that Acadian spinners and weavers did not find it worthwhile to exert themselves further than necessary. While extraordinarily useful as a textile, linen is a difficult fibre to spin and to weave. Its ‘sticky’ quality means that it takes longer to process the same amount of fibre into yardage than for wool, for example, or cotton.[118]

Linen was an important marker for the European body in colonial situations, serving as a marker of a particular conception of civilization and cleanliness that derived from linen’s unique cultural position as a second skin.[119] Linen marked European-ness in a way that no other textile did, intricately bound up with notions of bodily cleanliness and health.[120] The health of the body was considered to be directly related to the cleanliness and condition of the linen that dressed it, and the fineness of the linens worn were direct markers of wealth and elite status.[121] The Mi’kmaq tended to be uninterested in linen, preferring water-bathing for cleanliness and English wools for clothing, and so the purchase and use of fine linen by Acadians was one way in which Acadians could differentiate themselves.[122] Wearing linen, in shirts, bonnets, or elegant cuffs, was a means of reaffirming some aspects of Acadian visual culture as specifically elite and European.

4.4 Hemp

Hemp appears in contemporary references from 1670 onwards, often, but not always, in conjunction with flax and linen textiles.[123] Villebon’s conflation of linen and hemp,

quoted above, is not a matter of mistaken identity, but one which was in line with both contemporary usage and understanding of hemp as a textile. Coming from the *cannabis sativa* plant, in the same taxonomic line as but not identical to the cannabis plant used for smoking, hemp could be processed in a manner similar to linen. The resulting fibres were coarser than linen, but still perfectly suitable for use in lower-end shirts and household textiles.[124] The majority of the hemp grown and processed in the colonies went towards sail canvas, packaging goods for transport, and cordage for naval use, but some of Acadia's hemp was turned into clothing as well.[125]

Growing up to eight feet tall in North America, hemp produced long fibres that could be woven alone or mixed with linen, wool or both to create a strong, durable textile.[126] Hemp could not be bleached or dyed as easily, so the textiles made with it were not as colourful as cotton, wool or silk.[127] It did produce a greater yield in smaller spaces, however, making it a fibre associated more strongly with earlier homesteading. Other than shipboard and farm uses, hemp could be used in clothing, particularly heavier working shirts and shifts, scarves and fichus for casual wear. [128]

Contemporary accounts describe patterns of hemp use in various places in Acadia. Villebon describes the way hemp was grown and used in Acadia, and Regis Brun has confirmed that hemp seeds were imported to Acadia from France from the seventeenth century onward. [129] Delabat, on the other hand, complains that the Acadians in the St. John river valley were too lazy to make use of the local version of the resource:

> The St. John River is a very convenient site for a large settlement, for commerce and for trade... In certain places there is a great deal of wild hemp, which is said to be good for making cloth, but the settlers neglect it because of the effort it requires to go and get it.[130]

Brook Watson later describes hemp as being among the major textiles used in Acadia.[131] While hemp and flax were often conflated in documentation, *cannabis sativa* seeds found in an Acadian well on the Oudy property on Prince Edward Island provide physical evidence of hemp use prior to the deportation.[132] Local hemp was also used by the Mi'kmaq, and seeds have been found at pre-contact and early-contact Mi'kmaq and Maliseet sites.[133]

Hemp did not carry the same elite messaging as fine linen. It implied European styles and bathing habits, but was not a status-generating textile in the same way as fine imported Dutch cloths.[134] An increased use of hemp in certain regions would have been a reason for judgement from external observers on the quality of the textiles, the implication being that the inferior textile was being used in place of fine linen not due to personal desire, but for matters of lower financial ability. With more data on who in Acadia was wearing linen versus who was wearing hemp, it might have been possible to make more specific statements regarding the ways in which linen and hemp were deployed—whether they were equally common, or if the theorized Acadian elite consciously differentiated themselves by the use of imported linen over homespun hemp. For the moment, however, that line of enquiry must be set aside.

4.5 Wool

Wool was the predominant fibre for warm outerwear, used for jackets, cloaks, capes, blankets, and more. Wool gowns and robes were worn extensively in the middle ages and early modern period, with Europeans adding a linen layer beneath to provide a barrier between wool and the skin.[135] A large proportion of the textiles imported to the colonies

was woollen, brought in from wool-producing regions of Europe including Normandy, Limbourg and Paris.[136] As per Louise Dechêne's study on Montreal's habitants, between eighty to ninety percent of fabric imported into New France was wool of varying degrees of fineness and of cost.[137] Wool exports from France dropped in the 1680s and 1690s, however, the decline spurred by increases in the cost of raw wool, which would have encouraged more home production and interest in imports from elsewhere.[138]

Wool was also a fibre of interest for Indigenous traders, particularly the red English strouds, or écarlatines. The Compagnie des Indes had the monopoly on bringing the écarlatines into French territories between 1719 and 1763, the destination almost invariably Indigenous communities.[139] The moisture-wicking qualities of the wool compared favourably to leather, and early introduction of deep indigo blue strouds earned the textiles quick integration into Indigenous wardrobes.[140] Though they could be purchased from English sources directly in English-owned regions, French traders were bringing in smuggled strouds which had not been subject to English duties and could be sold for cheaper.[141] The stiff English cloth became closely associated with Indigenous and indigenized wardrobes in this way, connections with the voyageurs and habitants continuing that movement of plain-coloured heavier woolens into a new liminal space.

English and French woollens had a distinctly different hand—that is, the drape and texture of the finished cloth.[142] This was in part due to different spinning techniques, and in part due to the way in which the fabric was treated on the loom. The perception at the time, according to Thomas Hale, was that the English woollens were hardier and longer-lasting, accounting for their popularity among labourers and travellers:

> [P]eople praise them [French cloths] for their pliantness and easy wear ; and though they are in reality greatly inferior to the English, many prefer them for this reason... Our [English] hard cloths are liable to grow bare at the seams ; these never do ‘ because they are less harsh. They are fitter for gentlemen’s service than for labouring people.[143]

Haliburton’s description of the “coarse cloths” worn by Acadian men could mean that the Acadians were not adept at nor interested in weaving finer textiles, but could also be an assumption on his part that anything refined must have been imported.[144] The shorter wool fibres used for the softer, “fuzzier” woolen yarns were the ones that required carding, while the long fibres for the harder, less-fibrous worsteds were combed with different tools.[145] Knowing that Acadian women carded their wool rather than combing it indicates that the fleeces they had—and the wool fabrics they produced—were much more akin to the soft French woolens rather than the heavy-duty English strouds.[146] Woolens were made with a raised nap, the surface brushed to give a fuzzy surface texture, and draped around the body with more flow and less constructed stiffness than worsteds.[147] This difference could easily account for some of the disparaging commentary made by English commentators about Acadian sloppiness of dress, as the soft flow of woolens with their raised surface created a more organic, less architectural silhouette.[148]

In addition to the division between woolens and worsteds, there were many named types of wool imported to Acadia, with their own points of origin, appearances, and uses. Druggets, tiretaines, and mazamet wools appear in inventories alongside silk-wool blend poplins and glazed calimancos.[149] The cheap woolens sold at 25s / aune, while the heavy cloak wools and velvety plushes sold for 6£ / aune, a wide range of prices as well as qualities.[150] The number of inexpensive wools available indicates that there was either

higher social cachet given to imports over homespun, corroborates the earlier math showing that the colonies could not provide themselves with enough wool to cover the basics (see *2.3: Commerce*)—or a combination of both.

Table 4.3: Imported wool for sale in Acadia

Type	Price	Year	Location
Red cloth	3 s / yard	1691[151]	Port Royal
Red cloth	11 s 8 d / yard	1691	Port Royal
Blue cloth	11 s 8 d / yard	1691	Port Royal
Blue cloth	15 s / yard	1691	Port Royal
Serge	1£ 17 s 10 d / 2 pieces	1691	Port Royal
Red serge	-	1696/7[152]	Cape Sable
Segovie	25 s / aune	1750[153]	Louisbourg
"Toile de brin commune"	25 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
"Tortaine" (tiretaine – linsey/woolsey)	30 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Carises (Flemish serge)	30 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
"Droguet de poitou"	32 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Camlet (wool/silk/hair blend)	35 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Calmande (glazed / pressed wool)	38 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Estamine (coarse serge)	40 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Dourgne	46 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
"Ras de Marroq" (Moroccan Rash, one of the new draperies)	50 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg

Type	Price	Year	Location
Mazamet	55 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Papeline (wool / silk blend)	3£ 10 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
“Panne Marron” (brown wool plush)	5£ / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Grey “Gros drape” (heavier wool)	6£ / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Blue plush	6£ / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Calimanco (pressed or glazed wool)	40 s / aune	1754[154]	Louisbourg
Brown drugget	40 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Brushed drugget	42 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Mazamet gase frisee (brushed-nap wool gauze)	50 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Sky blue papeline (wool / silk blend)	50 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
“Bource”	3£ / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Poplin (wool / silk blend)	3£ / aune	1755[155]	Louisbourg

Stockings were primarily constructed from wool, though silk hose and hose made from wool with silk inserts or embroidery were available in Louisbourg and in Beaubassin (see *4.2, Bale Seals*).[156] Incidental garments and accessories such as bonnets, mittens, and petticoats were made from wool, with more examples of wool described in the rural regions than in Louisbourg, where the Acadian women wore more silk and cotton.[157]

Associated with hardy homespun and with local trade, solid-colour wools were characteristic of lives lived away from Imperial control. The stripes and barberpole twists that developed in Acadian-woven wools created a new visual contrast to the solid strouds

with their ties to images of the rural life, as well as to the lightweight floral and checked cottons popular in wealthier urban areas. The different textures of English and French woolens gave them different characters, rendering the garments made from them stiffer or softer, respectively. The visible differences between types of wools and lighter garment fabrics like silk and cotton affected perceptions of Acadians both within and from outside observers.

4.6 Cotton

Cotton was a relatively new fibre for garments in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, some cargoes of Indian cottons arriving in Europe through Portuguese traders before the Dutch, English, and French East India Companies began importing it in larger quantities.[158] Cotton made steady inroads into European fashion, thanks in no small part to its durability and lightness, as well as properties which made dyes more colourfast.[159] Cotton's lightweight nature when compared to wool, even the lighter-weight worsted wools known as the 'new draperies,' allowed cotton textiles to be used as reasonable substitutes for silk.[160] The lighter, floatier, feminine styles of the Rococo became more accessible as a result, allowing for the fashions of the courts to spread downward with greater speed and easier adoption.[161] Novelty played a large role in the popular adoption of cotton textiles, particularly those marked as imports by the intricate designs only achievable on cotton *indiennes,* printed calicoes, chintzes, and other *toiles peintes.*

Until the second half of the seventeenth century cottons were primarily employed for home decor, only reaching popularity for clothing use around the 1660s – 1670s.[162]

Cotton's popularity did not reach full penetration until the later eighteenth century, but even so, in the years 1740-1782 up to a quarter of European homes and wardrobes across all social levels held some form of cotton textile.[163] Cotton disrupted a textile system already filled with notions of appropriate and inappropriate wear, centuries of sumptuary legislation restricting silks, furs, and other expensive textiles to the closets of the elites.[164] As a new fibre cotton began its reign from outside that system, entering the European fashion scene with no preconceived notions as to what, if anything, this new textile represented or communicated.[165] *Indiennes* seem to have been worn mostly by women, and records from confiscated garments in France during the ban period show that the print fabrics were mostly being used for gowns, with the rest used for handkerchiefs, fichus, petticoats and mantles.[166]

Cottons came with disadvantages in that they were not inherently cheaper than fustians (linen/cotton blends) or linens, especially after 1700, and they had a much shorter lifespan and lower reuse value than woollens.[167] They had a major advantage, however, in that they could be easily block-printed with colour-fast repeating patterns, opening the doors to vibrantly embellished fabrics without the labour and materials costs of embroidery or appliqués. As a consequence of their rising popularity, the import of cottons was heavily taxed and finally banned in England, France, Spain and Prussia between 1686 – 1721, leading in some cases to riots and assaults on women wearing Indian calicoes in the streets.[168] The ban in France was intended as economic protection for local textile production. Techniques of printing on cotton fabric entered France in the late seventeenth century via Armenian dyers who settled in Marseilles, who themselves had learned the techniques of colour-fast mordants and dyes from experts in Persia and

the Levant.[169] French-printed calicoes were inferior, the European manufacturers' skills not equal to those of the talented painters in India and South Asia, and public interest in the high-quality original *indiennes* was viewed as a major threat.[170] The concern led to sumptuary laws and a blanket ban on the ownership and use not only of calicoes and chintzes in France, as of 1686, but by the early eighteenth century, on the import and manufacture of any kind of printed fabrics (*toiles peintes*) whatsoever.[171]

Cotton consumption was encouraged in the colonies, however, as the trade duties on cotton were a useful revenue stream.[172] Indian cottons were a link between the Atlantic and the Indian oceans, their appearance in North America part of expanding global networks of trade. Textiles imported to North America from the various east India companies (EOC, VOC, CdI) originated in India and in China, even after the early-seventeenth century rise in attempts to replicate the prints in Europe.[173] Cotton production in the West Indies—and the slave trade linked with it—rose only in the early eighteenth century, and by 1700 cotton accounted for only 2-4 % of the value of plantation exports.[174]

Woven brocades and stripes had been a part of the European textile portfolio for centuries, the more complex patterns reserved for those who could afford the extra time needed by the weaver to set up the more complex patterns on their looms.[175] These new colour-fast imports brought an astonishing fluidity of pattern to the scene, created with a technique that would soon make patterned fabrics most accessible to the non-elite. Floral sprigs and pale, curling lines writhed across dark backgrounds, a colour palette soon reversed under pressure to appeal to more European tastes.[176] Large patterns changed to small repeats and borders better suited for European styles of skirts and gowns.

Figure 4.5: Femme de qualité en déshabillé d'étoffe Siamoise, Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean, *Recueil des modes de la cour de France*, 1687. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession # 44.1157. www.mfa.org

Calicoes and *indiennes* entered European markets as luxury textiles, placed in the same import categories as silks and tinsels.[177] They soon descended across socioeconomic barriers, however, as the locally made replicas and inferior imports were more affordable.[178] Ginghams, stripes and checks were lower-priced and a lower-prestige style.[179] *Siamoises* were brightly striped fabrics primarily woven in France, but patterned after those worn by the ambassadors from Siam in 1686.[180] Originally wool or silk, then a silk-cotton blend or linen-cotton blend, by the early eighteenth century siamoises were being made predominantly of cotton and had moved from a fabric of the elite to

something much more common and inexpensive.[181] Ranging between about 2£ 8s—3£ 10s per aune, siamoises in Louisbourg were in the same price range as indiennes or even simple wool calimanco, and only twice the price of basic ginghams.[182]

Seventeenth and eighteenth-century changes to the markets for non-necessity goods and the concomitant rise in consumption revamped the fashion system as well, engaging more non-elites in the creation and deployment of new fashions.[183] The differentiation can be seen in the fabrics coming in to Beaubassin and to Louisbourg, aimed at the different markets. Gingham fabrics ('vichy' in French) entered Minas with Abraham Boudrot in 1693—26.5 yards of it in one shipment, which would have been enough for three full gowns or robes de chambre, or about five skirts.[184] Marie Le Borgne de Belleisle carried checked gingham in her stock in Louisbourg in the 1750s. At 20s per aune, it was the least expensive textile that she sold.[185]

Table 4.4: Imported cottons for sale in Acadia

Type	Price	Year	Location
Gingham	3 s 3 d / yard	1691[186]	Port Royal
White cotton, unspecified	-	1696/7[187]	Cape Sable
Striped siamoise "en trois quartes"	48 s / aune	1750[188]	Louisbourg
Worked (embroidered) cotton	3£ / aune	1750	Louisbourg
"Bourg"	3£ 5s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Striped siamoise	3£ 10 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Checked cotton (gingham)	20 s / aune	1754[189]	Louisbourg
"Indienne avarice"	40 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Striped siamoise "en sept huit"	50 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg

Type	Price	Year	Location
Striped siamoise "en cinq huit"	2£ 10 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Cotton, unspecified	3£ 8s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Cotton, unspecified	3£ 10 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Cotton, unspecified	4£ / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Cotton, unspecified	5£ / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Cotton, unspecified	6£ / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Muslin, striped	8£ / aune	1754	Louisbourg
Muslin, plain	10£ / aune	1754	Louisbourg

Not necessarily the fabric that we associate with picnic blankets and children's clothing today, gingham was a term also used to describe a tabby-weave lightweight cotton originating in India and Dutch-colonized Malaysia, presenting as a single colour with white stripes of equal narrow width.[190] That the square version was becoming more popular in the mid-eighteenth century, however, can be seen in a line from Mary Le Borgne's 1754 inventory, which described a length of fabric as "seize aunes, un quart Gingan ou toille a Carreau."[191] Two pieces of white cotton came in with Charles LaTour, and like many of the Indian cottons that arrived in England these were similar in look to linens, though less expensive. If dyed locally, the dye would not have been as colourfast as those applied by Indian master dyers.[192] In the Louisbourg inventories, Jeanne Thibodeau, Anne Levron, and Marianne Benoist all had gowns in "cottonade rayé" and "Indienne."[193]

Originating in India and South Asia, cotton textiles became a force to be reckoned with in the European textile market in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Banned for decades in France, the colonies were untouched by the restrictions on *indiennes* and continued to import them for wear by both elites and non-elites.[194] Commonly made in inexpensive blues and reds, the imported cottons stood out against the soft drape of French woolens and the crisp rustle of light silks.[195] The prices charged for cottons by Abraham Boudrot and Marie Le Borgne, to clientele which undoubtedly included Acadians, meant that the fabrics were accessible to at least the better-off among the settlements. European tastes, by this point, had influenced Indian weavers such that the designs available for import were less *Indian* and more of a hybrid, adjusted to fit the requirements of European dress.

Cotton woven in South Asia, painted through Armenian expertise learned in the Levant, adjusted to English and French tastes, imported through French hands into Acadia, had already traversed more than a quarter of the way around the globe before it arrived in Marie Le Borgne's storage room. Acadian dressmakers then cut and styled the fabric into the gowns, jackets, kerchiefs, and mantelets which, when worn, wove all of those distant places and people into the visual landscape of Acadia.[196]

4.7 Silk

Silk was not worn with anywhere near the frequency or quantity of wool and linen, but evidence shows that the Acadians of Louisbourg and Beaubassin, at the very least, were not deprived of the luxury. Silk ribbon, embroidery thread, and lace came in through Port Royal traders like Abraham Boudrot, whose younger brother Michel and older sister Marie and their families were early settlers in Beaubassin.[197] Bale seals at Beaubassin indicate the import of silk stockings, one at Pointe-aux-Vieux suggests silk

yardage from Lyon, and the presence of small embroidery scissors at every Acadian site excavated to date indicates the strong role decorative needlework played in Acadian aesthetics. Inventories at Louisbourg include silk yardage of varying types and price points, but also silk shoelaces, handkerchiefs, ribbons, shoes, hat trims, and lace.[198] Indeed, unlike cotton, silk appears on every Acadian inventory surveyed from Louisbourg, in one form or another. Too delicate and expensive to be worn for manual labour, silk filled a role that Natalie Rothstein calls an "essential luxury" for those above a certain socioeconomic status line.[199] While a well-cut suit or gown could be lined with linen on the inside, visible facings and turnbacks almost certainly needed silk in order to be considered *of the mode*. It is a textile of "conspicuous leisure," as per Veblen, and makes a statement about power and status when displayed on the body.[200] Silk, like cotton, was a disruptive textile—in silk's case, for its new availability to the lower ranks of society after millennia of reserve for the elite.[201]

Silk has a long history of association with wealth and with royalty, as well as with women. Silk was seen as effeminate in the Roman empire, was used for dowries in ancient China, is haraam for men under the rules of Islam except under very specific circumstances, and associated with the Saracens and with the feminized, orientalised east in medieval Europe.[202] In medieval France, particularly, women working with silk was a common literary trope in the Romances, often acting as a plot mover in terms of social mobility: the tradesman's daughter spins silk threads and catches the eye of a prince.[203] Mediation through the early modern period and the relaxation of sumptuary laws reduced high-status associations with silk, as did the rising French interest in sericulture and associated increase in production and export.[204]

Wool in Acadia was prepared by women but woven by men, while silk production in France was deeply embedded in the experience of the female.[205] Montreal inventories show a gendered split in the ownership of various textiles in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with silk and cotton proportionally more likely to have been owned by women, wool and linen by men.[206] The silk stockings sold in Beaubassin and merchandise in Le Borgne's shop in Louisbourg cannot be attributed to any gender in particular, though the link with feminine refinement, nobility of body and of rank, and of respectability and luxury, continue to mark the textile in all its contexts.[207]

The suggestion of Lyons silk in Pointe-aux-Vieux brings the small settlement into the global economy, and beyond that, into an interest in fashion that exceeded the practical or even the notion of occasional luxury. Lyons silks had a reputation for being lightweight and non-durable, the manufacturers' emphasis far more on fast fashion and on annual changes of design to promote consumer interest in novelty.[208] These textiles fed the Paris clothing market, which in turn exported local designs and styles to an international market already hungry for new designs.[209] Wide access to silk accessories and small garments like stockings expanded as silk lost its status marker as a textile reserved for the wealthy, while silk yardage was not seen in any quantity outside of Louisbourg.[210] Paris inventories from the same period, however, show a much higher proportion of silk fabrics to cotton or wool across socio-economic levels.[211] In 1700, nearly ten percent of the garments listed in inventories for wage workers and domestic servants in Paris were made of silk and twelve to fifteen percent of the working poor in Paris owned at least one silk item, proportions which tripled by the end of the eighteenth century.[212] Acadia and

Montreal both followed a colonial pattern of silk use and ownership rather than a Paris one, silk accessories far outnumbering silk garments.

Table 4.5: Imported silk for sale in Acadia

Type	Price	Year	Location
Cherry red taffeta	7£ 10 s / aune	1750[213]	Louisbourg
Blue taffeta	7£ 10 s / aune	1750	Louisbourg
Triple velvet plush	4£ / aune	1754[214]	Louisbourg
Pink taffeta	7£ 10 s / aune	1754	Louisbourg

Louisbourg was the exception. Acadian women living in the fortress owned silk gowns, as well as silk yardage for sale and personal use. Each Acadian woman examined here owned at least one silk gown, including eight-year-old Marianne Benoit, and all the adults owned more. Accessories were also important, though wool stockings appear more often than silk. The inventories for Marie Le Borgne's personal clothing and her retail operation showed more than a dozen yards of cherry-red and blue silk taffetas alongside her doubled-silk handkerchiefs and lace headdresses.[215] The emphasis on silk stands out against descriptions of Acadians elsewhere wearing more wool.

Louisbourg was a French fortress, the Acadians a small minority population. Their choices of higher-end luxury textiles may be connected to their common status as wives of important officials but may also have something to do with community aesthetics. They integrated into French society to a certain extent, enough to travel and engage in French styles, and yet rejected wool in a greater proportion than the women from France and New France who lived around them. Insecurity can sometimes lead to over-

compensation, and French officials were not all fond of the notion of marriage between French officers and Acadian farm girls. Perhaps their embrace of silks and *indiennes* was an attempt at ownership of that difference, actively performing French-ness and elite sophistication at a highly visible level.

4.8 Leather and Fur

Beyond woven textiles, some articles of clothing and accessories demanded more durable materials. Different kinds of leathers and furs appear in descriptions of Acadian goods, and were used extensively by the Mi'kmaq. Trade brought in pelts as well as sealskin and elk hides, and cow leather could be tanned and dressed alongside deer and moose.[216] Clark's examination of Acadian herds found that the number of cattle actively butchered in Acadia was probably low.[217] Seal leather, used by the Mi'kmaq and conveniently naturally waterproofed, made for a useful replacement for items like footwear and bags.[218] Leather was used for shoes, belts and harnesses, for women's stays, and for specialized trade wear like the heavy leather aprons used by blacksmiths to protect themselves from flying sparks, embers and metal shards.[219] Lynn Sorge has examined surviving leather stays in English contexts, and Monique La Grenade's studies of documents from Louisbourg found references to leather use in men's clothing, particularly for weather protection and other practical garments.[220] Some men's vests at Louisbourg were made of leather, though it was not as popular as wool or cotton.[221] Breeches could be lined with "skins," and for going out on the water, one would require leather cloaks, aprons, or even mittens as protection from the elements.[222]

Figure 4.6: Detail from *Interior of a Blacksmith's Forge,* showing leather aprons and shoes. Cornelis Beelt, c. 1660s.

Leather and skins suffer from the same problem of survivability as textiles, though some of the notions related to them do remain. Harness buckles and shoe buckles have been found in abundance at Acadian archaeological sites, which will be discussed later in further detail (See *6.2, Shoes and Buckles*). These buckles, of varying materials, costs, and qualities, were produced elsewhere and imported; not the case with the materials to which they attached. Skins and furs could be easily sourced from the surrounding environment, at first by hunting and trading, and later, as osteological evidence suggests, by more extensive use of the cattle being ranched in Siknikt, though elk and seal continued to be hunted for leather and for food.[223]

De Meulles reported that Acadians tanned their own leather. Much of that would have been seal in the early days, followed by cow as Beaubassin's herds began to grow.[224] Cow bones were used for adornment, as we will see later with a bone button found at Beaubassin and the cow scapula from which it—and others—were carved (see *6.1,*

Buttons). Marguerite Terriau, an Acadian born, raised, and married in Louisbourg, had four untanned ox hides in her probate inventory, either destined for trade or for future use as clothing or accessories.[225]

If the presence of the herds is any indication, we should expect to see more leather use in Beaubassin than elsewhere in the Acadian sphere. Exceptions would be those who plied waterborne trades, particularly fishermen, of which the presence of shells suggest there were many. Leather was worn extensively in the fisheries, from weather protection to the aprons worn by the shore crews to protect themselves from the sharp filleting knives. Dunn has suggested that otherwise landless Jean Roy *dit* Laliberté at Melanson made a living in the fishery. If so, then we would expect him to have owned a higher proportion of leather garments than the town merchants or farmers. Only test excavations have been done so far on the Laliberté property, but if further work is done it would be very interesting to see whether anything is revealed to support either that hypothesis or Noël's, which places him in the employ of the Melansons as a servant.[226] Someone at the settlement needed to be fishing, at any rate, since some of the middens opened up in 2011 contained large quantities of shells.[227]

The fur trade provided pelts of varying types. Nova Scotia exports continued to rely heavily on fish rather than furs until 1730, when cargoes of furs began to ship out from Port Royal with more regularity. Prior to that, the bulk of the fur trade had gone to London through Boston and was centered around the St John River Valley.[228] Fur exports dropped considerably in the years following the Acadian expulsion, part of which is certainly attributable to the upheavals, war, and Mi'kmaq resentment, but may have also had a contribution from the loss of a link in the trade chain when the Acadians were

removed.[229] Numbers recovered in the 1760s and 1770s, but may have mostly turned toward Boston again, with primary trading partners the Maliseet rather than previously French-allied Mi'kmaq.

Ship manifests and other documentation from the time give us a list of the kinds of furs being exchanged, some of which stopped in Acadian hands—or were trapped by Acadians themselves—rather than continuing on into commodity-trade. Indigenous trappers offered not only beaver, which were in high demand in Europe, but many other kinds of pelts and tanned hides as well, as a price list from Bellenger's visit in 1583 describes:

> 1 Buff hides reddie dressed vpon both sides bigger then an Oxe,
> 2 Deere skynes dressed well on the inner side, with the hayre on the outside
> 3 Seal skynns exceding great dressed on the ynnerside
> 4 Marterns enclyning vnto Sables
> 5 Bevers skynes verie fayre as many as made 600 bever hattes
> 6 Otters skynnes verie faire and large
> …
> 11 Luserns, which the frenche call Loupceruiers…[230]

Dièreville noted that both Acadians and Mi'kmaq were wearing seal-skin moccasins in 1699, and at the other end of the time period in question, Brook Watson described Acadian fur use as being even more encompassing: "[wool, flax and hemp, along] with furs from bears, beaver, foxes, otter, and martin, gave them not only comfortable, but in many instances, handsome clothing."[231] Bear fur is certainly new on the list, and suggests either misidentification or a greater comfort level with hunting large game, not only small trap-animals. In some cases, small pelts such as martin and fox would have been used for trim on outer wear. A French fashion plate published in the periodical *Mercure Galant* in

1677 shows dressmakers of the time an example of how such trim could be applied to keep up with the latest styles:

Figure 4.7: Fashion illustration for the winter of 1677-78. Issued with the "Mercure Galant" Extraordinaire (supplementary) of January 1678. British Museum, 2014,7029.1 © Trustees of the British Museum.

This is high fashion in the truest sense, but as seen with the imported textiles and as will be further examined with the accessories (see *Chapter 5*), some aspects of continental high fashion made their way across the Atlantic to Acadia. Marie Joseph Le Borgne, already mentioned here for her connection with and attention to fashions of Paris, had a petticoat in her inventory described as "jupon vair piqué," or a skirt made of spotted squirrel fur (vair).[232] Spotted grey fur comes very close to the black-tailed ermine used in the above fashion plate to trim the underskirt of the model's mantua. Seal-skin moccasins may not have anything to do with the styles seen in the streets of the metropole, but ermine petticoats—albeit a few decades after appearing in the pages of *Mercure Galant*—never truly go out of style.

Figure 4.8: Fashion plate from the *Mercure de France*, 1729, with muffs on both the lady and the gentleman. ark:/12148/bpt6k63534382, Bibliothèque nationale de France [public domain].

Soft against the skin, capable of repelling water and shedding condensed breath from around the face, furs made for excellent warmth layers as linings for other garments, including breeches, cloaks, and mantles. Muffs make a frequent appearance in fashion plates of the time for men and women alike. Requiring less tailoring than gloves and allowing more mobility than mittens, fur muffs were worn on cords around the neck and provided extra warmth for cold winters. They were of no use when the wearer was working, however, making them a fashion specifically for times of leisure. Beaver hats were sold in Louisbourg, and while it is not outside the realm of possibility that someone like Charles Melanson might have owned one, no hat buckles have yet been found at Acadian sites.

Available in reasonable quantities, even with the number of pelts sent out of the colonies for trade, furs and hides played a significant role in Acadian wardrobes. They were used for shoes, garments, and accessories, both for utilitarian items and high-fashion embellishment. Drawing on local resources rather than the styles in fashion on the European continent, additions like bear skin and seal skin added a unique quality to Acadian wardrobes that visibly set them apart from their European roots.

4.9 Dyes and Colours

Fashionable colours changed over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and regional tastes often conflicted. The lighter, softer colours popular in France in the mid seventeenth century shifted to darker, more sombre tones with the rise of Mme. De Maintenon, the deeply pious mistress of Louis XIV.[233] By the 1720s, New England at least preferred lighter, softer colours again, particularly in silks, and manufacturers imported those colours they deemed most likely to sell.[234] Descriptions of Acadian dress mention a wide range of colours, including reds and blues, but with little indication of how vibrant or subdued those tones were. Natural dyes are generally less vibrant than the aniline dyes invented in the 1860s, but with the use of a range of metals and salts for mordants—ingredients which act as catalysts during the dye process, to change and fix colour—Acadians nevertheless had access to a bold and diverse palette.

Conflicting evidence abounds about the colours and dyestuffs available to and used by Acadians during their tenure in Mi'kma'ki. Dyes including vermillion and West Indes indigo appear among the lists of trade goods brought to Minas and Louisbourg in 1681 and 1696, and the Mi'kmaq knew of and used a wide range of local dyestuffs.[235]

Commentators such as Brook Watson (1791), on the other hand, described a much more restrictive palette consisting only of black and green.[236] That the Acadians returning post-deportation had limited access to expensive dyes is, of course, a natural assumption. That description is so at odds with both the ease of collecting dye materials of other colours, however, as well as previous knowledge of Acadian tastes, that it must be treated as suspect.

Colour-fast black dye was extremely difficult to produce prior to the invention of aniline dyes in the 1860s, however, and required processing of the black walnut (*Juglans nigra*), native to the east coast of North America. The natural dye from the walnut was brown but turned black or dark grey with the addition of iron as a mordant.[237] The closest that could be easily obtained was spinning and weaving the wool from black sheep, which were reasonably rare among North American flocks. Local indigenous groups had red dyes made from local ochres recorded as far back as the 1580s, and in the sixteenth century, at least, were willing to sell them. Bellenger records "Diuers excellent Cullors, as scarlet, vermillion, redd, tawny, yellowe, gray and watchett [blue]" among the trade goods available to Europeans.[238] Watchett blue was a bluish-green colour that faded quickly, a blue that Chaucer used as a synonym for untrustworthiness in the Miller's Tale as far back as the late fourteenth century.[239]

Watchet blue may be the green of Watson's experience, though it is generally described as being a woad-based dye more along the blue spectrum than the green. When used as a mordant, however, copper will increase the depth of and intensify green hues of dyes—and yellow dyes set in copper pots will often produce a strong and relatively colourfast green.[240] The copper mines in Mi'kma'ki were not used extensively, but

alongside the ochres, copper may have played a role in the colourways of the precolonial region. Goldthread (*Coptis trifolia*), a type of buttercup native to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, was used extensively by the Mi'kmaq to create a yellow or gold pigment that fixed easily to both plant and animal fibres.[241] Once Caribbean indigo became available in quantity, woad was quickly supplanted in favour of the more intense and colour-fast import.[242]

Documentation on dye techniques from the pre-colonial and colonial periods is sparse, but descriptions from Nicolas Denys and Father Leclerq in the seventeenth century, as well as Hudson's Bay botanist Andrew Graham, and Swedish-Finnish botanist Peter Kalm in the mid-eighteenth century describe *tisavoyanne* both 'jaune' (*coptis trifolia*, or goldthread) and 'rouge' (*rubia tinctorum*, or madder) as dyes in use by both indigenous groups and French Canadians.[243] Kalm describes what the language confirms—that "The French, who have learned this from them [the Indigenous peoples], dye wool and other things yellow with this plant."[244] 'Tisavoyane' is a French loanword from 't'ssawiaqan,' a word of Mi'kmaq origin used to describe materials used for dyeing, strongly indicating French engagement with Mi'kmaq craftspeople on the subject.[245]

Going on to describe the use of red, Watson claimed that "in order to obtain scarlet—of which they were remarkably fond—they procured the English scarlet duffil which they cut, teized, carded, spun, and wove in stripes to decorate the womens' garments."[246] Red has always been a difficult and expensive colour to obtain with natural dyes.[247] Europeans were greatly interested in the possibility of obtaining new red dyestuffs from North America, with cochineal-derived scarlets being the most valued. Marsh bedstraw

(*Galium tinctorium*), which the Mi'kmaq used to dye porcupine quills red, gave European visitors some hope for a new source similar to the Spanish-monopolized Brazilwood.[248]

LaTour brought a pound of vermillion (mercuric sulphide) in to Acadia for sale in 1693, enough to dye more than ten pounds of wool.[249] Vermillion was a valuable trade good for the fur trade, as well as an important component in pigments, sealing wax, and even cosmetics, used for cheek rouge.[250] Avoiding the difficulty and expense of purchasing the raw dyestuffs, groups in the southwestern United States would purchase and unravel red cochineal-dyed European cloth in order to reweave it to their own specifications, the same technique—although obviously separately derived—as that of Acadians and the Mi'kmaq.[251] The simplest colours to produce from natural botanical sources were oranges, browns, yellows, and blues. If the Acadians were limiting their clothing to black, red and green, that would have been a deliberate style choice, requiring extra effort, equipment, and expense to produce.[252]

Visiting commentary about the dishevelled nature of their daily wear aside, the colours the Acadians chose to wear demonstrated their expertise with sophisticated dyestuffs and colourways. While no textiles survive to be examined for their colours and dyes, inventories from Louisbourg reveal that Acadian women there, at least, had possession of textiles coloured in pinks, browns, and blues, striped fabrics and florals, and cream and white lace.[253] Accessories found at Beaubassin included green paste gemstones, and a blue glass paste stone from Belleisle. Sleeve buttons and jewellery were not necessarily colour-coordinated with the overall outfits, but even so the colours of the stones themselves would have added some brightness to their ensembles.

CONCLUSIONS

The textiles worn in Acadia were a mixture of local and imported, coarse homespun and luxurious finery; the proportions of each differed by settlement. Many did not make all their own textiles, despite having the available labour by the early eighteenth century. Men and women tended the gardens which grew the linen and the flocks of sheep for wool, preparing the fibres with their own hands for local use. They also engaged with local economies by purchasing from Acadian, French, and Indigenous traders, sending barter and trade goods moving through other hands. They participated in the Atlantic and global textile economies, cottons from Malaysia, China, and India clothing bodies already layered in Dutch linens and French silks. The admixture of local and imported textiles was heavier on the homespun than equivalent ownership in Montreal and among the habitants, but the Acadian interest in silks, cottons, and fine linens appears to have been just as keen.

The lack of consistent records makes it impossible to track individual patterns of textile use over time, but the evidence we do have is enough to draw some general conclusions. Geography, the length of time for which a settlement had been established, the age, gender, occupation, and socioeconomic status of the wearers all played roles in the types and quantities of textiles purchased, made, used, traded, and coveted across the settlements. Complete self-sufficiency was impossible in the early years of establishing European settlements in Mi'kma'ki and undesirable later, while new and exciting textiles continued to be imported from overseas. Both internal and external trade networks flourished in the early eighteenth century. Acadians like Marie Josephe Le Borgne and

David Basset acted as conduits to the markets and manufacturers of France and New England, their commercial ties throughout Acadia and the Indigenous communities a welcome resource. Acadian settlers drew on those ties to access contemporary fashion and commercial goods, including luxury items like silks, calicoes, jewellery, and lace.

Once resource lines had been established for local products—flax, sheep for wool, and trade relationships for furs—some imported supplies did begin to take a back seat. Henri Brunet brought in bolts of fine linen in the 1680s, but by the 1740s, Le Borgne carried only pre-made linen clothing, tablewear, and kerchiefs.[254] Strouds and other basic woolens designated for the fur trade came in through the trading companies. Acadian weaving, making the most out of the solid two-shaft traditional looms, began to incorporate new striped designs possibly partially inspired by the imported striped siamoise cottons. Some families never accumulated the quantity of livestock required to provide themselves with enough wool, or land on which to grow flax. Lower-need crops like hemp provided a solution for some, while others had far more than their own households could enjoy, opening up the space for a successful barter system along with farther-reaching trade. Family connections brought goods from Atlantic trade networks to even the more isolated Acadian settlements. Distance from the centres of European fashion caused delays in uptake but did not seem to lessen interest in fabrics in the latest styles.

Silk and cotton remained imports due to the impossibility of producing those fibres in the maritime climate. They were not abandoned, however, despite the availability of other textiles. Imported fabrics were the focus of interest because of their physical qualities—both lightweight and crisp, in line with airy rococo fashion—but also *because*

they could not be homespun. Fascination for the delicate painted floral cottons and woven silks was based on their distant origins and the embodied labour of the Indian and Indonesian labourers who produced them. The specific designs reflected European tastes, but it was the exotic appeal of distance and access which drove interest, to the point where French textile manufacturers were accused of spicing even French-made plain silks with peppercorns in order to make them smell as though they had been imported in a ship's hold along with other expensive commodities.[255] It was the connection with travel, the distance from the center, and the social weight of the associated goods—the spices, and their association with the silk road and other far-off orientalised images of luxury—which made the difference.

Each settlement made different uses of textiles. Beaubassin, far from being a distant outpost, imported silks and lace. The bale seal found at the daughter-colony of Pointe-aux-Vieux suggests that the families living there may have enjoyed silks from Lyons. The prohibitions against painted cottons in France did not have measurable impact on the use of *indiennes* in Acadia, except perhaps to encourage it. Acadian women at Louisbourg wore calico petticoats, kerchiefs, and mantelets that were forbidden to their continental counterparts, the visual weight of the vibrant patterns and colours linking Acadia to the combined visual languages of the west and east.

Pattern, texture, and colour were a consistent theme through Acadian clothing, checked and floral cottons displayed alongside striped woolen skirts in blues, greens, golds, and reds, worn with leather vests, moccasins, and fur-trimmed and lined petticoats and breeches. New dyestuffs were incorporated from local flora, and when the right colour dyes for their stripes weren't readily available, Acadians could acquire English

strouds and unravel them for reuse. Red English wefts entwined with Acadian wool, sometimes passing through home-grown linen and hemp warps grown from French seeds, or cotton warps brought up from the plantations of the south.[256] Soft and draping Acadian woollens, far from being a symbol of the closed in-group, or self-sufficient and isolated farming communities, had the Atlantic world and the textures of France woven in with every pass of the shuttle.

Textile choice was not a freely-made decision, of course. Cost was a factor, as was individual taste, and the embedded social codes and assumptions that came with the settlers from their French provinces. Age categories did not play as much of a role in dress choice as they do today, when categories of childhood, pre-teen, adolescence, and young adult all have their own schema for what is appropriate. Prior to the rise of humanism in the late eighteenth century children wore smaller, sometimes simpler, variations of adult clothing. Young Marianne Benoist's inventory, folded in with that of her mother, Anne Levron, included dresses in wool, silk, and *indiennes* like those of the adult women around her.[257] Gender was more of a determinant, with silk's connection to femininity folded in with its connections to gentility. Everyone wore wool and linen, though women wore more linen and hemp, thanks to the kerchiefs, fichus, fancy cuffs for their gowns, and the headdresses pinned to cover their hair.

Most importantly, the available evidence refutes the stereotype of doughty Acadians clothed in practical homespun. Homespun wool and linen were important, of that there is no doubt, but textiles were available in greater variety. Once the settlements were established, the fields planted, population increased, and the flocks reproducing, the settlers had some breathing room. The evidence suggests that they engaged in

contemporary fashion, developed their own weaving styles that took advantage of local resources, and circumvented the sumptuary regulations which made certain luxury goods exclusive to the colonies. They trimmed their wools, cottons, and silks with silk ribbons, lace, furs, and beads, each settlement and its surroundings developing a different variation on the look. Those choices, in turn, determined the kinds of garments that could and would be made from the textiles and trimmings in question, laying the groundwork for what would come to be considered a particularly Acadian style.

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[1] "They are in everything good artisans; There's nothing which they cannot do; And by a hundred different needs inspired, They make the things they lack; ... thus by Their industry, their nakedness is veiled." Dièreville and Fontaine, *Voyage du sieur de Dièreville en Acadie*, 47–48 Translation from "Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France," 96.

[2] See materials such as "Daily Life: Clothes - Acadians - Explore the Communities - The Kids' Site of Canadian Settlement - Library and Archives Canada," accessed May 22, 2019, https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/settlement/kids/021013-2000.13-e.html; Village Historique Acadien, "Acadia: Lifestyle in the Days of Our Ancestors | Dress and Textiles," 2003, http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/edu/ViewLoitLo.do?method=preview&lang=EN&id=15531.

[3] See Village Historique Acadien, "Acadia: Lifestyle in the Days of Our Ancestors | Dress and Textiles" and the painting series by artist Claude Picard, commissioned by Parks Canada, for a famous example.

[4] This will be explored further below; also see the textiles listed in Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."

[5] Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "East & West: Textiles and Fashion in Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 4 (2008): 887–88; See also Peck et al., *Interwoven Globe*.

[6] A good amount of work has been done on the intersections and ambiguities of Indigenous and settler cross-contact and material exchange. Recent years have seen a growth in the amount of research specifically on clothing and textiles. See, for example, P. B. Drooker and L. D. Webster, eds., *Beyond Cloth and Cordage Archaeological Textile Research in the Americas* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000); Linda Welters, "From Moccasins to Frock Coats and Back Again: Ethnic Identity and Native American Dress in Southern New England," in *Dress in American Culture* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993), 238–173; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 64–74; White, "Constructing Identities"; Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads*; Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*; Preston, *Texture of Contact*; Loren, *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians'"; Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana*, Early American Studies (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Kathleen J. Bragdon, "Our Strange Garments: Cloth and Clothing among Native Elites in 17th-Century New England," in *Foreign Objects: Rethinking Indigenous Consumption in American Archaeology*, 1 edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2017), 110–24; Colwell, "Unmasking Ideology in Imperial and Colonial Archaeology."

[7] Bragdon, "Our Strange Garments: Cloth and Clothing among Native Elites in 17th-Century New England," 112; Also see Fisher and Loren, "Introduction: Embodying Identity in Archaeology"; Carolyn L. White and Mary C. Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity," in *International Handbook of*

Historical Archaeology (Springer, New York, NY, 2009), 209–25; Loren, *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*.
[8] See especially Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things : Commodities in Cultural Perspective*; Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process."
[9] Marc Lavoie, "Les Aboiteaux Acadiens : Origines, Controverses Et Ambiguïtés," *Port Acadie : Revue Interdisciplinaire En Études Acadiennes* 13 (2008): 76.
[10] Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 26."10 aulnes of fine cloth, three barriques of flour, a fattened pig, a side of beef, and two pots of brandy." 10 aunes, variable definition but somewhere around 10 - 12 yards, would have been enough for a jacket and skirt, or a full man's suit of breeches and jacket. .
[11] See work on object biographies of garments, such as Severa and Horswill, "Costume as Material Culture."
[12] For an excellent breakdown of this transformative process see Peers, "'Many Tender Ties.'"
[13] See, for example, Bowden, "Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry."
[14] Harold B. Burnham and Dorothy K. Burnham, *Keep Me Warm One Night: Early Handweaving in Eastern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in cooperation with the Royal Ontario Museum, 1972); Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts*; Ames and Schlereth, *Material Culture*; Linda Baumgarten, *Eighteenth-Century Clothing at Williamsburg*, Williamsburg Decorative Arts Series (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1986); Hood, "Material Culture and Textiles: An Overview"; Hood and Ruddel, "Artifacts and Documents in the History of Quebec Textiles"; David Thiery Ruddel, "Domestic Textile Production in Colonial Quebec, 1608-1840," *Material Culture Review / Revue de La Culture Matérielle* 31, no. 1 (January 1, 1990); Miller et al., *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historical Archaeologists*; Roach-Higgins and Eicher, "Dress and Identity"; Martin, "Makers, Buyers, and Users: Consumerism as a Material Culture Framework"; Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1600-1800*.
[15] A very small sample of the kind of work produced in this phase includes: Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade before the Factory, 1600-1800*; Brooks, *Textiles Revealed*; Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*; Bolton, "Classifying the Material"; Judith Rygiel, "Thread in Her Hands - Cash in Her Pockets: Women and Domestic Textile Production in 19th-Century New Brunswick," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region / Revue d'histoire de La Region Atlantique* 30, no. 2 (March 3, 2001): 56; Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*; B. S. Capp, *When Gossips Meet : Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford Studies in Social History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Beaudry, *Findings*; Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*; Lemire, *The Force of Fashion in Politics and Society : Global Perspectives from Early Modern to Contemporary Times*; Riello, "The Object of Fashion"; Hayward, "Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII."
[16] Küchler and Miller, *Clothing as Material Culture*, 1–2; Lemire, "Draping the Body and Dressing the Home: The Material Culture of Textiles and Clothes in the Atlantic World, c. 1500–1800."
[17] See McCracken, *Culture and Consumption : New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, 57–58; Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes*; Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*.
[18] Brooks, *Textiles Revealed*, 1–2.
[19] Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*.
[20] "Sole, Luna, e Talia", from Giambattista Basile, *Stories from the Pentamerone* (Naples, 1634); "La Belle au bois dormant", from Charles Perrault, *Histoires Ou Contes Du Temps Passé. Avec Des Moralitez. Par Le Fils de Monsieur Perreault [Sic] de l'Academie François[e]* (Paris: Suivant la copie à Paris, 1697).
[21] White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians,'" 145.
[22] This association of dress with moral uprightness or turpitude has been discussed from a wide range of angles, from sumptuary laws to clergy dress to women's roles in the early modern. See, for example, Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions : A History of Sumptuary Law*; Elizabeth Currie, "Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Conduct Literature," *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 2 (May 1, 2000): 157–77; Graeme Murdock, "Dressed To Repress?: Protestant Clerical Dress and the Regulation of Morality in Early Modern Europe," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of*

Dress, Body & Culture 4 (May 1, 2000): 179–99; Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, Revised ed. edition (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2004).
[23] Contemporary recognition of the societal implications of dress choices can be seen in early modern literature and theatre. See M. Channing Linthicum, *Costume In The Drama Of Shakespeare And His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936). And specifically Polonius' famous speech in Hamlet (c. 1599), Act I Scene 3, "apparel oft proclaims the man."; For France, see for example the clothing-based insecurities of M. Jourdain described in Molière, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme, comédie ballet par M. Molière (1670)* (chez Jean Mossy, imprimeur-libraire a la Canebiére, 1789) and Orgon in Tartuffe (1664).
[24] Sophie White, "'Wearing Three or Four Handkerchiefs around His Collar, and Elsewhere about Him': Slaves' Constructions of Masculinity and Ethnicity in French Colonial New Orleans," *Gender & History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 528–49; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians'"; White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians*.
[25] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[26] 1 July 1791, Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown, cited in Hannay, "The Acadian French."
[27] Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts*, 54.
[28] Burnham, 54.
[29] Louis-François-Armand de Vignerot Du Plessis Richelieu, "Echantillons d'Etoffes et Toiles Des Manufactures de France Recueillis Par Le Marechal de Richelieu, Tome IV" (1737), Recueil. Collection Richelieu. Echantillons de tissus, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Pennautier, "Enchantillon de Drap Du XVIIIme Siecle" (Textile sample book, ca 1740), Accession Number: 156.415 Ec4 F, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
[30] Elaine Bourque and Beverly Latimer, "Keeping It Alive: Acadian Brown Cotton Weaving," 1993, http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/Virtual_Books/Keeping_It/creole_book_keep_cotton.html.
[31] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 197.
[32] Roy (ed.), "Lettre de Talon Au Ministre Colbert (11 Novembre 1671) Rapport de l'archiviste de La Province de Québec Pour 1930-1931."
[33] Brunet, "Voyages of Henri Brunet"; Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed"; "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil."
[34] Peck et al., *Interwoven Globe*, 14.
[35] Peck et al., 21; Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle,"; "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine"; "Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin."
[36] Linda Baumgarten Berlekamp, "The Textile Trade in Boston: 1650-1700" (M.A., University of Delaware (Winterthur Program), 1976), 5.
[37] AMEC Environment & Infrastructure, "A Mi'kmaq Historical and Ecological Knowledge Review of the Gaetz Brook Property," figs. 2–7.
[38] Erskine, "The French Period in Nova Scotia A.D. 1500-1758 and Present Remains : A Historical, Archaeological and Botanical Survey."
[39] Ricker, *L'sitkuk*, 8; Whitehead, *Elitekey: Micmac Material Culture from 1600 A.D. to the Present*, 31.
[40] Desgoutins, "Résumé d'une Lettre de Mathieu de Goutin."
[41] Nelson Klose, "Sericulture in the United States," *Agricultural History* 37, no. 4 (1963): 225–27.
[42] Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*, 189.
[43] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[44] "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil."
[45] Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*.
[46] Pierre Joubert, "Pierre Joubert's Bill to Mme. Péré" (April 10, 1733), G2, vol. 195, doss. 83., Library and Archives Canada.

[47] Pierre Joubert's bill to Mme. Péré. Nantes, 10 April 1733. N.A., Overseas section, G2, vol. 195, doss. 83. The colour of the replacement damask is not mentioned in the letter but does appear in Mme. Péré's probate inventory. See "Procès Verbal de Levée de Scelle et Inventaire Faits Chez La D'Île Peré" (June 9, 1735), Vol. 194, doss. 80., Louisbourg.
[48] "Familles Établies à l'Acadie. Abrégé Envoyé de Québec à Colbert Par Le Sieur Randin, 8 Novembre 1671."
[49] Itinerant weavers were invariably male, considering the need for solitary travel through often inhospitable terrain.
[50] Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, 213.
[51] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 16.
[52] Hood, 104.
[53] Personal communication with Marc Lavoie, December 5, 2018.
[54] Gustaf Hermann Oelsner, *A Handbook of Weaves* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 25; Maurice Daumas, ed., *A History of Technology & Invention; Progress through the Ages* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1970), 606.
[55] Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts*, 54.
[56] See Denis Diderot and Charles Coulston Gillispie, *Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry : Manufacturing and the Technical Arts in Plates, Selected from L'Encyclopédie; Ou, Dictionnaire Raisonné Des Sciences, Des Arts Et Des Métiers, of Denis Diderot*, Dover Pictorial Archive Series (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), Vol. 9, Plate IV: Tailor of Suits, Fabrics and Measuring Tools; Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 90.
[57] Daumas, *A History of Technology & Invention; Progress through the Ages*, Vol. 3, 601.
[58] Roy (ed.), "Lettre de Talon Au Ministre Colbert (11 Novembre 1671) Rapport de l'archiviste de La Province de Québec Pour 1930-1931.," 164.
[59] Henri Têtu and Charles-Octave Gagnon, *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des évêques de Québec*, vol. Volume Quatrième (Québec: Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Cie, 1888), 217"[N]ecessity has given them [Acadians] the industry to make some fabrics and coarse textiles, but they cannot make enough to dress everyone."
[60] Main, "Gender, Work, and Wages in Colonial New England," 61.
[61] Bleakney, *Sods, Soil, and Spades : The Acadians at Grand Pré and Their Dykeland Legacy*; "The Acadians and the Creation of the Dykeland 1680–1755."
[62] Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin, 1660 to 1755 : The Great Marsh, Tintamarre and Le Lac*; Surette, *Atlas of the Acadian Settlement of the Beaubassin 1660 to 1755 Vol 2 Mesagoueche and LaButte*.
[63] Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown in Hannay, "The Acadian French," 132–33; BAC-LAC, C11D 2:19, "Relation de l'acadie envoyée par le Sr. Perrot," 9 August, 1686.
[64] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 15–16.
[65] Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale : The Life of Martha Ballard*, 76–83.
[66] Ulrich, 76.
[67] Ulrich, 77; Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," 17–18.
[68] Griffiths, *From Migrant to Acadian : A North American Border People, 1604-1755*, 176; Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 128, 132.
[69] Anselme Chiasson, *Chéticamp: histoire et traditions acadiennes*, 2e éd.. (Moncton: Éditions des Aboiteaux, 1962), 245–46 Translation mine. « Les "écarderies" [French maritime regionalism] – Quand les chaleurs de l'été commençaient, chacun tondait ses brebis. Puis, dehors, dans de grands chaudrons, on faisait bouillir la laine, pour la nettoyer. Après l'avoir fait sécher au soleil, on l'écharpait pour pouvoir la carder plus facilement. Elle était prête pour l'écarderie. Les femmes voisines et d'autres amies étaient invitées avec leurs écardes et leur tablier. À dix ou douze écardeuses, la laine passait vite. Après quelques heures de travail, où la jasette avait sa grande part aussi, la laine s'amoncelait devant chaque écardeuse en boudins soyeux prêts a filer. ».

[70] Louisiana State Museum and Musée Du Nouveau Monde (La Rochelle, France), *L'Amour de Maman: La Tradition Acadienne Du Tissage En Louisiane* (La Rochelle, France: Musée Du Nouveau Monde, 1983), 20, 23.
[71] Epstein and Prak, *Guilds, Innovation, and the European Economy, 1400-1800*, 61–62.
[72] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 16, 76; Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," 11–12.
[73] See Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale : The Life of Martha Ballard*.
[74] Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts*, 54.
[75] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 269–70; Adams, "Lead Seals from Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781," 30–31.
[76] Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures, 1700-1820: Industry, Innovation and Work in Britain* (Florence, USA: Routledge, 1994), 128, 143.
[77] Adams, "Lead Seals from Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781," 31.
[78] Geoff Egan, *Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items in the British Museum* (London: Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum, 1994), 4.
[79] Egan, 346, Fig. 46. A similar seal has been found on Prince Edward Island by a private collector. See http://www.bagseals.org/gallery/main.php?g2_itemId=35108.
[80] Including lace headdresses, jewelled buttons, and other decorative accessories for more formal European clothing. See *Chapter 5: Dress Accessories.*
[81] Egan, *Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items*, 102; Adams, "Lead Seals from Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781," 71#1 and #3, series A; Stuart F. Elton, *Cloth Seals: An Illustrated Guide to the Identification of Lead Seals Attached to Cloth* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2017), 289.
[82] Adams, "Lead Seals from Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781," 46–47; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians'" for hooded overcoats on voyageurs, see dress article for Quebec women wearing skirts from mazamet wool at the same time; Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, "'A La Canadienne' Once More: Some Insights into Quebec Rural Female Dress," *Dress* 7, no. 1 (1981): 69.
[83] Clément Cormier, "BOURGEOIS, JACQUES," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bourgeois_jacques_2E.html.
[84] July 1697, "Memoire on the Present State of the Province of Acadia," in Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents* discusses furs traded into Boston that had been taken from Beaubassin, Minas, and Port Royal. See also Gwyn, "The Miíkmaq, Poor Settlers, and the Nova Scotia Fur Trade, 1783-1853," 69–70.
[85] Charles Burke, in interview with Jared Smith, 17 October 2013. Smith, "Acadia's Outpost," 35. See footnote 40.
[86] "(1) Series A, two disks connected by a flange; (2) Series B, one disk with a flange; and (3) Series C, one disk, perforated to allow wire or cord to be passed through it." Adams, "Lead Seals from Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781," 1.
[87] Prinet, "Antoine Sabatier. Sigillographie historique des administrations fiscales communautés ouvrières et institutions diverses ayant employé des sceaux de plomb (XIVe- XVIIIe siècle). Plombs historiés de la Saône et de la Seine. Paris, H. Champion, 1912.," 397; Wellington, *French East India Companies*, 21.
[88] France, *Lettres patentes du Roi, concernant les manufactures. Données à Marly le 5 mai 1779.* (De l'Imprimerie du Roi, 1779), 5 May 1779, edict # VII.
[89] See similar lion-only seal at http://europlombs.forumpolish.com/t1369-lyon-plombs-de-la-douane-de-lyon#5106.
[90] Prinet, "Antoine Sabatier. Sigillographie historique des administrations fiscales communautés ouvrières et institutions diverses ayant employé des sceaux de plomb (XIVe- XVIIIe siècle). Plombs historiés de la Saône et de la Seine. Paris, H. Champion, 1912.," 397; Wellington, *French East India Companies*, 21.
[91] Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*, 71.
[92] Adams, "Lead Seals from Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781," 48–49.
[93] Jonathan Fowler, email to Hilary Doda, December 8, 2018.
[94] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine"; "Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et

Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin."; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle,"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau"; Dunn, "L'inventaire de La Veuve Plemarais, 1705"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire de La Communauté de Marguerite Terriau, Veuve de Pierre Boisseau."

[95] S. P. Sen, "The Role of Indian Textiles in Southeast Asian Trade in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 3, no. 2 (1962): 100.

[96] Sen, 99.

[97] See particularly the extensive collections of fabric swatches collected and compiled for Louis François Armand de Vignerot du Plessis, 3rd Duke of Richelieu, in the 1730s. Richelieu, "Echantillons d'Etoffes et Toiles Des Manufactures de France Recueillis Par Le Marechal de Richelieu, Tome IV"; Pennautier, "Enchantillon de Drap Du XVIIIme Siecle"; Also see S. William Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary : A Manual of Textile Fabrics : Their History and Applications* (London: The Warehousemen & draper's journal office, 1882); Barbara Johnson and Natalie Rothstein, eds., *A Lady of Fashion: Barbara Johnson's Album of Styles and Fabrics*, First US edition (New York, N.Y: W W Norton & Co Inc, 1987).

[98] Brunet, "Voyages of Henri Brunet"; Abbé Raynal, quoted in Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses*, 295; Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau."

[99] Alice Claire Dolan, "The Fabric of Life: Linen and Life Cycle in England, 1678-1810" (Ph.D., University of Hertfordshire (United Kingdom), 2016), 19.

[100] Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, 3:117–18; Bo Ejstrud et al., "'From Flax to Linen.' Experiments with Flax at the Ribe Viking Centre" (Esbjerg: Ribe Viking Centre, University of Southern Denmark, 2011), 9.

[101] Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, 3:122; Ejstrud et al., "'From Flax to Linen.' Experiments with Flax at the Ribe Viking Centre," 9.

[102] Ejstrud et al., "'From Flax to Linen.' Experiments with Flax at the Ribe Viking Centre," 12, 44, 52–57. An experiment at the University of Denmark estimated that 10.5 km of hand-spun linen thread was required to make a shirt for a slim man. Production of linen requires months, much of which is spent waiting for the crop to grow and then for the retting process to finish, a procedure in which flax stalks are laid out on the ground or in water in order to begin decomposition and make it possible to separate the fibres. A drying pit and a series of tools (breakers, scutching knife and board, hackle) were needed to complete the processing. If linen processing was taking place on-site, we should expect to see some of these reflected in the archaeological record.

[103] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 265.

[104] Or approximately 100 yards. Brunet, "Voyages of Henri Brunet," 82, 149.

[105] Dunn, "History of the Melanson Settlement," 8. The goods he brought included corsetry, hats, and shoes.

[106] Brunet, "Voyages of Henri Brunet," 188.

[107] Dolan, "The Fabric of Life," 24, 26.

[108] Dolan, 32.

[109] Abbé Reyan. quoted in Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses*, 295.

[110] Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, 80; Robert S. DuPlessis, "Was There A Consumer Revolution In Eighteenth-Century New France?," *French Colonial History* 1 (2002): 150.

[111] Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 128.

[112] Webster and Villebon, 132 Villebon's conflation of flax and hemp was a common one for the time. See 4.4, Hemp, below.

[113] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 25.

[114] Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses*, 295.

[115] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau."

[116] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[117] Rameau de Saint-Père, *Une colonie féodale en Amérique*, 308; Pothier, "GOUTIN, MATHIEU DE."
[118] Verbal communication, master weaver Lesley Armstrong
[119] Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*, 6–7 Also see ; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians'"; Also see Loren, "Social Skins."
[120] Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*, 26; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians,'" 127–28.
[121] Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*, 30.
[122] DuPlessis, "Defining A French Atlantic Empire: Some Material Culture Evidence," 9; Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians,'" 120, 129.
[123] Roy (ed.), "Lettre de Talon Au Ministre Colbert (11 Novembre 1671) Rapport de l'archiviste de La Province de Québec Pour 1930-1931.," 164; Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 132.
[124] Dolan, "The Fabric of Life," 50–51.
[125] Dolan, 212, 214.
[126] G. Melvin Herndon, "Hemp in Colonial Virginia," *Agricultural History* 37, no. 2 (1963): 86.
[127] Dolan, "The Fabric of Life," 50–51.
[128] Dolan, 55.
[129] Kevin Leonard, "Archaeobotanical Remains from a Mid-18th Century Acadian Well in Prince Edward Island National Park – Greenwich (15F2C)," Unpublished report, prepared for Rob Ferguson (Archaeoconsulting Inc., February 7, 2010), 28.
[130] Morse, *Acadiensia Nova (1598-1779)*.
[131] Hon. Brook Watson to the Reverend Andrew Brown, 1 July 1791, cited in Hannay, "The Acadian French," 132–33.
[132] Leonard, "Archaeobotanical Remains from a Mid-18th Century Acadian Well in Prince Edward Island National Park – Greenwich (15F2C)," 26, 28.
[133] R.H. Whitehead, "Plant Fibre Textiles from the Hopps Site: BkCp-1," Curatorial Report 59 (Halifax, N.S.: Nova Scotia Museum Publications, 1987), 2–3.
[134] Dolan, 204–6.
[135] White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians,'" 132.
[136] Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, 79.
[137] Dechêne, 79.
[138] Gillian Crosby, "First Impressions: The Prohibition on Printed Calicoes in France, 1686-1759" (Ph.D., Nottingham Trent University, 2015), 24–25.
[139] Gottmann, "French-Asian Connections," 540; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 125; Jean Tarrade, "Lunn (Alice Jean E.) : Développement économique de la Nouvelle-France (1713-1760). Traduit par Brigitte Morel-Nish," *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire* 75, no. 280 (1988): 385.
[140] Sherry Farrell Racette, "My Grandmothers Loved to Trade: The Indigenization of European Trade Goods in Historic and Contemporary Canada," *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 20 (2008): 70–71.
[141] Hon. Cadwallader Colden to Governor Clinton, 8 Aug 1751, John Romeyn Brodhead, Berthold Fernow, and E. B. (Edmund Bailey) O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York : Procured in Holland, England, and France* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1853), vol. 6, pp. 740–741.
[142] White, *The Middle Ground*, 125.
[143] Hale, *A Compleat Body of Husbandry*, 3:307.
[144] Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses*, 140.
[145] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 60.
[146] Eric Kerridge, *Textile Manufactures in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 1985), 231.
[147] Berlekamp, "The Textile Trade in Boston," 10.
[148] Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly."

[149] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[150] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[151] "Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil."
[152] Welsteed, "Certificate by William Welsteed."
[153] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau."
[154] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[155] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire de La Communauté de Marguerite Terriau, Veuve de Pierre Boisseau."
[156] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau"; "Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin."; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[157] See Appendix A, as well as La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg."
[158] Riello, *Cotton*, 112.
[159] Riello, 113.
[160] Riello, 114; Lemire, *Cotton*, 36–37.
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[163] Riello, 115.
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[213] Notariat de l'Ile Royale.
[214] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
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[257] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."

Chapter 5: Dress Accessories

They are remarkably fond of rosaries, crucifixes, agnus deis, and all the little trinkets consecrated by religion, with which they love to adorn their persons.[1]

The edges of garments are marked spaces, the place where the second skin gives way to the first, and the covered flesh to the naked. Accessories and decorations bridge that conceptual and physical gap, sparkling buttons closing the plackets and openings of jackets and breeches, buckles binding ribbons around hats and shoes around feet. Closures define the places where the body and the garment meet, and jewellery echoes those lines around naked spaces of the human form. Thanks to the materials from which many accessories are made and the way in which they define those edges, they can also be used to determine the types, shapes, and styles of the garments that they originally graced. Buttons, buckles, and other metal accessories usually indicated the use of European clothing, while beads and copper tinkler cones were more often associated with Indigenous dress.[2]

Accessories shifted in and out of fashion over time as the styles of the garments they were attached to changed. Necklaces became more common as necklines descended through the eighteenth century, and knee buckles fell out of use as breeches became less popular.[3] Shoe buckles increased in size and in decorative nature throughout the eighteenth century following their adoption in the late seventeenth, while pearls remained as popular—and expensive—as ever.[4] The growth in manufacture of paste and glass gemstones in the eighteenth century helped to make costume jewellery more accessible to

the rising middling class, and the larger quantities in circulation means that more examples of these wardrobe add-ons have survived in the archaeological record.[5]

This chapter examines the buttons, buckles, aglets, hooks, and eyes associated with Acadian clothing, as well as the jewellery that Acadians owned and wore. It argues that a close examination of the accessories, closures, and notions that have been recovered from Acadian sites gives us a stronger sense of which garments were being worn, where, and sometimes by whom. Accessories also give us a window into local values and status performance, the decorative elements themselves part of entangled systems of communication surrounding gender, age, and wealth.[6] This data also helps to expand our understanding of the developing Acadian fashion system—the means by which they invented and disseminated information about their changing social structure and group identity.[7]

Pewter, brass, iron, and glass articles have been excavated from all sites examined here, some still in association with the tools used to manufacture or attach them to clothing. That context is invaluable in cases where it does occur, giving us access to information about behaviours and methods of use. Leather and fabric accessories such as belts and pockets can only be known in absentia, through the buckles and records left behind while others, like buttons, buckles, and some forms of jewellery, have remained intact enough to piece together some object biographies. The ways in which accessories have been categorized and the meanings embedded within them present us with perhaps the best opportunity to test out the detangling process. If accessories and notions are specific enough in their meanings and uses, then we should be able to walk backwards from this assemblage to determine the garments on which they were originally worn.

The differences between the accessories found at the different settlements also go towards showing the existence of local style variations, ones which have something to say about insular versus high-mobility populations, interconnections, and trade. This chapter also argues that the differences in local vernaculars demonstrate the ways in which Acadians were active participants in crafting a visual identity for themselves—one that both incorporated contemporary mainstream European fashion, as well as adjusted for the geographical, cultural, and micro-level social differences that made the different Acadian settlements distinct.

Accessories were the first objects used to adorn the human body, beginning with strings of shells in the Neolithic. Since then they have been a consistent feature of human dress. Easier to store, remove, and replace than full garments, visible accessories can be used to increase the splendour and style of simple clothes, be stamped as identity markers and symbols of belonging to civilian in-groups and military units, and be deployed to create and refine the wearer's self-image and public persona. Accessories are one more tool for the creation of an image, and some of the examples found in Acadia are of types that were intimately linked to conceptions of European gentility.[8] Brass spur buckles, fancy cufflinks, and decorated shoe buckles, I argue, all speak to a particularly western European image of masculinity, one magnified in the groups most closely tied to seats of colonial power. The types of accessories recovered at Acadian sites and listed in the Louisbourg inventories shows that Acadians actively participated in exterior markets and fashion systems, purchasing and wearing items that would not have looked out of place on the shoes of a Paris merchant, or the shirt cuffs of a New England magistrate.

Once again, differences appear between the settlements under review here. The accessories recovered (to date) from Beaubassin, the Melanson site, Belleisle, and the Acadian houses at Louisbourg, suggest that wardrobe choices between the groups were not uniform. The different social environment, climate and occupations, distance from colonial authority, and levels of engagement with non-Acadians all seem to have had some impact on clothing selection. Survivability of artifacts as well as the limited percentage of the sites which have been excavated have no doubt had an impact on the collections, though enough has been discovered to support some theorizing.

Melanson—with the family's complex relationship with both the English and the French—and Beaubassin—where traders engaged with merchants and traders from Indigenous cultures as well as New England, New France, and Acadia—revealed artifacts that suggest interest in fashioning those self-images in politically useful directions. Even at places like Belleisle, where the overall vernacular was more local and further from that of the elite than Louisbourg, the presence of brass buckles and buttons indicates the use of European-style clothing.

Jewellery was part of the Acadian vernacular, contemporary descriptions recording their interest in Catholic icons and pendants. The "smells and bells" sensory nature of Catholicism extends to the tactile with carved rosary beads and moulded glass pendants, imported reliquaries and the simple brass crucifixes in a style popular across the European colonies. Alongside jewellery with religious meaning, and jewellery with a practical clothing-fastening purpose, at least some Acadians were also wearing strings of beads, gold earrings and finger rings set with both semi-precious and imitation stones.

Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle had the most extensive jewellery collection on record for an Acadian woman, much of it secular, and the archaeological record at the other settlements reveals simpler items. More expensive items and those with personal meaning may have been taken out of Acadia during the deportation, either by owners or claimed by British soldiers. Nevertheless, those pieces which do remain give us at least part of the story.

5.1 Buttons

Buttons were a mainstay of men's clothing in the colonial era, women far more likely to have used pins or hooks and eyes to fasten their layers together.[9] Along with buckles, buttons are the clothing item most likely to survive in an archaeological context, and like jewellery for women, were used as a way to assert and display wealth and social status.[10] Fancy imported buttons were sewn on to garments alongside hand-crafted bone and thread versions. Beyond the basic function of attaching clothing to itself, a function also fulfilled by straight pins, buttons provided a space to include precious metals on clothing, as well as social and official identification, as with military regimental buttons.

Size categories, decorative elements, and choices between metal and cloth-covered button blanks speak to the cost of the button and by extension the income of the wearer, as well as give some indication as to the kinds of garments being worn. The larger buttons needed to close coats can be separated from the smaller buttons used for waistcoats and breeches, as well as the lightweight bone, thread and wood buttons used for shirts and undergarments.[11] Artwork from the time shows the variety of sizes and styles of buttons in use (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Detail, *Life-Size Horse with Huntsman Blowing a Horn*. John Wooton, 1732, Tate T12608, digital image © Tate released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported)[12]

Buttons can also be categorized by shank type. Shank types changed frequently, so they provide a useful method of dating buttons when the original context is uncertain. Buttons are mobile, dropping off one garment and being repurposed for others, and it is very difficult to determine the original use for a single button found in isolation at a site.[13] It is possible, however, to sort them by size and style, which can give clues as to probable intention and general trends. Small buttons of less than 12 mm in diameter were not commonly used for clothing closures at this time. Sleeve buttons tend to be between

13 – 17 mm, while buttons used for waistcoats and breeches were larger, in the 14.5 – 19.5 mm range. Coat buttons were the largest of all, at 18 – 35 mm.[14] Some of the leather shoe straps found at Fort Beausejour in the 1960s had holes or slits in them meant to accommodate buttons rather than shoestrings or buckles, a variation to be aware of when surveying buttons recovered from Acadian sites.[15] The status displays possible through metal and jewels were complicated by the popularity of good fakes, paste gems that came close to imitating the real thing.

There have been some attempts to refine a chronology for dating buttons, but a generally accepted timeline has yet to emerge. There are, however, some trends we can observe.[16] The small, round cast metal buttons in the Acadian assemblages are typical of the seventeenth century, while the flatter, ovoid hollow-cast buttons are more typical of the eighteenth. The octagonal sleeve buttons found at Beaubassin and Melanson are of a type that was seen more often in the first half of the eighteenth century.[17] All the buttons are of types available during the Acadian occupation, and some were likely made on-site.

Fabric and thread buttons were popular through the medieval period and into the early modern. Scraps of material left over from garment manufacture were used to create small fasteners, often wrapped around ball-shaped bone or wood button blanks or balls.[18] Most of these styles would not survive burial, leaving only the bone and metal buttons—and possibly some wood, in lucky circumstances—to be uncovered later on. Metal buttons emerged during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and displaced fabric buttons, though fabric and thread-wrapped buttons remained an inexpensive and available option for the domestic producer.[19]

Bone, wood, fabric, and thread buttons could all be manufactured at home, and even pewter could be easily cast over a fire without specialized equipment thanks to its low melting point. A hand-carved button mould found in the former British encampment next to Fort Lawrence is a perfect demonstration of the kinds of technology available (see Figure 5.2, below). Molten pewter would be poured into the carved depression and then a wire shank attached, either while the metal was still molten or soldered into place after the pewter cooled.[20]

Table 5.1: Button types in artifact assemblages

	Melanson	Belleisle	Beaubassin	Louisbourg
Bone			2	11
Clay		1		
Copper / copper alloy/ brass	17	2	3	49
Pewter	5		16	6
Wood				7
Other	2	1	2	2
Mixed materials	1			6

Decorative buttons could be molded with the decoration included, as with that button mould, or the metal could be cast as blanks and the decoration hand-tooled on as a finishing touch. Brought in by traders and sold by haberdashers and merchants including Le Borgne in Louisbourg, the similarities between some of the pewter buttons found in Acadia and others found in New England from the same time frame suggest not only that Acadian men were aware of and following current fashion trends, but that they may even

have owned buttons cast from the exact same moulds as their New England trading partners. Hand-tooling was a less expensive process when a small number of buttons were needed.[21] Those buttons were more expensive again than the basic fabric, thread, wood, and bone buttons that could be home-made and easily replaced.

Figure 5.2: Clay button mould for pewter buttons. Beaubassin. Photo courtesy of Parks Canada.

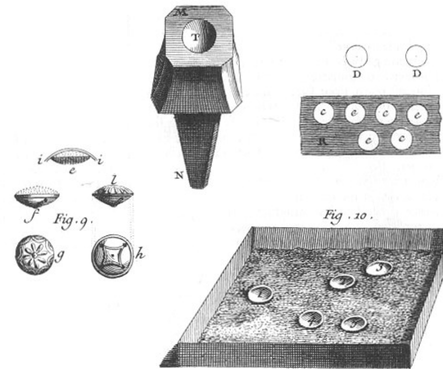

Figure 5.3: The Button-maker, Diderot, plate 3. 1771.

The types of button found at the four Acadian sites split along income lines and connections to the European metropoles. More brass buttons appeared at Melanson and Louisbourg—by a vast amount, in the latter case—than at Beaubassin and Belleisle. These were also the sites where reinforcing the appearance of European-ness was most socially important, adding an extra meaning to the use of imported fancy buttons.

Beaubassin

LaTour brought six dozen pewter buttons to sell at La Have in 1696, and buttons were also among the small goods readily available at Louisbourg, but the vast majority of the buttons from Beaubassin were styles which could easily be made on-premises for personal use, or to barter with neighbours.[22] The expense of the buttons on an outfit tended to correlate with the wearer's general wealth, though in the late seventeenth and

early eighteenth centuries pewter buttons had not yet developed their cultural association with poverty or lower socioeconomic status.[23] That would change by the late eighteenth century, when gold-coloured buttons became much more popular among those who could afford brass and gilt.

Both metal and bone buttons have been uncovered at Beaubassin, including a group of nine identical round pewter buttons of an appropriate size for the knee-bands on breeches or the front of waistcoats. These may have come from the same mould. Three matching hollow-cast copper alloy buttons were also found, as was a bone button that may be a button blank (see *Table 5.2*). The buttons found at Beaubassin were all medium-sized clothing buttons, appropriate for sleeves, waistcoats and breeches. Most of the pewter buttons have cast shanks, placing the date of manufacture between 1700 – 1765 CE.[24] Pewter buttons were inexpensive and utilitarian, worn by people from all socioeconomic classes during the eighteenth century.[25] They were also less durable than buttons made from more precious metals, both due to the malleability and ease of casting of pewter. Pewter melts at a temperature of between 170 - 230° C, a temperature easily reached by a basic campfire as well as more energy-efficient household hearths.

Table 5.2: Beaubassin button breakdowns

Material	**Size**	**Style**	**Quant.**	**Possible Use**
Bone	14 mm, 17 mm	Solid, flat	2	Shirt
Iron wire rings for thread buttons	12 mm	n/a	2	Shirt or lightweight cuffs / collars / sleeves

Material	Size	Style	Quant.	Possible Use
Copper	12 mm	Octagonal, paste gem	1	Sleeve button
Pewter	16 mm	Octagonal, flat, hand-etched	1	Sleeve button
Pewter	14-16 mm	Hollow, 2-part	9	Waistcoat or breeches
Pewter	13 mm	One piece, flat back.	5	Waistcoat or breeches
Pewter	14 mm	2-part, back only	1	Waistcoat or breeches
Copper alloy	12, 17, 20 mm	Hollow, 2-part	3	Coat, waistcoat / breeches - military
Pewter	18 mm		1	Coat

Button moulds were easily purchased or made, with the example from the British side of Fort Lawrence providing a beautiful example of an unfinished half of a home-made mould of local stone, decorated with a design that would be raised on the finished button. Many button styles were made this way, and one mould could be reused dozens, if not hundreds, of times. The mould was found in relation to the British encampment at Fort Lawrence, but similar buttons have been found at sites across Western Europe and North America.[26]

The copper alloy buttons present a more incongruous grouping. The three are different sizes but identical in construction, plain on the face rather than stamped with a motif or insignia. The design is deceptively simple, and when new and polished the surface would have gleamed in the sun. Copper alloy buttons were most popular in the

latter half of the eighteenth century, particularly from 1775 onward, when the fashion changed from silver-coloured buttons to gold-coloured ones.[27] There is no evidence of tin plating on the copper buttons, which was commonly used to turn the metal into a silver hue.[28] Brass buttons were used on French military uniforms in the first half of the eighteenth century despite not being in fashion in the civilian world, and similar two-piece domed copper alloy buttons have been found in association with other buttons from French uniforms in the French fort of St. Louis in Old Mobile, Louisiana (occupied 1702 – 1712) as well as at the British Fort Ligonier (1758 – 1766).[29] A suit would have required matching buttons in all three sizes—small for pocket flaps or sleeves, medium for the waistcoat and breeches, and large for the coat front itself.

Figure 5.4: Bone button and bovine scapula found at Beaubassin, photo courtesy of Parks Canada

Bone buttons were utilitarian rather than fashionable, predominantly used for men's trouser flies and shirt buttons.[30] The two-hole drilled bone button recovered from Beaubassin would have been one of these, the drilled-hole versions the cheapest and lowest-status of the bone button types. [31] This example was of a standard size for men's shirts.[32] The bone buttons at Beaubassin were made on site, the larger of the two found in conjunction with the scapula from which it had been recently carved.[33] The number of

pieces found does not support a suggestion of large-scale button manufacturing, but rather work intended for personal use.

A twisted iron wire found in the same layer and sub-operation as fifteen fine straight pins bears a striking resemblance to a backing for a toggle-back button, a style popular particularly in southern regions of Europe in the eighteenth century and considered typical of places like Malta (see Figure 5.6 for an example from the collections of the Victoria and Albert museum). The iron version is crudely made by comparison, but the size and shape are correct for a mid-eighteenth-century button backing, and the stratigraphy places it well within the period of Acadian occupation.

Figure 5.5: Coiled iron wire finding 7B17C15.37, from Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Figure 5.6: Man's conical silver toggle button, Malta, 1775-1798. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, # 1467A-1873.

The toggle-style button reflects the styles of southern Europe rather than the northern European sewn-on buttons, passing through doubled eyelets like a modern cufflink rather than being sewn to the body of a garment. At least three men from Spain and Portugal are known to have settled in Acadia, marrying Acadian wives. Manoel (Emmanuel) Mirande, originally from Portugal, settled in Beaubassin late in the seventeenth century, and married into the Bourgeois family.[34] He brought his own sense of aesthetics and dress

habits with him, and the presence of toggle-back buttons at Beaubassin suggests that some of that Iberian sensibility may have found its way in to the local vernacular.

Sleeve buttons found at Beaubassin, discussed in more detail below (See *5.1.1, Sleeve Buttons*), show that there was interest in the fancier side of European clothing. Sleeve buttons were worn on fancy linen, used to close the cuffs or collar of a white linen shirt. The other buttons in the assemblage, on the other hand, are more utilitarian. Pewter buttons were common across all socioeconomic status groups, and the prevalence of those compared to copper, and the absence of any gilt or machine-stamped decorated buttons suggests that the sections of Acadian Beaubassin excavated so far have revealed items belonging more to labouring families than the wealthy.

Some items in the collections of buckles and buttons from Beaubassin bear strong similarities to items found at New England colonial sites, including the Ephraim Sprague House, an Andover, Connecticut homestead occupied between 1705–1750.[35] The parallels in the two collections suggest that a fair comparison can be made between the socioeconomic strata of the owners of the Acadian items and the Spragues. Ephraim Sprague and his family were farmers of the "middling sort," neither wealthy nor poor. Sprague was a weaver by profession and a farmer, a militia captain, a church deacon, town selectman, and representative to the General Court, making him a prominent local figure in Connecticut.[36] Fire damage at the Sprague site suggests that his house burned down somewhere around 1750, making the end point of the occupation similar in both time frame and method to the burned village of Beaubassin.[37]

Beaubassin was a trading hub with connections to New France, the Mi'kmaq, Louisbourg, and traders coming up the Bay of Fundy, so the issue was not one of lack of access to higher-prestige items. The presence of wood, bone and home-made pewter buttons indicates a reliance on local materials alongside imported ones, an attitude which did not overly privilege external sources and fashions. Rather, like with the moccasins and trade beads which are discussed below, the residents of Beaubassin integrated available materials into their wardrobes in personal ways. Their daily choices may well have been dependant on their intended audience of the moment—whether the day would be spent with Mi'kmaq traders or French officers, visiting tourists like Dièreville, or entirely amongst themselves. The choices of garments would help to communicate, visual conversations that could tip first impressions and interactions in one direction or another.

The choices to appear as a labourer entirely in homespun, an analogue of a European nobleman in fine linen, silk hose, and jewelled sleeve links, or as someone who made the local landscape part of his clothing all give different impressions of the person inside the clothes. This is different ground than the performative urban fashions of Louisbourg, or the practical realities in Belleisle. The stronger Mi'kmaw presence in Siknikt may have contributed to the difference, both in terms of the changes Indigenous presence made to the visual landscape—normalizing leather outerwear and plain strouds—and as external observers. Visual reinforcement of a growing cultural distance between themselves and the colonial authorities may well have helped to build trust between the Beaubassin Acadians and their neighbours.

Melanson

The buttons found at Melanson are similar in style and quality to those from Beaubassin. The hollow copper alloy and flat pewter buttons followed the fashions seen elsewhere, including New England and Louisbourg. There are fewer home-made buttons in the assemblage, though this may well be a sampling distortion from the specific lots excavated. The Melanson buttons show a division between fancy and plain, following the same size breakdowns as seen elsewhere. The brass coat buttons are the easiest to distinguish from the group, while waistcoat and breeches buttons are of similar size and are impossible to differentiate in this particular grouping.

Table 5.3: Melanson button breakdowns

Material	Size	Style	Quant.	Possible Use
Brass/copper alloy	14 mm	Hollow, two-piece	2	Waistcoat or breeches
Brass/copper alloy	18-19 mm	Hollow, two-piece	5	Coat or waistcoat
Brass/copper alloy	21 mm, 24 mm, 29 mm	Hollow, two-piece	3	Coat
Brass/copper alloy	unknown		5	
Iron	12 mm	Solid, domed, one piece	2	Waistcoat or breeches knee?
Pewter	13 mm	Hollow dome	1	Waistcoat or breeches?
Pewter	16-17 mm	Flat, cast shank	3	Waistcoat or breeches

Material	Size	Style	Quant.	Possible Use
Pewter	17 mm	domed	1	Sleeve, waistcoat or breeches
Pewter	22 mm, 29 mm	Flat, plain	2	Coat
Wood and iron	unknown		1	
Unknown			2	

Metal buttons were primarily made overseas and imported, though by the early eighteenth century there were button manufacturers operating in New England.[38] The plain brass and pewter buttons that dominate at Melanson have many similarities to the buttons commonly used on the uniforms of the French navy, and identical examples have also been found at the British-owned Fort Stanwix (1758-1781).[39] The buttons were not exclusive to military uniforms, certainly, but the rows of shiny metal down the fronts of coats evoked an aura of respectability. They also spoke to a certain kind of practical masculinity that had been in ascendance since the sixteenth century and which would peak at the turn of the nineteenth.[40]

Figure 5.7: Melanson Buttons, on display at Grand Pré. Photograph by author.

Belleisle

Only four buttons have been found to date at Belleisle, two of copper alloy, one of "white metal," and a fourth made from local clay. The large brass buttons are of a style Stone associates exclusively with military uniforms, though there are no markings on either to indicate an associated regiment.[41] Like some of the brass buttons at Beaubassin and Melanson, these are plain and large, the right size for a man's coat.[42]

Figure 5.8: Buttons, Belleisle. Sketches by Richard Morris, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

The clay button blank presents an interesting problem for the archaeologist. The acidity in local soils destroys fabric, and it is the quality of the fabric or thread which once covered the blank which contains all the information about the cost of the button, the status it marked, and the look to which it contributed. Fancy fabric buttons in gilt and brocades could be worn on matching waistcoats, or blanks covered with scraps of whatever wool or linen was on hand could be used for less visible or lower-status garments.[43] On its own the clay button blank tells us very little except that fabric-covered buttons were being made on-site.

Table 5.4: Belleisle button breakdowns

Material	Size	Style	Quant.	Possible Use
Copper alloy	27 mm	Class 1, Series A, Type 1, Variety A (Stone)	1	Coat
Copper alloy	24 mm	C1, SD, T1	1	Coat
Unknown, "white metal"[44]	u/k		1	Coat / waistcoat / breeches
Clay	15 mm	Biconvex cross-section	1	Shirt, waistcoat, breeches, gown sleeve

The buttons at Belleisle are plain and utilitarian, the small group similar to the plainer of the buttons found at Melanson and Beaubassin. The simplest of the coat buttons and the clay button blank were both found in House 1, the Blanchard-Gaudet residence. The Blanchard family was relatively well-off in the early eighteenth century, census records showing that Guillaume had a thriving operation including six arpents of land and seventeen heads of livestock.[45] Their home-made and inexpensive buttons were unlikely to be due to poverty, or lack of access to trade. They may have taken more care with their expensive imported buttons when they fell from garments or taken all clothing of value with them when they were deported. Or, if these four are indicative of button use in Belleisle households, the farmlands may have inspired interest in a simpler dress idiom—one with less of a need to impress.

Louisbourg

The differences in the assemblage at Louisbourg lie partly in the quantity of material recovered, and partly in the nature of it. Many of the buttons listed below come from a

shop's inventory, meaning that they were owned by an Acadian, or were briefly in the possession of an Acadian, but were not necessarily worn by Acadians. The probate inventories make a distinction between buttons "pour habit" and "pour vente": buttons for clothes and buttons for sale.[46] The buttons listed as "pour vente" were valued at half the price of the buttons "pour habit," making it clear that the buttons "pour habit" were the larger, often fancier, coat buttons, while "pour vente" is simply an indicator that the buttons were of a common size that needed no further distinguishing description.[47] Coat buttons were normally listed separately from other buttons in inventories and merchants' ledgers, as the price points were higher.[48] The distinction also serves as a reminder about the differences between inventory and artifact. The archaeological record is subject to different forces than written documentation. Both human use and environmental forces act differently on paper and parchment than on metal and glass, and while a large proportion of surviving documents are catalogued and digitized in archives, much of the archaeological record is still buried deep beneath the topsoil. Bringing the two together greatly enhances our understanding of the forces at play.

When looking at the personal inventories, lists of merchandise for sale, and the artifacts found at the Acadian residences in French Louisbourg, copper alloy buttons dominate over all other styles. The utilitarian bone and pewter buttons are evenly spread between the sites, with some of each appearing in each assemblage. One house was responsible for most of the wood buttons, that of the Widow Dugas, though whether the buttons belonged to her first husband Joseph Dugas or second husband Charles de la Tour is unknown.[49] The button groups match the types of men's clothing we would expect to see at Louisbourg in the first half of the eighteenth century, the brass buttons picking out

the centre front openings, pockets, cuffs, and vents of the fashionable coats and waistcoats of the French elite.[50] As at Melanson, there is a sense of performative gentility about the weighting toward brass buttons in these collections, one that makes sense given the surroundings at the fortress.

Table 5.5: Louisbourg button breakdowns

Material	Inventory	Artifact
Copper alloy		49
"Boutons dor" / copper alloy or gold plate[51]	324	
Pewter		6
Wood		7
Mixed		6
Hard paste porcelain		1
Bone		11
"boutons dargent" / tinned or silver plate[52]	108	

Le Borgne's trade activities provide ample motivation for the vast quantities of buttons she kept in her store. Two hundred and forty of the "boutons dor" were valued at £4 / dozen and must have been very large and fancy indeed to command that price. The price suggests they may have been plated with real gold rather than the more common brass, as similar brass buttons in New England ledgers were more commonly sold for less than a pound per dozen.[53] This speaks to the higher standard of dress often seen in Louisbourg, and the purchasing power available to the French elite in the area. Not all those buttons necessarily remained in Louisbourg, however. The trade networks in which Le Borgne

engaged were extensive enough that those silvered and gold-plated buttons could easily have ended up in Acadian and Mi'kmaq hands.

5.1.1 Sleeve Buttons

Some buttons were more decorative than others. A 'green jewel'(7B17N2.01) set in a copper alloy setting and dangling from an s-curve hook is a sleeve button, an early form of cufflink. The paste gem was made from molten leaded glass, poured into a mould that gave it a shape representing a popular contemporary gemstone cut, then set into a closed setting lined with a polished metal sheet which would help reflect the light.[54] This gem found at Beaubassin was moulded to look like an "old single cut," a square cut with faceted corners popular in the late seventeenth century.[55]

Figure 5.9: Sleeve button, green paste jewel in plated setting. 7B17N2.01, from Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

The back of this jewel has a hole in the setting, which is pierced by a stiff metal loop, that terminates in another loop of the same size. This is a link for collar buttons or sleeve buttons, the earliest version of cufflinks.[56] A matching jewel would be attached on the other end and the pair of buttons inserted into buttonholes on the cuff of a man's sleeve to keep it closed at the wrist. A painting by Flemish artist Joseph Francis Nollekens, c. 1745, shows a young boy wearing a similar linked pair of buttons in his sleeve cuff (Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10: Detail, Portrait of Two Boys, probably Joseph and John Joseph Nollekens, ca. 1745. Joseph Francis Nollekens. B1976.7.61, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection [public domain].

While other buttons could have been used on a variety of garments, sleeve buttons were only ever used on European-style linen shirts. Worn both at the neck and the sleeve cuffs, they functioned both to hold the short openings closed, as well as provide a location for decorative additions. Sleeve buttons could be worn singly at the neck or in pairs at the cuffs, closing off the ends of the body. If linen acted as that second skin discussed above, then the bright flashes of metal and coloured gems at the pulse points become piercings in that skin. They are non-contiguous and isolated, unlike necklaces, but when paired they provide continuity across an entire outfit. Sleeve buttons are visually grounding, spots of punctuation that mark the beginnings and ends of private body space and the beginning of public access to the face and hands. In the grammar of clothing, they are the visual equivalent of full stops.

In a more grounded sense, sleeve buttons were flashy without being exuberant, a way to display awareness of the requirements of elite manners and the importance of clean, white linens, which themselves were a strong signifier of European gentility.[57] This was a marker of difference between European and Indigenous bodies in a way that the wool coats and even brass buttons were not, brass appearing on Indigenous clothing primarily in the form of crosses, medallions, and aglets repurposed for tinklers.[58] Donning a linen shirt and fastening the edges closed with sleeve buttons was a reaffirmation for the wearer that he was engaging with familiar forms of masculinity and gentility. Those looking at him, importantly, would also be aware of that communication—that assertion that the wearer was choosing a specific form of self-expression that carried complex meaning.

Figure 5.11: Detail, *Life-Size Horse with Huntsman Blowing a Horn*. John Wooton, 1732, Tate T12608, digital image © Tate released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported)[59]

The round paste gem in a plated setting is typical of sleeve buttons from the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries, and the octagonal cut more frequently seen in the early eighteenth.[60] Examination under a microscope reveals no obvious use of foil behind the paste gem, a process which entered use in the 1760s.[61] The setting for the green Beaubassin sleeve button was plated, possibly with tin or silver, making it a striking piece of personal jewellery. Similar sleeve buttons were worn in New England, as similar finds from the Ephraim Sprague house in Connecticut (1705 – 1750 occupancy) and another from the Lake George region of New York attest (Figure 5.13).[62]

One pewter sleeve button found at Beaubassin was a more sophisticated octagonal style than the round moulded buttons, with a design hand-etched onto the front surface (see Figure 5.12). Copper buttons were commonly hand-chased after being stamped out, as the process of hand-etching copper was cheaper than to incorporate the design in the mould, and pewter buttons were similarly sometimes chased or die-stamped after the

casting process.[63] This was likely another piece of a second set of sleeve buttons, identical in size and style to sets found at the Sprague house.[64]

Figure 5.12: Hand-etched button from Beaubassin. Photo courtesy of Parks Canada.

Figure 5.13: Pewter sleeve buttons from the Sprague site, Connecticut (c. 1705-1750). © AHS/ConnDot (Archaeological and Historical Services and Connecticut Department of Transportation).

A broken pair of copper alloy sleeve buttons were found at Melanson, in the in-fill which had been used to bury the corpse of a pig in the yard of Charles Melanson's house. Whether the sleeve links had been worn by someone working on refilling the grave, or they had broken and been lost in the yard previously and were accidentally dumped with the fill, is unknown. What can be said is that someone in the Melanson house owned a set of brass sleeve buttons, which he would have worn with fine white linen shirts cut in a European style, made with hand-worked buttonholes at the wrists to accommodate the link between the buttons. They would have glinted and gleamed in the sun along with the brass buckles on his shoes, hat, and knees. The edges of the wearer's body were pin-pointed with white lawn and shining metal, picking him out within a natural landscape of verdant greens and browns. Sleeve buttons confirm the use of linen shirts and attention to fashionable detail, at least some of the residents of Beaubassin and Melanson keeping abreast of contemporary style.

Figure 5.14: Copper alloy sleeve buttons., Melanson site. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

5.2 Shoes and Buckles

Buckles are connected to several categories of garment, used primarily on men's clothing—hats, stocks, and breeches—but on all European-style shoes. The styles of shoe buckles worn by men and women were so similar and the range of styles so diverse that it is impossible to differentiate buckles found on sites by gender.[65] The categories we can use for discussing these items are predominantly chronological, shoe buckle time frames visible through their size and the complexity of design.

Shoes and boot styles underwent significant changes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While straight lasts continued to be used, the shoes made in identical shapes before being moulded by the wearer's foot, styles of and decorative options for the uppers moved through a series of configurations.[66] Fashionable shoes began to be closed with buckles and ribbons, toes changed shape and length, heels went up and then down

again, and fabric exteriors chosen to match the clothing was a common luxury among the elite. Boots in the mid-seventeenth century were slouchy and soft, only to stiffen again through the eighteenth.[67]

Buckles replaced ribbon bows and latchet ties on leather shoes in the later seventeenth century, beginning as small, simple fasteners.[68] They became much more of a jewellery item, gaining in size, embellishment and design complexity, moving forward through the eighteenth century.[69] In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries men's and women's shoe styles were similar, with small heels, high vamps, and latchets that fastened with some form of metallic buckle. Women's shoes became more important as a wardrobe item in the eighteenth century as skirts shortened and the feet became more visible.[70] By the mid-eighteenth century, women's shoes had primarily cloth uppers, the foot encased in satins, brocades, and embroidered textiles.[71] Leather and sabots were left for poor women, and the rural poor at that.[72]

Leather was the most common material for men's urban footwear in France, chosen for durability as well as ease of use, while the rural poor wore wooden sabots.[73] The difference was not only one of price, but of conferred status. Sabots were intimately connected with the hierarchies of the *ancien régime*, conferring a culturally constructed image of labouring masculinity on the rural men and women wearing them.[74] Associated with poor French farmers, the sabots would become a symbol of resistance during the Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century, and a target for British disdain for years before that.[75]

Figure 5.15: Small copper shoe buckles from Beaubassin. Photo Hilary Doda, courtesy of Parks Canada

Figure 5.16: Detail of shoe and buckle. John Michael Wright (1617-1694). Portrait of Lady Catherine and Lady Charlotte Talbot, 1679. Oil on canvas, 130 x 110 cm, NGI.4184. National Gallery of Ireland Collection. Photo © National Gallery of Ireland. 1679.

Contemporary chroniclers describe different forms of footwear worn by Acadians. Two types of shoes in particular are described as being worn by the residents of Beaubassin—De Meulles' "sousliers sauvages," made from leather which the Acadians tanned and worked themselves, and Hale's wooden shoes.[76] Dièreville notes that seal skin shoes were worn in Port Royal, a Mi'kmaq style of footwear that could easily have been in the same general style of the moccasins described in Beaubassin.[77] De la Varenne's suggestion that the poor Acadians "go bare-footed in all weathers" is congruent with other descriptions of poorer Acadians, particularly those left "half-naked" by famine on Ile St-Jean, but only truly makes sense in the short-lived maritime summer.[78] In winters where the temperature could easily reach and hold below zero for months at a time, one wonders that a barefoot population would not be missing a great many toes to frostbite.

None of these commentators mention the presence of European-style leather or cloth shoes, perhaps as a means of drawing comparisons between the Acadians and the rural

French labourers in their provinces of origin. Evidence across all the sites discussed here indicates the presence and regular use of European-style latchet shoes (see Figure 5.17) alongside moccasins and wooden sabots, while a spur buckle found at Melanson confirms the presence of boots. The intact shoe found at Grand Pré is a simple working man's shoe, with a minimal heel and rounded toe-box. The leather latchets across the instep are not visibly perforated, suggesting that they would have been worn with a simple chape-less buckle such as those found at Beaubassin (see Figure 5.15)

Figure 5.17: Adult man's shoe found at Grand Pré, dated c. 1720-30 CE. Photograph by author, with thanks to the Grand-Pré National Historic Site, and Parks Canada

Surviving moccasins found at Fort Beausejour (c. 1751-1755) closed with fine sewn pleats and a drawstring strap, with no need for a buckle.[79] Those same moccasins show design details which are not standard to moccasins made for Mi'kmaq use, suggesting that they were made for—and possibly by—non-Indigenous wearers.[80] That adds new nuance to a discussion of cross-pollination of indigenous and colonial fashions, and support to the argument that environment and exposure to other cultural groups can change dress decisions on a larger scale.[81] These crossovers occurred in other spaces as

well, French Canadian scouts adopting the woodland-appropriate clothing styles of Indigenous men, and Mi'kmaq leaders wearing European-style wool coats along with their leather leggings.[82]

Wearing moccasins was an equivalent to wearing homespun woolens and linens, a sign that the wearer was engaging with the local environment rather than forcibly imposing European standards. Leather provided its own contradictions, one style of man's leather shoe indicating urban sophistication, the other tying into Indigenous lifeways. On women the contradiction was lessened due to the existing renegotiations of femininity in footwear. By the time shoe buckles were in ascendance, leather shoes on French women were only deemed acceptable for "les femmes de la campagne."[83] They were also rooted in a specific geography, the combination of woolen skirts and breeches worn with moccasins putting Acadians visibly into a category that was neither Indigenous, nor fully colonial. This liminal state, this *in-between-ness*, carried through in the spaces in which moccasins were predominantly used, the wooded spaces and the marshlands at the edges of Acadian settlement.

A letter written by Henry Bouquet to Brigadier General John Forbes Forbes from Loyalhanna, on the 20th of October, 1758, describes the necessity of moccasins for use in the forested areas:

> Our best woodsmen, accustomed to moccasins, cannot be used for lack of footwear. If it were possible to send 500 prepared skins from Philadelphia, these would be the means of providing them; and without moccasins, these men do not like to go into the woods.[84]

Shoe types inscribe a physical space for the wearer, through custom and through practicality, demarcating the environment in which they work and the boundaries of their engagement with the world and their tasks. Without moccasins the woods became less hospitable, and a human presence in them an imposition. Adding the option of moccasins to the Acadian wardrobe meant adding convenience, but also created a new combination that stood apart from the rest: the riding boots worn with spurs at Melanson, the colonially-styled outfits with latchet shoes in leather or cloth, or the continental sabots that had come with the Acadians from France.

Potential evidence of cross-cultural communication appears in some unexpected places, and the use of birch bark is one excellent example. Deveau describes the use of birchbark in the place of thatching as a notable local adjustment, and the utility of birchbark—something the Indigenous peoples know very well—appears in other places as well.[85] In one exceptional example, birchbark was used for taking a pattern from an old dancing shoe. The old shoe was then discarded along with the larger pattern, presumably after a larger version of the child's shoe had been constructed.[86] Using local resources to replicate European styles combines need and invention, though the process of shoemaking for heeled shoes is generally not something undertaken by amateurs. The process of making an eighteenth-century shoe required specialized tools and equipment, more so than the process of making soft-soled moccasins. Shoes were not difficult to come by, as the hundreds in Le Borgne's inventories make clear, with "escarpins communs" selling for £2 5s a pair in 1754. The effort to remake a pair with local materials, therefore, was less of a necessity and more of an interest in something that was not otherwise available for purchase. The blend of European and Mi'kmaq technology

and knowledge involved in the process makes Acadian footwear a digression from colonial norms.

Men, women and children all wore buckles on their shoes, making it difficult to ascribe specific buckles or clasps to any specific owner. Timelines are also difficult to pin down with precision, except between the dates of manufacture of various types of buckles, for which there have been some typologies put together, and the dates of destruction of the specific sites.[87] When the time frames are narrow, as with Beaubassin, it is safe to say that residents were adhering to contemporary fashions. With older styles, it is just as likely that the buckles were moved from older items and reused, and as with buttons it is difficult if not impossible to determine the age of the shoes to which specific buckles were attached. The durability of buckles meant that they transcended their own timelines, older styles available to be worn next to new.

Buckles were also used on other items of masculine-coded clothing. Knee buckles are associated with the breeches worn by men of European and colonial gentry, clothing so elite-coded that breeches fell out of use shortly after the French Revolution in 1795.[88] Trousers were the leg-coverings of the working man, sometimes bound with fabric around the shins and sometimes left to hang loose. The presence of knee buckles at a site indicates the presence of a man who dressed with an eye towards the fashions of the urban elite and found expression of his masculinity in that coding.[89]

Beaubassin

Five buckles were found at Beaubassin, one pair and three singles, all of them in styles usually associated with shoes. Buckles were made with a lot of variation, so much so that

a previous study found only one or two duplicates in a collection of over two thousand buckles.[90] Large shoe buckles appear more often later in the period than the smaller versions, as fashion encouraged the increasing size.[91] The rounded corners and centre bulges on the buckle in Figure 5.18 are common to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, though the size suggests that it would date closer to 1740 than 1720.[92]

Table 5.6: Beaubassin buckle breakdowns

Type	**Description**	**Material**	**Size**	**Date range**
Curved shoe buckle[93]	Shaped and scalloped		<2 cm	<1720
Oval shoe buckle (pair)	Curved and notched	Copper alloy	22 x 17 mm	1680-1720
Rectangular shoe buckle	3mm curve	Copper alloy	47 x 29 mm	1725-1740
Double framed sub-circular shoe buckle	Stud chape	Copper alloy	44 x 28 mm	1710 – 1720

The presence of the chape—the piece which held the buckle to the strap, counter-balanced by the tongue—with a buckle makes it easier to date, and one buckle from Beaubassin has an intact chape (see Figure 5.19). The double framed sub-circular buckle has a stud chape, which fell out of use around 1720.[94] The general dates of the brass shoe buckles in this assemblage fit with the span of time when Beaubassin saw a general increase in population and prosperity. The large buckle in particular engages with a construction of masculinity that was reflected in the shape and size of the brass hardware, the visibility and bold engagement with fashion a claim on visual space more powerful than the delicate buckles more commonly reserved for women's and children's shoes.[95]

Figure 5.18: Large brass shoe buckle. 7B7A8.01 from Beaubassin. Photograph by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Figure 5.19: Brass shoe buckle with stud chape. 7B17E3.22, from Beaubassin. Photograph by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

We might expect the same people who owned fancy brass shoe buckles to also have fancy button collections, but both assemblages include inexpensive pewter buttons alongside the fancy brass buckles. Sleeve buttons were found at both sites, the fancier green paste gem example from Beaubassin glitzier than the pewter octagons from Sprague, while the pewter sleeve button is almost identical to some of Sprague's (see Figure 5.20). The simpler style may have been a carryover from Sprague's devout Protestant faith, which considered ostentatious displays of wealth as in poor taste.[96] Sprague did moderately well for himself but never became wealthy, and his collection of household goods reflected his financial as well as his community standing. Serviceable, tidy, currently fashionable goods displayed a practical and socially aware mentality that carried over into his family's sartorial life.[97] The similarities between Sprague's collection of wardrobe accessories and the Beaubassin assemblage demonstrate the Beaubassin Acadians' awareness of and interest in contemporary colonial and European fashion. Despite the distance, Beaubassin was in tune with prevailing New England menswear in both materials and in style.

Figure 5.20: Copper alloy shoe-buckle frame fragments and a small pewter clothing buckle from the Ephraim Sprague house. © AHS/ConnDot.

Pointe-aux-Vieux

The buckle chape found at Pointe-aux-Vieux is typical of the type used on European-style leather shoes rather than the "souliers sauvages" (moccasins) or wooden clogs described in contemporary sources.[98] The buckle measures approximately 29 mm x 27 mm, on the smaller side but within the common range and approximate shape for shoe buckles from the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[99] The chape is an anchor form, common generally only in the 1720s.[100] Since Pointe-aux-Vieux was first settled in 1728 we may conclude that these pieces came with the house's residents when they moved to the new settlement. The shoes being worn there were either imported, or locally made with buckles repurposed from an older pair of shoes. The old buckle indicates that French styles were not abandoned in favour of local vernacular even as older pieces were lost, worn out, or destroyed. Even if they were not of the most current fashion, valuable items

like buckles were likely reused as often as possible. Descriptions of the lean famine years on Ile Saint-Jean support that, though the presence of quantities of trade items would suggest that cost may not have been a primary concern.[101]

Belleisle

Pieces of five buckles have been found at Belleisle, all associated with the 1983 excavations, with four of the five originating at the Blanchard/Gaudet residence. The simple frames and the drilled pin-terminal holes place the manufacturing date at around 1700–1730, before the truly elaborate high rococo fashions turned to filigree and expanded sizing.[102] Basic cross-hatching and scalloped edges were common decorations throughout the period, though the rectangular rather than more ovoid shapes suggests a time frame of 1725 – 1740.[103]

Table 5.7: Belleisle buckle breakdown

Type	Description	Material	Size	Date range
Rectangular shoe buckle.	Curved to shape of instep along drilled axis.	Copper alloy	40 x 29 mm	1700-1740
Square-framed shoe or belt buckle.	Similar to Whitehead 577, asymmetrical buckle. Broken.	Copper alloy	26 mm wide	1575-1700
Rectangular buckle.	Identical to girdle buckle @ Portsmouth, late 18th century.[104] Similar to Whitehead 645 (shoe buckle).	Copper alloy	32 x 21 mm	1690-1720 (Whitehead)

Type	Description	Material	Size	Date range
Portion of a buckle frame.	Smooth, rounded edge and flat back. Decorated with cross-hatched motif.	Copper alloy	27 mm wide	u/k
Portion of a buckle frame.	Part of a white metal buckle. Plain, with a small extension off one side. Possibly an attachment point for a hook.	Possibly pewter	19 mm x 22 mm (broken) - original 28 mm wide?	u/k

The brass buckles elevate the Blanchard/Gaudet household above the common labourer's cheaper choice of pewter or base iron and confirm the use of European-style leather shoes at Belleisle. Brass buckles would be appropriate for Sunday best for a farmer, in tune with but not overly luxurious by contemporary fashion standards. The multiple pairs and sizes at the Blanchard house fit with the family's general status in the community. Their holdings as of the 1700-1707 census placed them among the wealthier members of the community, with arpents of cultivated land and livestock listed at one and a half times those owned by the next-door Savoies.[105]

The shoe buckles stand apart from the more practical items found at Belleisle in the other categories, but like the fancy embroidery scissors, suggests an outward projection of gentility that was aimed more at display than the everyday. Sunday best shoes and finework scissors to be carried and used in public elevated the basic clothing and simple buttons to something more special.

Figure 5.21: Buckle, BeDi:2-1959. Photos by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum

Figure 5.22: BeDi:2-2727

Figure 5.23: BeDi-2:245

Melanson

Pieces of twelve different buckles were uncovered at Melanson, five made of iron and seven of copper alloy. Most of those recovered were shoe or knee-buckles, the majority of which had simple surface embellishments or were cast in curved and decorative shapes. Most were from the house of Jean Belliveau and Madeleine Melanson, suggesting that the non-shoe buckles were worn by Belliveau or one of his two sons. The presence of so many brass shoe buckles in general—and the spur buckle specifically—suggests high local interest in displaying the kinds of values shared by the elite at Fort Anne. This expression of colonial settler identity was fully in line with the nature of the Melanson association with the English authorities both at Fort Anne and in Massachusetts.[106]

Table 5.8: Melanson buckle breakdown

Type	Description	Material	Size	Date range
Oval buckle frame	Plain	Iron	37 x 25 mm	1690-1720[107]

Type	Description	Material	Size	Date range
Shoe buckle	Matches Whitehead 661, anchor chape.[108]	Iron (plated?)	40 x 30 mm	1690-1720
Double framed sub-circular spur buckle	For rowel-type spur. Matches buckle YORYM-BAC257 on finds.co.uk, and Whitehead 663.[109]	Iron (plated?)	24 x 15 mm	1690-1720
Rectangular, fragment.	One corner only. Plain, flat. Cast rectangular or sub-rectangular buckle? Possibly garter buckle.[110]	Iron	22 x 24 mm	c. 1570 - 1700
Belt or harness buckle.[111]	Rectangular, pin and rollbar intact.	Iron	23 x 20 mm, pin 20 mm	-
Double framed sub-circular shoe buckle	Multipurpose spectacle buckle (Whitehead 303)	Copper alloy	37 x 28 mm, broken (orig ~ 50 x 30 mm)	c. 1550-1650
Small t-shaped fragment	See Whitehead 531-532 for closest options.	Copper alloy	19 mm x 8 mm	1620-1680?
Plain shoe or knee buckle	Curved fragment, one side, hole drilled for separate pin.	Copper alloy	31 mm long, 5 mm wide at hole	1660-1720
No details		Copper alloy	u/k	-
Spur buckle	Decorated with rosettes. Smaller version of Whitehead 444. Trilobe trefoil with fleur de lys.	Copper alloy	32 x 30 mm long (broken – original ~ 55 x 30 mm)	1600-1720
Shoe or spur buckle	Fragment, curved. Whitehead 560 or 563. (Central pin with asymmetrical loops).	Copper alloy	25 x 10 mm	1575-1700
Plain rectangular buckle	Bevelled edge. Whitehead 464.	Copper alloy	30 x 23 mm wide along broken side (est. orig. 30 x 50 mm?)	c. 1570 - 1700

One fascinating buckle was discovered at Charles Melanson's house during the 1984 excavations. The ornate copper-alloy buckle is approximately 32mm x 29mm, broken just below the crossbar, and displays the characteristic curves and rosettes of figure-eight shaped buckles from the second half of the seventeenth or the early eighteenth centuries. Noël Hume identifies buckles of this type as small belt buckles and a hobbyist source suggests horse harness buckles, while Whitehead and White reclassify them as spur buckles.[112] Rather than a leather strap a cast metal pin terminating in a hook would hang from the crossbar, attaching to a loop on the spur arm.[113] Identification of spur buckles missing the chape can only ever be tentative, but the shape, style, and size are very similar to others which have been positively identified in this category. This buckle would have been worn with a spur similar in style to the boot spur found in the trash pit at the Roma Site on Prince Edward Island.[114] Jean Pierre Roma, founder of the Roma settlement, was similarly culturally connected outside the Acadian community as the director of the La Compagnie de l'Est de I'lle Saint-Jean.[115]

Figure 5.24: Brass buckle. 17B7L3.1, from Melanson. Photo by author, courtesy of Parks Canada.

Pairs of spurs were worn predominantly by men in the seventeenth and eighteenth century both for riding and for status-related display.[116] While women could wear a single spur for riding side-saddle, the cultural pressure which forbade them from riding astride extended to the wearing of spurs, encouraging instead the use of the hand-held riding crop.[117] By necessity spurs were worn with boots, and buckle styles ranged from very simple iron trapezoids to molded, stamped, and plated copper.[118] Spurs in the medieval period were associated variously with humility, arrogance, power, service, and always with powerful masculinity, part of royal vestments as well as the trappings of chivalry.[119] The sixteenth century saw spurs disassociated with horse ownership by a rising aspirational social class, a phenomenon already being mocked by satirists by 1600.[120] They lost their connection with knighthood as they became civilian status symbols into the early modern, but did not discard their gendered nature.[121] Other seventeenth century texts played up the association of spurs with elite status:

> He put on his best clothes, and he powder'd his hair,
> As if he had been some Gentlemans Heir,
> With his boots & his [H] spurrs, & his hanger so brave,
> And a lusty brave Horse to carry this Knave[122]

The fancy decoration on and brass composition of the Melanson spur buckle suggests that it was part of dress wear rather than a purely utilitarian piece. Cheaper iron spurs were part of the ironmongery sold by chapmen and peddlers alongside scissors, thimbles, whistles, and knives, while more expensive ones, made of or plated in precious metals, could be custom-made or purchased at the jeweller.[123] 'Spur' as a verb is the propellant of forward action and strong motion, decisive qualities associated with leadership and social standing. Girded for war even in civilian dress, the wearers of spurs with decorative

"spectacle buckles" projected active masculinity and defined themselves as elite by their visible—and audible—presence.[124]

Observers' reports invariably describe Acadians as wearing either wooden sabots or leather moccasins, but the presence of a quantity of brass shoe buckles at Acadian settlement sites shows common use of European-style shoes. The demarcation between work-related clothing for potentially muddy or cold conditions and dress clothing for in-town and possibly Sunday finest shows a kind of flexibility already seen in other aspects of French settler adaptation to the Fundy marshes.[125] The inventories of Acadian women in Louisbourg show ownership of European-style shoes rather than moccasins or sabots, which do not appear in the inventories studied here. Moccasins and sabots were not practical or fashionable on the cobbled streets of the fort, but that did not prevent Acadians in Beaubassin from switching styles when appropriate for their tasks and environment.

That flexibility with what Loren calls "mixed dress," including clothing and decorative elements both from the metropole and Indigenous communities, appears elsewhere in Acadian clothing. We see it in the beads and materials used for embellishments, and the mixtures of homespun and imported textiles.[126] These combinations of Indigenous and European styles were more commonly found among those who lived at intersection points, adaptive choices meant not only to help with the natural environment but to enable the wearer to shift between identities in a way that would be more difficult without the use of dress as a social mediator.[127] Loren describes the body as a focal point of anxiety, the battleground on which tensions about colonial and Indigenous identity were played out.[128] Shifting identities between contexts was a

negotiation skill, one which enabled those living at cultural crossroads to participate in multiple public and private spheres.

5.3 Other Closures

The various methods of closing clothing about the body each have their own signature effects on the garments and on the body's movement inside them. Buttons fix edges semi-permanently, the buttons themselves able to be moved, but the buttonholes a fixed puncture in the textile. Buttons are solid—metal, bone, wood, and clay—and used at set points, conforming the fashion and the body inside to something set by the maker rather than the user. They act as constraints on the available wearing options, fixed points around which use of the garment must revolve. This stabilized construction was a very European way to construct masculine clothing, in opposition to the loose, draped, and more adaptable garments worn by Mi'kmaw men.[129]

Lacing, on the other hand, manipulates permanent eyelets by drawing them closer and further apart as required, the careful rows of hand-stitched holes made to conform to the body they encase. Buckles are a middle ground between the two, moveable and adjustable but only within pre-set constraints. Pinning garments, a very common method of arranging and attaching accessories and draperies to women's garments, makes outfits less stable, more flexible and interchangeable. Outfits become temporary signposts, switched around as mood and context determine, able to be rearranged and recombined at a whim.[130] This style of adjustment was an older one, associated closely with the working poor and farm labour, as discussed further below (See *6.5, Stockings*). The presence of

pins adds a different dimension to the wearing of clothing as well, the prickling points changing the ways in which the arms can be safely moved.[131]

Hooks and eyes were closures more closely associated with women's wear than with men's, much in the same way as buttons were occasionally found on women's clothing but were predominantly used for men's wear. The collection of closure options associated with women's clothing—lacing, hooks and eyes, and pins—give a certain kind of freedom of choice that colonial men's clothing denies. Lacing particularly makes a woman's clothing more fluid, reactive to changes in her body shape and her perceptions of her physical state and health at any given moment. Each time a woman laces her bodice closed it creates subtle changes in her silhouette, sometimes compressing and sometimes embracing the body inside of it.

Men's garment closures, on the other hand, emphasized conformity. The buttons and buckles restrained a man in formal colonial dress to look the same way every time he put on his clothes. This engendered a sense of trustworthiness in men's clothing, as opposed to the anxiety surrounding the falseness of the body in women's wear. The guidelines that kept his clothed silhouette consistent did not apply to her, and societal condemnation followed the fluidly dressed as a result.[132] This connects back to contemporary commentary on the "savage" dress of the Indigenous peoples, their unrestrained leather tunics and leggings button-free and potentially amorphous. The narratives about falsehoods perpetuating themselves through dress permeate the popular written culture of early modern Europe, fixating on the fluid concealment of women's wear as the locus for tension over sexuality, freedom, concealment, and propriety.[133] Lessened formality in Acadian dress in some locations was a subject of discussion and derision for external

commentators, that same fluidity and lack of rigid containment a threat to the formal sartorial order.

5.3.1 Aglets and Tinkler Cones

Aglets were small items made from sheet metal, usually finely-hammered copper, that was cut, wrapped in a cone, and pressed at the point to create an enclosed casing for the end of laces.[134] Regulated by sumptuary law in multiple regions during the Renaissance, aglets were a form of visible decoration on clothing, a place to display wealth and status, and their presence suggests the existence of garments of some value.[135] Silver and gold aglets were forbidden to the common man of France completely, and copper aglets would be out of place, for instance, on a working man's rough homespun smock.

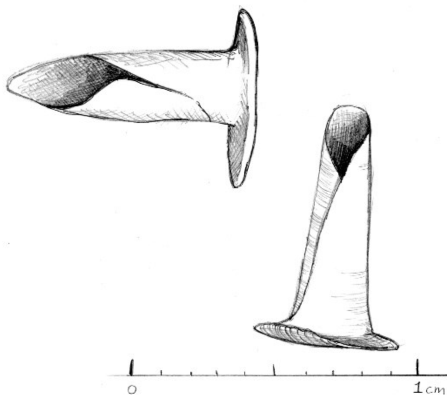

Figure 5.25: Tinkler cones, Beaubassin. Sketch by Richard Morris, from photograph by author.

A pair of cones identified as aglets were found at Pointe-aux-Vieux, while a pair of similar centimeter-long copper cones found at Beaubassin are unfinished and crude. These may be aglets in the middle of the manufacturing process, the bottom left uncompressed, or they may have been intended to be used as small tinkler cone-style decorations on clothing. Common as decorative elements on doublets and gowns during

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, aglets were attached by pinching the wide end closed around a ribbon, while tinklers were attached to a garment via a strap passing through the closed narrow end.[136] The flattened bottoms on the Beaubassin cones suggest that these were not designed to be closed off around ribbon or lace, leading more toward an interpretation of them as tinkler cones. Given their apparently unfinished state, however, confident identification is difficult.

Tinklers were associated with Indigenous styles of dress and aglets with European, though they could be deployed in similar ways.[137] A decorative aesthetic that included tinklers and aglets would have been recognizable to Europeans, making them an easy accessory to bring over from one dress style to another. Evidence of tinkler manufacture at French and British sites in the Great Lakes region confirms European use of tinklers as clothing decoration, part of a blending of aesthetics between colonial settlers and Indigenous people in that contact sphere.[138]

5.3.2 Hooks and Eyes

Hook and eyes are closer in use to buttons than they are to lacing, in that they are sewn in place to create a fixed closure point. The usual method of overcasting hooks and eyes on the surface of a garment, however, is much less permanent than the cutting needed for eyelets and buttonholes. A handful of iron wire hooks and eyes found at Beaubassin are standard for the type and time period, though hooks and eyes have retained their standard shape from at least as early as the fifteenth century to the present day. This makes dating them all but impossible except through archaeological context.

Figure 5.26: Iron hook, Beaubassin; and iron eye, Belleisle. Photo on left courtesy of Parks Canada, on right by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

The single eye found at Belleisle was 17 x 11 mm long, in line with standard sizes for the time.[139] While Carolyn White's examinations of hooks and eyes found brass was commonly used, Fort Michilimackinac's colonial assemblage was more than 90% iron (13 brass : 139 iron), as were the examples recovered on all Acadian sites to date.[140] Hooks are more commonly found archaeologically than the corresponding eyes, as hooks were often used with thread loops instead. While often associated with women's dress, hooks and eyes are not diagnostically useful for garment types, as they were also used for men's coats and waistcoats as well as women's bodices and stomachers.[141]

5.4 Pockets

Both Jeanne Thibodeau and Marie Le Borgne had pockets in their inventories from Louisbourg, and the collection of sewing tools found in Anne Bourg's midden at Melanson suggests that a pocket of hers met its end there among the refuse. Made of cotton or linen, these pouches would have been one of the locations decorated with fancy embroidery (see *3.1.2, Scissors and Other Household Tools*). These were used for

carrying personal grooming and work items, from bodkins and earspoons—and bodkins *with* earspoons—to scissors, buttons, and needle-cases.[142]

Pockets at the time were separate items of clothing, worn underneath a woman's skirts and close to her skin. Accessed through slits in the gown, skirt and petticoats, pockets were a private and intimate space on the body, safe from pickpockets, purse-snatchers and other thieves.[143] Pockets were available ready-made and were also easily and often made at home, from fabric remnants leftover from garment making, or new linen that had been embroidered for that specific purpose.[144] Jeanne Thibodeau's pockets would have held her sheathed embroidery scissors. The reason that they came with a sheath in the first place was because they were carried on her person rather than in a workbox, and the sheath would prevent the sharp scissors from poking through the pocket's fabric.[145] As much as buttons and spurs were visible constructions of masculinity, pockets were a concealed means of constructing feminine identity. Pockets gave women a private, autonomous space on the body, one whose contents were entirely within her own control.[146]

5.5 JEWELLERY

Jewellery fits into the same category of small finds as buttons and buckles, the lines blurring between the categories of 'practical' and 'decorative.' Decorative pieces such as necklaces and earrings also often have practical and cultural uses, particularly once religious items are added into the mix. Jewellery, especially religious items like reliquaries and crucifixes, carries cultural symbolism as well as reflecting individual taste. The split between expressions of faith for different Christian sects is one obvious

distinction, the rosaries and chaplets of Catholicism delivering a tactile dimension to individual and collective religious practice. In finer-grained detail, expressions of Catholicism are themselves regional, with different saints, traditions, and practices taking root in different areas. Many items owned by Acadians link them both to the regional practices of their French origins, and to the new expressions of faith encouraged by their surroundings in Acadia. Pendants and reliquaries from Europe shared space with hand-made rosary beads drilled from trade glass and brass crucifixes popular across the North American colonies. The Acadian expression of faith was as localized as it was rooted in older practices, a merging of there-and-here that expressed itself in the "rosaries, crucifixes, agnus deis, and all the little trinkets consecrated by religion, with which they love to adorn their persons."[147]

More secular jewellery appears in Louisbourg probate inventories than has been found so far at the other sites. Either the settlements did not see the use of as much elite jewellery, or, more likely, those precious and meaningful items were secured among the few possessions Acadians were able to bring with them during the deportation. The few items we do have were preserved by accident rather than by deliberate abandonment: broken pieces from Belleisle and Pointe-aux-Vieux slipped between floorboards, glass beads from Melanson were trapped beneath the rubble of a housefire, and those at Beaubassin were buried in the infill moved around following the burning of the town.

5.5.1 Rosaries and Reliquaries

Acadia was served by Catholic priests even while under British rule, their freedom of religion preserved in the treaties of the early eighteenth century. The priests assigned to

Port Royal came from two distinct groups, the Récollet fathers and the Sulpician Order. The Récollet fathers, members of a French Franciscan order with missionary branches in Newfoundland as well as Acadia, served in Port Royal until 1720 and Louisbourg until 1756.[148] Following the Récollet withdrawal from Port Royal in 1720, the area's Catholics were served by a series of Sulpician priests, likely from the seminary in Montreal. [149]

The Récollet order was divided into provinces in France, those who served Newfoundland's colonies and eventually Louisbourg coming primarily from Brittany, while those serving Acadia had trained in Paris.[150] Each had their own hierarchies and priorities, and a minor rivalry developed between the two groups in Louisbourg.[151] The Récollets as a group were generally derided by other Catholic orders as being too morally lax, particularly those from Brittany who inspired complaints about their continued carousing with ship captains and fishermen.[152] On the other hand, the Récollets were also lauded for their ability to communicate with their parishioners, had a general reputation for being down-to-earth (the flip side of their reputation for anti-intellectualism), and were popular overall.[153]

Originally responsible for the education of children in Port Royal, the priests' departures shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht left an educational void that was not refilled.[154] The influence of the Récollet priests would have been lower in the 1740s and 1750s than for older generations, the leadership of the parish having been assumed by the stricter Sulpicians for thirty years prior to the deportation. The order of Saint Sulpice had strong ties to Marian devotion, as well as a reputation that was quite the opposite from the rather more laissez-faire Récollets. Rather than being known for carousing and drink Sulpicians were notoriously strict, their order based on a Paris model.[155] They tended to be academics, doctrinally focused and strict in matters of

morality, particularly sexuality and the roles of women. They did not take vows of poverty, and as with clergy in France, were supported by a voluntary—yet socially-pressured—tithe of one thirteenth of a parishioner's annual income (though many places had that tithe expectation reduced to one twenty-sixth, due to hardship in the new colonies).[156] The Sulpicians had served at Beaubassin earlier than in Port Royal, Abbés Baudoin and Trouvé moving there in the summer of 1688.[157] Baudoin in particular was heavily involved in local political affairs, often clashing with Governor de Villebon.[158]

Religious life in the colonies followed the Roman Catholic church's precepts and the cycles of the feast days and holidays.[159] Thirty-seven feast days—and then fifty-two sabbaths—were intended to be devoted to religious practice during the course of the year, though the sheer numbers of days off may have given rise to later complaints about Acadian farmers working through the holy observances.[160] Cabarets in Louisbourg were ordered to stay closed on the Sabbath, and reports of drunken carousing on Sundays and holidays followed French Catholics in general.[161] Even for those who preferred a quieter day of rest Mass would have been the central social event of the week, with parishioners travelling "quatre et cinq lieues"—four and five leagues—from their homes to attend church in Port Royal in the 1680s.[162] Children acted as altar servers in the early days of Port Royal and were formally catechized, though formal religious education ended after the church was burned and clergy removed in 1690.[163]

While the Acadians were originally portrayed as exceptionally devout by earlier writers, a new examination of Catholicism encouraged by the Silent Revolution in the 1970s saw the academic pendulum swing the other way. Religion in New France and Acadia, it was argued, was something slightly better than a nuisance.[164] Working on

Sundays was understood as indicative of a lax attitude towards religion, but attendance at Mass was not the only—or perhaps even the main—means by which the Acadians proved and lived their faith. Abbé Petit described the Acadians around Port Royal as "inclined to piety," in 1686, despite having spent a decade and a half without spiritual leadership prior to his arrival.[165] They were not ascetically-inclined in their faith, certainly, as a legal complaint from Beaubassin referred to women coming to confession so decked out in lace and ruffles that their eyes could not be seen.[166] Mass was a social occasion as much as a religious one, an opportunity for families who would otherwise not see much of one another to reinforce connections.

The priests serving Acadian communities changed regularly, their attention often focused more on converting regional Mi'kmaq communities than on the French settlements.[167] The inconsistency in religious support can be seen in the lack of entries for 1711 in the parish records for Fort Anne / Port Royal. At that point the priest in charge, Abbé Durand, had been imprisoned in Boston for sedition.[168] Port Royal alone saw twenty-three different Catholic priests stationed there between 1650 and 1755.[169] We see the impact in the number of infants in the parish records baptized not by priests, but by the midwife or father of the child, at home. As a result of the inconsistency in official religious leadership Acadian Catholicism became a faith that was less reliant on the presence of a priest, centering more on community and individual attention to rites.

At the same time, religion in the early modern period in general was moving from the collective to the individual. Catholicism in France leaned into good works and charity as a means of salvation, interest in Orders and poverty relief becoming more common and more regulated.[170] Poverty and sinfulness became more tightly linked in the popular

mind, and collective activity, rituals, and prayers performed by the community as a whole took the forefront in the search for divine grace.[171] The visual aspects of their faith-based practices may have acted as a unifying force, identifying marks for a minority community.

Belleisle

Catholic devotional items have been found at Belleisle, including a brass crucifix and a partial glass dove. Both are detailed, the workmanship appropriate for small-run production of similar items, most likely through a lost-wax method of metal-casting. Both items clearly demonstrate the importance not only of religious faith, but tangible reminders of that connection. Brass crosses and crucifixes were common in French colonial spaces as personal items of devotion, while elsewhere they shifted to become used primarily as trade goods.[172] In 1612, Jesuit Père Pierre Biard described early exchanges along these lines: "I gave them little crosses of brass, or images, which I hung about their necks, and as far as possible I infused some religious notions into their minds."[173]

The Belleisle crucifix is an appropriate size and style for the bottom of a rosary or chaplet, and appears identical to examples found at Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan (1715-1783) and the French colonial cemetery at the Moran Site in Harrison County, Mississippi (1717-1723).[174] It is a standard Latin cross with cast images on both sides. On one side, the raised image depicts the mostly naked body of Jesus on the cross, a standard form generally known as the "corpus." The corpus image has the partial letters "INRI" above his head, standing for a phrase in Latin, "Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum," which

is common on crucifixes across Europe. The edges are defined by hashed decoration which emulates scrollwork. A skull rests under the corpus' feet, a common image used to represent Adam's skull, and by extension original sin.[175] Christ's blood dripping onto the skull symbolizes the washing away of sins, an event understood by Christians to have occurred at the crucifixion.[176]

Figure 5.27: Belleisle Crucifix, BeDi-2:1755. 28 mm x 17 mm. Photos by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

The obverse shows the Christus Rex (Christ as King) archetype of Jesus. In this image, the figure is clothed and bearded, and as on the other side, his head is surrounded by a simple one-ring nimbus. Similar imagery on other crosses of this type has been identified as the figure of the Virgin Mary, but this figure appears bearded and so a different explanation is necessary. The vestments are important to the image, combining the symbols of godhead and royal nature.[177]

The image is surmounted by the sacred heart, the holy dove, and flanked by the capital-letter texts "JESVS" and "MARIA." The figure's feet are consumed in flames, suggesting that the image depicts the parable known colloquially as the "harrowing of hell." In the tale, once crucified, Jesus descended into Purgatory or Hell itself to free the unbaptized righteous.[178] This is not the moment of resurrection being depicted but a between-stage, the Christ figure hovering in a liminal stage between death and rebirth.[179]

The loop at the top indicates that the crucifix was designed to be used as the terminal pendant in a rosary or chaplet, a placement that means both sides were available to the viewer at any time. The raised images complement each other, the pairing conveying a message that would have resonated deeply with the member of the Savoie household who originally wore it. The Corpus and Christus Rex tell the story of death followed by action. The figure moves from arms open on the cross to arms folded in burial position; the death's head at the feet of the corpus becomes the flames of Sheol, sin to release from sin. The static cross is a conveyer of motion, from acceptance to action, death to rebirth, the freeing of souls from purgatory and endless waiting. In a motif particularly associated with the counter-Reformation, Adam, symbol of all humankind and himself one of the unbaptised righteous, goes from sinner to saved with a flip of the cross.[180]

The Harrowing of Hell is not purely Biblical canon, only a handful of minor references appearing in the New Testament.[181] It found expanded form in the non-canonical gospels in the third century, but took on new resonance with the emergence of Purgatory as an important concept in medieval Catholicism.[182] Artwork regarding the Harrowing declined after the sixteenth century and the focus on the torments of Hell and Purgatory in French Catholicism declined in the mid-seventeenth, giving this piece a strong connection to this particular point in

time.[183] The emphasis on new beginnings after hardship inherent in the story of the Harrowing may have resonated with the early inhabitants of Acadia, the political limbo surrounding the region the type of narrative to have given fresh appeal to a story about moving on from a place of waiting to a new paradise. Some English Protestants, already contemptuous of 'papacy,' were no more inclined to indulge the concept of Purgatory, seeing both the concept and the means of mitigation—good works in the name of the deceased and the recitation of funeral masses—as an elaborate scam intended to fleece the "poor Country People, being extreamly Simple and Ignorant."[184]

The Belleisle Savoies—Germain, his wife Marie Breau *dite* Vincelotte, and their eleven children—were greatly reduced in number by the time of the deportation. Germain-le-père had died in 1729, at which point the younger Savoie men took over working the land. Breau would have remained living in the house until her death in 1749, but the names of other residents are unknown. It is possible that one of her adult sons, perhaps Germain-le-fils, would have moved in with her and continued living in the house after her passing, or that she was maintained in the house until her death and the building stayed empty until its subsequent destruction six years later. What this means is that we cannot isolate ownership of the cross to one specific person, especially since rosaries and chaplets were carried by both men and women. We can look at the Savoies as a family, however, and see what conclusions may be drawn.

Geneviève Massignon located the Savoie family's European origins near to those of the Gaudets, their neighbours at Belleisle. Both families emigrated to Acadia from Martaizé in Poitou, about 150 kilometers to the north-east of La Rochelle.[185] The area was predominantly Catholic but also held a large proportion of France's Calvinist population of about one million, in a stretch reaching from Poitou through the Languedoc and up to Lyon.[186] The tensions of the

religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could not help but make an impression, intermittent fighting especially heavy between 1560 and 1630.[187] Acadians a hundred years later faced similar tensions, albeit with a reversal of institutional power—the Catholic farmers were still the local majority, but now the power at the top was that of the British Protestants.

The Belleisle crucifix is larger and more elaborate than the small lead cross found at Pointe-aux-Vieux, though it would have been used for the same kind of visual communication of faith. Similar brass crosses have been found at other colonial sites including Fort Michilimackinac and Fortress Louisbourg. The most common form of crucifix from the Fort Michilimackinac assemblage is this same type, a single piece of cast brass with a raised graphic on one or both sides.[188] Seven crucifixes of very similar style (Stone Series A, Type 2) were found at the Fort, all with the same ridged edge, an identical corpus with INHS on the obverse, and a different image on the reverse.[189] All but one of the obverse images include Mary, the last one showing an image of the Eucharist. Cherubs or angels appear at Mary's sides on three, and the words 'JESUS' and 'MARIA' on the arms of two.[190]

The Louisbourg collection includes one cross attached to a beaded chaplet (Figure 5.28) a third example of the same style of crucifix. This cross was found in a context dating its loss to c. 1750-1752 and bears a similar figure of the corpus on one side, albeit without the INHS lettering. The obverse has the Assumption of Mary, her head crowned, her feet on the globe, an angel or cherub at each arm of the cross symbolizing her rise into heaven, and a possible fleur de lys on top.[191] The story of the Annunciation is a similar image of redemption following suffering, and the optimism associated with the resurrection.

Figure 5.28: Chaplet, 4L56L9-2. Sketch by Richard Morris, from photographs courtesy of Fortress Louisbourg.

The presence of Marian references on the Louisbourg, Michilimackinac, and Belleisle crucifixes is common among late medieval and early modern Catholics, for whom the cult of Mary was an important part of worship.[192] Mary would not have been depicted as crucified, but she does make appearances on the reverse of crosses and reliquaries found in French regions—particularly in Brittany, in the form of reliquary crosses.[193] The Belleisle crucifix is an example of a common style, in fashion in the mid-eighteenth century. The wooden beads suggest that it belonged to someone in the middling classes in Louisbourg. No beads survive with the Belleisle crucifix to indicate the kind of rosary or chaplet with which it had been worn, but the in-progress rosary beads found at Beaubassin (see Figure 5.30) suggest that making the chains of beads from local materials was an acceptable option.

Figure 5.29: Glass dove bead, Belleisle. Photo by author, with thanks to the Nova Scotia Museum.

A glass dove bead made of white and blue glass was found in the same unit and lot at Belleisle as the crucifix. The surviving fragment of the dove has a blue glass bead affixed to breast, and some evidence of a missing bead on one wing. The dove, a symbol for the Holy Spirit—a part of the Christian triune deity—appears on the crucifix as well, one of the more common signs of the divine presence. The bird bead may have been part of a rosary, and in the absence of any perforated holes, likely had a loop of some kind attached to the head to make it useable as a bead or a pendant. The pieces were found relatively close to the upper layer of the unit (lot 2), suggesting they were lost during the deportation or shortly before. It is possible that the bird and the crucifix were part of the same piece of devotional jewellery, or two separate items kept near to each other, possibly in a jewellery case that has since been lost.

If the dove was a part of the same rosary or chaplet as the crucifix then it would most likely have been a marker bead, or a pendant dangling off the other end of the single-string chaplet. Full rosaries included 153 plain beads, fifteen marked beads and a pendant, while the chaplets included only ten beads in total—making them more economical, certainly, and less effort for a craftsman.[194] The marker bead on the Louisbourg chaplet has a groove scored into it to distinguish it from the other beads, indicating the point at which one would turn back and complete another recitation of the prayers. This gives us a point of reference for scored beads found at Beaubassin.

Beaubassin

No crosses have yet been uncovered at Beaubassin, but that in no way indicates a lesser devotion to the physical props of Catholic worship. The context at Beaubassin has been disturbed by previous earthworks, so knowing how and where the beads were produced and originally deposited on the site is impossible, though the combinations and some rarer types tell an interesting story. Of the sixty-five beads of various styles found at Beaubassin (see Table 2.2: Beads found at Acadian archaeological sites), eight show signs of being part of a rosary or chaplet. Those signs include grooves carved into the surface to make a tactile marker (see Figure 5.30 for all examples discussed here), an elongated tab on one side of a glass bead to make it asymmetrical, or two holes drilled through the bead at 90º to turn it into a cross-piece to adjoin two separate chains. The chaplets would not need such an accommodation, the pendants hanging from the bottom of a regular link, but full rosaries would need one to complete the circle. Stone and wood beads were used for this purpose, and glass trade beads were altered to be used in rosaries.[195]

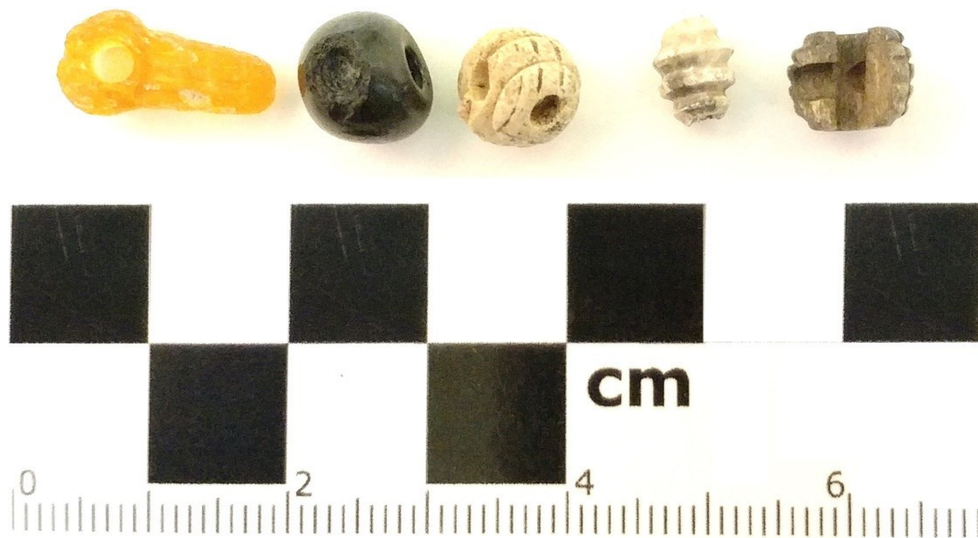

Figure 5.30: Possible rosary beads, Beaubassin. Photo by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

Unlike the crosses and Jesuit rings, rosary beads were not common trade items. The proximity of the Mi'kmaq and Acadian communities in Siknikt and the pre-existing trade arrangements at Beaubassin make it possible that these beads were intended for Mi'kmaq use rather than, or in addition to, Acadian. Three beads with three holes and an elongated amber-coloured glass bead are types of rosary beads, the three-hole bead a type of connector used to depend a crucifix from the paternoster string, and the elongated bead of a style seen on rosaries made by and traded to Indigenous groups.[196] A blue glass trade bead found with a partially-drilled secondary cross-hole appears to have been intended for similar purpose. More commonly made of bone or ivory when brought in as imports, the unfinished glass beads at Beaubassin indicate local production for local use.[197]

A doubled glass pendant from Beaubassin is the most striking find to date, one section painted with an abstract image that appears to be a human form standing beside a tower or mill, with a wind-shaped spruce tree on the far side. The other, found back to

back with the painted glass bead in the verdigris remains of what was once a copper setting, is a clear moulded glass bead of equal size (14 x 10 mm) with the transparent image of a doubled heart and the Latin word FIDEL surmounting the heart. This doubled heart image is a symbol found in the Sacré-Coeur de Vendée, a symbol present on marriage jewellery and strongly associated with betrothal in the Poitou region of France.[198] The doubled hearts combined the Catholic symbols of the Sacred Heart of Jesus with the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

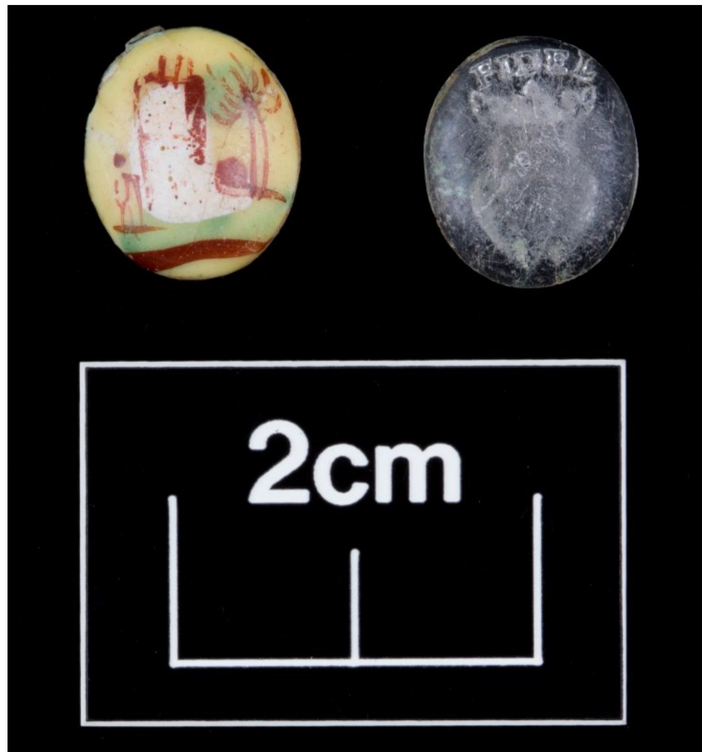

Figure 5.31: The *Fidel Jewel* from Beaubassin. Photograph courtesy of Parks Canada.

The Immaculate Heart had been a focus for religious fervour in Northern and Central France in the eighteenth century, connected particularly with the teachings of Louis Grignion de Montfort, a French priest (and later Catholic saint) who preached heavily on devotion to the Immaculate Heart prior to his death in 1716.[199] If the Fidel jewel is

related to Montfort and religion in the Vendée, as Eric Tremblay suggests, then its presence in Beaubassin suggests that the inhabitants were keeping open communication with and were being influenced by trends and changes in the Poitou region.[200] Not only that, but they were also purchasing new and expensive pieces of personal adornment that spoke directly to their evolving religious values.

Double-sided glass pendants appeared as religious devotional items in the early modern period, sometimes with painted miniatures set behind clear glass domes, other times used to preserve physical relics of saints (see Figure 5.32). These pendants could be attached to the bottom of rosaries in place of a crucifix or worn as separate pieces of jewellery. The Fidel Jewel falls somewhere between these miniature reliquaries and moulded beads without drilled holes.

Figure 5.32: Rosary pendant, Salzburg, ca.1650-1700. Horn, with a verre eglomisé plaque behind glass,. Obverse with image of Virgin Mary painted and set behind glass. Reverse with small relics and pieces of paschal candle, labelled "Santa Martyr" (martyr saint) and "Agnus Dei" (lamb of God). CIRC.400-1923. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Jewellery items found at archaeological sites are often broken or of low quality, small items that the original owners might have missed taking or not bothered to retrieve during an expedient exit.[201] The Fidel Jewel from Beaubassin and a reliquary found at Pointe-

aux-Vieux are beautiful pieces, however, and either of these would have represented significant expense for a labourer's personal wardrobe.

Pointe-aux-Vieux

The reliquary locket uncovered during the 2010 excavation at Pointe-aux-Vieux is approximately one and a half centimetres long, with an integrated loop. It also bears a monogram of the letters IHS, this time surmounted by a cross, and supported by three nails, or staves. This particular iconography, the emblem of the Society of Jesus, was common in the eighteenth century, seen on jewellery, in manuscripts, in domestic spaces such as firebacks for hearths, and on tombstones.[202] The seal on the reliquary is the emblem of the Jesuit order, as adopted in the seventeenth century, and frequently appears on rings distributed by distributed in bulk by the Jesuit Order along the east coast of North America in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[203] Similar pendants were depended from rosaries as ornaments in the early modern period, and carved wood versions were particularly common in (though not exclusive to) the Netherlands.

The IHS symbol was more likely considered as a protective icon, rather than indication of direct allegiance between the wearer and the Jesuits. The heart motif seen on other Acadian-owned religious apparel appears once more on the reliquary, pierced by the nails at the base of the IHS. This version of the Jesuit seal has been seen since at least the late sixteenth century, appearing on the title page of the Jesuit school regulations document *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu* (see Figure 5.34).[204] The recurrent motif emphasizes not only connection to the Jesuit order in North America, but

the rising mysticism and holy associations with the heart motif found in Catholic worship in some areas in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[205]

Figure 5.33: Reliquary locket found at Pointe-aux-Vieux. Sketch by Richard Morris, after a photograph from Helen Kristmanson.

Figure 5.34: Seal of the Society of Jesus, *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu*, 1586.

Jewellery inscribed with Jesus' name was protective, much like the notion of naming ships after Catholic saints whose protective spheres involved the water.[206] The image would have been familiar locally, given the extensive use of Jesuit trade rings and similar items with the Indigenous peoples from the seventeenth century onward.[207] A string of six beads fixed on a bent straight pin also found at Pointe-aux-Vieux bears resemblance to small impromptu chaplets, or a home-made terminal pendant for another rosary.

Religion and Religious Objects

Early modern Catholicism was not only spiritual in its expression, but deeply and intensely physical. The items and vestments which were part of the holy service were imbued with a certain kind of divinity themselves, and objects of devotion—basins,

crosses, rosaries and reliquaries, for example—played a prominent role in the display and enactment of their faith.[208] The raised embroidery on the vestments caught the light and drums and bells called Acadians to Mass, while communion, incense, and choristers added taste, scent, and liturgical sound to the proceedings.[209] The physicality inherent in the modes of prayer, both the choreography of kneeling and standing during Mass and the private assisted prayers using beads, emphasized the role of the physical in accessing the spiritual.

The tactile purpose of textured rosary beads and reliquaries was distinctive from that of secular jewels, designed to be touched and counted, soothed in the fingers and rubbed for comfort and a constant reminder of the presence of the divine. Marker beads on rosaries and chaplets—dividers marking the point where sets of prayers were to be changed or repeated—were textured or shaped to be distinct from the beads making up the rest of the chain. Many of the beads found at Acadian sites were made from local materials or from imported materials and altered locally. The grooves and spirals carved into them, the unique drilling of the holes, and the presence of pendants designed for chaplets and rosaries all confirm the use of these beads for prayer and personal use. Large items of personal devotion were not commonly seen in inventories and wills in Louisbourg, either French or Acadian, but the small, portable, personal items appear with greater frequency.[210]

In a letter from Louisbourg in 1756, the Acadians were described as "remarkably fond of rosaries, crucifixes, agnus deis, and all the little trinkets consecrated by religion, with which they love to adorn their persons."[211] This is corroborated by the physical evidence across Acadian archaeological sites. Beads found at Pointe-aux-Vieux and at

Beaubassin show that while beads were being brought in for use and trade, locals were also repurposing older materials and crafting new ones on site. The reliquaries, crucifixes, beads, and other “trinkets” were not status-display objects in the economic sense, most of them inexpensive and of common types readily available in the colonial marketplace. Other pieces were hand-made, either as replacement parts or for new pieces, incorporating materials like trade beads that were already an integral part of the visual landscape of Acadia.

Ideas of purgatory, resurrection, and rebirth after hardship became part of that landscape with the images placed on the rosaries and pendants. Sacred jewelry worn openly became the property of both public and private spaces, extensions of the bodies on which they were worn. Less intimate than the second-skin of linens, the brass and stone nevertheless would have taken on body heat and been irrevocably altered by the repeated touch of fingertips for reassurance and in prayer. The half-drilled glass rosary beads give us a glimpse of a transient activity, the maker bent over at his bench, tiny auger and glass bead in hand, deft hands working away at the delicate trade bead to affect transformation without destruction. Possibly for himself or a family member, or a trading partner from the nearby Mi’kmaq settlement, his painstaking work, skill and persistence transformed a currency and commodity into something personal and sacred.

5.5.2 Secular Jewellery

Jewellery was a luxury item and was worn relatively sparingly in colonial settings, particularly among non-elites.[212] The pieces found at the Acadian sites were small and primarily religious in nature, which would have helped to detract from accusations of

vanity of the sort that was levelled at the women wearing lace and silk ribbon to mass. Religious pieces, such as the Jesuit rings used as trade goods, were marked for higher purpose, and Catholic iconography is a constant theme even among the simplest pieces.[213] That simplicity does not necessarily mean they were inexpensive, however, as there were no silversmiths resident in Louisbourg at the time.[214] Any fine jewellery, religious or otherwise, would have to have been imported.

Marie Josephe Le Borgne sent a gold earring back to France for repairs rather than entrust the work to someone closer by, suggesting a strong connection across the Atlantic.[215] A local tinsmith or blacksmith might be able to do simple repairs, but their skills were apparently considered inadequate for the kind of work needed on a piece of fine jewellery. Whether the repair work was being done by the original jeweler or simply a more trusted workman is unknown. Committing to that level of expense, however, shows that even the non-religious jewellery was important to Le Borgne's concept of herself as a successful cosmopolitan merchant.

Beyond the fortress's walls and the heavy influence of French military society, evidence of secular jewellery makes an appearance at all the Acadian settlements examined here. A copper-alloy badge, a beaded choker, and sleeve buttons at Melanson, the sleeve buttons at Beaubassin and the blue paste gemstone found at Belleisle stand with the gemstone and paste rings, earrings and necklaces from the Louisbourg inventories as demonstrations of Acadian engagement with secular decorations. A heart-shaped badge found outside the house of Anne Melanson is a unique find so far (see Figure 5.35). The small metal object appears to be made from a copper alloy, has faint traces of decoration on one side, and two small triangles—one on each long edge—which

may once have been folded over to close the badge around a belt, strap, or shoe latchet. Similar pewter badges have been recorded from other post-medieval sites and identified as lover's tokens or pilgrims' badges, though any inscription on this article is so worn that it cannot be read.[216] Whether a gift from Melanson's second husband Alexandre Robichaud, a love token from a suitor to one of her daughters, or a religious object of devotion connected to the Sacre Coeur, the heart badge is an intriguing glimpse into the small objects of decoration that filled the jewellery boxes of Acadia.

Figure 5.35: Heart-shaped badge, Melanson. Images courtesy of Stéphane Noël.

Glass beads were not solely reserved for trade, as the rosaries attest to. Strings of pearls—real or fake—had been popular in France since the sixteenth century, short necklaces increasing in popularity among the wealthy following the disappearance of the neck ruff in the seventeenth.[217] The glass bead choker found in Anne Bourg's cellar at Melanson consisted of white and black beads rather than all-white imitation pearls, but the round beads created the same shape around the wearer's neck and maintained that fashionable silhouette.[218] Contemporary portraits of elite women wearing pearls showed necklaces ranging from one strand to five, all of them worn with the open-necked robes à la française and square-necklined mantuas that typified expensive women's dress of the time.[219] Necklaces of this shape would have looked out of place worn with simple jackets and jumps, suggesting that Bourg's wardrobe likely contained at least one fashionable mantua or robe de chambre (see *6.2, Gowns, Skirts, and Petticoats*).

Le Borgne had real pearls in her inventory, as well as four gold rings, two mounted with real topaz and two with paste gemstones.[220] Anne Levron's simple gold ring was valued at £2, less than a quarter of the value of Le Borgne's least expensive paste-stone ring, making it clear that the paste stones were not reserved for the cheapest options.[221] False and real gemstones were worn alongside one another, and the loose blue paste stone from Belleisle suggests that someone in the Blanchard-Savoie household had at least one item decorated in similar ways.[222]

While many of the jewellery pieces found in Acadia were religious in nature, there were some not overtly associated with expressions of faith. Acadian women in both urban and rural environments were aware of contemporary trends in fashion jewellery. As with the sleeve buttons and shoe buckles, they wore items that connected back to their historic

roots in France, fashions of the day, and those rooted in the economic and cultural realities of their own surroundings. Le Borgne's use of a jeweller in France particularly highlights the ongoing relationships maintained between some Acadians in the colony and artisans in the metropole.

Conclusions

Small dress accessories and closures define the edges of garments and provide evidence for the kinds of garments worn under, beside and around them. The types of jewelled accessories worn indicated the socioeconomic status of the owner, but more than that, they give us clues as to how their original owners had decided to present themselves. The Beaubassin buttons show a practical mindset that at first glance is slightly at odds with the splash of colour and dazzle provided by the green gem and etched-pewter sleeve buttons. The hand-etched designs, however, indicate that some attention was being paid to the embellishment of buttons as a minor jewellery item. The combinations define the edges of the garments and hint at what was being worn. Shoe buckles and jeweled cufflinks in contemporary styles indicate that the Acadians of Beaubassin and Melanson were keeping up with styles worn both in other colonies and in fashion centres of Europe. The trade in gold and silver-gilded buttons and the collections of brass ones in Louisbourg demonstrate what clothing looked like in a region heavily influenced by French fashion, with the brass buttons and spur buckles of the banlieue settlements following suit. The fancy brass buckles and the performative masculinity that accompanied horseback riding accoutrements in a region where riding was not common magnified the Melansons' proximity to the seat of local political power.

Religious articles made up a large part of the collection of non-practical adornments, some of the intricate symbols of faith coming from Europe and reflecting the belief systems and popular religious beliefs of an Acadian family's points of origin. Others were imported and very typically colonial in their style. Jesuit iconography and displays of redemption imagery were specifically present, the physical pieces of active Catholic practice a vital part of a living faith in the absence of regular appearances by faith leaders. This is another area in which Acadian accessories set them apart from British-owned Nova Scotia after the Treaty of Utrecht, the rosaries and chaplets of Catholic practice not used in Protestant devotions.

Accessories work well as material for this type of analysis. The presence of lacing rings, aglets, and the awl confirms that some garments were being laced closed, and the hooks and eyes would have once belonged to jackets, waistcoats, or bodices that closed edge-to-edge. Leather and cloth shoes in European styles were worn in settlements alongside moccasins and sabots, suggesting variety in presentation. The moccasins and modified trade beads open a conversation about the potential for dress-related interchange between Acadian settlers and Indigenous groups. Acadians at Beaubassin were engaged in processes of transformation, as indicated by the modified trade beads and reports of moccasin use, repurposing materials commonly associated with Mi'kmaq use for their own purposes.

This cross-pollination or inspiration demonstrates the nature of the combination of two worlds of goods, beads intended to be commodities passed from European hands to Mi'kmaq either coming back to rest with Acadians or taking a detour in between to be modified into something new. The Acadians of Beaubassin may have modified European

clothing with Indigenous fashion accessories, narrowing the style gap between themselves and the Mi'kmaq and widening that between Acadia and the formalized visuals of European civility.

The additions of trade beads and moccasins to the other garment types defined by the small finds—heeled shoes, buttoned waistcoats, and knee breeches, among others—is a part of that change away from the "civilized" ideal of the *honnête homme* that worried outside observers.[223] Acadians were neither removing themselves from the Atlantic network of goods or European styles of dress, nor were they committing to them exclusively. The pendants, beads, sleeve buttons, and buckles found on these sites all point toward the adoption and reworking of elite identity within a colonial context. While shifting their styles to accommodate the realities of their environment, they still maintained connection to the style changes in accessories and in philosophies from France.

Far from being isolated or unaware, the Acadians of Beaubassin left behind artifacts that allow us to theorize individual movement between European and Indigenous networks, deploying their adornments as necessary to create and shed the appropriate identities for each space. Belleisle has revealed many fewer useful small finds in this category, making it more difficult to draw any far-reaching conclusions. The plainer brass buckles and buttons generally suggest less performative and more localized clothing use, the crucifix—as the most detailed accessory available for analysis—falling within a type common to the region.

The identities that Acadians at Beaubassin seem to have begun forging with their visual punctuation speaks to the creation of a new type of visual grammar. The messages in their accessories varied from site to site, more visible at Beaubassin than at Melanson or Louisbourg, while Belleisle reflected different priorities. The politics of living so close to the authorities at the Forts and in the banlieue (French and English alike) required different dress choices than the trading hub on the isthmus, where maintaining good relationships with many different groups required a new kind of fluidity.

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[43] White, 617.
[44] Preston, "Excavations at Site BeDi-2 Belleisle Annapolis County, 1972," 9.
[45] "Recensement Fait Par de Meulles, Intendant de La Nouvelle-France, de Tous Les Peuples de Beaubassin, Rivière Saint-Jean, Port-Royal, Isle Percée et Autres Costes de l'Acadie, s'y Étant Luy Même Transporté Dans Chacune Des Habitations Au Commencement de l'année 1686."; "Rescensement Du Port Royal a l'accadie de l'année 1707"; Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse," 77–78.
[46] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle,"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Jacques Philipe Urbin Rondeau."
[47] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle," The "boutons d'argent" (likely tinned or pewter rather than actual silver) were valued at 1£ / doz. "pour vente" and 2£ / doz. "pour habite," while the "boutons d'or" (likely brass) were valued at 2£ / doz. "pour vente" and 4£ / doz. "pour habite."
[48] White, "Constructing Identities," 252.
[49] Dunn, "Louisbourg - Block 2." And internal reports from Louisbourg curator.
[50] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 130; See also Beverly Lemire, "A Question of Trousers: Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress, c. 1600–1800," *Cultural and Social History* 13, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 6–8.
[51] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."

[52] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse).
[53] A. B. McCullough, *Money and Exchange in Canada to 1900* (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press in co-operation with Parks Canada, 1996), 129. Nova Scotia currency was pegged to that of Massachusetts after 1746, suggesting that Louisbourg pricing can be reasonably directly compared with merchants' books from elsewhere in the region. ; White, "Constructing Identities," 255–56.
[54] White, "Constructing Identities," 371.
[55] White, 366.
[56] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 381–83; White, "Constructing Identities," 268–69.
[57] See Loren, "Social Skins"; Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America*; White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians.'"
[58] Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads*, 79, 87, 88.
[59] https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/wootton-life-size-horse-with-huntsman-blowing-a-horn-t12608
[60] White, "Constructing Identities," 268; Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 381.
[61] White, "Constructing Identities," 371. This doesn't preclude the possibility of later deposit, but it does mean that the sleeve button cannot be excluded as post-period.
[62] Harper, Clouette, and Harper, *Highways to History*. A copper sleeve button almost identical to the Beaubassin button with a dark blue paste gem was found there and is now in a private collection in Cooperstown, New York. .
[63] White, "Constructing Identities," 276.
[64] Harper, Clouette, and Harper, *Highways to History*, 47.
[65] White, "Constructing Identities," 186.
[66] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 125; Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 77.
[67] Sara Rivers-Cofield, "A Guide to Spurs of Maryland and Delaware ca. 1635-1820," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (January 31, 2014): 50–51.
[68] White, "Constructing Identities," 185.
[69] Ross Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800* (Witham: Greenlight Publishing, 1996).
[70] Peter McNeil and Giorgio Riello, "The Material Culture of Walking: Spaces of Methodologies in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Everyday Objects : Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 180.
[71] McNeil and Riello, 180.
[72] Morin, *Manuel du bottier et du cordonnier ou Traité complet et simplifié de ces arts*, 139.
[73] Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 31–33.
[74] J. Morin, *Manuel du bottier et du cordonnier ou Traité complet et simplifié de ces arts: contenant les meilleurs procédés à suivre pour confectionner les chaussures de toute espèce...* (a la Librairie Encyclopédique de Roret, 1831), 139; Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 33.
[75] Riello, *A Foot in the Past*, 33.
[76] de Meulles, "Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte," 112 PAC, MG 1, C11D, vol 2-1; Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly."
[77] Dièreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*; Wicken, *Mi'kmaq Treaties on Trial*, 47.
[78] Varenne and Donovan, "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756 (with an Introduction by Ken Donovan)," 124.
[79] Rahman, "Boots and Shoes from Fort Beausejour," 37–39.
[80] Rahman, 42.
[81] See Racette, "MY GRANDMOTHERS LOVED TO TRADE."
[82] Denys, *Concerning the Ways of the Indians*, 9; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 68, 71–74; Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads*, 86–89.
[83] An eighteenth-century French commentator, quoted in McNeil and Riello, "The Material Culture of Walking: Spaces of Methodologies in the Long Eighteenth Century," 180.
[84] Henry Bouquet, letter from Bouquet to Forbes, Loyalhanna, October 20 1758: volume 2, page 582 (Stevens et al, 1951) Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation of Fort Ligonier 1960-1965*, 108.
[85] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 22.

[86] Erskine, “The French Period in Nova Scotia A.D. 1500-1758 and Present Remains : A Historical, Archaeological and Botanical Survey,” 23–24; Racette, “MY GRANDMOTHERS LOVED TO TRADE.”
[87] See Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 84–88; White, “Constructing Identities,” 185–241; Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800*.
[88] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 139–40; Norah Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes: 1600-1900* (Routledge, 2013), 55, 116.
[89] Carolyn L. White, “Knee, Garter, Girdle, Hat, Stock, and Spur Buckles from Seven Sites in Portsmouth, New Hampshire,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 13, no. 2 (June 1, 2009): 246.
[90] White, “Constructing Identities,” 186.
[91] McNeil and Riello, “The Material Culture of Walking: Spaces of Methodologies in the Long Eighteenth Century,” 180.
[92] White, “Constructing Identities,” 213.
[93] Shoe buckles post-1720 were more commonly over 45 mm long. Knee buckles were in this size range – under 30 mm – but were more common post-1730. Some shapes of buckle are more closely associated with knee buckles than shoe buckles, and a form of chape that resembles an anchor may be a sign of a knee buckle rather than one for shoes. See White, 211, and “Buckles,” Finds Recording Guides, April 25, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/counties/findsrecordingguides/buckles/.
[94] White, 220.
[95] Fisher and Loren, “Introduction: Embodying Identity in Archaeology.”
[96] Harper, Clouette, and Harper, *Highways to History*, 47.
[97] Harper, Clouette, and Harper, 89–90.
[98] de Meulles, “Mémoire Concernant Beaubassin Ou Chignectou et La Baie-Verte”; Kristmanson, “Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2,” 35.
[99] White, “Constructing Identities,” 211.
[100] White, 219–20.
[101] Varenne and Donovan, “A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756 (with an Introduction by Ken Donovan),” 124.
[102] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 86; White, “Constructing Identities,” 189, 191.
[103] White, “Constructing Identities,” 210, 213.
[104] White, “Knee, Garter, Girdle, Hat, Stock, and Spur Buckles from Seven Sites in Portsmouth, New Hampshire,” 249 Figure 15.
[105] “Rescensement Du Port Royal a l'accadie de l'année 1707.”
[106] Daigle, “Nos amis les ennemis,” 151.
[107] White, “Constructing Identities,” 211.
[108] Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800*, 101.
[109] Whitehead, 103 Also see https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/841980.
[110] White, “Knee, Garter, Girdle, Hat, Stock, and Spur Buckles from Seven Sites in Portsmouth, New Hampshire,” 248–49 Figure 14.
[111] Type 5a from Fort Stanwix (c. 1758 - 1828). See Grimm, *Archaeological Investigation of Fort Ligonier 1960-1965*, 56.
[112] Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 85, figure 12, #2; White, “Constructing Identities,” 235, 239; Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800*, 81–82.
[113] Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800*, 81.
[114] Korvemaker, “Archaeological Excavations at the Roma Site, Brudenell Point, P.E.I., 1968-1970,” 126–27.
[115] Korvemaker, 126–27; Margaret Coleman, “Parks Canada - Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History No. 1,” The Roma Settlement at Brudenell Point, Prince Edward Island, accessed February 19, 2019, http://parkscanadahistory.com/series/chs/1/chs1-3c.htm.
[116] White, “Constructing Identities,” 429; Rivers-Cofield, “A Guide to Spurs of Maryland and Delaware ca. 1635-1820,” 43.
[117] Jill Ottman, “A Woman Never Looks Better than on Horseback,” *Persuasions* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2015); Rivers-Cofield, “A Guide to Spurs of Maryland and Delaware ca. 1635-1820,” 59–61.
[118] Rivers-Cofield, “A Guide to Spurs of Maryland and Delaware ca. 1635-1820,” 46; White, “Constructing Identities,” 419.

[119] Anonymous, "A Description of the Ceremonial Proceedings at the Coronation of Their Most Illustrious, Serene, and Sacred Majesties, King James II and His Royal Consort Queen Mary Who Where [Sic] Crowned at Westminster-Abby, on Thursday the 23th. of April, 1685." (1685), Wing / D1154; Reel position: Wing / 1685:15, Bodleian Library; See also Thomas Adams, "The Souldiers Honour Wherein by Diuers Inferences and Gradations It Is Euinced, That the Profession Is Iust, Necessarie, and Honourable: To Be Practised of Some Men, Praised of All Men. Together with a Short Admonition Concerning Munition, to This Honour'd Citie. Preached to the Worthy Companie of Gentlemen, That Exercise in the Artillerie Garden: And Now on Thier Second Request, Published to Further Vse." (1617), STC 127; Reel position: STC / 818:02, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery: "The Souldier is mounted vpon Desire, Hope leads him, and Feare driues him amaine: but I doubt he comes too fast, because he hath neither Bri|dle nor Saddle. Hereon the Kings, that hath euerla|sting care of all Christian soules, sends forth two of his graue Councellors to him, Temperance and Prudence; Temperance giues him a Bridle, that is Discretion; and Prudence a Saddle, that is Cir|cumspection. This is not all: Feare and Hope giue him two [H] Spurres; on the left heele Feare of punishment, on the right, Expectation of blisse."
[120] John Singer, *Quips upon Questions*, ed. Frederic Ouvry (London: Privately printed [T. Richards], 1600), G1.
[121] On the symbolism of spurs, see Katherine Allen Smith, "Saints in Shining Armor: Martial Asceticism and Masculine Models of Sanctity, ca. 1050-1250," *Speculum* 83, no. 3 (July 1, 2008): 577; Helmut Nickel, "Arthurian Armings For War And For Love," *Arthuriana* 5, no. 4 (1995): 11, 16; Laura F. Hodges, "Costume Rhetoric in the Knight's Portrait: Chaucer's Every-Knight and His Bismotered Gypon," *The Chaucer Review* 29, no. 3 (1995): 292, note 25; John Clark, ed., *The Medieval Horse and Its Equipment, c. 1150-c. 1450*, vol. 5 (Boydell Press, 2004), 124; Amy E. Leonard and Karen L. Nelson, *Masculinities, Childhood, Violence: Attending to Early Modern Women—and Men. Proceedings of the 2006 Symposium*, Center for Renaissance & Baroque Studies (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 352; The seventeenth century English pamphlet Hic Mulier specifically calls out spurs as a sign by which men could broadcast their profession, a symbol explicitly denied to women. "Are not Bishops knowne by their Myters, Princes by their Crowns, ludges by their Robes, and Knights by their Spurres?" Anon., *Hic Mulier: Or, the Man-Woman and Haec-Vir: Or, the Womanish-Man* (Exeter, England: The Rota at the University of Exeter, 1973).
[122] Anonymous, "The Crafty Maid of the West, or, The Lusty Brave Miller of the Western Parts Finely Trapan'd a Merry New Song to Fit Young-Men and Maids. : Tune of Packingtons Pound." (1672), Wing / C6777; Reel position: Wing / 1483:04, Harvard University Library.
[123] Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapman and Their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1984), 64; Rivers-Cofield, "A Guide to Spurs of Maryland and Delaware ca. 1635-1820," 59.
[124] Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800*, 60.
[125] For discussions of environmental adaptations in Acadian settlements, see Christianson and Crépeau, "Home and Hearth: An Archaeological Perspective on Acadian Domestic Architecture"; Taylor, "French Vernacular Architecture in Pre-Deportation Acadia"; Dunn, "Acadian Architecture in Port-Royal"; Kennedy, "Marshland Colonization in Acadia and Poitou during the 17th Century."
[126] Loren, *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*, 4.
[127] Loren, "Social Skins," 184.
[128] Loren, *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*, 9.
[129] Fisher and Loren, "Introduction: Embodying Identity in Archaeology"; See descriptions of Indigenous clothing in Le Clercq, *New Relation of Gaspesia*, 93-94: "As to their coats, these are large and broad. The sleeves are not attached to the body, but are separate therefrom, and tied together by two thongs, separated into equal parts by an opening which serves for the passing of the head. One of these sleeves [falls to the] front, and covers only half of the arm ; the other falls behind, and clothes the entire shoulders."
[130] Nicole Pellegrin, "Le genre et l'habit. Figures du transvestisme féminin sous l'Ancien Régime," *Clio. Femmes, Genre, Histoire*, no. 10 (November 1, 1999): paras. 21–23.
[131] Tiramani, "Pins and Aglets."
[132] Pellegrin, paras. 16, 21–23; Jennifer M. Jones, "Repackaging Rousseau: Femininity and Fashion in Old Regime France," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 4 (1994): 947–48.

[133] See the satirical article "Modes" in the May 1726 edition of Antoine de La Roque, *Mercure de France. Tome X, Janvier-Juin 1726* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), 251-254 (946-959, original); Also see Antoine de La Roque, *Mercure de France. Tome XXI, Juillet-Décembre 1731* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1968), 99-102 (1932-2002 in original) which discusses the ballet Empire de la Mode, a production which contrasted unstable women's fashions with stable men's fashions; See also Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, as well as plays such as Molière's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.
[134] Abraham Hume, *Some Notices of Metallic Ornaments and Attachments to Leather* (Liverpool: T. Brakell, printer, 1863), 19; White, "Constructing Identities," 184.
[135] Louis XIII (roi de France ; 1601-1643), *Déclaration, portant règlement général sur la réformation des habits. Vérifiée en Parlement le 9 may 1634* (Paris: A. Estiéne et P. Mettayer, 1634), 5. Also see Tudor Royal Proclamations Volume II The Later Tudors 1553-1587, (Greenwich, 15 June 1574, 16 Elizabeth I), 386. for English legislation. English sumptuary law was all repealed in 1604 by James I, so the ban on aglets no longer applied in the English-owned colonies.
[136] Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII* (Routledge, 2007), 353; Majewski and Gaimster, *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, 217; Heather Walder, "'… A Thousand Beads to Each Nation': Exchange, Interactions, and Technological Practices in the Upper Great Lakes c. 1630-1730" (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2015), 379.
[137] Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads,* 88.
[138] Walder, "A Thousand Beads to Each Nation," 136.
[139] Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781*, 83.
[140] White, *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680-1820*, 75; Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781*, 81.
[141] White, "Constructing Identities," 307–8.
[142] Burman and Denbo, *Pockets of History*; Ariane Fennetaux, "Women's Pockets and the Construction of Privacy in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 20, no. 3 (2008): 307–34.
[143] Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*, 68.
[144] Burman and Denbo, *Pockets of History*, 14–15.
[145] Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories*, 47.
[146] Leora Auslander, "Deploying Material Culture to Write the History of Gender and Sexuality: The Example of Clothing and Textiles," *Clio. Women, Gender, History*, no. 40 (April 15, 2015): para. 5.
[147] Varenne and Donovan, "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756 (with an Introduction by Ken Donovan)," 115.
[148] Jean Ambroise Comeau, *The Oldest Parish in Canada* (Yarmouth, N.S.: Lawson Publishing, 1962), 14; Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 31–33; Nova Scotia Archives, "The Registers of St. Jean-Baptiste, Annapolis Royal, 1702-1755," Nova Scotia Archives - An Acadian Parish Remembered, June 24, 2003, https://novascotia.ca/archives/acadian/archives.asp?ID=2034. Father Petit, priest to Port Royal between 1676-1693, was from the Quebec seminary, not the Recollet order.
[149] Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 46; Comeau, *The Oldest Parish in Canada*, 14.
[150] Terry Crowley, "The Inroads of Secularization in Eighteenth-Century New France: Church and People at Louisbourg," *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies* 51 (1984): 7; Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 23.
[151] Comeau, *The Oldest Parish in Canada*, 14.
[152] Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 33; Crowley, "The Inroads of Secularization in Eighteenth-Century New France: Church and People at Louisbourg," 8–9.
[153] Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 31.
[154] Gérald Boudreau, "« L'Ignorance est un vice » : une démarche de scolarisation en Acadie," *Études d'histoire religieuse* 59 (1993): 125.
[155] Christopher J. Kauffman, "The Sulpician Presence," *The Catholic Historical Review* 75, no. 4 (1989): 681; Casgrain, *Les sulpiciens et les prêtres des Missions-étrangères en Acadie*.
[156] Kauffman, "The Sulpician Presence," 678; Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 44.
[157] Honorius Provost, "BAUDOIN, JEAN," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/baudoin_jean_1E.html; Noël Baillargeon, "TROUVÉ, CLAUDE," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/trouve_claude_2E.html.

[158] Provost, "BAUDOIN, JEAN."
[159] Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 18.
[160] Johnston, 18; Crowley, "The Inroads of Secularization in Eighteenth-Century New France: Church and People at Louisbourg," 20. If they did, they were not alone. Officials at Fortress Louisbourg ordered construction crews to keep working on the fortifications through Sundays and feast days in 1742 and 1756. AN, Colonies, C11B, vol. 24, fols. 37-40v., Duquesnel et Bigot, 30 October 1742; vol. 36, fols. 130-133v., Prévost, 11 August 1756.
[161] Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 20.
[162] Abbé Louis Petit to Monsignor Vallier, 22 October, 1685, quoted in Bernard, *Le drame acadien depuis 1604*, 165.
[163] Abbé Petit to Monsignor Vallier, 22 October, 1685, quoted in Bernard, 165-166. also see Letter from Vallier to the Bishop, 1686, and from Sister Chausson to Quebec, 27 October, 1701; Comeau, *The Oldest Parish in Canada*, 10, 12–14.
[164] Crowley, "The Inroads of Secularization in Eighteenth-Century New France: Church and People at Louisbourg," 5–6; Also see Walter Alexander Riddell, *The Rise of Ecclesiastical Control in Quebec*, [1st AMS ed.], Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences 174 (New York: AMS Press, 1968); Mack Eastman, *Church and State in Early Canada* (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable, 1915); W. J. Eccles, *Canadian Society during the French Regime*, The Canadian Historical Association Booklets 3 (Montreal: Harvest House, 1968).
[165] Louis Petit, "Abbé Petit to Monsignor Vallier," October 22, 1685.
[166] BAC-LAC, MG1, C11D, vol 2, fols. 147-152, 1692.
[167] Kathy Moggridge Kuusisto, "Priests and Parish Organizations in Acadia, 1604-1755" (Research paper (unpublished), 1981 1976), 39–42, MG 1, Vol. 2858, #14, Nova Scotia Archives Kathy Moggridge Kuusisto Collection.
[168] Micheline D. Johnson, "DURAND, JUSTINIEN," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003), http://biographi.ca/en/bio/durand_justinien_3E.html; Archives, "The Registers of St. Jean-Baptiste, Annapolis Royal, 1702-1755."
[169] Kuusisto, "Priests and Parish Organizations in Acadia, 1604-1755," 39–42.
[170] Elizabeth C. Tingle, *Purgatory and Piety in Brittany, 1480-1720*, Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700 (Ashgate Publishing Group, 2012), 30.
[171] Tingle, 31.
[172] Ian Kerr, "An Analysis of Personal Adornment at Fort St. Joseph (20BE23), An Eighteenth-Century French Trading Post in Southwest Michigan" (M.A., Western Michigan University, 2012), 47.
[173] Letter from Father Pierre Biard to the Reverend Father Provincial, at Paris. Port Royal, 31 January 1612. In Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. II, pp. 98–99.
[174] Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781*, 120–22; Marie Elaine Danforth et al., "Archaeological and Bioarchaeological Investigations of the French Colonial Cemetery at the Moran Site (22HR511), Harrison County, Mississippi," Excavation Report (Biloxi, MS: Mississippi Department of Marine Resources, July 2013), 128.
[175] See Crucifixion (9), James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London: John Murray, 1989), 85.
[176] Frederick Roth Webber, *Church Symbolism; an Explanation of the More Important Symbols of the Old and New Testament, the Primitive, the Mediaeval and the Modern Church*, 2d ed., rev.. (Cleveland: J. H. Jansen, 1938), 143, 381.
[177] Webber, 102.
[178] William Henry Hulme, *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus* (London: Pub. for the Early English Text Society by K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., limited, 1907), x.
[179] Tingle, *Purgatory and Piety in Brittany, 1480-1720*, 83; Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 100.
[180] Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 85.
[181] 1 Peter 3:19–20, which speaks of Jesus preaching to "the imprisoned spirits." Catholic Catechism adds Ephesians 4:9, "[Christ] descended into the lower parts of the earth."
[182] Kerr, "An Analysis of Personal Adornment at Fort St. Joseph (20BE23), An Eighteenth-Century French Trading Post in Southwest Michigan," 47 See also various translations of the Gospel of

Nicodemus (the Acts of Pilate), c. 4th century CE. Part two of the book is written from the point of view of two souls freed during the harrowing.
[183] Tingle, *Purgatory and Piety in Brittany, 1480-1720*, 83; Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 100.
[184] A.F., *The Travels of an English Gentleman from London to Rome, on Foot .... The Fourth Edition, Etc.* (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth at the Red Lion, 1718), 158 Also see 155-160 overall.
[185] Deveau, "Preliminary Report on Source Material Re Acadians before 1755 : For Education Media Services," 16.
[186] Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 20.
[187] Hanlon, 20.
[188] Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781*, 120.
[189] Stone, 119–20.
[190] Stone, 120, Figure 53, C - H.
[191] Karlis Karklins, Fortress Louisbourg database record for item 4L56L9-2, entered May 2000. Identification of the globe may be incorrect – the image could also be that of the skull as seen on previous examples.
[192] Tingle, *Purgatory and Piety in Brittany, 1480-1720*, 26.
[193] See examples at "Bijoux Regionaux Brittany," accessed June 3, 2019, http://www.bijouxregionaux.fr/en/contenu.php?idcontenu=18.
[194] John Desmond Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2002), 102–3.
[195] The black / navy blue beads are of a type designated IIa6, nine of which were found on site.
[196] Conversation with Charles Burke on December 15, 2017.
[197] Stone, *Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781*, 88, 114.
[198] M Beaudoin and G Lacouloumère, "Le Cœur Vendéen (Bijou Populaire Ancien)," *Bulletins et Mémoires de La Société d'anthropologie de Paris* 5, no. 4 (1903): 607–12. Personal communication and 2013 presentation by Eric Tremblay, archaeologist who discovered the jewel at Beaubassin. With many thanks to Mr. Tremblay and Parks Canada archaeologist Charles Burke for the introduction to this fascinating artifact. For more on the Fidel jewel, see Eric Tremblay, Sacré-Coeur de Vendée, 2013.
[199] Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort, *The Secret of the Rosary (c. 1700-1716)*, trans. Mary Barbour (Bay Shore, NY: Montfort Pub., 1954); Jean Séguy, "Millénarisme et 'Ordres Adventistes': Grignion de Montfort et Les 'Apôtres Des Derniers Temps,'" *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions* 53, no. 1 (1982): 23–48; Joseph Raja Rao Thelagathoti, *The Mystical Experience and Doctrine of St. Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort*, Tesi Gregoriana: Spiritualita 10 (Gregorian University Press, 2005).
[200] Eric Tremblay, "Beaubassin 2: Sacré-Coeur de Vendée," (Powerpoint, 2003).
[201] White, "Constructing Identities," 315.
[202] Alice S. Wood and Alec H. C. Wood, "A Catalogue of Jesuit and Ornamental Rings from Western New York State: Collections of Charles F. Wray and the Rochester Museum and Science Center," *Historical Archaeology* 8 (1974): 86.
[203] Laurent Adamowicz, "Religious Symbols: 'IHS' Son of 'IOS' the Carpenter," *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association, Inc.; Delmar* 60, no. 2 (June 2007): 77–83; Wood and Wood, "A Catalogue of Jesuit and Ornamental Rings from Western New York State," 83, 86.
[204] Gesuiti, *Ratio atque institutio studiorum per sex patres ad id iussu R.P. praepositi generalis deputatos conscripta* (in Collegio Societatis Iesu, 1586).
[205] The Editors of Encyclopedia Brittanica, "Sacred Heart | History & Devotion," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed February 24, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Sacred-Heart-Roman-Catholicism.
[206] Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Particularly in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 130–32; Brun, *Les Acadiens Avant 1755 : Essai*, 96 See section on ship names.
[207] Hauser, "Jesuit Rings from Fort Michilimackinac and Other European Contact Sites," 1–2.
[208] Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758*, 22.
[209] Letter from Sister Chausson to Quebec, 27 October, 1701 quoted in Johnston, 12.

[210] Crowley, "The Inroads of Secularization in Eighteenth-Century New France: Church and People at Louisbourg," 17–19 Of 86 wills examined from Louisbourg, only 7% showed ownership of larger religious items (basins, icons, wall-mounted crucifixes, etc.) other than books or jewellery.
[211] Varenne and Donovan, "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756 (with an Introduction by Ken Donovan)," 115.
[212] White, "Constructing Identities," 314–15.
[213] Kristmanson, "Archaeology at Pointe-Aux-Vieux, Part 2," 34; And personal communication with Marc Lavoie, August 2017.
[214] Blaine Adams, "Artisans at Louisbourg" (Parks Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, August 1972), 19–20.
[215] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[216] See the finds database at finds.org.uk, The British Museum, Great Russell Street, London.
[217] Dona M. Dirlam, B. E. Misiorowski, and Sally A. Thomas, "Pearl Fashion through the Ages," *Gems and Gemology: The Quarterly Journal of the Gemological Institute of America* 21, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 67–68.
[218] Crépeau, "Lot Summaries Melanson 17B: 17B2."
[219] See, for example, *Portrait of a Noble Girl*, 17th century, circle of Pierre Mignard I (French, 1612-1695); *Portrait of a Lady Carving a Tree* (French School, 17th Century); *Marie de Rabutin-Chantals, Marquise de Sévigné*, Claude Lefèbvre, c. 1665.
[220] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[221] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[222] Christianson, "Belleisle 1983: Excavations at a PreExpulsion Acadian Site (Belleisle BeDi-2)," 54.
[223] Anne Vila, "Elite Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century France," in *French Masculinities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 19.

CHAPTER 6: GARMENTS

The wool of the sheep they raise is very good and the clothing worn by the majority of the men and women is made of it…As for the women they are always busy, and most of them keep their husbands and children in serviceable linen materials and stockings which they make skillfully from the hemp they have grown...[1]

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a series of shifts in fashionable clothing in Europe and the colonies. Major changes took place in women's and men's wardrobes alike, the heavy opulence of the sixteenth century giving way to the exuberance of the Baroque and the fluttering delicacy of the Rococo.[2] This chapter draws together the evidence put forward in previous chapters to partially reconstruct the Acadian clothing system. That system includes what types of garments were worn, how the outfits were put together, the ways in which those garments related to each other and to the bodies they dressed, and the social meanings of the clothing elements and combinations, both to the Acadians themselves and to external observers.[3] The contributing factors, limitations, value systems, and other entanglements discussed in previous chapters allow us to make some new observations regarding the Acadian way of life.

Clothing bridges the gap between the personal and the social, individual choices existing within a system of contexts and meanings that define what is and is not appropriate.[4] Trace evidence suggests that Acadians in different settlements chose different forms of dress, with varying levels of influence from continental European fashion. Additionally, some may have included accessories or materials also associated with Indigenous dress to send equally specific signals—markers of belonging, status, and identification.

Everything in the environment shapes and changes how human beings express themselves and communicate in the visual language of dress. Clothing and adornment are languages, through which, depending on their cultural context and the specific grammar they have learned, people communicate personal, social, religious, and economic information about themselves. Gender, wealth or poverty, marital status, religious affiliations and more are all expressed in choices of clothing and accessories, and each population in every time period has some commonly understood means of expressing all of those. It may not be conscious, or deliberate, but the cues and clues are there in what is generally considered appropriate by the community, all the way through to what is enforced through official methods like sumptuary law, or unofficial means of in-community control, such as shaming. Approval can be a powerful reminder and means of enforcing unspoken community standards.

Evidence for specific garments worn in Acadia can only be found in secondary locations: descriptions from observers, the tools and accessories that accompanied the clothing, and understanding the web of contexts which defined what garments were acceptable, available, and useful. Documentation for non-elite garments of the era in general is also slim. Tailoring and dressmaking were skills commonly taught through apprenticeships and hands-on study, and textbooks containing instructions and cutting diagrams for garments did not become common until the nineteenth century. A small number of books were printed in Spain between 1589 and 1640, and then there is a lengthy gap until the production of *Art du tailleur* in 1769.[5] Painters and etchers in the Dutch Golden Age explored the lives of the working poor, though the very continental

fashions they portrayed were not always the same as those being worn in France or the colonies.

Extant garments from this time period are rare, as most were worn until they were falling apart, cut apart to be remade into other styles, or to fit other bodies. No garments survive from the pre-deportation period in Acadia, and if any textile fragments still exist, they are currently undocumented and unexamined. To identify the styles being worn by Acadian settlers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, some details can only be arrived at through extrapolation and comparison with other groups for whom we do have visual records. Documentary sources for this chapter include written descriptions from travellers, a handful of contemporary images of others living near to the Acadians, probate inventories on file at Louisbourg, and some sales records from merchants. Physical evidence includes bale seals, as well as pins, buttons, and buckles which can be associated with specific groups and styles of garments.

Acadians did not cling to the styles they wore upon arrival, though they did hold on to them longer than others. The Sieur de Dièreville, who toured Acadia in 1699-1700, noted that "[t]hey are in no way distinguished by new styles, And still wear hooded Capes;" a fashion which had fallen out of favour in France around mid-century but that remained popular in New England for its practicality in maritime weather.[6] It is no surprise that settlers were not up to date with the fashions set by major centres such as Paris. The distance between the metropole and the colonies made following the most current fashions logistically difficult. As we have already seen, however, that distance and time lapse did not prevent many from trying.

The climate, the cost of access, the presence of new materials, and the impact of contact with the Indigenous peoples all influenced changes in colonial fashion, both large and subtle. Beyond that, the roles which specific Acadians played in their communities and the position of those communities within the larger Acadian context also had an impact on which garments were worn, by whom, and when. Picking and choosing from the options made available to them, Acadians in all four settlements under scrutiny here moved between rugged, utilitarian wear; high-end Paris-inspired gowns and suits; Indigenous-inspired shoes and decorations; and fashion with a distinctly local flair. They may have code-switched deliberately, their clothing becoming an identifier not only of *Acadianité* but the ways in which that was becoming different from New France, New England, and Europe.

An English edict in 1666 rejected bows and fripperies on men's clothing, installing the grandfather of the three-piece-suit in place of petticoat breeches and cropped, short-sleeve jackets.[7] France's fashions followed in short order, the man's suit of knee-breeches, waistcoat, and long, slim coat becoming the standard dress of the male elite. Wealthy women wore gowns—often of silk or, when legal, of imported Indian cottons—with long, smooth bodices, over variations of hooped petticoats.[8] Embroidery remained a vital form of decoration on garments for both sexes, particularly depictions of plants and animals inspired by the contemporary interest in botany and zoology.[9] The snug bodices of the baroque gowns gave way in the eighteenth century to the loose, floating robes à la française—looser gowns in pale colours with hidden lacings that relied on expensive or newer, lightweight textiles like silk, calicoes or the new draperies, to achieve the delicate, airy silhouettes that were in demand.[10]

The fancy ruffs of the sixteenth century vanished entirely by the middle of the seventeenth, replaced with pearl necklaces, falling collars, and cuffs of fine linen and lace.[11] Stays as separate garments became less vital in women's wardrobes in the seventeenth century as bodices were more commonly made with integrated whalebone.[12] Working women in France did not wear whalebone, both due to expense and for the inconvenience of having the torso constrained during housework and other manual labour. The bodices shown on French working women in seventeenth and eighteenth-century art are softer, supporting the body but curving with the wearer's natural shape. That lack of confined control was associated with the lower classes in negative ways throughout the early modern period. To be "loose" was to be uncontrolled, distancing oneself from the mores of polite society, while the upright, bound-in, and carefully precise body was a physical display of embodied privilege.[13] There is a strong difference visible between France and England, where working women did wear boned stays but wore them more loosely laced for ease of movement.[14]

Slim knee breeches that closed with fancy buckles and elegant silk gowns were markers of elite status and wealth, labourers, artisans and other non-elites wearing clothing that offered more options for mobility. Those simpler clothes followed fashionable silhouettes when possible, and those who could afford the expense would often have one or two outfits made in the most up to date styles, styles they would have been exposed to through fashion plates and from the tailors and dressmakers of the wealthy.[15] Breeches in the eighteenth century were coming to define a type of court masculinity that was connected in the popular mind with a corrupt and effete aristocracy. This was in direct contrast to the physicality of labouring masculinity as seen in the

sailors and soldiers who were at the forefront of the expansion of empire.[16] While on the one hand clothing fit for labour made a body unfit for polite company, unpredictable and uncouth, it was the freedom provided by that same clothing on the other which made expansion and conquest possible. What we end up with is a difference in uniform, officers—usually from the aristocracy—in confined and confining uniform codes, with ordinary soldiers and sailors in more casual versions of the same.

Figure 6.1: Jacques Callot, *Three Women, One Holding a Child,* 1634. National Gallery of Art (US), Washington DC. R.L. 1969.15.812, Baumfeld Collection [public domain].[17]

The first arrivals of the French settlers in Sipekne'katik in the 1630s were at a time when French elite fashion demanded doublets and breeches, surface decoration in the forms of bows and ribbons, gold and silver lace and flowered embroidery, wide bucket-top boots, and full puffed sleeves.[18] The fashions of the labouring classes—the farmers, blacksmiths and merchants who joined the new settlement—were different than the handful of surviving high-end gowns and elegant portraits that we see in museums and galleries today.[19] Jacques Callot's etchings and prints from the 1630s show a northeast France (Lorraine) of a different nature. His farmers and mothers dress simply, in silhouettes that resemble the garments worn by the aristocracy but with much more

subdued surface treatments. The fabrics are plain, the styles simple, and women's heads are covered with folds of linen and lappet caps rather than lace. Bodices—sometimes quilted—with attached or pinned-on sleeves, and jackets with loose ones, prevailed over whaleboned-confined torsos.[20]

Labourers and the urban middling classes tended toward simpler garments, often in multiple, more practical pieces. Women's wear for this group consisted of a skirt and jacket or skirt and bodice combination, the skirts often ankle-length for practicality.[21] The shorter length displayed the shoes, making them more of a fashion item than the footwear hidden beneath floor-length gowns. The fitted jacket (*casaquin*), with its short skirt (or 'basque') and loose sleeves, appears frequently in portraits of middle and lower-status women of the early eighteenth century.[22] Loose knee- to ankle-length trousers appeared in the west as sailor's slops in the sixteenth century and continued to be a defining part of working men's wear, particularly among sailors and fishermen, until the late eighteenth.[23] The use expanded to urban artisans and other lower-status men by the end of that century.[24]

Not constrained by sumptuary legislation which focused on higher-end articles like cloth of gold and ermine, it was common for labourers in France to reserve fancy embellished clothing for leisure hours. As Restif de la Bretonne wrote of citizens of mid-eighteenth-century Paris:

> Monsieur Nicolas…having spent the day at the printworks wearing labourer's clothes, put on a well-fitting cloat of ratteen, breeches of black drugget and white cotton stockings, took his handsome opera hat with the silk braid border under his arm, attached a smallsword with a steel hilt to his belt and, with hair curled and pomaded, walking on tip-toe in order not to dirty his patent leather shoes with

> their copper buckles, set off through the muddy streets… the poorest working woman owns elegant (if inexpensive) outfits for wearing on high days and holidays.[25]

When they had access to the fashions of the metropole and reason to wear them, the fancier clothes associated with the urban wealthy took the forefront.

Even the most elaborate garments did not take months of work to construct once the fabric itself was finished and ready. The bulk of the labour came with spinning and weaving, and with that, primarily in setting up the warp for the loom. While all clothing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was handmade, barring stockings which were knitted on a semi-autonomous frame, a professional tailor could make a full man's suit in about a week. If a deadline was tight, a woman's formal gown could be made in a day.[26] Garments were also available ready-made, and merchants and milliners stocked items where precise fit was unnecessary, such as loose trousers and quilted petticoats.[27]

The oldest extant Acadian garment is a skirt in the collection of the Nova Scotia museum, dated to the early nineteenth century.[28] The banded, weft-faced tabby was woven from undyed white and black wool on a white cotton and linen warp, the full width of the fabric used, and the seams sewn with hand spun woollen thread.[29] The cross-grain hang of the skirt, with the selvedge edge pleated into the waistband, creates a very different drape than if the wool were cut into panels and draped on the stiffer length of grain.[30] Considered a classic Acadian style, the shape and the weaving patterns are closely associated with post-deportation communities. These design choices have been assumed to extend backwards through the years, that expectation based primarily on a

handful of descriptions and similarities to clothing worn by farming groups in other European colonies and continental regions.

Dièreville included a lengthy description of the clothing worn in "boundless Acadie," quoted in parts above and below, which has remained one of the standard images of the industrious Acadian.

> [T]heir wool Is fashioned into Clothing, Caps and Socks. They are in no way distinguished by new styles, And still wear hooded Capes; their Shoes Of Elk and Seal skin are flat-soled And made for comfort. From their flax Linen is also woven[31]

Robert Hale, who visited the province in 1731, remarked that Acadian women's clothes were "good eno" but they looked "as if they were pitched on with pitchforks & very often yr stockings [were] down about their heels."

> The women here differ as much in y r Cloathing (besides wearing of wooden Shoes) from those in New Engld as they do in Features & Complexion, w c is dark eno' by living in the Smoak in y e Summer to defend y m selves against y e Muskettoes, & in y e winter against y e Cold.[32]

What those differences are, however, he does not describe further. The general dishevelment he notes would have been the result of labouring lives. Hose and stockings were often worn down around the knees as a means of maintaining mobility for active lifestyles, a style which appears in illustrations from medieval European manuscripts dating back to the high middle ages. Acadians would not have shown up for mass in disarray, as we see from discussions of lace and silk-trimmed bonnets they wore in church, but practicality on the homestead is a far different thing.

Hale's commentary, rather, is making a point regarding that line between controlled and uncontrolled bodies—a train of thought that takes on greater resonance considering the ultimate British reaction to Acadian agency and freedom of movement in general. "Pitched on," here, adds an element of suspicion, as do his following comments about the smoke-darkened complexions. The connection between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq appears in comments from writers like Perrot in 1685, and orders from De Muelles the following year for Acadian men living "a completely savage life" with Indigenous partners to return to the settlements alone.[33] Hale draws subtextual parallels between Acadian bodies and Indigenous ones, categorizing them both as closer to a state of uncontrolled nature than the controlled, proscribed forms of the presumed-elegant European man.[34] It may have been that perceived connection with the Mi'kmaq and the development of a clothing culture divergent from that of the middling classes in France that led to those descriptions of the Acadians dressing more poorly than they did.

De La Varenne's letters from Louisbourg in 1756 described Acadian men as being "commonly drest in a sort of coarse black stuff made in the country," a description of homespun wool either made from coloured sheep, relatively rare in non-specialized flocks, or dyed.[35] The persistence of black suggests the latter, as while black dye is difficult to produce, a handful of black sheep in a flock would not produce enough wool to clothe everyone in the area. The black corresponds with Dernier's descriptions of Acadian preferences for black and red clothing, but is distinct from the coloured and striped black, green, and red textiles we hear about from Brook Watson forty years later.[36] This may represent a difference pre- and post-deportation, or a disparity between

the clothing of the men he encountered working as traders into Louisbourg and those living in the settlements.

The probate inventories from the Acadian wives in Louisbourg provide a rich textual source for their wardrobes. The location makes a difference, however, as their lives in French Louisbourg were markedly different than those of their farming cousins in Annapolis, or their trading-centre sisters in Beaubassin. Monique La Grenade's reports on clothing in Louisbourg cover the population as a whole; breaking out the Acadian women from the aggregated data gives a clearer picture of this group-within-a-group. Acadian women living in Louisbourg wore the clothes of the town, mostly assimilating into elite colonial French society. Acadian women married to French officials ordered their clothing from France if they had the money to do so, purchased expensive, elite textiles from local and travelling merchants, and owned about the same number of items of clothing as some of the wealthier fishermen in the region.[37] Even among those that did not, there is no indication that they used any materials or techniques introduced by the Indigenous population.[38]

They were never able to completely shed their origins, however assimilated they may have appeared on the outside. They lived close together in a tight community, and their status as Acadian "peasantry" was recognized and devalued by others. Even marrying French gentry was no protection, as Jeanne Thibodeau discovered. An Acadian woman originally from Annapolis Royal, she married Mathieu de Goutin, the French-born lieutenant général civil et criminal and colonial secretary, at the age of seventeen. Goutin was from a minor noble French family and Governor Meneval criticized the marriage—

calling the act foolish because of Jeanne's origins and family, and Thibodeau herself "la fille d'un paysan."[39]

The documented wardrobes of some of these women—Anne Levron, Jeanne Thibodeau, Marianne Benoist, Marie Josephe le Borgne de Belleisle, and Marguerite Therrieau—as well as the clothes, accessories and textiles that trader le Borgne made available for sale, show another side of Acadia: that which survived even as it concealed. Acadian women living in the French fortress reaffirmed their particularly Acadian identities in their actions and connections as well as subtle touches in their daily attire. Acadians living outside of Louisbourg had more freedom to play with their visual representation, directing external perception of themselves, their priorities, and their lifestyles through their clothing choices.

6.1 Chemises, Corsets, and Bodices

The linen shift or shirt was a common European garment from the early middle ages onward, eventually evolving into modern day blouse or dress shirt. Worn by both men and women as the first layer against the skin for daywear and the main article for sleeping, the simple linen garment was the most commonly owned item of clothing for those of European descent.[40] Even the poor had multiple sets, the barest minimum one-to-wear and one-to-wash. Those in the middling classes owned many more, inventories at Louisbourg including anywhere from twenty to fifty-two shifts.[41]

Men's shirts and women's chemises were similar in construction, save for a triangular gusset found in women's chemises which opened up the area below the waist for easier movement.[42] English chemises tended to be slimmer-cut, while French-cut chemises

involved two gussets under each arm, cut on the bias which encouraged fluid movement of the textile around the body.[43] Men's shirts were split up the side seams and down the center front, while women's chemises tended towards wider, square or oval necklines designed to sit within the fashionable dress necklines of the day.[44] Women's sleeves, usually elbow-length, were often rolled, and extra cuffs of fancier lace or muslin could be added to show below the cuffs of the jacket or dress worn overtop.[45] Men's sleeves were wrist-length, the cuffs tied or, more often, buttoned or held together with sleeve buttons.[46] Shirts and chemises in the Louisbourg inventories were almost invariably white or unbleached linen, with only a handful of examples of coloured or cotton versions.[47]

Over the chemise, women wore an upper-body garment that came in a few varieties, the distinctions among which are not always clear today—or even at the time.[48] Waller, writing in his *General Description of all Trades* (1747) commented on the matter in his description of bodice-making and tailoring, saying, "There is a good deal of Difference between Stays, Jumps and Bodice, which I shall leave to the Women to settle between themselves."[49] Terms used by the French included "corps" (body), "corps à baleine" (whalebone body, or stays), "corset" and "corselet," and the items themselves were sometimes called different things even in the time period of their use—one particular piece designated as a corset in an inventory was later recorded at time of sale as a corselet.[50]

Monique La Grenade suggests that a *corps* was stayed—that it involved integrated whalebone—while a *corset* was a quilted undress garment without boning, contrary to later nineteenth century use of the term.[51] No whalebone fragments or *corps à baleine* are listed in Acadian inventories or traders' manifests and no evidence of the use of

whalebone has yet been found at Acadian sites. This suggests that the "corsets" listed in Acadian inventories were more akin to *gillets* or the English garment called a "jump": soft, unboned or barely-boned vests which offered basic support and minimal torso-shaping.[52] The boned bodice was intimately associated with elite women in France, as well as with moral uprightness as demonstrated by upright posture, while the majority of middling and working women preferred looser shapes.[53] It signalled self-control as well as wealth, tying in to notions of womanhood that opposed to notions of "looseness" of both.[54]

Figure 6.2: French women in a less-structured jacket (E) and *corps à baleine* (A & B). From Garsault, *Art du tailleur*, 1769. Bibliothèque nationale de France [public domain].[55]

The softer gillet was a more casual garment, used to support the torso rather than reshape it. Some of these boned or quilted garments included sleeves, becoming what we would more likely call a bodice today, and others included a matching stomacher pinned

on to the front to disguise laces or other fastenings. Sometimes, particularly among working women, sleeves would be made as separate pieces and pinned or tied on overtop of the chemise sleeves to protect the linen during work. Most of these would have laced closed, allowing for the kinds of changes a woman's body underwent through frequent pregnancies and during breastfeeding, though hooks and eyes were also used in this period.

Table 6.1: Louisbourg Underpinnings

	Jeanne Thibodeau	**Anne Levron**	**Marianne Benoist (age 8)**	**Marie Josephe Le Borgne**
Bodices ("corps a femme")	-	3	-	-
Chemises	20	38	-	59
Corsets ("corsets a femme")	-	4	1	2
Waistcoats ("gillets pour femme")	-	9	-	-

Anne Levron owned nine old "vieux gillets pour femme," or women's waistcoats—also often called "jumps."[56] These utilitarian garments had evolved from the snug jackets of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and were now semi-undergarments, usually sleeveless, and worn between the shift and the gown. Listed separately from both "corsets" and "corps" in Levron's inventory, they represent a third form of women's upper body covering.[57] For the middling and leisure classes, waistcoats could take the place of corsets and jumps for informal wear. These were cut with wide, tabbed basques in place of a skirt, and could be quilted, embroidered, or both.[58] Unlike the eroticized and oft-times salaciously portrayed stays, there are no surviving images of women wearing

gillets in the early eighteenth century.[59] They rested in that utilitarian space where they were too private and too casual a garment to be depicted in portraiture, but too associated with the basic needs of the maternal body to be a target for erotic or satirical imagery.

What we know of gillets comes from extant examples, including two in the collections at Colonial Williamsburg. Often white, quilted for support with white thread, these waistcoats supported the bust in the same general shape as boned bodices, but usually without the added pressure and artificial structure created by whalebone.[60] While the silhouette and body shape delivered by the gillet was similar to that achieved with quilted *corps*, the tabs on the bottom turn it into something more—a visual reference to men's wear, partway between utilitarian and extravagant, embroidered where no-one would see it save for the closest of intimates. The gillet appears to have been an east-coast colonial particularity: no gillets appear in colonial women's inventories in Quebec between 1635 – 1760, while the corset and corps appear with some regularity after 1706.[61] It may have been brought from New England to Acadia through Boston contacts and so become an established style in Acadia, but not in Canada.

Poor women, labourers and enslaved women, on the other hand, occasionally had waistcoats as their only upper body clothing other than a shift. They could be worn over linen shifts and laced, pinned, hooked or buttoned down the front, worn with petticoats in place of fancy skirts. The two-piece suit appears in American advertisements for runaway slaves and on lists of charitable donations, as Holmes describes: "Wastcoat, or Waistcoast; is the outside of a Gown without either stayes or bodies fastned to it; It is an Habit or Garment generally worn by the middle and lower sort of Women, having Goared skirts, and some wear them with Stomachers."[62] They appear to have been predominantly

laced down the front rather than buttoned or closed with hooks and eyes.[63] The inclusion on Levron's inventory is interesting, as these casual jackets were not the sort of thing that would give the proper shape under the silk and cotton gowns also appearing among her possessions.

Levron had come to Louisbourg from Port Royal after her marriage to French officer Pierre Benoit circa 1715, when she was around the age of thirty or thirty-one.[64] Of the women whose inventories are examined here, she is the one most concerned with her undergarments, the wide variety of those in her possession at her death surprising by comparison to the other inventories.[65] She owned three corps and four corsets along with her softer gillets, indicating frequent use of the snug and structured undergarments. The Levron/Benoit household was also one of the few Acadian households in Louisbourg which housed enslaved people, in this case a young Black man named Charles, originally from the West Indies.[66] Both slave owning and bodily constriction through corsetry and posture were signs of status in French society, demonstrations not only of wealth but of the ability to place socially unruly bodies under control.[67] The commentary about Acadians outside of Louisbourg in their sloppy clothing and their poverty, then, become less about accurate descriptions of garments worn, and more about growing anxieties that Acadians away from the centers of colonial power were removing themselves from pressure to conform to the expectations of French society.

What did Levron use her waistcoats for, then, if her gowns were, as the other Acadian women's wear in Louisbourg was, in a variation of the *mode* of Paris? Born in Port Royal and already in her thirties at the time of her marriage, she had years to accumulate an adult wardrobe before moving to the life of an officer's wife in Louisbourg. Her

ownership of both low- and high-end clothing suggests that she had a use for both, and the quantity as well as the condition of the waistcoats in her possession indicates that they were not merely curiosities.[68] The old waistcoats, as described in her probate inventory, unrepaired or replaced by new ones, may have been indicative of the clothing she wore in her family home and served as a remainder of her life prior to marriage and childrearing,. That she kept them rather than sell them on the second-hand market or give them to one of her daughters indicates that she still had use for the garments, as out of place as they would have been in her married life. Wearing them for trips home, however, or for situations in which she did not need to be the Officer's Wife and could instead be simply Anne Levron, Acadian, provides an explanation.

Figure 6.3: Figured silk jumps with side lacing, possibly for maternity wear. French, mid-18th century. Michael Fredericks, USA. © Cora Ginsburg LLC.[69]

Only one other woman in Louisbourg, the Widow Peré, had waistcoats in her inventory.[70] Peré was fashion-conscious (see *4.7, Silk*) and died in 1735 at the age of

fifty-five, only two years after Levron. While she died a wealthy woman thanks to her first husband's fishing concessions, she had herself grown up in the fishing community of Plaisance in Newfoundland, and her daughter Marie-Anne married into an Acadian family when she wed Charles, the son of Jacques de Saint-Étienne de La Tour and Anne Melanson, in 1727.[71] Not herself Acadian but from similar rural roots and connected to one of the more prominent families in Acadia, Peré would have had reason to own a garment or two connected to her in-laws.

In an era when the body was barely understood, it became a locus of anxiety. Etiquette and protocol became political tools to a much stronger degree in France in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the careful deployment of the body belaboured in dance manuals, etiquette guides, and instructional texts for the bourgeoisie on how to make themselves into appropriate gentility.[72] Women's bodies particularly, with their constant changes and regular bleeding, in a time when medicine included bloodletting for the preservation of health, were seen as unstable collections of vapours and fluids. Health was associated with balance, closed orifices, and stability, and the human body came equipped naturally with none of those.[73] Stays, on the other hand, provided structure and closed-off solidity, reforming the amorphous female body with all its bewildering changes into a far more predictable and consistent shape. Children wore unboned stays in styles similar to those worn by adults, to help "prevent deformities of the skeleton," a practice at least occasionally continued in the colonies.[74]

Stays and stay-lacing were less of a concern among working women in France than in England, where even the poorest women found stays desirable enough to inspire property crimes.[75] In France, on the other hand, the social pressure to wear stays was lessening by

the beginning of the eighteenth century, and boned stays were not mandatory wear for labourers.[76] That difference extended to the colonies. Only three corsets in the Quebec inventories are described as boned and only two references to whalebone stays appear in the Louisbourg records, none associated with Acadian ownership.[77] Unboned stays of varying sorts are all listed in the Louisbourg probate inventories, and no evidence of whalebone has yet turned up at any of the Acadian sites.

Leather stays provided more structure than cloth jumps and leather was an easily-obtained option in Siknikt, with even less material needed for a leather bodice than for a pair of men's breeches. Leather can also be broken in over time—forced through repeated wear, heat, and stretching to conform to the shape of the body inside it—making the ultimate silhouette softer and more rounded than artificial. Leather stays have been described in contemporary sources, and extant English examples remain in the collections at Colonial Williamsburg and the Worthing Museum and Art Gallery.[78] Of the corsets, corps, and bodices described in the Acadian Louisbourg inventories, unfortunately only two have their textile indicated: one made in cotton, and one in silk damask.[79]

Stays-wearing, even the unboned sort, changed the shape of the torso and the bustline, turning a natural silhouette into a more rigid, planar and controlled body type. This shaping was necessary for the fit of certain styles of gown worn primarily by the French elite, was unneeded for casual bodices, casaquins, and jackets, and added another visual layer of distinction between, in this case, town and country. The types of layers that went over the corps or corsets distinguished the groups as well, each with a significance that extended beyond basic dress codes.

6.2 Gowns, Skirts, and Petticoats

Fashions in Acadia diverged from those of France by the 1670s when the mantua, a long, slim and casual one-piece gown, became standard wear for urban and bourgeois women alike in Europe as a form of *dishabille*, or casual disarray.[80] Daniel Roche found that ninety percent of Parisian women of all socioeconomic statuses owned a mantua by 1700, a previously unheard of democratization of style.[81] This change in fashion in France appears in records from Louisbourg from the 1730s and 1740s in the form of the robe de chambre, which makes an appearance in Anne Levron, Marianne Benoist, and Jeanne Thibodeau's inventories.[82] The term referred to a loose dress based on the banyan, a popular form of men's housecoat based on kimono styles that had been brought to Europe by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). These casual dresses, if worn outside, would have filled the same role as the mantua in a woman's wardrobe—made from sumptuous fabrics but not requiring the use of structured undergarments.

The definition of the term that appears in the Louisbourg inventories remains under debate. In 1670, Madame de Maintenon, mistress and wife to Louis XIV, described the *robe de chambre* as a gown "worn closed in front and widening in the shoulders," which could be altered from older styles.[83] The Duchess d'Orleans, on the other hand, considered mantuas and robes de chambre as being two different garments of similar type, and both distinct from housecoats, when she complained about their ubiquity at court in 1702: "I have never worn a robe de chambre nor a mantua, and have only one robe de nuit for getting up in the morning and going to bed at night."[84] In 1756, the Duke de Luynes noted that women of the French court had permission to wear the robe de

chambre rather than full court dress, known as the *robe de coeur,* in the days prior to the court moving for Fontainebleau or Compiègne.[85] In either case, the women's robes de chambre were not private garments for use only in the family home, but casual gowns for wear in public spaces.

Table 6.2: Ensembles in Louisbourg

	Jeanne Thibodeau	Anne Levron	Marianne Benoist (age 8)	Marie Josephe Le Borgne
Apron	-	5	-	-
Gown ("robe")	4	1	-	10
Mantua / Manteau ("robe de chambre")	1	5	3	-
Petticoat / skirt ("jupon")	9	11	-	14
Hooped petticoat	1	-	-	-

Wearing the mantua or the robe de chambre required some kind of support garment beneath to achieve the correct silhouette.[86] Levron, who owned the majority of the corsets and corps discussed above, was also the one who owned the majority of the robes de chambre, her inventory from 1733 showing five of those compared to one gown of undetermined style. The robe de chambre and the mantua were well-embedded in French fashion by the 1730s, and indeed were considered far more conservative than the new innovation of the 1720s, the hooped petticoat and the voluminous gowns which were displayed upon it.[87]

The hooped petticoat which appears on Jeanne Thibodeau's inventory in 1741 is a rarity in Louisbourg, one of only three hooped underskirts appearing in local records.

These petticoats, made from linen and reinforced with split cane to give them shape, were used for supporting formal skirts at the sides. They were at their widest in the 1740s and 1750s, a decline in that fashionable oval shape becoming evident in later decades of the century.[88] Signs that the wearer was not required to perform manual labour, satirically associated by some with degraded moral character and the concealment of pregnancy, hooped skirts broadened the wearer's visible silhouette, making her take up more physical, visual, and social space than normally allotted.[89] Thibodeau marked her transition from peasant to nobility with her belongings, wearing the mark of new status in the fabric of her gowns and the scissors on her belt, joining her kin—one third of Acadia, if the complaints of her husband's superior are to be believed—once more to the aristocracy of France.[90] Her ownership of a hooped petticoat is in line with the silk gowns which make up a large proportion of her wardrobe. She positioned herself visibly as a member of not only the French colonial elite, but as participatory in the styles preferred by the continental powerful.

Unhooped petticoats and skirts ("jupons") blend together as a category. They would often be worn under front-opening gowns such as the robe de chambre, and sometimes as skirts alone, with shorter jackets. Many gowns and skirts were paired with matching aprons in the inventories, and the fabrics used to make those articles indicates whether a specific apron was a functional or a decorative piece.[91] Aprons made of silk taffeta were not designed for being worn in kitchens or stillrooms, while those made of linen or serge were less likely to be placed over a silk gown for church or holiday festivities. Many aprons of the time were made with bibs, while some only came as high as the waist.

Bibbed aprons did not yet have shoulder straps, and they would have been pinned to the front of the gown or bodice with tinned or brass straight pins.[92]

Figure 6.4: Parisian shopgirl in a bibbed apron and short-sleeved casaquin with ruffled *manchettes* (cuffs) at the elbow. From Garsault, *L'art de la lingere*, 1771. Bibliothèque nationale de France [public domain].[93]

The gowns themselves are not described in any detail in the inventories at Louisbourg except by their fabrics, and Acadian women's clothing only merits a few lines regarding their skirts. The narrower fabrics woven prior to the major industrialization of weaving meant that more yardage was required to cover the same size body. High fashion skirts required a greater number of slimmer panels cut on the length of grain with seams between them, a cutting style which created skirts with more bulk at those seams, and which pulled the fabric slightly away from the body. Acadian skirts known from after the deportation were predominantly sewn on the cross-grain, the weft stripes vertical on the body, so that only one seam was required. The waist was either gathered into a waistband or folded over to make a channel and drawn in with a drawstring.[94] Gowns worn at

Louisbourg tended to be made of cotton or silk rather than wool, a contrast to the wool skirts and bodices described as worn in Acadia.[95]

Table 6.3: Textile use, main garments – percentage of wardrobes[96]

	Jeanne Thibodeau	**Anne Levron**	**Marianne Benoist (age 8)**	**Marie Josephe Le Borgne**	Acadian Women	L'burg women
Silk	57.1%	42.9%%	33.3%	38.1%	**42.2%**	**24.1%**
Cotton	28.5%	42.9%	33.3%	33.3%	**35.6%**	**43.8%**
Wool	14.3%	14.2%	33.3%	-	**8.9%**	**21.4%**
Damask	-	-	-	28.5%	**13.3%**	**10.7%**
# of garments	7	14	3	21	**45**	**112**

The raw numbers are so small that statistically this data is of limited use. The size of Jeanne Thibodeau's wardrobe means that even one garment of a different textile could shift the balance, and some garments were excluded if the fibre content was not listed or the trade name of the textile could not be identified. Nevertheless, some things do stand out as interesting. The woman with the largest wardrobe also had the most elite items, wearing wool only for accessories (stockings). Even Le Borgne's cloaks were made of calico or gauze, certainly for fashion rather than protection from the elements.[97]

On the other hand, the adult woman with the smallest wardrobe, Jeanne Thibodeau, had a much higher proportion of silk garments, suggesting that she chose to invest in silk as being of higher value rather than purchase multiple garments of cheaper stuff.[98] That, corresponding with her hooped petticoat, paints a picture of a woman concerned not with

the accumulation of variety, as would be most useful for Le Borgne's advertisements for her shop's wares, but with presenting herself in the grandest possible light. Daniel Roche's study of Parisian wardrobes in the seventeenth century found that it was the up-and-coming merchants and artisans who had the highest proportion of fancy clothing in their inventories, with the wealthiest not needing to blatantly display their wares, and the poorer group unable to devote the money to the expense of maintaining luxurious clothing.[99] This can be extended to groups other than merchants, and brought into the eighteenth century with the evidence from Louisbourg. The higher proportion of silk gowns worn by Acadian women living at the Fortress was possibly a sign of overcompensation for the occasional stigma of their origins and connections, a mark of incomplete assimilation into urban French cultural norms. Louisbourg's gowns are accessible through documentation, but when it comes to the other settlements, we must turn to trace evidence to build a case for the nature of the gowns, skirts, and petticoats being worn in those regions.

Trace Evidence: Eyelets, Lacing Rings or Dorset Buttons

A series of small iron rings found on site at Beaubassin and Melanson could have had a few different purposes (see Figure 3.33, lacing rings), but the size and shape of the unknotted rings at Beaubassin and Melanson (11 – 12 mm diameter) are correct for use as bases for dorset buttons: inexpensive linen or thread buttons made by wrapping thread around a horn or metal ring.[100] First appearing as linen and horn combinations somewhere around 1680-1700 in Dorset, England, dorset buttons were an inexpensive and easily-made simple button variation which used far less valuable metal than cast pewter or brass. Dorset buttons could be manufactured domestically as well as purchased

in large quantities and were used on lightweight garments such as lace cuffs and collars, as well as shirts and underclothes. The wire ring version appeared between 1720 – 1730, and is rarely, if ever, properly identified at archaeological sites.[101]

Figure 6.5: A pair of jumps with Dorset buttons, c. 1750-1790. Cotton with partial linen lining. Amsterdam Museum, #KA 20112.[102]

A pair of jumps in the collections of the Amsterdam Museum is fastened with dorset buttons, an interesting choice for a garment more often closed with laces. The immutable nature of the closure suggests either that the wearer was unconcerned about having to adjust her clothing sizing for pregnancy, that the jumps were not intended to take a great deal of strain, or the owner was confident in her ability to access another pair when her body changed shape and size. The Fashion Museum in Bath has a robe volante in its collection dated between 1730-1739 with dorset cartwheel buttons on the sleeves, the

thread worked over wire rings very similar to those found at Melanson and Beaubassin.[103] The lightweight robe volante was a competitor and successor to the robe de chambre, a loosely pleated gown made of lightweight silk or cotton that concealed the body's shape entirely.[104]

Figure 6.6: Detail, dorset button on a robe volante c. 1730-1739. Courtesy of Fashion Museum Bath.

Whether worn on lace or muslin cuffs and collars, on shirts and jumps, or on the sleeves of cotton gowns and casaquins, dorset buttons speak to a delicacy and economic security in some of the clothing worn at Beaubassin which does not match the laced and quilted waistcoats and bodices of the farm girls. Intended for fine linen shirts or for lightweight cotton casaquins and robes volante, dorset buttons indicate a level of dressing more associated with the urban environment of the metropole than farming homesteads. The contemporary descriptions of Beaubassin Acadians wearing poor clothing in coarse

homespun wool—textiles too heavy to be securely fastened by dorset buttons—does not match the archaeological evidence. Descriptions of Acadians in low-cost and homemade clothing also contrast with what is known about the quantity of money moving through the trading hub of Beaubassin through the ship sales, fur trade, and the presence of the Baye Verte portage. The evidence, as already seen in a few different ways in previous chapters, indicates the repeated wear of different styles of fashionable European-style clothing, as much as the trade beads and bone buttons demonstrate a change in that fashion based on local materials.

Levron's waistcoats fit into this pattern as well, if we assume that the difference is not that of individual taste and preference. Any existing Acadian elite was not so socially stratified that they had to strictly maintain social status through clothing codes. Rather, many Acadians had access to a wider range of clothing in their wardrobes of differing levels of formality, which could be worn for different occasions, and perhaps used to give particular impressions to specific onlookers. Anne Levron the officer's wife in Louisbourg was expected to wear French gowns, while Anne Levron the Acadian would have gone home for a visit in quilted waistcoats and wool skirts, at one fifth the cost of her silk damask petticoat.[105] Equally in Beaubassin, official visitors with specific agendas in mind would be met with men in wool trousers and leg wraps, while the buckled breeches and silk stockings waited for Sunday mass and encounters where donning the mantle of European-ness was an advantage.

6.3 Trousers and Breeches

Men's wear for the era consisted of combinations of linen shirts which could be plain or outfitted with fancy cuffs and collars; coats of varying shapes; waistcoats that mimicked coats in cut and shape; and either trousers or breeches to cover the legs, accompanied by stockings and shoes.[106] Linen drawers were worn under both trousers and breeches, tied around the waist with a drawstring or sewn-in ties, and often tied at the knee.[107] All of these were available in various levels of formality, the textiles used, the cut, fit and choice of notions like buckles and buttons changing both the cost and the messaging inherent in each piece.

The two options for men's leg coverings, trousers and breeches, conveyed very different messages about status, occupation, and ambition. Trousers, based on sailors' slops, were worn by the working-class prior to the French Revolution; knee-length breeches by the elite.[108] Breeches left the stockings and garters visible, the knee cuffs closing with both buckles at the band and buttons along the placket, adding extra expense. While usually made of wool or leather, some inventories included linen breeches which would have been worn in summertime.[109] Breeches closed at the front with a buttoned fly opening or a fall-front, the latter of which became more popular near the middle of the eighteenth century as men's waistcoats shortened and more of the breeches became visible.[110] Many had pockets, "little bags set in the sides of the Breeches to put or carry any small thing in," cotton or linen linings, and sometimes elaborate trim.[111]

Breeches required more careful tailoring and attention to proper fit, the length difficult to alter without removing the knee band and cutting them back. Lengthening breeches was a much more difficult-to-impossible task. Breeches in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century were not as close-cut and body conscious as they would become later, but their use already indicated the wearer's ability to consume fabric without much consideration to reuse. More than that, buckled breeches and the snug hose worn beneath them reflected an aspirational masculinity that valued poise, careful manners, and a rejection of the rough and uncouth lifestyles of labouring men.[112] The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French concept of the *honnête homme* saw the rise of new ideals of masculine deportment, associated with civility, self-control, and unstudied refinement. Born from the Enlightenment, the *honnête homme* was as polished as he was unassuming, his carefully contained self-presentation associated with moral uprightness.[113]

Trousers, by contrast, were straight-legged and worn long, below the knee and sometimes down to the ankle, other times tucked into high boots or gaiters to keep them contained around the leg. They had evolved from sailors' slops as the leg coverings of the working man.[114] The simple shapes were more practical for farms, riding, and heavy work in situations where fancy wool or silk stockings on bare calves could be snagged or otherwise ruined. With a hem turned up, trousers could be adjusted for another wearer more easily, and were synonymous with labouring for a living. Wearing long trousers or slops was distinctly lower-status in the early seventeenth century, as seen in the Sieur de Montmartin's disdainful 1615 description of worldly Remboth monks, who eschewed their vows of poverty and wore "the sleeues of their garments wide, their slops puft vp [as in, puffed full and girdled around the knee], and their gownes gathered thicke."[115] A

charity case supported by the Mennonite Church in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, provided a pauper with a shirt and pair of long pants a year, while those employed and further up the social ladder were purchasing breeches.[116]

Figure 6.7: "Soldiers Playing Cards (A Quarrel)," ca. 1640, Le Nain Brothers. © Amgueddfa Cymru - National Museum Wales.

Trousers required fewer notions to close. Though buttoned fall-front closures were common, knee buckles and buttons were optional. Trousers could be worn with or without stockings, and when made of fabrics such as linen, usually reserved for intimate apparel, were much more casual in effect. This is seen in a description of a young fisherman in Naples from 1650: "he wore linnen slops, a blew wastcoat, and went barefoot, with a Mariners cap…His profession was to angle for little fish with a cane, hook and line."[117] As with women's waistcoats and skirts, trousers were the more economical option, and as with petticoats, drawers and other easily resized garments, could be bought ready-made from milliners and merchants as early as the 1670s.[118]

Straight-legged trousers could be styled to look like breeches from a distance, albeit without the use of buttons and buckles. Moses de la Dernier, an Acadian who survived the deportation and later wrote about his youth, described the men as wearing “Leg Bandages, Belts &c hanging in knots and bows.”[119] Those leg bandages were not for first aid, but a type of trouser accessory that performed a function similar to gaiters—protection for the lower leg, particularly in snow or underbrush. Gaiters and leg wraps appear in seventeenth and eighteenth-century images of farmers, sailors, and labourers, binding loose-cut trousers into a snug below-the-knee fit (see Figure 6.7). This combined the practicality of trousers with the aesthetic of breeches, avoiding the expense of brass buckles and matching buttons.

Finding trousers and breeches in the archaeological record relies on the presence of buttons and buckles. Only one reference to breeches appears in the Louisbourg Acadian inventories, in a combined listing for Pierre Boisseau and his wife Marguerite Terriau. The 1755 inventory describes a stack of old, worn-out clothes found in a basket in Boisseau’s house, including his coats, waistcoats and breeches.[120] While buttons and buckles are much more closely associated with masculine clothing than with women’s garments, the details are less diagnostic than could be hoped. Coat buttons were usually larger than waistcoat or breeches-buttons, and knee buttons are generally the smallest of these. Finding buttons at a site, however, even if they are all similar in size and style, does not guarantee that they were used on the same outfit, or were even attached to a garment in the first place. Buttons are small and easily lost, reclaimed, and re-attached to new garments to replace those lost elsewhere, making identification more difficult.[121] Dating can be established based on button styles and shank technology; the material from

which buttons are made indicates cost and possibly the style of garment for which they were intended.[122] Buckles are somewhat more useful when it comes to garment identification, as knee buckles for breeches are usually smaller than shoe or hat buckles, flat rather than convex, and sometimes oriented vertically rather than horizontally, the bar running between the short sides.[123]

Buttons for coats and waistcoats tended to be metal or self-fabric, covered with scraps of the material used for making the garment. Buttons worn on breeches were smaller, plainer, and made of metal, bone or wood.[124] Button blanks are round and flat pieces of bone or wood, without drilled holes or added loops. Scraps of fabric from the garment were wrapped around them to create the button and the shank. These are more difficult to distinguish in the archaeological record, as the fabric has normally long since decayed away. Fabric and leather leg wraps and gaiters vanish in the archaeological record, and so may only be placed through description and extrapolation.

The presence of knee buckles and smaller fancy buttons on a site means that breeches were likely in use at that sites, an important indicator of the presence of European and colonial elite fashion. Military dress naturally comes with fancy buttons as well, but since none of the buttons found at the Acadian sites under discussion were blazoned with regimental information, it is unlikely that even the plain brass buttons were directly associated with military uniform. The small knee buckles and buttons found at Melanson and Beaubassin suggests that some of the men there were wearing breeches, an important sign of intentional identification with the urban powerful. This is predictable for Melanson, the settlement within the banlieue of Port Royal. It also fits with the evidence

for silk stockings at Beaubassin, and the fine linens which would have been worn with the sleeve buttons discussed above in Chapter 5.

6.4 Jackets, Coats, and Accessories

Coats and outerwear for men came in a few shapes and styles. The *justaucorps*, or jacket, was knee-length and collarless, displayed fancy pocket flaps, and closed with a row of buttons down centre front. A semi-formal to formal coat, worn with breeches and a waistcoat, it took the stylistic place of today's suit jacket.[125] The collared version was called the *volant*, or frock coat. Often worn over the justaucorps as an overcoat, this version did not have pockets.[126] Holme describes some informal jackets worn by men as well, including a slim-cut "street-bodied coat," worn over a kind of waistcoat known as a 'cheat,' or "chate," since only the front was made of expensive fabric while the unseen back was "no such thing."[127] Other coats described in texts include loose coats that extended to the thighs with a slit up center back for mobility.[128] Many working men wore shorter, hip-length versions of the coat, both for ease of mobility and reduced cost in fabric.[129] Any of these styles could be worn with wood buttons, fabric-covered buttons or purchased pewter or brass buttons, depending on the wealth and the aspirations of the wearer (see figure 5.1, above, for examples).

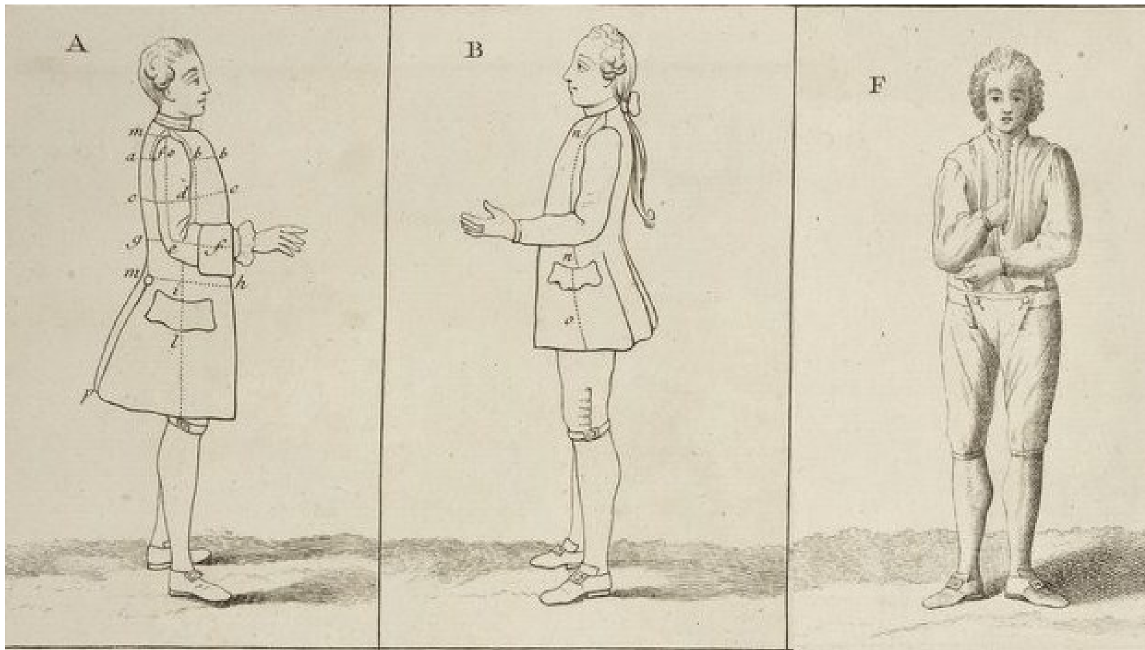

Figure 6.8: French man in a 1760s justaucorps (A), a waistcoat (B) and fall-front breeches (F). Garsault, *Art du tailleur,* 1769. Bibliothèque nationale de France [public domain].[130]

An overcoat similar to the riding coat described in Holme occasionally appears in records at Louisbourg, described as a "surtout," or an over-all.[131] This was likely to have been cut to the same pattern as a justaucorps or frock coat—wider and longer, and worn overtop of other coats during colder weather. *Redingottes*, or riding habits, were a recent English fashion and did not appear in the Louisbourg inventories studied here. Cloaks and mantles, lacking sleeves, would have been the simplest forms of outer garments to make and to reshape, but the extra fabric was extremely inconvenient for wearing during work and they were uncommon. The hooded capes worn by Acadians fit into this category, with no fitting or shaping required except for the neckline and the depth of the hood. Illustrations of Newfoundland fishermen seen on a 1715 map of North America show the men wearing hooded coats, the hoods apparently at least edged with fur, and aprons—likely canvas—with bibs pinned up underneath their chins to protect their

clothing.[132] Leather aprons, called *barvells* in New England, were common safety wear for fishermen as well as blacksmiths.[133]

Table 6.4: Outerwear and Accessories in Louisbourg

	Jeanne Thibodeau	**Anne Levron**	**Marie Josephe Le Borgne**
Mantelet	-	5	6
Mante	1	-	2
Shoulder scarves ("mouchoirs de col")	6	-	13
Steinkirk	2	-	-
Hat ("chapeau")	-	-	1
Bonnet	1	14	14
Indoor Cap ("toquet")	-	-	8
Cap ("miramions")	-	-	4

Outerwear listed for women in Louisbourg was restricted to *mantes* and *mantelets*, two types of sleeveless outer garments cut in similar styles. The mantes, or mantle, hung longer, below the waist, and the mantelet was to cover the shoulders and upper torso only. Mantles were "a round thing made of any stuff, having a round hole in the middle, and so is cut through to the hole, which being put about the neck hangs round about the wearer: which according to the fashion, is large or little, faced or laced."[134] While tailoring manuals and descriptions from the time discuss women's riding habits and other fitted outer coats, none of these appear on even Le Borgne's store inventory. These were not a sought-after item in Louisbourg, among either Acadian or French women.

Thibodeau had a single mantle in her probate inventory, consistent with the small size of her wardrobe as a whole.[135] Levron owned five of “various stuffs” while Le Borgne owned eight, many of which were in fashion fabrics rather than aimed at providing warmth.[136] This may relate to Le Borgne’s role as living advertisement for her wares, but it also speaks directly to perceptions of what was desirable. Wool cloaks are certainly more practical in Nova Scotia winters, but only one of Le Borgne’s eight mantles was made of wool. The others were deeply impractical for weather protection, including gauze, satin, damask, and three in varieties of Indian calico cotton.

Calico had a significance far beyond its surface appearance (see *4.6, Cotton*). The French bans on calicoes and chintzes did not extend to the colonies, making this one of the few realms in which colonial spaces had more access to fine commodities than those living in Paris. Placing these textiles in the outer layers made for a display as specific as wearing Indonesian gingham in Port Royal, an application of an eastern aesthetic to the Louisbourg streetscape. Le Borgne was easily able to afford higher-end textiles, as her inventory makes clear, but for those whose budgets for luxuries had to be stretched slightly, wearing a mantelet “cast over the Shoulders to preserve from rain or cold” made from imported luxury textiles rather than homespun or heavy wool was more of a statement. Warmth and protection from the weather were relegated to other places, to the fur-trimmed or lined petticoats and breeches, as well as the large numbers of hats and gloves that appear for sale in Le Borgne’s shop.

Whether made of cotton, wool or fur, hooded capes, shawls, scarves, and mantelets all used similar methods of closure. Buttons could be used, often with a loop or a twist of cord serving in place of a buttonhole. Clasps appeared less frequently as cloaks fell out of

fashion. Pins and brooches were used for garments like shawls where versatility was important, allowing the wearer to unpin and reconfigure the garment at will—to cover the head in case of inclement weather, for instance, or to turn a shawl into an impromptu baby swaddle or basket. The pins used for these were heavier, longer and thicker than the dressmaker's pins used for sewing or the fine pins used for securing linens, and some of this type have been found at Belleisle and Beaubassin.[137]

Smaller pins, in the medium size range and below, were essential less for sewing than for dressing. While experienced seamstresses and tailors could sew a seam with a minimal number of pins securing the layers, wearing aprons, head linens, fichus, and often sleeves without pins to secure them in place was impossible. These linen accessories defined the edges of the garments they bordered, softening the sharp hems and cuffs, gentling the transition between outer garment and skin. Visibly worn linen blurred the boundary between clothing and the inner layers, the intimate linen that acted as a second skin. More than just the visuals of conspicuous consumption, the fine linen used for engageants, fichus and headdresses bridged the boundaries between the private and the public skin.

Neckcloths served the same purpose, variations worn by both men and women. Cravats and kerchiefs came into fashion in the late 1600s, with the advent of coats without collars, and consisted of a length of linen tied under the chin with a knot or bow.[138] Men's cravats could be pinned or knotted, so the presence of pins at a site does not only reflect on women's dress. We have no descriptions of Acadians in the settlements wearing cravats, but steinkirks, a particular style of necktie, appear in Thibodeau's probate inventory alongside six *mouchoirs de col,* kerchiefs for the collar.[139]

Le Borgne also owned twenty-two of these collar kerchiefs—commonly called fichus—in fine muslin and *coton des Indes*.[140] Kerchiefs for the hand were a distinct and separate category from kerchiefs for the nose or kerchiefs for the shoulders, and were purely decorative symbols of genteel status.[141] They were used during dancing as means of elongating the visual length of the arm, exaggerating gestures and drawing attention to the refinement of the body's extremities.

Steinkirks were similar to a cravat in that they were constructed out of a length of plain linen, but were styled in deliberate *dishabille*. A short-term fashion fad, they also help with dating trends between Paris and Louisbourg. Steinkirks first appeared as a fashion in 1692 following the Battle of Steenkerque, as Voltaire's history describes:

> The men at that time wore lace-cravats, which took up some time and pains to adjust. The princes having dressed themsevles in a hurry, threw these cravats negligently about their necks. [After the battle] The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this fashion, which they called *Steinkirks*. Every new toy was a *Steinkirk*."[142]

What began as an adjustment to men's fashion quickly entered women's fashion, as cravats were already being worn with masculine-coded garments like riding habits. The steinkirk moved it beyond that, and unlike the cravat itself, was a gender-neutral accessory. Its position draped across the bust, while potentially calling attention to feminine attributes, served more as a token of modesty in similar ways to the fichu. There is a scene in the play *The Careless Husband* (1704) where a betrayed wife replaces her husband's lost wig with her own steinkirk. This acts as a moment where she attempts to restore the moral cover he lost with the removal of his wig, acting as a shield against onlookers' knowledge of transgression.[143] The steinkirk transcended socioeconomic

barriers as well, worn by artisans, merchants, and labourers through the years of its ascendance.[144] Stocks began to replace the steinkirk in men's fashion around 1720, the twisted kerchief slowly fading out of fashion.[145] By 1741, the year of Thibodeau's death, the style was out of fashion among the gentry. It remained a fashion for the middling class, and images of artisans still wearing the steinkirk exist from France in 1748.[146]

Figure 6.9: Newfoundland fishermen, detail from *This map of North America, according to ye newest and most exact observations*, Herman Moll, c. 1715. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

Belts, when worn, were worn overtop of the coats and jackets to keep everything close to the body. Examples can be seen in Herman Moll's line-drawing of Newfoundland fishermen (see Figure 6.9). Belt buckles are difficult to distinguish from spur buckles in the archaeological record, though images do confirm that belts were reasonably common parts of working-class men's wear. The same style of apron can be seen on the French

foundry workers in Diderot's trades encyclopedia, though those would have been made from fire-resistant hide rather than canvas or oiled linen.[147] Aprons were part of domestic and leisure costume for women, only the fineness of the fabric and type of embellishment distinguishing the fancy show pieces from the workaday casual.[148] Aprons for men, on the other hand, marked the wearer by profession, a signal which became codified in the butchers' blue apron in the nineteenth century.[149]

Figure 6.10: Detail from Diderot, Vol. 4, Third section: Foundries. Plate III: Forges, Third Section, Clay Mold.

6.5 Stockings

Two bale seals found at Beaubassin are single-piece seals, stamped on both sides, a type of seal which would have been attached to the goods it marked with the use of a cord rather than being pierced through the edge of the textile itself. [150] The COL NEM markings and crocodile image found on both are the marks of the Colonia Nemauensis,

the old name for the city of Nimes. The Nimes hosiery guild formed between 1706 and 1712, following the later seventeenth century introduction of the knitting frame to the city.[151] Nimes became a centre for hosiery production in France, more than two thousand knitting frames active in the city by the late 1720s.[152] Beginning with wool stockings, production soon turned to the more profitable silk market, especially through the second quarter of the eighteenth century.[153]

Figure 6.11: Bale seal, single disc. 7B17R2-12, found at Beaubassin. The text around the obverse side appears to read PIE----- ANT. (Pierre ???mant?) Photographs by author, with thanks to Parks Canada.

These particular seals from Nimes, with the name of the provider surrounding the border on the obverse side, are a style seen on imports of silk stockings rather than yardage.[154] Similar seals for trader Pierre Larnac and David Baumer, a Nimes manufacturer of silk stockings, are described in Geoff Egan's extensive report on the British Museum's collection of seals.[155] By 1750, hosiery had brought an estimated five

million livres per year to the city of Nimes, and traders in their hosiery were making sales around the Atlantic.[156]

Stockings in the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries were knee-high and often knitted, but sometimes sewn. They could be made of any of the natural fibres (linen/hemp, cotton, silk or wool), in varying weights. Often white but available in a range of colours including green, blue, “poppy red,” and pink, stockings were often chosen to coordinate with the outfit.[157] They were fabricated with “clocks”—elaborate patterns sitting over the instep and ankle—and tied on at the knee with separate garter bands which were themselves often beautifully embroidered.[158]

Stockings of some form were required articles of clothing in the European wardrobe, the uncovered leg an exposure too intimate for the public sphere. This was a contrast to Indigenous dress which often included leggings but did not have the same cultural mandate against exposed skin.[159] Hale’s commentary on Acadian dress included a description of the Acadians wearing their socks ungartered and hanging unattractively low, a style also seen in medieval European images of farmers and labourers.[160] The well-fit stocking under knee-length breeches was a sign of gentility, the ability to afford fine silk stockings or wool ones made precisely to fit; the tumbled-down, perhaps hand-me-down unfitted sock was a look associated with poverty and the ‘uncivilized.’

Identical in design for the genders, the sex of the wearer of a specific stocking can only be guessed at based on size, which is itself not particularly consistent or useful a measure. Abraham Boudrot’s manifest included twelve pairs of men’s stockings, but LaTour’s similar cargo is described only as “Two dozen halfe stockins” of indeterminate

size, colour, and style.[161] From the price listed (two pounds, one shilling for twelve pairs), Boudrot's cargo was most likely knit wool. Silk stockings brought through regular trade were four or five times more expensive than knitted ones, ranging between twelve to seventeen shillings a pair in colonial regions. Silk stockings were not items associated with the fur trade but with European and colonial bourgeoisie.[162] Stockings and hosiery were small goods transported and often sold informally by sailors, however, small and lightweight items that could fit in personal sea chests and be sold for profit free of taxation or import duties.[163] A sailor in Sicily in 1688 found silk stockings selling there for about six shillings a pair, making them very profitable to smuggle out for later resale.[164] Part of the clandestine trade as well as the formal, untagged stockings connect the bodies of the wearers to the smugglers moving through Fundy waters and from them back to profit-seeking sailors hoarding the luxury goods from the silk mills of Italy and France in their salt-stained sea chests.

After 1656 the hosiery frame became available in France, speeding up production time for stockings and making them both more widely commercially available and less expensive.[165] As knitted stockings in general declined as a status symbol, silk stockings became more desirable.[166] The hosiery frame was a male-dominated tool, with limited examples of women working in framework knitting until the mid-nineteenth century.[167] At the same time, hand-knitting became an increasingly female-coded task when compared to the more neutral status it had prior to the early modern period. Most of the early frame-made stockings were in silk, with hand-knitting the preferred technique for woollen ones until the technology was more refined. In 1700, Louis XIV restricted

stocking production to eighteen cities in an effort to impose quality control, and Canada became a major outlet for Orléons hosiery in particular.[168]

Figure 6.12: Cotton knit stockings, French, 18th century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accession # 53.253a-b.[169]

Interestingly, Thibodeau had stockings in her inventory in Louisbourg, but Levron did not. Bare feet would have been unconscionable at the time, however, even for utilitarian purposes in the winter, and so the omission must be understood as an aberration, or an indication that any stockings she owned were removed from her possessions prior to the inventory being taken. Roche points out that items went missing from Parisian probate inventories for a variety of reasons, including division between heirs prior to the inventory being taken, the items being out on loan at the time of the owner's death, items

excluded from the household goods due to conditions surrounding personal effects in the marriage contract, or the items having been sold.[170] Any of these are possible in this case.

6.6 Hair and Headdress

Hair styles and headdress are not as frequently discussed as clothing and footwear, though a few references to kerchiefs and bonnets do appear in contemporary sources. The most explicit description of Acadian headdress unfortunately comes from a hundred years after the deportation, Frederick Cozzens' nineteenth-century description both romanticized and heavily influenced, no doubt, by Longfellow's *Evangeline*.[171] The braided coronets and hair bows Cozzens describe are far more in tune with 1850s and 1860s hair fashions in North America than the fashions of the seventeenth-century French.[172] That means we must dispense with Cozzens' "norman cap" as a nineteenth century anachronism. The only textual descriptions we have remaining of Acadian hairstyles from before the deportation come from a note from de la Varenne regarding hairstyles of the women at Louisbourg, and a cursory comment from a religious dispute in Chignecto. A 1690 complaint lodged by a group of Acadian women against Abbé Claude Trouvé, then priest at Beaubassin, explained that he had refused to grant them absolution following confessions, because they were wearing lace and ribbon. His response was that he needed them to wear caps where he could see their eyes, suggesting some form of frilled headdresses or overly decorated bonnets were at the heart of the dispute.[173]

Figure 6.13: Linen cap trimmed with lace, 18th century French, MET museum, 43.130.9.[174]

In Christian communities of the time, the church was the physical and the social centre of the community, providing a focal point for gatherings and for in-group tensions.[175] Attending mass was a chance to see and be seen, and best dress would have been the appropriate choice for personal adornment. Sundays would be the chance to wear European-style leather shoes with their buckles, lace bonnets and lappets, crosses, reliquaries, and beads. Attentive to fashion, to which they would have been regularly exposed thanks to the relatively constant movement of people between Port Royal, Beaubassin, Louisbourg, France and New England, at least a handful of the women of

Beaubassin—socially powerful enough to challenge their local priest and confident in their success—wore lace to church and defended their right to do so.[176]

Figure 6.14: Lappets up: *Études prises dans le bas peuple ou les Cris de Paris*: Huistres à l'Ecaille, 1738. British Museum, 1857,0613.692 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 6.15: Lappets down. Detail from *La Blanchisseuse*, Jean-Baptiste-Simeon Chardin, 1735. Hermitage museum # ГЭ-1185.

De la Varenne describes a handkerchief as the main headdress for Acadian women at Louisbourg: "The women are covered with a cloak, and all their head dress is generally a handkerchief, which would serve for a veil too, in the manner they tied it on, if it descended low enough."[177] By veil, in this context, he most likely means a hair covering of the sort previously seen on wired hoods, rather than a face covering. The kerchief is less likely to have been trimmed with ribbons and lace, while the basic linen cap of the early eighteenth century was a variation on the medieval coif and often trimmed with bands of bobbin lace.[178] Long lace bands known as lappets could be hung from that

border, either left to drape down the back or be pinned up to the cap. Working-class women from France wore a similar type of cap with the lappets pinned up on the top of the head, as seen in the 1738 engraving of the oyster seller (see Figure 6.14). Small brass pins were the standard for this, the same style and size used for pinning fichus and aprons in place. Short whites were found at all the Acadian sites, some likely used for the pinning of this style of headdress.

A tall confection of lace and ribbon called a fontage was popular among aristocratic women in the late seventeenth century in Europe, though inventories in colonial North America suggest that it was far less popular in the colonies except in concentrated urban areas.[179] Louisbourg inventories contain fancy collars, cuffs, and bonnets alongside expensive fontages and yards of handmade lace.[180]

The differences between the descriptions of Louisbourg and Beaubassin headdresses could be due to any one of a handful of factors—kerchiefs worn outside for warmth contrasted with highly decorative bonnets worn to a social indoors event; winter versus summer wear; or informal versus formal. Louisbourg inventories show fancy headdresses of the same kind as those described at Beaubassin.[181] Perhaps De la Varenne saw what he wanted to see and assumed that the ladies wearing high lace fontages and gold-trimmed bonnets in Louisbourg were French, rather than Acadian wives of French officers. Either way, Acadian women in both Louisbourg and Beaubassin had access to fancy lace headdresses and wore them publicly.

The conditions of the soil have left no hats or wigs behind to give a clear image of Acadian men's headdressing. No hat buckles—identifiable thanks to the pin's placement

along the long axis of the buckle—have yet been identified among the Acadian finds.[182] Images from nearby colonies and French seafarers show a range of headgear options. Hats worn by the lower orders were usually felt or wool, round or slightly square-crowned, with a medium width brim. The brimmed hats could be pinned up on one, two or three sides, or worn with the brim shading all around the head. For working on the water, knitted caps like the Monmouth cap were popular from the sixteenth century onwards.[183]

Wigs, while common along most socioeconomic strata by the latter half of the eighteenth century, do not show up in the archaeological record for Acadia. The most obvious sign of wig use that can be found archaeologically is the ubiquitous wig curler, a double-bulbed ceramic stick which could be heated and have hair wrapped around it, much like today's electric curlers. Wig curlers of this sort have been found at other colonial sites, including Louisbourg, but none directly associated with Acadian households. The high count of wig curlers found at other colonial sites where wigs were certainly worn suggests that the lack of curlers or fragments thereof is a good indicator of the non-use of wigs in the related communities.[184]

The non-use of wigs is as telling as the use of curlers and wigs would be. Wigs, in the colonial period, were heavily entrenched in notions of European gentility and success. Part of the same group of luxury consumer items as gemmed sleeve-buttons and lace trims, wigs played a large role in the performance of European masculinity.[185] Women's hair was natural-but-enhanced, wigs worn only in contexts where masculinity was incorporated in their performance of a variation of feminine style, as with riding habits.[186] Wigs on men began as courtly wear in the seventeenth century and trickled down to

much wider use by the eighteenth, becoming less expensive as more wig-makers were employed and variations, some styles associated with specific professions, flooded the market.[187] The lack of wig-wearing in Acadia was not a question of money or of access. Marie Le Borgne's inventories from Louisbourg showed bags of hair that were likely being sold for wig-making, and for stuffing the bag-wigs and false queues worn at the fortress.[188] And while wigs had problems in humidity and wet weather, those drawbacks did not prevent wig-wearing in Louisbourg or Montreal.[189]

By the mid-eighteenth-century wig-wearing had become common in small villages and towns across France and the colonies; bag-wigs in particular were common wear among urban-dwellers and French aristocracy in New France and Louisbourg.[190] Wigs as part of the genteel wardrobe fit in neatly with the conceptualization of control that pervaded ideas of appropriate behaviour. The wig was an artificial replacement of nature, part of the culture of artifice that placed barriers between man and nature, that Rousseau's theories of the natural man would eventually turn around.[191] The natural body was unruly and required taming, skin covered with powders, flesh constrained by corsetry, movement refined by etiquette and protocol. Natural hair was—and is still, in judgements directed at some ethnicities in the modern day—seen as uncouth and a sign of not only poverty but deliberately uncivilized behaviour.[192] By refusing to wear the wigs associated with civility and gentility, Acadian men marked themselves as more "natural," which at the time was correlated with a notion of physical and emotional savagery.

Acadian women, whose hair was worn bound up underneath linen caps, did not face the kind of negative stereotyping as would men without wigs, though their use of lace caps stood out to at least one priest as incongruous and inappropriate because of the

mixed messages their headdresses were sending. Were they poor, physically exposed, and entirely too colonized, with their ankles and hair uncovered, or were they European women of the middling class with lace fripperies and silk ribbons, fine linen cuffs and jewelled buttons? The incongruity of the styles extended outsiders' discomfort, reinforcing perceptions of Acadians as outsiders.

CONCLUSIONS

Determining which garments were worn and by whom requires extrapolation from a wide evidence pool. Contemporary fashions can be matched up to the archaeological evidence, even when we consider contradictory evidence from primary source descriptions. The garments and accessories worn by Acadians both at Fortress Louisbourg and at settlements like Beaubassin and Melanson indicate a high value placed on engaging with elite European clothing culture. The types of garments which appear in probate inventories and the findings which allow us to extrapolate through the archaeological record are more varied than surviving written descriptions lead readers to believe. At the same time, those descriptions are unlikely to have been completely falsified, and evidence remains of simple clothing, worn simply. How, then, to reconcile the two?

Once we take into account variables including the time and distance between Acadia and France, the Acadians display interest in contemporary fashion. Materials available to them that were not available in France proper gave them something of an advantage fashion-wise, such as the cotton *indiennes* popular among Acadian women in Louisbourg. Differences in the clothing systems between settlements must also be

considered. While subject to similar weather conditions and with similar materials available, the social and political needs of each settlement were different, and that is reflected in the clothing. Acadians adjusted their wear to fit their social environment and, likely, to meet expectations, either positive or negative depending on the audience and the occasion.[193]

The clothes worn by Acadian women in Louisbourg were in the styles and fabrics which came the closest to metropolitan France of anything Acadians wore. Even then, aspects of their Acadian upbringing remained—in the avoidance of it, as seen in their tastes for silk and rejection of wool skirts and bodices for wear in the Fortress—and in their acceptance, in Anne Levron's simple waistcoats and the fragments of knitted wool for stockings.[194] Moving into the urban center, married to French officers and officials, they embraced styles like the hooped petticoats which were impractical for the marshes and fur-trading hubs of Annapolis and Siknikt.

Beaubassin, the richest archaeological deposit excavated to date, shows evidence of wardrobes which included a little bit of everything. The inhabitants there were code-switching, wearing European fashions when it suited the needs of one of the community leaders to look the part of an official, or for special occasions and Sunday best. Elements of Mi'kmaq dress come through elsewhere, in the local leathers and the repurposing of trade beads for decoration on their own clothing. The red stripes of which Acadians were fond can be seen in Mi'kmaq clothing and adornment as well, the colour deeply significant.[195] Homespun and basic wool functioned as protective wear in the winter and as protection against raids, Acadians presenting themselves to outsiders as poor and not worth attacking, while in the background their trading economy boomed. Their

geographical position and ability to meet others on their own visual level both contributed to their success as middlemen.

Evidence of European clothing surfaced at Melanson alongside trade bead necklaces and status items including the paste gem sleeve buttons and the spur buckle. The ability to engage with government officials on similar ground would have been more useful for Jean Melanson in the early eighteenth century than for the other members of his family as they closed in on the time of the deportation. The fashions of nearby Belleisle are more difficult to determine because of the lack of personal notions that have been uncovered at the site. We do have the spindle whorl, indicating the use of homespun, the embroidery scissors which prove embellishment beyond the most basic, and pins for dressing and dressmaking, used to keep aprons, collars, cravats, and sleeves as part of the controlled and tidy body.

On the one hand, the lack of constraining garments and artifice in hair and wig made the Acadians stand apart from the fashionistas of the empires that surrounded them. By comparison to the carefully controlled bodies of the eighteenth century especially, later Acadians were rough and rustic, their clothes seemingly "tossed on," all of which led to assumptions regarding their social standing and socioeconomic abilities.[196] The burgeoning consumer economy that built alongside the industrial revolution influenced the ways in which Europeans demonstrated wealth and membership in particular socioeconomic strata, turning clothing from a declaration of previously-attained status to a means of achieving the status in the first place. In the French ancien régime, constrained and constrictive clothing spoke to a person's moral integrity and manners,

and the looser, half-"savage" bodies of the Acadians, who nonetheless wore clean linens and fine silks against their skin, confounded attempts to place them into either category.

On the other, by the middle of the eighteenth century, formal clothing and impressive wigs were coming to define the artifice that philosophers such as Rousseau were in the process of rejecting. The eighteenth century was an era both of masking and of intense curiosity in what lay below the mask. Moralists appealed to the natural body and environment as inherently superior, while manufacturers worked at making artificial hair that could not be differentiated from the natural.[197] The wigless, trouser-wearing Acadian became, in this worldview, a more *authentic* man, with fewer obstacles between himself and the natural world.[198] That authenticity became romanticization, until all that was left in the collective memory of the Acadians were their farms and domestic lives. Uncovering the truth means digging up the remnants of the fancy clothes that they also kept in their wardrobes, reflections of a consumer market to which the Acadians were not strangers.

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[1] Webster and Villebon, *Acadia at the End of the Seventeenth Century; Letters, Journals and Memoirs of Joseph Robineau de Villebon, Commandant in Acadia, 1690-1700, and Other Contemporary Documents*, 128, 132.
[2] See overviews such as Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*; Peter F. Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*, vol. 58, Contributions in American History (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977); Baumgarten, *Eighteenth-Century Clothing at Williamsburg*; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*; Madeleine Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century* (Yale University Press, 1998); Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Margaret F. Rosenthal, "Cultures of Clothing in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (2009): 459–81; Kathleen A. Staples and Madelyn C. Shaw, *Clothing Through American History: The British Colonial Era* (Santa Barbara, California: Greenwood Press, 2013); Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes*.
[3] An explanation and basic methodology for this has been laid out in Daniel Roche, *La culture des apparences: une histoire du vetement (XVIIe-XVIIIe siecle)* (Paris]: Fayard, 1989), 34–35.
[4] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 34–35; Susanne Scholz, *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 17–18; Rosenthal, "Cultures of Clothing in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 473.

[5] François-Alexandre-Pierre de Garsault, *Art Du Tailleur : Contenant Le Tailleur d'habits d'hommes, Les Culottes de Peau, Le Tailleur de Corps de Femmes & Enfants, La Couturière & La Marchande de Modes* (Paris: De L'imprimerie, L. F. Delatour, 1769). Also see; Allen and West, *The Taylor's Complete Guide, or, A Comprehensive Analysis of Beauty and Elegance in Dress : Containing Rules for Cutting out Garments of Every Kind, and Fitting Any Person with the Greatest Accuracy and Precision, Adapted to All Sizes, Pointing out, in the Clearest Manner, the Former Errors in the Profession, and the Method of Rectifying What May Have Been Done Amiss ... : To Which Is Added, A Description to Cut out and Make the Patent Elastic Habits and Cloaths, without the Usual Seams ... / the Whole Concerted and Devised by a Society of Adepts in the Profession* (Printed for Allen and West ..., 1799); Juan de Alcega and J. L Nevinson, *Tailor's Pattern Book, 1589: Facsimile* (New York: Costume & Fashion Press, 1589); Francisco de la Rocha Burguen and Pedro Patricio Mey, *Geometria y Traça Perteneciente Al Oficio de Sastres : Donde Se Contiene El Modo y Orden de Cortar Todo Genero de Vestidos Españoles y Algunos Franceses y Turcos... Por Francisco de La Rocha Burguen...* (Valencia: En Valencia por Pedro Patricio Mey... acosta del mismo autor, 1618); Martín de Andújar, *Geometria y Trazas Pertenecientes Al Oficio de Sastres : Donde Se Contiene El Modo y Orden de Cortar Todo Genero de Vestidos* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino a costa de Alonso Pérez, 1640).
[6] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 14 Also see Diéreville, Relation of the Voyage to Port Royal in Acadia or New France, A facsim. Ed., Publications of the Champlain Society 20 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 96. Plates in the Mercure Galant from 1678 and onwards do not show hooded cloaks as desirable fashion items.
[7] John Evelyn's diary, 18 October 1666, quoted in Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes*, 48.
[8] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 10.
[9] Pennautier, "Enchantillon de Drap Du XVIIIme Siecle"; Lydia Edwards, *How to Read a Dress: A Guide to Changing Fashion from the 16th to the 20th Century* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 34.
[10] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 11.
[11] See Janet Arnold, Jenny Tiramani, and Santina M. Levey, *Patterns of Fashion 4: The Cut and Construction of Linen Shirts, Smocks, Neckwear, Headwear and Accessories for Men and Women C. 1540-1660*, vol. 4, 4 vols., Patterns of Fashion (Hollywood, CA: Quite Specific Media, 2008).
[12] Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 34–35.
[13] Valerie Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 13, 27; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 34–35.
[14] Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 165–67, 211.
[15] Edwards, *How to Read a Dress*, 11.
[16] On the subject of masculinities, see Lemire, "A Question of Trousers"; and Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850*.
[17] https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.51967.html
[18] Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes*, 44–45.
[19] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 112–16.
[20] Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 31–32; There is extremely minimal evidence of whalebone use in New France, even among the moneyed elite. See La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 15.
[21] François Boucher and Yvonne Deslandres, *A History of Costume in the West* (Thames and Hudson, 1987), 302.
[22] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 14; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 144.
[23] Lemire, "A Question of Trousers," 2.
[24] Lemire, 3, 7–8.
[25] Nicolas-Edme Rétif de la Bretonne, *Monsieur Nicolas Ou Le Coeur Humain Dévoilé*, 16 vols. (Paris: Publié par lui-même, 1794).
[26] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 25.
[27] Lemire, "A Question of Trousers," 4, 9.
[28] Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts,* Plate 55.
[29] Burnham, Plate 55.
[30] Burnham, 78.
[31] Dièreville, *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie, ou de la Nouvelle France*, 96.
[32] Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly," 199.

[33] de Meulles, "Account of the Voyage of Monsieur de Meulles to Acadie, 1685-1686," 109; Perrot, "Relation de l'acadie Envoyée Par Le Sr. Perrot," 9 August 1686.
[34] White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians,'" 112–13.
[35] Varenne and Donovan, "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756 (with an Introduction by Ken Donovan)," 124.
[36] De la Dernier: Public Archives of Canada, MG 21, E5, 19071, p. 338
[37] Landry, "Culture Matérielle et Niveaux de Richesse Chez Les Pêcheurs de Plaisance et de l'île Royale, 1700-1758" Probate inventories for Acadian Jeanne Thibudeau, Anne Levron and Marie Bourg show wardrobe ranging from between 25 - 40 items. Centre des Archives d'Outre-mer [CAOM], G2, vol. 197, dossier 151; CAOM, G3 2042 1754, 21 June; Centre des Archives d'Outre-mer [CAOM], G2, vol. 182, 986–1009, Inventaire après le décès de dame Anne Levron, 19 December 1733.
[38] La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 55.
[39] Pothier, "GOUTIN, MATHIEU DE."
[40] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 32–33.
[41] "Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin."; "Record of the Sale after Death of the Possessions of Pierre Lambert." (April 6, 1756), Id. vol. 205, doss. 393., Fortress Louisbourg Terminology was not consistent between English and French and men's and women's wear. For the sake of clarity, the linen undergarment worn by men will be termed a "shirt," and the women's the French "chemise."
[42] Diderot and Gillispie, *Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry : Manufacturing and the Technical Arts in Plates, Selected from L'Encyclopédie; Ou, Dictionnaire Raisonné Des Sciences, Des Arts Et Des Métiers, of Denis Diderot*, sec. Supplement III, p. 751.
[43] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 32.
[44] La Grenade, "Le Costume Civil à Louisbourg Au XVIIIe Siècle," 113.
[45] La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 12–13.
[46] La Grenade, "Le Costume Civil à Louisbourg Au XVIIIe Siècle," 114.
[47] La Grenade, 117–18.
[48] See Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 24–28.
[49] T Waller, *A General Description of All Trades, Digested in Alphabetical Order: By Which Parents, Guardians, and Trustees, May ... Make Choice of Trades Agreeable to the Capacity, Education, Inclination, Strength, and Fortune of the Youth under Their Care ... To Which Is Prefixed, An Essay on Divinity, Law, and Physic* (London: T. Waller, at the Crown and Mitre, 1747), quoted in Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 25.
[50] La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 14.
[51] La Grenade-Meunier, 14. The terminology issue is a complex one, the term "corset" for boned, shape-altering garments not entering the English lexicon until c. 1795. The term "corset" appears in French use much earlier, as seen in Anne Levron's inventories in 1733, though it is not certain at all whether or not the French "corset" was a whalebone-stiffened garment as corsets would become in the nineteenth century.
[52] Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 104–5.
[53] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 124.
[54] Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 34.
[55] Garsault's books are from the second half of the 18th century, but are the clearest and best available visual examples of the types of garments described in the inventories. Garsault, *Art Du Tailleur*, fig. 3.
[56] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[57] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[58] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 148–49.
[59] For more on the eroticized nature of boned stays, see Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 199–210.
[60] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 148–49.
[61] Tomczyszyn, "Sifting Through the Papers of the Past," 215.
[62] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 95.

[63] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 120.
[64] "Estat Des Habitans Du Port-Royal, Leurs Familles, Terres En Valleur, Bestiaux et Fusils" (Census, 1700), Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies; état civil et recensements : Série G1 : Recensements et documents divers : C-2572, Library and Archives Canada.
[65] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[66] Donovan, "Slaves and Their Owners in Ile Royale, 1713-1760," 3.
[67] Donovan, 5, 14.
[68] "neuf vieux Gillets pour femme," "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[69] http://coraginsburg.com/catalogues/2010/cat2010pg18insert.htm
[70] "Procès Verbal de Levée de Scelle et Inventaire Faits Chez La D'Île Peré."
[71] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Contrat de Mariage Entre Charles Saint-Etienne, Sieur de La Tour, Né En Acadie, Fils de Défunt Jacques Saint-Etienne, Sieur de La Tour et de Dame Anne Melançon, et Demoiselle Marie Perré, Fille de Feu Antoine Perré, de Son Vivant Marchand à Louisbourg, et de Marianne Ponce." (September 3, 1727), Série G3. Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies; notariat [document textuel (surtout des microformes)] (R11577-30-3-F), Library and Archives Canada.
[72] See texts including Antoine de Courtin, *Nouveau Traité de La Civilité Qui Se Pratique En France Parmi Les Honnêtes Gens . Nouvelle Édition, Revue, Corrigée & de Beaucoup Augmentée Par Le Même Auteur* (De la Boutique de feu M. Josset a Paris Chez Louis Josse, à la Couronne d'Epines et Charles Robustel, au Palmier. ruë Saint Jacques., 1712); Nicolas Faret, *L'honnête homme. Ou, L'art de plaire à la cour* (Strasbourg: Welper, 1664).
[73] Ulinka Rublack and Pamela Selwyn, "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 53 (2002): 2.
[74] See the "petit corps" worn by Marianne Benoist, listed in "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[75] On stays and the lower orders in England, see Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 165–78.
[76] Steele, *The Corset*, 26, 28; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 172–73.
[77] La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 15; Tomczyszyn, "Sifting Through the Papers of the Past," 215–16.
[78] Sorge-English, *Stays and Body Image in London*, 52–54.
[79] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[80] Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 37, 41.
[81] Roche, *La culture des apparences*.
[82] La Grenade found only two other robes de chambre among other Louisbourg inventories and was uncertain as to the type of gown actually indicated by the terminology. La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 23.
[83] Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*, 62.
[84] Quoted in Waugh, 112–13; Roche, *La culture des apparences*, 121.
[85] Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*, 117.
[86] Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 37.
[87] Crowston, 51–53; Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*, 68, 115.
[88] Digital Media webmaster@vam ac uk Victoria and Albert Museum, "Introduction to 18th-Century Fashion," January 25, 2011, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/i/introduction-to-18th-century-fashion/.
[89] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 64; Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*, 114–15; Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 54–55.
[90] Jacques-François de Memberton de Brouillon, governor of Port Royal, complained that Mathieu was "hardly in a position to make good judgments ... because a third of the settlers are relatives of his wife." Jonah and Tait, "Filles d'Acadie, Femmes De Louisbourg: Acadian Women And French Colonial Society In Eighteenth-Century Louisbourg," 28.
[91] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 122.
[92] La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 23.

[93] François A. de (François Alexandre) Garsault, *L'art de la lingere* (Paris: De L'imprimerie, L. F. Delatour, 1771), 57.
[94] Burnham, *The Comfortable Arts*, fig. 55 Nova Scotia Museum, Halifax, accession # 8031.
[95] La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg," 20.
[96] Louisbourg numbers taken from La Grenade-Meunier, "Le costume civil à Louisbourg."
[97] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[98] "Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin."
[99] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 105.
[100] Ferris, "Buttons I Have Known," 98.
[101] Lindbergh, "Buttoning down Archaeology," 51.
[102] Photograph in the public domain. http://am.adlibhosting.com/amonline/advanced/Details/collect/29032
[103] Robe volante = a 'floating gown' – a loose-bodiced dress popular in the first half of the eighteenth century, worn for casual entertaining. The other use for the rings could be as reinforcements for eyelet holes, a theory supported by their proximity to a sewing awl when found.
[104] Waugh, *The Cut of Women's Clothes*, 68–69.
[105] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[106] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 129.
[107] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 96.
[108] Lemire, "A Question of Trousers," 2–3.
[109] Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*, 58:xv.
[110] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 125.
[111] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 96.
[112] Lemire, "A Question of Trousers," 7–8.
[113] Vila, "Elite Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century France," 19–20.
[114] Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*, 58:6–7.
[115] Pierre d'Avity, *The Estates, Empires, & Principallities of the World Represented by Ye Description of Countries, Maners of Inhabitants, Riches of Prouinces, Forces, Gouernment, Religion; and the Princes That Haue Gouerned in Euery Estate. With the Begin[n]Ing of All Militarie and Religious Orders. Translated out of French by Edw: Grimstone, Sargeant at Armes.* (London: Printed by Adam: Islip; for Mathewe: Lownes; and Iohn: Bill, 1615), 1200–1201.
[116] Hood, *The Weaver's Craft*, 120.
[117] Alessandro Giraffi and James Howell, *An Exact Historie of the Late Revolutions in Naples, and of Their Monstrous Successes Not to Be Parallel'd by Any Ancient or Modern History / Published by the Lord Alexander Giraffi in Italian ; and (for the Rarenesse of the Subject) Rendred to English, by J.H., Esqr.* (London: Printed by R.A. for R. Lowndes, 1650), 11.
[118] Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, 124.
[119] Public Archives of Canada, MG 21, E5, 19071, p. 338
[120] Notariat de l'Ile Royale, "Inventaire de La Communauté de Marguerite Terriau, Veuve de Pierre Boisseau."
[121] Lindbergh, "Buttoning down Archaeology," 53.
[122] White, "Constructing Identities," 274; Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America,* 88–93.
[123] White, "Constructing Identities," 224; Also see Whitehead, *Buckles 1250-1800*.
[124] White, "Constructing Identities," 266.
[125] La Grenade, "Le Costume Civil à Louisbourg Au XVIIIe Siècle," 123, 125.
[126] La Grenade, 124–25.
[127] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 96.
[128] Holme, 96.
[129] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 126.
[130] Garsault, *Art Du Tailleur*, fig. 4.
[131] "Procès Verbal de Vente Des Effets de Feu François Gassot" (August 19, 1752), Section Outre-Mer, Série G2, Vol. 201, Dossier 251, Archives de la Marine; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 135.

[132] Herman Moll, “This Map of North America, According to Ye Newest and Most Exact Observations Is Most Humbly Dedicated by Your Lordship’s Most Humble Servant Herman Moll, Geographer,” image, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, 1715, https://www.loc.gov/item/80695450/.
[133] Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*, 58:30.
[134] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 95–96.
[135] “Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin.”
[136] “Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin.”; Notariat de l’Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), “Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle.”
[137] Anishanslin, *Portrait of a Woman in Silk*, 181 See artifact BeDi:2-2473.
[138] Holme, *The Academy of Armory*, 97; Waugh, *The Cut of Men’s Clothes*, fig. 7.
[139] “Procès Verbal de Levée Des Scelles et Inventaire Des Meubles et Effets de La Succession de Deffunte Dame Jeanne Thibaudo, Veuve Degoutin.”
[140] Notariat de l’Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), “Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle.”
[141] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 44.
[142] Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV. To Which Is Added, a Summary of The Age of Louis XV*, trans. R. Griffith (London: Fielding and Walker, 1779), Vol. 1, 214.
[143] Colley Cibber, *The Careless Husband*, ed. William Worthen Appleton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1704), sec. 5.5; Aparna Gollapudi, *Moral Reform in Comedy and Culture, 1696–1747*, Performance in the Long Eighteenth Century: Studies in Theatre, Music, Dance (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013), 93–94.
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[145] Katherine Lester and Bess Viola Oerke, *Accessories of Dress: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Courier Corporation, 2013), 215–16.
[146] Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*, 58:9.
[147] Diderot and d’Alembert, *The Encyclopedia: Selections*, vols. 4, section III, plate 3.
[148] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 122.
[149] Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*, 58:81.
[150] Egan, *Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items*, 102, plate 346; Elton, *Cloth Seals*, 289.
[151] M. Sonenscher, “The Hosiery Industry of Nimes and the Lower Languedoc in the Eighteenth Century,” *Textile History* 10, no. 1 (October 1, 1979): 142; David Kammerling Smith, “Learning Politics: The Nîmes Hosiery Guild and the Statutes Controversy of 1706-1712,” *French Historical Studies* 22, no. 4 (1999): 492.
[152] Smith, “Learning Politics,” 499.
[153] Sonenscher, “The Hosiery Industry of Nimes and the Lower Languedoc in the Eighteenth Century,” 152; Smith, “Learning Politics,” 529.
[154] Egan, *Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items*, 102, plate 346; Elton, *Cloth Seals*, 289.
[155] Egan; Elton.
[156] Sonenscher, “The Hosiery Industry of Nimes and the Lower Languedoc in the Eighteenth Century,” 142.
[157] 1733, letter from the firm of Bousquet & Cie, cited in Sonenscher, 152.
[158] Delpierre, *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century*, 43–44; Sonenscher, “The Hosiery Industry of Nimes and the Lower Languedoc in the Eighteenth Century,” 152.
[159] Ricker, *L’sitkuk*, 15; Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads*, 59–60.
[160] Hale, “Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly,” 234.
[161] “Invoice of Merchandise from Abraham Boudrot to André Taneuil”; Welsteed, “Certificate by William Welsteed.”
[162] Rothstein, “Silk in European and American Trade before 1783: A Commodity of Commerce or a Frivolous Luxury?”
[163] Beverly Lemire, “‘Men of the World’: British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, c. 1660–1800,” *Journal of British Studies* 54, no. 2 (April 2015): 298–99.

[164] Edward Barlow, "Journal of Edward Barlow" (1703 1659), vol. 1, p. 158, JOD/4, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.
[165] Cissie Fairchilds, "The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, Consumption & Culture in 17th & 18th Centuries (London: Routledge, 1993), 233.
[166] Fairchilds, 235.
[167] Harald Deceulaer, "Technological Transfers between Politics, Markets and Culture: Framework Knitting versus Hand-Knitting in the Southern Netherlands (Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries)," in *History of Technology*, vol. 23 (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001), 17–40.
[168] Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, 356, note 86. Also see Georges Lefebvre, Études orléanaises : I. Contribution à l'étude des structures sociales à la fin du XVIIIe siècle.
[169] https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/pair-of-stockings-96939
[170] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 86, 88.
[171] Cozzens, *Acadia, or, A Month with the Blue Noses*, 39–40, 55–56.
[172] "From the forehead of each you see at a glance how the dark mass of hair has been combed forward and over the face, that the little triangular Norman cap might be tied across the crown of the head. Then the hair is thrown back again over this, so as to form a large bow in front, then re-tied at the crown with colored ribbons. Then you see it has been plaited in a shining mesh, brought forward again, and braided with ribbons, so that it forms, as it were, a pretty coronet, well-placed above those brilliant eyes and harmonious features. This, with the antique kirtle and picturesque petticoat, is an Acadian portrait." Cozzens, 55–56.
[173] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 40.
[174] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/102543
[175] Nadon, "The Isthmus of Chignecto," 45.
[176] Dunn, Ross, and Wallace, "Looking into Acadie : Three Illustrated Studies," 40.
[177] Varenne and Donovan, "A Letter from Louisbourg, 1756 (with an Introduction by Ken Donovan)."
[178] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 172.
[179] Staples and Shaw, *Clothing Through American History*, 246.
[180] "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine"; Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle."
[181] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle,"; "Inventaire Après Décès de Dame Anne Levron, à La Requête de Son Mari, Pierre Benoît, Enseigne d'une Compagnie de La Marine."
[182] White, "Constructing Identities," 230.
[183] Kirstie Buckland, "The Monmouth Cap," *Costume* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 1979): 23–37.
[184] David Muraca et al., "Small Finds, Space, and Social Context: Exploring Agency in Historical Archaeology," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (January 31, 2014): 5–6.
[185] Muraca et al., 6.
[186] Dorothy A. Mays, *Women in Early America: Struggle, Survival, and Freedom in a New World* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 50.
[187] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, 129; Carson, Hoffman, and Albert, *Of Consuming Interests : The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 506–13, 642–61; White, *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680-1820*, 117; Michael Kwass, "Big Hair: A Wig History of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century France," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 636–636; Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 378–79.
[188] Notariat de l'Ile Royale (Greffe de Bacquerisse), "Inventaire Des Biens Meubles Appartenant à Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle,"; Kenneth Joseph Donovan, *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial, 1785-1985* (University College of Cape Breton Press, 1985), 21.
[189] White, *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680-1820*, 215–16.
[190] Donovan, *Cape Breton at 200*, 18–19, 20.
[191] Kwass, "Big Hair," 652, 653.
[192] Morgan and Rushton, "Visible Bodies," 41.
[193] Kwass, "Big Hair," 656.

[194] Louisbourg curator's spreadsheet, item # 2L80H9-10.
[195] Bourque and LaBar, *Uncommon Threads*, 61.
[196] Hale, "Journal of a Voyage to Nova Scotia Made in 1731 : By Robert Hale of Beverly," 234.
[197] Kwass, "Big Hair," 653; Morgan and Rushton, "Visible Bodies," 40.
[198] Kwass, "Big Hair," 653.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Once viewed simply as mere artifacts, cloth and clothing are now recognized as culturally constructed commodities with complex symbolic properties, transmitting purity and pollution, linking past and present, transforming through belief…[1]

Clothing choice goes beyond the individual. Daily dressing decisions rely on an immense weight of contextual information that is processed both consciously and subconsciously. The environment, access to materials and goods, pressures from elite style-setters, contact with other groups and their encoded signals, and explorations of gender and age roles all play parts in determining what a person wears and what fashions become popular. Those choices intersect with politics, encoding messages about the social and physical body, loyalties, economy, and both group and individual identities. Dress is part of a vast network of concepts, objects, and relationships which bring meaning to non-verbal communication. The ways in which humans cover their bodies is a defining feature of culture, the creation of a second, social skin layered overtop of the intimate messiness of human biology.[2] Dress is used to control, mitigate, and redefine the edges of the body, and changes the way in which a person engages with the rest of the world.[3] The environments in which people exist are fundamental to the forms of identity which they create and display on their bodies.[4] Identity as defined by dress is also malleable, and difficult to extract from the static remains of single moments in time.

This dissertation began with three goals: to add to the body of knowledge around Acadian dress, textiles, and accessories; to better situate that textile culture within the Atlantic world and the development of Acadian self-representation; and to build a methodology for indirect analysis of dress and adornment in cases where garments have

not survived. These goals have been achieved, culminating in a fuller image of Acadian dress and domestic life and a detailed catalogue of clothing-related finds from major Acadian archaeological sites. The process also proved to be a useful test of the methodology; touching first on the benefits and drawbacks of the framework will better inform the discussions of the results which follow.

Suggested methods for dress analysis to date have focused on reducing the complexity of dress' fundamental role down to more easily measured and repeatable processes. Suggestions such as Joan Severa's physical examinations of garments for their use-history can only be used on individual objects or collections. Object biographies and trade network analysis fall into the same problems as art history and materials analysis—each process captures only a small portion of the information that can be extracted from an object or an image, and most depend on having a physical object to examine. The history of dress, however, is itself intersectional, combining economics with art, and engaging simultaneously with both the physical and symbolic. Dress is unique in its role as a mediator between the body and the world, impacted by both. Material entanglement embraces that complexity, doing more to capture the true roles of adornment and dress in human society.

The drawbacks of using a material entanglement framework unfortunately stem from the same place as the benefits. The sheer volume of information generated through following all possible lines of enquiry around an object can be overwhelming. In order to make the process effective, we need to draw careful boundaries around a question. Those boundaries are better drawn in different places than they have been previously—not sectioning off individual or small groups of attributes of a dress object, but around the

space that thing inhabits in the world. Rather than focusing in on a single factor or feature or attempting to go too deep and wide across the board, we can envision object research as a circle expanding outward from a defined centre.

Imagining a *thing* as the pebble landing in the water, we come back to the original metaphor of expanding and colliding ripples with which this thesis began. Simplified, the first circle around a *thing* encompasses a single person or moment—the original producer or user, for example—their individual tastes and influences, the context in which they were born and raised, their access to materials, subcultural affiliations, and so forth. Moving outward, the second circle could be selected to encompass the user or producer's nuclear family and the influences which shaped *them*, and so on outward until a project size becomes unwieldy. This is best capped at a point where further expansion is likely to present diminishing returns for the amount of work required. The location of that boundary will be different for each project, depending on individual goals, the number of contributors, and the amount of data available.

One investigator cannot be expected to be an expert in all areas that could be brought into projects designed this way, and this is where interdisciplinary, multi-disciplinary, and trans-disciplinary connections and research teams will be necessary in order to weave the disparate strands together. The entanglement metaphor can be helpful here in that it provides interdisciplinary groups with a shared basis for investigation, and a theoretical structure not beholden to any specific field or discipline. Its most functional place is not necessarily as a framework kept within historical archaeology, but as a uniting concept allowing for consistency across larger projects that traverse multiple disciplines, techniques, and analytical spaces.

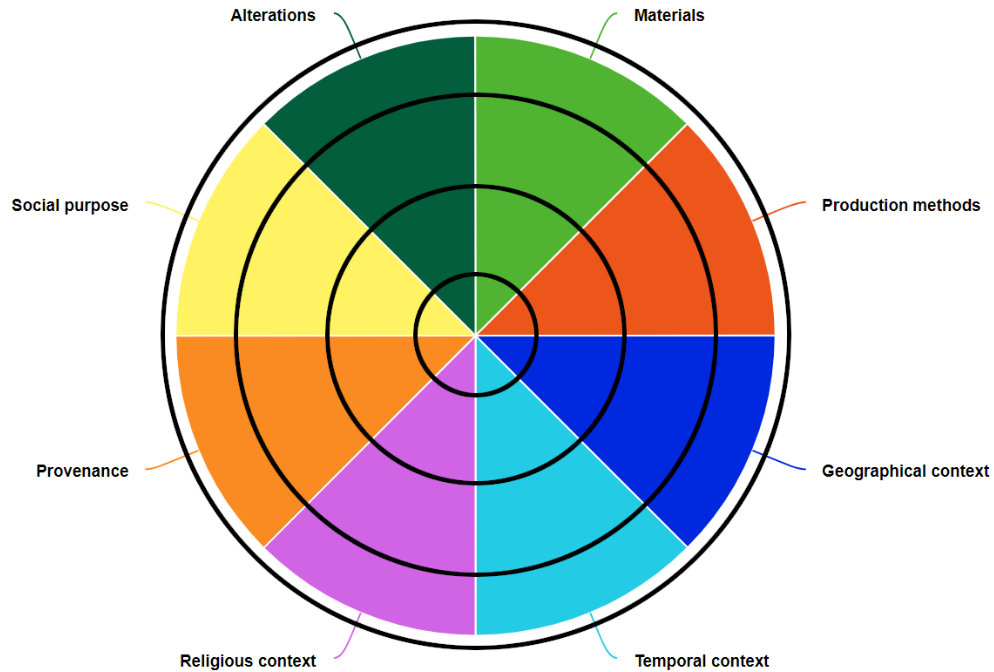

Figure 7.1: A visualization of the imposition of 'ripples' as boundaries for research as opposed to siloed subjects.

There is a baseline evidentiary level below which the process will not be effective, and our pool of information on dress and related artifacts in Acadia is currently hovering just above that line. Some artifacts also contain more useful clues than others. Pins and needles can be interesting sources so long as their eyes and heads are mostly intact, and they have not been too badly corroded. Buttons have limitations in that they are often isolated finds and may have an invisible history of reuse and repurposing. Decorative buckles, bale seals, scissors, religious, and personalized items are extremely useful, and a great deal of information can be gleaned from them. The quantity of high-information-value small finds at a site is ultimately the deciding factor as to whether this method will generate viable, reliable results. As more artifacts and evidence are uncovered in future

excavations this thesis can be revisited and some firmer conclusions can be made—both regarding wardrobe details and the sociocultural changes that they indicate.

There is also an issue of cost and returns. Is it worth delving six levels deep into the entanglements around an object in order to determine its exact nature? Sometimes the answer will be yes and for other projects the signal to noise ratio of the data will be overwhelming. Working with circumstantial evidence and small finds requires the application of an investigator's intuition and willingness to re-sort and re-examine data sets in lateral ways. It is not the most efficient in terms of sparking ideas, but the connections it reveals are important enough that it is worth the effort.

The Acadian Fashion System

One idea that this thesis has reiterated is the importance of dress studies to the understanding of a group's unspoken mores and convictions. The body is a site of contestation and tension, with dress as a conscious and subconscious mediator. Incorporating an understanding of dress as a form of communication gives us new insight into previously obscured connections and perspectives. The results invite us to reimagine how we might consider Acadia, and the Acadians. The sartorial creation of and control over Acadian bodies, already perceived as being different than the French bodies in New France and the Indigenous bodies of Mi'kma'ki, generated a new tension at the intersection of style and function. The evolving social spaces of Acadia fostered a new form of self, a means of navigating the complicated intersections of imposed external control and the realities of daily life and local priorities.[5]

The first thing that emerges from the data is a realization that speaking about the fashion of "the Acadians" as a monolith is itself incorrect. What we can currently see of their material culture suggests that distinctions can be made between the settlements, and those distinctions are not solely based on individual wealth or preferences. Differences appear in the assemblages that suggest divergence based on characteristics of the rural and urban environments, the settlements' distance from the centres of imperial control, and the level of engagement different groups of Acadians had with non-Acadian neighbours and guests. This finding concurs with previous research on ceramic use and trade patterns.

The data also indicate that the descriptive evidence from primary documentary sources needs to be re-evaluated. Some of the poor, humble farmers from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century descriptions wore more elaborate and higher-status clothing than the texts indicate, throwing the questions of intention and audience into relief. There is proof of interest in and attention paid to luxury goods in different ways across the settlements—and not only luxury in the changing sense of aping one's betters, but leisure activities that continued the process of blurring social boundaries and the distinctions between elite and non-elite families.

France's fashion system in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries placed a high premium on equating physical manners with gentility, dress used as a means of separating the social castes. England in the same time period valued physical control over individual bodies, and while free from sumptuary law after 1604, still read status through the lens of appearance. In order to decode the clothing culture of pre-deportation Acadia,

however, we must first determine what fashions were being worn at each of the settlements, and how those choices engaged with the socio-cultural climate of the time.

The creation of the dressed body in provincial Poitou was necessarily different than the performance of a settler identity in North America. The changes were embodied in the distinctions between the wardrobes of the Acadian women in Louisbourg and the artifacts found at Beaubassin. Even then, the admixture of the Acadian experience and the expectations of 'civility' expressed through the modes of contemporary European fashion can be seen in some of their possessions, also echoed in items found at rural Acadian sites. Construction of a new political identity that was neither French, nor English, nor Indigenous, allowed Acadians to move between all those worlds, mobility offered by their manipulation of fashion norms.[6] The mixed style of dress that is emerging from the material evidence is an indication of the early development of a new and unique fashion system as successive generations moved further away from their French origins.

That system would still have been deeply rooted in the cultural milieu of seventeenth-century rural south-western France. As Ian Hodder describes, the human tendency when it comes to systems and to *things* in general is to continue to use pre-established conditions and norms.[7] We are more likely to fix a broken object or concept rather than discard it and begin entirely from scratch. This tendency to remain with the familiar is due to what he sees as a natural cost-benefit analysis, where the instinct is to minimize changes in entanglements and prevent the increase of tensions along network lines.[8] Despite all the changes in their lives over the course of the turbulent seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Acadians still lived within a Eurocentric, Christian-dominant

culture. They were not going to discard everything they knew about clothing and textiles to begin entirely from nothing. What they did, as evidence shows, was to adjust their behaviours within the tautness of their pre-existing entanglements.[9]

The low levels of surviving evidence mean we can only define a few individual wardrobes with certainty, but enough remains in the physical and documentary record that we can draw out some larger trends. Acadians across the settlements had access to imported goods and took advantage of that—in some decades more than others, depending on the state of war involved and levels of military activity in the major seaways. Acadians living within Fortress Louisbourg developed a different dress style than those living in Beaubassin, who appear to have been dressing subtly differently again from those near Annapolis. The small regional variations themselves carried information that would have read clearly to contemporary observers.

Connections between France and Acadia changed over the course of the settlements' histories. Trade continued, even though it took different forms and different routes following the handover to the British in 1713, and some Acadians maintained correspondence and trade with the European continent. The ease of access to New England and the long travel times between the Bay of Fundy and New France played a major role in the preferencing of Boston trade over that with Quebec or Montreal. If the Chignecto canal had ever been built, as proposed, that relationship may well have tilted more in the favour of goods coming in from the Northumberland Strait. As it was, however, the easier two-day sail between Boston and Port Royal, as well as the family connections between the Huguenot merchants, ensured that New England fashions would play a larger role in the Acadian visual landscape than they otherwise would have.

Religious identity is one of the fields which set the Acadians apart most strongly from others in the region. As French Catholics their faith made them a target of derision and violence from English Protestants, as annoyed comments about their clergy and their rites appear throughout colonial documents of the period. And yet they maintained visible connections to that same religious identity, an attachment which comes through in the reports we have of Acadian women in their lace and ribbon finery for mass, the religious jewellery, and the importance they placed on displaying their faith. This emerged not only in the abstract, as with the reliquary pendant, but also in the practical, as with the pin of prayer beads and the rosary components. These pieces were not ostentatious, but quiet, visible tools to use in daily worship and spiritual life.

The British takeover brought a new tension into the system. Dress standards were already different enough between France and England that French-based styles—including differences like softer, easily-draped wools and less structured bodices—attracted derisive commentary from the English. Further differences, like decorative motifs and techniques learned from the Mi'kmaq, continued to generate imperial anxiety over social and bodily control.[10] If the Acadians no longer looked like French farmers, they were also not on the way to becoming English ones. Their syncretic mix of styles, incorporating fashions common to New England as well as suggestions of details from the Mi'kmaq, made them even less predictable than before.[11] Confusion erodes trust, which was in short supply to begin with, and that may have played a role in imperial attitudes towards Acadians as a group. Views of the Acadian social hierarchy have focused on land and livestock ownership as signals of elite status, but there is more to be considered.[12] The complex patterns within the material culture evidence speak to

negotiations of power that had as much to do with external influences as internal ones. The fashions of groups nearer to centers of imperial power presented themselves in clothing that better met external expectations. Acadian style changed over the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but not in isolation. Beaubassin picked up on local materials as well as imports, Melanson and Louisbourg put their own spins on European fashions, and while the houses excavated at Belleisle do not suggest focused interest in contemporary high fashion, the residents nevertheless brought in luxury domestic goods connected to textile and clothing production.

Internally, the communal aspects of shared domestic labour point towards a reinforcement of women's sociopolitical power. Quilting and carding bees became venues through which community bonds and reciprocal labour exchanges were reinforced.[13] Externally, trade practices displayed sophistication. Acadian merchants engaged with New England investors and contacts, supplied goods to Louisbourg, and marked social and gender roles with luxury tools and adornments. Acadians in different settlements engaged with a rising capitalist economy in the Atlantic world and were in the early stages of developing their own claims on culture and adornment in the midst of it all.

7.1 The Banlieue: Melanson

Physically closest to the seat of first French and then English power in Acadia, the Melanson families also had strong personal and political connections to both English and French regimes.[14] Evidence in the forms of brass buckles and buttons, decorated spur buckles, and shoe badges, confirms their use of European-style clothing and footwear.

The chronology available from the early destruction of parts of the site show that this was not a late-coming trend, but a persistent style choice that continued throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Wearing fashionable clothing was not necessarily an attempt to ingratiate themselves with the English, nor specifically related to Lady Anne Melanson's status as a member of the seigneurial class. Rather, it was likely a reaction to the centrality of the region, and the presence of a power centre within a couple of miles. The clothing vernacular of the region would have been inspired by fashions at Port Royal, fed by merchants who did business with Port Royal, and in return communicated that sense of regional belonging back to Port Royal and Annapolis Royal.

That belonging in turn made it less important for other signifiers that were a normalized part of European fashion. The large collection of plain scissors indicates that sewing work was being done in the public as well as private areas of the settlements, but that the focus was not necessarily on the luxury levels of the tools. Rather prestige goods at Melanson were wearable, the badges, beads, sleeve buttons and fine-wire pins for delicate linens defining the edges of garments that would not have looked out of place among the middling classes in Paris.

While the difference in the numbers of artifacts recovered from the different sites makes direct comparisons difficult, the materials we do have from Melanson suggest a different outlook on fashion than at the next-closest site, the settlements on the Belleisle Marsh. From current evidence, the Melansons living in the residences which have been excavated so far wore clothing that marked them as reasonably but not extravagantly well-off, attuned to current fashion, and that followed contemporary gender norms. There is little evidence of Indigenous influence on dress styles, and no direct evidence of

moccasins or sabots, though we may assume that some form of practical footwear was in use for farming and labour. Some of the men at Melanson wore buckled breeches, and the women laced jackets and bodices. They wore linen fine enough to justify copper sleeve buttons and accessorized with eye-catching brass decorations and strings of beads that resembled high-fashion pearls. Overall, the Melanson aesthetic was likely in line with that of the Fort, all the better to maintain clear lines of communication—even on the nonverbal level.

7.2 THE MARSH: BELLEISLE

Further away from the interference and politics of the Fort than Melanson, the residents of the Belleisle marsh had less contact with outsiders to worry about.[15] What evidence remains of dress and textile use at Belleisle suggests a more practical mindset. Simpler buttons and heavier pins suggest coarser fabrics, while the buckles are generally simpler and smaller than those seen elsewhere. The Savoie and Blanchard families whose houses have been partially excavated appear to have engaged in more practical and less demonstrative styles of dress than Charles and Anne Melanson, in line with the needs of a farming community. We have the fewest dress-related artifacts from this site, and so fewer conclusions can be safely drawn.

Of all the settlements examined here, Belleisle comes the closest in terms of dress to the archetypes of the rural farmers that appears in older texts. Clark's assertion, on the other hand—that the residents of Annapolis outside of the banlieue were living unsophisticated lives devoid of status signalling—is incorrect.[16] Trade and contact with Louisbourg as well as Boston brought in decorated scissors and jewellery, woolens and,

potentially, silks coming in through their trade connections and remembered through the bale seals. The spindle weight confirms that one of the residents of the Savoie house was spinning delicate threads, though whether for weaving light-weight woolens, sewing, embellishment, or a combination of all those activities is unknown.

Personal adornment was accomplished through items that also had some practical or religious use. The fancy scissors would have been hung from the women's waists, and the decorated crucifix and embellished beads served as physical manifestations of their Catholic faith. The way this community connected was through shared labour, land records revealing many plots worked by collectives of two, three, or more men, sometimes related and sometimes not, the dykes maintained through similar practices.[17] Textile manufacture and clothing production worked the same way, creating a series of public spaces managed by Acadian women, their pride and identity resting in the works of their hands.

7.3 The Fortress: Louisbourg

Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belleisle had a very different life in Louisbourg than Lady Anne Melanson, or Marie Breau *dite* Vincelotte from Belleisle, but the threads which bound them all together remained strong. The locations of the settlements themselves influenced the ways in which Acadians dressed, both in terms of daily life and in the kinds of pressures which surrounded them. The social context of Louisbourg—a handful of Acadians living in the middle of a bustling French port and garrison—was different from the small settlement farming and fishing life of Annapolis, which was

much more removed from European influence than either the fortress or the Melanson settlement.

The Acadians with long-term residence at Louisbourg were primarily women, wives of French officers and other notables. Their probate inventories suggest that they had integrated most of the way into colonial French urban society, but a few anomalies remain. The plain jumps and wool skirts suggest an attachment on at least one woman's part to simpler rural styles, while another's extravagant hooped petticoats defined a high-status silhouette. The mantua or *robe de chambre* was the most popular style early on, while later gowns included yards of imported Indian cottons unavailable to those still living in Paris. The styles that Anne Levron, Jeanne Thibodeau, and their friends wore would have been impractical for farm work, and there is no indication that the women at the fortress spent any time wearing sabots or moccasins.

The brass buttons and fancy sewing equipment found in the Acadian houses at Louisbourg speak to this differentiation as well. The men wore coats, waistcoats, and breeches like the other men around them; fancy stockings, hats, and leather shoes were all available from Acadian traders as well as local producers. Life in Louisbourg would have been one of almost-fitting-in, the dress styles similar, but Acadian tastes—as much as can be surmised from a small sample size—leaning toward the imported painted cottons, silks, and velvets. Perhaps it was a sign of over-compensation, attempts to more fully erase the stigma of coming from a rural background that others disdained. Accessories including pockets and gold jewellery completed the outfits, items such as Le Borgne's France-made earrings symbols of their connections to contemporary continental fashions.

Slightly out of step from the mainstream, but overall assimilated, Acadians in Louisbourg were the group most closely affiliated with the European fashion system.

7.4 THE TRADING HUB: BEAUBASSIN

Outside of the radius of easy imperial control, the Acadians of Beaubassin were in the early stages of constructing a new identity for themselves.[18] The large number of dress-related artifacts discovered at Beaubassin, combined with the surviving documentation, gives us the largest evidentiary basis of all the sites examined here. That evidence indicates that Acadians at Beaubassin combined homespun linen and wool with imported textiles, wore both moccasins and European-style buckled shoes, decorated themselves with home-made and imported religious and secular jewellery, and kept lines of trade open in multiple directions despite England and France's best efforts at control.

By 1750, Beaubassin was on its way toward developing its own vernacular of dress. Local production of linen and wool was supplemented by imported textiles, at first as a necessary supply stream while they ramped up local resources, and later on as a means of acquiring luxuries that they were unable to produce at home: high-end linens, silk, vermillion, indigo, and cotton. Eventually the textile trade expanded and Beaubassin became an export site, engaging in the economy as hosiery producers. Beaubassin appears to have also been also a hub for trade into nearby Mi'kmaq communities, the number and type of bale seals found out of proportion with similar Acadian sites from the same time period. While distant from the Atlantic coast the settlement was by no means isolated, either physically, economically, or culturally. The inhabitants of Beaubassin engaged in sophisticated trade practices with a wide range of partners, from other

Acadians to other North American colonies, and took advantage of their location at the entrance to the Chignecto Isthmus to facilitate that trade.

The 'simple homespun' is only half the story of Beaubassin. It was not only the Louisbourg Acadians who enjoyed European fashions. The presence of items like jewelled sleeve buttons and brass shoe buckles confirms the regular use of continental fashion through the 1720s and 1730s, if not longer. The awl and snips for making eyelets confirms that they were actively constructing and recreating fashionable garments alongside homespun skirts and variations on Indigenous moccasins. Those accessories, ribbons, lace, and silk tell another big part of this story. Buttons—both locally made and imported—the buckles, lacing rings and hooks and eyes alongside the pipe-stem beads and local dyes suggest the blurring of identity into something different than other colonial groups. The tools used for clothing-related tasks display the means by which women at both Belleisle and Beaubassin constructed ideals of gender. The silver-plated scissors and embroidery snips speak to the regular practice of finework, and the level of social prestige placed on women who were engaged in this work. Women engaged in heavy domestic labour in Beaubassin, and also engaged in the kind of finework and dress choices more closely culturally associated with elite ladies of leisure.

Even with some aspects of worn context nebulous at best, we can still paint an image of a hub society around which the wheel of north-eastern trade turned. The Acadian gentleman of Beaubassin wore his decorated sleeve buttons on his fine Holland shirt alongside homemade dorset buttons. His homespun wool breeches were offset by imported silk stockings and brass shoe buckles. He and his wife wore moccasins one day and European leather shoes the next, and carved rosaries from glass trade beads. She spun

everyday linen from homegrown flax for shifts to wear beneath her striped wool skirts and gingham cotton gowns, and tied French silk ribbons and lace into her headdress.

They had interest in elegant clothes, in silks and in brass shirt buttons, and access to the goods as well as the capital with which to acquire them. Drugget and mazamet woollens provided trade goods as well as rugged cloth for outerwear and coats, while tin or silver-plated sewing tools spoke to the pride of those who could display them in their sewing kits. Jewels were given as love pledges, and the Fidel Jewel was a reminder to its owner both of their faith in general and the specific version of Catholicism that came with them from south-western France.

7.5 Conclusions

A variety of influences shape human decisions about what to wear, and the messaging contained with those clothing choices changes with time and as context shifts. Geography, climate, environment, religion, social pressures, age, and gender all make a difference, as does access both to raw materials and to finished products. The combination of context, people, and dress creates what Roche called a clothing system, a new dialect of a visual language.[19] In order to understand a clothing system, the parts of that system need to be identified. This presents a problem for researchers looking at Acadia, as there are no extant garments or textile samples remaining. Extrapolating from what has survived is the only available option, finding the edges and details of the original wardrobes from the clues they left behind. Even in situations where visual evidence in the form of portraiture and sketches are nonexistent, bringing the context and second-degree artifacts into play can give us a sense of what was taking place. In this

case, examination of the physical evidence has highlighted places where biases and assumptions exist in the written primary sources, and in previous interpretations of those sources.

The evidence suggests that the Acadians were neither direct copies of French villagers, nor were they fully independent exceptions from the culture of the Atlantic world. They did share a universal clothing system, and differences were beginning to emerge between settlements. Groups were in the process of developing their own vernaculars, ones which changed from settlement to settlement, altered by different levels of exposure to imperial power, social expectation, and trade opportunities. These changes are reflected in the reactions of outside observers, governors and travelers unsettled by Acadian "demi-republican" disregard for imperial authority.[20]

The wider literature on Acadia has seen much debate regarding Acadian participation and agency in the wider transatlantic world. Most of these discussions have been historically based, arguing from documentation and the subtleties of records two and three hundred years old. The paucity of that documentation, and the gaps in the records that destruction and war have left behind, mean that the picture can never be fully complete. Reintroducing clothing and display as a source of evidence brings the possibility of bridging that gap and adding a different dimension to the question.

Acadians at all the settlements, however rural, understood and engaged with contemporary European and colonial fashions to some degree. Beaubassin even exported linen and hosiery for other markets, while bringing in fashion items both for local use and for trade. It is also clear that in some areas, that fashion was changing based on local

influence and materials. Seal-skin moccasins, trade bead rosaries, tinkler-style aglets, and local dyes made inroads into the aesthetic, particularly in settlements like Beaubassin where engagement with the Mi'kmaq was more frequent.

Sleeve buttons, silk stockings, and brass buckles suggest that many Acadians were clothing-proud. The striped weaves, finely-spun thread, and high-effort dye colours show the kind of work they put into what would be denigrated in outsiders' descriptions as "coarse stuff." The visual simplicity of Acadian weaving allows the casual viewer to underestimate the skill level required to produce their signature textiles. The plain and tabby weaves were a restriction of the style of their looms, and the creativity they explored with their dyes made up for the technical limitations. Their interest in stripes was connected to mainstream fashion of the era but displayed a unique local expression. The dyes they used, including the effort of unravelling and reworking red wool yardage, show a willingness to make the extra investment to acquire dramatic and locally resonant colours that diverged from current urban fashion.

Despite some structural similarities between Acadia and the settlers' villages of origin, Acadian culture diverged from the cultures of their provinces of origin. Acadian spaces began as an early testing ground for what French-ness could look like on another continent, in a new environment. What happened instead was the creation of a cultural dialect, a *francophonie* modified in reaction to the new logistics of life at a distance from the metropole. The changes resonated, confounding the categories and estates of the Ancien Régime, which in turn confused external observers. Changing the signifiers of gentility and civility changes the messages being sent and received. The development of an Acadian dress style, one that was nascent in the early eighteenth century, was the

development of a new visual dialect. One example of this is clearly demonstrated in the dichotomy between fancy clothing and luxury sewing tools at the Melanson site and at Belleisle.

The evidence for clothing in Belleisle suggests a farming community more concerned with practical dress. At the same time, the sewing tools found there show us that some of the women at Belleisle were spending time on embroidery and finework, leisure sewing generally associated with gentility. The sewing tools at the Melanson site, on the other hand, are numerous but simple, middling class affectations appearing instead in their worn accessories—spur buckles and fancy cufflinks. These combinations throw the old system of assumptions into disarray, and the kinds of tensions caused there may be behind some of the contemporary commentary regarding lazy or indolent Acadians. Villebon, Dièreville, and others saw what appeared to be labourers of the third estate engaging in leisure activities and understood the messaging to be one of sloth, when the reality was more of a reshuffling of priorities. Clothing at this stage was less about personal taste than it was about communicating understanding of one's role in society, the notion of appropriate dress feeding into the "culture of appearances" that was so important at the time.[21]

Selections from five archaeological assemblages and six inventories open a window into the daily lives of Acadians in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While broad details of marriages and land ownership give us some insight into the web of interpersonal networks that made up their social world, the collections of tools and accessories shed some light on how they saw themselves and their relationships with others. The connections created by domestic labour-sharing bound the female community

members closer than blood ties and names alone. Reciprocal labour arrangements gave each participant a direct investment in the welfare of new families, intergenerational work gave women a space to tell stories and histories, communicate values and beliefs to the children working with them. That bond with children was reinforced by the familial support seen in marriage contracts which included living space, and the ante-mortem transfer of farm properties from living parents to younger children.[22]

Brought in by traders from ports along the eastern seaboard and across the ocean, imported yard goods, tools, and jewellery marked Acadia's deep and abiding connections outside its geographical borders. Daughters and sons moved to new spaces and carried the vertices of those kinship diagrams with them, merchant husbands drawing new lines and entanglements with each trip back and forth between homestead and birthplace. The communal activities of fancy work, plain work, and fibre processing are the precise sort of shared activity that Jenkins and Weber connect with community formation. The tight bonds of communication, idea transmission, intergenerational, and cross-familial labour sharing provide the foundation for mutual identification as a distinct group with responsibility towards one another, both insular and self-regenerating. The recovered textile tools are physical confirmation of the processes of connection and exchange that fuelled these strong networks, the Acadians' growth as a self-identifying community of kin, and ultimately a tight and bounded cultural community of their own.

These demonstrations of "intertwined lines of identity" forged a new kind of space at the intersection of colonial and indigenous lives, negotiating for a concept of Acadian-ness that would remove them from the politics of the metropoles.[23] Visiting commentators described Acadian dress as crude and simple, an image at odds with

materials found on site. It may be the distinctive addition of the homespun wools and linens that created that impression, materials which were not being produced in any major quantity in New France at this stage.[24] This is a question of perception rather than truth, and a matter of the kind of image which the Acadians wished to present.

Despite being depicted as coarse farmers innately at risk of transitioning away from Europe's civilizing influence, many Acadians were holding on to portions of their European identity with relative ease. At the same time, however, some were incorporating elements of Indigenous dress into their wardrobes—moccasins, red stripes, and embroidery beads—engaging the tensions between their three spheres of exposure (British, French, Indigenous) with their bodies and their chosen forms of display. As they moved between European and Indigenous landscapes in the geographically nebulous region known as Acadia, the nature of the viewers themselves altered the expressions they perceived.

Dress comprises signs and signifiers, a communication medium used to create and navigate expressions of social, political, and environmental identity. Clothing choice was as much a negotiation between spheres as were treaties and alliances, the European self transmuting into something far more connected to the land they farmed and the spaces they claimed for themselves. Acadians lived complex lives at the intersections of multiple material cultures, from which they picked and chose the pieces best suited to their new existences. They neither held firmly to the culture and materials brought over from France, nor were they solely dependent on the work of their own hands and the products of their new environment. The webs of connections and interlinkages that the Acadians

knew prior to resettlement collided with those of Mi'kma'ki, the entanglements reweaving across space, time, and *thing* to create a vibrant tapestry all their own.

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[1] Kawamura, *Doing Research in Fashion and Dress : An Introduction to Qualitative Methods*, 96.
[2] Loren, "Social Skins," 173.
[3] Pravina Shukla, "The Study of Dress and Adornment as Social Positioning," *Material Culture Review / Revue de La Culture Matérielle* 61, no. 1 (January 1, 2005), 4.
[4] Fisher and Loren, "Introduction: Embodying Identity in Archaeology," 229.
[5] See Loren, "Social Skins," 175 for more discussion of doxies and praxies in colonial spaces.
[6] For more on the construction of identity in borderlands and colonial areas, see White, "'To Ensure That He Not Give Himself Over to the Indians'"; Also see Loren, *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*; Fisher and Loren, "Introduction: Embodying Identity in Archaeology"; and White and Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity."
[7] Hodder, *Entangled*, 169.
[8] Hodder, 169–70.
[9] Hodder, 170.
[10] Loren, "Social Skins," 173.
[11] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 92–94.
[12] Kennedy, *Something of a Peasant Paradise?*, 107–10; Kennedy, Peace, and Pettigrew, "Social Networks across Chignecto," 18.
[13] Carolyn J. Lawes, *Women and Reform in a New England Community, 1815-1860*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 47.
[14] "Polie Des Habitans de La Bans Lieux Du Fort Du Port Royal Speciffie Famile Par Famille Du 25 October 1710."
[15] Clark, *Acadia*, 213.
[16] Clark, 212.
[17] Lavoie, "Un nouveau regard sur le monde acadien avant la Déportation. Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle, Nouvelle-Écosse."
[18] Jordan, "Colonies, Colonialism, and Cultural Entanglement," 36.
[19] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 45-46.
[20] Brouillan to Minister, 6 October 1701. Nova Scotia Archives. RG1 vol 3 doc 6, reel 15, 218.
[21] Roche, *The Culture of Clothing*, 377–78.
[22] Lavoie, *Archéologie au marais de Belle-Isle*, 79.
[23] White and Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity," 213.
[24] Ruddel, "Domestic Textile Production in Colonial Quebec, 1608-1840," para. 20.

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APPENDIX A

Inventory of Marie Josephe Le Borgne de Belisle, BAC-LAC, MG1-Series G3, F-542, vol. 2047

(Partial transcription; belongings only—does not include lists of properties and debtors from original.)

? = illegible letter

p. 1

Margin note:

21. Juin 1754
Inventaire
de la furnith[???]
du Dame
Dupont Duvivier

L'an mil sept cent cinquante quatre, le vingt un juin après midy, a la requète de M. Joseph Dupont Ecuyer chevalier Duvivier Capitaine d'Infanterie En garisson en cette ville, taut en Son nom, comme ayant èté Commun en biens avec Deffuncte marie Joseph Le Borgne de BelleIsle son Epouse, veuve en premiere noces de seu. Mr Rondeau en son vivant tresorier de la marine en cette colonie, en Encore comme danatere de reparts d'Enfants de la d[te] Deffuncte que comme tuteur des enfants Mineur Issus de leur mariage, en aussy des Enfants procrée de mariage du d[x] ??? S.~ Rondeau, et de la d[te] Deffunte, en presence de M. Pierre Rodrigue negociant en cette ville subrogé tuteur des d[x] mineurs Etan aus d[??] charges par avis des parents, hommologué par sentence de ce Siege endatte decemois. Ensuitte de la quelle est leurs Acceptations, pour la conservation du d[x] requesant dereditrummeur en de qui il appartiendra, a èté par les notaires Royaux a Louisbourg Ile Royale, soussignée procedé a l'Inventaire fidel, en description général de tous les bien meuble, et immeuble, argent non moyoyés, et monoyé, titres, dapie?[papiers] et Enseignements, dependances, de la communauté d'Entre le requezant de la dite Deffunte, et du d[x] S. Rondeau avec elle, montrér, en Exibér par le d[x] tuteur après serment parlay faite de n'en avoir detourné ny r??lé aucun Sous le peine de droit que nous luy avoir donné a tutendre, et quil a dit seavoir Inur meubles prisé et Estimér a leur juste valleur par M.[sr] Juillien Fizel, negociant en cette ville, et Louis Logier Maitre menuimer en cette d[x] ville, arbitrer appellér par les d[te] tuteur, en subrogé tuteur

prealablement par eux pretes Serment des bans et fidellement, se conporter p[??] leurs Estimations ainsy quil fait en ont Signé.

Louis Logier

Fizel

Rodrigues

Dupont Duvivier

Baiqueresse?

Morin

[Scribbles in left side margin, halfway down page]

+Decelle

[assorted squiggles / pen ink tests]

p. 2

Premierement dans la sale de la maison

Ou est decedé La D^{me} deffunte Sent trouvé

Un porte defonte avec son tuycan — Estimé de quatre vingt Lire Cy……………….	80.#
Item onze Ch[ai]se, estimé tout comme que mauvaise onze livres Cy	11.
Item un mauvais baut dans le quel sent trouvé plusieurs papiers dependant de la succession de Mr Rondeau qui est matels le d^{t} Coffre Estimé une Livre dix sols	1..10.
Item une mauvaise Tapisserie en six morceaux tendire en la d^{x} ???? Estimé Trente Livres Cy	30.#
Item deux Ridaux de fenestres avec leurs bagettes et anna[ux] Estimé Ensemble La Somme de dix livres	10.#
Item un miroir a cadre doré Estimé La Somme de vingt Cinq Livres $_{cy}$	25.#

Item sest Trouvé dans un armoires enchané dans la clarion de la d^{te} salle

Quarante une assiettes, une teyco, une bolle, deux gobelets de porcelenes Le tout Estimé Ensemble La somme de Cinquante quatre Livres Cy	54.#
Item Viente quatre plats ou assiettes de terre Estimé Ensemble quatre Livres dix Sols Cy	4…10.

Item quatre Saladiers, une Soupiere avec sa couverte, trente quatre assiettes, un moutardier, trois pots a l'eau, une Venegriere, une selliere, de tout de fayance, quelque flacon – deux Boutielles, Estimés Ensemble a la somme de Dix huit Livr[es] Cy	18.#
Dix Cobelets de verre, deux salliers de cristal, une bolle a huit Tasses de caffeé, avec leurs secoupes, encore quatre Ta- (p. 3) Avec leur s[e]coupe de fayance Estimé Ensemble Douze Livres Cy	12.#

Sen trouvé dans un cabinet attenant a la d^{te} salle

Item un lit compose d'une paillasse dune couette dun Traversi[ne] garnie de plume, trois couvertes et une Courte pointe Estimé La somme de soixante dix Livres Cy	70.#
Deux fusils garnies de fer Estimé Vingt Livres	20.#
Un vieu Coffre avec Sa Serrure dans lequel ses trouvé des papiers dependan de la succession de M. Rondeau qui *parvisent* issuite a la d^{it} succession. Le d^{it} coffer Estimé quatre Livre[s] Cy	4.#

Item sest trouve dans la chambre Dulong de larüe

Un Lit composé de deux couvertes, deux Tapis, de deux lits de plume d'un Traversine, garnies de plume dun maletot dun Tour de lit garny, et de deux oreillers en du ciel de lit aussy garnée Le tout estimé la somme de deux cent vignt livres Cy	220.#
Item un Bureau anglois garniy, estimé La somme de trente cinq livres Cy	35.#
Item trois tables huit chaises garnies de paile ~~en bois Trouvée~~. Les d^{tes} tables avec leurs pieds Estimés Ensemble la somme de vingt livres Cy	20.#
Item un fauteuil, de bois tourné garniy Estimés la somme de Dix livres Cy	10.#
Item un miroir de toilette Estimé trois livres Cy	3.#
Item une Tapisserie Tendûe en Cinq morceaux dans la d^{te} chamber Estimé La somme de soixante Livres Cy	60.#
Item trois rideaux de fenestre avec leurs bagettes et anneaux Estimé Ensemble la somme de quinze Livres cy	15.#
Item une paire de chenet une pelle, a feu, avec une pinuette Estimé Ensemble Le somme de six livres	6.#
Item seize Douzaines et unze serviettes ouvrées Estimés Ensemble a la somme de deux cent livres	200.#
Item sinqlorze Serviettes unie estimé?? La somme de sept Livres Cy	7.#

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Item douze napes, unie, tout comme que mauvaise Estimées Douze Livres Cy	12.#
Item vingt trois napes ouvrées Estimés Ensemble a la somme de quatre vingt une livres Cy	81.#
Item trente cinq Drapes de lits Estimée Estimes [sic] Ensemble a la somme de Cent Soixante quinze Livres Cy	175.#

Ensuit~~te~~ Largenterie

Item une Cruelle avec sa couverture, deux Gobelets, une cuilliere pottagere, une autre Cuiller aragou??t Quatorze cuiller, quatorze fourchettes, cinq cuiller a caffée le tout d'argent Pezana lensemble Quinze marcs Cinque onces Estimé a la somme de quarante huit Livres le marc faisant Ensembles la somme de sept cent cinquante Livres Cy	750.#
Item sont trouvée dans une armoire, un moulin a poire, une porte mouchette, et son Emouchette, deux Bouteilles, une caffetier de cuivre jaune, deux sera [arepaner?] Estimés le tou[s] ensembles a la somme de neuf Livres Cy	9.#
Item une nape, et Cinq Serviettes et encore une serviet[te] Estimes Ensemble la somme de six livres Cy	6.#

Item dans un Cabinet a costé de la dte chamber donnent sur Lacour de la dte maison sont trouvé

Un Lit compose d'une paillasse, de deux lits de plume, deux trav[ersine], dun maletots, de trois couvertes dune courte pointe dun cul de lit, et dun tour de lit garnie, Estimés ensemble a la somme de Deux cent livres Cy	200.#
Item dans un autre Cabinat a coté de l'autre et attend??? a la rüe sont trouvé une armoire a deux battans avec son tiroir garny de ses ferrures, du bois de noyer Estime? La somme de Quartrevingt Livres Cy	80.#

Dans la quel armoire sesont trouvée les hardes, l'[Juge]?

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et super de la Deffunte dont le detail suit Premierement:

Une robe de Cotton	
Une autre robe d'Indienne avec son tablier	
Une autre robe en Soye, et Cotton avec son tablier	
Une autre robe de Damas avec le Jupon	
Une autre robe de satin avec un jupon bleu	
Une autre robe de Damas a fluer, avec son jupon	

Une autre robe de tafetas	
Une autre robe de satin a fleur, avec son tablier	
Un jupon de damas bleue	
Un Robbe de tafetas avec son jupon	
Une autre Robbe de ras de Saint-Morts	
Un jupon vair piqué	
Les d^{te} Robes et jupons Estimés Ensemble a les somme de Quatres cent dixneuf Livres Cy	419.#
Item cinquante neuf Chemises tant bonne qui mauvaise Estimées Ensemble deux cent quarante Livres Cy	240.#

Et après avoir vaqué jusqa l’heur de six heures données, La Continuation du present Inventaire a èté renvoyér a demain deux heures de releveé, a la quel les parties et les dits arbitres setaiment pour anigne sc? et ont signé = Fizel, Louis Logier, Dupont Duvivier, Rodriguez, Bacquerette, Morin [illegible]

Sur les deux heures de releveé du vingt deux due d^{t} [nevis?] et en a la requete Susdite En presence que dit [etts?- illegible] en apres l’estimation faite par les d^{ts} arbitres a èté pas les d^{ts} notaires procedé a la Continuation du d^{x} Invantaire ainsy quil suit

Item un jupon de damas sugatelle ou sur fille Estimé trois Livres Cy	3.#

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Item un jupon de Coton a fleur Estime cinq livres	5.#
Item trois autres de Cotton Estime Ensemble dix livres	10.#
Item trois autres Jupons de Bazin estimes Ensembles vignt une livres Cy	21.
Item un jupon, un mantelet de Grenal Estimés Ensemble la somme de neuf Livres Cy	9.#
Item deux matelets d’Indienne Estimés Ensemble cinq Livres Cy	5.#
Item deux mantelets, l’un de damas pour fil, et l’autre de Cotton des Indes Estimés Ensemble six livres Cy	6.#
Item deux corselet, l’un est de cotton, et l’autre de damas et une paire d’epoche de cotton Estimés Ensemble trois livres	3.#
Item neuf mouchoirs de Cotton dont quatre d se cotton des In[des] Estimés Ensembles dix livres Cy	10.#
Item trois paires de manchettes de mouceline dont une paire a fleur, et les autres unies Estimés ensembles six livres Cy	6.#
Item un mouchoir degasse a fleur d’or, un cordon avec sa piece Estimé ensemble cinq livres	5.#
Item un mouchoir garnies d’une Dantelle Estimé vingt sols	1.#

Item une coeffe blonde de file monté avec son rabant à fontange Estimé dix livres Cy	10.#
Item deux autres coeffures garnies de leurs dantelle monté dont une avec son rubant a fontange Estimés ensembles huit Livres Cy	8.#
Item un bonnet avec son fond Estimé trois Livres Cy	3.
Item une coeffe garnie dune dantelle, Estime six livres	6.
Item une autre Coeffe a grande dantelle Estimé quatres livres	4.
Item deux toquets avec leurs dantelle sans fond Estimes quatre Livres Cy	4.
Item douze Coeffes de nuit Estimés Ensemble Douze livres Cy	12.

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Item une coiffure d[e] Dantelle Estimé douze Livres	12.#
Item cinq coeffres avec leur dentelle Estimé ensemble vingt Livres Cy	20.#
Item six toquets avec leur dantelles Estimés Ensemble la somme de Douze Livres Cy	12.#
Item huit toquets de nuit avec leurs fonds et un autre toquet [s]ans fond estimé ensemble Dix Livres Cy	10.
Item une paire de manche a deux ranges de mouceneline des Indes a fleur Estimée dix livres	10.
Item neuf coeffes de nuit Estimées avec leurs dentelle estimées ensembles neuf Livres Cy	9.
Item neuf mouchoirs de col de Mouceline unie Estimeé Ensemble La somme de neuf Livres Cy	9.
Item ~~[trois illeg.]~~ quatre mouchoirs de col dont deux de Cotton, et les deux autres de toille Estimeés ensemble La Somme de quatre Livres Cy	4.
Item six bonnets piquet Estimés trois Livres	3.
Item quatre miramions dont trois de mouceline et un de Cotton Estimés Ensemble Deux Livres Cy	2.
Item deux Colliers de perle blanche Estimés ensemble La somme de trois Livres Cy	3.
Item un cordon, a fleur, [?t?] argent Estimé quatre Livres Cy	4.
Item deux mantes, et une Coeffe de gasse noir d'rocheés Estimeés Ensemble la Somme de huit Livres Cy	8.#
Item un mantelet avec une tertiere De satin fleur noir Estimé six Livres Cy	6.#
Item un aune et demy quarts de cotton Estimés six Livres Cy	6.#
~~Item une paire de miton de velour~~	
Une garniture de Robe ou partye de garniture Estimée six Livres Cy	6.#

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Deux paires de souliers de Coitille Estimée Ensemble La somme de neuf Livres Cy	9.#
Item deux paires de souliers neuf dont une paire de Damas blanc, et l'autre paire de grose denaple Estimees Ensemble de Douze Livres Cy	12.
Item une paire de soulier neuf de rat de Cicile Estimé six livres Cy	6.#
Item six paires de bas dont trois de soye et les trois autres de Soye et Cotton Estimeés Ensemble La somme de Quinze livres Desquel à èté fait delivrance [cette?] par forme de Don a la Demoiselle fille de la d^te^ Deffunte pour son ?aye dont entout Evenement en à èté fait mon[??] decé la d^te^ deliverance faite par le d^x^ tuteur, en presence, et le Consentement du d^x^ labrogé tuteur.	
Item unze aunes et un quarts de Dantelle Large en tro[is] different morceaux Estimés Ensemble a la Somme de cinq [illeg] sols ≠ [per] aune montant Ensemble a la somme de	29.#2.^S^6.^D^
Item deux aunes untiers de Dantelle fine et etroite Estimeé Sept Livres Cy	7.#
Item une Bague dor monté en or monté ^avec^ en pierre rouge Estimés vingt quatre Livres Cy	24.#
Item une autres bague dor monté de meme avec une pierre Topane verte Estimés Cent Livres Cy	100.#
Item une autre Bague monté dememe Estimé Cent livres Cy	100.#
Item une autre dor monté en argent a pierre fa[u]se E[stimé] neuf Livres Cy	9.#
Item une paire de Bouele d'oreille dor monté en pierre [Gizan?] dor Estimé trente Livres Cy	30.#
Item une paire de Boule doreille Dargen d'oré a surre Estimé quatre Livres Cy	4.#

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[margin note, top left corner, first word in each line obscured by binding]

[Comme] La presente
[??????] finy lautre
[??????] a èté porté de [fames?]
[??????] au d^x^ tuteur le
[??????] a èté Estimes le meme
[??????] que lautre Cy 7.#10.
C.D. [two sets illegible initials]

Item un pendant doreille de *Grena?* argent doré lautre pendant ayant èté anvoyé la France L'anneé derniere pour le faire racommodé dequelque	7.#10.

deffaut quil avoit ainsy que le d^{x} tuteur La declaré et ou il arriveroit quil le receveroit Il entiendra Comme Il le promet compte a qui il appartiendra. Estimé Le d^{x} pendant Etant en pocession du d^{x} tuteur sept Livres Dix sols cy	
Item un Collier de gr??? fin estimé La somme de trente Livres Cy	30.$^{\#}$

après avoir vaqué jusqu'a Cinq heures et demie La Continuation du present Inventaire a èté envoyé a Lundy prochain vingt quatre du Courant quoiy??e Ce Soit La^{+} ~~fols~~ De la Saint Jean La fete ayant èté l'envoyé au Dimanche suivant au quel jour de Lundy les d^{tes} parties et les d^{es} arbitres setiennent pour assignés et ont Signés $^{+}$ jouer /

Dupont ch. Duvivier

Rodriguez

Fizel

Loüis Logier

Bacquerette

Morin [illegible]

Sur les deux heur de releveé du vingt-quatre des d^{es} mois et au a la requeste Susdit en presence que dit *est* et après Estimation faite parles d^{ts} arbitres Le d^{es} Inventaire a èté Continué par les dits Notaires ainsy quil fait.

Item Ses Encore trouvé dans le d^{x} armoire une quadruble argend D'Espagne et quatre vingt seize livres argent blanc monoye de France	
Item fait trouve dans un petit magasin a main droite de l'Entrée p. 10 de la d^{te} maison Cent Soixante huit paires de soulier, ou Escarp[ins] façon Barque Estimés trois Livres La paire faisant ensemble L[a] somme de Cinq cent quatre Livres Cy	504.$^{\#}$
Item un coffre useź de bois de Sape Estimé huit livres	8.
Item dans le d^{x} coffre sont trouvé quatre vingt trois pai[res] d'Escarpin partir avariés estimés l'un dans lautre trente cinq sols la paire faisant Ensemble la somme de cent quar[an]te cinq livre Cinq sola Cy	145.$^{\#}$5.^{S}
Item deux coupons, de triple, ou gnone pane contenant vin[gt] deux au^{ne} et demy, Estimé quatre Livres l'aune faisant En[semble] quatre vingt dix livres Cy	90.$^{\#}$

Item une piece de mazamet Gase friseé Contenant trent[e] quatre aunes et demy estimeé Cinquante Sols laune faisant ensemble La Somme de Soixante une Livres cinq Sols cy	$61.^{\#}5.^{S}$
Item dix sept aunes trois quarts dourges frisé coul[eur] Canel Estimé quarante deux Sols laune faisant la somme de trente sept livres cinq sols six deniers	$37.^{\#}5.^{S}6.^{D}$
Item un aune et un quart de gros drape couleur de gris d'Epine Estimé ~~?raison~~ ~~de~~-sept livres dix sols le[illeg] Cy	$7.^{\#}10.^{S}$
Item quatorze aunes trois quarts de droguette brun clai[r] Estimé quarante Sols laune, faisant la somme de ving[t] neuf livres six sols Cy	$29.^{\#}10.^{S}$
Item seize aunes, un quart Gingan ou toille a Carreau Estimé a vingt sols laune faisant la somme de seize livres cinq sols Cy	$16.^{\#}5.^{S}$
Item une piece deux coupons de Callemande Commune [illeg] Ensemble quarante neuf aunes et demi Estimés quarante Sols lau^{ne} faisant La somme de quatre vingt dixneuf livres Cy	$99.^{\#}$

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Item six aunes et demie dIndienne avarice Estimé quarante sols l'aune faisant la somme de treize Livres Cy	13.#
Item treize aunes un quart de papeline bleu, Celeste Estimée Cinqante Sols laune faisant la somme de trentetrois livres deux sols six deniers Cy	$33.^{\#}2.^{S}6.^{D}$
Item sept aunes et demie siamoise en Sept huit Estimeé Cinquante Sols laune faisant la somme de dix huit livres quinze sols Cy	$18.^{\#}15.^{S}$
Item neuf au^{nes} et demie ditto Siamoise en cinq huit Estimé a deux livres dix sols a laune faisant La somme de vingt trois livres quinze Sols Cy	$23.^{\#}15.^{S}$
Item treinte quatre chapeaux a negres partie avariés Estimé Ensembles vingt cinq Livres Cy	$25.^{\#}$
Item dix neuf milliers de quille a coudre partie avariés Estimé Ensemble quarante Livres Cy	$40.^{\#}$
Item Sept bonnets de laine Estimés neuf Livres	$9.^{\#}$
Item deux paires de bas de laine Rouge Estimées Six livres	$6.^{\#}$
Item quinze paires de Jartieres pour cullote Estimes Ansemble six livres Cy	$6.^{\#}$
Item cinq livres de file de renne avaries Estimé esemble huit livres Cy	$8.^{\#}$
Item quarante six mouchoirs de Soye singles Estimé trente sols la Piece faisant ensemble soixante neuf livres	$69.^{\#}$
Item deux Coefferes de blondes ~~estim~~ monteé avec un ruban a fontage a fleur or, et argent Estimeés ensemble vingt quatre livres Cy	$24.^{\#}$
Item deux cent aune de grosse dantelle estimés trente livres Cy	$30.^{\#}$
Item cinq Bource a cheveux estimée trois livre piece cy quinze livres cy	$15.^{\#}$
Item un chapeau avaricé bordé en or Estimé vingt quatre livres Cy	$24.^{\#}$

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Item sept douzaine de boutons d'or a trait pour habit Estimés la douzaine de quatre livres faisant ensemble la somme de vingt huit livres Cy	28.#
Item vingt douzaines auny boutons dor atrait pour vente estime la douzaine a deux livre faisant ensemble la somme de quarante livres	40.#
Item cinq douzaines de boutons dargent a trait pour habit estimes la douzaine a Deux livres faisant ensemble La somme de dix livres Cy	10.#
Item ~~cin~~quatre douzaines auny boutons dargent a trait pour vente estimés la douzaine a une livres faisant [en]semble la somme de quatre livres Cy	4.#
Item une piece de Cotton Contenant seize aunes estimés quatre livres laune faisant Ensemble soixante quatre livres cy	64.#
Item une piece de cotton contenant seize autre aunes estimés six livres l'aune faisan ensemble la somme de quatre vingt seize livres cy	96.#
Item dix aunes de Cotton estimé trois livres dix sols laune faisant ensemble trente cinq livres Cy	35.#
Item cinq aunes de Cotton Estimés six livres laune fais[ant] La somme de trente Livres Cy	30.#
Item quatre vingt livres de Poires Estimés trente deux sols la livres faisant la somme de cent vingt huit livres cy	128.#
Item une Cramailler, ~~Estimé~~ une paire de chemay vieux, avec deux vieilles pelles, et une vieille paire de sincette Et un tourne broche servant dans la cuisine Estimé ensemble vingt livres Cy	20.#
Item s'en trouvé encore dans la cuisine une poele a frire, une broche, un grille, un réchaux, et deux troispieds, estimés de tout neuf Livres Cy	9.#

p. 13 – kitchen stuff / food supplies

Item deux chaudrons, deux castrolles, un pane puré, une ecumoir, une caffeture, une tourier, une cuillier a pot, une ???fritte, une broche le tout unie estimes ensemble quarante livres cy	40. #
Item six mauvais chandeliers et trois vielles marmittes estimés ensemble dix livres cy	10.#
Item trois vieux plats d'etain ~~estime~~ deux de fayance et treize pieces de terrait estimés le tout sept livres dix sols	7.#10s
Item une scie de long avec deux mauvaise scies a travers estimés dix huit livres le tout cy	18.#
Item vingt boisseaux de bled d Jude estimés la somme de trente sols le boisseau faisant ensemble, trente livres	30.#
Item cinq quinteaux et demy de farine estimés a raison de Douze livres le quintal faisant ensemble la somme de soixante six livres cy	66.#
Item un quart de lard estimé trent livres cy	30.#
Item une vache, avec une chevre ~~et un ???g~~ estimé soixante livres Cy	60.#

Qui sont tous les meubles, meublaut trouvé dans la maison ou est decedé la Deffunte et à linstant [leof?] requerant aus d^{es} noms et qualités a declaré que chéz la Dame lafete rendante en cette ville Ily’a plus cuir marchandeses depend autes, de la derniere communauté, pourquoi le d^{x} notaire sesont transporté avec les d^{ites} parties et les d^{ts} arbitres chez la d^{x} Dame la site à l’effet de Continuer le present Inventaire en a signé avec le d^{x} s’abroge tuteur

Dupont ch. Duvivier

Rodriguez

Bacquerette

Morin

Et Etant a la maison de la d^{xe} Dame le site lesd^{tes} marchandi[ses] ont èté Invantorie ainsy quil suit.

Item dix sept paires de souliers Estimés Cinquante Sols la paire faisant Ensemble La somme de quarante deux livres dix sols	42.$^{\#}$10.^{S}

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Item quatre ~~quatre~~ pieces de Cotton [aununt?] Ensemble cinquant huit aunes, Estimés cinq livres laune lun dans lautre fais[ant] Ensemble la somme de Deux cent quatre vingt dix livres Cy	290.$^{\#}$
Item deux autres de mouceline rayée estimé huit livres laune faisant seize Livres Cy	16.$^{\#}$
Item huit bourses a cheveux estimés trois livres chaque faisant Ensemble La somme de vingt quatre livres	24.$^{\#}$
Item treize aunes de mouceline unie Estimés a dix livres laune faisant cent trente livres Cy	130.$^{\#}$
Item une piece de siamoise en cinq huit contenant dix neuf aunes Estimés a Cinquante sols laune faisant Ensemble Quarante sept livres d[ix] sols Cy	47.$^{\#}$10.^{S}
Item une autre piece de siamoise en cinq huit contenant dix neuf aunes Estimés as Cinquante sols launes faisant ensemble la somme de Quarante sept livres dix sols	47.$^{\#}$10.^{S}
Item deux coupons ditto siamoise en cinq huit contenant Ensemble dix neuf aunes ^ et un demie Estimés Cinquante sols laune faisant la somme de quarante huit livres quinze sols Cy	48.$^{\#}$15.^{S}
Item deux piece de bource contenant Ensemble vingt un aune un quart Estimés laune trois livres contenant ansemble la somme de soixante trois livres quinze sols cy	63.$^{\#}$15.^{S}
Item plusiers coupons Estimés Ensemble la somme de vingt quatre livres Cy	24.$^{\#}$

Item huit aunes en Demie de tafetau coleur de rose Estimé laune sept livres dix sols faisant ensemble La somme de cinquante Cinq livres Cinq sols Cy	55.$^{\#}$5.^{S}
Item vingt huit aunes de toile de Bretagne Estimés lau[ne] La somme de trente sols faisant ensemble la somme de quaran[te] deux livres Cy	42.$^{\#}$
~~qui est T~~ Item La somme de soixante quatre livres dix sols monoye de France provenant delavente faite de partye des p. 15 dite marchandises Cy	64.$^{\#}$10.^{S}
Item trent aunes de Dantelle grosse Estimes Ensemble quatre livres dix sols Cy	4.$^{\#}$10.^{S}

qui sont toutes les marchandises et effets trouvés chéz ma d^{te} Dame La fite et pour la Continuation du d^{x} Inventaire a l'egard des Immeubles et des titres papiers et lincignement a èté fait renvoy pour demain deuz heures de releveé a la quelle les d^{tes} parties se tiennent pour amigné, et se sont soumissent de faire tecouver les arbitres commeneurs pour lestimation des immeubles nous les d^{te} parties, et les arbitres estimateurs des dits meubles signé avec le d^{x} ???

Dupont ch. Duvivier

Rodriguez

Fizel

Loüis Logier

Bacquerette

Morin [illegible]

APPENDIX B

Electronic supplement. An excel file containing the data for all Acadian artifacts and inventories transcribed and catalogued for this thesis. Some fields in various entries are empty due to missing data from primary sources, others due to non-applicability of the field for that entry type.

871 entries from nineteen locations: Beaubassin, Belleisle, Chezzetcook, Chignecto Isthmus, Fort LaTour, Grand Pré, Lawrencetown, Louisbourg, Melanson, Petitcodiac, Pointe-aux-Vieux, Port Royal, Port Toulouse, Purdy Farm, Roma Site, Skmaqn—Port-la-Joye—Fort Amherst, Starr's Point, Thibodeau Village, Tracadie. Some of these are outside of the time frame discussed in this thesis and have been included for completeness.